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# FOIA MARKER

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**OA/ID Number:** 90684  
**Folder ID Number:** 90684-002

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**Folder Title:**  
Sunday, May 31, 1992

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**Stack:**

**V**

**Row:**

**0**

**Section:**

**0**

**Shelf:**

**0**

**Position:**

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Doily 5/31

cc  
Doily  
Miller



THE PRESIDENT

May 31, 1992

To: Dick Darman/Jack Kemp/Lamar Alexander

Re: Cities in Schools Funding

Bill Milliken of Cities in Schools sent the attached letter to Sec. Kemp.

In a recent L.A. speech I sang the praises of C I S. Now it turns out that we have **cut** CIS spending and they now have a critical need for \$3.6 million.

Dick: can any department help them with their request?

GB

4

From the desk of  
George Bush

R2

attach  
Milliken letter  
to Dick -  
Lamar

Dear Mr President -

Your good friend Bill Miller wanted  
you to see this personally. I  
think they need our help.

Sam & I sure want to be of  
help, but I think you should read

this because he thinks the world of  
you & Mrs Bush.

your "center folder"  
Jan 16



Cities In Schools, Inc.  
401 Wythe Street  
Suite 200  
Alexandria, VA 22314-1963  
703-519-8999  
FAX 703-519-7213

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LEO ZUNIGA  
Vice President of Public Affairs  
Sea World of Texas

May 13, 1992

The Honorable Jack Kemp  
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development  
451 Seventh St. S.W.  
Washington, DC 20410

Dear Secretary Kemp:

The tragic events in Los Angeles two weeks ago only serve to underscore the crisis facing communities across America. So many of our young people need extra help to become productive members of society, help they cannot seem to find. Drugs and gangs are close at hand, and violent, destructive role models are constantly in evidence. Many young people submit to these negative influences, not because they want to, but because the positive alternatives are not available, at least not available where and when they are needed. The riots in Los Angeles are symptoms of a much deeper illness facing our communities -- the crippling community diseases of isolation and fragmentation. Not only do our young people need healing, our communities need healing as well.

President Bush was right in his address to the nation from Los Angeles last week. As you remember, he emphasized the need for much better coordination in our efforts to help disconnected and alienated youth and their families. The President referred to Cities In Schools as a model of how communities can work together to help their young people help themselves. "There are four Cities In Schools programs in Los Angeles," he said. "Now, if instead of four there were 25 Cities In schools programs...there is no question that what happened last week wouldn't have been as bad." He is right! All of us must build on and give strong support to already proven programs. Since the beginning of this Administration, the President and other leaders have been saying that there are programs that are already working. CIS is a perfect example of this success.

The Honorable Jack Kemp  
May 13, 1992  
Page 2

As you well know, CIS does provide an answer to the fragmentation and lack of positive relationships that plague so many communities. In 122 communities across the country, urban, suburban and rural, CIS is helping young people turn themselves around by bringing together the resources that already exist in the community, focussing their delivery at the schoolhouse, and providing the positive relationships needed by troubled and disconnected youth. These efforts effectively support their education and development into productive citizens. CIS has been working since 1977 to develop a process that works, and build a system for program replication that empowers communities to adapt that process as their own. Our commitment is to help local communities help themselves. To that end, we provide training and technical assistance at no cost to the local community to guide them through the difficult process of building a local, community-wide partnership dedicated to helping the troubled youth who are most at risk of contributing to community discord and violence.

In the past four years, the need across America has grown for a coordinated, community-based approach to helping youth. At Cities In Schools, we have responded to that need as fully as we can, given the availability of resources to support our work. Just over two years ago, we set out on a five-year effort to reach 500,000 young people each year by 1995. To carry out the plan we needed to expand our national operations to a level requiring an annual budget of \$10 Million, half from Federal and half from private sources.

While we continue to match our Federal funding with private contributions, our Federal support has declined to the point this year where we will soon be forced to reduce our operations, at just the moment when many more communities are crying out for our help. This makes it impossible to reach out to the constantly expanding population of disconnected young Americans. This year, the best we can hope for in Federal funding is less than half the support we received six years ago when the problems facing our young people were much less in evidence than they are today. This is the response from an Administration where we have had exceptionally strong and vocal support from President and Mrs. Bush, and other leaders in the Administration such as Dr. Sullivan, Lamar Alexander, David Kearns and you.

The CIS process -- bringing communities together to coordinate their efforts to provide help to those who need it in a coordinated, accountable manner -- is a central element of programs such as "Weed and Seed." Our 64 operational CIS programs, which serve 122 communities in 21 states, are seeding schools with the best programs and resources each community has to offer. By coordinating around the schoolhouse, not only individual children and families, but entire communities are able to make long-term changes for the better.

The Honorable Jack Kemp  
May 13, 1992  
Page 3

We are convinced that now is the time for us to act. We are persuaded that the nation should be following President Bush's lead, helping many more communities change the way they reach out to children and families in need, empowering people to take responsibility for their own futures as productive members of their own communities. At CIS, we know how to get that job done. With full funding for our planned program, balanced by private funding from committed individuals, corporations and foundations, we could be giving new hope to many troubled communities, instead of planning how to cut back on the help we can provide.

CIS has an immediate, critical need for an additional \$3.6 Million dollars in current year funding, to supplement the \$1.4 Million dollars we have been told to expect from our current Federal partners. With increased funding, we will be able to meet the increased needs of many communities, and help them help themselves. I know of few other programs that come with the strong private sector board that directs CIS, a board willing to match Federal contributions on an equal basis. I believe that CIS has found an answer (with a strong track record and proven replication process) to the "cancer" that is destroying our children. We are in desperate need of further Federal assistance at this very critical time in our country. Any help you can offer would be deeply appreciated.

While I am extremely frustrated by the lack of sufficient Federal support, I am even more committed to the CIS process. Over 30 years of experience has shown us that with a little help, a dedicated community can make a major difference for its children and its own future.

Thank you, Secretary Kemp, for your continuing commitment to those American people and communities who need better coordinated help if they are to become self-sufficient and productive. And thank you for your willingness to help Cities In Schools empower those communities to help themselves.

Sincerely yours,



William E. Milliken  
President



239486  
THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE  
Washington, D.C. 20230

July 17, 1992

*Barbara*  
*Good on CIS*  
*Thanks*  
*GB*  
*7-26*

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

Dear Mr. President:

Your May 31 note to Dick Darman asked that he find funds to support Cities in Schools (CIS). No cause can be more important to this Nation's future than our young people, and CIS has amply demonstrated what a difference it can make. Solid accomplishment is the secret to CIS' success in winning the support of corporate America, as well as that of the public schools, academia, and state and local government.

Given your request, I have carefully reviewed our spending plans in the Department and will be able to make available an additional \$280,000 to supplement the \$250,000 we previously committed. I view these funds as a wise business investment. America's future competitiveness in the world economy will be driven by our greatest resource -- the skills and abilities of our children.

Respectfully,

Barbara Hackman Franklin

# TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

MAY 31st , 1992

[illegible]

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**WASHINGTON**

**TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM**  
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

May 31, 19 92

|     | TIME     |       | NAME                                                                                                 | ACTION                                |
|-----|----------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|     | PLACED   | DISC  |                                                                                                      |                                       |
| OUT | 8:45 AM  | 8:47  | MS1 Louvenia Lewis<br>Aspen Lodge, Camp David, Maryland<br>Camp David Signal 4-1630                  | Tlkd-ok<br>8:47 AM                    |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                                      |                                       |
| OUT | 9:29 AM  | 10:06 | Governor John Engler<br>Residence, Lansing, Michigan<br>517-373-6500                                 | Tlkd-ok<br>9:45 AM                    |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                                      |                                       |
| OUT | 10:34 AM | 11:11 | Mr. Robert M. Teeter<br>Office, Ann Arbor, Michigan<br>313-668-2621                                  | Tlkd-ok<br>10:34 AM                   |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                                      |                                       |
| OUT | AM       |       | Mr. George Bell<br>Residence, Gladwynn, Pennsylvania<br>215-642-8597                                 | WCL<br>12:38 PM<br>Tlkd-ok<br>1:35 PM |
| INC | 12:34 PM | 1:42  |                                                                                                      |                                       |
| OUT | AM       |       | Mrs. Prescott Bush<br>Residence, Greenwich, Connecticut<br>203-869-2488                              | Tlkd-ok<br>12:40 PM                   |
| INC | 12:39 PM | 12:43 |                                                                                                      |                                       |
| OUT | AM       |       | Mr. Neil M. Bush<br>Residence, Houston, Texas<br>713-880-3838                                        | PRESUS Cancel<br>12:53 PM             |
| INC | 12:43 PM |       |                                                                                                      |                                       |
| OUT | AM       |       | Secretary Samuel K. Skinner<br>Shore Acres Country Club<br>Chicago, Illinois<br>708-234-1472         | Tlkd-ok<br>1:04 PM                    |
| INC | 12:54 PM | 1:10  |                                                                                                      |                                       |
| OUT | AM       |       | Congressman Robert H. Michel<br>Residence, Washington, D.C.<br>202-546-5729                          | Tlkd-ok<br>1:19 PM                    |
| INC | 1:17 PM  | 1:26  |                                                                                                      |                                       |
| OUT | AM       |       | Major Arthur P. Wallace<br>Wyeoak Fitness Center<br>Camp David, Maryland<br>Camp David Signal 4-1555 | Tlkd-ok<br>3:18 PM                    |
| INC | 3:18 PM  | 3:19  |                                                                                                      |                                       |
| OUT | AM       |       | Ms. Beth Walker<br>Residence, Stonington, Connecticut<br>203-535-0073                                | Tlkd-ok<br>3:34 PM                    |
| INC | 3:23 PM  | 3:37  |                                                                                                      |                                       |
| OUT | AM       |       | Secretary Robert A. Mosbacher<br>Residence, Houston, Texas<br>713-521-9898                           | Tlkd-ok<br>3:41 PM                    |
| INC | 3:39 PM  | 3:52  |                                                                                                      |                                       |

## PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

**LOCATION** Camp David, Maryland

**DATE** 31 May 1992

## TIME

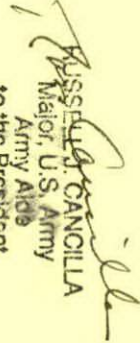
## MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

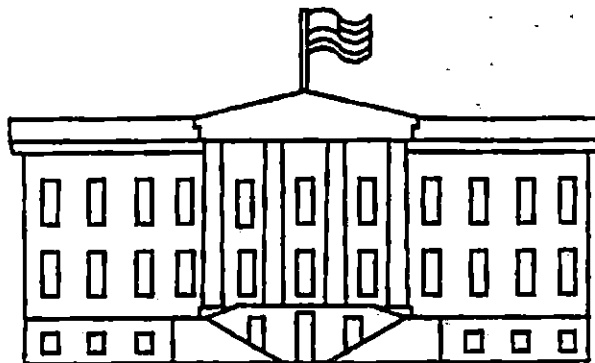
Rose -

6/2

- logs from Camp David -  
Thanks for your help. I think  
all went well.

  
MISS E. G. CANIGLIA  
Major, U.S. Army  
Army Aide  
to the President

Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page



# WHITE HOUSE COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY

## VOICE OPERATIONS BRANCH

### FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL HEADER SHEET

| COMMAND                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | OFFICE SYMBOL       | PHONE NUMBER                           | DATE-TIME GROUP                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| TO:<br>CAMP DAVID<br>COMCENTER                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                     | Autovon:<br>Commercial:<br>FAX Called: | (YYMMDD-HHMM ET)                 |
| FROM:<br>WHITE HOUSE<br>SIGNAL                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                     | Autovon:<br>Commercial:                | Authorized Releaser<br>Signature |
| CLASSIFICATION<br>ROUTINE                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | PAGES 2<br>+ Header | PRECEDENCE                             |                                  |
| REMARKS:<br>1 COPY TO MILAIDE<br>1 COPY TO CAMP DAVID SWBD                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                     |                                        |                                  |
| <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%; background-color: black;"></div> <div style="width: 40%; border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">VERIFICATION INFORMATION</div> <div style="width: 30%; background-color: black;"></div> </div> |                     |                                        |                                  |

## PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

**LOCATION** Camp David, Maryland

DATE 31 May 1992

## TIME

## MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

## TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

May 31, 1992

|     | TIME     |       | NAME                                                                                                 | ACTION                                |
|-----|----------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
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| INC | 3:39 PM  | 3:52  |                                                                                                      |                                       |



THE PRESIDENT

*daily daily  
tackler*

May 31, 1992

To: Dick Cheney

Re: Accounting Centers Out for Bid.

I had a call from Gov. Engler of Michigan suggesting that the 6 or 7 accounting centers that DOD has put out to bids be put into urban centers as a part of our Urban Strategy and bringing jobs to the Cities.

Apparently Don Atwood is familiar with the details.

