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Tuesday, August 4, 1992 [3]

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daily

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 8/4

DECLASSIFIED
PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015
By Mc NARA, Date 6/20/24

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON
August 3, 1992

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL: OADR

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President
FROM: Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Acting Secretary

1. Poland: Sejm Adopts: "Small Constitution." PM Suchocka's coalition won a significant victory and Poland's presidential-parliamentary system got a legislative boost on Saturday when the Sejm (lower house) adopted the interim "Small Constitution" by the required two-thirds vote. The new law, which voids most of the 1952 Stalinist constitution, gives the president more powers and better defines his role in foreign, security and defense matters. It also permits the Sejm to grant the government the right to rule by decree, which would allow Suchocka to ask for what she termed the "fast legislative track" to implement pending key legislation, especially on economic reform. The law now goes to the Senate for adoption and then, if passed, to Walesa, who is expected to sign it despite dissatisfaction with the draft bill.

2. Azerbaijan: Disaffection with the Government. After two months in power, President Elchibey has had limited success in consolidating power. The unfavorable military situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and economic stagnation have fueled discontent. Anti-democratic figures are exploiting the situation. A split is also emerging in the ruling party between radical nationalists and pro-U.S. democrats who hold senior government positions. The political struggle will intensify before parliamentary elections expected by spring 1993, or even earlier if military reverses continue in Karabakh. The fall of the current government, though not imminent, would probably bring to power authoritarians who would be suspicious of the U.S. and more favorably disposed toward Iran.

3. Zaire: A Resistant Mobutu Makes Some Concessions. Your letter to President Mobutu urging him to move quickly to come to agreement with the opposition was delivered by Hank Cohen on July 31, and predictably displeased the Zairean leader. He claimed the opposition is impeding progress, and asked that we press them to accept his continuing control over defense and foreign affairs during a transitional period. Mobutu made concessions to the National Conference in response to your earlier letter; yet his track record suggests he will continue to resist giving comprehensive authority to a transitional government. Your letter was a strong reminder that the USG expects him to compromise further.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12:00 noon
Map Room
8/4

TALKING POINTS -- USA TODAY

- Thanks for the opportunity to discuss issues in this campaign.
- First, I believe this campaign will be decided by the people's decision on trust -- who do they trust to improve education, improve housing, build our economy, maintain family values, and secure the peace.
- Let me list just a few of the challenges of the 21st Century that we have to meet:
 1. An educated workforce that can compete internationally.
 2. Social policies, like homeownership, welfare, crime and drugs, and childcare, that reinforce family values.
 3. Economic incentives like enterprise zones, and lower taxes that will stimulate growth.
 4. A health care system that is available to everyone at affordable prices.
 5. International leadership that will secure peace and promote democratic values around the world.
- That's what my second term will be about, and the challenges of the 21st Century.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FOR: ROSE ZAMARIA

FROM: PHILLIP D. BRADY

The President's *upublished* schedule for

8/4



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Tuesday, August 4, 1992

8:00 am (15 min)	<u>Domestic Update</u> (Darman)	Oval Office
8:15 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (20 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:05 am (10 min)	<u>Pre-Brief for Veterans Meeting</u> (Demarest)	Oval Office (TAB A)
9:15 am (15 min)	<u>Meeting with Leaders of Veterans Service Organizations</u> (Demarest)	Roosevelt Room (TAB B)
9:30 am (20 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
9:50 am	The President departs for the Capitol for Senate <u>Republican Conference Meeting</u> (Calio)	South Lawn (TAB C)
11:10 am	<u>Arrives White House</u>	South Lawn
11:10 am (20 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:30 am (30 min)	<u>Pre-Brief for USA Today Interview</u> (Fitzwater)	Oval Office (TAB D)
12:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Interview with USA Today</u> (Fitzwater)	Map Room (TAB E)
12:30 pm (60 min)	<u>Lunch with the Vice President</u>	Oval Office

UNP 08/03/92
7:00 pm



1:30 pm (20 min)	Meeting with Bush/Quayle '92 Campaign Leadership Council <u>(business coalition group)</u> (Demarest/Kaufman)	Roosevelt Room (TAB F)
2:00 pm (30 min)	Meeting with Bipartisan House <u>Members on Freedom Support Act</u> (Calio)	Cabinet Room (TAB G)
2:30 pm (45 min)	<u>Meeting with Campaign Officials</u> (Skinner)	Roosevelt Room (TAB H)
3:15 pm (45 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
4:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
4:30 pm (60 min)	<u>Haircut</u>	West Basement

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 4, 1992

PRE BRIEF FOR MEETING WITH VETERAN SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

DATE: AUGUST 4, 1992
TIME: 9:05 - 9:15 a.m.
LOCATION: OVAL OFFICE
THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
FROM: LEIGH ANN METZGER

I. PURPOSE:

To go over several issues that might be raised during the roundtable meeting with veteran service organization leaders.

II. BACKGROUND:

It has been over a year since you met with this group of veteran leaders. During the spring, you did meet with the commanders of the three largest veteran service organizations on the issue of the Rural Health Care Initiative. These included Bob Wallace, VFW; Dominic DiFrancesco, America Legion; Cleveland Jordan, DAV.

This meeting will provide an opportunity to not only hear from this key constituency but also address several of their recent policy concerns.

Your talking points are drafted to highlight some positive Administration actions, including your creation of an informal White House Working Group on Veteran Health Care.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President
Chief of Staff Skinner
General Scowcroft
Clayton Yeutter
David Demarest
Tony Principi, Deputy Secretary of Veteran Affairs
Leigh Ann Metzger, Deputy Assistant to the President, Public Liaison

IV. PRESS PLAN:

None

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- The President is briefed by participants.
- The President departs Oval Office for meeting in Roosevelt Room with veteran leaders.

VI. REMARKS REQUIRED:

None

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 3, 1992

MEETING WITH LEADERS OF VETERANS SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

DATE: August 4, 1992
TIME: 9:15 - 9:30 a.m.
LOCATION: ROOSEVELT ROOM

THROUGH: DAVID F. DEMAREST, JR.

FROM: LEIGH ANN METZGER^{lam}
BILL CALDWELL^{BC}

I. PURPOSE

To demonstrate your commitment to veterans by forming an informal working group to address veterans health care reform. This will also allow you the opportunity to discuss some of the Administration's accomplishments in the area of veterans affairs.

II. BACKGROUND

During the past year you have met with the Commanders of the three largest veterans service organizations (VFW, American Legion, and the DAV). You have not participated in a roundtable discussion with all the organizations since February, 1991 during the Persian Gulf War.

Over the last few months, there have been growing problems within the veteran community. The clearest example of their complaint was the joint venture between HHS and the VA called the Rural Health Care Initiative. Veterans felt that this plan would open the VA hospital system to non-veterans and avoid the real problem, as they saw it, of eligibility reform. This initiative was voted down by the Senate with Administration approval.

While you have made great strides to repair the relationship with this key constituency, there is still much to do. This meeting will provide you an opportunity to highlight many of the Administration's efforts to help veterans as well as listen to some of their concerns.

The Office of Public Liaison along with OMB have just completed a series of one-on-one meetings with the five largest veterans service organizations to listen to their individual concerns and issues. Your announcement today of

an informal White House Working Group on Veteran Health Care is a result of those conversations and will help diffuse the controversy.

The talking points also reference some steps taken in the last few months to address some of their specific concerns.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

Sam Skinner

Henson Moore

Toni Principi, Deputy Secretary, Veterans Affairs

Ed Timberlake, Assistant Secretary for Public and Intergovernmental Affairs

Kevin Moley, Under Secretary, Health and Human Services

David Demarest

Clayton Yeutter

Tom Scully

Leigh Ann Metzger, Deputy Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

VETERANS SERVICE ORGANIZATION REPRESENTATIVES

Greg Bresser, National Service Director, Military Order of the Purple Heart

Al Cohen, National Commander, Jewish War Veterans

Fred Cowell, Executive Director, Paralyzed Veterans of America

Andrew DeBona, National Commander, Legion of Valor

Dominic DiFrancesco, National Commander, The American Legion

Paul Egan, Executive Director, Vietnam Veterans of America

Lamar Golden, National Commandant, Marine Corps League

John Heilman, National Legislative Director, Disabled American Veterans

Charles Jackson, Executive Vice President, Non Commissioned Officers Association

Ed Janiszewski, National Legislative Director, Polish Legion of American Veterans

Joseph Kelly, National Chief of Staff, Regular Veterans Association

John Krecji, National Commander, American Ex-POWs

Ron Miller, Executive Director, Blinded Veterans Association

James Pennington, President, National Association of Uniformed Services

Jim Singler, National Commander, AMVETS

Michael Thornton, Recipient, Congressional Medal of Honor Society

Gilman Udell, National Commander, Catholic War Veterans

Bob Wallace, Commander in Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars

IV. PRESS PLAN

Wires and Stills.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You enter the Roosevelt Room.
- You greet the guests.
- You sit down.
- You deliver brief remarks and then address some of their questions.
- You depart.

VI. REMARKS

Talking points to be provided in the morning.

DOOR

DOOR

Charles Jackson
NCOA

John Krejci
Am. Ex-POWs

Joseph Kelly
Reg. Veterans Assoc.

Andrew DeBona
Legion of Valor

James Pennington
NAUS

Al Cohen
Jewish War Vets

Michael Thornton
Medal of Honor

John Heilman
DAV

Dominic DiFrancesco
American Legion

Fred Cowell
PVA

POTUS

Jim Singler
AMVETS

Bob Wallace
VFW

Gilman Udell
Catholic War V.

Greg Bresser
MOPH

Ed Janiszewski
Polish Legion

Ron Miller
BVA

Paul Egan
VVA

Lamar Golden
Marine Corps League

Clayton Yeutter

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DOOR

DOOR

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 3, 1992

MEETING WITH THE SENATE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

DATE: August 4, 1992
LOCATION: 230 Capitol
TIME: 10:00 a.m. (60 minutes)
FROM: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

I. PURPOSE

To meet with the Senate Republican Conference.

II. BACKGROUND

The Senate Republicans have requested the opportunity to meet with you to discuss the remaining legislative agenda and the upcoming campaign. This week the Senate will begin work on their version of your economic growth plan. The Finance Committee incorporated six of your seven growth initiatives. The Finance Committee did not adopt an enterprise zone provision that includes capital gains. This meeting will give you an opportunity to press for the enactment of your economic growth package, to encourage Senators to press for our health care initiatives and to update the group on your campaign.

III. PARTICIPANTS

President

Vice President

Republican Senators

Samuel Skinner, Chief of Staff

Richard Darman, Director, Office of Management and Budget

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Clayton Yeutter, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Policy

Nicholas E. Calio, Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs

James W. Dyer, Deputy to the President for Legislative Affairs

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House photographer.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

You will be introduced by Senator Thad Cochran (R-MS),
Chairman, Senate Republican Conference; make brief remarks;
and take questions from the floor.

Attachment: Talking Points to be provided in the morning.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 31, 1992

PRE-BRIEF FOR INTERVIEW WITH USA TODAY

DATE: Tuesday, August 4, 1992
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 11:30 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.

FROM: MARLIN FITZWATER 

I. PURPOSE/BACKGROUND

To review possible questions that may be raised in your interview with Editorial Board members: Jessica Lee, Judy Keen, Peter Prichard, Karen Jurgensen, and Brian Gallagher of USA Today.

II. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Sam Skinner
General Scowcroft
Dick Darman
Clayton Yeutter
Roger Porter
Judy Smith

III. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer

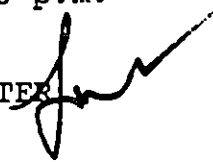
IV. SEQUENCE

Participants enter the Oval Office and brief you on possible topics. At approximately 11:55 a.m., you will enter the Oval Office Dining Room for make-up.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 31, 1992

INTERVIEW WITH USA TODAY

DATE: Tuesday, August 4, 1992
TIME: 12:00 -- 12:30 p.m.
LOCATION: The Map Room
FROM: MARLIN FITZWATER 

I. PURPOSE/BACKGROUND:

This interview will give you an opportunity to sit down with the Editorial Board and reporters of USA Today and discuss a wide variety of topics. You have the option of beginning the interview with a short 3-5 minute statement. They will then begin to ask you about your accomplishments as President, your ideas about improving the economy, where you would lead the country in the next four years, the possibility of military force in Iraq, and all issues that are pertinent in this presidential campaign. USA Today has a daily circulation of approximately 1.9 million readers.

II. PARTICIPANTS:

The President
Judy Smith
Jessica Lee, White House Reporter
Judy Keen, Campaign Reporter
Peter Prichard, Editor
Karen Jurgensen, Editor, Editorial Page
Brian Gallagher, Deputy Editor, Editorial Page

III. PRESS PLAN:

White House Photographer
1 Producer, C-Span
5 C-SPAN technicians
1 WUSA cameraman
1 photographer, USA Today

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

You will enter the Map Room and exchange brief greetings with the reporters. (You have the option to begin the interview with a brief statement.) The interview will begin and will last for approximately 30 minutes.

V. REMARKS

Talking Points to be provided in the morning.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 3, 1992

MEETING WITH BUSH/QUAYLE '92 CAMPAIGN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

DATE: AUGUST 4, 1992
TIME: 1:30 P.M.
LOCATION: ROOSEVELT ROOM
THE WHITE HOUSE

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST

FROM: CECE KREMER
JEFF VOGT

I. PURPOSE:

To participate in a meeting with the Bush/Quayle '92 Leadership Council.

II. BACKGROUND:

As part of your activities to build support for Administration initiatives among business leaders, you will participate in a meeting with approximately 50 corporate leaders from around the country.

The group is participating in a day-long series of meetings arranged through Bush/Quayle '92. They are scheduled to meet with several top Administration officials to discuss issues of concern to the business community. The group will be working to help communicate the Bush Administration record on economic policy and free trade issues.

Warnaco CEO Linda Wachner will be in attendance, and serves as co-chair of the Bush/Quayle '92 Leadership Council. Her counterpart, Drew Lewis, will be unable to attend.

Prior to your participation, the group will be briefed by Clayton Yeutter. After your brief remarks, you will participate in a question and answer session. Following the question and answer period, you will invite each member of the group into the Oval Office to participate in a brief photo-op.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President

Approximately 50 business community leaders from across the country. (see attached list)

IV. PRESS PLAN:

Closed Press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- You enter the Roosevelt Room and deliver brief remarks.
- You participate in a question and answer session.
- You invite members into the Oval Office for individual photos.
- You participate in photo-op.
- You conclude participation in photo-op.

VI. REMARKS:

Talking points provided by the Office of Public Liaison.

BUSH/QUAYLE '92 LEADERSHIP COUNCIL
Roosevelt Room / 1:30 P.M. / August 4, 1992

Ann Ascher
President, Ann Ascher Interiors, Incorporated

Dexter Baker
Chairman, Executive Committee, Board of Directors, Air Products
and Chemicals, Incorporated

Andres Bande
President, Ameritech International, Incorporated

Joan Bialek-Levitt
President, Bialek Corporation

Paul Bishop
President, H-P Products, Incorporated

Norman E. Brinker
Chairman and CEO, Brinker International

Jay Buchert
Owner and President, American Heritage Construction and
Development Company

Arcadio Cassilas
President, Preferred Compensation Corporation

Richard Cheng
President & CEO, Eastern Computers, Incorporated

Morton Collins
General Partner, DSV Partners

William D'Angelo
President & CEO, TGI Stephens

Nancy Davis
President, McArthur Management Company

Nancy Donovan
President, Sears Consumer Financial Company

George M. Drysdale
Managing General Partner, Drysdale Enterprises

Bill Esrey
Chairman & CEO, Mutual of New York

Carleton S. Fiorina
VP, Strategy and Marketing Development, AT&T

Peter Flanigan
Managing Director, Dillon Read and Co.

Harry S. Flemming
President & CEO, Sonitrol, Incorporated

Joseph T. Gorman
Chairman and CEO, TRW, Incorporated

VanBuren N. Hansford, Jr.
Chairman and CEO, Hansford Manufacturing Co., Incorporated

Patricia Harrison
Partner, E. Bruce Harrison Company

Frances B. Havens,
CEO, Management Systems Applications

Judith R. Hope
Senior Partner, Paul, Hastings, Janofsky & Walker

Katherine M. Hudson
VP, Printing & Publishing, Eastman Kodak

Charles H. James, III
President & CEO, CH James & Company

Laura J. Jansen
President, Packaging Unlimited

Donald M. Kendall
Chairman of the Executive Committee, PepsiCo Incorporated

Charles Lamb
President, Century 21 Lamb Realty

Kenneth L. Lay
Chairman and CEO, Enron Company

Marilyn W. Lewis
Chairman, American Water Works Co., Incorporated

Toby Malichi
President and Managing Director, Malichi Diversified, Ltd.

Alex Mandl
Chief Financial Officer, AT&T

William T. McCormick, Jr.
Chairman and CEO, CMS Energy

Ann McLaughlin
President and CEO, New American Schools Development Company

Penny Pompei
President, Uniglobe

John Price
Chairman & CEO, The Price Companies

Chesley Pruet
Chairman, Pruet Oil Company

Victor Rice
President, Varsity Company

Lewis Rumford, III
Partner, JBG

Dennis Russell
President, Den-Ed Russell

George Seeds
President, Findly Welding Supply

Paul Smucker
Chairman of the Executive Committee & CEO, The J.M. Smucker Company

James M. Taylor
Chairman, Taylor Parts & Supply Company

Robert Teller
President, Tel Phil Enterprises

Linda Wachner
President & CEO, Warnaco

David Weaver
Chairman & CEO, InterCap Investments, Incorporated

Frankie Welch
President, Frankie Welch Designs, Incorporated

Christopher L. White
President and CEO, Mid-American Waste Systems, Incorporated

Gary L. Wilson
Co-Chairman, Northwest Airlines

Louise Woerner
CEO, HCR

LEADERSHIP COUNCIL MEETING

TUESDAY, AUGUST 4 / ROOSEVELT ROOM / 1:30 P.M.

Welcome to the White House. I know you've heard from several members of our team this morning, including the Vice President, Clayton Yeutter and our campaign leadership. I want to especially thank each of you personally for your help and continued support.

I look forward to our convention. In two short weeks we will take our case to the American people. It is a strong case; a good record of

- 2 -

leadership both at home and abroad. And I am pleased to have this impressive group of business leaders by my side in this effort.

