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OA/ID Number: 90727
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Folder Title:
Wednesday, October 14, 1992 [2]

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G	35	2	5	0



THE PRESIDENT

10-14-92

Mose -

Thanks, pal, for
your Oct 6th note
Love to Team -
I'm going to miss -
Cy

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Thomas W. Moseley
675 Racebrook Road
Gates Mills, Ohio 44040

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (1cc)
Jan Burmeister
(for Priv)

Thomas W. Moseley

675 Racebrook Road
Gates Mills, Ohio 44040

October 6, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

I keep your May 12th
letter framed on our
mantelpiece, and I read it every
day -

~~When~~
I feel more and
more that you are going
to win the up and
coming debates, and the
country will see those
two "honkeys" (Clinton
and "Inspector" Perot) in
their true light!

Off for a bow and arrow
hunt in Minnesota Friday
and will return to Florida
to vote!

Jeann sends her love
along with mine to Bar
and yourself!! Zzzz; Ted-



THE PRESIDENT

10-14-92

Dear Tom -

Thanks for that
funnier letter. Tough
times but we're going
to win - Love to Nandy -

GB/

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Thomas E. Black
27 Windemere
Wellesley, Massachusetts 02181

cc: (in & out)
✓ Rose Zamaria (lcc)

THOMAS EVERETT BLACK

Oct 6, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

I had the opportunity, thanks to Nan, to be at the Boston reception for you last week. I was very impressed with your vitality and energy, as I know that these last few months have not been easy for you. At the same time your message truly rallied the troops. Your positive messages have a wonderful effect on the crowd, and our good fortune at having you in the Oval Office at this time is no more apparent than it is right now. Nandy and I continue to support you 100% in everything you do and we both feel that the country is honored by your service to it.

We hope these up-coming debates will give you the platform to communicate to and educate the public on your in-sight, integrity and dedication that we know to be at the heart of George Bush!

Go get 'em!

Tom & Nandy.



THE PRESIDENT

10-14-92

Lilyan -

Thanks so much!!

Now I'm pre-
paring for the next debate

Gratefully,
Les

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Lilyan Wilder
Lilyan Wilder Incorporated
210 East 68th Street
New York, New York 10021

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

10/12/92

Patthy,

I've given the

President a short note,

which I believe it

is important for him

to see.

Thank you for

passing this on to him.

Sincerely,

Angela Wala

NOTE FROM LILYAN WILDER REGARDING THE DEBATE (10/11/92)
DATED 10/12/92

MEMO TO: THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH

You looked self confident and authoritative when you spoke about job opportunities. Until then, you were somewhat low-keyed. When you are very sure and believe in what you're saying, the flow of language and confidence just comes.

You were excellent (and humorous) commenting on the stock market.

On Bosnia/Somalia, you were definite, but could have been more "presidential" by speaking with greater conviction and real passion.

You began several of your responses by looking down at your notes. Try to begin by looking at the person who asked the question. This gives you greater authority.

Giving Perot credit for his answer on drugs brought out your graciousness.

You were rolling on health care, taxes and malpractice suits.

Closing Statement: "I hope I've earned your trust." You were sincere and real.

Bottom line:

You were proper, controlled and solid. But there was an under tone of cautiousness throughout. That cut into your strength and leadership qualities. You are not just another debater. You are President of the United States.

I think you need to believe in your worthiness every step of the way, and trust yourself, just as you are asking the American people to do with you.

Memo to: The Honorable George Bush
from: Lilian Wilder
re: Debate 10/11/92
date: 10/12/92

You looked self-confident and authoritative
when you spoke about job opportunities.
Until then, you were somewhat low-keyed.
When you are very sure of and believe in
what you're saying, the flow of language
and confidence just comes.
You were excellent (and humorous) commenting
on the stock market.

On Bosnia/Somalia, you were definite, but
could have been more "presidential" by speaking
with greater conviction and passion.

You began several of your responses by
looking down at your notes. Try to begin
by looking at the person who asked the
question. This gives you greater authority.

Giving Perot credit for his answer on
drugs brought out your graciousness.

LILIAN
WILDER
INCORPORATED

212-988-2258
800-755-2258
FAX: 212-988-2706

210 East 68th Street
New York,
New York 10021

You were rolling on health care, taxes and malpractice suits.

Closing Statement. "I hope I've earned your trust". You were sincere and real.

Bottom line:
You were proper, controlled and solid. But there was an under tone of cautiousness that cut into your strength and leadership qualities. You are not just another debater. You are President of the United States.

I think you need to believe in your worthiness every step of the way, and trust yourself, just as you are asking the American people to do with you.

daily 10/14
Please sign
photo too

(very sweet
incoming letter)

THE WHITE HOUSE

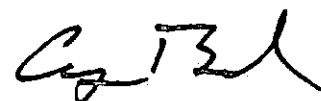
WASHINGTON

Dear Mrs. Moxey:

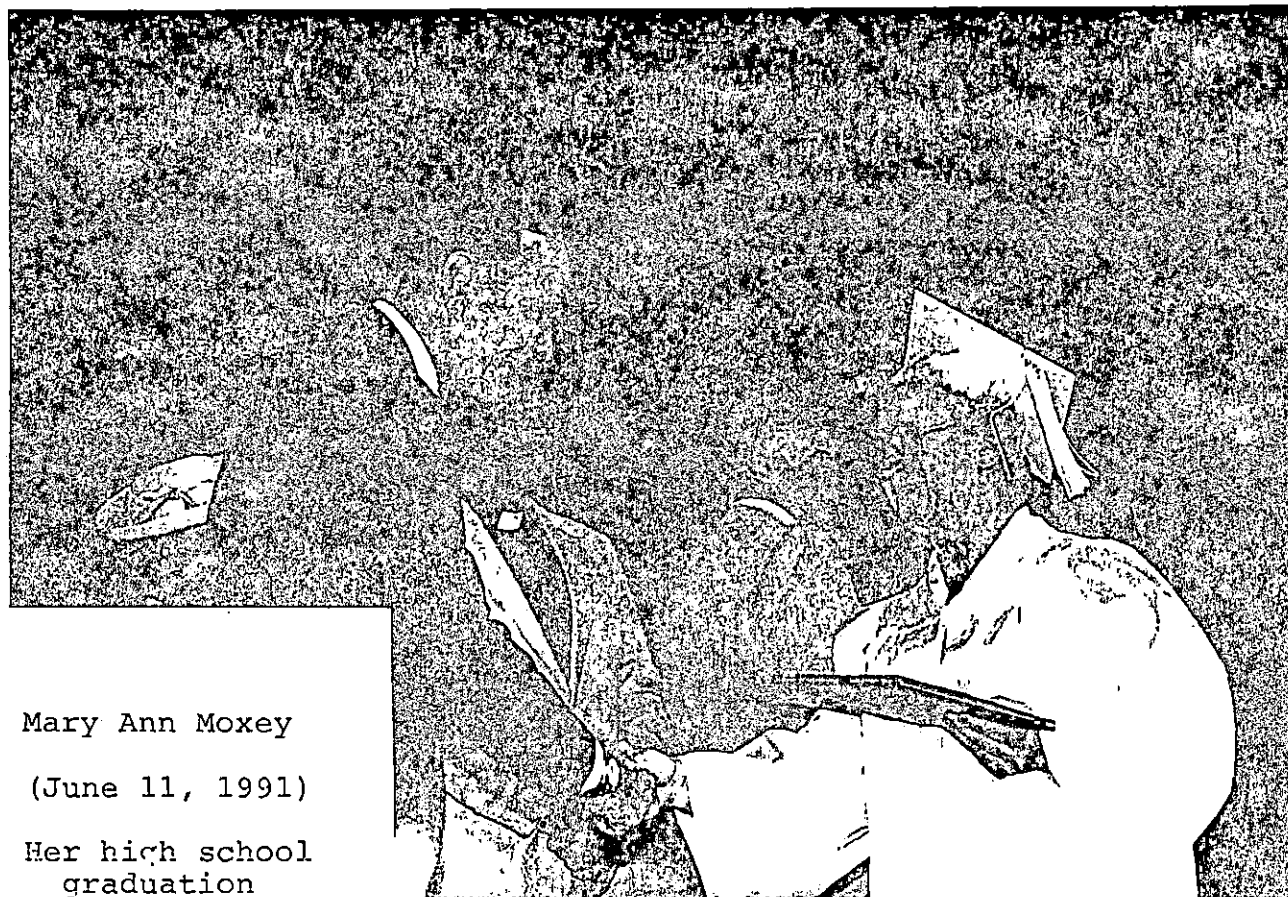
Thank you for your wonderful letter. It was an honor for me to address the 1991 graduates of James H. Groves Adult High School, and I am delighted that the commencement ceremony was such a memorable occasion for you. Your success in earning your high school diploma, after raising nine children on your own, is truly inspiring.

Best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,



Mrs. Mary Ann Moxey
Route 3, Box 191
Milton, Delaware 19968



Mary Ann Moxey

(June 11, 1991)

Her high school
graduation

*To Mary Ann Moxey
With pride in your achievement
and heartiest congratulations,*

E. Bunt

Dear Sir

I want to take this time
to thank you for coming to my
graduation, it meant a lot to me.
I know my mother you may not mean
that much to you but, it sure meant
that much to me. I have tried for
five years to get my high school diploma,
each time I fail the test. My husband
helped in 79 leaving me with a child
and raised all of them by myself. As it
has been very rough on me, graduation
meant alot to me. It made me feel
very proud to shake your hand and to
meet you.

MMA Moley

308-684-3705

Daily



THE PRESIDENT

October 14, 1992

To: Bob Teeter

This smells of politics to me. Please have someone prepare a response to Dinkins.

cc: JABIII

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "C. J. B." or similar, written in a cursive style.



Just in over the
President's
personal fax.

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007

October 13, 1992

The Honorable George Bush
The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics today released unemployment statistics for major metropolitan areas, including New York City. Contained in this report is information on both the unemployment rate, as well as information on those individuals who are either discouraged workers or else have taken part-time work in lieu of the full-time work they require in order to maintain a reasonable standard of living. This additional information gives us a more realistic yet distressing view of our economy.

The September unemployment rate in the City of New York is listed as 12.1 percent; the total rate, which includes those workers in all the above categories, is 21.0 percent. Although the figures for New York City are high, there are other cities where the statistics are even more distressing. For example, the Modesto, California rate is 13.5 percent and 24.3 percent. Stockton, California is 12.4 percent and 22.3 percent. Several cities have comparable figures to New York's: Los Angeles has a rate of 10.7 percent and 19.3 percent, and Detroit has a rate of 8.7 percent and 15.7 percent.

The next Administration must have a plan to address the needs of urban America. Our citizens want a good education, jobs, a safe place to raise their children, and they want hope for the future. Had urban programs, including employment training and housing assistance, among others, remained at 1980 levels, New York City alone would have received \$34 billion more in federal aid during the last decade. We urgently need to know the details of your plan to revitalize our cities during the next four years.

-2-

On behalf of the residents of New York City, I look forward to your response to this important matter.

Sincerely,

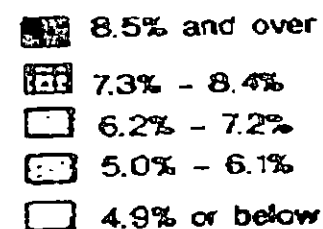
A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dinkins', with a large, stylized initial 'D'.

David N. Dinkins
MAYOR

OFFICIAL AND "REAL" JOBLESS RATES" FOR SELECTED METRO AREAS

City	Pre		Most	
	Recession		Recent	
	6/90	6/90	8/92	8/92
	<u>BLS</u>	<u>"Real"</u>	<u>BLS</u>	<u>"Real"</u>
New York, NY	5.5	10.6	11.1	20.0
Los Angeles, CA	4.6	8.9	10.7	19.3
Chicago, IL	6.0	11.6	6.4	11.5
Boston, MA	5.1	9.8	7.3	13.1
Atlanta, GA	5.4	10.4	6.9	12.4
New Orleans, LO	6.5	12.5	7.0	12.6
Detroit, MI	7.5	14.4	8.7	15.7
Cleveland, OH	4.7	9.1	6.5	11.7
Washington, DC	3.6	6.9	8.3	14.9
Louisville, KY	5.6	10.8	5.6	10.1
Milwaukee, WI	4.5	8.7	4.6	8.3
Newark, NJ	5.2	10.0	9.6	17.3
Baltimore, MD	4.9	9.4	7.6	13.7
Seattle, WA	3.1	6.0	5.5	9.9
Dallas, TX	5.4	10.4	6.2	11.2
San Diego, CA	4.4	8.5	7.9	14.2
Pittsburgh, PA	4.4	8.5	6.8	12.2
Modesto, CA	11.5	22.2	13.5	24.3
Jersey City, NJ	7.2	13.9	12.2	22.0
Flint, MI	8.6	16.6	13.1	23.6
Fresno, CA	8.5	16.4	12.8	23.0
Stockton, CA	9.4	18.1	12.4	22.3
Philadelphia, PA	4.5	8.7	7.7	13.9
Toledo, OH	6.7	12.9	7.6	13.7
Las Vegas, NV	5.2	10.0	7.0	12.6
Waterbury, CT	7.3	14.1	10.3	18.5
El Paso, TX	10.9	21.0	9.4	16.9
Lowell, MA	7.1	13.7	9.9	17.8
Johnstown, PA	7.1	13.7	10.4	18.7
Nashua, NH	7.0	13.5	8.2	14.8

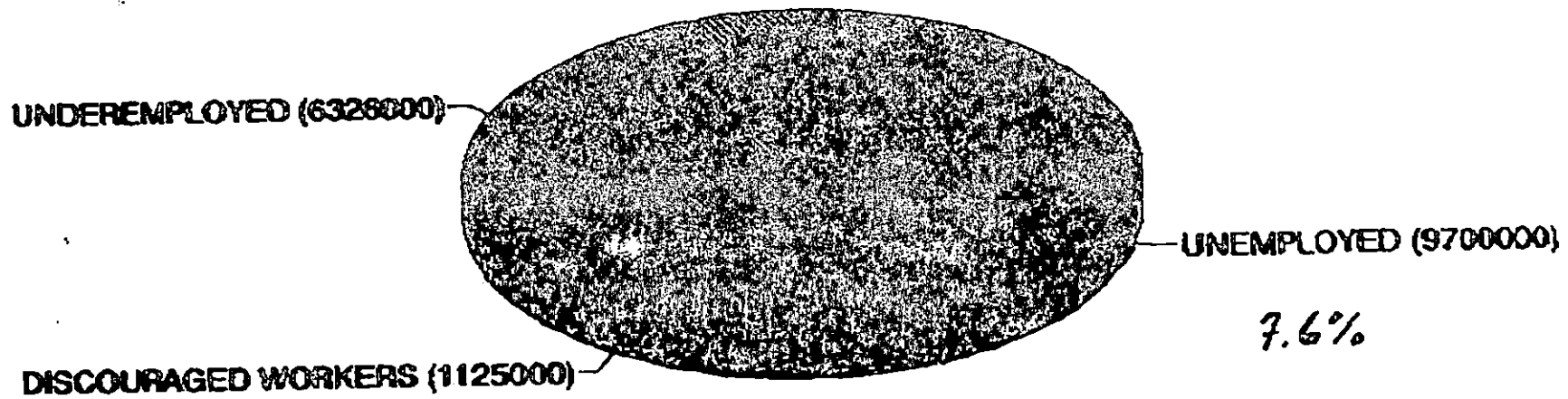
(U.S. average = 7.6 percent)



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics
US Department of Labor

THE REAL JOBLESS

August, 1992



TOTAL: 13.3% nationwide

Source: Americans For Democratic Action
Woodrow Ginsburg, Consulting



FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET
FEDERAL OFFICE IN NY
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL, NEW YORK 10007

GALE A. BREWER

DATE:

10/13/92

TO:

President George Bush

FAX #: 202-456-2397

FROM:

MAYOR. DAVID DINKINS

FAX #: 288-2647

SENDERS TEL. #: 788-2641

NUMBER OF PAGES FOLLOWING COVER SHEET: 5

ACTION TO BE TAKEN:

URGENT/IMMEDIATE ATTENTION ☒AWAITING YOUR COMMENTS ☐PER YOUR REQUEST ☐FOR YOUR INFORMATION ☐PLEASE CALL UPON RECEIPT ☐OTHER ACTION (SEE BELOW) ☐

Please call to confirm that fax has been
received.