This has appeal. We are asking business to go into the urban areas and are encouraging that by Enterprise Zones. Why not encourage jobs in the urban areas by mandating that these new accounting centers be in Urban America.

I am sure the bidding instructions would have to be changed and there may well be other considerations; but Los Angeles has refocused attention on the need for URBAN JOBS.

Please look into this matter and then call me on it. The idea has great appeal to me.

GB

*ag*



THE PRESIDENT

cc: Sam Skinner, Don Atwood, Clayton  
Yeutter.

Presidential Phone Calls  
Camp David



DATE: -3- TIME: incoming/outgoing

WITH: \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: Challenge Mich - Detroit

Atwood Lully  
unw -

Talk to V. Rich, Edgar,  
Thompson -

Chair of Command  
needs to be more tent.

FOLLOW UP:

Just not moving  
crisply -

Policy not relating to  
common man

Presidential Phone Calls  
Camp David



DATE: - 2 - TIME: \_\_\_\_\_  
incoming/outgoing

WITH: \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: Frontal attack on  
Congress

Our proposals are there  
but Congress blocks em

Urban idea  
6-7 accountability centers  
(4-6K people)

FOLLOW UP: Tie this into urban  
strategy -

\* Get States to narrow it  
down.  
Don't favor urban sights  
"change the process"

Presidential Phone Calls  
Camp David



DATE: 5-31-9 TIME: 9 45  
incoming/outgoing

WITH: John Engler, Gov.

SUBJECT: Ronna Romney beat

Gov. testified platform  
con.

Anti-incumbency mood  
mood for change.

FOLLOW UP: Sharpen the message

Traditional Responses  
play into Perot hands

"  
EDS: Perot best  
salomon"



THE PRESIDENT

RZ

Where ~~was~~ is the letter from Mrs. Truly (NASA ex head's wife)

GB

5

May 31, 1992

Presidential Phone Calls  
Camp David



DATE: 5 31 92 TIME: 10<sup>40</sup>  
incoming/outgoing

WITH: Bob Teeter

SUBJECT: Company

Focus -

need clear message

Have charged coord. proce

case - W.H. new

meeting -

pull story together

upgrade writers

FOLLOW UP: \_\_\_\_\_



THE PRESIDENT

*Daily*

*CC:  
Pol  
Daily*

May 31, 1992

Sam Skinner/Bob Teeter

John Engler called. He had an idea of putting DOD accounting Centers into Urban areas, and I have taken that matter up with Cheney.

His real concern was to pass along the view of 'everyone in michigan' that we are rudderless and themeless. We talked a long time. He is worried about Perot tapping into this monumental discontent.

Texas was different in one way because most of the people at the fund raiser to whom I talked feel Perot will self destruct. Jim Oberwetter, however, was **very upset** about our cancelling an event to get us up with our base in North Dallas an event which he felt would mask our big rich fund raiser. I have never seen Jim quite so angry.

The events on the trip went well but there is real anxiety; and what we are all trying to do is not resonating at all. The recent disarray stories have not helped.

*CS*

Presidential Phone Calls  
Camp David



DATE: 5-31 TIME: 3:45  
Incoming/outgoing

WITH: Bob Mosbacher

SUBJECT: Derby - story - sorry it  
happened -  
she asked what say to  
President "No!"

she started talk that  
JAG. - Told her NO

Other said "Shirley had  
FOLLOW UP: to go

Norm Bricker delighted  
w/ speech. Rob

Economy Moving - Bureau  
standpoint - better  
Consumer Conf ↑

*Daily*



THE PRESIDENT

May 31, 1992

To: Bob Teeter

Re: A Clinton Charge!!

*cc  
Tidder  
Pol  
Daily*

The other day Clinton claimed we have  
**reduced** financial support for literacy.  
Not so according to the attached from OMB.

Please have some briefing book  
preparer, debate preparer look at these  
figures.

GB

*5*



THE DIRECTOR

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

32 MAY 29 P1:5

May 29, 1992

## NOTE FOR THE PRESIDENT

In response to your question this morning, attached are statistics re: education expenditures. These include statistics for literacy programs (as requested), the Department of Education as a whole, and total federal education expenditures (across all Departments).

You will note that there are spending increases in all three categories.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Darman".

Richard Darman

C.C.: Sam Skinner  
Marlin Fitzwater  
Ede Holiday

5/29/92

| 1989<br><u>Actual</u> | 1992<br><u>Enacted</u> | 1993<br><u>Proposed</u> | % Change<br><u>'89-'93</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|

(Budget Authority, \$ in millions)

**(1) LITERACY PROGRAMS IN THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT****Adult Literacy Education**

|                                       |            |            |            |             |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| State grants.....                     | 138        | 236        | 261        | +92%        |
| National programs.....                | 2          | 9          | 9          | +350%       |
| Workplace literacy.....               | 12         | 19         | 19         | +58%        |
| Literacy for homeless adults.....     | 7          | 10         | 10         | +43%        |
| State literacy resource centers.....  | —          | 5          | 5          | NA          |
| Other Adult Literacy Programs.....    | 14         | 23         | 8          | -43%        |
| <b>Subtotal, Adult Education.....</b> | <b>171</b> | <b>302</b> | <b>312</b> | <b>+94%</b> |

**Family Literacy Programs**

|                                             |           |           |           |              |
|---------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Even Start.....                             | 15        | 70        | 90        | +500%        |
| Family English Literacy.....                | 5         | 6         | 6         | +20%         |
| <b>Subtotal, Family Literacy Programs..</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>76</b> | <b>96</b> | <b>+380%</b> |
| Libraries (Literacy Programs).....          | 5         | 11        | 35        | +600%        |

|                                      |            |            |            |              |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| <b>TOTAL, LITERACY PROGRAMS.....</b> | <b>195</b> | <b>389</b> | <b>443</b> | <b>+127%</b> |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|

**(2) TOTAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION**

|                     |               |               |               |             |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| <b>FUNDING.....</b> | <b>22,956</b> | <b>29,441</b> | <b>32,339</b> | <b>+41%</b> |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|

**(3) TOTAL FEDERAL RESOURCES SUPPORTING****THE NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS**

(Amounts shown are reported by

26 Federal agencies.)..... 56,404 75,225 81,305 +44%

Includes \$5 million for library literacy grants in 1989 and \$8 million in 1992 and an estimate by State library directors of Federal funds spent on literacy activities in 1992. All 1993 funds reported would be spent on literacy activities.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

4

DATE: May 29, 1992  
2 MAY 29 P2:21

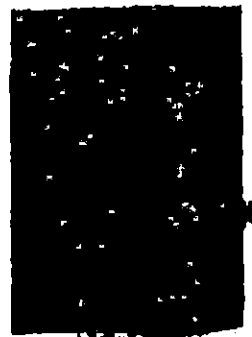
TO: The President

FROM: EDE HOLIDAY *EHA*  
Assistant to the President and  
Secretary of the Cabinet  
2nd Floor, West Wing, x2174

This is Lamar Alexander's state-  
ment regarding Bill Clinton's  
latest remarks on literacy funding.

Attachment

cc: Sam Skinner  
Marlin Fitzwater



**STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF EDUCATION LAMAR ALEXANDER  
REGARDING THE BUSH RECORD ON LITERACY**

Once again, Bill Clinton gets an "F" on his education homework papers. He was quoted saying that President Bush reduced funding for literacy programs. That is just flat wrong. During the four years of the Bush Administration, funding for literacy programs in the Department of Education increased by 127 percent, from \$195 million to \$443 million. Funding has gone up every year, and we have requested a 14 percent increase for 1993.

Everybody in the country knows that Barbara Bush has been a national leader in literacy and that the President has made this one of his major priorities.

Two weeks ago Bill Clinton said that students from families with more than \$10,000 in income couldn't receive Pell Grants to attend college. In fact, half the federal Pell Grant money goes to families who make more than \$10,000. Today, one of every two students receives a federal grant or loan. And the president has recommended the largest dollar increase in history for Pell grants. Governor Clinton ought to get his facts right.



THE PRESIDENT

CL  
WFB  
Daily —  
Per

May 31, 1992

Nick Brady

Nick:

Thanks for the memo on the campaign and on handling Congress. I think the suggestions are right on. I think the timing should be 'go for this closer to the election".

I have been talking "NEW CONGRESS", but not with quite the same theme you mentioned.

Thanks.

GB  
1

57  
X2



Mr President:

I talked to Bob Treeter last weekend about the train of thought in this memo and have sent him a copy

I also sent a copy to Sam Skuman

Z712

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM

Nicholas F. Brady *NFB*

SUBJECT

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Voter sentiment, most recently evinced in the Perot boom, and previously in the votes for Brown and Buchanan, reflects the people's disaffection with their government. The public is right; government is not working. We need to transform this energy to your and the Republican Party's advantage.

The most important reason that government is not working is that during the last 6 years we have lost the philosophical majority in the Congress that we enjoyed in the first 6 years of the Reagan Administration. Then we had a Republican majority in the Senate and a large group of Republicans who could form a coalition with like-minded Democrats in the House. As a result of these changes, we have recently faced political stalemate, increasing partisanship, and a Congressional refusal to pass your domestic legislative program to enhance growth and promote economic opportunity. The Democrats led by Mitchell and Gephardt have perfected the art of making a Republican Administration look ineffective, unresponsive and uncaring. And they stand for totally different principles. They seem intent on a strategy of attaching unacceptable provisions to otherwise desirable legislation.

You have pointed out that a strategy of simply bashing the Congress is not adequate. The public regards that simply as a crass attempt at blame shifting. Instead, we need to communicate that the current regime of divided government cannot work. This is a difficult task. I think your campaign should make the following points:

1. "I agree with the people who are dissatisfied with the results that government is now producing. I am troubled by the fact that my programs are not allowed to reach the people; that I have had to veto unnecessary spending time and time again; and that virtually every piece of legislation I have originated has come to my desk with additional and often unrelated amendments added to it."
2. "As long as two fundamentally conflicting philosophies control the two branches of government, Congress will not enact my program which is geared to providing a higher standard of living and addressing our most urgent social and economic problems -- health, education and crime, to name but three. I do not question the opposition's right to have different views. But put simply, they believe different things than I do and I believe you do."

3. "What is at stake here is nothing less than a fundamental clash of values. Republicans -- conservatives -- believe that government's job is to protect and defend, whether at home or abroad; to enable people to go safely to their schools and about their work; and to create the economic climate for success. We believe in creating and maintaining a land of opportunity -- a place where American men and women can fulfill their aspirations. Liberal Democrats believe in big government and ever-increasing bureaucracy. They believe that politicians in Washington, not free markets, should allocate this nation's resources. They believe in guiding the redistribution of limited economic output, and this is far more important to them than encouraging economic growth and expanding opportunities for all Americans. They believe they should determine the size of government and then tax the American people to fund their prescription for a larger government and more spending. In sharp contrast, Republicans believe that we must efficiently manage what we have. Democrats insist that government should simply take whatever it wants."
4. "Today's Congress is preoccupied with narrow, local issues and it fails to address national needs. The nation cannot afford to satisfy Congress' appetite for pork. They would rather fund a local road to nowhere than build a national highway to the future."
5. "So what is the course we should now follow? I am going to ask you to do the following: Reelect me and at the same time point our nation in a clear direction for tomorrow. Give me a Congress which will put my plans and proposals into law. Give me a Congress with values like mine -- and yours. Then judge me and that Congress by the results."

Attached is a Broder piece on a similar Bob Michel point of view. I have heard Bob Dole say the same thing.

David S. Broder

## Bob Michel's Challenge

*The only real way to ensure accountability is to end divided government.*

House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ind.) is one of those familiar Washington figures who usually draws more affection than deference. Since he came to Congress from Peoria in 1956, he has been known to colleagues as a great companion for a songfest or a round of golf. But as one of the permanently outnumbered Republicans, he rarely put his stamp—and never his name—on a major piece of legislation.

So there was great surprise last week that it was old-shoe Bob Michel, 69, who defined the political, constitutional and institutional crisis facing this country in 1992 more bluntly than anyone else in either party has done.

In a speech that reflected more of Michel's own reactions than any outside advice, he made four basic points:

■ The candidacy of Ross Perot could very possibly throw the choice of the next president into the House of Representatives, by denying any one of the three candidates—Perot, George Bush and Bill Clinton—an electoral-college majority. The inside-the-house politicking, with each state delegation casting a single vote, no matter its size—would be “an utter disaster” for the country, an outrage to the whole concept of popular sovereignty.

■ Perot as a possible president is a scary prospect, not only because “he doesn’t have a clue how to solve even one major issue,” but

because—to Michel's eye, at least—he has “the demagogue's gift for oversimplification” and could, if elevated to power, prove that “authoritarianism . . . can happen here.”

■ More important than Perot himself is the fuel that is powering his undeclared candidacy—the frustration of the American people when all they see when they look to Washington is squabbling, partisanship, media hype and legislative gridlock.

“If Ross Perot never existed,” Michel said, “those grievances would be real.”