I am determined to run hard on the issues; to talk about what it means to the American worker and American business if our opponents get into office. I am the only candidate for President who has experience in business. I know how government can help, and I know how government can hinder --even stifle growth and job creation. Our opponents continue to put their faith in centrally managed government programs. There is a stark difference in philosophy.

going to push Congress to enact it in spite of the special interests who are lined up to fight it. This means more markets for American products, and more jobs for American workers. It is that simple, and yet, our opponents continue to advocate protectionism and isolationism again, putting their faith in American government rather than American ingenuity and the American worker. The differences are vast. Our mission is clear, and I thank you all for your leadership and strong support as we work to finish the job we started.

For example, we oppose government mandates in the form of parental leave, striker replacement and the "play or pay" nationalized health care proposal. Such policies are counterproductive, ill-conceived and eliminate jobs. My opponent's concept of the "play or pay" health care scheme would eliminate American jobs, hurt the quality of health care and burden our competitiveness. On the tax and spend side of the equation I remain committed to creating tax incentives for business, reducing the capital gains tax and restricting the big spenders on Capitol Hill. On the issue of free trade, we are very close to a NAFTA, and I

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 3, 1992

BIPARTISAN CONGRESSIONAL MEETING ON FREEDOM SUPPORT ACT

DATE: August 4, 1992
LOCATION: Cabinet Room
TIME: 2:00 p.m. (30 minutes)
FROM: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

I. PURPOSE

To reiterate to a House bipartisan congressional group the importance of House passage of the "Freedom Support Act" before the August recess.

II. BACKGROUND

The Senate passed the "Freedom Support Act", your legislative proposal to aid the former Soviet republics, on July 2, 1992. Majority Leader Gephardt (D-MO) said Friday that the House is likely to take up the aid package late this week. The Democrats have not yet completed their whip check; however the Majority Leader believes he can deliver half of the Democratic votes. On our side, our whip check currently indicates we should be able to garner a majority of Republican votes.

The Democratic Leadership believes it would be easier for Democrats to support the measure if the Administration shows flexibility on accelerating domestic transportation spending. Secretary Card, Director Darman, and the Office of Legislative Affairs met on Friday with Majority Leader Gephardt to discuss the transportation spending issue.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See Attachment A.

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House press pool.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Members will be met in the West Lobby and escorted to the Cabinet Room for their meeting with you.

Attachment A: Participants List

Attachment B: Talking Points to be provided by NSC

PARTICIPANTS LIST

The President

The Vice President

Nicholas Brady, Secretary of the Treasury

Richard Darman, Director of OMB

Lawrence Eagleburger, Deputy Secretary of State

Congressional Participation - House

Congressman Thomas Foley (D-WA), Speaker of the House

Congressman Bob Michel (R-IL), Republican Leader

Congressman Newt Gingrich (R-GA), Republican Whip

Congressman Les Aspin (D-WI)

Congressman Doug Bereuter (R-NE)

Congressman Howard Berman (D-NY)

Congressman Dante Fascell (D-FL)

Congressman Sam Gibbons (D-FL)

Congressman Fred Grandy (R-IA)

Congressman Lee Hamilton, (D-IN)

Congressman Henry Hyde (R-IL)

Congressman Jim Kolbe (R-AZ)

Congressman Jim Leach (R-IL)

Congressman Bob Livingston (R-LA)

Congressman Stephen Solarz (D-NY)

Congressman Bob Torricelli (D-NJ)

Congressman Bob Walker (R-PA)

White House Staff

Samuel Skinner, Chief of Staff

Henson Moore, Deputy Chief Staff

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security
Affairs

Nicholas E. Calio, Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs

Marlin Fitzwater, Counsellor to the President and Press Secretary

Ede Holiday, Assistant to the President and Secretary of the
Cabinet

Clayton Yeutter, Counsellor to the President for Domestic Policy

Gary Andres, Deputy Assistant to the President for
Legislative Affairs (House)

Josh Bolten, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director,
Office of Legislative Affairs

John Howe, Deputy Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs

Ginny Lampley, Special Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs

Kim McKernan, Special Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs (House)

Other

Bill Kristol, Chief of Staff to the Vice-President
Janet Mullins, Assistant Secretary of Legislative Affairs,
Department of State
Mary Sophos, Assistant Secretary of Legislative Affairs,
Treasury Department

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
CONGRESSIONAL BIPARTISAN FREEDOM SUPPORT ACT WORKING GROUP

- I want to thank you for coming down to discuss the Freedom Support Act which the House takes up this week.
- We now stand at a critical moment in history. We have the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to help make the Soviet revolution permanent by consolidating democracy and free markets in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and other states, thus turning former enemies into permanent friends and partners. Most importantly, we have the chance not only to help the peoples of Russia and the new independent states escape the long nightmare of communism, but to secure for us and our children a future that is infinitely safer and more prosperous. We must do our part to make these countries constructive members of the world community.
- The Freedom Support Act is not just a foreign aid bill. It will help to insure the success of democracy and emerging market economies. It will clear away barriers to American private sector trade and investment. Russia needs our private expertise, capital and technology. Greater opportunities there will expand American jobs.
- This legislation comes at a critical time. Reform is increasingly under fire in Russia. What we do now could tip the balance between their going forward with political and economic reform, or seeing the whole process, fragile as it

now is, collapse. Not to signal to the reformers our support for their efforts would be a tragic mistake.

-- Together we have accepted this challenge. By passing the Freedom Support Act, you will reaffirm the principles that have served this country for over 200 years. I ask you to give me a bill I can sign before the August recess.

-- Now I would like to hear from you all.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 3, 1992

WEEKLY CAMPAIGN MEETING

DATE: August 4, 1992
LOCATION: Roosevelt Room
TIME: 2:30 p.m.
FROM: SAMUEL K. SKINNER



I. PURPOSE

This is a weekly campaign meeting to discuss activities and strategies.

II. PARTICIPANTS

The President
The Vice President
Chief of Staff
Deputy Chief of Staff
Charlie Black
Richard Bond
Victoria Clarke
Richard Darman
Cam Findlay
Marlin Fitzwater
Craig Fuller
Gary Foster
Ede Holiday
Ron Kaufman
Bill Kristol
Jim Lake
Fred Malek
Mary Matalin
Patty Presock
Fred Steeper
Kathy Super
Bob Teeter
Clayton Yeutter

III. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer only

Sent
Mar 8-21
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. President

Chase Watermeyer (x619-3373)
called Patty to tell her Tiger

Yang, an old Chinese friend
of the President, was in town

all week. Tiger Yang, or formerly
Yang Jie Chi, can be reached

through the Chinese Embassy
Political office at 328-2500. Patty
thought this should all go to you.

I check this & check and
there's no reference to Tiger Yang or
Yang Jie Chi. You may want to discuss
this.

8/4/92

Mr. President:

✓ Senator Slade Gorton called (3 PM) 224-3285. He would like you to return the call.

2) Nick Brady would like you to call him (3:05)

3) Governor Sununu called. Said he would try to reach you again on Friday or over the weekend. Said to tell you that you have been coming across in the last two days as strong and in control. Very positive.

4) Jim Baker would like to spend the night at Walkers Point the night of the 10th and possibly ride back with you to D. C. I assume this is OK.

YES ☒

NO ☐

RZ

MATERIALS FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
August 4, 1992

ACTION

1. Executive Order: "President's Commission on Management of the Agency for International Development (AID) Programs".
2. S.249 -- For the Relief of Trevor Henderson.
3. Nomination of Judge Robert W. Kostelka to be United States District Judge for the District of Western Louisiana.
4. Holiday memo re Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) Oil and Gas Program.
5. Response to Chancellor Kohl re International Ethics Commission on AIDS.
6. FY 1993 Budget Amendment for the Department of Defense.
7. Recommended Telephone Call to Dr. Don Argue, President, National Association of Evangelicals.
8. Proposed Statement re Child Care.
9. Proposed Ad for the Christian American Newspaper.
10. Response to Senator James M. Jeffords re running-mate.
11. Letter to all State Co-Chairmen of Lawyers for Bush-Quayle.
12. S.J. Res. 310 -- Helsinki Human Rights Day.
13. Disaster Declaration for the State of Ohio.

CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION

1. D. Smith Memo re Nat'l Institute for Responsible Fatherhood Video.

REMARKS

1. Knights of Columbus.
2. Disabled American Veterans Convention.

SCHEDULE

1. Goldline for 8/5/92.

Rm

Central Files



THE PRESIDENT

Aug. 4, 1992

Dear Mildred - Baine -

Happy 50th

Your W. Virginia

gateway sounds just

great. What a treat it

was seeing Baine and Baine

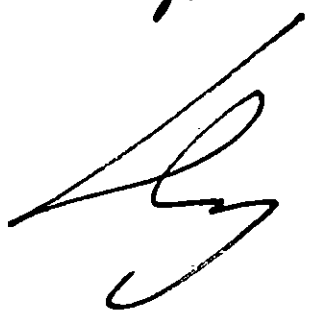
THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr & Mrs B. P. Kerr

congratulatory
B. P. Kerr

(This note was hand delivered to the Kerr's son by Don Klodis 8/4/92)
(enclosed were a pair of cufflinks and a brooch for an anniversary gift)

Bar, in K'port, would
be surely be love, too —



see you in London

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

August 3, 1992

Presidential Determination
No. 92-37

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Determination Pursuant to Section 2(b)(2) of the
Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as
Amended

Pursuant to section 2(b)(2) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2601(b)(2), I hereby designate Haitian refugee applicants as qualifying for assistance under section 2(b)(2) of that Act, and determine that such assistance will contribute to the foreign policy interests of the United States.

You are directed to inform the appropriate committees of the Congress of this determination and the obligation of funds under this authority, and to publish this determination in the Federal Register.

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

The President has signed the following legislation:

S. 2938, which authorizes the Architect of the Capitol to acquire two specified lots as an addition to the U.S. Capitol Grounds.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

The President has signed the following legislation:

S. 992, which provides for the reimbursement of certain travel and relocation expenses incurred by Jane E. Denne when she moved from Lawrence, Kansas, to Las Vegas, Nevada, to accept Federal employment.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

The President has signed the following legislation:

S.J. Res. 295, which designates September 10, 1992, as "National
D.A.R.E. Day."

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Charles A. Felton, of Florida, to be United States Marshal for the Middle District of Florida for the term of four years. He would succeed Richard L. Cox.

Since 1981, Mr. Felton has served as the Director of Corrections for the Pinellas County Sheriff's Office. Prior to this, he served as a Youthful Offender Program Specialist for the Florida Department of Corrections, 1980-1981; Superintendent of Division V of the Cook County Department of Corrections, 1978-1980; Director of Youth and Correctional Services of the Department of Human Services for the City of Chicago, 1973-1978; Coordination Executive for the Illinois Dangerous Drugs Commission, 1974-1978; Director of Social Services for the Georgia Department of Corrections, 1971-1973; and a Social Worker for the Illinois Department of Corrections, 1970-1971.

Mr. Felton was graduated from the University of Nebraska at Omaha (B.S., 1968) and the University of Chicago (M.A., 1971). He was born February 28, 1944 in Humphreys, Mississippi. Mr. Felton is married, has three children and resides in St. Petersburg, Florida.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert E. Wallace, of New Jersey, to be Assistant Secretary of Labor for Veterans' Employment and Training. He would succeed Thomas E. Collins, III.

Since 1991, Mr. Wallace has served as the Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Prior to this, he served as Senior Vice-Commander-in-Chief in 1990; and Junior Vice Commander-in-Chief in 1989. In addition, Mr. Wallace was appointed by Governor Thomas Kean to the position of deputy commissioner and administrator for Veterans Affairs in New Jersey, 1988-1990.

Mr. Wallace was graduated from Rutgers University (B.S., 1976) and Fairleigh Dickinson University (M.A., 1978). Mr. Wallace served in the United States Marine Corps, 1967-1969, and was the recipient of three purple hearts. He was born June 28, 1948. Mr. Wallace is married, has one child and resides in Milton, New Jersey.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate J. Keith Gary, of Texas, to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Texas for the term of four years. This is a reappointment.

Since 1987, Mr. Gary has served as United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Texas. Prior to this, he served as a United States Probation Officer for the Southern and the Eastern Districts of Texas, 1977-1987; as the United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Texas, 1969-1977; and as a solicitor for the Mayer Insurance Agency, 1962-1969.

Mr. Gary was graduated from Lamar University (B.S., 1960); Corpus Christi State University (M.A., 1980); and the University of the State of New York-Regents College (B.A., 1984). He was born May 13, 1935 in Laredo, Texas. Mr. Gary is married, has two children and resides in Tyler, Texas.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edward S. Walker, of Maryland, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be the Deputy Representative of the United States to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador. He would replace Alexander F. Watson.

Since 1989, Ambassador Walker has served as Ambassador to the United Arab Emirates. Prior to this, he served in several positions with the Department of State including; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs, 1988-1989; Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 1985-1988; a participant in Senior Training program at the Royal College of Defense Studies in London, 1984-1985; Executive Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of State, 1982-1984; Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asia Bureau, 1981-1982; and Special Assistant to the Personal Representative of the President for Middle East Negotiations, 1979-1981.

Ambassador Walker was graduated from Hamilton College (B.A., 1963) and Boston University (M.A., 1965). He was born June 13, 1940 in Abington, Pennsylvania. He served in the United States Army, 1962-1965. Ambassador Walker is married, has two children and resides in Severna Park, Maryland.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today we are publishing rules that will allow parents to choose the kind of child care they believe is best for their children. Under these rules, parents receiving Child Care and Development Block Grant funds will be able to decide what kind of child care their children receive, including care provided by relatives, neighbors, or church-based centers.

New grant programs now provide over \$1.1 billion a year in vouchers and child care assistance that did not exist when I took office. Just as importantly, the child care legislation I initiated has expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit so that low-income working families receiving that help can decide how best to care for their children. Providing tax relief for low-income families who work is the best way to help these families end the cycle of poverty. Over the five-year phase in of the Earned Income Tax Credit expansion, low-income families will receive an additional \$18 billion in refundable tax credits.

These rules reflect my commitment that we should trust parents to make the best decisions for their children.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Roland Karl Kuchel, of Florida, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of Haiti. He would succeed Alvin P. Adams, Jr.

Mr. Kuchel currently serves as Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Personnel at the Department of State. Prior to this, he served in several positions at the State Department including; Chief of the Senior Officer Division in the Office of Career Development and Assignments, Bureau of Personnel, 1990-1991; Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Stockholm, Sweden, 1986-1990; Deputy Director and then Director of the Office of East European and Yugoslav Affairs, 1983-1986; Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Budapest, Hungary, 1980-1983; and Deputy Chief of the Political Section at the American Embassy in Rome, Italy, 1976-1980.

Mr. Kuchel was graduated from Princeton University (A.B., 1961). He was born March 5, 1939 in Salem, Massachusetts. Mr. Kuchel is married, has three children and resides in Washington, D.C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

The President has signed the following legislation:

H.R. 479, which designates the 1,900-mile Pony Express National Historic Trail and the 5,700-mile California National Historic Trail as components of the National Trails System.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 4, 1992

PRESS BRIEFING
BY
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT GAIL WILENSKY
AND DEPUTY SECRETARY OF
THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES KEVIN MOLEY

The Briefing Room

1:10 P.M. EDT

MS. SMITH: Good afternoon. Let me just introduce to you today Gail Wilensky, who is a Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Development. We also have here today with us Kevin Moley, who is Deputy Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services. And they will discuss with you our health care plan and Gail will start off with an opening statement.

DR. WILENSKY: Thank you. It's a pleasure to be here. We wanted to have a chance to speak with you because there seems to be some confusion about the President's health care plan and, in fact, whether or not the President has a health care plan.

It's hard for me to believe you don't know that yet, but there seems to be some statements to the contrary that keep coming out. We do. It's here. Ninety-four pages, detailed, comprehensive health care reform plan. We want to make sure people know the President released this February 6th. This is not a new issue, it is not a new document.

The President has sent legislation to Capitol Hill implementing portions of his health care plan over the last several months. This is legislation that would allow millions of small businesses to offer affordable health insurance, providing 100 percent deductibility for all self-employed individuals, allowing people to change jobs without fear of being shut out of the health insurance market. Reformed medical liability laws reduce burdensome paperwork and provide consumers and purchasers with the kind of information that they need.

The President's health care plan controls health care spending by attacking the cost drivers in health care and not by fiat and by government price controls. We believe this legislation provides urgently-needed help to millions of Americans, enabling them to have access to affordable health insurance immediately. We have been trying to get a vote on this legislation. We have not been able to get the Democratically-controlled Congress to even let us have a vote today.

Let me turn to Kevin Moley who has a few comments he would like to add. Then we'd both be glad to answer any questions that you may have.

MR. MOLEY: Gail, thank you very much. I'd like to reiterate that President Bush has had a 94-page health care plan before the American people since February 6th. I picked up this morning from the Clinton campaign their three-page plan. I'd like to make mention of just one item. The first bullet point -- cap national spending to control health care costs. Sounds like a good

MORE

idea. Let me tell you what it means. It means rationing of health care for all Americans. It means, in fact, that we would have massive tax increases associated with it. And, third and finally, it is a Canadian-style health care plan with one major exception: Canadians, by the thousands, come to the United States for their health care; Americans would have nowhere to go.

On that note, I would be very pleased to take questions.

Q Dr. Wilensky, the centerpiece of your plan is tax credits for the poor and the middle class. You have yet to tell Congress how you're going to pay for that. So how can you argue that you've had this plan up there if they haven't acted on it?

DR. WILENSKY: We have legislation that has been up there for four months. The issues that are troubling many of the American businesspeople today are, what can small businesses do. They have insurance that is not reliable and not affordable, and millions of Americans are afraid to change jobs. We have sent that legislation up there.

We have described in our health care reform proposal how we go about reforming all of health care. People have asked us about the funding. Let me share with you the answer to the question of how we are going to fund it.

Right now, we are projected to spend \$135 billion over the next five years providing payments so that hospitals can fund the care for people without health insurance. In addition, we have billions of dollars that are built into our public sector programs to provide funding after the fact for the uninsured.

We know this is not only a costly way to go about it, it pushes people to go to the emergency rooms to take care of primary health care. We believe that there is more than adequate funding in terms of the ways we are now funding health care for the uninsured through Medicare, through Medicaid, to say nothing of some of the greater efficiencies we think are potentially possible. Our cost is an estimated \$100 billion over the five-year period. There is no question there is the money in there.

Q But you haven't sent up legislation that would implement that.

DR. WILENSKY: I think the notion that the reason the Congress is not serious about bringing the health care that the President has sent up already to the floor is because each and every piece is not yet there is just ridiculous, and I think the people in this room know it.

MR. MOLEY: I'd like to speak to that as well. The fact of the matter is, the President has portions of his plan before the Congress right now that, if enacted, could help millions of Americans have access to affordable health insurance right away, immediately. It is hypocrisy of the highest political order to suggest because ideas that they write or correspond to what they would suggest are not before them, that they have nothing of the President's plan to act on. They have parts of the President's plan they could act on tomorrow that would interrelate with other parts, that would help millions of Americans.