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daily

THE PRESIDENT

October 14, 1992

To: JABIII

Here's the problem ~~of~~ the Water Bill and I must answer soon, but I will wait till after the debates.

4

OTIS BOOTH, JR.

October 8, 1992

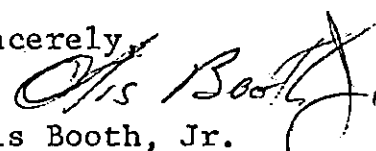
President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush:

Unless you veto HR429, I stand to lose personally roughly \$15 million in citrus groves abandoned for lack of reliable water, which then eliminates permanently some 50 jobs. You can multiply this one man's result a thousandfold for all of California agriculture.

California farmers are relying on your word, 'I will veto this legislation', said at a fund raiser luncheon in Fresno, California this Spring.

Sincerely,


Otis Booth, Jr.

(n.b. Daphne Murray's son, Palmer, is my new son-in-law. Hence I take the liberty to state the case to you directly.)

OB/mb

Enclosure

SUMMARY OF MOST SIGNIFICANT IMPACTS
OF TITLE XXXIV OF HR 429
(MILLER/BRADLEY CVP FISH AND WILDLIFE PROPOSAL)

The devastating impacts of Title XXXIV of HR 429 on agriculture in California are numerous; of necessity, any summary omits many important points. However, the most significant results of the enactment of Title XXXIV are as follows:

1. The bill results in the immediate dedication of over 1.2 million acre feet per year to fish and wildlife purposes. These supplies would be the "firmest" in the CVP, as the bill provides they may only be reduced by up to 25% (even if urban and agricultural deliveries are reduced to zero). The Bureau of Reclamation has determined that, had the bill been in effect for the period 1990-1992, no water would have been delivered to urban and agricultural water service contract holders in those years. The bill therefore legislates permanent drought and favors fish and wildlife over people. It also mandates new programs which could result in still further reallocations.

2. The bill imposes enormous new costs on CVP customers. The bill requires the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars. CVP customers would be required to repay a portion of those costs, which will be spread across fewer acre feet of water due to fish and wildlife dedications. A preliminary estimate indicates water costs to many growers could triple under the bill; others could experience even greater increases. Radically increased costs cannot be tolerated by farmers, especially in the current economic climate.

3. Certainty of water supplies is eliminated. CVP water service contracts have historically been 40 years in length; those contracts are now expiring. The bill would allow only a single renewal for 25 years. Subsequent renewals would not be assured. The bill mandates a sweeping environmental impact statement analyzing "direct and indirect" impacts and benefits of the bill and CVP contract renewals. The estimated cost of the study is \$50 million to \$100 million. Because of the complexity of the EIS, it could easily take 10 or more years to complete. No contract renewals are allowed until the EIS is completed, and only short-term "interim" renewals are available in the meantime. Obtaining long-term financing without a long-term water supply will be an impossibility.

4. The bill sets unachievable environmental goals. The bill requires a program to double anadromous fish populations using a baseline of 1967-1991, thereby requiring the CVP to mitigate for the impacts of other projects which became operational during that period. The bill also requires the doubling of both striped bass and salmon/steelhead; striped bass are predators of salmon/steelhead, making it virtually impossible to accomplish the established goal.

CVP's
riparians
orchards
permanent
plantings,
will
disappear
without
continuous
assured
water

5. The bill will cause economic havoc throughout California, based on studies by the California Department of Food and Agriculture and University of California, the result of a reduction of 1.2 million acres lost in California water supplies to agriculture could result in the loss of (1) almost 500,000 acres of irrigated farmland, (11) over 3,000 farms, (111) almost 10,000 full-time jobs, (1V) \$370 million to \$770 million per year in gross farm income and (V) as much as \$3 billion in state and national product.

092 16:20 FROM 1 ELTER-HEGLEY-ENGINEERING TO 13103084675 P.07
BY 26 18:25 BOLDEN FLYING BOOSTER P.07

duddy

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON
October 14, 1992

Dear Mark,

Thanks for your letter of October 9. I appreciate your thoughts and advice. Your comments about the Campaign concern me, and I will get to the bottom of this.

Only two debates and 20 days to go, but I remain confident. Thanks, my friend, for all you're doing.

Sincerely,



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

The Honorable Mark A. Lauretti
Mayor of the City of Shelton
54 Hill Street
Shelton, Connecticut 06484



THE PRESIDENT

October 14, 1992

To: Bob Teeter

Bob, please note paragraph "A" in the Mayor's letter.

cc: JABIII



City of Shelton

Office of the Mayor

54 Hill Street

Shelton, Conn. 06484

Mark A. Amoretti
Mayor

203-924-2681

Fax 203-924-8185

October 12, 1992

The Honorable George H. W. Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Despite what the media tells us and how they have portrayed your Presidency, there is still a lot of support for George Bush. I, as the Mayor of a community of 35,000, feel an obligation, at a grass roots level, to convey the feelings of the people that I represent and of which I believe are typical of what Americans feel nationwide.

I have felt for quite some time that you have been getting bad advice on your campaign for re-election. We in Connecticut have received little, if any, correspondence of any type (not even a bumper sticker!) from the Bush/Quayle Re-election Committee. How can we care if others don't -- it now becomes a tough sell.

Your performance on the Wednesday night "Larry King Live Show" was absolutely superb. You were very confident and professional; you spoke to the issues and facts, without sarcasm or retaliatory remarks towards Governor Clinton.

I do not want to belabor the points that are troubling the country, I believe that you know better than anyone. Mr. President, people need to feel a sense of awareness on your part and that seems to be lacking.

The Honorable George H. W. Bush
October 9, 1992
Page 2

I encourage you to debate to the issues. Your poise, knowledge and command of the facts will boost your perception tremendously. Americans have a level of comfort and trust with George Bush. They want to be assured that you will address their needs domestically as you and Ronald Reagan have done so effectively and efficiently on a global scale. It is important when speaking to the American public to convey more definitely what you will do in resolving the problems facing us.

If there were ever a time to reach out and touch the American people for a Presidency, the time is now. Best wishes and continued support in the up and coming election.

Sincerely,

Mark A. Lauretti

Mark A. Lauretti
Mayor

chb

October 13, 1992

TO: President Bush
FROM: Lud Ashley

I thought your performance in St. Louis was excellent. You appeared relaxed, humane and Presidential. No knockdowns, but Clinton came across as too rehearsed to be convincing. Perot was odd man out but with more appeal than I expected.

As you and Jim focus on the economy, bear in mind that one reason there isn't the kind of recovery we need is that Congress rejected your comprehensive program to modernize the banking system, saddling it instead with a maze of new regulations that deter virtually all risk-taking by bankers. Part of any integrated, action-oriented economic program must be a competitive, state-of-the-art financial system; but thanks to Congress our banks continue to be hamstrung by antiquated restrictions. You alluded to this in your Detroit speech but haven't mentioned it in subsequent discussions of an agenda for America's future. I think it would be helpful if you recycled your excellent Detroit speech into an agenda for action on the economy, with a timetable for specific deadlines for Congressional action, including regulatory relief and banking reform, something Clinton has neglected. Maybe Brady could be useful when he addresses the American Bankers Association in Boston this weekend.

I talked to some BLADE people in Toledo and that situation doesn't look promising. The good news is that the BLADE is so thoroughly despised that an endorsement does more harm than help.

I wish you had warned me about "Marvin's Room." We were out of there by the middle of Act One.

Best.

MATERIALS FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
October 14, 1992

ACTION

1. H.R. 5925 -- EEOC Education, Technical Assistance, and Training Revolving Fund Act of 1992.
2. H.J. Res. 542 -- Hire a Veteran Week.
3. S. 3195 -- World War II 50th Anniversary Commemorative Coins Act.
4. Mail Sample.
5. P. Brady Note Responding to the President's question on the OCS Moratorium issue raised in letter to Governor Chiles.
6. Executive Proclamation Entitled "To Suspend the Davis-Bacon Act of March 3, 1931."
7. H.R. 3157 -- Alaska Land Status Technical Corrections Act of 1992.
8. H.R. 2144 -- Advisory Council on California Indian Policy Act of 1992 and a Signing Statement.
9. Gift Letters.
10. Proposed Executive Order Entitled "Management Improvement in the Federal Government."
11. H.R. 2324 -- Incarcerated Witness Fees Act of 1991.
12. S.J. Res. 287 -- Mental Illness Awareness Week.
13. Thank you Messages to Prime Minister Mulroney and President Salinas re NAFTA Initialing Event.
14. Mail Sample.

CLASSIFIED

1. Update on the Uruguay Round.

INFORMATION

1. Holiday memo re Initiation of Section 301 Investigation of Indonesia Pencil Slats.
2. Porter memo re Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act of 1990.

3. Comments Line Phone Tally 1st Hour After Vice Presidential Debate.
4. Calio Memo Attaching Letter from Senator Durenberger re Cable Veto.
5. CEA numbers -- Consumer price indexes for September.

REMARKS

SCHEDULE

1. Goldline only for Thursday, 10/15

MF -

The President
would like for you
to take a look at
this - I'll return
to Robin as soon
as you've seen it.
cfr.

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

daily 10/17

Original letter
had Brian Gumbel
vice Bryant Gumbel.

Please resign and
add p.s.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 14, 1992

Dear Katie:

The purpose of this letter is to thank you for giving me the opportunity to say a few words. I really came over to make sure Ranger's feelings were not hurt, given all of Millie's air time. Please give the attached bumper sticker to Bryant Gumbel assuring him there is no "hit list" and if there was one, he wouldn't be on it. If Bryant is uncomfortable with this bumper sticker on his car, try to see if you can talk Willard into using it.

It was fun yesterday.

Sincerely,



Ms. Katie Couric
Today Show
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10112

P.S. Isn't it odd that some Monday morning quarterbacks thought this drop by was all planned in advance.

Good luck to You.

Daily

cc:
Marlin Fitzwater

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

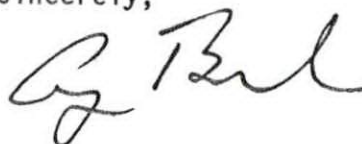
October 14, 1992

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It was fun yesterday.

Sincerely,



Ms. Katie Couric
Today Show
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10112

P.S. Isn't it odd that some Monday morning quarterbacks thought this drop by was all planned in advance.

Again, my thanks.

Not Mailed

ANNOY THE MEDIA RE-ELECT BUSH

©1992 Robert M. McDowell

↑
Bumper sticker says it right comes:
"Katie look what someone sent me -
GYS"

The President
to attach
bumper sticker

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 13, 1992

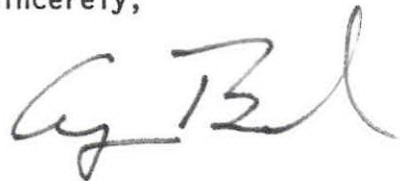
Dear Katie:

~~I hope I don't ruin your character about saying something
nice about you today at the White House.~~

The purpose of this letter is to thank you for giving me the opportunity to say a few words. I really came over to make sure Ranger's feelings were not hurt, given all of Millie's air time. Please give the attached bumper sticker to Brian Gumbel assuring him there is no "hit list" and if there was one, he wouldn't be on it. If Brian is uncomfortable with this bumper sticker on his car, try to see if you can talk Willard into using it.

It was fun ~~today~~ yesterday.

Sincerely,



Ms. Katie Couric
Today Show
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10112

P.S. I sit it odd that some Monday
morn'g quaterbauch thought this ~~was~~ drop-by
was all planned in advance

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

OCTOBER 14th

, 19⁹²

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUT	6:55	AM	6:57	USHER'S OFFICE OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 780	TLKD-OK WITH MR. GARY J. WALTERS 6:55 A.M.
INC		XRM			
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT XX	11:13	AM		MR. TOM C. LASORDA RES: FULLERTON, CA. 714-870-4894	TLKD WITH MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA 11:14 A.M.
INC		XX PM			
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT	11:45	AM	11:48	MR. TOM C. LASORDA CELLULAR PHONE 714-292-6758	TLKD-OK 11:46 A.M.
INC		PM			
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT XX		XX AM		MRS. ROSE ZAMARIA OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 620	MESSAGE PASSED 1:05 P.M.
INC XX	1:05	PM			
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT		XX AM		USHER'S OFFICE OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 780	TLKD-OK WITH MR. GARY J. WALTERS 1:06 P.M.
INC XX	1:06	PM	1:06		
OUT		AM			
INC		PM			
OUT XX		XX AM		DR. BURTON J. LEE III OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 797	TLKD-OK 1:07 P.M.
INC XX	1:07	PM	1:08		

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

OCTOBER 14th , 19⁹²

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	XAM		MRS. BARBARA BUSH WASHINGTON, D.C.	
XX INC	3:02 PM	3:04	WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 542	TLKD-OK 3:03 P.M.
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	XXAM		SENATOR ALAN K. SIMPSON VERMILLION, S.D. 605-677-5281	
XX INC	5:52 PM	6:00		TLKD-OK 5:55 P.M.
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	XAM		USHER'S OFFICE OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 780	TLKD-OK WITH MR. CHRISTOPHER B. EMERY 6:11 P.M.
XX INC	6:11 PM	6:11		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	XXAM		USHER'S OFFICE OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 780	TLKD-OK WITH MR. CHRISTOPHER B. EMERY 6:12 P.M.
XX INC	6:12 PM	6:12		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	XAM		FORMER PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-328-2000	
XX INC	7:02 PM	7:10		TLKD-OK 7:03 P.M.
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	XXAM		MR. RONALD C. KAUFMAN OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 6-2997	
XX INC	7:12 PM	7:15		TLKD-OK 7:12 P.M.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

OCTOBER 14th

19⁹²

PRESIDENT BUSH

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT XX	AM XX		MR. JOHN E. BUSH RES: MIAMI, FL. 305-663-3212	
INC	8:30 PM	8:35		TLKD-OK 8:30 P.M.
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		DOCTOR'S OFFICE OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 797	TLKD-OK WITH LIEUTENANT COMMANDER MARY K. JACKSON
INC	8:38 PM	8:38		8:38 P.M.
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	XAM		LIEUTENANT COMMANDER MARY K. JACKSON OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C.	TLKD-OK 9:26 P.M.
INC	9:26 PM	9:27		
OUT	AM		WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 797	
INC	PM			
OUT	XAM		MR. GEORGE W. BUSH RES: DALLAS, TX. 214-692-6604	MR. GEORGE W. BUSH CA. CALL 10:18 P.M.
INC	10:16 PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

October 14, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT XXX	8:59 AM PM	9:19	Conference Call: Chancellor Helmut Kohl Office, Bonn, Germany 562-001	Tlkd-ok 9:05 AM
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. Ralph H. Sigler White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Major Jane E. Holl White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. Neil G. Bleicken White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. Harry Obst Residence, Annandale, Virginia 703-256-1178	
OUT XXX	9:25 AM PM	9:43	Confernce Call: Prime Minister John Major Office, London, England 930-4433	Tlkd-ok 9:32 AM
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. Ralph H. Sigler White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM		Mr. Neil G. Bleicken White House Situatuoan Room White House Signal 7-2264	
OUT INC	AM PM			
OUT INC	AM PM			

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION: Washington, D.C.