■ The source of the frustration—the real reason the grievances exist—is “the fact of divided government in Washington. We have come to the point in American history where a president of one party simply cannot lead if the Congress is dominated by the other party.”

That is the ugly secret of American politics and Washington's failure. But it has been a long time since any major politician in either party stood up on his hind legs and said it to the people.

Back in 1960, John F. Kennedy campaigned by saying that it made no sense to elect Rep. Jones or Sen. Smith, good Democrats both, to Congress “and then put Richard Nixon in the White House.” He won—barely. Party loyalties, though weakened by the six years of divided government and the spread of ticket-splitting under Dwight D. Eisenhower, still meant something then.

But for 20 of the past 24 years we have had divided government—a Republican in the White House and Democrats controlling at least one and usually both houses of Congress. A whole generation has grown up thinking this is natural and normal.

The members of that “permanent” Democratic congressional majority certainly did not tell their constituents that they were wrong to split their tickets. They wanted to pretend that they would be “effective” no matter who was in the White House. Maybe they are bringing home the bacon, but they are not dealing with national problems.

Still less did Republican presidents and presidential candidates want to say, plainly, that it made no sense to elect them unless they had enough allies in Capitol Hill to pass their programs. Ronald Reagan came closest to doing it in 1980—and the results showed: a Republican Senate and a conservative-controlled House. But only for two years. He retreated into the usual Republican tolerance of divided government when the recession swamped the GOP in 1982.

Now Michel has broken the code of silence and showed the guts to plead for a Bush campaign that would say “the only way” to break the impasse that is so frustrating to the voters is to end divided government. Give one party—he'd prefer it were the Republicans—

control of the White House and Congress and if they fail to deliver, “kick us out” in the next election.

Will Bush take the challenge? At the moment his campaign is so desperate and defensive, in the face of the Perot surge, that no one knows.

Will a leading congressional Democrat step forward to say what Michel has said—that the voters are simply courting more frustration if they reelect Democratic congressional incumbents and then split their tickets for Bush or Perot?

What is needed is a steady drum-fire of messages from the leaders of both parties at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue informing the public of the lesson that has been forgotten: that the collective responsibility that results from giving one party at a time “a chance to govern,” as Michel put it, is the only real way to ensure accountability in a representative government.

What Bob Michel said is true. You can either vote for further frustration in the form of divided government, or you can pick a party to trust and hold to account, or you can put your country's future in the hands of Ross Perot and his promise to take charge—with all that is unknown about his real goals and all that is untested about his self-restraint in the exercise of vast power.

*daily*



*cc:  
Pol  
Daily  
mag*

THE PRESIDENT

May 31, 1992

Brent/Dorrance/Tony

Good!!!

The headline is great, the piece A-OK.

This gets as much coverage as their lousy editorial did.

GB

*9*

# No cover-up or scandal in US policy in Iraq

## BRENT SCOWCROFT

Like many of the critiques of US policy toward Iraq in the decade preceding Saddam's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait, a recent Globe editorial "Probing Bush's Saddam Connection" May 1 is flawed, inaccurate and misleading. There is, and is no Bush administration illegality, cover-up and no scandal. What we have is simply the record of an attempt to conduct a prudent and realistic foreign policy in a critical and dangerous part of the world.

Some history and facts are called for. The United States did assist Iraq in a limited fashion (but not with arms) during much of the 60s as part of a broader policy designed to deny revolutionary Iran victory over Iraq and domination of the oil-rich Persian Gulf. This particular policy was a success.

The Bush administration entered office six months after the August 1988 Iran-Iraq cease-

fire. Iraq emerged from its long conflict with Iran as the most powerful local state and the most able to affect key US concerns, including Gulf stability, Lebanon and the Middle East peace process. Iraq also emerged as a major source of our oil and as a major potential market for our exports.

There was also some evidence that Iraq had reduced its support for terrorists and had aligned itself with moderate forces in the Arab world.

The question before policy makers was whether we could develop this relationship in ways that would promote US economic interests and persuade Iraq to use its growing power in a constructive fashion. To influence Iraqi policy, the administration continued to make available modest economic incentives, mostly in the form of CCC loan guarantees to US agricultural exporters.

I want to stress that this effort on our part remained limited. We understood full well — and criticized publicly — Iraq's poor human rights record and its plans to develop weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, our policy also called for continued military presence in the region, diplomatic and military support of our friends, and considerable limitations on the export of goods and technologies that could aid Iraq's military development.

By early 1990, it became increasingly clear that even this limited attempt on our part to moderate Iraqi behavior was not having the desired effect on Iraqi behavior. Attempts by Iraq to evade US export controls, along with flagrant human rights violations and inflammatory rhetoric, led us to reduce our modest economic support. Even earlier, when questions emerged about possible corruption in earlier support programs, the 1990-1991 CCC agricultural loan-guarantee program was halted.

Some in Congress wanted to shut down the entire relationship. We thought this unwise. We thought it better to maintain a dialogue. It

was also impractical to try to isolate Iraq, as its Arab neighbors and many of our closest friends and allies in Europe and Asia were not willing to participate in a policy of sanctions or containment.

The brutal invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 made moot all possibility of maintaining any relationship with Saddam's Iraq. Clearly, the attempt to persuade Iraq to curb its behavior did not work as hoped for. But it is important to recognize that US policy in no way created Iraq's military machine. Our CCC program did not provide money to Iraq, directly or indirectly.

Iraq paid for everything it received until the US imposed sanctions in August 1990. Nor is there proof as yet that Iraq diverted commodities provided under this program to third countries or for arms. Iraq derived its wealth from oil revenues and, ironically in light of subsequent events, loans from several of its neighbors, \$100 billion of which it decided to devote to its military machine during the past decade.

This, then, is what we did and why. Simply because a policy does not achieve its maximum aims does not mean the alternatives would have fared better. Even less does it mean it was wrong to act as we did. A policy of unilateral sanctions or containment of Iraq would have failed to curb its military buildup and would have failed to prevent the invasion of Kuwait.

Moreover, our good-faith effort to build a

normal relationship made it impossible for Saddam to claim that he was left with no option but to invade Kuwait.

The war was his choice; the fact that he alone chose the course of violence made it far easier for us to take the lead in assembling the unprecedented international coalition that defeated Iraq, liberated Kuwait, and destroyed much of Iraq's military machine, including its weapons of mass destruction.

To this I would only add that there is no cover-up. Requested classified documents are being provided to Congress. The issue here is that of individual congressmen arrogating to themselves the right to make public properly classified documents. There are procedures for the declassification of documents which ensure against harm to the national security. Surely that is not too much to ask.

We are comfortable that the record will show that what we did was reasonable and prudent.

Others may disagree.

So be it. This is what debate over policy is all about. But can we not have such a debate over past policy without engaging in character assassination, reckless charges of violating the law, or cries of scandal? There are important issues in our policy toward Iraq; we should not cloud them with an outbreak of irresponsible partisanship and personal agenda.

*Brent Scowcroft is the national security adviser.*

Presidential Phone Calls  
Camp David



DATE: 5-31-9 TIME: 9 45  
incoming/outgoing

WITH: John Engler, Gov.

SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_

Ronna Romney beat

Gore testified platform  
Gov.

Anti-incumbency mood  
mood for change.

FOLLOW UP: Sharpen the message

Traditional Responses  
play 18th Perot hands

"  
EDS: Perot best  
salmon "

Presidential Phone Calls  
Camp David



DATE: - 2 - TIME: \_\_\_\_\_  
Incoming/outgoing

WITH: \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: Frontal attack on  
Congress

Our proposals are there  
but Congress blocks em

Urban idea  
6-7 community centers  
(4-6K people)

FOLLOW UP:  
Tie this into urban  
strategy -

\* Get States to narrow it  
down.  
Don't favor urban rights  
"e have the process"

Presidential Phone Calls  
Camp David



DATE: -3- TIME: \_\_\_\_\_  
Incoming/outgoing

WITH: \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: Challenge Mich - Detroit  
+

Atwood fully  
aware -

Talk to V'rich, Edgar,  
Thompson -

Change of Command  
needs to be more tact.  
FOLLOW UP:

Just not moving  
crisply -

Policy not relating to  
common man

*From the desk of*  
**George Bush**

*File*

*R2  
daily 5/31*

*C. P. S.*

**Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page**

LOT BE GRATEFUL FOR

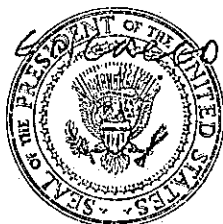
lot of successes - Nukes

COLD WAR IS OVER

Democracy on Move

World Peace

WE MUST REMAIN



WE WILL

We have helped  
Now lets change

change the world

(May 92)

### Cleveland Outline

Talk today about change-the kind of changes I want to see to bring hope to our cities and to our entire country.

1. keep the peace. strong support for police.

Mt. Zion example

Riot torn areas need police the most, they sacrifice for us. Cannot condone rioting  
Gangs-gang task forces going after them

2. Weed and Seed

weed out drug dealers, gangs,

seed neighborhoods with empowerment programs.

3. Rebuild Community- must try new ideas. Enterprise Zones

4. Welfare Reform increase to \$10K family can

5. Jobs for City Youth.. Job Training 2000

6. Home Ownership

7. Education - America 2000

Bad Budget Amendment  
Line Item veto

underlying all this: Personal responsibility, opportunity, ownership, independence, dignity, EMPOWERMENT. American Dream

Other Changes — Legal Reform.

Health Care Reform

CASE right here in Cleveland.. managed care. access, pooling, malpractice reform. no nationalized health care.

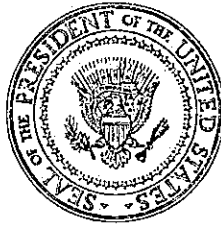
Family Values- Commission on Family.

What Happens in Your House more important than in W. House

Here is but part of our agenda. It is good, it is long overdue in being enacted, Faith Family

...

FROM THE PRESIDENT



**6 Point Plan For Cities:**

1. Weed and Seed
2. Hope
3. Welfare Reform
4. Enterprise Zones
5. Job Training
6. Education

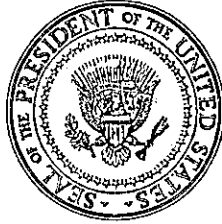
**6 Education Goals:**

1. all kids start school ready to learn
2. High School Grad rate increase to 90%
3. American students will be competent in the core subjects.
4. Every adult literate and possess skills necessary  
t to compete in world economy
5. students 1st in world in math and science
6. schools drug free.

**3 Legacies**

Strong families  
world at peace  
good jobs for all americans

FROM THE PRESIDENT



## Cleveland Outline

Talk today about change-the kind of changes I want to see to bring hope to our cities and to our entire country.

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6. Home Ownership
7. Education - America 2000

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COSE right here in cleveland.. managed care.access, pooling,  
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W. House

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...

FROM THE PRESIDENT

WHEN I THINK ABOUT THE FUTURE, I THINK ABOUT GOOD JOBS FOR ALL AMERICANS. I THINK ABOUT MY 6 POINT PLAN FOR BRINGING HOPE TO OUR INNER CITIES: I'M TALKING ABOUT WEED AND SEED. HOPE. WELFARE REFORM. JOBS AND JOB TRAINING. EDUCATION REFORM -- AND WHEN I TALK ABOUT REFORMING OUR SCHOOLS, I THINK ABOUT OUR 6 EDUCATION GOALS. BUT WE CAN'T BE #1 IN THE YEAR 2000 UNLESS WE ACT NOW -- NOT ONLY ON MY 7-STEP PLAN TO STIMULATE GROWTH -- BUT ON THE REST OF MY 5 PILLARS OF REFORM: FREE TRADE. GOVERNMENT REFORM. HEALTH CARE REFORM. LEGAL REFORM. WE'VE GOT TO STOP SUING ONE ANOTHER AND START HELPING ONE ANOTHER -- AND WE CAN'T HELP ONE ANOTHER UNLESS WE STRENGTHEN THE FAMILY. THAT'S ONE OF THE 3 PRECIOUS LEGACIES I WANT TO LEAVE BEHIND: STRONG FAMILIES. A WORLD AT PEACE. GOOD JOBS FOR ALL AMERICANS....

WHEN I THINK ABOUT THE FUTURE, I THINK ABOUT GOOD JOBS FOR ALL AMERICANS. I THINK ABOUT MY 6 POINT PLAN FOR BRINGING HOPE TO OUR INNER CITIES: I'M TALKING ABOUT WEED AND SEED. HOPE. WELFARE REFORM. JOBS AND JOB TRAINING. EDUCATION REFORM -- AND WHEN I TALK ABOUT REFORMING OUR SCHOOLS, I THINK ABOUT OUR 6 EDUCATION GOALS. BUT WE CAN'T BE #1 IN THE YEAR 2000 UNLESS WE ACT NOW -- NOT ONLY ON MY 7-STEP PLAN TO STIMULATE GROWTH -- BUT ON THE REST OF MY 5 PILLARS OF REFORM: FREE TRADE. GOVERNMENT REFORM. HEALTH CARE REFORM. LEGAL REFORM. WE'VE GOT TO STOP SUING ONE ANOTHER AND START HELPING ONE ANOTHER -- AND WE CAN'T HELP ONE ANOTHER UNLESS WE STRENGTHEN THE FAMILY. THAT'S ONE OF THE 3 PRECIOUS LEGACIES I WANT TO LEAVE BEHIND: STRONG FAMILIES. A WORLD AT PEACE. GOOD JOBS FOR ALL AMERICANS....