They refuse to act. We heard this morning at 11:30 a.m. a press conference -- Democratic senators -- what we usually hear: rhetoric, rhetoric, and more rhetoric. What we are looking for, what the American people are looking for is action. They can pass those bills now, help America now. Let's not wait so that we can all agree or disagree -- in my case I would believe disagree -- with the way

they want to ruin the health care system by emulating a Canadian-style system.

We know the Canadian-style system doesn't work. Hospitals in Buffalo, Detroit, Seattle are full of Canadians. We won't have anyplace else to go. We are never going to go down that route as long as President Bush is in this office.

Q Will you please explain why are the Canadians in these hospitals if they have health at home and we don't have it here.

DR. WILENSKY: The problem has been that many of the advanced technologies that we take for granted here -- being able to have bypass operations, being able to have access to advanced imaging, MRIs, CT scans, are not available at the same kinds of numbers for people in Canada. In some cases, the Canadian government has contracted with hospitals in Seattle and other parts because it's cheaper and easier for them to rely on us formally rather than to have the same services available.

Our health care system needs reform. President Bush has been saying that. He has offered a comprehensive health care plan to control health care spending and to make sure that people have available, affordable health insurance to them. We are trying to get the legislation that is up there onto the floor for a vote. It is ridiculous to pretend like it isn't there; it is.

Q As I understand it, you're talking about these special exotic forms of health care like scans and all this expensive equipment. You're not talking about the daily medical care that people go to a hospital for.

DR. WILENSKY: We are talking about the advanced technologies that people come here because we have them. We want to make sure Americans have access to affordable insurance. That is in the President's health care plan. We are not saying we don't need to make changes. The question is, which changes? Do we want to keep the health care system that has afforded us this access to the best quality health care in the world? Do we want to take over somebody else's?

Q We can't afford it.

Q Why is it that six months after the comprehensive proposal was made legislation enabling all of this hasn't been submitted to the bill? Why are there any pieces not filled in? As you yourselves point out, you've got 94 pages, you've got six months. That seems to me you've had plenty of time. Where's the rest of the package?

MR. MOLEY: I think we have, as we have suggested earlier, submitted many parts of the President's plan. We are, in fact --

Q Why have you not submitted all of the President's plans?

MR. MOLEY: I think we have agreed and would say so again here today that if we believe the Congress were serious, serious by virtue of passing those parts of the President's plan that are before them now that could be passed today and afford millions of Americans affordable access to health insurance, we would, in fact, tomorrow meet with them on other parts of the President's plan. But they need to act. They need to show good faith. They need to stop talking and start acting.

They talk about health care, they do nothing -- absolutely nothing. Three pages does not constitute a plan. We have heard for three days now this administration doesn't have a plan. We have a plan; Governor Clinton does not have a plan.

Q Does that mean -- just to follow up, is there a relationship here? The reason you had not submitted these other forms of legislation is because there's been no action on the first ones?

DR. WILENSKY: That is an important fact. We have been sending up legislation since the beginning of May, months now, trying to get action in the areas that the Democrats have also identified as a problem. We cannot get this taken seriously. We are continuing to work on the rest of the health care plan, turning it into legislative action. We are serious, but we find it a little difficult to understand how issues that are raised constantly as needing action now, making sure small business can have affordable and reliable insurance, making sure people can change jobs and not be worried about being shut out of the insurance market.

We heard that. We hear that. We can't get action on the legislation that is dealing with that issue.

Q My question was, are you saying you won't send up the rest of the legislation until you do get action?

DR. WILENSKY: I don't know. We would like to see an act of good faith. We will continue to send up legislation over the next several months. But the notion that the reason we haven't had action on health care is because every single piece that might be up there isn't up there, just makes no sense.

Q What the Democrats were saying is that you're paying lip service to the special interests -- the pharmaceutical companies, the lawyers, the doctors, instead of looking health care as a --

MR. MOLEY: Let me talk about special interests. We have medical malpractice reform before the Congress now. They don't dramatically affect, reform the tort system in this country. And I can assure you trial lawyers across the country are against it, we are for it.

In respect to insurance companies, we have reforms before the Congress now that would prohibit medical underwriting, eliminate preexisting condition limitations, change and reform the insurance industry dramatically. I can assure you -- insurance companies are not for those reforms. We have them before the Congress, we want them enacted. It would enable us to have a good-faith effort. It could break the gridlock that has confronted us on health care in this debate.

These are reforms that Democrats have talked about being for until the President has put forth legislative initiatives going in the same direction that they have indicated prior to the President's legislation they wanted to go. A year ago, all they talked about is reforming the small marketing group insurance. We've got legislation before them now; no action.

Q So the truth of the matter is that I just came from talking to Mitchell's office -- they have a 100-page bill on health care, and I talked to Gephardt's office. He's got something he's bringing up trying to keep prices from going higher. The truth of the matter is, they're not acting on either one of their own bills.

DR. WILENSKY: Because they know they don't have the votes.

Q Would you not say that the reason they're not acting on these bills is the high influence of the American Medical Association and the insurance lobbies?

DR. WILENSKY: No, ma'am. I think they're not acting on the bills because they know they don't have the votes. Play or pay what the --

Q Is that the reason they don't have the votes because they don't have the vote of these lobbies?

DR. WILENSKY: I think the reason they don't have the votes is that the small businesses of this United States who form most of the basis of economic growth know what pay or plan means. It's a new government mandate, new government taxes on small businesses of this country, and that is the worst thing we can do in order to promote economic growth. The small business communities hate it; they know it, they know they don't have the votes.

Q Any chance, in your minds, either of your minds, for the American people to get any better health care from the federal government anytime?

MR. MOLEY: I think the federal government can put in place reforms so that the American people can get better health care. The fact of the matter is, we do need to have better primary and preventive care, and there are elements of the President's plan which address that directly.

But the bottom line is, as we've said before, that the medical advances in this country have been fueled in large part by the innovations that our system permits in the private sector, not from the public sector.

We have had the Premier of Quebec, the highest-ranking elected official of the province of Quebec, come to the National Cancer Institute for diagnosis of his cancer, come back, pay for it himself, even though if he stayed in Canada, if he could get the procedure, he would -- paid for by the national system there, come back to the United States for his surgery. I think that speaks volumes about why we do not want to go down the Clinton route to a Canadian-style health care system. Americans will have no place to go.

Q How many people in Canada are covered by the Canadian system?

DR. WILENSKY: All of the people in Canada are covered.

Q How many people in this country go without health care on a regular basis?

DR. WILENSKY: There are very few people who go without health care on a regular basis. There are 34 million people who don't have insurance coverage. President Bush has put out a health care plan that will make insurance accessible for all of Americans. The question is, how do you want to do it? With government fiat and mandates, or by trying to reform the health care system?

Q Small group reform has passed the Senate, it hasn't passed the House. In the states where small group reform has been enacted, nobody's buying it. That obviously is not going to take care of the problem.

DR. WILENSKY: It is not the only thing that is up there. We have long said that the various pieces that we are trying to pass affect each other. Medical liability is a cost driver that

is adding billions of dollars to our health care bill. Tests that are done, procedures that are done not because they are medically beneficial, but because hospitals and physicians are trying to protect themselves against lawsuits.

Consumers, purchasers of health care don't have enough information. We have got to help them. We have legislation that will do that. Paperwork is burdensome and it's costly. We can simplify the system. We have legislation up there that will do that.

People who are self-employed, our farmers, our smallest businessmen need to be able to deduct their health insurance premiums, and we have legislation up there to try to do that.

Q Gail, about a month ago you indicated that you were in the process of working on drafting the voucher and tax credit portions, the centerpieces. When would you estimate that you might be completed with that and be able to send something to Congress?

DR. WILENSKY: My guess, it'll be sometime in the next several months. What I said we were doing and we continue to do is to work on the operational details of how we allow for the two options we described in the President's health care plan, either allowing states to combine the new program of transferable credits or vouchers with their existing Medicaid program, or to have two separate programs. We have been working on the operational details to make sure that states can carry out with the maximum flexibility possible this new program, and as soon as we have that done, we will begin the drafting of the legislation.

But the notion that we can't have important health care reform right now just doesn't make it. We've got important legislation on the Hill; we'd like it acted on.

Q I want to be correct, though. You haven't actually begun drafting that portion?

DR. WILENSKY: We are working on the operational issues, and then we will begin the legislative drafting.

Q Do you think that you might be able to get that done before November?

DR. WILENSKY: Perhaps. And if it does, I'm afraid that is not going to be what either allows us to go forward or not. We have had this legislation up there for several months now. We have gotten nowhere.

Q Dr. Wilensky, some of your critics say that this administration only got religion on health care after the Wofford victory in Pennsylvania. What do you say to those who say you only put this out during the beginning of the fourth year of the President's term?

DR. WILENSKY: The President directed Secretary Sullivan in the State of the Union of 1990 to look at issues of access, cost and quality. This was undertaken with great seriousness in the Department of Health and Human Services. Similar efforts were going on in the Office of Management and Budget. Director Darman, last spring, was discussing -- when discussing some of the health care issues that he expected that the President would have a health care reform proposal at various times depending on when we had completed all this work; that this was last spring of 1991, not November of 1991. Either around at the end of the year or possibly as late as the end of the summer of 1992. The notion we haven't been looking at this, that we haven't been working on this or that we haven't even been announcing this prior to the fourth year of the Bush administration just doesn't match up with the facts.

MR. MOLEY: Let me just add something technically to that, if I may. When Dr. Sullivan was given that charge in the State of the Union in 1990, he met with Gail and I and others in order to proceed to putting together a plan. One of the conditions that we laid down before we came to closure was that we wanted to see the results of three different studies that were already in progress. One of which was, the Pepper Commission, a second of which was the National Governors' Association's recommendations of last August. Governor Clinton who at that time then recommended state experimentation and state experimentation only. We also were looking to get the recommendations of the Steelman Commission. We have taken, I might add, from Governor Clinton's position last August, a strong position on state experimentation. We'd like to go forward in that area.

But we were looking for input from various other organizations. And I can remember, as I'm sure Gail can, meeting on weekends and during the week at great length last summer trying to put those portions of those plans together with our own ideas to be able to go further forward.

Q Gail, may I follow up on an earlier question? The two big issues here, coverage expansion and cost containment. The other things that you've sent to the Hill a lot of people regard as peripheral. You've never explained how you would pay for the tax credits and the --

DR. WILENSKY: Well, first of all, I just did. And second of all -- I beg to differ with you -- the notion that making sure --

MR. MOLEY: That person wasn't here when you said that.

DR. WILENSKY: Okay. Making sure that the small businesses of America have affordable, reliable health insurance that they can offer their employees, making sure that people don't get shut out of insurance when they go to change jobs, making sure that there is no longer medical underwriting is hardly anything that I would call peripheral, and I can't imagine that the small business community either would.

With regard to the funding, we are now paying over \$135 billion -- the "we" being the federal and the state government -- over the next five years to provide payments so that hospitals can provide health care for uninsured individuals. We have many other areas in Medicare and Medicaid that are indirectly subsidizing institutions that provide health care for uninsured people. We know this pushes them, the uninsured people, to rely on emergency rooms -- the most expensive place to receive your primary care -- and that that makes no sense.

What we are proposing is to make sure that people who are now uninsured have access to primary care, have access to care where they need it, when they need it, from the appropriate health care providers. And there is more than enough money to cover the \$100 billion we estimate it would take over the next five years.

Q Well, where are the dollars coming from?

Q When will you cover? Where is going to come from? You're not being specific. Is it --

DR. WILENSKY: I'm just telling you that we have payments now --

Q Is it waste, or is it -- higher level --

DR. WILENSKY: No, no, no. We have -- let me try
and --

MR. MOLEY: Budgeted payments.

DR. WILENSKY: These are budgeted payments. We do not send up legislation that has funding requirements without funding. We sent up a piece of legislation that funds the 100 percent deductibility of health insurance premiums for the self-employed. We sent up funding with it. We do not fool around sending up legislation that has spending without having the financing to go with it.

There is now projected federal and state spending --

MR. MOLEY: Payments.

DR. WILENSKY: -- payments, that will go to hospitals for providing health care for the uninsured that we believe can be used to provide health funding along with the other duplicate payments that now exist in Medicare and Medicaid. Duplicate in the sense that they are being used to provide after-the-fact payments to institutions who treat high numbers of uninsured people. We want to divert those payments to cover access for insurance for poor people being benefited under this system so that they can get care when they need it, where they need it, and from the most appropriate health care providers.

Yes, in the back of the room.

Q Why do you continue to refer to Clinton's plan as the Canadian-type system when he's never endorsed anything of the kind?

MR. MOLEY: Because I chose to go to his headquarters this morning and pick up his plan. And I would -- aside from being told by one of the staffers there that he was for a Canadian-style system, which I'm not suggesting we should rely on, I'm suggesting the first bullet point suggest capped national spending to control health care cost. Capping national spending which, in the health jargon goes under the term global budgeting is a Canadian-style or if you like a Great British-style or a West German-style or any other kind of styles of plans that have their citizens in hospitals like M.D. Anderson in Houston, Sloan-Kettering in New York, the Mayo Clinic, the Cleveland Clinic, or clinics and hospitals all over this country because the citizens of those countries can't get the highest quality health care that we have available here in this country. So --

Q -- the rest of the plan explicitly says that he wants to move to a pay or play system -- you would call it a Canadian system because it has a global target?

MR. MOLEY: If you have global budgeting, if you cap national spending, you, in fact, cannot have these market reforms. When you suggest that you can have market reforms and competition and have global spending, that's oxymoronic with the accent on the moronic.

MS. SMITH: We'll take a final question here.

DR. WILENSKY: Okay, let me continue responding to this. The play or pay, as I've indicated earlier, needs to be understood for what it is, which is two things. The first thing is a new government mandate or a new tax on small businesses.

There is a reason this hasn't been getting a lot of attention with it's focus on what it does for the economic growth. It will hurt us enormously in terms of trying to promote economic growth in the country because small business is where it's at. Second point is, people even who are advocates of play or pay readily

acknowledge that because of the millions of people who will find themselves on the pay end, that is, their employers will say, we'll pay that added wage tax and let them go into the government pool, estimate being 52 million people right away who would find themselves -- who now have private insurance -- getting government insurance so that within a few years time there would be so many people in the government part of play or pay that we would just tip over in national health insurance. Even many of the advocates admit it's just back door national health insurance.

MS. SMITH: Final question.

Q The White House proposals for balancing the budget from Director Darman include a laundry list of Medicare and Medicaid cuts saving tens of billions of dollars over the next five years by reducing the growth of those programs to first two percent over CPI and then down to zero in a very short number of years. Is that what you're building your health reforms on?

DR. WILENSKY: No, we are not. And if you want, there is Tom Scully from OMB, is behind you -- be glad to address any of the Director Darman questions.

Q You're distancing yourself from those projections?

DR. WILENSKY: No, we're just saying that that is not what we are using -- that's what we are not using to fund this -- we are not relying on that to fund this program.

MS. SMITH: Thank you.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

1:35 P.M. EDT



THE PRESIDENT

8-4-92

Down it all, Zeders, will
be in Mass on your
special, wonderful day —
Love to all assembled
EJ

THE WHITE HOUSE

The Honorable Fred M. Zeder II
and Mrs. Zeder

Martha and Fred Leder
request the pleasure of your company
for cocktails and buffet

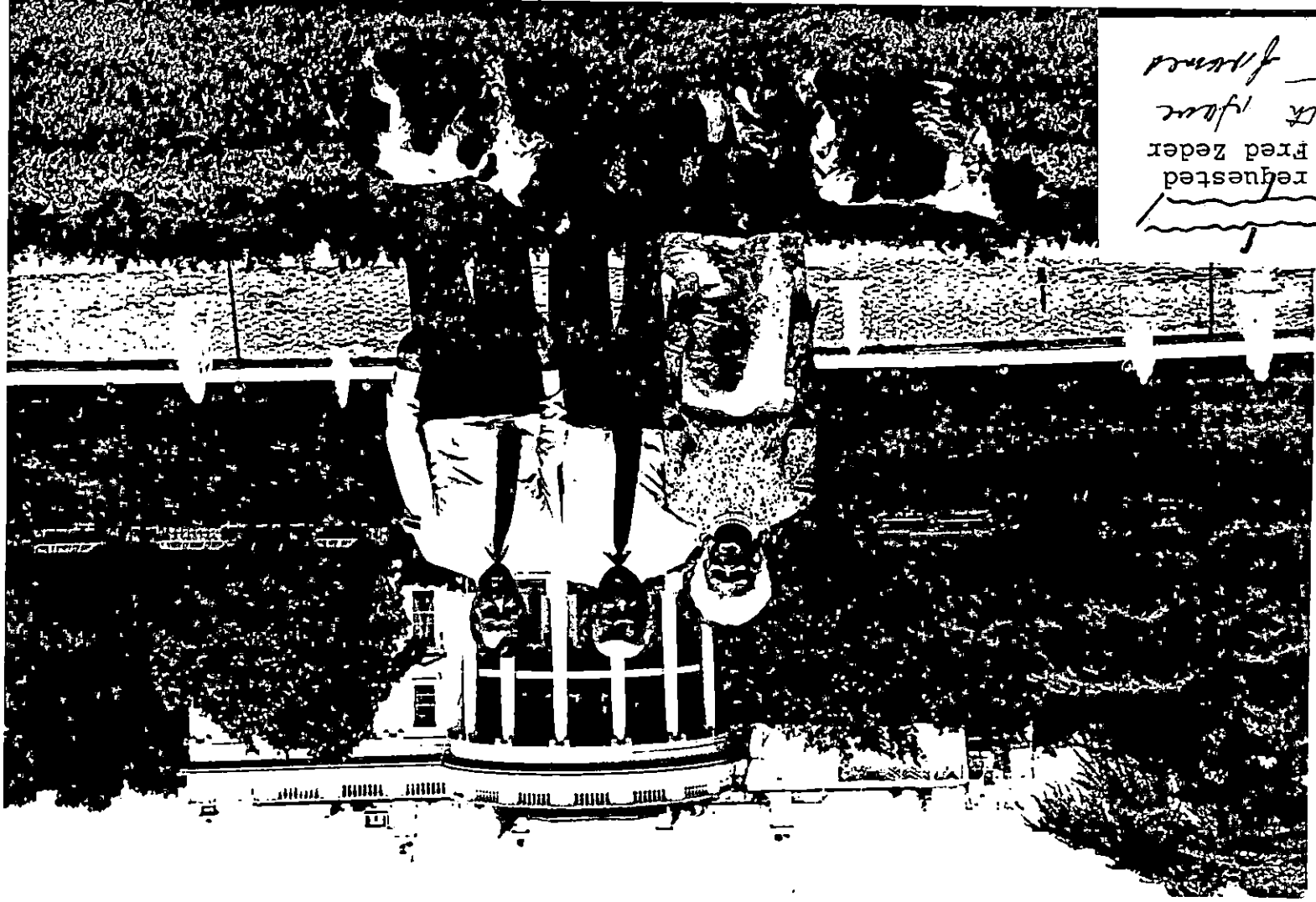
on their 50th wedding anniversary

Saturday, the eighth of August

at Seven o'clock

regretted
P. Presch at 8/00 25th Street, N.W.
7-28-98 Washington, D.C. 20037
R.V.P. (202) 838-5132

To Fred and Martha,
 Aug 8, 1992
 All Four Bushes and Boris, too - send you
 our heartiest congratulations and our love on your big 50th.
 We treasure our friendship with you two. Go for another 50!!
 Love, Bob



You requested
 for Fred Zeder
 50 of place
 - friends

Patty Presock

Rose,

The President and
Mrs. Bush will be out of town,
so I regretted this invitation.
Will you ask the President if
he wants to send a "GIFT".....
or note.