DATE: 14 October 1992

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0654	South Grounds
0703	Oval Office
0950	Room 450 Old Executive Office Building
1126	West Wing
1128	Oval Office
1158	South Grounds
1205	Residence
1422	Oval Office
1424	Cabinet Room
1433	Oval Office
1602	Roosevelt Room
1608	Oval Office
1619	South Grounds
1622	Oval Office
1631	Roosevelt Room
1751	Oval Office
1819	South Grounds
1823	Residence



THE PRESIDENT

10 14 92

daily

Dear Bill,

I just want you to
know I did see your
good letter of Sept. 15th
Clinton is a tax - spend

man - no question about
it - Warmest Regards,
my friend !

cc: R. Zamaria
in and out
1 copy

Mr. William M. Schuler
Suite 100
200 Cahaba Park South
Birmingham, Alabama 35243

11-E
T. Hecht
cc: J. Burnmaster

350563

817 019

WILLIAM M. SCHULER
SUITE 100-200 CAHABA PARK SOUTH
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35243

September 15, 1992

9/18/92 Ron Kaufman response attached.

President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear George:

I want to take this opportunity to wish you every success in your re-election campaign because this Country needs your leadership at this time. It has been a long time since the good old days we spent at Yale and out in Midland looking for oil. I feel compelled to offer you my opinion as to some pertinent information that should be brought out about the Democratic Campaign.

This is an election that will turn on the economic prosperity of the people. People today are very concerned about the security of their jobs and the funds they have salted away for their retirement. There is a bill that has been passed by the Congress, HR4848, known as The Long Term Family Security Act. The name of this bill is very misleading because on page 132 or page 138, don't hold me to the page number, the inheritance tax exemption is dropped from six hundred thousand to two hundred thousand dollars. Very few people are aware of this bill.

WILLIAM M. SCHULER

SUITE 100-200 CAHABA PARK SOUTH
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35243

September 15, 1992

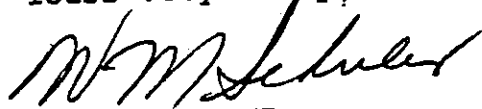
Page 2

You take the average man or woman who has a house, insurance policies, stocks and mutual funds, they will easily have in excess of the two hundred thousand dollar exemption and will be thrown in the hands of various lawyers and accountants. Mr. Clinton states that he is for the middle income family and this one single item will do more to destroy that segment of the population than any other pertinent piece of legislation now looming on the horizon. When Clinton refers to the wealthy as those people making over eighty thousand dollars per year, he is giving no consideration to the assets that they have accumulated over their life time and this bill will certainly devastate long term family planning.

I know you get advice from numerous people every day, but I felt I had to mention this point to you because it is so devastating to the average family.

Kindest personal regards.

Yours very truly,



W. M. SCHULER

WMS/stw

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FILE

September 18, 1992

Dear Mr. Schuler:

On behalf of the President, thank you for your letter of September 15.

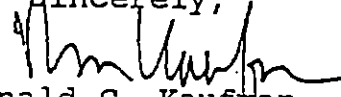
C-

The President appreciates your taking the time to share your views and concerns regarding House Resolution 4848.

Certainly, the President shares your impatience with liberal Democrats who would tax and spend without restraint. He is determined to pursue policies which will provide greater opportunity and higher standards of living to all Americans, and we will continue to press Congress to act responsibly.

Again, thank you for taking the time to share your suggestions with us.

Sincerely,



Ronald C. Kaufman
Deputy Assistant to the President for
Political Affairs

Mr. William M. Schuler
Suite 100-200 Cahaba Park South
Birmingham, Alabama 35243

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

October 14, 1992

daily

Dear Anne and Tim,

Thanks for your supportive fax of October 13.
I appreciate your encouragement and friendship.

Only two debates and 20 days to go, but I remain
confident.

Barbara joins me in sending our best to your both.

Sincerely,



Mr. and Mrs. Robert Livingston Ireland III
Brown Brothers Harriman & Company
59 Wall Street
New York, New York 10005

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (-1 cc)

This letter was given to OPA to be transferred to
the Bush/Quayle Committee for mailing.

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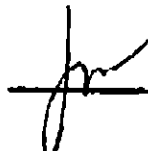
TO: The President

FROM: R. L. Ireland, III

SUBJECT: Personal

DATE: October 13, 1992

NUMBER OF PAGES (NOT COUNTING THIS COVER SHEET) 1

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE 

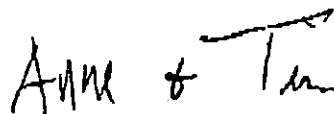
OCTOBER 13, 1992

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Just in over the
President's
personal fax.

THIS IS NO TIME FOR TELEPHONE CALLS SHOUTING WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT STOP.
IT IS IMPORTANT TO GET WORD TO YOU HOW DEEPLY WE FEEL ABOUT YOUR RE-
ELECTION STOP. YOU HAVE ALWAYS HAD OUR COMPLETE FAITH AND TRUST AND
THERE IS NO CHANGE STOP.

GIVE 'EM HELL THURSDAY NIGHT.


ANNE AND TIM IRELAND



THE PRESIDENT

October 14, 1992

daily

Dear Glen,

Burt Lee just passed along your two editorials from Postgraduate Medicine. I really appreciate your support of my healthcare plan. You're right, the press has not been giving it the coverage it deserves. It's great to hear from a healthcare professional who realizes what's best for the country.

As for my health, I continue to feel great. Again, thanks for your support. I'm confident we will win in November. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FROM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Glen C. Griffin, M.D.
Editorial Director
McGraw-Hill Healthcare Publications
4530 West 77th Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55435

cc:(in/out/articles)
Rose Zamaria (lcc)

McGraw-Hill Healthcare Publications



Glen C. Griffin, MD
Editorial Director

OCTOBER 5, 1992

MR PRESIDENT

I THINK YOU WILL LIKE
THESE 2 STORIES I WROTE
ABOUT YOU & YOUR 😊 HEALTHCARE
PLAN - TO SET THE RECORD
STRAIGHT.

THANKS FOR EVERYTHING -
THE OTHER GUYS ARE NOT
EVEN CLOSE TO BEING IN
YOUR LEAGUE! -

WITH BEST WISHES
GLEN

*Dr. Burt
Lee sent
these to
our office*

4530 W. 77th STREET, MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55435 612/835-3222 Fax 612/835-3460

The Practical
Peer-Reviewed
Journal for
Primary Care
Physicians

Postgraduate Medicine

Editorial

Bush vs Clinton on
artichokes, tomatoes,
and healthcare

Patient Notes

on inside back cover

Mammography

Breast cancer: Evaluation of common breast masses • Legal issues
in management • The capabilities and limitations of breast imaging

GI foreign bodies—when to remove, when to watch and wait • Tourette's

syndrome • Stress and the heart • Halloween diarrhea • Delirium and

acute psychosis • Lead poisoning in children • Fever of unknown origin in

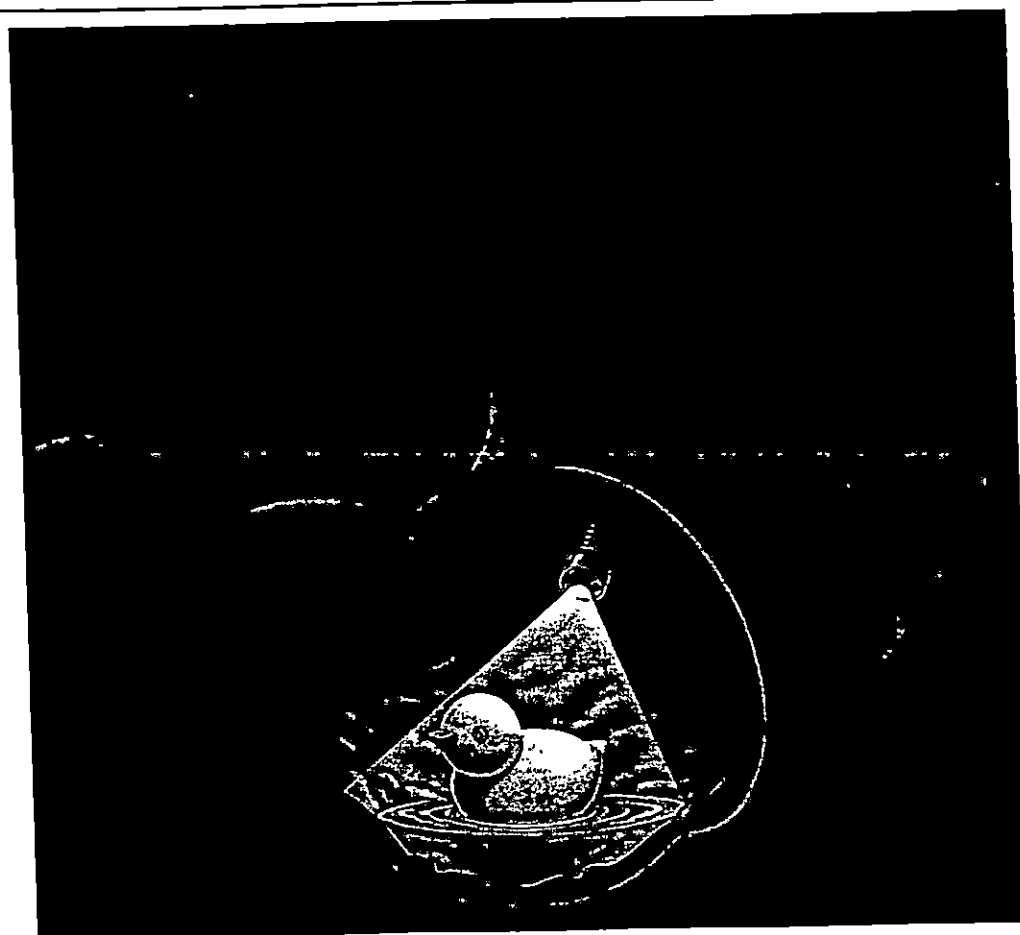
the elderly • Are your patients satisfied? • Acne • Coronary disease

in surgical patients • Anaphylaxis • Magnesium deficiency and diabetes

Complete contents beginning on page 7



Earn CME credit by reading
PGM's problem-solving
articles



Foreign bodies in the GI tract—you'd be amazed at what people swallow (page 46)

BUSH VS CLINTON ON ARTICHOKEs, TOMATOES, AND HEALTHCARE

Glen C. Griffin, MD

"Healthcare should be a right, not a privilege," it says in Governor Clinton's three-page healthcare plan.

But *should* healthcare be a "right"?

It sounds good. After all, healthcare is not just a want: It is a need. But so is food. In fact, for most folks, food is an even more basic need than healthcare. So why don't we say that food should be a right, not a privilege? But should bread, vegetables, rice, pasta, meat, and healthcare be rights?

If we make food a right, we take away one of life's major obstacles. Funding for food is no longer a problem. Everyone gets to eat. Sounds terrific. Now let's see how this might work.

I'm used to eating rather simple food, but now that it's free maybe I should have a salmon steak every night instead of once a week or so. And since I like artichokes, why not have them more often too? And fresh, earth-grown tomatoes—not the fake red things grown in water. And pineapples. And guava juice. I'll just pick up some of these foods today at the free government market. After all, food is a right, and the government certainly should want me to eat healthy foods like these.

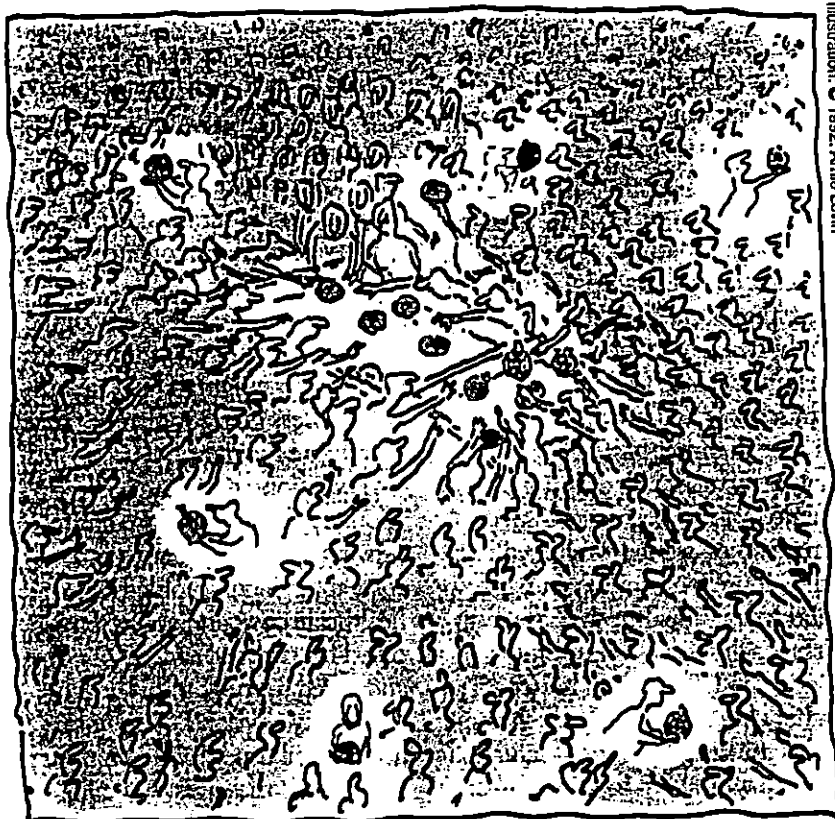


Illustration: © 1992, Artie Levin

But there are long lines at the free government market to get artichokes. And fresh tomatoes. And salmon. Others have figured out that they want these foods too. As healthy as rice and oatmeal are, the lines for them are not nearly as long as for some of these other foods.

Something isn't working. Be-

sides the long lines, we have another problem. The federal food program is over budget. To fix this, Congress has created a federal expenditure cap on food. All food products from farms, markets, restaurants, and even fast-food places must come under the mandatory food-expenditure cap.