May 29 1992

## Memorandum

Re: Good and Evil insert

Now that some time has gone by, now that we've had time to reflect, we can think about the lessons of LA. I've talked about the need to overhaul our obsolete bureaucratic system, about the fact that the system has robbed the poor as well as the taxpayers, about the need for firm and fair enforcement of our laws and the preservation of order. But I've also been thinking about the deeper meaning, the meaning that transcends time and place.

The images of plunder, murder and mayhem that we saw last month reminds us of the traditional truths that we grew up with - that there is evil, as well as good in the world.

Paul tells us (Romans 1:29) that if we do not retain our knowledge of God, people will quote become filled with every kind of wickedness, evil, greed and depravity. We've seen that on the mean streets of LA. But we've seen it in every city, and in every town, and in every rural area.

Laws and budgets are not enough. We need a spiritual, moral, and yes, even religious revival, so that families unite: fathers love mothers, and they stay together, in spite of pain and hard times, because they love their children and look forward to another generation growing up straight and tall in the warmth of God's love.

But we've all seen acts of humanity, and yes, acts of godliness. We must treasure those images in our hearts, and strive to emulate those golden moments.

The words of E.V. Hill... [get quote from him or an equivalent LA religious leader] remind us of the lesson of Christ, that we must love our neighbors, because whoever loves his brother lives in the light, and there is nothing in him to make him stumble. But whoever hates his brother is in the darkness and walks around in the darkness." (1st John 2:10-11)

###

daily  
Pol -  
Pol-Teeter

Too much

456-2983  
I told Teeter  
No way on this!!  
5-31-  
Birkhead

It's a  
paper!



THE PRESIDENT

*cc: daisy family*

May 31, 1992

Dear John:

Thanks for the letter; but one question:

Who is Beppie Huidekoper's  
Mother???

Bar is a little po'ed at Richard Ben  
Kramer, feeling he wedged his way in and  
then dumped. The piece you sent us was not  
bad how'ere.

All Best,

GB

FROM  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. John Ellis  
c/o Shorenstein Barone Center  
Harvard University  
79 John F. Kennedy Street  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS  
79 John F. Kennedy Street  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138  
617-495-1360

Thursday, 21 May 1992

Dear Mr. President and Aunt Bar:

Thank you for the bed and breakfast last week at the White House. It was, as it always is, an honor and great fun to see you both. I thank you for your warm and generous hospitality.

After I left you, I flew back to Boston for a couple of meetings and then down to Georgia for three days of golf. 36 holes on Friday, 45 holes on Saturday, 36 holes on Sunday and back to Boston. Not a bad three day weekend, by any measure. I had relatively good scores (mid-80s/no mulligans and one 81). My playing partner, Beppie Huidekoper (whose mother used to be in love with you, Mr. President, when she was at Abbott and you were at Andover), was awesome, twice scoring in the high 70s.

So it was fun. I have enclosed an interview with Richard Ben Cramer (from Mirabella) which you may have missed. It contains useful information about your eldest son. Thanks again for a wonderful visit. I loved every minute of it.

All the Best;



John Ellis



What does it take to run for president? Extraordinary love of country? Pathological ambition? A surfeit of charm? Richard Ben Cramer—Pulitzer winner, legendary in journalism for his relentless curiosity and sheer will to know—logged in more than a thousand interviews for his much-anticipated *What It Takes: The Way to the White House*. By Martha Sherrill

# Question: What did Barbara Bush think of your book? Answer:

Bar is a woman of well-chosen words and Bar's comment to me was: "You're crazy."

**Q: She read everything you wrote about her husband?**

A: Not all. She said that she couldn't read further than a certain part. I don't know exactly where she clicked off, but it was too hurtful, she said. Others, though—*great knowers of George Bush*—have managed to get through the thing, so I don't feel too bad.

**Q: And the response was?**

A: Pretty good in most cases. I think it's a generational thing. The perspective of the book bothers some people. It seemed disrespectful to them—just sort of leaning back and looking at *this very strange guy*. Some people didn't understand that George Bush is strange, but George Bush, Jr., *understood*. He can see that his father is wacky.

**Q: You write about six of the candidates in the '88 election—Bush, Dole, Dukakis, Biden, Gephardt, Hart. Fall in love with any of them?**

A: All of them. *You have to*. If you're not in love with them, then how can you

know them? And, if having them on your mind for six years and caring passionately about how they really felt is not love, then what is?

**Q: You don't seem afraid to let them be heroes.**

A: Well, they're big, extraordinary men. These are not small-cheese types. They bend lives everywhere they go. Talk to the people who are in their lives, and everybody will say: *this is the most extraordinary man I have ever met*. My metaphor for what they are is a heavy lump of iron, something that actually changes the shape of the magnetic field around it.

**Q: The temptation of journalists is to diminish their ability and talent.**

A: Exactly right. That's the attitude grown-up press people are supposed to have. No politician is worth a good goddamn, if you just peel off enough layers. But if they would *actually peel the layers*, they'd find a hell of a man. You don't get to be a serious candidate for president without being one powerful son of a bitch personally. All of these guys have tremendous personal force.

**Q: Born with it?**

A: Well, I don't know. It does start at a very early age. The families change around them. The whole way that the family relates changes when these guys come along.

**Q: Which guy is the most fascinating?**

A: They all could be their own books, but Robert Dole could be a Russian novel.

**Q: Mean? Tortured? Angry?**

A: Slick Willie, he ain't. *He's real*. Everything is so close to the surface with him that you can see what's going on. And he doesn't lie. He *never* lies. I have never even heard him round off a truth. That's a hell of a record for a man who's been in public life for forty years.

**Q: So, the rest are liars?**

A: I wouldn't say they're liars. I'd say that they are better at making themselves believe what they need to believe. George Bush is the King of Mind-set. Actually, Bush is small potatoes compared to Bar. They both

decide how something is going to be, and then *it is* that way because no one will ever see them treating it any other way.

For instance, the Bushes decided they loved the Reagans. "We *loved* the Reagans," they say. Why? "Because we *loved* the Reagans." End of story.

**Q: But they didn't love them.**

A: Well, who would? They *weren't* treated well by the Reagans. Barbara Bush particularly. Their treatment of Bar could be construed as *personally* hurtful—they never had her in the White House residence, for instance. But their treatment of George Bush as vice-president was more *effectively* hurtful. The Reagans forestalled Bush from acting as the statesman he wanted to be.

**Q: But he loves the Reagans.**

A: Yeah.

**Q: Isn't the fixed mind-set working against George Bush a bit?**

A: Anybody who's in the White House has a problem waking up to stuff. Everything in the White House is fine. The place is running like a top. Everywhere the president goes, people are telling him he's terrific. He's got meetings every fifteen minutes! People are trotting in and out saying, *Yes, sir!* And he's going off to do good things for the country—every single one of them sound and efficacious in their way. How the hell is he supposed to know what's going on in the country. *He has no idea what's going on in the country.*

It's no wonder Bush couldn't see we were in a recession. *He wasn't* in a recession. Everybody who walked into his office has a wonderful job.

**Q: You don't write about whether Bush has had girlfriends—affairs—over the years.**

A: I had to do the reporting, of course. But I didn't do it in a concerted way, because it obviously has not become an issue in his life. I mean, whether or not he has had girlfriends, he has never had a girlfriend to the point where he chucked anything else, which according to some of us men is pretty much the definition of having a girlfriend. >

**Q: If it happened, it never got in the way?**

A: If he had a girlfriend, he tucked it in quite neatly and unobtrusively. I mean, no balls have ever fallen off his cart. I heard all the rumors. Everybody heard that stuff. I did not think that anything happened though, *really*. In Washington, many relationships are much less man-to-woman sexuality than they are charge-and-mother-figure. The man becomes convinced for some reason that this certain woman supplies a lack in him, or in some ways knows better how he can become a star. The woman continually reinforces this feeling in him. You can see it in every Capitol Hill office. You also see lots of women going around and saying how they run this guy.

**Q: It's all in the service of ambition?**

A: That's right. And it's all about work and it's all about politics and it's all about *I'm going to make you a star*.

It's a very unforgiving career path for women. The man ultimately passes them. He takes what he needs, he learns what he can. And when he's no longer learning, when he's convinced in some way they are not making him a star, they're gone.

**Q: Six years, almost. Did you know it would take that long to do this book?**

A: I had no idea. I *thought* I was pretty knowledgeable. I'd been reading *The Washington Post*. I'd been reading *The New York Times*. But you get in there—working, learning, talking to people—and you get past a certain wall and suddenly there's a thousand worms crawling under the rock and you have to learn every one of them. The depth of my ignorance was really lamentable and astonishing.

**Q: Doesn't say much for newspapers.**

A: It says you can read everything and watch everything and really try to be an informed citizen and *not know squat about these guys* because the people who are writing don't know squat about these guys.

**Q: So what did you do differently?**

A: I gave up completely on Washington. I went to the candidates' home towns. I was with their teachers. I was with their sisters and their brothers, and then I was with their mothers and cousins and aunts. I went to the family picnic. I went through the old Boy Scout Troop stuff. . . . By the time I get to the candidate, I'm not talking about what percent of the vote they need in Illinois—I'm talking about Aunt Gladys. *She told me that when you lived at her house*

*that summer, you would never even get up in the morning. You stayed in bed. Why do you start the day now at six o'clock? What happened to you? What got into you?*

I know their mother now. I'm their mother's friend. And you can't treat your mother's friend like you treat the jerk from the *Chicago Tribune*.

**Q: You're sort of legendary in journalism for your insatiable curiosity about your subjects.**

A: I'm a legend to about six people.

**Q: Okay, a legend in a very small universe.**

A: I'm just a very pusillanimous writer. That's all. I don't want to say anything I don't know for sure.

**Q: How far do you go?**

A: I need to know everything.

**Q: When do you know you know enough?**

A: When you interview people and start finishing sentences for them. When you have a tape of an interview and you're talking on it more than the source. . . . Then you'd better start writing because you're becoming absolutely impossible.

**Q: Of all you learned, what surprised you the most?**

A: How good the marriages are in a funny way. They're real partners. These wives are hardworking, no nonsense, "WHERE IS THE GODDAMN PLANE?" sorts of women. They have to be. Before, I had a self-congratulatory, know-it-all view that all these Washington marriages are just, you know, *bullshit*. But they are working partnerships in a way that most marriages don't have to be. And when a campaign is over, these husbands and wives have been through something that nobody else has been through together. So, they're married in a way that expatriates are sometimes married. Because, at this level you can't do without your wife. *You cannot do it without her*. And you can't do it if she's suffering under it. It's just impossible. She's got to be in there pitching with you.

**Q: Barbara Bush?**

A: Formidable woman. *A formidable woman*. I do get along with her when she likes me. And when she doesn't like me, I'd have to be some kind of Rasputin to get along with her. She has very firm opinions about the world outside the White House gates, and if you're on the bad list *you're on the bad list*. Everybody talked about what a dragon lady Nancy Reagan was, but the fact that they were talking about it showed

me that Nancy Reagan's power and Nancy Reagan's effect were not as formidable as they might have been. Barbara Bush is a woman properly feared.

**Q: People are afraid to call her a dragon lady?**

A: You don't call Barbara Bush *anything*. She was always referred to as that sweet-natured, grandmotherly, pearl-bedecked monument to everything that was good and true in the nature of American womanhood. *And she is those things*. But boy, she's a tough cookie besides.

**Q: And George? A weenie by birth or breeding?**

A: George Bush is a weenie by neither. He is the most ferocious white man you will ever meet on the planet. *Don't* get in his cross hairs. He is a tough man. He talks like a weenie sometimes and I think that's breeding.

**Q: Would Michael Dukakis have made a good president?**

A: It would have taken some time. He never did figure out exactly what that job was. He thought it was about *governing*. He thought it was *running* the government, which is actually some small percentage of the job.

**Q: What is the job, then?**

A: Well, Gary Hart used to say the job was three things: it was running the government, it was being head of state and it was being commander-in-chief. Bush likes to be head of state and commander-in-chief. I think that there's a fourth thing to the job—being the national icon, the emblem of the age. Reagan liked to be that. He was great at that. And so, if you arbitrarily assigned equal percentages to these things, then running the government—which is what Michael Dukakis thought the job was—is about 25 percent.