Thanks.

Patty

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

Bush Library Photocopy
George Bush Handwriting



Bush

March 30, 1992

To: Kathy Super, SPR, Patty

Re: **Zeders 50th**

The Zeders have their big 50th Saturday AUGust 8th.

It looks liek an all day affiar (church, reception, dancing etc.)

If in town I'd like to 'go by' something-

Just an Heads Up

GB

9

Mr. President

send gift

yes —

no —

send note yes —

FROM THE PRESIDENT

no —



March 30, 1992

To: Kathy Super, SPR, Patty

Re: Zeders 50th

The Zeders have their big 50th Saturday AUGust 8th.

It looks liek an all day affiar (church, reception, dancing etc.)

If in town I'd like to 'go by' something-

Just an Heads Up

GB

From the desk of

George Bush

Bow

*I've told Kathy ~
spr I'd like to
do some of this
it in town*

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Mr President & Bar - March 27 92

On Sat, Aug 8.  Martha and I are going to have our big 50th Anniversary. We are planning a tremendous extravaganza. Please come join us for a glorious church wedding featuring members of the original production, a fabulous reception with live entertainment and a great band. We will dance away the night.

Bar, you were at one 40th. Now you both just have to make this one.

Put a ring around the date - August 8th I'll send more later. Love ya Fred & Martha



THE PRESIDENT

3-30

Fred

If in town on the
8th we'll swe try to be
on hand. What a bash!!

OW

CC: (in & out)
Mrs. Bush (FYI)
Patty Presock (FYI)
Susan Rose (FYI)
Kathy Super
(ACTION)
Rose Zamaria (FYI)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JULY 28, 1992 P 3: 56

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NICHOLAS E. CALIO *NEC*

SUBJECT: LETTER FOR YOUR READING FILE

Enclosed is a letter which you received from a Member of Congress today.

Sen. Al D'Amato (R-NY) "I am deeply upset by the newspaper stories which terribly mischaracterize my remarks in response to a question at a convention Monday morning. In no way does the grossly overblown interpretation of an offhand remark reflect the great affection and trust I have in you as our President and leader. It is my confirmed belief that you are the man we need as President and that you deserve the re-election mandate which the people will give you this fall. I profoundly regret that any words of mine were interpreted to cast doubt on the confidence the country has for your continued leadership. I want to assure you that I will do everything in my power to attain your victory in November. Toward that end, I continue to work with the Victory '92 Committee and the whole New York Republican Party to see that every possible effort is made to make my state truly "Bush Country."

talled to P'Amato 8-4-92
2/12 accepted into
apology.
file daily 8/4
ask Calio
Ron H. how
I would
ref by
I want to
advice
EB
7-31

ALFONSE D'AMATO
NEW YORK

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 28, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

I am deeply upset by the newspaper stories which terribly mischaracterized my remarks in response to a question at a convention Monday morning.

In no way does the grossly blown interpretation of an offhand remark reflect the great affection and trust I have in you as our President and leader. It is my confirmed belief that you are the man we need as President and that you deserve the re-election mandate which the people will give this fall. I profoundly regret that any words of mine were interpreted to cast doubt on the confidence the country has for your continued leadership.

I want to assure you that I will do everything in my power to attain your victory in November. Toward that end, I continue to work with the Victory '92 Committee and the whole New York Republican Party to see that every possible effort is made to make my state truly "Bush Country."

Sincerely,
Al D'Amato

8-4-92
 The note to Teeter
 August 3, 1992

Bob - this is a
 going & return
 why not a call for
 its dismemberment
 by Clinton "??"

daily 8/4

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bob Teeter

SUBJECT: "Americans for Change"

I thought the attached memo from Bobby Burchfield would be of interest to you, for your information.

Chapter II

8-4-92

We attached them last weekend
 and they have now announced their
 and they have now announced their dissolution.

B.S.

August 4, 1992

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bob Teeter

One page to follow.

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS
TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Secretary Skinner	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Carol Powers	West Wing
Patty Presock	Residence
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
Ann Brock	
Julie Cooke	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Jane Moore	
Susan Porter Rose	
Sally Runion	
Peggy Swift	
Anna Perez	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Jay Suchan	(plus originals)

First lady calls on children in hospital

By Mike Oliver

OF THE SENTINEL STAFF

Barbara Bush got an unexpected trumpet blast in Orlando Thursday when she was asked whether Dan Quayle will remain vice president, even though some critics have said he is hurting her husband's re-election effort.

"The vice president has been a superb vice president" Bush began as employees and young patients at Arnold Palmer Hospital for Children & Women looked on.

Suddenly the programmed chimes from a miniature Disney World castle in the hospital's lobby blared and interrupted the first lady.

She looked at the playhouse and said emphatically to laughter, "The answer to the question is yes."

Before meeting the press, Bush toured the neonatal intensive care unit and rocked a 3-pound, 5-ounce premature infant. She was made an honorary hospital volunteer, joining the hospital's other 237 volunteers. She also visited Orlando City Council member Glenda Hood, who is recovering from surgery to remove an ovarian cyst.

Bush arrived in Orlando from Tallahassee, where she spoke at a fund-raiser and debunked rumors that

the president is ill.

"I know you've all heard the rumors about George's health. Some of them are so crazy I really have to laugh," she said.

In Orlando, she denied her visit was a campaign stop to boost the president's sagging performance in the polls, but she vigorously defended her husband at every chance.

"George is the finest, the most decent, stable, steady, experienced, caring, compassionate man that ever was," Bush said.

The first lady spent time talking to some of the sick children who were seated beside her, some in wheelchairs and some with intravenous tubes snaking from their arms.

When she put on a hospital jacket worn by volunteers, 6-year-old Jimmy Petroski shouted from his wheelchair, "Now you work here!"

She never mentioned her husband's opponent, Democrat Bill Clinton, by name but she said this year's campaign had been "ugly."

"But that's politics," she said. "If you can't stand the heat don't get in the kitchen."

After leaving the hospital, Bush was scheduled to attend a fund-raiser at a private home in Winter Park. The name of the hosts and the location were not disclosed.



JOE BURBANK/SENTINEL

A gift for the first lady

Jimmy Petroski, 6, a patient at Arnold Palmer Hospital for Children & Women, presents Barbara Bush with a collar for her dog, Millie, during Bush's visit to Orlando on Thursday. Story, A-10.

Mon 3-Aug-92 11:19 EDT

YOUNG VOTERS VS SENIORS: GENERATIONS BATTLE FOR INFLUENCE

By Caren Bohan

WASHINGTON, Reuter - Touting his youth, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton has urged 68-year-old President Bush to step aside for a "new generation in American politics."

Clinton, 45, and running mate Al Gore, 44, repeatedly invoke 1960, when young voters helped propel 43-year-old John F. Kennedy into the White House to succeed elder statesman Dwight Eisenhower.

But in the 1992 election, the strongest vote for change is likely to come not from young people but from voters of Bush's generation.

Senior citizens' votes may figure prominently in the presidential race since they go to the polls in much greater numbers than younger voters.

Most polls over the past four years show that of all age groups, older voters have been least supportive of Bush. Unlike 1960, when young people were most likely to identify themselves as Democrats, nowadays it is senior citizens who fall into that category.

"Senior citizens were coming of age during the Great Depression and the New Deal," said Karlyn Keene, research fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington think-tank.

President Franklin Roosevelt, a Democrat and author of the New Deal, enjoyed wide popularity during that era.

"That's been a very strong anchor for them," Keene said.

In contrast, young voters -- particularly those who came of age during the Reagan era -- are more likely to have their anchor in the Republican Party.

A study by the Times-Mirror Center for the People and the Press released earlier this month found 39 percent of Americans 65 and over call themselves Democrats while 31 percent see themselves as Republicans.

According to Gallup polls, in 1988 voters 50 and older supported Michael Dukakis, Bush's Democratic challenger, in greater numbers than did other age groups.

This year, polls show Bush's disapproval rating higher among senior citizens than among other voters.

At a National Council of Senior Citizens convention in Washington in early July, several delegates expressed discontent.

Evelyn Patterson said she will likely take a chance in November that despite Clinton's youth, he will be sensitive to issues such as health care that concern older voters.

"Anything to get rid of Bush," said Patterson, a nurse from Pennsylvania.

"The American dream is shot," said Thomas Willey of Maryland, another Clinton backer. "We've got to get the deficit settled and we're spending so much money bailing out the savings and loans."

Senior citizens don't appear to limit disapproval to Bush, however. Polls indicate antipathy toward the president may be a sign of a wider disenchantment with politicians in general.

Many voters were angered by the savings and loan crisis and the House bank scandal.

But Charlotte Flynn, national chairwoman for the Gray Panthers, an activist group formed to combat age discrimination, said these issues struck a chord with seniors in particular because most of them were raised during the Depression when frugality was a way of life.

"You look at the salaries of Congress. These are things that get people angry," Flynn said.

Marjorie Arsht, a 77-year-old Republican activist who ran George Bush's very first campaign -- a 1963 run for local office in Harris County, Texas -- out of her living room in Yokum, Texas, said that in her view, the values many seniors grew up with may yet lead them toward the Republican ticket.

"We grew up in an era when we didn't expect government to solve all our problems," a view shared by Republicans, she said.

As to whether a youthful image will help or hurt Clinton with senior citizens, it could go either way, seniors said.

Many were dazzled by the youth and attractiveness of Clinton and his wife Hillary as well as by Tipper and Al Gore.

But others were pleased to see Barbara Bush move into the White House four years ago.

"A lot of them thought, 'Finally we have a First Lady who isn't a size six,'" Arsht quipped.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

The H bomb

"Hilarious: The Wacky Wit, Wisdom & Wonderment of Hillary Rodham Clinton" will be in the bookstores about the middle of this month. The book, basically an illustrated collection of outrageous quotes, addresses the concept put forward by Gail Sheehy that Bill Clinton is the Democratic Party's messenger but Hillary is "its message." Hooooooooee.

"She is the epitome of everything that the left-leaning perennial losers in the party have stood for over the past 50 years," writes George Grant, assembler of the document. "She is the perfect incarnation of the radical fringe that has successfully taken over its institutional apparatus."

Here are a few quotes from the collection:

- "It's a real honor for me to be ever compared to Eleanor Roosevelt."

- "We're searching for more immediate, ecstatic and penetrating modes of living."

- "Collective action is needed on the community, state and federal level to wrest from machines and those who profit from their use the extraordinary power they hold over us all."

Bush's babes

Well, the Clinton camp has had some success in stirring up rumors about George Bush's extramarital affairs. The story has hit the pages of the National Enquirer, where it will at least rival space-alien endorsements in the Weekly World News for credibility. The Enquirer mostly rehashed stuff from Spy magazine. Mrs. Bush, reacting to the tales, "just hugged the President and told him: 'You don't have to explain to me. We've loved each other too long, and I know you've never been involved with another woman,'" a "close friend" of the first lady is quoted as saying.

We agree that the charges are preposterous, of course. We were the first to note that the L.A. Weekly had backed down from its reports on the subject. But, all the same, just who is the "redheaded journalist who became involved with Bush while she was covering the 1980 Presidential campaign"?

More on Mo

It's getting to where you're going to have to take a number to write a



Mo Dean and husband John may have stirred even Maxine Cheshire.

book on John and Mo Dean of Watergate fame. And it looks like that couple may have to hire a few more lawyers to combat all the allegations going around. Now we hear that Maxine Cheshire, former snoop for The Washington Post, is on the case. She grilled one of our contacts on what is for the Deans a Very Sensitive Subject. We'd love to know more but Ms. Cheshire, married and living the good life in Texas, wouldn't take our call.

Handling the press

Foreign journalists who try to avoid access restrictions imposed by Fidel Castro's government are finding the penalties severe, according to a report from the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF).

Some reporters have thought they might get around official censors by traveling on tourist visas. CANF reports that a correspondent for the French daily Le Monde was beaten by authorities after meeting with dissidents. A Czech reporter was assaulted on general principle, and a Canadian journalist, who actually was visiting Cuba on vacation, was detained for four days by authorities and then expelled.

CANF is now publishing a newsletter, Cuba Survey. The first issue contains an interview with the former KGB chief, Gen. Oleg Kalugin, who predicts Mr. Castro will be out of work in two or three years, perhaps "even earlier."

GOP sues Cuomo

New York Republicans are filing suit against Gov. Mario Cuomo over use of public funds for political purposes, according to a report in the New York Post. The political purposes in question happen to be an attack newsletter denouncing Republican officials.

The suit asks that Mr. Cuomo be required to pay back money the state put into producing and mailing the newsletter. The governor didn't seem particularly intimidated by the threatened suit. "I'm going to do more of it," he said of his attack newsletter.

The Republicans also plan to publish their own newsletter to mail to those who have received the Cuomo missive. Theirs will have two differences, though, or so they claim. First, it won't be paid for by public funds. Second, it will be "a truthful mailing."

In the ring?

Now that things are sort of patched up between the Bush campaign and the Buchanan brigade, the question of Pat's plans with regard to 1996 remains to be answered. Though he's far too diplomatic to touch on such matters in his prime-time address at the Republican National Convention, there are some clues floating around. Cal Thomas tells us he stumbled across what he figures is a strong indication when he checked out the phone number for the Buchanan headquarters in Houston: 713/923-1996.

Mr. Thomas says he asked Mr. Buchanan what might be read into the last four digits and was told: "Someone's looking ahead."

Put on the dog

Our attention was directed by an outraged fan of Dan Quayle's to a classified ad in the "pets" section of The Washington Post. The District of Columbia's animal-control unit had advertised "Murphy" for adoption — a small, spayed, mixed Lab "single mother, recently raised several children on her own. Dan Quayle need not apply."

We were asked to determine if government funds had been spent on the ad. No, we were told, it is free space donated by the OP. And it attracted lots of attention. "We've had several good applications," a spokeswoman told us. "I'm sure she'll be in a good home soon."

— John Elvin

8/3/92

TIMES BOARD OF ECONOMISTS / ALICE M. RIVLIN

A Midsummer Night's Dream About This Year's Presidential Campaign

Maybe the summer sun got to me, but I had this dream about the election campaign. I guess it was pretty bizarre.

First, the presidential candidates got together and decided what the election was not about.

For example, it was not about who has the best wife or the most loyal family. They agreed that Barbara Bush is everybody's ideal grandma and that Hillary's cookies are as good as her legal analysis. They all like dogs and kids and country music and pigging out on ethnic cooking. The election is not about who can act most like a typical American. (For this role, call Central Casting.)

They also agreed not to waste valuable time digging up prejudicial stories—true or imagined—

ALICE M. RIVLIN is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington.

about each other's past.

A separate contest would be held in the off-year to find the 10 most blame-free citizens in America. The contest, judged by a board of clergy, would be open only to people over 40 who had never done anything they regretted or blurted out words that could be misinterpreted later.

Contest winners would be banned from all leadership positions as too unwilling to take risks. Perfect spellers would not be banned, but would have to overcome a presumption that they lacked creative imagination.

The candidates also agreed to stop talking about problems that a President is powerless to change, such as "family values."

Like most Americans, the candidates believe their own family values are terrific, but other people's need fixing. Since no one could think of anything a President

could do to fix other people's family values, they decided to concentrate on tasks a President could reasonably be expected to accomplish, such as making the federal government work better.

Their final stipulation was not to dump on government bureaucrats. Some successful business folks told them the worst thing a potential CEO could do is beef about the employees being lousy and deadbeats doing unnecessary jobs.

The winner of this election is going to need all the support he can get to carry out his programs. He had better tell his future troops how important their jobs are and how much he believes in their talent and dedication—even if he intends to do a little downsizing after he gets in.

The business types also pointed out the stupidity of running down Congress; CEO's who slam the board of directors live to regret it.

The candidates agreed that the country faces big problems—getting the economy moving again, balancing the federal budget, protecting the environment, improving the schools, fixing the health care system, defining America's new role in the world.

A lot of people are mad at the government, but most are not sure exactly what the options are or what ought to be done. The election is a great opportunity for the public to hear different points of view and make judgments about who has the most workable solutions.

The candidates also decided to start by debating their plans for balancing the budget, since not much else can be done if the government is broke and borrowing most of the nation's savings to pay its current bills. Neither wanted, if he won, to be prevented from being a world leader and a success-

ful domestic President by a divisive and draining deficit. Both wanted to use the campaign to emphasize the seriousness of the problem, try out solutions, and find the ones the public preferred.

To avoid confusing the public with conflicting numbers, they told their staffs to agree on common projections of how big the deficit was likely to be in four years if nothing were done to fix it.

The debate started off with some clever computer graphics that showed clearly what the government spent money for, who paid the bill and how much was being borrowed. Then each candidate presented his plan to close the deficit gap.

On the first try, neither succeeded—they could not find enough spending to cut and did not want to raise taxes. But the audience egged them on. By the end of the pro-

gram, there were two plans for actually balancing the budget—one with a Republican flavor and one with a Democratic one.

The press pundits who predicted the public would tune out were red-faced. Switchboards lit up, call in shows were swamped with people who wanted to give their own suggestions. Arguments about the budget broke out in bars and on buses. Everyone had something to contribute. By popular demand, there were more debates on health care, job programs, foreign trade and global warming.

The media's political reporters had to take crash courses on policy issues so they could talk about substance instead of spin and gossip.

I woke up before I found out who won. But I had this vague feeling that I had seen a version of democracy that some country, somewhere, ought to try.