We might have to eat less—at

continued

least of some things. And of course, real tomatoes will now be rationed. The Office of Sufficiently Healthy Foods (OSHF) doesn't like the word "rationed," so tomatoes are officially *prioritized*—not rationed. And OSHF announced that as of April 16, anyone over age 55 may not eat fresh tomatoes—or artichokes or fresh salmon. And effective that same day, the allotment of butter, which the government has in surplus, will be increased for school children. The fact that 1 tbsp of butter has 7 g of saturated fat, compared with only 1 g of saturated fat in 1 tbsp of preferred margarines, somehow slipped past the House Committee on Butter and Margarine. But that's the way it is. Each school child will now consume 1/8 lb of real butter at school lunch each day, which contains the same amount of saturated fat as a typical fast food meal—or many school lunches. Congress decided it was easier and less expensive to feed school children saturated fat in big chunks of butter instead of in fast foods.

And now that food is a right, government bureaucracies are thriving. Unemployment is way down because of the rapidly growing government agencies. Besides the additions to Congressional staffs, 59,743 new regulators were added to the government payroll to check on people in their homes and workplaces to be sure no one

over age 55 eats tomatoes or other forbidden foods. "Checking on tomato eating itself is not very difficult," an OSHF spokesperson explained, "but once tomatoes get in sandwiches, especially on picnics, the problem increases, and we want to be sure that doctors are not prescribing tomato sandwiches."

And these are only a few of the problems that have occurred now that food is a right. There are others. But let's go on to the idea that healthcare is a right.

I was hoping to see a well-thought-out explanation of how Governor Clinton planned to solve the difficult problems of healthcare costs and access. So I called his national campaign office and asked to speak to his healthcare policy advisor. I was put on hold several times, and even though I left several messages, my calls were never returned. However, I did receive a fax of the Clinton-Gore healthcare "plan."

I expected something on the order of the 94-page plan that I received from President Bush's office. But I was surprised that the Clinton plan was only three pages long, especially since Governor Clinton said he would have a healthcare plan going within 100 days after taking office. This is scary—really frightening. This three-page plan is just a collection of nice-sounding sound bites—without answers to

the countless "how" questions. But what is Clinton's plan?

The Clinton-Gore healthcare plan, in their campaign's words, appears in the box on page 18. As you can see, some good points are included, along with others that bring to mind the systems that failed in the USSR and other countries that have now decided that central control of their lives didn't work.

Ironically, as the Berlin Wall came crashing down and most communist governments were being overthrown, many in our country were "being seduced by the idea of systematically planning and controlling a national economy," as economist Paul Craig Roberts explained in his book *Meltdown*.

Some would have us think that the results of the upcoming election don't make much difference. This is absolutely wrong. We are choosing the country's CEO for the next 4 years, and there are big differences between the candidates, in their philosophies, in their understanding of the economy, and in their programs—particularly their healthcare programs. It's one thing to come up with sound-bite solutions like "healthcare should be a right." But it is quite another to understand what would happen if this idea became law. What about the fragmentation of care? And what about the costs? Without a

limit on free-of-charge healthcare, if people can get whatever care they think they want, as a right, the costs to the government would be enormous.

But Bill Clinton wants us to have a government-driven healthcare system.

George Bush wants us to have a market-driven healthcare system.

Both want to cut costs and improve access.

Clinton's three-page plan doesn't even mention one of the biggest cancers in the system—the false idea that everyone has the right to perfect results and if something goes wrong the patient wins a malpractice prize. Practicing defensive medicine because of the constant worry about being sued adds countless billions of dollars each year to our healthcare costs.

George Bush understands this. He was bold enough to stand up and tell the entire country that these suits have got to stop, even if the trial lawyers don't like it.

Even though there has been almost no media coverage of the strengths of the President's healthcare plan, I hope you will study it carefully (the box on page 19 gives highlights of the 94-page document). It isn't perfect. But this plan is carefully thought out—much more so than Clinton's three-page program.

The healthcare-as-a-right plan Bill Clinton is talking about would

change our entire economy. It would raise taxes astronomically. And talk about bureaucracy—you've seen what HCFA, CLIA, and OSHA have done to your medical practice.

But here is some really good news. I just got a call from the office of the Vice President. Sandra K. Mahkorn, a family physician who is associate director of the President's Council on Competitiveness, told me, "Thanks for writing the editorials explaining just how bad the CLIA regulations [which regulate every lab test in America] are for the country." She went on to tell me that the council is declaring war on the oppressive CLIA and OSHA regulations!

As you know, the President announced in his State of the Union Address a federal moratorium on implementing costly new regulations. Unfortunately, he could not include the CLIA regulations in his executive order because they were mandated by Congress. So, as I've been saying, we need a new antiregulatory Congress to overturn them. But in the meantime, we have the President's Council on Competitiveness, chaired by Vice President Dan Quayle (who hates regulations), on our side.

It is good to talk to someone in government who understands that regulations are killing the economy. Dr Mahkorn said, "Rather than

improve the quality of care, it appears that CLIA will end up causing treatment delays, greatly decrease access to care, and add billions to the cost of healthcare."

She said that "there is no good science to back up many of the onerous provisions of the CLIA regulations. In fact, there was no real evidence that a problem existed in doctors' offices or community public health clinics to begin with. Problems with Pap smears were the driving force behind CLIA. These tests are done in already-regulated labs, and while some revision of the regulations may have been necessary to assure high-quality testing, the result has been a tragic and costly overreaction." Dr Mahkorn also commented that more changes in the CLIA rules will be coming.

As I have suggested on several occasions, we need a Congress that does not believe in big government and will do away with laws like CLIA '88, which mandated complicated, counterproductive, and expensive regulations.

On the other hand, if the country is turned over to Bill Clinton and a Congress that will rubber stamp healthcare-as-a-right legislation, we will see more and more such regulations as the government grows and grows.

We have all complained about the logjam of paperwork that we

continued

The Clinton-Gore healthcare plan

Cap national spending to control costs

- Create a health standards board made up of consumers and providers and members of business, labor, and government. The board would establish an annual health budget for the nation to limit both public and private expenditures.
- Crack down on billing fraud and eliminate incentives that invite abuse.

Take on the insurance industry

- Ban underwriting practices that waste billions trying to discover which patients are bad risks; prohibit companies from denying coverage to individuals with pre-existing conditions.
- Protect small businesses through "community rating," which requires insurers to spread risks evenly among all companies.
- Shut down the "paper hospital" and replace expensive and complex financial forms and accounting procedures with a simplified, streamlined billing system with one claim form. Under the current system, 1,500 companies waste millions of dollars processing 1,500 sets of forms.
- Provide everyone with "smart cards" coded with personal medical information.

Stop drug price gouging

- Eliminate tax breaks for drug companies that raise their prices faster than Americans' incomes rise to protect American consumers and bring down prescription drug prices.
- Discourage drug companies from spending more on marketing than on research and development, because saving lives must come before making money.

Establish a core benefits package

- Through the health standards board, guarantee a basic health benefits package that includes ambulatory physician care, inpatient hospital care, prescription drugs, and basic mental health services. The package

would also include expanded preventive treatments, such as prenatal care, mammography, and routine health screenings.

- Allow consumers to choose where they receive care to ensure a better fit between provider strengths and consumer needs.
- Expand Medicare for elderly and disabled Americans to include more long-term care; place special emphasis on home and community-based care, and make funding flexible so those who need care can decide what serves them best.

Develop health networks

- Give consumers access to a variety of local health networks made up of insurers, hospitals, clinics, and doctors to end the costly duplication of services and encourage the shared use of key technologies.
- Allocate to networks a fixed amount of money for each consumer, giving the networks the necessary incentive to control costs.

Guarantee universal coverage

- Guarantee every American a core benefits package set by the health standards board, either through the employer or a high-quality public program. No one would be cut off, canceled, denied, or forced to accept inferior care.
- Limit costs for small employers by allowing them to group together to purchase less costly health insurance or to buy into the public program if it is the cheapest option.
- Phase in business responsibilities, covering employees through the public program until the transition is complete.
- Improve preventive and primary care through community-based health solutions. Expand school-based clinics and community health centers in medically underserved areas. A successful health plan must provide all Americans with adequate access to health facilities.

The President's plan for comprehensive healthcare reform

The President's plan is a market-based reform that builds on the strengths of our current system to provide access to *affordable* insurance for all Americans.

- Guarantee access to health insurance for all families through a transferable health insurance tax credit (certificate). The tax credit would be available even to those too poor to file taxes and would be large enough to purchase a basic health package. Up to \$3,750 in health insurance costs could be deducted by families with incomes less than \$80,000, which would provide new help to the middle class to pay for healthcare. More than 90 million Americans would receive new assistance for healthcare costs.
- Provide insurance security for all Americans. The fear of "job lock," in which workers cannot move to another job without losing access to insurance, would be eliminated. Limits on the availability of insurance for those with pre-existing conditions would be eliminated.
- Reduce the cost of health insurance through major market reforms. Smaller businesses and individuals would be pooled into larger groups so they could receive the same favorable health coverage enjoyed by large employers. Millions of people who now cannot find affordable insurance would be helped.
- Encourage the growth of coordinated care in private plans, Medicare, and Medicaid. Laws limiting coordinated care would be prohibited, as would costly state-mandated benefit laws. The comprehensive plan encourages individuals, employers, and health providers to use coordinated care systems.
- Use the power of an informed marketplace to help

control costs by providing consumers with better information and by giving individuals the resources to choose the coverage that best meets their needs.

- Reduce administrative costs through regulatory reforms that would streamline the current paperwork maze and through market reforms that would allow small employers to share, and thereby substantially reduce, administrative costs.
- Make major malpractice reforms. A comprehensive liability reform plan is proposed to reduce the costs of malpractice and the resulting defensive medicine that burdens the US healthcare system.
- Expand care in underserved areas. Many inner city and rural areas have acute shortages of doctors and clinics. The President's budget expands funding for community health centers, migrant health centers, and the national health service corps to increase preventive care in these areas.

The President's plan does not:

1. Include governmental price regulation or rationing of healthcare
2. Burden small business with new and costly mandates that would stifle the creation of new jobs and be passed on in higher product costs and higher taxes for all Americans
3. Require massive tax increases like "play or pay" plans and national health insurance
4. Threaten poor older Americans with benefit reductions or premium increases

encounter in filing claims for payment from the insurance companies and third-party carriers. This has been bad. But it can be fixed. Simplified and standardized insur-

ance claim forms are coming. Fortunately, both the President and Bill Clinton want this. And certainly the insurance industry must make some changes. But Clinton

says he is "taking on" the insurance industry. He thinks government can do it better! Come on now. Have you ever seen government do anything better, or more economi-

continued

cally, than the free-enterprise system?

President Bush knows that it costs the government more to provide less service. That's why his program is based on a market economy and fewer regulations. He wants to keep as much of medicine in the private sector as possible.

Are things going to change? Of course. But do you want them changed with more government, more CLIA's and OSHA's, and more regulators and regulations? Or do you want to go with someone who understands that our government is already too big and too expensive?

Do you want 60% to 80% of your income to go to taxes, which is what happened in Sweden and most other countries that have a cradle-to-grave right to healthcare?

Clinton and others who want the government to run healthcare don't talk about huge taxes like these. They say that healthcare will be paid for by cutting costs. Certainly cutting costs is important. But anybody who thinks that this alone will really pay for healthcare if it becomes a right in our country should think about it some more.

Even in Canada, income taxes are far higher than in the United

States. Why? Because in Canada, 1 out of every 3 provincial dollars goes for healthcare. And healthcare in almost every province is way over budget!

If you like the idea of a government-run healthcare system, you should talk to some of your colleagues in British Columbia. Recently, when the provincial government went over budget, it simply rescinded its contract with the doctors. In effect, after agreeing on certain fees and other things, the government just tore up the contract when it got short on money.

Could this happen here?
It certainly could.

As I have learned more and more about how things work in Washington, it's become frightening to see how much power the chairs of Congressional committees have in deciding what goes and what doesn't go. They can bottle up legislation they don't like and, of course, push through legislation they do like. And then there is the matter of appropriating funds and budgeting money—or pigeonholing it.

Who are these committee chairs? Most have been around for years and years. They run the place. And these are the folks, along with the regulators at the agencies, who will run our govern-

ment healthcare system if the people choose Bill Clinton and reelect the members of the House and Senate who will vote for his plan.

Many in the media and some pollsters would like us to think that the election is already decided. And unfortunately, Congress and much of the media have long been controlled by those who think we should have bigger government and more regulations, and now, government-run healthcare.

Our government already is too big—and too expensive.

President Bush has spent nearly 4 years helping bring freedom to millions around the world. We need his strong leadership, with a new Congress that will support him—in bringing market-economy solutions to our healthcare problems—without more government, more regulations, and more taxes. **FGM**

Your comments on the subject of this editorial are welcome and may be published in Readers' Forum. Please write to Glen C. Griffin, MD, Editor-in-Chief, POSTGRADUATE MEDICINE, 4530 W 77th St, Minneapolis, MN 55435.

**The Practical
Peer-Reviewed
Journal for
Primary Care
Physicians**

Postgraduate Medicine

Editorial

Bush and his
healthcare plan—Healthy!
Some media reports—Not!

Patient Notes on inside back cover

Avoiding things
that trigger asthma

Hepatitis: Prophylaxis for viral hepatitis • Serologic diagnosis
of viral hepatitis • Status of drug therapy for chronic hepatitis B and C

Carbon monoxide poisoning—an occult epidemic • Is quinidine
a good drug or a bad drug? • Differentiating iron deficiency and anemia
of chronic disease • Hormone replacement therapy—protection
against the consequences of menopause • The mysterious relationship
between rheumatic disease and AIDS

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Carbon monoxide—saving patients from the grip of an invisible killer (page 86)

BUSH & HIS HEALTHCARE PLAN—HEALTHY! Some media reports—Not!

Glen C. Griffin, MD

Have you seen *anything* in the news about the President's health-care plan?

If you have, it's probably not been much—perhaps a sound bite from the State of the Union Address or a clip from his Houston acceptance speech. Otherwise, most of the news reports about the President's healthcare plan have been quick dismissals of the carefully thought-out 94-page proposal. Such brush-offs are unfortunate, because this plan could go a long way toward making healthcare available to everyone in the country—without government regulators running the entire healthcare system.

And chances are likely that you have heard some of the false doubts about the President's health that prompted Barbara Bush to tell the nation that he is "the healthiest man I know" when she was listing some of his strengths.

Obviously, the Office of the Presidency is so important that people deserve to know if the President is healthy or not.

So I stopped by the White House and had a long talk with Burton J. Lee III, MD, the Physician to the President. Settling into a comfortable chair in the small consultation office where he frequently checks his most important patient, I said to Dr. Lee, "When we visited 2 years ago, the President was in excellent physical condition,

running regularly and participating in all kinds of sports. The years since then have been intense, as he decisively stopped Iraq, helped hundreds of millions achieve freedom, and managed many crises—along with a couple of medical problems of his own. How healthy is George Bush now?"

Dr. Lee answered without hesitation, "He's very healthy, Glen."