**Q: This book has changed your life?**

A: This book has *been* my life for more than five years so in that way the change has been total. I mean it's changed the way I live. It's changed what my wife and I talk about. It's changed how I look at the TV. It's changed what time I have to do anything else. It has greatly depleted my bank balance. It has ruined my health. *It has furthered my reputation for excess in all things*. And the list goes on and on.

**Q: It's 1000 pages?**

A: So far.

---

Martha Sherrill is a reporter for The Washington Post.

*drag*



THE PRESIDENT

*cc:  
Pol  
Daily  
drag*

May 31, 1992

Brent/Dorrance/Tony

Good!!!

The headline is great, the piece A-OK.

This gets as much coverage as their lousy editorial did.

GB

*9*

# No cover-up or scandal in US policy in Iraq

## BRENT SCOWCROFT

Like many of the critiques of US policy toward Iraq in the decade preceding Saddam's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait, a recent Globe editorial "Probing Bush's Saddam Connection" May 21 is flawed, inaccurate and misleading. There is, and is no Bush administration illegality, no cover-up and no scandal. What we have is simply the record of an attempt to conduct a prudent and realistic foreign policy in a critical and dangerous part of the world.

Some history and facts are called for. The United States did assist Iraq in a limited fashion (but not with arms) during much of the 1960s as part of a broader policy designed to deny revolutionary Iran victory over Iraq and domination of the oil-rich Persian Gulf. This particular policy was a success.

The Bush administration entered office six months after the August 1988 Iran-Iraq cease-

Iraq emerged from its long conflict with Iran as the most powerful local state and the one most able to affect key US concerns, including Gulf stability, Lebanon and the Middle East peace process. Iraq also emerged as a major source of our oil and as a major potential market for our exports.

There was also some evidence that Iraq had reduced its support for terrorists and had aligned itself with moderate forces in the Arab world.

The question before policy makers was whether we could develop this relationship in ways that would promote US economic interests and persuade Iraq to use its growing power in a constructive fashion. To influence Iraqi policy, the administration continued to make available modest economic incentives, mostly in the form of CCC loan guarantees to US agricultural exporters.

I want to stress that this effort on our part remained limited. We understood full well — and criticized publicly — Iraq's poor human rights record and its plans to develop weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, our policy also called for continued military presence in the region, diplomatic and military support of our friends, and considerable limitations on the export of goods and technologies that could aid Iraq's military development.

By early 1990, it became increasingly clear that even this limited attempt on our part to moderate Iraqi behavior was not having the desired effect on Iraqi behavior. Attempts by Iraq to evade US export controls, along with flagrant human rights violations and inflammatory rhetoric, led us to reduce our modest economic support. Even earlier, when questions emerged about possible corruption in earlier support programs, the 1990-1991 CCC agricultural loan-guarantee program was halted.

Some in Congress wanted to shut down the entire relationship. We thought this unwise. We thought it better to maintain a dialogue. It

was also impractical to try to isolate Iraq, as its Arab neighbors and many of our closest friends and allies in Europe and Asia were not willing to participate in a policy of sanctions or containment.

The brutal invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 made moot all possibility of maintaining any relationship with Saddam's Iraq. Clearly, the attempt to persuade Iraq to curb its behavior did not work as hoped for. But it is important to recognize that US policy in no way created Iraq's military machine. Our CCC program did not provide money to Iraq, directly or indirectly.

Iraq paid for everything it received until the US imposed sanctions in August 1990. Nor is there proof as yet that Iraq diverted commodities provided under this program to third countries or for arms. Iraq derived its wealth from oil revenues and, ironically, in light of subsequent events, loans from several of its neighbors, \$100 billion of which it decided to devote to its military machine during the past decade.

This, then, is what we did and why. Simply because a policy does not achieve its maximum aims does not mean the alternatives would have fared better. Even less does it mean it was wrong to act as we did. A policy of unilateral sanctions or containment of Iraq would have failed to curb its military buildup and would have failed to prevent the invasion of Kuwait.

Moreover, our good-faith effort to build a

normal relationship made it impossible for Saddam to claim that he was left with no option but to invade Kuwait.

The war was his choice; the fact that he alone chose the course of violence made it far easier for us to take the lead in assembling the unprecedented international coalition that defeated Iraq, liberated Kuwait, and destroyed much of Iraq's military machine, including its weapons of mass destruction.

To this I would only add that there is no cover-up. Requested classified documents are being provided to Congress. The issue here is that of individual congressmen arrogating to themselves the right to make public properly classified documents. There are procedures for the declassification of documents which ensure against harm to the national security. Surely that is not too much to ask.

We are comfortable that the record will show that what we did was reasonable and prudent.

Others may disagree.

So be it. This is what debate over policy is all about. But can we not have such a debate over past policy without engaging in character assassination, reckless charges of violating the law, or cries of scandal? There are important issues in our policy toward Iraq; we should not cloud them with an outbreak of irresponsible partisanship and personal agenda.

*Brent Scowcroft is the national security adviser.*

Presidential Phone Calls  
Camp David



DATE: 5-31-92 TIME: \_\_\_\_\_ incoming/outgoing

WITH: Betty Walker

SUBJECT: Sam lost in

hoyak - dead

203-533-0073

FOLLOW UP: \_\_\_\_\_

Sam died



Phone call

5-31 33

Bette Walker - member of S

USCG searching

found life preserver

Kayak head way  
out.

Not familiar with  
currents

Diabetes taking big  
toll.

Walking deteriorated

## CAMP DAVID

Mr. President

Mr. Ashley called at 3:00.

Phone number for Beth Walker is

(203) 535-0073.

Switchboard is prepared to place the  
call for you.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'T. Ross' or similar, written in a cursive style.

# Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



DATE: 5-30 TIME: 12<sup>41</sup> Pacific  
incoming / outgoing

WITH: Lt Col Ashley

SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_

Sam Walker  
missing - kayak  
found boat, found jacket

FOLLOW UP: \_\_\_\_\_

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING



May 31, 1992

Dear Curtis,

This is simply to thank  
you for the books you  
gave to Mrs. Bush and to  
me. Who knows- Millie may  
go out into space after  
reading your booklet.

Good Luck in school. It  
was nice meeting you.

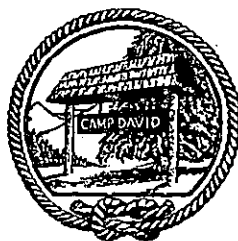
Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to be "G. H. W. Bush". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

FROM  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Master Curtis Hamilton  
31914 Doverwood Court  
Westlake Village, California 91361

FROM THE PRESIDENT



May 31, 1992

Dear Curtis,

This is simply to thank  
you for the books you  
gave to Mrs. Bush and to  
me. Who knows- Millie may  
go out into space after  
reading your booklet.

Good Luck in school. It  
was nice meeting you.

Sincerely,

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Bradford M. Freeman  
Freeman Spogli and Company  
Suite 1900  
11100 Santa Monica Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California 90025



THE PRESIDENT

May 31, 1992

Dear Brad,

I can't wait to try out that new driver.  
Thanks so much for your thoughtfulness in  
sending it. No need to have done that, for  
our victory in tennis over you two guys  
was plenty of a reward.

Let me know when you get back this way.  
Lots of activity awaits you. The political  
climate is ugly so I need some escape  
time.

Bring your almost- daughter back. She and  
I will take on you and Laurie Firestone  
for \$100 per set. (See I'm thinking).

Best Wishes,

*Ag Bush*

CC: (in & out)  
~~Rose~~ Zamaria  
(1 cc)  
Charles Free  
(w/golf club)

Bradford M. Freeman

May 21, 1992

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

Dear Mr. President,

Many thanks for taking the time out of your schedule to play tennis yesterday. Your game has not changed a bit. Unfortunately, neither has mine! You were kind enough to rotate partners, but even David Bates could not carry me.

As the Head racquets made you unbeatable at tennis, I am enclosing a new "Big Head" driver which Head Golf recently introduced. Although my golf is no better than my tennis, I am told by my golfing friends that it is a better performing club than either Big Bertha or the foreign made Yonex.

I am told you play 18 holes in two hours, which must be close to a record. This driver may not only take a couple of strokes off your score, but get you around the course in under two hours!

Again, many thanks for your warm hospitality. Please give my best to Mrs. Bush. I did not get a chance to say goodbye to her after the match.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Brad", written in dark ink.

5/13/92

# Is America Ignoring GOP Women?

*The Senate Republican Leader Says Liberals Get All the Ink*

By Bob Dole

**A**S A PROUD resident of the only state in America with a woman U.S. senator, a woman U.S. representative and a woman governor, I fully understand that neither gender has a monopoly on any political office.

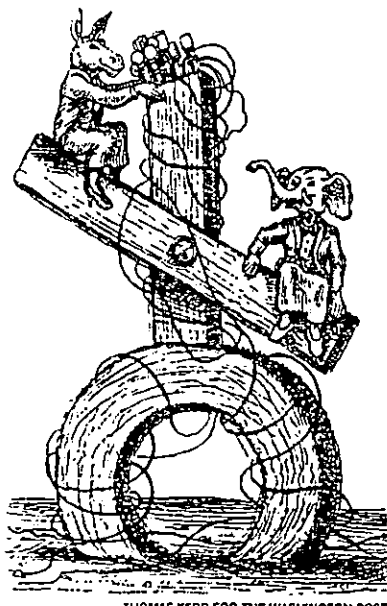
Unfortunately, when it comes to U.S. Senate elections, it appears that one party's women candidates do have a monopoly on the media's attention, as we are seeing again this year in the wide national coverage of women candidates in Pennsylvania and Illinois.

Despite a long record of nominating qualified, dynamic and distinguished women to run for the Senate, the Republican Party's female candidates have never enjoyed the unrelenting media and interest-group cheerleading we hear these days for women Democratic candidates. Apparently, the key to being taken seriously—to being declared a force for “change”—by the media and the so-called women's groups is a liberal agenda, not the female gender.

Now, don't get me wrong. I'm all for more women in government, and I have no problem with the Democrats nominating women candidates. Throughout my career in public service, I've worked with highly talented women—in the House, in the Senate and on the highest levels of my staff, including my longtime chief of staff and her fellow staff experts on health care, disabilities, nutrition, arms control, budget and tax policy. I also happen to be married to someone who knows a lot about being a woman in public service.

Across the nation, Americans are being deluged with television and newspaper stories proclaiming that 1992 will be a “breakthrough” year for women candidates. A recent editorial in a major newspaper raved about Democratic women candidates, declaring that “the fallout from the [Clarence] Thomas hearings has produced viable female Senate candidates in a half-dozen states. That's welcome evidence of progress.” Like nearly every story on women candidates, the editorial ignores the fact that well-qualified women were running for the Senate long before anyone ever heard of Anita Hill. And why should “welcome progress” be defined by the number of women candidates from the Democratic Party?

Where was all the media cheer-



THOMAS KERR FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

leading in 1990, a banner year for women candidates, when a half-dozen *Republican* women—well-qualified women with serious messages—were running hard for the Senate? These top-flight candidates included Sen. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas; U.S. Reps. Lynn Martin of Illinois, Pat Saiki of Hawaii and Claudine Schneider of Rhode Island; a New Jersey state official, Christine Whitman; and a prosecutor from Delaware, Jane Brady—not exactly an unseasoned lot of public servants.

**H**ow many stories did you see in 1990 pointing out that these six outstanding women were running for the Senate as Republicans, while the Democrats were fielding only two women candidates? Instead of rave editorials and “breakthrough” stories, the media turned on its censorship machine, keeping America in the dark about this historic field of women candidates taking on the status quo. Kassebaum was re-elected, but when all five women challengers were defeated by their male opponents there was no editorial outcry that the old boy network had prevailed again. (Let me add that two of these talented women now serve in the Bush administration—Lynn Martin as secretary of labor and Pat Saiki as head of the Small Business Administration.)

And when Republicans, long before the Thomas-Hill hearings, introduced comprehensive women's-rights legislation—including the first-ever monetary remedies for sexual harassment in the workplace, specific provisions to fight violence against women and the first proposal dealing with corporate discrimination against women—the media gave the plan nothing but

the cold shoulder. Regrettably for America's working women, women's rights and Republicans simply don't mix in our nation's newsrooms.

Let's face the facts. Democratic U.S. Senate nominees Carol Moseley Braun and Lynn Yeakel are fast becoming household names. But when was the last time you saw a story on Charlene Haar, another so-called “outsider” who happens to be the Republican U.S. Senate candidate in South Dakota? Notwithstanding a fine opponent, did the Republican former mayor of Charlotte, Sue Myrick, get the same kind of free national hype before North Carolina's Senate primary that we saw in Pennsylvania on the Democratic side?

How many stories have you seen pointing out that since 1980, Republicans have nominated more women to run for the Senate than have the Democrats? Have you ever heard that women have been the Republican U.S. Senate nominee in New Jersey three out of the four most recent elections? Or that despite being outspent by nearly \$9 million, Christine Whitman came within three points of unseating an incumbent Garden State senator in 1990? If she had gotten half the media attention Lynn Yeakel has, Christine Whitman might very well be sitting in the Senate today.