Radio

On the Dial

Mrs. Quayle's Air Time

By Jeffrey Yorke

Special to The Washington Post

Radio stunts are calculated to tickle the audience, not the announcer, but that's what happened to Jack Diamond at adult contemporary WRQX-FM (107.3) last week.

On Wednesday, the morning host sent partner Bert Weiss to Vice President Quayle's home at the Naval Observatory with a bouquet of roses for Marilyn Quayle on her 43rd birthday. Weiss also toted along a card and a compact-disc recording by the Red Hot Chili Peppers.

"We weren't doing it tongue in cheek. We were being sincere and were trying to be nice," Diamond said later. "I wanted her to know that we are not all boneheads in the media. Some of us are nice guys and are occasionally sincere."

Soon after Weiss announced to the station's "nine listeners" (a number from Diamond's imaginary listener survey) that he had arrived on the observatory grounds, he was told by the security detail to leave the flowers. The bouquet would be forwarded to Mrs. Quayle's press secretary, the guards promised. Diamond and Weiss figured it was a cute stunt and that it was over. Then at 10:30, while sitting in his office after the show, Diamond received a phone call. "It's Marilyn Quayle," said the station's operator over the public-address system. "Yeah, right," said the 38-year-old jock, assuming that a listener was toying with him.

"Jack, I'm sitting here with your bouquet of flowers and the card in front of me, and I just want to say thank you. If I had known Bert was at the gate I would have let him up here. And thank your nine listeners for me!" Diamond recalled Quayle saying. He was stunned.

He said Quayle reported that she listened to his show "occasionally," so Diamond felt compelled to confess about making the occasional Dan Quayle joke, but that "we have never done anything maliciously."

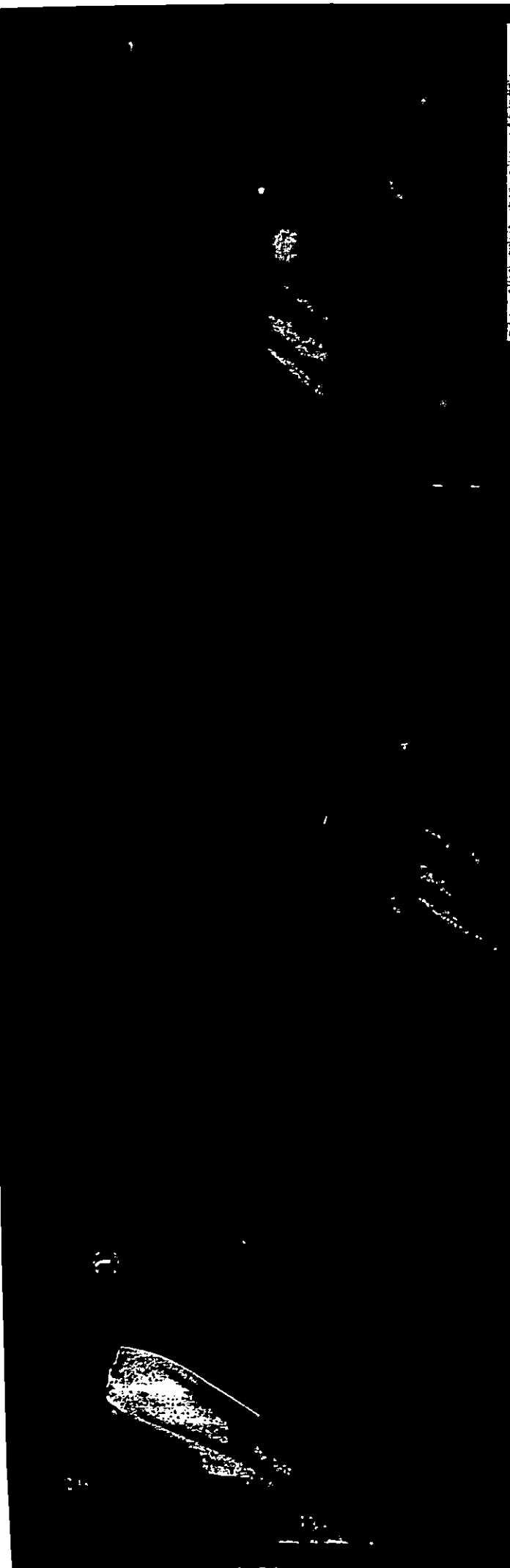
He said Quayle responded: "Dan and I can take a joke. It's the maliciousness that we don't like."

During his nearly five-minute conversation with Quayle, Diamond said, "she laughed easily. She was very genuine and sincere . . . a very likable person. It was very, very cool."

He asked her to phone him the next day on the air. And at 9:35 a.m., she did, saving Diamond's fast-diminishing credibility among listeners who had begun to call the host, challenging his story of Quayle's original call.

For the record, Diamond's audience far exceeds nine listeners. According to the recent Arbitron survey of listeners 12 years and older, the program has 40,300 listeners during the average quarter-hour—the largest audience among stations in the adult contemporary

format. Diamond is about to begin the third year of his five-year contract at "Mix 107."



Hilla

SPEAKS TO HER MYTHOLOGIZERS

CAN THIS WOMAN IN the little-girl headband be the yuppie lawyer from hell, the children's-rights advocate accused of going too far, the éminence grise of Arkansas, claws barely sheathed, poised for a leap toward power, the woman who ought to be running for president but lacks the guts to do it, or—worst of all—the mommy who doesn't cook?

"If he doesn't get elected, she's going to dump him. Mark my words," a woman observed to a *New York Times* reporter recently.

"She'll run herself four years from now" is another prediction.

Why is she so often cast as the wicked feminist queen, the wronged wife plotting to run the White House from behind the throne? The stories woven around her have taken on the force of a myth.

"I sometimes wonder how history gets written," Hillary Clinton said last April, on a campaign swing that began with a fund-raising breakfast in Jacksonville, Florida, and was progressing by chartered plane to Philadelphia and points west. "I've had friends tell reporters things about me, all of it very nice, but none of it true. I never was a champion diver. I wasn't the president of my senior class.

I wasn't first in my class at Yale Law School and don't have any idea who was. I don't know where it came from. But nobody bothered to check it, and now it's part of my folklore. And if small things can be so wrong, how can people believe all this inference about how someone feels or what her motives are? I take it with a pound of salt now. I've learned how hard it is to keep people's attention focused on what will matter in their own lives."

In April, when she first spoke with me, Hillary Clinton was traveling with one paid staffer—her press secretary, Kathy Jurado. This young woman was weighed down with tote bags full of campaign materials, wads of faxes and other impedimenta. Brooke Shearer, a friend from Washington, D.C., and a corporate investigator and journalist who has known Hillary since before she was Mrs. Clinton, came along for companionship and to lend a hand when she could.

Whether speaking at a rally or surrounded by her inner circle, Hillary Clinton displays aplomb, even serenity, a quality she's apparently acquiring as she goes. But what Hillary actually says often goes unreported unless she makes a blunder or until her opponents see a wedge. A piece by Garry Wills in *The New York*

Review of Books paid tribute to her legal writings and speeches, some many years old, and to her idea that children, as they mature, ought gradually to shed their status as minors and acquire some say-so in their own destiny. "This is only common sense," Hillary Clinton says, "and only what any good parent tries to do as a child matures." Nevertheless, the Wills article has evoked gleeful accusations that the

Clinton doctrine would eventually empower tots to sue their parents over such issues as being required to take out the garbage or pick up the toys—a charge that she answers, a bit wearily, "Anybody who says I want kids to sue their parents is simply distorting what I wrote and what I think. In 99.9 percent of cases, parents and children have identical interests. I'm talking about the rights of children in extreme conditions, such as abuse."

The needs of poor children might seem remote from Hillary Clinton's experience and yet, she says, her concerns grow directly out of her own life. She had a happy, privileged childhood in Park Ridge, a Chicago suburb. Her father, Hugh Rodham, earned a good living in a drapery-fabrics business; Dorothy Rodham was a stay-home mother. Hillary had access to excellent schools and a secure home in a pleasant neighborhood where kids roamed freely on their bicycles: "Our parents never worried. They just said to be home by 5:30."

At the same time, childhood was filled with high purpose. "My parents gave me my belief in working hard, doing well in school and not being limited by the fact that I was a little girl. It really was the classic parenting situation, where the mother is the encourager and helper, and the father brings news from the outside world. My father would come home and say, 'You did well, but could you do better? It's hard out there.' Encouragement was tempered with realism." Some version of that security and support, she thinks, is what every child needs. "The role

fathers play in empowering girls is critical. That's one reason it's so troubling to have so many fatherless children these days."

The lesson she draws from all this, however, is not a sense of entitlement but of obligation. "What I am," she insists, "is probably so corny that people just don't want to believe it. What I'm interested in is not anything secretive. It's called public service. I have a deep, abiding sense of obligation that makes it very hard for me to see the waste and the damage and the hurt that occur every day. I can't help wanting to do something about it. I feel so lucky to be married to Bill, because his being governor has made it natural for me to get involved. But you don't have to be married to a political man to do public service."

Rooted as she is in middle-class, community-minded public-service traditions, Hillary Clinton resembles Barbara Bush far more than she does Gloria Steinem. Like Barbara Bush, Hillary Clinton is a woman surrounded by, embedded in, her family, drawing a large slice of her identity from them. Her family includes not just her husband and daughter but also her parents, who moved to Little Rock a few years ago from Illinois and who help look after the Clintons' only child, 12-year-old Chelsea. Younger brothers Tony and Hugh Rodham live in Miami and are active in the campaign their sister and brother-in-law are waging. Athletic-looking men, they loomed at her side last spring as she spoke to a student rally at Penn State University, which both Hugh Rodhams, father and son, once attended. Later, the fraternity to which they had belonged presented Hillary with an armful of roses and a sweatshirt "for the first woman president—Chelsea."

Observers who sense presidential material, or at least presidential ambitions, in Hillary Clinton find her stance on running for office a disappointment. "Since I was in eighth grade, people have been urging me to run for public office. People think that because I care so much about public issues, I should run for office myself. I don't want to run for office. In 1990, when it looked as though Bill might not run for

governor, I had dozens of people call me and tell me to run. But it just wasn't anything I was interested in. An elected official has to deal with many things—I see the way Bill does it. Seven or eight different things in one day. And he's good at that. What I see for myself is a role as an advocate."

Furthermore, she says, if offered her ideal job, it wouldn't be the governorship or even the presidency, but in a school. "When we moved to Arkansas, I taught in the law school at Fayetteville, and then at Little Rock, and I loved that. And depending on how my life unfolds, I would like to go back to teaching, but on the high school or college level. I like going into high schools. I'm interested in children that age."

Watching her wade into a crowd, however, it is hard not to think she's missing her calling. In Philadelphia, her first stop was the Reading Terminal Market, always thickly populated at noon-time, a warren of small restaurants and food purveyors, a huge space rather like an old-time village market. Some local Democratic candidates were waiting for her, as well as TV crewmen hefting equipment on their shoulders, newspaper photographers and reporters—all of whom engulfed the woman in her brilliant print jacket. If she is an intensely private person, an intellectual pained by having to press the flesh, she does not show it. She beamed her Miss America smile, her hands outstretched, she talked, she listened. "Hello, I'm Hillary Clinton." She did not kiss any babies, but she did shake (Continued on page 268)

Rooted as she is in middle-class, community-minded public-service traditions, Hillary Clinton resembles Barbara Bush far more than she does Gloria Steinem

HILLARY SPEAKS

Continued from page 209

hands with little kids and took motherly notice of tots in strollers. She was followed closely by Kathy Jurado, handing out leaflets and campaign buttons. Then, like a triumphant D.A. who'd just won her case, she positioned herself before the massed mugs of the video cameras, answering the shouted queries with relish.

"Aren't you a liability to your husband's campaign?"

"No, I'm getting his message out, and I know people are listening."

"What about Governor Clinton's character problems?"

"When Americans get to know him the way the people of Arkansas know him, they'll understand that he doesn't have character problems. He's been elected five times."

"Have you got any good cookie recipes, Hillary?"

"Sure, I have. I'll send you a couple."

The infamous "tea and cookies" crack has dogged her for months ("I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas"). She was attempting to fend off attacks from Jerry Brown, who had questioned the propriety of her being a partner in the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, a firm that does business with the state. Among other things, the remark brought a small deluge of cookies by mail to campaign headquarters in Little Rock. ("They were usually pretty smashed up, but it was great," said one staffer. "We're always hungry.") And it has provided Hillary with an exit line from fund-raising events: "Help me send George Bush back to Maine or Texas or wherever, where he'll have time to bake cookies."

"Tea and cookies" was taken as one more sign of the Yuppie curse, or of radical feminism, but she insists she never meant to cast scorn upon housewives.

"My mother was a full-time homemaker," she insists, "and I'm a homemaker, with a child and a husband and a house. Sure I have help. I appreciate how much American women are doing these days, how many roles they have to play."

The point she wishes she had emphasized didn't concern women's roles at all—but life as it is lived in Arkansas. A highly qualified young litigator looking for work in Little Rock doesn't have the array of choices that bigger cities like Washington, D.C., or New York City might offer, just as the state, looking for legal firms to handle its business, doesn't have that many choices either. The governor earns \$35,000 annually and Hillary has been the main breadwinner. Family

connections between elected officials and lawyers are not unusual in other states, but one stumbling block for both Clintons in this campaign has been that few people have any idea how small Arkansas is, how small its inner sphere of influence is—and how poor it is.

The last 50 years have seen enormous changes in Arkansas, including the integration of schools, a marked easing of racial animosities and the rise of mechanized poultry farming and processing, which is now (along with lumbering and paper) the state's major industry. Indeed, though Arkansas remains the third-poorest state, with a median family income of \$14,600 (the national average is nearly \$20,000), the Arkansas economy has come to be dominated by these industries and a few large fortunes. Almost half of Arkansas's 2.3 million population lives outside areas classified as urban. The biggest city, Little Rock, has only 187,000 people. Everybody seems to know everybody else. Politics begins at courthouse square and in the local filling station. Football is the only Arkansas game that's rougher.

Such a state was, of course, a prime starting place for a well-educated, ambitious native son like William Jefferson Clinton, who is said to have dreamed of becoming president of the United States since boyhood. Looking at Arkansas politics historically, it's hard to argue that a high IQ and a degree from Yale Law are assets. But as that state's powerful Senator J. William Fulbright's long career shows, brains and establishment polish are not necessarily liabilities either. Nor is being an outsider fatal—Winthrop Rockefeller, a millionaire Republican, won the governorship of Arkansas in the 1960's. In a state that's still close to its frontier past, strong-minded activist women are not a rare species either. Arkansas was the first state ever to elect a woman as a United States senator—Hattie Caraway, in 1932. Daisy Bates, of the Arkansas NAACP, led the fight to integrate Little Rock's public schools in the late 1950's. Thus Bill and Hillary Clinton had some precedents as public figures, a cultural context to settle into. When he was elected state attorney general in 1976, she was launching her career not only as a litigator but as a children's advocate and unpaid public servant.

As head of her husband's Arkansas Education Standards Committee in 1983 and 1984, she barnstormed nearly every school and talked personally with superintendents and principals across the state. (One superintendent, she recalls, told her he didn't want the kids in his district to get an education.) The teachers' union bitter-

ly opposed the idea of competency tests. Yet a testing program finally won teacher support, partly because it was accompanied by a plan for in-service training programs. "Building a new educational system may take generations," she said. One of the most innovative and successful new programs has been a kind of Head Start program for parents and their four- and five-year-old children (an idea first tried out for immigrants in Israel), to teach unlettered parents how to parent a child who's starting school. Hillary Clinton's brand of idealism about education, her tendency to see it as the solution to most other social problems, is as old as John Dewey. She'd be quite at home at the average P.T.A. meeting.

Chelsea Clinton attends a public school in Little Rock. Born in 1980, during her father's first term as governor, Chelsea has grown up seeing her parents in public life. Wanting to prepare her for the roughhouse of political campaigning—the accusation and innuendo, the cartoons in the newspapers, the questions from classmates in school—the Clintons set out early to educate her. "When she was around six," her mother says, "we began talking to her about having a dad in politics and explained that in elections people sometimes said bad things or even told lies about people. We did a little mock debate. Chelsea would pretend to be Bill and say, 'Please vote for me, I've done a good job.' And we'd pretend to be the opponent and say, 'This Governor Clinton has done a terrible job.' And her eyes got so big. 'Why would anybody say that?' And Bill would say, 'I don't know, but we just want you to know it may happen.' We've always talked with her, been honest, so that she would never be surprised or embarrassed, so that her questions could be answered by the people who love her. I took her to the supermarket and showed her the tabloids, asked her if she believed the kind of thing they said." One of the roughest moments in the primary campaign occurred last January when Bill and Hillary Clinton appeared on *60 Minutes* to answer questions about his philandering. "Chelsea sat on her father's lap that night when we all watched that program together," says Hillary Clinton.

People excavating for the taproot of Hillary Clinton's energy and drive have come up with many theories. Her friend and traveling companion Brooke Shearer thinks they may have missed one of the most obvious: religion, the Methodist church, an organization well known in America for its outreach. "Not many people know that she's truly committed to her church. Her faith, Christianity, is real to

her, but it means much more than just personal salvation. It means service, doing for others. Hillary is a homemaker but a certain kind of homemaker. To her," Shearer says, "homemaking extends way beyond the home."

In addition, by her own account, Hillary Clinton sees her strength as coming from teamwork with her husband. "If you elect me, you get her," Bill Clinton has sometimes remarked, or "two for the price of one." An etymologist tracking down this phraseology to its source would find it not in *Macbeth* but in the lore of American Protestant churches. On ecclesiastical search committees it's a truism that the minister's wife is the most important hire, that she'll have to work at least as hard as her husband will.

Perhaps Hillary Clinton's lifelong religious training—and the value she places on the intact family—has led her to work hard at her own marriage. It's true, as both partners have freely admitted, that the relationship has sometimes needed work. She maintains, however, the pair have always had a solid base to build on. "Bill and I have always loved each other. No marriage is perfect, but just because it isn't perfect doesn't mean the only solution is to walk off and leave it. A marriage is always growing and changing. We couldn't just say, 'Well, this isn't ideal' and get a divorce. I'm proud of my marriage. I have women friends who chose not to marry, or who married and chose not to have children, or who married and then divorced, or who had children on their own. That's okay, that's their choice. This is my choice. This is how I define my personhood—it's Bill and Chelsea."

Of course, all this might simply be brushed off as crass expediency—cynicism having become the conventional wisdom of our day. No politician's wife since Eleanor Roosevelt has been so relentlessly dissected and ridiculed—and even Eleanor Roosevelt was immune from attack until she actually became first lady. Why does Hillary Clinton make so many people so nervous?