He's doing extremely well in every regard. There's no change whatsoever in his health status. "But what about the rumors that something is wrong?" I asked. It was obvious the rumors irritate his doctor. "None of them are true. None. These unsubstantiated rumors have come in waves and are highly specific," Dr. Lee explained, adding

continued

Photograph: © 1992, David Valdez The White House



that he figures this false information about the President's health has been intentionally planted.

"It doesn't seem to make any difference what I say," he went on. "I gave an interview with a reporter for *Time* and told him over and over that the President is in good health. Then he ends his article implying I was not telling the truth and that President Bush may have 'a worrisome physical condition.' Well, he doesn't. And I *am* telling the truth."

"What is the President's fitness program like now?" I asked, supposing he had probably slowed down from the intensive program I wrote about a couple of years ago in the *Physician and Sportsmedicine*.

"He does the same thing he has been doing," Dr Lee said, smiling.

"You mean he still runs regularly?" I asked.

"He averages about three times a week—a couple of miles and sometimes a little more," Dr Lee said. "And some younger members of the staff still have a hard time keeping up with the President. He does a lot of other activities to keep in shape—including a type of volleyball on a court they have at Camp David. He also works out on fitness equipment daily."

This certainly doesn't sound like the activity pattern of a man with a secret medical problem, as some would have the public believe.

"He takes very good care of his health. His weight is completely stable. He has no physical prob-

lems of any kind," said Dr Lee, who is board-certified in internal medicine and highly regarded by his colleagues at Memorial Sloan-Kettering.

"What about his thyroid disease?" I probed.

"It's stable on the replacement dose of Synthroid."

"What dose is he on?"

"150 µg a day," he said.

"How has he adapted to the thyroid replacement?"

"No problems at all. We follow the thyroid function tests very carefully. Of course they fluctuate a little, and once or twice we've adjusted the dose, but we've always come back to 150 µg a day. And he feels good."

"How about the arrhythmia?" I asked.

"It stopped after we started the thyroid replacement, and that's been the end of it."

"What about the President's syncope episode—the one recorded on videotape when he was in Japan and replayed on newscasts over and over as a hot story?"

"Well, he threw up and got a vasovagal reaction," Dr Lee said, adding that it was a relatively mild viral illness that came on over several hours and was all over by dinnertime the next day. As we talked, I thought about the fishbowl that the President is in constantly.

And so is his doctor. Dr Lee told me sadly, "There is a move within a certain segment of the press to discredit me. Since they're not suc-

ceeding in showing the President as sick, they are trying to paint his physician as being incompetent to create this picture of a hazardous situation in the White House.

"Trying to trash my reputation so what I say doesn't mean much is an extraordinary approach to politics—and reality," Dr Lee went on, feeling the effect of some of the spears being thrown at him lately. "This attempt obviously will fail because it isn't true, but it will probably buy somebody some editorial time—and maybe a point in the polls someplace. But it is disillusioning to see matters handled in this fashion."

Not many realize the financial and other sacrifices a doctor makes to come to Washington to be the President's physician. When the President asked Burt Lee to come, he did, feeling that besides helping the President as his physician he could also help the administration with the difficult challenges of healthcare policy.

"Dr Lee, is there a reason besides the patient confidentiality issue why you don't just make the President's medical records available to stop these rumors once and for all?"

"Yes, a very good reason. Various people, like those at the *Wall Street Journal*, want the entire record. They want all the EKGs. They want all the lab tests. I can't do that, really. As you know, many things in a medical record are subject to misinterpretation—particu-

larly by the amateur sleuth. So I'm not going to do it."

The more we talked, the more obvious it became that this was a good answer. Dr Lee added, "They already slant *everything*. What are you going to do, give them something they can just play games with?"

This reasoning makes sense to me as a physician. But I wondered how Dr Lee would answer those who keep saying the President has a problem that has been kept secret.

Dr Lee said, "I thought the guy from *Time* had answered this himself when we were talking. He seemed to realize that there are too many experts around the country involved at a very high level in the President's care for me to go running around keeping secrets."

He added, "I don't think even this explanation convinces some media people, because they think we're just as bad as they are, and some of them are capable of across-the-board disinformation campaigns. They think we in the medical profession are doing it too. But we're not."

Dr Lee and I then talked about how he handles health problems of the President. He explained that he has immediate access to outstanding consultants all over the country—the widest of all referral networks—so he picks up the phone and talks to various experts whenever he has the slightest question.

The President has been cared for by endocrinologists Kenneth

D. Burman, MD, from Walter Reed and Colum Gorman, MD, from Mayo, who are both well-known authorities on thyroid diseases. And cardiologists Allan M. Ross, MD, from George Washington and Bruce Lloyd, MD, from Bethesda have also cared for him. So have the three military doctors who back up Dr Lee. With this network taking part in the care of the President, covering up anything that was significantly wrong would be impossible.

Since I'm particularly interested in coronary artery disease risk factors, Dr Lee and I talked about these. The President is on an excellent exercise program. He doesn't smoke. And his cholesterol/HDL ratio is under 3.5, which puts him in the very lowest risk category for coronary artery disease, according to the guidelines suggested by William P. Castelli, MD, Director of the Framingham Heart Study.

Since the press has reported lots more about the President's dislike of broccoli than about his health policy plan, I couldn't resist asking Dr Lee, "Did the President ever make peace with the Broccoli Growers of America?"

"He has a friendly standoff with them," he answered. "He won't eat broccoli, but he hasn't knocked it recently! But members of the White House staff have objected mildly to the Broccoli Growers."

I could tell I was being set up, but I bit. "Why?"

"Because to get back at the

President, the growers gave vast amounts of broccoli to the White House on a weekly basis, so we had to eat it in the mess every day while he was able to avoid it!"

"Dr Lee, what can I tell American doctors to reassure them that George Bush is not only healthy but very probably will be so for the next 4 years?"

"I don't know what more I can say, Glen. I can swear on a Bible if you want me to, but I can't do any more. I'm telling you what the story is. But *everything* we read about the President here in Washington is strongly slanted against him."

Until recently such a statement would have seemed too strong. But just think about what is said—and *isn't said*—about the President on most network and cable news and in most reports in the press. And let me ask you again, have you seen anything, anything at all, in the news about his healthcare plan?

His plan has been made available to the media since February, and parts of it have been sent to Congress. But neither the leaders in Congress nor the media have paid much attention, and when they have, it often is misrepresented.

When I was in Washington, a White House press conference was scheduled for two senior administration officials to explain the President's plan. After the introductory explanations, most of the questions that were asked completely missed the strong points in the plan, a plan that would make healthcare

continued

available to everybody without setting up the government to control the whole system.

And what does Dr Lee think? "We should listen to the President carefully, because on just about every front, his healthcare proposals are better than those proposed by the Democrats," he said.

"I really think the doctors out there need to realize the difference between our plan and the Clinton plan. The difference is clear. It's very important for patients and doctors to understand that Clinton wants to control healthcare costs on a central federal basis.

"Bush is not proposing federal cost controls," Dr Lee continued. "If we know anything about anything, we know that eventually cost controls fail. He wants costs controlled through competition between well-managed HMOs, other physician groups, and insurance companies. He is trying to effect reductions in malpractice costs and improvements in the efficiency of the system.

"Clinton wants the government to do it, and from my experience in this town, that means incompetence and overriding political considerations from various legislative committees, which will eventually micromanage and line-itemize all the finances. These federal cost controls are going to be extremely deleterious for hospitals and really bad news for doctors, because very rapidly you will see mandated assignment of fees.

"You will have total controls on what doctors do and on their incomes very shortly after a thing like this goes through. Now, how fast is it going through, if Clinton gets elected? It's going through in the first 100 days, according to Clinton. And if that doesn't scare every doctor in this country into voting for Bush, I don't know what will."

"Now, how about access?"

Burt Lee asked. "The Bush program provides a way for every citizen, with or without a job, to get basic healthcare coverage. The poor will get free vouchers."

"But, let's face it," I said. "As good as the voucher system sounds, to get it, people have to do something to get their insurance in place. And some just won't get around to doing it."

Dr Lee's explanation was very good. He said people don't seem to have trouble figuring out how to get a driver's license—they get the word and they do it. Signing a paper to get a voucher is simple. And even if people don't get it done before they need care, they can sign up when they *do*.

"There is no solution that is perfect in this game, but this is by far the best," he said. It maintains more of the incentives in the present system than Clinton's plan does. I can promise the American people that if we lose those incentives, they'll end up with a completely socialized system. Then they'll learn how to wait for medical service—and wait a long time. And they'll generally

get the lowest common denominator of service."

Now, this is strong language from someone who came to Washington thinking very much like I started thinking for awhile—that to increase access to care and contain costs, we'd need some kind of central controls.

Burt Lee has watched government from inside the White House these last 3½ years and says, "I've changed my opinion 180 degrees." He says as government gets more into healthcare, the budgets (and rules) will be controlled by powerful House committee chairs who know nothing about healthcare. This is just what we *don't need*.

And as I have watched Congress create more and more bad laws involving healthcare, and regulators make the practice of medicine so expensive and complicated, I'm convinced that more government is not the answer.

George Bush has some good, solid answers—starting with declaring war on the cancer in our society of suits, suits, and more suits. The practice of filing a lawsuit anytime something doesn't come out perfectly must stop. This is the first and most important step in healthcare cost control and reform. To get this going we need George Bush in the White House. We also need a new Congress that will support him in cutting liability suits—and in finding market-economy answers instead of creating more regulations. **PGM**

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 14, 1992

Emergency Suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act

FACT SHEET

The President issued a proclamation today suspending provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act in order to help speed up and lower the cost of rebuilding the communities ravaged by Hurricanes Andrew and Iniki at lower cost. The suspension applies only to designated areas of Louisiana, Florida, and Hawaii that were directly affected by the hurricanes. The proclamation also suspends the provisions of certain related statutes, and any Executive order, proclamation, rule, regulation, or other directive that provide for the payment of wages that are dependent on determinations made by the Secretary of Labor under the Davis-Bacon Act.

The Department of Labor projects that the President's action could result in the creation of as many as five to eleven thousand new jobs in the construction industry in these States. The suspension will apply to all federally assisted construction contracts to be performed in the designated areas, including construction of highways, airports, housing, military bases, and other civil engineering projects.

The Davis-Bacon Act requires contractors working on Federal construction projects involving contracts of more than \$2,000 to pay prevailing local wages to their workers. The President is authorized to suspend the Act's provisions in the event of a national emergency -- in this case, the severe damage wrought by Hurricanes Andrew and Iniki.

In issuing the proclamation, the President found that the severe physical and economic devastation caused by both hurricanes -- including more than \$20 billion in property damage -- constitutes a "national emergency" within the meaning of the Act. He noted that the Federal Government has already provided over \$10 billion for disaster and related assistance to the hurricane victims, and that the wage rates imposed by the Davis-Bacon Act increase the costs to the Federal Government of providing this assistance.

Suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act will benefit individuals and businesses in the States affected by Hurricanes Andrew and Iniki, and will allow Federal dollars to stretch farther in helping hurricane victims. In particular:

- more people will be able to get jobs in the construction industry;

- more construction companies will be able to bid on Federal construction contracts; and,
- the areas devastated by the hurricanes will be rebuilt more quickly because Federal funds will go farther and will cover more projects.

For more than half a century, the Davis-Bacon Act has imposed non-market wage rates in the construction industry. Unfortunately, the Davis-Bacon Act has historically operated to exclude semi-skilled workers, including many African-Americans, Hispanics, and new immigrants, from work on Federal contracting projects. In addition, by having the Government adhere to costly local wage settlements in the construction industry, the Davis-Bacon Act has added billions of dollars to the cost of Federal construction.

The Davis-Bacon Act was suspended on two previous occasions: by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1934 and by President Richard M. Nixon in 1971.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 14, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint Eugene F. Yeates, of Maryland, to be Executive Director of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. He would succeed Nina J. Stewart.

Currently, Mr. Yeates serves as Acting Executive Director of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. Prior to this, he served as Vice President for Intelligence Studies & Requirements with the Science Applications International Corporation, 1990-1992. From 1985-1990, he served as Director of Intelligence Studies & Analysis for the United Technologies Corporation. He also served with the National Security Agency, 1961-1985.

Mr. Yeates was graduated from Harvard College (A.B., 1957) and George Washington University (M.S., 1974). He also attended the National War College (1974). He served in the United States Navy as a Navy Intelligence Officer from 1958-1961. He was born November 4, 1935 in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Mr. Yeates is married, has two children and resides in Rockville, Maryland.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 14, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM
THE PRESIDENT TO THE SPEAKER OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND
THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

October 14, 1992

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I hereby report that I have exercised my statutory authority under section 6 of the Davis-Bacon Act, 40 U.S.C. 276a-5, to suspend the provisions of sections 276a to 276a-5 of the Davis-Bacon Act in the event of a national emergency. I have found that the conditions caused by Hurricanes Andrew and Iniki constitute a "national emergency" within the meaning of section 6. I have, therefore, suspended the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act in designated areas in the States of Florida, Louisiana, and Hawaii.

This action is more fully set out in the enclosed proclamation that I have issued today.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 14, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Members of the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans. These are initial appointments:

JUANA DAINIS, of New York. Since 1988, Ms. Dainis has served as Deputy Superintendent of Schools, District 4, in New York. Prior to this, she served as Principal of Public School #206 in New York, 1973-1988.

ROBERT D. SEGURA, of California. Since 1980, Mr. Segura has served as a Professor of Education at California State University at Fresno, including: Assistant Vice President for Academic Affairs and Special Projects, 1980-1984; and Director of the Educational Support Service Center, 1984 to present.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 14, 1992

The President today signed the following legislation:

H.R. 3157, which (1) amends the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), and (2) conveys, transfers, or authorizes the exchange of specified public lands in Alaska.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 14, 1992

The President has signed the following legislation:

H.J. Res. 542, which designates the week beginning on November 8, 1992, as "Hire a Veteran Week."

S. 3195, which requires the minting and issuance of coins commemorating the 50th anniversary of World War II.

H.R. 5925, which establishes a Revolving Fund in the U.S. Treasury for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to pay the cost of education, technical assistance, and training relating to laws administered by the EEOC.

H.J. Res. 320, which authorizes the government of the District of Columbia to establish a memorial on Federal land to honor African-Americans who served with Union forces during the Civil War.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 14, 1992

The President has signed the following legislation:

H.R. 4178, which establishes a new Federal program for research and public education on the health effects of the drug diethylstilbestrol.

H.R. 3508, which (1) authorizes appropriations for, and makes a number of changes to, health professions and nursing education programs within the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), and (2) extends the HHS Health Education Assistance Loan program and amends it to reduce default rates.

H.R. 5673, which (1) authorizes appropriations for, and makes changes to, programs and activities of the Agency for Health Care Policy and Research (AHCPR) within the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), and (2) authorizes appropriations for the HHS program of emergency medical services for children.

H.R. 1628, which authorizes the Thomas Paine National Historical Association U.S.A. Memorial Foundation (the Foundation) to establish a memorial to Thomas Paine on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 14, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President today congratulates the five winners of the 1992 Malcolm Baldrige Quality Award for excellence in quality management.