Unfortunately, it seems that the media and a few special interest groups have decided that Republican women are not “politically correct.” Whether they meet some groups' self-proclaimed litmus tests or not, qualified Republican women—whether they are pro-choice or whatever—never seem to merit the support of the groups that say they are so dedicated to electing more women to office, women who could have been already on the job, making a difference on Capitol Hill.

In fact, time and time again, the so-called liberal women's organizations such as the National Women's Political Caucus have done everything possible to defeat talented Republican candidates. There are many fine women's organizations in America, some of which supported these candidates, but it seems obvious that most of the self-styled women's groups are more interested in agendas than gender.

So the next time you hear criticism of the “98 percent male” Senate, or statements that we need “more women” in the Senate, ask yourself whose fault that really is. The female candidates have been there. Regrettably, the votes, the attention and the political will have not.

*Bob Dole of Kansas is the Senate Republican leader.*

5/31/92

# A Woman's Place



Allison Seiffer

By Naomi Wolf

**E**ven the best of revolutions can go awry when we internalize the attitudes we are fighting. The class of 1992 is graduating into a violent backlash against the advances women have made over the last 20 years. This backlash ranges from a Senator using "The Exorcist" against Anita Hill, to beer commercials with the "Swedish bikini team." Today I want to give you a backlash survival kit, a four-step manual to keep the dragons from taking up residence inside your own heads.

My own commencement, at Yale eight years ago, was the Graduation from Hell. The speaker was Dick Cavett, rumored to have been our president's "brother" in an all-male secret society.

Mr. Cavett took the microphone and paled at the sight of hundreds of female about-to-be-Yale graduates. "When I was an undergraduate," I recall he said, "there were no women.

Naomi Wolf, author of "The Beauty Myth," is working on a cultural history of female desire. This article is adapted from a commencement address at Scripps College.

The women went to Vassar. At Vassar, they had nude photographs taken of the women in gym class to check their posture. One year the photos were stolen, and turned up for sale in New Haven's red-light district." His punchline? "The photos found no buyers."

I'll never forget that moment. There we were, silent in our black gowns, our tassels, our brand new shoes. We dared not break the silence with hisses or boos, out of respect for our families, who'd come so far; and they kept still out of concern for us. Consciously or not, Mr. Cavett was using the beauty myth aspect of the backlash: when women come too close to masculine power, someone will draw critical attention to their bodies. We might be Elisas, but we still wouldn't make pornography worth buying.

That afternoon, several hundred men were confirmed in the power of a powerful institution. But many of the women felt the shame of the powerless: the choking on silence, the complicity, the helplessness. We were orphaned from our institution.

I want to give you the commencement talk that was denied to me.

Message No. 1 in your survival kit: redefine "becoming a woman." Today you have "become women." But that sounds odd in ordinary usage. What is usually meant by "You're a

real woman now"? You "become a woman" when you menstruate for the first time, or when you lose your virginity, or when you have a child.

These biological definitions are very different from how we say boys become men. One "becomes a man" when he undertakes responsibility, or completes a quest. But you, too, in some ways more than your male friends graduating today, have moved into maturity through a solitary quest for the adult self.

We lack archetypes for the questing young woman, her trials by fire; for how one "becomes a woman" through the chrysalis of education, the difficult passage from one book, one idea to the next. Let's refuse to have our scholarship and our gender pitted against each other. In our definition, the scholar learns womanhood and the woman learns scholarship; Plato and Djuna Barnes, mediated to their own enrichment through the eyes of the female body with its wisdoms and its gifts.

I say that you have already shown courage: Many of you graduate today in spite of the post-traumatic stress syndrome of acquaintance rape, which one-fourth of female students undergo. Many of you were so weakened by anorexia and bulimia that it took every ounce of your will to get your work in. You negotiated private lives through a mine field of new strains of VD and the ascending shadow of AIDS. Triumphant survivors, you have already "become women."

Message No. 2 breaks the ultimate taboo for women: Ask for money in your lives. Expect it. Own it. Learn to use it. Little girls learn a debilitating fear of money — that it's not feminine to insure we are fairly paid for honest work. Meanwhile, women make 68 cents for every male dollar and half of marriages end in divorce, after which women's income drops precipitously.

Never choose a profession for material reasons. But whatever field your heart decides on, for god's sake get the most specialized training in it you can and hold out hard for just compensation, parental leave and child care. Resist your assignment to the class of highly competent, grossly underpaid women who run the show while others get the cash — and the credit.

Claim money not out of greed, but so you can tithe to women's political organizations, shelters and educational institutions. Sexist institutions won't yield power if we are just patient long enough. The only language the status quo understands is money, votes and public embarrassment.

When you have equity, you have influence — as sponsors, shareholders and alumnae. Use it to open opportunities to women who deserve the chances you've had. Your B.A. does not belong to you alone, just as the earth does not belong to its present tenants alone. Your education was lent to you by women of the past, and you will give some back to living women, and to your daughters seven generations from now.

Message No. 3: Never cook for or sleep with anyone who routinely puts you down.

Message No. 4: Become goddesses of disobedience. Virginia Woolf wrote that we must slay the Angel in the House, the censor within. Young wom-

en tell me of injustices, from campus rape coverups to classroom sexism. But at the thought of confrontation, they freeze into niceness. We are told that the worst thing we can do is cause conflict, even in the service of doing right. Antigone is imprisoned. Joan of Arc burns at the stake. And someone might call us unfeminine!

When I wrote a book that caused controversy, I saw how big a dragon was this paralysis by niceness. "The Beauty Myth" argues that newly rigid ideals of beauty are instruments of a backlash against feminism, designed to lower women's self-esteem for a political purpose. Many positive changes followed the debate. But all that would dwindle away when someone yelled at me — as, for instance, cosmetic surgeons did on TV, when I raised questions about silicone implants. Oh, no, I'd quail, people are mad at me!

Then I read something by the poet Audre Lorde. She'd been diagnosed with breast cancer. "I was going to die," she wrote, "sooner or later, whether or not I had ever spoken myself. My silences had not protected me. Your silences will not protect you. . . . What are the words you do not yet have? What are the tyrannies you swallow day by day and attempt to make your own, until you will sicken and die of them, still in silence? We have been socialized to respect fear more than our own need for language."

I began to ask each time: "What's the worst that could happen to me if I tell this truth?" Unlike women in other

---

1. Speak up.
2. Demand top dollar.

---

countries, our breaking silence is unlikely to have us jailed, "disappeared" or run off the road at night. Our speaking out will irritate some people, get us called bitchy or hypersensitive and disrupt some dinner parties. And then our speaking out will permit other women to speak, until laws are changed and lives are saved and the world is altered forever.

Next time, ask: What's the worst that will happen? Then push yourself a little further than you dare. Once you start to speak, people will yell at you. They will interrupt, put you down and suggest it's personal. And the world won't end.

And the speaking will get easier and easier. And you will find you have fallen in love with your own vision, which you may never have realized you had. And you will lose some friends and lovers, and realize you don't miss them. And new ones will find you and cherish you. And you will still flirt and paint your nails, dress up and party, because as I think Emma Goldman said, "If I can't dance, I don't want to be part of your revolution." And at last you'll know with surpassing certainty that only one thing is more frightening than speaking your truth. And that is not speaking.

5/31/92

## Public &amp; Private

ANNA QUINDLEN

## 49 to 1

Earlier this month Lynn Yeakel stepped to the podium in a Philadelphia hotel to open the annual dinner for Womens Way, the powerful fundraising organization for women's social service programs. The ballroom went ballistic.

Perhaps some were standing and cheering Ms. Yeakel's work as executive director. Perhaps some were saluting her progressive positions on housing and education.

But lots of the thunder that rocked the room originated in a simpler truth: Lynne Yeakel is female and running for the Senate, a place where the ratio of men to women is 49 to 1.

For almost a year now we have looked closely at the places of political power and found them lacking. Who's missing we asked, and the an-

male counterparts in all the ways that citizens have been clamoring for in 1992.

Talking differences is something we avoided for a long time, in those days when equal, in bad translation, meant identical. Male politicians felt completely unabashed about using a sports analogy, but female politicians dared not liken preparing legislation to making beef stew. Military service was courageous; motherhood was cute. For years it seemed best to try to pass, wearing those weird floppy tie things with our suits.

One great liberation of the 1990's has been not simply acknowledging differences but glorying in them. Slowly we've said that some of our particular ways of doing things are as good, if not better. It is not simply that we want to honor our own skills; those skills often benefit the client, the patient, the reader. Perhaps now the country.

Our schools are a mess. Our families are breaking down. Our health care system no longer works. Let's hear from those who taught school, ran families, cared for patients. We don't expect them to represent only women, just as we don't expect our male politicians to represent only men, although sometimes that is precisely what they do. We just want them to represent real life, a thing conspicuously absent from politics.

Gov. Ann Richards of Texas spelled it out in a beaut of a commencement speech at Smith:

"It is not that women are better than men . . . but I hope we all accepted long ago that we are different.

"The most sympathetic and sensitive of our men friends, no matter how hard they try, cannot hear with a woman's ear or process information through a woman's experience.

"This should not be a great revelation to any of us. Hispanics and African-Americans have patiently — and usually with uncommon gentleness — tried to explain to Anglos for years that issues are seen differently from inside a brown or black skin."

And she continued:

"What I am saying is that because our background is different, we pick up different nuances and bring valuable skills to the process. And, Lord knows, we could not do worse than what is being done now.

"Perhaps because we have been watching the show as spectators for so long, we are less likely to get caught up in the trappings and the ceremony. We're not there for the honor of it. We are there to do a job." □

Getting a line  
on real life.

swer was obvious: We women are, as advocates, as voices, as power brokers, as role models.

But if the question is who, the answer can so easily be tokenism. You rarely hear people complaining about the gender composition of the Supreme Court; when the question is who, the answer can be one, as in "we need a woman." And women can be treated as a minority group, the biggest little minority in the world.

The question is no longer who is missing. It's what is missing, as in "we need something different." The Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University has released a study showing that women politicians, regardless of party or ideology, have a different agenda than their male counterparts. They are more likely to bring ordinary citizens into the process, to insure that political maneuverings take place in public settings rather than private meetings, and to be responsive to groups outside traditional circles of power.

Female elected officials are more likely than their male counterparts to focus on women's rights, child care, health care and family concerns. Once these were called "women's issues" and were covered in the style section. Today they're cutting-edge issues and are covered on the front page. The study shows that female politicians are different from their

# The Nation

## Splashy School Venture Creates Lots of Ripples

By SUSAN CHIRA

**C**HRISTOPHER WHITTLE stunned the academic and business worlds last week when he lured Bruno C. Schmidt Jr. away from the presidency of Yale University to help create a nationwide network of for-profit private schools. Now Mr. Whittle and his team face a task that has daunted some of the best educators of our times: how to pull together the innovative ideas he has culled from others and make them work in one school system.

The publicity blitz may have cloaked the fact that Mr. Whittle and Mr. Schmidt do not yet have a blueprint for their schools. But even the sketchy ideas they have outlined so far raise intriguing questions.

Opinions largely depend on what people think of Mr. Whittle — angel or devil, visionary or philistine. Some educators see a plan to let parents use public money to pay private school tuition, an idea known as “school choice” that is the centerpiece of the education plan developed by Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander, a former business associate of Mr. Whittle. They fear that Mr. Whittle’s moderately priced private schools will lure middle-class families and leave the poorest and least politically powerful families in public ones.

Mr. Whittle and other educators contend that competition is the only way to force change in public schools, which they see as a complacent and sluggish monopoly.

“What you’ve got to have is a compelling reason for parents to want to choose,” he said. “If they don’t see night and day variations, I don’t believe that choice will come about.”

What Mr. Whittle wants to sell to parents would be schools open 11 months a year, from early morning until early evening, with day care and the latest technology. He talks about equipping each child with a “learning partner” — a computer, monitor, printer, VCR, fax machine, paintboard, stereo and telephone.

His vision of a brave new technological classroom is probably his most enticing selling point. In a national survey of computer use in the classroom, Henry Jay Decker of Johns Hopkins University found that 95 per-

cent of teachers use computers as little more than electronic workbooks — for drills or games emphasizing basic skills. But new technology offers more exciting opportunities.

One program, developed by the Bank Street College of Education in New York, allows students to feel as if they are walking through a Mayan archeological site in Mexico called Palenque. They can zoom in on details of temples or turn left or right walking through the rain forest to find them. They can store computerized “snapshots” and write “field notes” or tap into a museum’s data base for more information. With computers, students in a French class have exchanged ideas about the French revolution with students in France. They have built a greenhouse, monitored its lights and air and water temperature and plotted the data.

But using computers in these creative ways requires an immense amount of teacher training and technical back-up, said Kathleen Wilson, Bank Street’s multimedia director and developer of “Palenque.” A survey by Bank Street’s Center for Technology in Education found that most teachers said they needed about five years of practice and lots of support from computer experts.