"She's very committed," Brooke Shearer says, "and commitment often looks like ambition to an outsider. And then there's the generational problem. She's the first woman of her kind to be out in the public eye—a baby boomer, a graduate of a prestigious law school and a successful attorney, an advocate for important causes and also a wife and mother. Maybe she scares people."

Clearly, she has become a screen whereon the public can project a lot of

(Continued)

HILLARY SPEAKS

Continued

contemporary anxieties—about the evolution of gender roles, about the proper roles for husband and wife in a two-salary household, not to mention the well-known national nervousness about the marital bargain itself. Should you forgive an imperfect spouse or throw him/her out? Can a self-respecting feminist tolerate a man who wants her help on his way up?

Hillary Clinton puzzles a great many feminists who hate to see such a woman campaigning for a boyish-looking husband when she could be playing for first prize herself. She may also annoy women who simply wish they had had her luck and opportunities. In "The Misanthrope's Corner," in the *National Review* (often a "Misogynist's Corner" as well), Flor-

ence King may have discovered why some women dislike Hillary Clinton: She is the "Great Girl of the Fifties," who "had so many extracurricular activities that the printer had a nervous breakdown trying to get them all on the same yearbook page." That is, she's a sort of homecoming queen who also managed to be valedictorian and a merit scholar: the girl other girls love to hate and want to see slip on a banana peel, preferably on national TV.

Hillary Clinton may not wish to be a role model and has even less desire to be a lightning rod. But this noncandidate is one of the most interesting women to appear on the American political scene in years. ●

Shirley Abbott is an Arkansas native now living in New York. She is author of two books set in Arkansas: The Bookmaker's Daughter and Womenfolks (Ticknor & Fields).

HOMELESSNESS LOOMS FOR MANY WITH AIDS

Of the estimated 3 million Americans who are homeless, about 15 percent are infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, according to a new report by the National Commission on AIDS. What's more, an estimated half of the 230,000 people with AIDS are either already homeless or in danger of becoming so.

Housing problems for people with AIDS typically begin at the point of diagnosis. Despite federal and state fair housing laws, many people are evicted from their homes when their illness becomes known, the report noted. Others who become too ill to work lose their homes because they are unable to pay the rent or mortgage.

About 30 percent of people with AIDS who are in acute-care hospitals are there because of a lack of community-based residential programs. "As a result, it often costs over \$1,000 per day to house a person with HIV in an acute-care hospital, when providing both housing and services in a residential setting could cost less than one-tenth of that amount," the report said.

The commission, an independent group that advises officials on developing a national AIDS policy, charges Congress, the president and the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development with failure to address the housing crisis. The report recommends federal and local support to develop several housing options, such as hospice care and rental subsidies, that will allow people to live independently until they need additional care.

— Wendy Melillo

The Philadelphia Inquirer

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Tuesday, August 4, 1992

EDITORIALS

The invented crisis

*Contrary to well-meaning reports, AIDS isn't
'spreading unchecked' among teenagers*

Suddenly, it's hard to miss this young, white, drug-free product of small-town America. Krista Blake's haunting face was on the cover of last week's Newsweek, and she's in a new public-service spot on TV. That's because Ms. Blake has AIDS, and she's part of a bipartisan push to tell Americans that this fatal disease is killing people who aren't gay men or drug addicts. Unfortunately, that truism is being distorted to an extent that is dishonest and that could ultimately be self-defeating.

It is true that if you engage in sex, you are risking AIDS unless you are absolutely certain that the other person doesn't have the virus. Most people who have the virus don't know it, and some who do know are lying scoundrels. Thus people who are "sexually active" shouldn't think that this fatal, incurable disease can't happen to them. But the Bush administration and some congressional Democrats are exaggerating the extent to which AIDS has broken out of its base among male homosexuals and people who inject drugs — who comprise 85 percent of AIDS victims — plus their heterosexual lovers.

An example of this hype, which led to scary distortions in major publications, is a recent screed entitled, "A Decade of Denial: Teens and AIDS in America." Put out by the House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families — more precisely, by the committee's Democrats — it says the AIDS virus "is spreading unchecked among the nation's adoles-

cents, regardless of where they live or their economic status."

With this kind of rhetoric, together with some statistical sleight of hand, the report makes it seem as if the nation's teenagers are being decimated by AIDS. This image may help to wangle a few more federal dollars in the short run — which is obviously one of the authors' goals. The problem is that the depiction is fiction.

Despite what cannot be known about a disease that can take many years to manifest itself after transmission, the evidence at present is that what's happening with teenagers and AIDS falls way short of an epidemic. In fact, the number of new, reported cases of teenagers with AIDS was slightly lower in 1991 than it was in 1990. There was also a decline in new cases among Americans in their early 20s.

The toll of reckless sexual behavior among young people (ranging from dangerous diseases to "babies having babies") is so great — and efforts to change that behavior are so inadequate — that there's a natural temptation to exploit AIDS to change the behavior of youngsters. But the risk in the tactic, which one writer refers to as a "benevolent Big Lie," is too great. Eventually the ruse will be found out, and the credibility of the political and journalistic institutions that perpetrated it will be damaged.

You just can't fool all of the people all of the time — and it's not a good idea to try.

DESIGN

By Aileen Mehle



Valentino, the Sheikh of Style, is coming to New York in September and bringing his magic with him, thrilled to be celebrating this year in this city his 30 incredible years in the couture with a wondrous exhibition

of the glamorous, sophisticated, romantic designs that have made him one of the most famous names in fashion. And a very rich man to boot, with a lifestyle, an *arte di vivere*, as luxurious and elegant as his celebrated clothes and the clients who wear them — **Nancy Reagan, Sophia Loren, Liza Minnelli, Jane Fonda, Queen Sofia of Spain, Queen Noor of Jordan, Paloma Picasso, Marella Agnelli, Princess Yasmin Aga Khan, Lynn Wyatt, Elizabeth Taylor and Jackie Onassis** to name but a fancy few. His knowledge of and influence on *l'arte della moda* has made possible resplendent residences in Rome, the Italian countryside, Capri, London and New York and a slap-up yacht to cruise on when he feels like going to sea. Viva Valentino!

Valentino's big New York splash, the gala opening of a retrospective of the sensational clothes he has created throughout his career, is set for Sept. 22 at the Seventh Regiment Armory on Park Avenue. On display will be 300 of his representative designs from 1960 to 1990, arranged thematically rather than chronologically. This is the exhibition, called "Valentino: Thirty Years of Magic," that dazzled them in Rome in June of last year, and the clothes will be shown in eight groups thusly: The Dream, Day, Red, Black and White, The Grand Ball, Applied Arts, The Animals and The Divines.

The Dream collection, made up of 10 evening gowns Valentino sketched in the Fifties when he was still an apprentice at Jean Desses, are still as contemporary and timeless as any in his current collection. One exhibit will be the famed Valentino motifs — red roses, bows of all sizes, animal prints, draping, molding — all as unmistakably his themes as is the "V" that is his trademark.

Highlights include the dress Elizabeth Taylor wore at the 1963 premiere of "Cleopatra" and the ecru wedding suit of georgette and lace Valentino made for Jackie Kennedy when she married **Aristotle Onassis**.

Annette Bening

Jackie Onassis

Jodie Foster

Kim Basinger

Paloma Picasso

Elizabeth Taylor

Barbra Streisand

No fewer than 39 orders were received for this two-piece beauty with the short pleated skirt, setting a record for couture.)

On opening night the Armory will be transformed by **Bob Currie** of New York into a "Piazza Italia," a lush, lush Italian piazza, a replica of a medieval square based on the Renaissance concept of the center of life in an ancient and contemporary times. After cocktails, there will be a preview of the exhibition, then dinner.

Then comes the *festa* with dancing and all sorts of merriment, Italian style.

Formal attire is requested — this is a gala of galas. remember — and, if you are a lady — and I wouldn't doubt it for a minute — don't even dream of walking through the portals unless you are wearing black, white or black *and* white. That's the way Valentino wants it on his big night. He adores black. He adores white. And he adores them together. So please don't show up in red or green, for example, and make a silly ass of yourself.

Everybody who is anybody has been invited and that includes the **Bushes** and the **Quayles**, no matter how you feel about them, and assorted Democratic bigwigs, no matter how you feel about *them*. No one will be asked to buy a ticket but it is hoped guests will make a voluntary contribution to either AmFAR or to Fete de Famille, the annual celebration at Mortimer's that raises funds for the AIDS Care Center at New York Hospital.

The exhibition can be seen from Sept. 23 through Oct. 12 at the Armory, and during those three weeks all the proceeds from the sale of various Valentino-designed items (sweatshirts, T-shirts, handbags, scarves, umbrellas) on display there and at the Valentino boutiques in New York and across the country and at Bergdorf Goodman, Neiman Marcus, Saks and I. Magnin will go to the two above-mentioned AIDS charities, chosen as beneficiaries by LIFE, the organization established in 1990 by Valentino and his brilliant business partner, **Giancarlo Giammetti**, to provide assistance to AIDS patients.

That is not all that LIFE is up to. It has selected five outstanding men and women, chosen for their extraordinary humanitarian and cultural contributions, to receive The Rose of Life Award. At the gala, Valentino — in the flesh — will present the honorees with the award, a gold rose set with a beautiful pearl. And the winners are: Elizabeth Taylor, **Audrey Hepburn**, **Placido Domingo**, **Magic Johnson** and **Barbra Streisand**, who all do a lot more than just acting and singing and playing basketball.

A lavishly illustrated book, picturing Valentino's designs and many of his prestigious clients — it's also called "Valentino: Thirty Years of Magic," — has been published by Rizzoli in honor of the retrospective. The publication will be celebrated at what is being billed as a special and super-exclusive dinner at Mortimer's on Sept. 24 at which those fortunate enough to be invited will witness a screening of a superb documentary. It's all about Valentino — oh, you guessed! — and it has been produced and directed by **Frederic Mitterrand** who has also "done" **Princess Grace**, **King Juan Carlos** of Spain, **Empress Farah** of Iran, **Luchino Visconti** and big movie stars.

I thought you might like to hear who is on the honorary committee for the gala. Makes your heart sing, it does. Here they are: **Michael Jackson**, **Katharine Graham**, The Hon. **Sandra Day O'Connor**, **Dr. Vartan Gregorian**, **Mrs. Mario Cuomo**, **Marella Agnelli**, **Pat Buckley**, **Elie Wiesel**, Elizabeth Taylor, Barbra Streisand, Placido Domingo, **Beverly Sills**, Nancy Reagan, **David Hockney**, **Philippe de Montebello**, **Audrey Hepburn**, **Michael Graves**, **Henry Kissinger**, **Sophia Loren**, **Judy Peabody**, **Javier Perez de Cuellar** and **Dr. Mathilde Krim**.

And here are just a few of the delightful people who have been invited: Jackie Onassis, **Kim Basinger**, **Tommy Tune**, **Christy Turlington**, **Ted Turner** and Jane Fonda, **Lauren** and **John Veronis**, **Cecile** and **Ezra Zilkha**, **Donna** and **Bill Acquavella**, **Pauline** and **Dixon Boardman**, **Blaine** and **Robert Trump**, **Mia** and **Woody**, **Julie Andrews**, **Lily Auchincloss**, **Marisa Berenson**, **Jacqueline Bisset**, **Mary** and **Mike Wallace**, **Jayne Wrightsman**, **Annette Bening** and **Warren Beatty**, **Mercedes** and **Sid Bass**, **Betsy Bloomingdale**, **Sigourney Weaver**, **Betsy Whitney**, **Iman** and **David Bowie**, **Mary Ellen** and **John Brademas**, **Linda Evangelista**, **Pamela Harriman**, **David Geffen**, the **Mel Gibsons**, all the **Forbeses**, the **Secretary General of the United Nations** and **Mrs. Boutros Boutros Ghali**. **Melanie Griffith** and **Don Johnson**, **Jodie Foster**, **Duane** and **Mark Hampton**, **Nicollette Sheridan** and **Harry Hamlin**, **Jerry Hall** and **Mick Jagger**, **Cindy Crawford** and **Richard Gere**, **Veronica** and **Randy Hearst**, **Marilyn** and **Don Hewitt**, **Elton John**, **Diane Keaton**, **Carolyn Roehm** and **Henry Kravis**, **Estee Lauder**, **Candice Bergen** and **Louis Malle**, **Madonna**, **Gita** and **Sonny Mehta**, all the **Niarchoses**, the **Michael Ovitzes**, **Anna** and **Rupert Murdoch**, **Barbara** and **Marvin Johnson**, **Diane Sawyer** and **Mike Nichols**, **Beatriz** and **Julio Mario Santo Domingo**, **Michelle Pfeiffer**, several **Rockefellers** and about 400 others just like them.

20x 7

HIS RUNNING MATE

White House spouses and their Rose Garden days revisited

By VINCE STATEN

Who were Lou Hoover, Margaret Taylor, Eliza Monroe, Louisa Adams, Ellen Arthur, Jane Pierce, Lucretia Garfield, Ida McKinley and Frances Cleveland? If you answered the starting lineup for the Rockford Peaches in the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League in "A League of Their Own," then you've been seeing too many movies lately. You need to do a little reading.

They are First Ladies, all presidential spouses. Though not as famous as Eleanor Roosevelt or Martha Washington, or even Nancy Reagan, they all lived for a time at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

With Hillary Clinton trying to unseat Barbara Bush as First Lady, and Marilyn Quayle and Tipper Gore waiting in the wings for their shot at first, this week might be a good time to rent a video about one of the famous First Ladies of the past.

I normally suggest you begin at the beginning, but in this case it's not possible. Our first First Lady, Martha Custis Washington, has been neglected on video. She had a large role in the 1984 TV miniseries *George Washington*, but that has yet to reach home video.

Martha Jefferson, First Lady number three, makes an appearance in 1776 (Columbia TriStar, \$69.95). Blythe Danner plays Mrs. Jefferson. Dolley Madison, the fourth First Lady, is famous today because her name has been appropriated — and misspelled "Dolly" — for a line of snack cakes. Hollywood didn't neglect her. She was the subject of a film biography, *Magnificent Doll*, in 1946, with Ginger Rogers as the First Lady and Burgess

Meredith as James Madison. Once again, it's not on video.

So let's jump to our seventh First Lady. A century and a half before Jennifer Flowers' claims that she was involved with Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton (which he has denied) there was Rachel Robards, the subject of scandal during the 1828 election because of the uncertainty over whether she was really divorced when she married Andrew Jackson in 1791.

Robards was the title character of the 1953 historical drama *The President's Lady* (CBS/Fox, out of print), the story of her courtship and

Patti LuPone's portrayal of Lady Bird Johnson was amazingly accurate.

marriage to the seventh President. Surprisingly, the film doesn't play loose with the facts, and the result is a movie that is as close to history as Hollywood ever comes. Susan Hayward plays Robards to Charlton Heston's Andy Jackson.

Our 16th President, Abe Lincoln, appears in more films than any other President — 150, according to the "Guinness Book of Movie Facts and Feats." But First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln has only minor roles when she appears. Her most visible appearance is probably in *Young Mr. Lincoln* (MCA, \$19.98), which concerns a



ALL ABOUT JACKIE: James Franciscus and Jaclyn Smith as the first couple in the miniseries "Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy"

murder trial young Abe was involved in long before he came to Washington. Marjorie Weaver is Mary Todd and Henry Fonda is Abe.

But two First Ladies have received the full treatment on film: Eleanor Roosevelt and Jackie Kennedy.

Eleanor Roosevelt was the subject of the 1965 documentary *The Eleanor Roosevelt Story* and the 1982 TV movie *Eleanor, First Lady of the World* with Jean Stapleton in the title role. She was also an equal partner in the much-awarded TV miniseries *Eleanor and Franklin* and (a sequel) *Eleanor and Franklin: The White House Years*. (Jane Alexander and Edward Hermann played the Roosevelts in both installments.) Amazingly, none of the four are on video.

The only movie on tape to feature her is the 1960 filmed version of the Broadway hit *Sunrise at Campobello* (Warner, \$59.95) with Greer Garson as the incomparable Eleanor and Ralph Bellamy reprising his Tony-award-winning role as FDR.

As best I can figure, Jackie Kennedy has been in more movies than any other First Lady. In most, she is a secondary character, standing beside her husband, President John F. Kennedy.

1047



A TEXAS TWOSOME: "LBJ: The Early Years" featured Patti LuPone as Lady Bird and Randy Quaid as a young Lyndon Johnson.

But she is the only First Lady to be the subject of a TV miniseries. Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy (Vidmark, \$24.95), a bland biography of Jackie from 5 to Onassis, was first broadcast in 1982 and featured Jaclyn Smith in a series of pillbox hats. James Franciscus played JFK, and Rod Taylor stands out as Jackie's flamboyant father, "Blackjack" Bouvier.

(In Oliver Stone's *JFK* [Warner, \$94.99], recently released on video, the First Lady is only seen in clips.)

The best performance by an actress portraying a First Lady has to go to Patti LuPone for her amazing, award-

rate portrayal of Lady Bird Johnson in the excellent 1987 TV miniseries *LBJ: The Early Days* (Fries, \$69.95). Randy Quaid earned kudos for his performance as the larger-than-life Texas politician.

No one has played former First Lady Nancy Davis Reagan on the big screen yet, but in her days as an actress she played other people on screen. And in 1958 she starred opposite her husband in an episode of TV's "General Electric Theater" called *A Turkey for the President* (not on video). No, it wasn't a harbinger of things to come: they played an American Indian couple.

2017

Sat 1-Aug-92 11:53 EDT By LORI DODGE ROSE Associated Press Writer

Bert Walker: Sounds And Looks Like Cousin George But He's A Regular Guy

ST. LOUIS (AP) - He sounds like President Bush, he looks like President Bush and he is related to President Bush, but he wants you to know he's Bert Walker, just a regular guy running for Congress. Walker faces three other candidates vying for the Republican nomination in Tuesday's primary and the right to oppose Democratic incumbent Joan Kelly Horn in Missouri's 2nd Congressional District.

Walker, whose full name is George Herbert Walker III (Sound familiar? The president's full name is George Herbert Walker Bush), is the president's first cousin. His father was the brother of Dorothy Bush, the president's mother.

"I just happen to have a wonderful relative who lives in the White House and some friends who live in Washington, some who are in the administration and some who are not," said Walker, in making his case that he is an average Joe.

Walker and his main primary opponent, Missouri House Minority Leader James Talent, have traded barbs about their political connections. Talent contends Walker is a Washington insider while Walker counters that Talent is a professional politician.