The winners in the manufacturing category are AT&T Network Systems Group/Transmission Business Unit of Morristown, New Jersey and Texas Instruments Incorporated Defense Systems and Electronics Group of Dallas, Texas. The winners in the service category are AT&T Universal Card Services of Jacksonville, Florida, and The Ritz-Carlton Hotel Company of Atlanta, Georgia. In the small business category, the winner is the Granite Rock Company of Watsonville, California.

The Baldrige Award is given annually, in memory of the late Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige, to acknowledge exemplary efforts of U.S. companies in instilling in their workplaces a commitment to quality products and services.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 14, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of the Center for Parenting Excellence of La Grande, Oregon, as the 922nd Daily Point of Light for the Nation. The Center for Parenting Excellence strengthens families by teaching parents the skills necessary to raise their children well.

Established four years ago, the Center for Parenting Excellence offers three major programs with the help of a diverse group of 25 volunteers, including local elementary school students and developmentally and physically disabled teens and adults. The Parent to Parent Program enables fathers and mothers of newborns and young children to share their concerns, exchange ideas on child rearing, and learn new theories of child development. Parents concerned about handling children of any age can take advantage of the Temperament Program, where a specialist offers strategies for coping with behavioral problems. The Teen Parent program gives teenage parents a chance to discuss their problems and their futures, receiving support to continue their education, secure employment, and find adequate child and health care.

Volunteers also supervise play groups for preschoolers, child care referral services, the resource library, and a bookstore called Parents' Place. Many develop one-to-one, supportive relationships with the parents, boosting their self-esteem and encouraging them to be more patient, caring, and effective.

The President salutes the volunteers of the Center for Parenting Excellence for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: Miah Homstad or Karen Barnes
(202) 456-6266

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed for Release
Until October 15, 1992

October 14, 1992

The President today recognized the Service Company Midshipmen Battalion Naval ROTC Unit of Vanderbilt University of Nashville, Tennessee, as the 923rd Daily Point of Light for the Nation. The Service Company serves those in need within the Nashville area.

In April 1991, the midshipmen of the Vanderbilt University Naval ROTC Unit established a service company to advance the goals of community service, leadership, character development, civic responsibility, and patriotism. The Service Company operates on a semester basis and currently has 21 volunteers. Sophomore students may volunteer four to five hours each week with various Nashville area social organizations. Students engage in a variety of activities, such as repairing buildings, performing educational projects with children at a local school for the blind, cooking and serving meals for a half-way house, running errands for elderly neighbors, or visiting hospitalized veterans. The volunteers then meet to discuss their experiences with each other, gaining a personal insight on what they have all learned.

After one semester, volunteers select one of the organizations they worked with and devote another semester or more to assisting there, enabling the midshipmen to form long-term relationships with those whom they serve. Every midshipman volunteer has participated in the follow-up semester.

The President salutes the Service Company Midshipmen Battalion Naval ROTC Unit of Vanderbilt University for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

#

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: Miah Homstad or Karen Barnes
(202) 456-6266

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 14, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Russian President Boris Yeltsin met today in Moscow with U.S. Ambassador Robert Strauss and family members of Americans killed in the Soviet shootdown of Korean Airlines flight 007 in September 1983. President Yeltsin offered his condolences to the American people, the American families of the victims, and the other countries involved. He also transferred to the United States important documents and information concerning the shootdown from Soviet archives, including information pertaining to the aircraft's black box.

The President is deeply grateful to President Yeltsin for this courageous effort to resolve the many questions which still linger from one of the Cold War's greatest tragedies. President Yeltsin's actions demonstrate once again the benefits from the new U.S.-Russian relationship which is grounded in cooperation, respect and a commitment to forge together a new era of peace.

Today's meeting followed years of discussion of the KAL tragedy between the United States and the Soviet and Russian governments. The President and other senior American officials have raised this issue repeatedly during the last two years in an effort to discover the truth concerning the deaths of 63 American citizens who were aboard the flight.

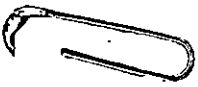
The delegation of American family members will continue discussions with the Russian government in Moscow this week on the important issues that remain to be resolved, including disposition of the remains and personal effects of the victims which may have been uncovered during the Soviet search effort, the families desire to hold a memorial service near the crash site, and ex gratia payments to each American family. The Administration supports the family members in their efforts to reach a final resolution of all issues concerning this tragedy.

#

Laurie and J.C.
Huizenga

Hosted Victory '92
reception at their
home in Grand Rapids,
Michigan, Oct. 12.

Mr. and Mrs. J.C. Huizenga
3161 Manhattan Lane, Southeast
East Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

October 14, 1992

Dear Laurie and J.C.,

Just a quick note to thank you for having us in your beautiful home for the Victory '92 reception on Monday. Your gracious hospitality was appreciated by everyone, especially Barbara and me. Our sincere thanks for all you have done for us in this tough campaign year. Barbara and I are grateful to have people like you on our side.

Laurie, it was great meeting your parents. Please give them our sincere thanks for their support. With best wishes,

Sincerely,



THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

WEDNESDAY, October 14, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Susan Porter Rose	
Julie Cooke	
Anna Perez	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Ann Brock	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Sally Runion	
Jane Moore	
Peggy Swift	
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Secretary Baker	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Dennis Ross	West Wing
Margaret Tutweiler	West Wing
Steve Provost	Room 118 OEOB
Patty Presock	Residence
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Carol Powers	West Wing
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Chronological Files	
Event Files	(originals)

THE BOSTON GLOBE • MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1992

THE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE



President and Mrs. Bush talk with panel member Sander Vanocur after the debate as Gov. Bill Clinton and Ross Perot greet other panellists. REUTERS PHOTO

THE BOSTON GLOBE • MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE



REUTERS PHOTO

Barbara Bush greets Hillary and Chelsea Clinton, who has a sprained ankle, before last night's debate.

7 1
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1992 C3

THE WASHINGTON POST

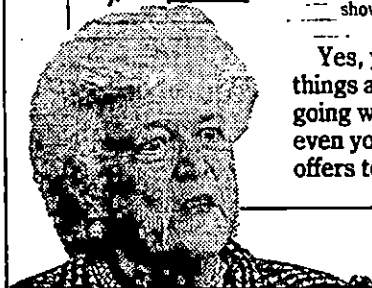
The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

Quote of the Day

"I'm going to go home and write my resignation, put it on your desk and see if you take it."

R — Barbara Bush to George on the "Today" show yesterday



Yes, you know things aren't going well when even your wife offers to resign.

NATION, WASHINGTON, THE WORLD



TODAY ON TUESDAY: President Bush, with wife Barbara, speaks with 'Today' co-host Katie Couric at the White House. Bush defended his Iran-contra role, as he's said 'all along.'

Bush's Iran-contra response

President Bush walked in Tuesday morning on an NBC Today show interview with first lady Barbara Bush after a White House tour to mark the 200th anniversary of the building's cornerstone.

Bush took questions from Today co-host Katie Couric, and talked about the Reagan administration's selling of U.S. arms to Iran to free U.S. hostages in Lebanon, with profits going to the Nicaraguan contras.

Couric: Do you have any knowledge of the Iran-contra arms-for-hostages deal while you were vice president?

Bush: I've testified, 450 times under oath, some of them, and our staff, 3,500, that yes, but nobody's accused me of not doing it. In terms of the contra part of it, absolutely not. And no one has suggested that I did. Diversion of arms for support for the contras, no. And no one's challenged that. What was challenged, I think — I'll help you with the question — what was challenged ...

Couric: I want you to go ahead. Clarify what you think was ...

Bush: What was asked was whether I knew that (Rea-

gan's Defense Secretary) Caspar Weinberger and (Secretary of State George) Shultz, how strongly they opposed it. And I said to that there were two key meetings where they almost got into a shouting match, I'm told, that I did not attend. But I said all along that I knew about the arms going and I supported the president.

Couric: You knew about the arms for hostages?

Bush: Yes, I've said so all along, given speeches on it.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1992

The Washington Post

Style



President Bush unexpectedly joins his wife and Katie Couric for a "Today" show interview.

Katie Couric, at Home With Bush

And the winner is ... Katie Couric. The First Lady of Morning Television did a sensational job yesterday interviewing the president of the United States when he showed up unexpectedly during a live telecast of NBC's "Today" show from the White House. This may have been the first "ambush interview" in which the interviewee ambushed the interviewer. Couric was just finishing up a scheduled chat and tour with Barbara Bush in the Blue Room when hubby George popped by to lchitz.

"So look who wandered in," Couric told viewers when the show returned after a commercial break and the president was standing there. "Hey listen, I got work to do over here," Bush said. But it didn't look that way. Several times he threatened to bolt but he kept changing his mind and staying.

He wouldn't go away. Perhaps spurred on by the fact that polls gave him bad scores for his

See TODAY, C11, Col. 1

Page 1 of 2
Continued →

Surprised by the President, Couric Makes 'Today'

TODAY, From C1

debate performance Sunday night against Bill Clinton and Ross Perot, Bush hung around like the last guest at a party, trying to seem jolly and personable and largely succeeding.

Now and then there were borderline Nixonian touches (Bush referring to the "Today" show's "listeners"), and Bush occasionally seemed befuddled. But it was great TV, and Couric's unflappable finesse was a major reason.

Bush stayed for 19 minutes, Couric peppering him with questions the whole time. Some of them were shouted into her ear through an intercom by "Today" executive producer Jeff Zucker (from a network news truck in the White House driveway) but most of them she came up with herself on the proverbial spur of the moment.

"Ninety percent of that was just Katie on her feet," Zucker said admiringly late yesterday from New York. "She danced with him and just went with it."

Zucker cited Couric's relaxed humor as a plus; anyone watching would have to agree. After Bush had complained briefly about "contentious reporters" and then announced his intention to depart, Couric said, "Well, I know, but aren't I great? I'm one of those less contentious reporters who can convince you to stick around and talk with me because I'm so easy."

"I know what the candidate said about you: 'Blame it on Katie Couric,'" Bush said, grinning.

"That I was trying to prove my manhood," Couric corrected him, a reference to a comment Perot made after Couric interviewed him recently.

"You were, you were," Bush said jokingly. "That's it, and I'm over here protesting that I don't have a male dog on the program and you're taking the offense here." Bush brought Ranger the White House dog in with him supposedly to get equal time with Millie the White House dog. Bush joked at length about the dogs.

Barbara Bush stood there through all this looking a little perplexed. "I'm going to go home and write my resignation, put it on your desk and see if you take it," she told her husband soon after he showed up. "Come on, we've got to go," she implored several minutes later. By this time, Bush was considering Couric's offer to come back next week for a more formal interview.

"You're what I call a very fair interviewer," Bush told her.

"I know you're a very busy man, but we'd certainly appreciate some more of your time next week," Couric said.

"Just you and me alone in those blue chairs here?" asked Bush.

When Mrs. Bush made a reference to White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater, Couric said, "Marlin's probably pulling what hair he has left out."

"Come on!" Mrs. Bush said insistently a moment later, tugging at Bush.

Couric was not afraid to bring up touchy matters. "A lot of people said

that Ross Perot stole the show the other night," she said to Bush. "What did you think of his performance?"

"I thought he did well," said Bush.

"That's it?" scoffed Couric. "I

thought he did well?" She got Bush

to elaborate. When the matter of

Iran-contra came up, Bush

interrupted a rambling explanation to

say to Couric, "I think I'll help you

with the question."

"Oh thank you, Mr. President,"

Couric said with a touch of sarcasm.

"Go ahead."

This was an interview where the

small talk was more interesting, and

perhaps more revealing, than the

questions and answers. Bush began

by saying things like, "Where's my

man Willard when I need him"—a

reference to "Today" weatherman

Willard Scott. Actually, the 8:30

news and weather segments had to

be scrapped to make room for the

unplanned Bush appearance.

Bush commended Couric for a

"fabulous interview" with Barbara

Bush, claiming to have been

watching it in another room. He

complained about Millie waking him

up at 3 a.m. by jumping up on the

bed.

Later, during one of Bush's

threats to leave, Couric said, "Well,

can see you're making a move

toward the Oval Office. Mr.

President, thank you very much.

Then, sensing he would stay, she

quickly asked another question:

"What do you expect to hear in

tonight's vice presidential debate,

before you go?"

"Come on, Katie," Barbara Bush

implored.

"What time do you break for the hour here?" the president asked.

They'd already done that.

"You have 15 more minutes if

you'd like to stay with us," said

Couric.

"I'd like another segment here,"

said Bush.

Even at the very end, Bush

seemed reluctant to leave. "He

wants to stay, Mrs. Bush," Couric

said. "He's not making any move."

Mrs. Bush all but dragged him out.

Bush's hand stuck into the frame as

the camera moved in for a final shot

of Couric.

"He showed up at the worst

possible time," Zucker said of Bush

yesterday, meaning 8:23 a.m., just

before the "Today" show must break

for local stations to insert their own

news and weather. The few stations

that didn't cut away at that point saw

an additional four minutes of Couric

and Bush jabbering away.

But he was "thrilled" that the

president stayed, Zucker said. Asked

if he thought Bush's behavior

strange, Zucker said, "No, he didn't

seem strange to me. It seemed like

he had something he wanted to say.

He was a little more emotional,

maybe, a little more passionate, than

I've seen him lately in his TV

appearances.

Told that Couric deserved a raise

for her superb performance, Zucker

laughed and said, "Yeah, absolutely."

Whether she gets it or not, Couric

proved again yesterday that she's

worth her weight in gold. Actually,

more. She doesn't weigh all that

much.

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Couric's fortunate am-Bush

By Brian Donlon
USA TODAY

Being a "fair" reporter paid off for *Today* co-anchor Katie Couric Tuesday while filing reports on the 200th anniversary of the White House.

Couric was at the presidential mansion to interview first lady Barbara Bush about the White House's bicentennial. Toward the end of Couric's visit, the door to the Blue Room opened and out stepped President George Bush.

"I thought to myself, 'Oh, boy,'" said Couric.

The visit was a surprise; while Bush has appeared twice on ABC's *Good Morning America* and once on CBS *This Morning*, he had skipped *Today* during the campaign season, while rivals Gov. Bill Clinton and Ross Perot have been semi-regulars.

"I thought, well, knowing the president, he was just making an appearance to say hello," said Couric. The White House never told *Today* that Bush would visit.

At the end of the 19-minute interview, Bush told Couric, "You're what I call a very fair interviewer." So Couric tried to nail Bush for a one-on-one next week on *Today*. Bush said, "Let me think about it. I've enjoyed this very much."

It was Couric's first interview with Bush. "I don't think it is ever easy to sit down and question the President," said Couric. "But I think he seemed to feel comfortable with me."

The chat made news. NBC *Nightly News* and CNN reported Bush's comments to Couric on the Iran-Contra affair and his outlook for Tuesday's vice presidential debates.

On a commercial break, Bush also told Couric that there is no White House blacklist for TV interviews; CBS' Lesley Stahl said recently that Bryant Gumbel was among anchors on a Bush "no interview" list.



COURIC: She thought Bush was just going to say hello.

Life

The Washington Times

OSZY OFF THE HOOK:

The Supreme Court yesterday let stand rulings that heavy-metal rock star **Ozzy Osbourne** can cite free speech as protection for his music.