### Too Tough for Children

Also, computers have so far been used mostly for projects, not to teach entire subjects, said Beverly Hunter, program director of applications of advanced technologies at the National Science Foundation. Mr. Whittle envisions students having access to an electronic library of books, films, lectures, speeches and games. But many technological obstacles remain. No one data base network now exists that stores all this different information, although the technology to connect it is available. Much of the existing software is too sophisticated for children.

“Who’s going to figure out that whole system for the little kid at home trying to do a report about the ancient

Maya?” Ms. Wilson asked. And the cost is phenomenal: each “learning partner,” she estimated, will be \$3,000 to \$5,000 per child.

More fundamentally, computer experts question Mr. Whittle’s assumption that the best use of technology is to allow students to work alone with a computer. Most studies show that children learn best in groups with teachers. In Japanese classrooms, for example, teachers will often devote an entire class to one math problem, and children learn a great deal from hearing others come up with wrong and right answers.

It is not clear how Mr. Whittle can make a profit while charging \$5,500 in tuition and offering technology and day care as well. He says the computer “partners” will let him lure fewer teachers, but many experts scoff.

“That seems to me such a fatuous idea,” said Holly Brady, editor-in-chief of *Technology & Learning* magazine, based in San Rafael, Calif. “The most important part is the passion of the teacher for his subject, and you can’t deliver that from a box. The reality of technology is that it’s never made the teacher’s job easier.”

In fact, Ms. Brady and others say, using technology successfully usually requires more people — not only teachers to supervise, but also experts in hardware, software and curriculum design.

Some of Mr. Whittle’s other ideas have more unanimous support. Educators like Edward Zigler of Yale

University strongly endorse the idea of day care in schools to help working parents and show them how young children can be taught.

Mr. Whittle also proposes having student tutors others and do jobs like running the cafeteria to learn useful skills while saving the school money.

Some American and Japanese schools have successfully put children to work. In Japanese elementary schools children take turns bringing food from the cafeteria and serving classmates. Boarding schools like Phillips Academy, in Andover, Mass., require students to do jobs ranging from busing trays in the dining halls to running errands for secretaries.

Theodore R.Sizer, who started that rule as headmaster of Phillips Academy in the 1970’s, said the idea was to instill a sense of obligation to the community. He is skeptical about its saving much money. “At Andover, we went from 44 janitors to 16, and it made a difference, but it wasn’t a blockbuster,” he said. “The money in a school is people money, teacher money.”

It will be years, of course, before anyone can evaluate Mr. Whittle’s grand design. “This is like someone taking out a full-page ad saying ‘In three years we will have the cure for the common cold,’” said Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers. “In medicine we would call it backsterism. In education, we call it vision.”

## To be or not to be on the list

"Hamlet" is out (too long), but "Romeo and Juliet" is in (an appealing heroine). "Silas Marner" is off the list (at last), but John Steinbeck is on it.

The lists are of the books most often assigned to public high school students in 1963 and again in 1988, compiled by the Clearinghouse on Reading and Communication Skills.

They show that although tastes have changed — at least those of teachers doing the assigning — high school students are still reading the classics of English and American literature (actually, a bit more American now than in the earlier survey).

Two Shakespeare plays, "Macbeth" and "Julius Caesar," make both lists, as does Nathaniel Hawthorne's "The Scarlet Letter."

Mark Twain's "Huckleberry Finn," assigned in 27 percent of the high schools in 1963, is now assigned in 78 percent.

Six books that were in the top 10 in 1963 are gone: "Hamlet," "Silas Marner," Charles Dickens' "Great Expectations" and "Tale of Two Cities,"

Thornton Wilder's "Our Town," and Stephen Crane's "Red Badge of Courage."

Their replacements are "Romeo and Juliet," William Golding's "Lord of the Flies" (connects with both the very bright and the not-so-bright, a high school English teacher tells us), "The Diary of Anne Frank" (the quintessential brave-girl book), Harper Lee's "To Kill a Mockingbird," and two by Steinbeck, "Of Mice and Men" and "The Pearl" (all of them allowing non-threatening discussions of important social issues — as do two of the holdovers, "The Scarlet Letter" and "Huckleberry Finn").

Conspicuously absent from both years' lists is J.D. Salinger's "Catcher in the Rye," which is likely to draw controversy whenever it is assigned. A report from the field says that kids still read it but now find its once-so-daring hero "a bit wimpy."

But, that report continues, the author most likely to be found in book bags and lockers: Stephen King.

## WILLIAM MURCHISON

Christopher Whittle and Benno C. Schmidt are out to reinvent American education — and why not, you ask, eyeing the gear-stripped product we are using.

Mr. Whittle, chairman of Whittle Communications, and Mr. Schmidt, president of Yale until a few days ago, plan to set up by 1996 a nationwide system of private schools, with an initial capacity of 100,000 students. If the idea pans out, there could be 1,000 schools by the year 2010, day-care level through high school.

What are we talking about here — schools for students named Branson and Jessica, with blazer patches and Chamonix spring breaks for all? In

William Murchison, a columnist for the Dallas Morning News, is nationally syndicated.

## A serious effort to reinvent education

today's student parlance: Not! Tuition in the Whittle schools will be around \$5,500 a year, which is about the per-pupil cost of a public education. An estimated 20 percent of the students will receive scholarships. Costs will be lower than in the public schools because there will be fewer teachers and bureaucrats and more technology and volunteers.

The new system, called the Edison Project, is serious. Whittle Communications, Time Warner, Philips Electronics N.V. of the Netherlands and Associated Newspapers of Britain are putting up \$60 million to make it happen. Now they have recruited Yale's president to lead them.

Eyebrows in the, um, educational community shoot up. Can such a

project pay? There seems no reason it can't if, on good marketplace principles, it is well-designed, economical and accountable to its customers.

The discipline of the marketplace is what the public schools have lacked conspicuously. We pour our tax dollars into the educational watering can and beseech a merciful God that a few random flowers spring up.

Naturally there is recourse — for the affluent or the determinedly sacrificial. They can go on paying the tax dollars for other people's kids but put their own in private school. Many do this now, including poor people and, interestingly, public school teachers. Another increasingly popular alternative is to teach

the kids at home.

No wonder. Public schools have "dumbed down" the texts and the tests. Still, classrooms aren't even safe — a logical consequence of emphasizing things other than the sharpening of the mental faculties and the civilizing of the instincts.

For this country to get anywhere in the 21st century, the public school monopoly has to be smashed. The Edison Project doesn't have in mind putting the public schools out of business (as if it could do so anyway!). What it hopes to offer is appealing, affordable alternatives, such as we consumers enjoy now in VCRs and tomato soups.

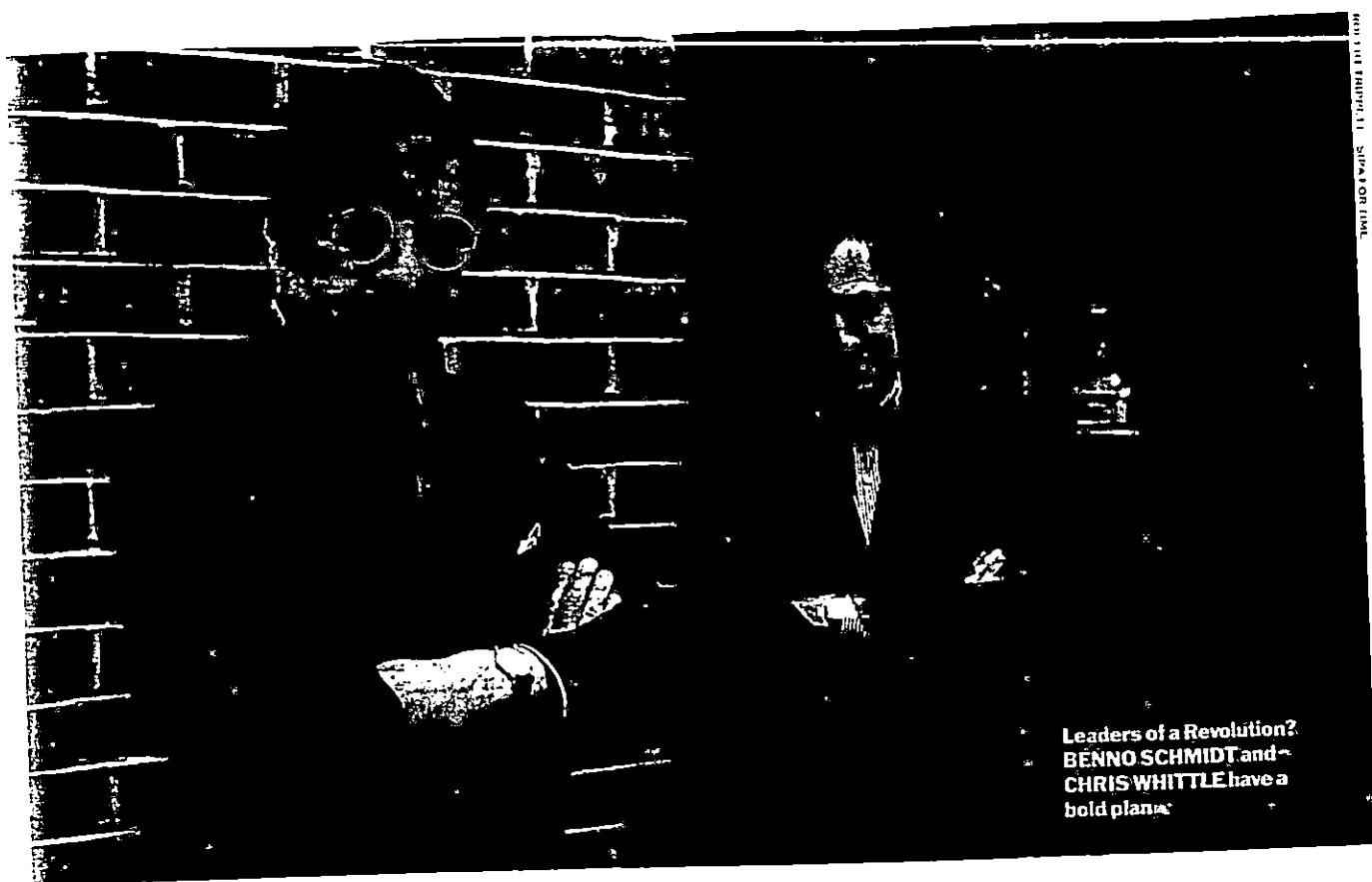
The Whittle-Edison people, being responsible only to their investors

and customers, can break the educational mold. They can say all this stuff we've been doing for 70 years — the dumbing down, the bureaucratization, the elevation of the teachers' unions to near omnipotency — stinks; therefore, away with it. Benno Schmidt and his fellow planners can devise new approaches and concepts without bureaucrats peering ominously over their shoulders.

This is free enterprise, my fellow Americans, as viable in education as in stocks or socks. Now, to encourage this daring venture, and others it may inspire, each state should adopt a system of school choice. Parents should get vouchers representing the cost of Johnny's or Susie's schooling, authorizing them to

spend it at the school of their choice, public or private. School choice won't make every Johnny or Susie an Einstein — or, better yet, an Aristotle — but it will instill accountability into education. Other things being equal, a school doing its job will attract the vouchers; a school not doing its job won't.

For this reason, I believe that school choice is coming: borne on the same wave of justified discontent as has carried Ross Perot to stunning heights of popularity. Conservatives, in this uncertain climate, have turned into bomb-throwing Bolsheviks. Liberals seem more and more nervous as they find themselves defending the status quo. The times are out of joint, but not calamitously so, because people of vision and ideas are laboring to put them back together.



Leaders of a Revolution?  
BENNO SCHMIDT and  
CHRIS WHITTLE have a  
bold plan.

## EDUCATION

Media mogul Chris Whittle gets a prestigious educator to head his controversial Edison Project. But can the venture solve the problems facing public schools?

# KNOWLEDGE FOR SALE

By DAVID ELLIS

**C**ALL IT THE PEROT COMPLEX: A successful businessman achieves great wealth early in life and casts about for a higher mission. He sees the paralysis gripping a big national problem and decides the only course is radical change. Ross Perot wants to change the country from the White House; Chris Whittle wants to alter the future from your child's classroom.

The media mogul plans to create a new system of private schooling that he hopes will produce a smarter generation of American kids—and make him and his partners a profit as well. He also expects to inspire—indeed, compel—the existing public school system to change the way it instills knowledge. “Kids today are disconnected from the education process,” says Whittle. “We need to figure out how they are motivated and tap into that.” At this

point Whittle's enterprise is little more than an ambitious blue-sky notion, yet it is attracting considerable interest and some high-level talent: Yale President Benno Schmidt last week resigned his post to head the venture.