Walker, on leave from his job as chief executive of a St. Louis brokerage firm, and Talent are battling along with two other candidates for the chance to challenge Horn, a one-term incumbent. The two other Republicans are Hugh Murray, a stockbroker making his fourth long-shot bid for Congress, and Tom McCoy, a business teacher and political newcomer who won the endorsement of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Horn, 55, is considered vulnerable. She squeaked by incumbent Jack Buechner in 1990 with 54 votes, and redistricting has increased the Republican makeup of the district a few percentage points to about 60 percent. Her only opposition in the Democratic primary is Susan Johnson, a Lyndon LaRouche supporter.

The Republican primary seems to be boiling down to a two-man race. Walker, 61, has been the heavy-hitter in fund-raising, getting boosts from visits by two of the president's Cabinet secretaries and the president's son, Texas Rangers baseball executive George W. Bush.

Through June 15, Walker had raised \$614,000 and spent \$442,000 while Talent had raised almost \$289,000 and spent \$175,000, according to Federal Election Commission documents. Walker has contributed relatively little of his own money \$10,000; Talent only \$1,500.

The 35-year-old Talent has strong grass-roots support and is a four-term member of the Missouri House. He has courted the middle-class with his message of making government responsive to them.

"What people are looking for is who can challenge the establishment," Talent said. "Who has the ability and the beliefs and the adherence to principle to fight the establishment on behalf of the people. I have a record doing that ... whereas he is the quintessential insider. He's only a serious candidate by way of his connections."

Walker, who has headed an investment firm for 13 years, says that what Washington needs are more "citizen-legislators" like himself.

"I think Congress would do better if there were more doctors and teachers and farmers and business people in it," he said.

He denies that he is a Washington insider, pointing out that he has never held political office. He has, however, been active in GOP politics and well-placed friends such as Labor Secretary Lynn Martin and Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan have helped raise money for him. Barbara Bush, the president's wife, has offered to campaign for him after the primary.

Walker said he is proud to be associated with the president - "one of the finest men I know" - but he is running a campaign that stands in contrast to the

Thu 30-July-92 16:31 EDT

Company lets callers leave their 2 cents for White House

By MARCELLA S. KREITER

CHICAGO (UPI) — Gary Williams has a way for people to give the president their 2 cents worth for about \$5.

Williams Thursday officially launched the X-Press Letters to the President phone line, a 900-number that allows callers to leave messages on everything from the economy and foreign affairs to whether Dan Quayle should remain on the GOP presidential ticket.

Each caller pays \$2.49 per minute and an average call lasts two minutes.

Williams began testing his service about two months ago.

"I think of it as a kind of customer service line for the White House," said Williams, 33, of Wheeling, who acknowledges he is a Democrat.

"It's a non-partisan line. I don't encourage anyone to do anything pro or con (President) Bush. I want it to be totally open and unbiased."

Williams said customers call in, listen to a short message and then leave their thoughts for the president. The calls are recorded and the cassettes sent overnight to a transcription service in Ohio, which then forwards the finished letters to the White House by overnight mail.

Callers can leave their names and addresses so they can receive a reply.

Williams said threatening and obscene phone calls are separated and turned over to the Secret Service.

Williams said most of the callers who threaten the president or swear at him are angry over such issues as welfare and foreign aid.

"They think we're not taking care of our own," Williams said. "They seem to be saying, 'Take care of us.'"

One of the more popular topics of late has been whether Quayle should remain on the GOP presidential ticket.

"Republicans think he's a liability," Williams said. "They don't want him on there. Personally, I'd like to see Quayle stay on the ticket. If they dump him and get somebody good, the Republicans could have a chance (of re-election)."

Williams said the majority of the calls center on domestic issues. "People are talking about cutting defense spending and things like that. They're recommending a 15 percent flat tax to wipe out the budget deficit. Most of the people are pretty conservative," he said.

"We had one guy who wanted to abolish welfare and he wanted people to work on farms. He thought if we all went back to an agriculture-based economy and everybody was given a horse — he's not too far off from what used to work."

Williams said one of his callers said he has a 80-year-old mother who was born on the same date as the president. He said the woman was hospitalized and a letter from the White House would really cheer her up.

"He (the president) sent a birthday card," Williams said.

Williams said once the service really gets going, he expects 300 to 1,000 calls a day. He said his nearest competitor is Western Union, which charges \$2 telegram.

The White House receives about 40,000 to 50,000 letters a week and the office of presidential messages and correspondence has 138 staff members and about 40 volunteers who respond to the letters. It also has 20 phone comment lines that people can call to register their views.

About eight staffers respond to letters directed to Barbara Bush.

The president, a prolific correspondent, receives about 15 to 30 letters a day from personal friends. The correspondence office usually drafts responses that he reviews and signs.

U.S. NEWS

To ration or not to ration?

How the rights of the disabled clash with major medical reform

At the brief Oval Office photo op five months ago, President Bush seemed unmoved by his visitors' urgings that he oppose Oregon's health-care-rationing experiment. But Bush perked up when Robert Powell of the National Right to Life Committee claimed it would violate a law Bush cares about, the new prohibition on discrimination against people with disabilities. "If that plan had been in effect when I was born," said Powell, who uses a wheelchair and crutches, "I'd be dead."

Bush listened intently as Powell explained how, when he was just 5 months old, a malignant tumor attacked his spinal cord. Doctors said the cancer was incurable, and the infant lived only because his parents found another doctor willing to aggressively treat the "hopeless" case. By the time of Powell's remark to the president, Oregon was well on its way toward getting the federal approval it needed to embark on what would be this country's boldest attempt to reform the health-care system. The staff work had been done at the Department of Health and Human Services, and Bush already had praised Oregon's plan as a "noteworthy" state experiment. But after Powell pointed out that Oregon would stop paying to treat incurable cancers like his, Bush (who lost a young daughter to leukemia) ordered White House lawyers to check whether Oregon's proposal ran afoul of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

Denied. The legal opinion that came back supported Powell. Last week, in a stunning setback to Oregon's experiment—and perhaps to major reform efforts in other states—the Bush administration decided to force Oregon to resolve the ADA violations. Official notice was delayed until this week, as Bush hesitated whether to deny approval



Waiting for help. While some disabilities-rights advocates oppose Oregon's health-care-rationing scheme, Shirley Martin is one of the disabled who would benefit from it. Her expensive chemotherapy would be covered under the state's proposed plan.

outright until the plan is corrected or to give approval conditional on resolution of the violations.

That decision gave dramatic evidence of the extraordinary difficulty policy makers continue to have in trying to reach consensus on health-care reform. It also showed the vastly more sweeping

power the disabilities-rights law will have over American life than even many of its supporters imagined. The ADA has been underestimated as just another be-nice-to-the-handicapped law, in part because the most visible part of the law requires that businesses be accessible to disabled workers and

Oregon's medical priorities

To create its rationing program, Oregon ranked 709 treatments on the basis of medical effectiveness and their value to society. State Medicaid will not fund anything below No. 587.

WHAT IS COVERED

- Bacterial pneumonia (ranked No. 1)
- Heart attack (No. 50)
- Liver transplant, if no history of alcoholism (No. 366)
- Treatable brain cancer (No. 371)
- Treatable pancreatic cancer (No. 536)
- Inflammation of the esophagus (No. 587)

WHAT IS NOT COVERED

- Post-mastectomy breast reconstruction (No. 600)
- Treatment for Lou Gehrig's disease (No. 609)
- Traumatic brain injury (No. 684)
- End-stage AIDS (No. 702)
- Treatment for a baby weighing less than 18 ounces and born before 23 weeks' gestation (No. 708)
- Life support for a baby born with an incomplete brain (No. 709)

1068

U.S. NEWS

customers. But an overlooked provision of the law mandating equal access to all government services for the disabled, from transportation to health care, is likely to have greater impact.

Certainly, its effect on health-care reforms has been unexpected and powerful. For five years, Oregon has struggled to overcome the great paradox of American medicine: Those with insurance get the world's best medicine, while the uninsured 14 percent get nothing. To cover nearly all of its 450,000 uninsured residents, Oregon wants to extend Medicaid to an additional 120,000 poor, require businesses to provide insurance to most permanent workers and their dependents and start a high-risk pool for those who fall through the cracks because of pre-existing medical conditions.

What makes the plan anathema to some and courageous to others is that Oregon managed these worthy reforms by creating a formal medical-rationing scheme for the poor. It ranked 709 conditions and their treatments on the basis of effectiveness and cost, figured out how much state Medicaid could spend and then drew a cutoff line at item 587. Nothing below that would get funded. To make the system work, the state needed approval from federal officials who oversee Medicaid, and it is that approval that Bush has withheld.

Equal access to care. The basic problem with Oregon's plan is that in its effort to assert its control over the spending of limited resources, the state ran afoul of the ADA's requirement that everyone have equal access to government services. Bush administration officials, who played a pivotal role in passage of the ADA, believe that patients cannot be denied care simply because their treatment is expensive or because somebody else decides for them that their life is not worth living.

Those, though, are precisely the kind of agonizing choices embodied in Oregon's plan. Saving an extremely premature baby can cost a quarter of a million dollars or more. Prenatal care, which can significantly reduce the chance that a baby will be born prematurely, costs only a few hundred dollars. So Oregon, seeking to emphasize prevention, put prenatal care high on its priority list. Ranked

708 on the state's rationing list was saving a baby weighing less than 18 ounces and born before 25 weeks of gestation. Oregon justified this by noting that only 1 in 10 such babies survives and that even when they do survive there is a significant chance they will be disabled.

Critics of rationing say this is discrimination on the basis of a subjective judgment about a child's quality of life. They point out that just two weeks ago a healthy baby, Zascha Villamar, left a

maternity ward while choosing to pay for others' liver transplants. The rate of success is similar in either case, the congressional Office of Technology Assessment noted, and the White House said it was discriminatory to deny the operation simply on the basis of past alcoholism, which is considered a disability under the ADA.

Oregon Medicaid Director Jean Thorne argues that an even worse form of silent rationing goes on now when some people, including many with disabilities, get no health coverage at all. Shirley Martin, 42, agrees. Uninsured in her job as a hotel maid, she owes \$15,000 for a colon cancer operation performed in May. If the Oregon health plan had gone into effect this month, as the state had originally hoped, she would have been added to the Medicaid rolls and the state would pay for the chemotherapy she will undergo over the next year.

The administration's decision left everyone unsure of what is now required of Oregon. Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan, after refusing for months to meet with disability groups, hastily summoned representatives of 10 groups to his office last week. He was hoping they would specify the treatments they want Oregon to move above the cutoff line, but instead the group objected to rationing in principle. Bush's Justice Department has requested reams of documents from Oregon's paper trail of public decision making to see how quality-of-life issues were weighed. Attorneys have been disturbed to find that an unscientific telephone survey of people's attitudes about the worth of treatment led to significant reranking of 120 items on the rationing list. Jerry Hercenberg, a health-care attorney representing



Opponent. National Right to Life Vice President Robert Powell persuaded Bush to oppose Oregon's plan by describing his own childhood bout with cancer.

Miami hospital after five months of treatment. She was born after only 22 weeks in the womb, and she weighed 15 ounces. The technology and drugs that saved her life are improving with each child snatched from death.

On other fronts, Oregon's rationing decisions appear more capricious. For instance, its plan would allow payment for bone marrow transplants to fight some cancers, but not non-Hodgkin's lymphoma. The transplant for this lymphoma is expensive and risky, but it saved the life of Paul Tsongas, the onetime presidential contender. And even Oregon officials concede they may have erred in denying payments for liver transplants to patients with histories of alco-

holism while choosing to pay for others' liver transplants. The rate of success is similar in either case, the congressional Office of Technology Assessment noted, and the White House said it was discriminatory to deny the operation simply on the basis of past alcoholism, which is considered a disability under the ADA.

Oregon disputes this, saying the survey had only a minimal impact on the rankings. What most infuriates Oregon health officials is that the Bush administration noted the flaws in its rationing plan without suggesting hard solutions. They say their options for correcting their list may be limited.

In his letter to Oregon health officials, Bush will praise the states as "laboratories of democracy" that are leading the way on health reform. But the fight over Oregon shows that in any reform debate it will be hard to balance limited health-care resources and claims for equal treatment.

BY JOSEPH P. SHAPIRO

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, AUGUST 10, 1992

Tipper Gore's balancing act

She fits no labels

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

Nineteen days before her husband was chosen as Democrat Bill Clinton's running mate, Tipper Gore, lampooned as an uptight housewife for her campaign against X-rated rock lyrics, was in a place that many wouldn't expect to find her:

At a Grateful Dead concert in Washington.

Gore was with her 12-year-old daughter, who was wearing her mother's 1960s "Keep On Truckin" T-shirt.

Tipper Gore doesn't just sit at home "pursing her lips" and "wrapping bandages," says friend Chris Downey, wife of Rep. Thomas Downey, D-N.Y.

"We're a product of the Grateful Dead and the Rolling Stones and the Beatles, and are still."

This is the Gore most people don't know, the woman behind the caricature. She emerges as a funny, irreverent 43-year-old, wife of Tennessee Sen. Al Gore and mother of four, who's made a career of car pools, campaigns and causes.



By Barry Thumma, AP (1985 photo)
RECORD CHANGES: Many albums with explicit lyrics are labeled because of Tipper Gore.

What's her life like? "Bucolic, idyllic, peaceful," she deadpans.

What's it really like? "I go to the grocery store and the dry cleaner and do errands ... put meals on," she says.

She has chosen this traditional path at a time when women's roles, especially for political wives, are being questioned — and women like Hillary Clinton are being criticized for trying to balance job and family.

But, as with Hillary Clinton, the public image and private reality often diverge.

True, Gore has put her

family first, giving up a career she could have pursued either as a photographer or family psychologist.

But that was not an easy decision, and Gore laments the choices many women often are forced to make.

"I was, of course, immediately conflicted by giving up something that I loved doing," she says of her job as a photographer for the Nashville *Tennessean* — a job she quit in 1976 to campaign for her husband.

"Women are in a position, probably more than men, of having to make those diffi-

cult decisions," she says. "Most of the burdens go on the women."

Until her husband's selection as a vice presidential nominee, Tipper Gore was best known for her successful 1985 drive for the voluntary labeling of rock albums containing explicit lyrics.

It made her a hero in some households, a laughingstock in others and better known than her husband in most of them.

She testified before Congress. She went on talk shows. She did countless interviews. Rock star Frank

BIOGRAPHY

Born: Aug. 19, 1948, Mary Elizabeth Aitcheson, in Washington, D.C.

Education: B.A., Boston University; M.A., Vanderbilt University.

Married: May 19, 1970

Children: Karenna, 18; Kristin, 15; Sarah, 12; Albert III, 9.

Jobs: 1971-1976, photographer for *The Tennessean* in Nashville; still free-lances; 1978-1979, chairwoman of Congressional Wives Task Force; 1985, founded Parents Music Resource Center in Arlington, Va.; 1987, author of *Raising PG Kids in an X-Rated Society*

Positions: Capital Children's Museum board of directors; Center for Science in the Public Interest board of directors; American Academy of Pediatrics' Task Force on Children and Television

Zappa called her a "cultural terrorist," and many agreed.

But today, that criticism has cooled. And with songs like Ice-T's *Cop Killer* making national headlines, Tipper Gore's efforts seem almost prescient.

Gore compares the firestorm over her lyrics campaign to the furor Hillary Clinton ignited when she seemed to show contempt for women who "stayed home and baked cookies and had teas."

"I know how it feels to be in a situation where the American public doesn't have all the information," Gore says.

That is what she thinks happened to Clinton — "people put women in a box," she says — and that is what she resists for herself.

When her youngest child, Albert, graduates from high school, Gore says she might go back to work.

"I may try to pick my career back up and be a family counselor," she says.

In the meantime she is giving interviews, taking care of her family and, as always, cracking jokes.

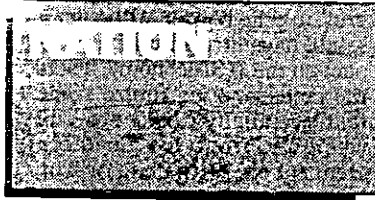
"Don't get the double chin," she tells a photographer at a photo session. "I'm still working on that."

► Campaign index, 4A

By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

FAMILY FIRST: Though Tipper Gore is a homemaker, the former photographer says she may "pick my career back up and be a family counselor."

8-5-92



Ryan's mom launches AIDS foundation

CICERO, Ind. — Jeanne White did more than the usual celebrating at her wedding. After nuptials attended by Phil Donahue and his wife, Marlo Thomas, she launched a foundation to fight AIDS, the disease that killed her son Ryan.

Mrs. White, 44, and new husband Roy Ginder Jr., 37, a construction worker, were neighbors who met through their children. Mrs. White also has a daughter, 18. He has three teen-agers. It's the second marriage for both.

After the wedding Saturday, Mr. Donahue and Miss Thomas hosted a kickoff fund-raiser for the Ryan White Foundation.

Ryan White died at age 18 in 1990 of complications from AIDS, which he contracted from a tainted blood-clotting agent to treat his hemophilia. His five-year struggle with the disease — and prejudice — was widely publicized. His mother travels the country speaking out on AIDS.

The foundation will raise money to help adolescents with AIDS and the HIV virus that causes it.

SOCIETY

Teaching Young Fathers the Ropes

Long neglected and stigmatized, unwed dads learn how to cope with kids—and life

By SOPHFRONIA SCOTT GREGORY

TWO YEARS AGO, PAUL SMALLEY found himself getting sucked into a stereotype. At 21 he returned home from military prison a frustrated, unemployed young black man who also happened to be a brand-new unmarried father. His son and namesake was already four months old, and Smalley was so unfamiliar with his new role that he thought he could not touch the baby without permission. "I was asking if I could pick him up," he says. "I just didn't feel like a father."

Smalley worried because he could see a familiar pattern forming, born of his shame over not being able to support his child, the feeling of inadequacy and the strain on his relationship with the baby's mother. He resisted joining the ranks of young black fathers who cut out on their kids because they will not face the pressures of parenthood, but he could not see how to break the cycle—until he learned from a friend about the Responsive Fathers Program at the Philadelphia Children's Network.

While social-assistance programs have long been available to teenage mothers, little effort has gone into helping young fathers. The Responsive Fathers Program is one of a growing number of groups across the U.S. seeking to fill the vacuum. The programs try to help young unmarried men become better fathers, providers and mates through counseling services, particularly assistance in a job search. The 61 participants in the Philadelphia program, who range in age from 16 to 26, meet in group sessions once a week and discuss child rearing, self-esteem, male-female relationships and the job market. "The program helped me to open up," says Smalley. "It gave me the drive to want to do things. I've learned how anger affects my child and about how he needs both parents."