The court, without comment, refused to reinstate two suits that accused the flamboyant Brit of inciting the suicides of two Georgia teen-agers through his tunes.

Both cases were filed by families of boys who killed themselves after listening to Ozzy's song "Suicide Solution."

THE COOKIE CRUMBLES:

All that campaigning Hillary Clinton did on behalf of her cookies paid off. She beat **Barbara Bush** in Family Circle magazine's cookie contest, 55.2 percent to 44.8 percent.

Voting readers preferred Hillary's batch, which uses vegetable shortening, rolled oats and more chocolate chips than Barbara's version, which relies heavily on butter.

SHORT TAKES:

Waylon Jennings may break Billy Ray Cyrus' achy heart.

Just as Billy Ray is named new touring artist of the year by the

Country Music Association, country music elder Jennings says he doesn't think young Billy Ray is a good singer. "But," he adds, "you don't need to be if you look that good."

In the meantime, producer Lorne Michaels may not have achieved critical success with "Wayne's World," but who cares with all the money the flick made — \$165 million since its release in February.

So he's kindly agreed to make a sequel for Paramount as well as a movie version of "The Coneheads." Both skits, of course, originated on his "Saturday Night Live."

"I hope the next year and a half at Paramount is as successful as the last year and a half, because if it is, I'm going to ask for a raise," Lorne says.

ABE KEEPS GIVING:

For someone long dead, President Lincoln is doing his best for medical research.

Nearly 60 of his indirect descendants gathered last weekend in Indiana to give blood samples and take coordination and dexterity tests to help scientists isolate the gene responsible for hereditary ataxia. The illness, which

Merrie-Go-Round Merrie Morris

makes its victims appear drunk; also is called Lincoln's disease — though it's not known whether he actually had it.

Those gathered are descendants of his grandfather, also named Abraham Lincoln, and his grandfather's wife, Bathsheba.

HISTORICALLY SPEAKING:

How nice for the Bush campaign that the White House is just turning 200 years old. It means **Barbara Bush** can be all over the place without being tainted by the crassness of down-and-dirty politics.

So NBC's "Today" show was broadcast live from the White House yesterday, with **Katie Couric** all giggly with excitement.

Mrs. Bush revealed that the best thing about living there is "George." The next best thing: the staff that helps her keep the place

running.

Though she clearly knows her history and is proud of the public rooms, the first lady says she prefers to spend time upstairs in the family's private quarters, curled up with a book.

If you missed her yesterday, you can catch her live today on ABC's "Home" show at 11 a.m. She'll give another tour and field questions from a studio audience of folks plucked yesterday from the line waiting to see the White House.

Added attraction: Mrs. Bush will share her pattern for a needlepoint Christmas ornament.

Got a hot scoop? Call Merrie at 202/636-3228.





CAMPAIGN '92

Bush Downplays Debate as He Goes Back on Campaign Trail

By DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

HOLLAND, Mich.—After a first-round debate performance that left even aides disappointed, President Bush's return to the campaign trail Monday had the look of a refit designed to persuade disgruntled voters to give his campaign a fresh look.

Bush went to new lengths to portray Gov. Bill Clinton as a dangerous "novice" in foreign affairs, and the White House made it clear that Chief of Staff James A. Baker III would install a new team of top advisers to revamp the economic agenda that has proven Bush's greatest political weakness.

Bush's campaign appearances Monday were notable for their lack of any claim to victory in the Sunday debate. Even White House strategists conceded that Texas billionaire Ross Perot had turned in the strongest performance. But they held out hope that Perot's renaissance might come at Clinton's expense and could shake loose voters willing to give Bush another chance.

In a pre-dawn briefing for reporters only hours after the debate concluded, campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter insisted that a three-way race could help to "open up" the contest by nudging voters into "thinking again about who they're going to vote for."

After initially hoping that the first debate would bring about a much-needed breakthrough, the Bush campaign quickly shifted its attention to the two clashes that remain in a weeklong series in the hope of at least halving Clinton's 10-point lead by early next week.

In a first step in that effort, Bush flew to the leafy Philadelphia suburb of Springfield to warn parents and children at a rally staged on a grassy hillside about the "risk" of handing the nation's helm to a man of Clinton's limited horizons.

"Gov. Clinton has absolutely no experience in international matters," Bush charged, "and I am the President who has led the world and made our kids safer. And I ask for your support on that basis."

The stark appeal was intended to highlight what may be Bush's greatest asset and remains a significant Clinton shortcoming. While that advantage has been outweighed by public concern about Bush's economic performance, the parallel hints about the composition of the economic team seemed intended to send an indelible message that a second term would be different.

But the Bush team still seemed to have trouble in sending clear signals about its intentions. After officials first made clear that neither Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, budget director Richard G. Darman and chief economic adviser Michael Boskin would be asked to return for a second Bush term, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater hurried to



Associated Press

Bush does a little tooting of his own horn—a firefighter's hailing trumpet, actually—at campaign stop.

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Continued →

issue an assurance that the President intended to ask for the resignations of all of his senior appointees.

Fitzwater continued to emphasize, however, that Baker would take charge of a "new economic team," and it was clear that Bush was doing his best to distance himself from a troika that has come to symbolize the Administration's economic issues.

Bush strategists had done their best to persuade reporters that the President emerged from the debate with the kind of clear-cut victory aides said was necessary to give his campaign a new forward momentum.

Bush shrugged off a question Sunday night about who won the debate. He described the contest to his Pennsylvania audience as a "political talk-athon." He added: "I don't pretend to be an Oxford debater, but I think I did OK."

With the campaign's own surveys showing that voters recorded the most positive reactions for Perot, the officials abandoned their self-congratulation Monday for the new emphasis on the benefits of a turbulent race.

They insisted that Perot's good fortune could be good news for Bush as well, and vowed through intensive campaigning and new television advertisements to claim the allegiance of voters suddenly confronted with the prospect of a three-man race.

Notably, as he moved on from Pennsylvania to a rally at Hope College in Holland, Mich., Bush chose not to repeat the direct attacks on Clinton's judgment and, by implication, his youthful patriotism that were a primary focus of his campaigning in the days leading up to the debate.

Clinton had rebuffed those assaults Sunday night by invoking the memory of Bush's father, Sen. Prescott Bush, who stood up to Communist-baiting in the 1950s, and White House officials said they saw no benefit in pressing the issue again so soon after the debate.

Instead, Bush used both rallies to underscore his view that Clinton would pose a danger to the country across a wide range of issues. He suggested that the Democrat's affection for trial lawyers and their agenda is tantamount to the "goo-goo eyes" relationship between Boris and Natasha in the old Bullwinkle cartoons.

In Springfield, he charged that Clinton's call for a \$150-billion tax increase made him "worse than Mondale, worse than Dukakis"—references to the last two Democratic presidential nominees.

And he raised a new challenge to Clinton's foreign policy expertise as he noted that "while the Soviet bear may be gone, there are still wolves in the woods."

"It may be tempting to believe that we can turn the American commander in chief into the Maytag repairman. But there are still real dangers in the world. You must ask, who do you trust to keep your families secure?"

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'92 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

Three Spar

Round 1

on Economy

*Character, patriotism
key issues in 1st debate*

By Susan Page

WASHINGTON BUREAU

In an intense debate that opened the presidential campaign's endgame, Democrat Bill Clinton last night charged that President George Bush had "questioned my patriotism" in criticizing his antiwar activities a generation ago, accusing him of the sort of red-baiting Bush's father, a U.S. senator, had once battled.

"Your father was right to stand up to Joe McCarthy; you were wrong to attack my patriotism," Clinton said, turning to address Bush directly on the St. Louis stage. "I was opposed to the war, but I loved my country."

But Bush — averting his eyes from Clinton's angry gaze — said it was "impossible to understand" how Clinton could have demonstrated in a foreign country, England, during the war, and questioned whether he could serve as commander-in-chief and order American troops into battle.

Bush, Clinton and independent candidate Ross Perot wrangled with a controlled civility for 90 minutes on issues ranging from taxes to Medicare, AIDS to China, the demand for change vs. the need for experience.

What followed was high-stakes, high-tension confrontation that broke little new ground, had no knockout punches, included no major gaffes — but nonetheless offered a television audience estimated at 70 million an opportunity to see the three candidates answer questions side-by-side for the first time.

Bush portrayed himself as an experienced hand who would devote more attention to economic and domestic affairs if elected to a second term, promising to appoint former Secretary of State James Baker as a sort of policy czar to "do in domestic affairs what [he's] done in foreign ones." Just last week, Bush had said he thought Baker, now his White House chief of staff, would want to return to the State Department and he intended to reappoint him in a second term.

Clinton dismissed Bush as out of touch with the lives of ordinary people, promising that as president he would submit legislation to promote job creation "on the first day I was inaugurated." He also named control of health care costs and passage of a crime bill as top priorities.

And Perot, offering himself as a can-do outsider, injected plain-spoken humor throughout the evening. When Bush noted the importance of his greater experience in government, Perot noted caustically: "Well, they've got a point. I don't have any experience in running up a \$4-trillion debt."

Defending his plan to increase taxes to reduce the deficit, Perot offered. "If

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continued →

Three-Way Slugfest

DEBATE from Page 5

there's a fairer way, I'm all ears" — and waited for laughter about the reference to his often-caricatured jug ears.

With just three weeks to go until Election Day, last night's debate was perhaps the last opportunity to reshape a race that has given Clinton a remarkably stable lead since mid-summer. Bush started the session wanting to shake things up and jumpstart his prospects; Clinton to reassure his supporters and solidify his lead; Perot to rehabilitate his reputation.

Bush seemed somewhat subdued and displayed little of the tangled syntax and rambling style that he sometimes shows on the stump. Clinton — his voice raspy from his allergies — often made references to his hardscrabble upbringing and his family, at one point congratulating his wife on their 17th anniversary and at another noting his half brother's battle with drug addiction. Perot was remarkably relaxed and at ease for a newcomer to the national political stage who was participating in his first debate since college days.

While he is given little or no chance of winning the election, Perot filled a familiar role, defining the scope of the nation's economic problems and underscoring what he saw as the other candidates' shortcomings in offering solutions.

An instant post-debate survey showed the Testy Texas tycoon may have succeeded in burnishing his far-right image, by a poll by ABC News, which found that 50 percent of voters



Chelsea Clinton and her mom, Hillary, greet Barbara Bush before debate.

second only to Clinton, at 28 percent. Bush was chosen the winner by just 18 percent, and his support generally fell to 31 percent from 34 percent.

The survey had a margin of error of 4.5 percent.

A five-member panel of debate experts organized by the Associated Press also awarded Clinton a narrow victory and put Bush a distant third.

"The most important distinction in this campaign is that I represent real hope for change," Clinton declared early on, noting America's economic troubles. "Tonight I have to say to the President: Mr. Bush, for twelve years you've had it your way. You've had your chance and it didn't work. It's time to change."

But Bush replied, "Change for change's sake isn't enough. We saw that message in the late '70s when we heard a lot about change, and what happened — that misery index went right through the roof."

Again and again, Bush sought to portray Clinton as a leader who would raise taxes on everybody, and he tried to tie him to Democratic candidates of the past who have been rejected by the voters — Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale, Michael Dukakis.

Finally, Clinton protested: "Mr. Bush is trying to run against Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter and everybody but me in this race."

On taxes, Clinton said he would raise taxes only on those with family income of \$200,000 a year or more, and promised modest tax relief for those families making \$52,000 a year or less — though Bush charged that Clinton's numbers didn't add up and said he would "end up socking it to the working man."

Perot called for "shared sacrifice" and defended his controversial proposal to raise the gasoline tax by 50 cents a

gallon and curtail some Medicare benefits in an effort to reduce the deficit.

The debate was expected to draw the biggest audience and set the tone for the others to follow in an unprecedented televised political miniseries ending next Monday. The presidential candidates will meet again Thursday in Richmond, then hold a final debate in East Lansing, Mich., Monday.

Their running mates — Vice President Dan Quayle, Democrat Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, and independent Adm. James Stockdale — will debate tomorrow night in Atlanta.

The format at Thursday's presidential debate may well make that encounter more of a free-for-all than last night's was. Instead of standing behind podiums and being questioned by a panel of journalists, the candidates will be taking questions from a studio audience and may well confront one another more directly.

In their two-minute closing statements, Perot said that "the government has lost touch with the people," calling for an out-idea solution. Clinton

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Continued →

ton said he would "bring this country together again" and focus on jobs, education and health care.

Bush, who had gotten the favored final spot through a coin toss, asked for "four more years" and emphasized the issue his campaign believes is Clinton's greatest vulnerability. "I hope I've earned your trust," he said, "because a lot about being president is about trust and character."

But new national polls taken before the debate showed how steep the incline remains for Bush. The CNN-USA Today tracking poll gave Clinton an 18-point lead; an ABC News poll released last night put his margin at 14 points; a Newsweek survey said he was nine points ahead.

And the president's attempt to raise suspicions about Clinton's student trip to Moscow 23 years ago and his participation in demonstrations protesting the Vietnam War apparently wasn't helping his standing. Nearly three-fourths of the respondents in the Newsweek poll said it wasn't an important issue; nearly two-thirds called Bush's remarks "unfair."

After the debate — when officials for all sides claimed victory — Democratic National Chairman Ronald Brown called Bush's attacks on Clinton "despicable." "This has no place in American politics," he said in an interview on CNN's "Larry King Live." "George Bush cannot meet the standard his own father set for him," a reference to Sen. Prescott Bush, Republican of Connecticut.

But Republican National Chairman Rich Bond replied: "Character matters. Integrity matters. Telling the truth matters." He said Clinton "doesn't tell the truth; he fabricates things and tells a web of untruths. . . . Bill Clinton does not have the character to be president."

Bush's campaign began airing a new sharply negative ad attacking Clinton's trustworthiness because of his varying explanations of his youthful draft status.

Saul Friedman, George E. Jordan and Gaylord Shaw contributed to the story.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1992 C11

White House Buries Time Capsule

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

The White House turned 200 yesterday, and to mark the occasion President Bush buried a time capsule containing a host of items for posterity, ranging from a signed copy of his wife's best-selling "Millie's Book" to a souvenir Bush-Gorbachev watch.

Though originally scheduled for press coverage, the event was closed at the last minute. The White House gave no explanation. Bush stayed away from another event, opened to the press, which featured art on the theme "Life in the White House" by children with disabilities from around the country.

"Thank you very much for joining us on this milestone day, or maybe should I say cornerstone day, even though we still can't figure out where our ancestors put it," Mrs. Bush told her young guests, whose works were displayed on easels around the East Room. "But that's a minor detail. Wherever it is, the White House cornerstone is 200 years old today."

The time capsule ceremony took place at the southwest corner of the White House, near the Rose Garden, where it is thought a polished brass plaque was pressed atop a foundation stone on Oct. 13, 1792, by a group that included Freemasons, federal district commissioners and other community leaders. They later reassembled at a nearby tavern to raise their glasses to the absent President Washington.

Gary Walters, chief usher at the White House, said he and a commission working with the Bushes chose memorabilia intended to "capture to-

day" for placement in the specially built steel-and-concrete time capsule, weighing 1,000 pounds.