Schmidt brings a great deal of credibility to the project. Nonetheless, some educators wonder if access to schooling, long considered one of the most vital public missions of a democratic society, should be entrusted to people also concerned with the bottom line. Critics of the venture argue that it diverts energy and attention from efforts to reform the public education system from within. Every other major democracy educates its children in public schools, they say, so why should the U.S. rely on entrepreneurs? Schmidt's reply: “We need the freedom to try to create new conceptions on a completely clean

slate, without the constraints of inherited institutions. I don't think gradual reform is likely to produce the improvements the country desperately needs.”

Whittle has already rankled many traditionalists with his profitable Channel One television network. That controversial venture provides a 12-minute morning newscast, complete with two minutes of commercials, to 7.5 million students each weekday. “I dread the thought of the proudest motive infiltrating a noble area of public aspiration,” says educator Jonathan Kozol. “Do we really want to give that power to Chris Whittle?”

Yet there is a consensus among education experts that the public school system is in desperate need of change, which helps explain why many greet Whittle's project with cautious optimism. “The important thing is that kids have a chance to learn,” says Gregory Anrig, president of the Educational Testing Ser-

vice. "If Whittle or anyone else can open up some doors, that's a good thing."

The plan, called the Edison Project, envisions a nationwide chain of at least 100 for-profit grammar schools by 1996, serving 150,000 students. By the end of this decade, additional campuses would open, providing day care and primary and secondary education for 2 million students. Tuition for individual students would not exceed the \$5,500 current average spent on each child now in public education.

Whittle is confident that private schooling is an investment with the potential to bring a 15% annual return. "The motive of profit and the motive for public good are not mutually exclusive," says Whittle, a stylish 44-year-old who sports fancy bow ties and a shaggy hairstyle. "We are a private institution with a public mission." He has already attracted commitments of \$60 million from corporate interests for research and development (including Time Warner, parent company of TIME, which owns 37% of Whittle Communications). Whittle will have to raise an additional \$3 billion to implement his plans fully.

A team of experts from the fields of education, business and journalism has been working out the details of the school system since March. The eclectic group includes Chester Finn Jr., a former Assistant Secretary of Education in the Reagan Adminis-

tration; John Chubb, an expert on government and public policy; and Lee Eisenberg, the former editor in chief of *Esquire*.

**T**HE PLANNING GROUP DISMISSES the notion that the only way to impart knowledge is to place a teacher in front of a small group. Technology would play a primary role in Whittle's new classroom. Each Whittle school would be linked by closed-circuit television to a central studio, which might result in a 1-to-1 million teacher-to-student ratio. Interactive electronic data banks would allow students to do comprehensive research on their own. Notebook computers would be as common as lunch boxes.

Over the next two years, the team will design an ambitious core curriculum, which will assume that today's high school education could be completed by a Whittle pupil by the age of 12. The first schools will initially accept children only from three months to six years of age. With each succeeding year, another class can be added, as the system grows along with its first generation of students. Whittle is leaning toward a "campus" approach for the schools, with all grades (including day-care facilities) located at the same site. Working parents are to be offered flexible class times to accommodate their schedules. Admission would be open to ev-

eryone. To broaden access, 20% of students would be given full scholarships. Whittle plans effectively to redistribute wealth from richer schools to districts populated mainly by the poor.

Some of the other planned innovations, however, seem clearly driven by the need to cut costs. Teachers might make up only 30% of the total instructional force. The private schools would try to harness the talents of pupils in a variety of ways, including expecting students to tutor their peers as a way to develop leadership ability. Parents could be asked to work one day a month on a volunteer basis, helping out in the day-care center or study hall.

The teachers who join the new schools would be asked to exchange the security of tenure for a potentially lucrative equity stake in the company. Their base salary would be augmented by performance bonuses, a feature that could attract the type of highly motivated, career-oriented men and women who today tend to shun teaching in favor of better-paying professions. Whittle's application of free-market techniques to schooling is what most troubles his critics, who fear that the traditional interaction between teachers and students will get lost amid the high-tech gadgetry and the chase for profits.

Assistant Secretary of Education Diane Ravitch thinks the traditionalists



DAVID BRITTON—BLACK STAR FOR TIME

## INFORMATION HAS ITS PRICE

Sixty percent of teachers say they would recommend Channel One; but students who watch the daily news broadcasts score only marginally higher on current events tests

aren't recognizing the benefits that come with competition, and says they must abandon the attitude that "if everyone can't have it for free, don't do it at all." She is convinced that examples set by for-profit schools like Whittle's will spur positive change across the board. "You are not betraying the American ideal if you leave a public school," says Ravitch. "It doesn't matter where kids go to school, as long as they get a good education."

Plan would give parents vouchers that would in effect transfer tax money to whatever school their child attends, even if it is a parochial or private institution. The voucher plan appears politically dead for now, but many observers believe Whittle's long-term plan anticipates the use of these funds. If adopted, the reform could funnel billions of public dollars into private schools.

Whittle is confident that his concept

The Bush Administration strongly supports the concepts that underlie the Edison Project, but Education Secretary Lamar Alexander has not endorsed the plan publicly because he once served as a consultant to Whittle Communications and used to own stock in the company. Alexander has issued an "America 2000" program to encourage innovative, "break the mold" schools.

Although Whittle's group is not directly federally funded, another Bush reform could benefit the Edison schools. The President's Choice

for new schools will be able to survive, even without government assistance, and stay ahead of any potential competitor. "Twenty years from now, there will be three or four major private providers of education," he says. "We will be just the first to get there."

Perhaps. But Whittle's plan leaves many questions unanswered. What about the vast majority of American kids who must continue to rely on public schools? Will they be the victims of a new system of separate but unequal education—this one based not on race but on income and geography? If Whittle's mission is not simply to educate but to educate for a profit, what happens to his franchise—and its clients—if the profits dry up? Do the schools just close their doors or pick up stakes and move to greener pastures, as other industries would do? And if educational entrepreneurs like Whittle succeed at making the public system collapse—playing "West Berlin" to the public's "East Berlin," as he put it last week—what guarantee is there that private providers would or could pick up the slack? Whether the Edison Project becomes yet another failed reform experiment or an agent for meaningful change depends on how well Whittle combines the profit motive with quality education. —Reported by Sam Kins, Boston and Sidney Urquhart/New York

- For OMB, 7/13  
Darman  
discussed  
with the  
President.  
Tom Scully  
following case.  
Bill

7/13  
Scully met w/  
Milliken and  
is coordinating  
memo to GB.  
7/10 Bill Scully got who Darman  
gave action.



THE PRESIDENT

tickler  
Daily 31 May  
C  
daily  
tickler

May 31, 1992

To: Dick Darman/Jack Kemp/Lamar Alexander

Re: Cities in Schools Funding

Bill Milliken of Cities in Schools sent  
the attached letter to Sec. Kemp.

In a recent L.A. speech I sang the praises  
of C I S. Now it turns out that we have  
cut CIS spending and they now have a  
critical need for \$3.6 million.

Dick: can any department help them with  
their request?

GB

4  
From the desk of  
George Bush

R2

attach  
Milliken letter  
to Dick -  
Lamar



Cities In Schools, Inc.  
401 Wythe Street  
Suite 200  
Alexandria, VA 22314-1963  
703-519-8999  
FAX 703-519-7213

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Chairman, Law International Group, Inc.

LEO ZUNIGA  
Vice President of Public Affairs  
Sea World of Texas

May 13, 1992

The Honorable Jack Kemp  
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development  
451 Seventh St. S.W.  
Washington, DC 20410

Dear Secretary Kemp:

The tragic events in Los Angeles two weeks ago only serve to underscore the crisis facing communities across America. So many of our young people need extra help to become productive members of society, help they cannot seem to find. Drugs and gangs are close at hand, and violent, destructive role models are constantly in evidence. Many young people submit to these negative influences, not because they want to, but because the positive alternatives are not available, at least not available where and when they are needed. The riots in Los Angeles are symptoms of a much deeper illness facing our communities -- the crippling community diseases of isolation and fragmentation. Not only do our young people need healing, our communities need healing as well.

President Bush was right in his address to the nation from Los Angeles last week. As you remember, he emphasized the need for much better coordination in our efforts to help disconnected and alienated youth and their families. The President referred to Cities In Schools as a model of how communities can work together to help their young people help themselves. "There are four Cities In Schools programs in Los Angeles," he said. "Now, if instead of four there were 25 Cities In schools programs...there is no question that what happened last week wouldn't have been as bad." He is right! All of us must build on and give strong support to already proven programs. Since the beginning of this Administration, the President and other leaders have been saying that there are programs that are already working. CIS is a perfect example of this success.

The Honorable Jack Kemp  
May 13, 1992  
Page 2

As you well know, CIS does provide an answer to the fragmentation and lack of positive relationships that plague so many communities. In 122 communities across the country, urban, suburban and rural, CIS is helping young people turn themselves around by bringing together the resources that already exist in the community, focussing their delivery at the schoolhouse, and providing the positive relationships needed by troubled and disconnected youth. These efforts effectively support their education and development into productive citizens. CIS has been working since 1977 to develop a process that works, and build a system for program replication that empowers communities to adapt that process as their own. Our commitment is to help local communities help themselves. To that end, we provide training and technical assistance at no cost to the local community to guide them through the difficult process of building a local, community-wide partnership dedicated to helping the troubled youth who are most at risk of contributing to community discord and violence.

In the past four years, the need across America has grown for a coordinated, community-based approach to helping youth. At Cities In Schools, we have responded to that need as fully as we can, given the availability of resources to support our work. Just over two years ago, we set out on a five-year effort to reach 500,000 young people each year by 1995. To carry out the plan we needed to expand our national operations to a level requiring an annual budget of \$10 Million, half from Federal and half from private sources.

While we continue to match our Federal funding with private contributions, our Federal support has declined to the point this year where we will soon be forced to reduce our operations, at just the moment when many more communities are crying out for our help. This makes it impossible to reach out to the constantly expanding population of disconnected young Americans. This year, the best we can hope for in Federal funding is less than half the support we received six years ago when the problems facing our young people were much less in evidence than they are today. This is the response from an Administration where we have had exceptionally strong and vocal support from President and Mrs. Bush, and other leaders in the Administration such as Dr. Sullivan, Lamar Alexander, David Kearns and you.

The CIS process -- bringing communities together to coordinate their efforts to provide help to those who need it in a coordinated, accountable manner -- is a central element of programs such as "Weed and Seed." Our 64 operational CIS programs, which serve 122 communities in 21 states, are seeding schools with the best programs and resources each community has to offer. By coordinating around the schoolhouse, not only individual children and families, but entire communities are able to make long-term changes for the better.

The Honorable Jack Kemp  
May 13, 1992  
Page 3

We are convinced that now is the time for us to act. We are persuaded that the nation should be following President Bush's lead, helping many more communities change the way they reach out to children and families in need, empowering people to take responsibility for their own futures as productive members of their own communities. At CIS, we know how to get that job done. With full funding for our planned program, balanced by private funding from committed individuals, corporations and foundations, we could be giving new hope to many troubled communities, instead of planning how to cut back on the help we can provide.

CIS has an immediate, critical need for an additional \$3.6 Million dollars in current year funding, to supplement the \$1.4 Million dollars we have been told to expect from our current Federal partners. With increased funding, we will be able to meet the increased needs of many communities, and help them help themselves. I know of few other programs that come with the strong private sector board that directs CIS, a board willing to match Federal contributions on an equal basis. I believe that CIS has found an answer (with a strong track record and proven replication process) to the "cancer" that is destroying our children. We are in desperate need of further Federal assistance at this very critical time in our country. Any help you can offer would be deeply appreciated.

While I am extremely frustrated by the lack of sufficient Federal support, I am even more committed to the CIS process. Over 30 years of experience has shown us that with a little help, a dedicated community can make a major difference for its children and its own future.

Thank you, Secretary Kemp, for your continuing commitment to those American people and communities who need better coordinated help if they are to become self-sufficient and productive. And thank you for your willingness to help Cities In Schools empower those communities to help themselves.

Sincerely yours,



William E. Milliken  
President

Dear Mr President -

Your good friend Bill Milliken wanted  
you to see this personally. I  
think they need our help.

Sam & I sure want to be of  
help, but I think you should read

this because he thinks the world of  
you & Mrs Bush.

your "center folder"  
Jane K

Mr. Bradford M. Freeman  
Freeman Spogli and Company  
Suite 1900  
11100 Santa Monica Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California 90025

SPTENN  
SP GOLF



THE PRESIDENT

May 31, 1992

Dear Brad,

I can't wait to try out that new driver. Thanks so much for your thoughtfulness in sending it. No need to have done that, for our victory in tennis over you two guys was plenty of a reward.

Let me know when you get back this way. Lots of activity awaits you. The political climate is ugly so I need some escape time.

Bring your almost- daughter back. She and I will take on you and Laurie Firestone for \$100 per set. (See I'm thinking).

Best Wishes,

*Ag Bush*

CC: (in & out)  
Rose Zamaria  
(1 cc)  
Charles Free  
(w/golf club)