Fathers come to the program either by referral from a hospital, community center or probation office or, like Smalley, by word of mouth from a friend. Thomas J. Henry, 47, the program's director, says

that many young fathers just need help cutting through the bureaucracy: filling out forms, standing in the correct lines for public assistance and dealing with unresponsive bureaucrats. "This system encourages fathers not to be there," he says. "You have many fathers declared absent when they are actually present. People think they're just making babies and don't have any feelings attached to that act. Ev-



eryone says, 'We want you to be a responsible father,' but we give them nothing to be responsible with."

The Responsive Fathers Program is part of a study being conducted by Public/Private Ventures, a nonprofit public-policy research organization that focuses on youth development. Using five other similar programs from across the country, ppv launched the study last year to try to discover whether it could get young unwed fathers to come forward and seek help, identify their needs, and direct them to the services they require. "The group

aims to provide information to policymakers responsible for family welfare programs so that as they debate decisions concerning young mothers, they will keep young fathers in mind as well.

"It is important for families that we begin to consider the role of fathers," says Bernadine Watson, director of individual and family support at ppv. "Our work has shown that these men, even though they are young and do not have the educational background or employment skills, are very interested in being good parents."

Henry believes the Philadelphia program will make a difference because it is willing to take the three to six years needed to "put things right" in a young man's life. Such a philosophy and time frame contrast with government programs offering quick-fix solutions, but Henry believes in taking a pay-now-or-pay-later approach. His goal for the fathers is true self-sufficiency, by training them for jobs in areas such as printing, building maintenance and computer programming. This is no easy trick; the program has a hard time persuading employers to give the young men a chance.

"I was asking if I could pick him up."

PAUL SMALLEY AND PAUL SMALLEY JR. at the Responsive Fathers Program in Philadelphia

"We go along begging, pleading to anybody to give us jobs," says Henry. The program currently has fathers who have been on the job waiting list for six months. Still, the dads attend the sessions, even though the only thing Henry and his colleagues can give them is *carfare* home.

The young men say they enjoy the sessions because they can vent their feelings of frustration, often born of their sense that society perceives them as bad

parents. The black male has become the focal point of blame for the deterioration of the African-American family. But in many cases such blame is misdirected. Devon Shaw, 24, whose three children range in age from six months to four years, was just out of high school when his first child was born. He doesn't like the way the system "lets you know what we're doing wrong, not what they're doing wrong," Smalley, who now works as an animal-care technician and goes to school at night, admits that many of his friends simply cannot function as fathers: "Some don't even try. Some don't care. They just turn to drugs or drug dealing as their way out." But he stresses that there are many more who are trying to be responsible, who want their kids to have two parents, a good education and a safe place to live. "It's just we have so many obstacles to becoming decent men," he says. "But it is inside of us. It's in the black men out there."

The Best Gift Of All

*Family storytelling
enriches as it entertains*

By ANN HORNADAY

Once upon a time, there was a little girl who, more than anything in the world, wanted her daddy to tell her a story before she went to bed.

But when she asked him, her daddy became very nervous and scared.

His lip twitched and tiny beads of sweat broke out on his forehead.

"How about another round of 'The Little Engine That Could'?" he asked.

"Okay," she replied, grinning weakly. But inside, the little girl was very sad indeed.

If only her daddy had known that help was within reach — hard by the Hans Christian Andersen statue in Central Park.

For 25 years, Diane Wolkstein has been New York's master storyteller, weaving her lyrical enchantments every Saturday for gaggles of eager children and relieved parents. Her stories run the gamut from the familiar like Andersen to obscure Eskimo, Estonian and Haitian folk tales. But a lesser-known fact is that she also offers classes and workshops to parents looking to pick up some of the finer points of storytelling.

"Mostly people come to learn more stories, to increase their repertoire," says Wolkstein of her classes, usually offered at the New School for Social Research or the Bank Street College of Education. "They believe in the importance of story, and they want to get better at it. They want to do something well for their child."

A typical workshop involves Wolkstein herself telling a few tales, "so they can know firsthand, again, the joy of listening." Then, she turns the floor over to parents, who tell a favorite story, then get notes on their performances

from the rest of the class.

"Comments are usually about what worked well, where did you lose our attention, why did you lose our attention, maybe certain gestures that are distracting," says Wolkstein.

She is a strong believer in storytelling, versus reading a book, "because eye contact is so important. The other person offering you their response means you respond more. . . . But I prefer reading to nothing."

Sadly, 'nothing' is the norm in many households, and storytelling is becoming a lost art.

"There is some illusion on

*'The sharing of
stories helps kids
appreciate the
past and deal
with the present.'*

the part of parents that a tape or a video can replace them. It's a real misunderstanding of the value of their presence, of their eye contact, of their touch," she says.

The best way to start, says Wolkstein, is with a simple story, like "Millions of Cats" or "Jack and the Beanstalk." To memorize it, she suggests you listen to the story on tape, organize it in mental pictures, or type it out, "depending on which kind of memory skills you have."

The rules for storytelling resemble those for jazz improvisation. "You want to be

sure you know the beginning and the ending quite well," she says. "So if you fumble a little in the middle, it doesn't matter too much, because you're secure how to start and how to end."

Some of the tales she tells are scary to the point of macabre.

Isn't Grimm sometimes a shade too grim? "Not to children," she says.

"It's important for stories to resonate with their own wishes, needs, troubles and joys. The wicked stepmother could represent that part of their mother they don't like — and sometimes a parent isn't always the one you would wish. Sometimes it's a relief to know that things are as bad in stories as they are at home, or that you're not the only one with ambivalent feelings about your mom and dad."

Once you've mastered master Seuss, et al., try some original material.

Wolkstein suggests stories taken from your own childhood. "Stories of adventures you had with friends when you were little, scary things that happened, wonderful things that happened, past holidays, things like that are good," she explains. (To prompt memories, look through an old photo album together.)

Not only is storytelling en-

10-13

tertaining, but it can improve children's self-esteem, says pediatrician James Jankowicz.

"The sharing of stories — whether they be family histories or folk tales handed down through generations — helps children to appreciate the past, to deal with the present and to understand the future," says Jankowicz, who is with the Brooklyn Downstate Medical Center.

He suggests using time in the car for storytelling. "When driving with your child, provide a road map of the area, so he or she can locate, list and tell you stories about places that have been visited or are on a visit wish-list."

Before leaving home on a long ride, he advises, "draw a line on a notebook page. Mark one end with the year your child was born and the other end with the current year. Your child can then write notes along the time line and tell stories about important events in his or her life, such as starting school, learning to ride a bike and getting a baby brother or sister."

Or, have your children ask you about important events in your life that coincide with theirs — from what school was like when you were their age to your favorite book.

In the telling, be enthusiastic

and confident. Often, parents are intimidated by storytelling "because they think 'Oh, I can't speak that well,'" Wolkstein relates. In fact, technique is the last thing on eager little minds.

"The most important thing in storytelling is choosing a story you love and care about, to tell stories that pass on wisdom you think is important to children."

And therein, dear reader, lies this story's happy ending.

(Hornaday is a freelance writer.)

2029

8-3-93

Comment

Anglophones' Mangling of Homophones

By JACK SMITH

My wife and I recently attended the annual Spell-a-Thon conducted by the Big Bear Valley Learn-to-Read Program and the Mountain Literacy Program at the Lake Arrowhead Hilton.

With 27% of Americans said to be illiterate, these mountain communities should be commended for promoting this spelling bee as a fundraiser for adult literacy training.

It was not a contest of individuals competing against one another; rather, they were divided into groups of three, each representing some community entity, such as Friends of the Library, Rotary, the American Assn. of University Women, middle school teachers and Soroptimists.

Any member could rise to spell a word, but as soon as a word was misspelled, the group was eliminated. Each group was allowed one pass to avoid a word they weren't sure of.

One by one the groups went down. Strangely, they spelled some difficult words—*aegis*, *cacophonous*—and missed some easy ones. One group, for example, spelled raisin *r-a-i-s-o-n*. Its spokesman acknowledged, before misspelling the word, that the three members had been in disagreement. They gasped when the judge said, "Incorrect."

Others missed such easy words as *committee*, *cemetery* and *vengeance*. Two groups passed on the word *palette*, (an artist's paint mixing board), which might have given me some trouble. At the end, only the American Assn. of University Women was left, which suggests that a university education helps.

Happily, no one was called upon to spell *potato*.

English is not an easy language, and except to an English-speaker's ear, it is probably not a pleasant one. When it comes to mellifluous (I looked it up), no language can compare with Hawaiian, with those lovely vowels, w's, n's and k's. How did the Hawaiians develop a speech so euphonious and the Germans one so guttural?

In English there is often little correlation between spelling and sound. I can think of several pronunciations for *ough*.

We have *aw* as in *thought*, *uff* as in *rough*, *oo* as in *through*, *ow* as in *plough*, *off* as in *trough* and *oh* as in *thorough*. No doubt there are others.

One expects a paper like The Times to be literate, with every word spelled correctly, and in general it is. However, hardly a day goes by that one can't find a misused homophone—that is, a word that is spelled correctly but is the wrong word.

A homophone, as everyone should know, is a word that is pronounced like another, but is spelled differently and has a different meaning—for example *bore* and *boar*. (A *homonym*, strictly speaking, is a word that has one spelling but two or more meanings, like *pitch*, as in *pitch black*, and *pitch* as in *wild pitch* or *off pitch*.)

Few spelling errors are found in The Times because our computers have a spelling checker, which picks out and marks misspellings. Thus, if you spell *stream* as *streem*, the computer will mark it, because there is no word spelled *streem*.

However, the computer is blind to an incorrectly used homophone; it may be the wrong word, but it is not misspelled, and the computer is not smart enough to know that the writer intended *bore* not *boar*.

With the help of some vigilant readers, I have found many misused homophones in this newspaper:

"She *bare* no malice." "His books have *peaked* an interest." This from a Times education writer: "Three-*tired* system of education" (not quite a homophone because it is not pronounced the same as the wanted word). "Our schools graduate *hoards* of illiterates" (Too true.) "Women in *midriff-bearing* tops." "The big screen where Gable *shined*." (Not a homophone but the wrong word.) "Testing electronic *censors*" (Certainly *censors* ought to be tested.) "The site of so many people" "She made her husband *tow* the line." "The line was drawn *taught*." "He *poured* over his book." (Poured what over it?) "I'm going to *ring* your neck."

I would bet that at least one erroneous homophone can be found in every edition. The *site* of so many hapless solecisms makes me want to *ring* somebody's neck. *Site! Ring!* (I'll bet those two erroneous words get through because the computer is too dumb to know the difference.)

I would like to feel superior to all this bumbling, but I have to confess that a few years ago I wrote that "the sun shined down on the Ojai Valley."

Well, anyway, I can spell *potato*. But I had to look up *palette*.

Helping schools with military burden

Every little bit helps for school districts in financial distress, so there was good news this week for officials of North Chicago District 187 and Highwood-Highland Park District 111. But the help that may be forthcoming—while welcome—is essentially a reminder of the need for a long-term remedy to a severe injustice in federal funding for districts like theirs.

The two, along with Glenview District 34, share a problem unlike those faced by most school districts in the state and country. Their boundaries include tax-exempt military bases, with hundreds of military dependent schoolchildren. Though the U.S. Department of Education provides impact aid to help defray the costs of educating these children, the amount is so inadequate—usually about a third of actual costs—that local taxpayers carry most of the burden.

The North Chicago district, for example, teaches some 2,000 students from the Great Lakes Naval Training Center, at a cost of \$3 million a year. Highwood-Highland Park loses about \$1.5 million a year teaching 400 children from Ft. Sheridan. And in Glenview, 260 students from the Glenview Naval Air Station cost the district \$1.1 million annually.

It is not that the districts don't want the students; they only want fair reimbursement. The problem is particularly acute in North Chicago and Highwood-Highland Park, which are facing huge deficits and are

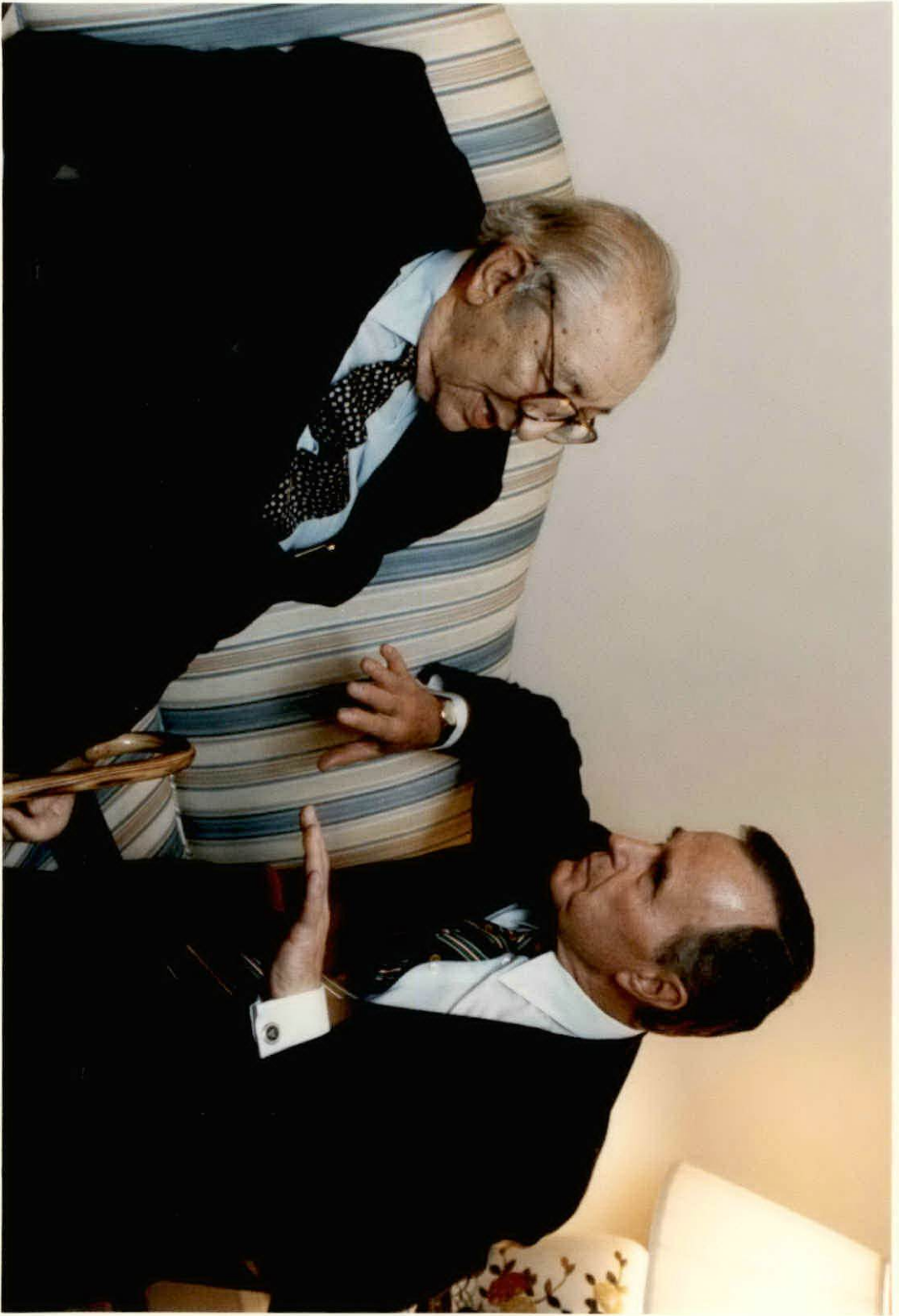
flushing staff and programs for this fall. That is why the help promised this week is aimed at them.

Through a measure sponsored by Sen. Alan Dixon (D-Ill.) and passed by the Senate Armed Services Committee, \$500,000 in Defense Department funds would be sent to North Chicago and \$120,000 to Highwood-Highland Park. And the House, in a proposal sponsored by Rep. John Porter (R-Ill.), approved an extra \$10 million in Education Department impact aid for financially strapped districts with military children. It is not clear how much would go to the two districts, though it could be substantial.

The drawback to these proposed windfalls is that they are one-time infusions of new money. They will help the districts this year but don't solve the problem.

The solution, as urged by Porter, Dixon and Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), is to require the federal government to reimburse school districts for their full share of the cost to educate service children. And, as proposed in a bill sponsored by Simon and Dixon, the responsibility should be shifted to the Pentagon, reflecting its true cost as part of national defense.

And this, as Porter has cautioned, should not be a partisan issue. The Illinois congressional delegation first should unite to get the short-term help approved. Then it should fight to get this burden lifted permanently from the school districts and their taxpayers.



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 28, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*
SUBJECT: Telephone Call to Michael Antonovich

Roger
Thanks. Please
Be sure Bill Barr
see McCoury and
your 8-28 report
GB

As you requested, I called Mike Antonovich, the Los Angeles County Supervisor, in response to his letter to you about illegal aliens in Los Angeles County. We had a long and productive conversation.

I reviewed with him the figures in his letter and asked for his recommendations on concrete steps we might take to: (1) stem the flow of illegal immigration; and (2) address the problems associated with illegal aliens that are already in the U.S.

He urged that we:

1. Recognize that the North America Free Trade Agreement is good, but represents a long range solution to the problem;
2. Consider issuing an Executive Order that would allow people to volunteer, receive appropriate training, and be used to support Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents. He cited his experience as a volunteer (dollar a year) reserve local law enforcement deputy for more than a decade. He said that Congressman Moorhead has sponsored legislation along these lines.
3. Consider charging an appropriate nominal fee (\$1.00) for border crossings, much as we do for airport departures on international flights, and use the proceeds to support border control efforts.
4. Consider joint arrangements with local law enforcement departments and the INS, referencing the fact that one-third of those arrested in connection with the Los Angeles disturbances were illegal aliens.
5. Utilize the National Guard in drug interdiction programs.
6. Increase personnel along the 14 mile border in the San Diego sector.

7. Relieve the overcrowding of illegal aliens detained in local facilities.

8. Establish procedures for deporting illegal alien mothers when they leave the hospital after having given birth.

9. Give legal citizens explicit preference over illegal aliens in public housing. He claimed that there are many illegal aliens occupying public housing and that they are taking the places of poor citizens.

I reinforced with him your great interest in the subject, and indicated that we were working with Attorney General Barr and his deputy, George Terwilliger, on additional measures we could take.

He was pleased that I had been to the border to assess the situation first-hand. I indicated that I would report to you on our conversation and review with the Department of Justice and others his recommendations.



THE PRESIDENT

August 4, 1992

To: Sam Skinner

Antonovich gave me these horrible figures.

I should reply to this FAX

Please have ~~some~~ ^{someone} prepare a reply or call him saying the call is in response to his FAX.

Thanks,

A handwritten signature, likely of George H. W. Bush, is written below the typed text. It is a stylized, cursive signature.