The items included a Bush pen, a current White House executive roster, a 1992 White House Christmas ornament, a copy of the Bushes' schedules for the day, an American flag that flew over the White House, paint chips from the exterior restoration of the mansion, a White House commemorative stamp, a White House grounds brochure, a 1991 White House inventory, a "Within These Walls" video, seeds from the magnolia tree planted during Andrew Jackson's administration, an

engraving of the White House, a Bush family photograph, a copy of Life magazine and yesterday's editions of The Washington Post and USA Today.

Though started under Washington, the White House wasn't completed until 1800. President John Adams lived there only four months before Thomas Jefferson became president. Yesterday, Mrs. Bush gave her audience an idea of how long the Bushes plan to stay. "My George and I have loved spending the last four years here," she said, "and I know he's looking forward to the next four as much as I am."

Working Mothers Have a Predictability Factor

To the Editor:

The idea that Barbara Bush and Marilyn Quayle are models of "family values" because they have not pursued careers is nonsense. Wives of people in government are extremely busy, not only with charitable works, but also with parties, receptions and banquets in the evening, when their children are at home.

Until I was 9 years old, we lived the quiet, underfunded life of a Midwestern professor's family. My mother didn't work full time, but often did part-time work to supplement our income. When my father went overseas to teach under the auspices of the United States Government, our lives changed dramatically.

We had a live-in maid (and therefore a full-time babysitter) and my mother, involved in international goodwill activities, suddenly never seemed there when I came home

from school and frequently went out with my father to those (more or less compulsory) parties and receptions in the evening. For me, a working mother with predictable hours was far preferable to a supposedly non-working mother, engaged in a whirl of social activities that were necessitated by her husband's job.

If my childhood experiences were not unique, Hillary Clinton's greatest liability as a mother is not that she works full time but that she is a politician's wife.

Barbara Bush and Marilyn Quayle can thus hardly claim to be superior mothers. That they are more readily available to further the careers of their husbands is a different issue, one that has little to do with motherhood and family values, and everything to do with maintaining male supremacy.

KATHE GEIST

Aichi, Japan, Sept. 22, 1992

Airlines Should Provide Safety Practice Facilities

To the Editor:

In addition to the emergency procedure demonstration given on all aircraft, the Federal Aviation Administration should require airlines to provide demonstration facilities at airports for voluntary practice.

Passengers awaiting departures would thus be able to put their spare time to good use, practicing such crucial procedures as inflating life vests, using oxygen masks and operating emergency exits.

By offering hands-on practice facilities, airlines would help travelers kill time usefully and, more important, they could save lives, in the event of a real emergency.

JOAN FREUND

New York, Sept. 27, 1992

Children's Rights

To the Editor:

Re "Court Grants Boy's Wish to Pick His Parents" (front page, Sept. 26): I'm 44 and a victim of the New York City foster care system. My childhood, birth through adolescence, was spent moving from institutions to inadequate and abusive foster homes. My biological mother would never allow adoption and caused disruption in any home that displayed the human touch. My nomadic existence stifled any possible education; the constant rejection and abuse left me feeling less than human. It left scars and has affected my children and husband. The Gregory Kingsley decision is long overdue. My biological mother kept all her rights, and I lost all of mine.

JOANNE DOYLE

Suffern, N.Y., Oct. 1, 1992

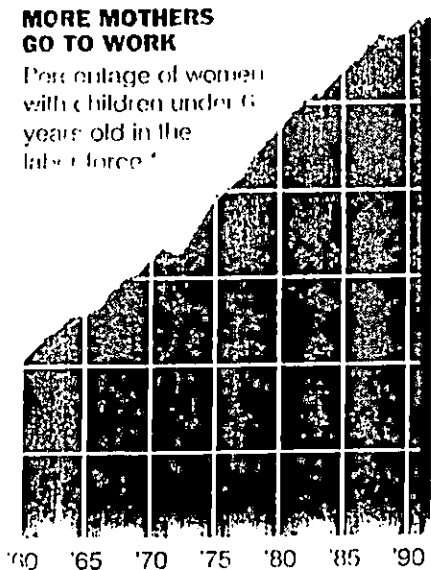
The New York Times



A Growing Diversity Among Mothers

MORE MOTHERS GO TO WORK

Percentage of women with children under 6 years old in the labor force *



* Figures before 1975 do not include never-married mothers.

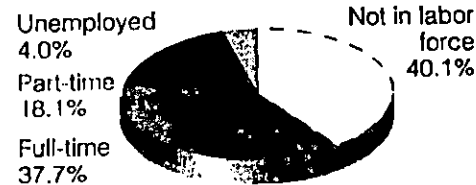
HOW EMPLOYMENT VARIES BY MARITAL STATUS

Presence of women with children under 6 years old in the labor force, as of March 1991. Unemployed women were seeking jobs.

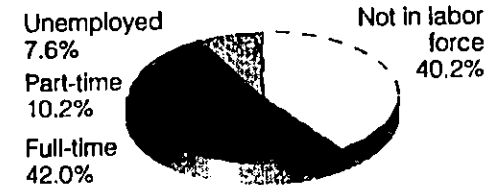
All Mothers



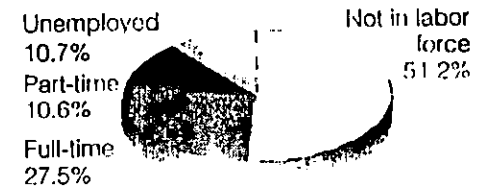
Married Mothers, Husband Present



Divorced, Separated and Widowed

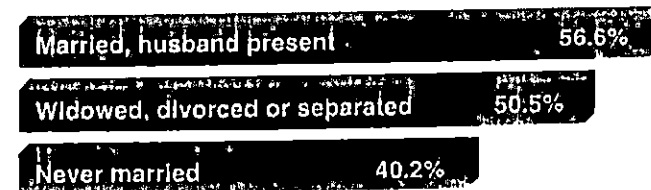


Never-Married Mothers



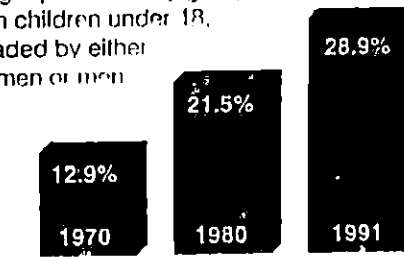
MOTHERS OF INFANTS: WHO WORKS?

Women who had a child in the last year and their percentage in the labor force by marital status and education, as of June 1990.



SINGLE PARENTHOOD ON THE RISE

Single-parent family groups with children under 18, headed by either women or men



Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Census Bureau

New Realities Fight Old Images of Mother

By SUSAN CHIRA
Special to the Star and Times

IDEAL MOM. Much — The American mother — that self-sacrificing, self-effacing, cookie-baking icon — has been shoved into the center of a political morality play, one where stick-figure mothers battle in a debate that does not begin to suggest the complexity, diversity and confusion of being a mother in 1992.

Instead of Marilyn Quayle and Hillary Clinton, these emblems of stay-at-home and working motherhood — like Toni Rumsey, who cried when her first child was born and realized she would have to keep her factory job at Gerber Baby Foods Inc. in Easton, Pa., face looking in a mirror.

Or Stacy Murbel, who watches every penny on her farm in Murray, Ky., because her family's income dropped by more than half when she quit teaching, unable to leave leaving her children.

Or Nancy Cassidy, a garment worker in Easton, Pa., who loves to work and believes her children are the better for it.

These mothers are haunted by the ghost of the mythical 1950's television mother — one that most women today cannot be, even if they want to. Caught between a fictional ideal, changing expectations of women's roles and the reality that many mothers now work because they must, women around the country are groping for a new definition of the good mother.

Reshaping Motherhood

The old images linger, but they fit fewer people's lives. Motherhood in America has undergone a bewildering transformation in little more than 30 years, propelled by a



Bill Stover for The New York Times

Celisa Cunningham, in Murray, Ky., stayed home until her children started school. She played football with her son Kory.

The Good Mother

First article of a series:
Searching for an Ideal

and changing social attitudes.

In 1960, 20 percent of mothers with children under 6 years old were in the labor force; by last year the figure had swelled to 53 percent, with most of them working full time. Twenty-nine percent

of all American families are now headed by one parent.

Some more affluent women choose to work for self-fulfillment, and some who started out that way found that they could not afford to leave their jobs as the economy soured. Whether or not a conservative backlash movement is trying to shame women into staying at home, more and more mothers see

work as a financial and personal necessity.

Small wonder, then, that Republican strategists quickly folded their family values banner when they found the reality of motherhood in this election year at odds with campaign slogans. With politicians in both parties now courting middle America, many of these same working-class women have been forced to take jobs outside the home, often monotonous and regimented ones at low wages that may not allow them to buy help with child care and housecleaning.

As interviews with more than 30 mothers around the country show, politicians have waded into one of the most wrenching issues of American life.

"I never feel like I'm a full mom," said Mrs. Rumsey, a 34-year-old mother of two who checks Gerber's baby food for shards of glass and signs of spoilage from 7 A.M. to 3 P.M. "I make the cookies, the homemade costumes for Halloween. I volunteer for everything to make up to them for not being here. When I do all that, I make myself so tired that they lose a happy cheerful mom, and then I'm cheating them again. It's hard when you were raised with Donna Reed and the Beav's mom."

In another factory in Easton, Pa., Mrs. Cassidy inspects sportswear, and her life as a working mother, for flaws. "I think you can work and be a good mother," said the 42-year-old mother of two. "We're doing it. When people compliment you that they're nice children, then I think you've been a terrific mother."

The Old Ideal

Mythic Verities And Apple Pie

Some women have found that they could not be good mothers in the old sense because working has become so important to their identities. These women say they know in their hearts that being at home all day does not automatically make a good mother.

"You can be there without being there," said Cheryl Moorefield, a labor nurse in Winston-Salem, N.C., who has two children.

Yet ask most women their image of a good mother, and the old verities come tumbling forth. "A mother doesn't have a right to be tired or sick," said Deborah Gray, a 38-year-old mother of six whose shift can run 12 hours a day during the busy summer season at Heinz's pickling plant in Holland, Mich. "A mother must be available no matter what. A mother is a person that can perform miracles."

In Murray, Ky., which boasts the National Scouting Museum, tobacco and soybean farms, a state university branch and a school

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

Who Is the Good Mother?

A Clash of Definitions in a New Age

Murdock comes close to this cherished ideal. Mrs. Murdock, who gave up her teaching job, is up at 6 A.M., starts breakfast and then wakes her three children a half-hour later. The whole family eats breakfast at 7 A.M., and then her husband drives the two older children to school. Her husband, one of a vanishing breed of small farmers who can work close to home, tends his 600 acres of corn, beans, wheat and cattle while his wife plays with her 14-month-old daughter, cleans, cooks and pays bills. At noon he returns for a hot meal with his family.

By 2:30 P.M., Mrs. Murdock is on her way to school to pick up her older daughters. Some afternoons she takes them to dancing school, which she pays for by keeping the school's books. On Wednesdays the children's grandmother drops by to baby-sit so that Mrs. Murdock can volunteer at the older children's school.

"The most important thing you're going to get in your life is your children," Mrs. Murdock said, explaining why the family has given up eating out, planning for a bigger house and having many other extras. "I just can't imagine giving that responsibility to someone else."

It is precisely because convictions about what kind of mother is best run so strong and deep that family values became such an explosive issue. Despite all the talk about fathers' becoming more involved with children, it is mothers who remain at the center of this debate, and mothers who shoulder the praise or blame. Most women interviewed said they were worried about the future of the family, but many said the debate, at least as conducted by politicians, seemed irrelevant or insulting.

"Family values is a cheap way out," Mrs. Rumsey said. "We all believe in family morals and values. I'm not going to put down what you're doing and don't put me down for what I'm trying to do."

For some, the debate intensified their own guilt. "My heart pounds a little bit," said Kris Northrop, the mother of a 4-month-old girl, who has just returned to her job running a candy-wrapping machine at the Life Savers plant in Holland, Mich. "I think, Is this right? Should I try to not be a working mother, even though my image is of an independent mother?"

And for others the verdict is clear: working and mothering small children cannot mix. "I had these children and I wanted to raise them," said Celisa Cunningham, a Baptist minister's wife who returned to work designing and supervising asphalt mixes once her children started school. "I've given 10 years to my children and I'm going to give 30 to my career, and I'm going to see more from those 10 years in the long run than from the 30. I think many mothers cop out and make a life-style choice."

The New Reality

Harried Jugglers On a Tightrope

But for many working-class women, Mrs. Murdock's life, and the comfortable certain-

ties invoked by the champions of family values, are as remote as the television characters that helped shape their idea of the good mother.

Instead of family breakfasts and school volunteer work, Jan Flint works nights and her husband works days in a Welch's juice and jam plant in Lawton, Mich., so that one of them can always be home with the children.

"That's what God meant for me — to stay at home, cook and sew, and I can't do that," said Mrs. Flint, who had to return to work seven years ago when money got tight. "I used to have a clean house all the time. I always enjoyed being involved in my older two's education. Last night was open house and my children wanted me to go. I bribed them — 'I'll let you bring friends over if I don't go.' That's what's happening to the American family. Nobody's there, and children don't have full-time guidance."

Measuring themselves against such an exacting, idealized standard, where good mothering equals how much time is spent with the children rather than how secure or happy the children are, many working women feel they fall short. For the most part, these women struggle without help from society or their employers, who seldom give them long maternity leaves or flexible hours.

And because motherhood itself has been transformed in less than a generation, these mothers have no guides. "What is happening now is that parents are relying on child care who themselves were often raised by their mothers," said Deborah Phillips, a psychologist and expert in child development at the University of Virginia. "So there is incredible anxiety and uncertainty, especially in a society that holds firmly to the belief that mother care is superior."

Sheila Lencki, a mother of four who works as a school secretary in Murray, Ky., says she fears she is failing to meet the standard her own mother set.

"My own mother stayed at home, and that's what I wanted to do," she said. "I respect my mother so much. I think that everything she does is right."

Even more troubling, many women fear they have somehow relinquished their children. "When I put them in day care, I did feel a pull; I'm not the one raising my children," said Mrs. Moorefield, who raised her two children alone for seven years until her remarriage several years ago. "Who's teaching them values?"

That anxiety deepens if mothers suspect their child care is not very good, a suspicion that experts in the field say is often correct. Working-class women usually cannot afford to buy one-on-one attention for their children; most of the women interviewed either left their children with relatives or took them to the home of another mother who was looking after several children for pay.

The quality of such care, in both the physical settings and the attention the children receive, varies considerably. The best care is also often the most expensive, and many women said government could help them most by giving them some financial help with child care.

Many women said they felt lucky to have found help from their families or loving baby sitters. But some said they were making compromises that disturbed them, either

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leaving children as young as 9 at home alone until they returned from work or having to switch baby sitters frequently.

Although she loves her work, Mrs. Moorefield is torn because she believes her recent change to a 12-hour shift may be hurting her children, who are not doing well in school. She is considering sharing a job, but she must first wait to see whether her husband, who works in an airline stockroom, goes on strike.

Generally, though, most women say, with an air of surprise, that they believe their children are actually turning out all right, even if working interferes with their ideal of a good mother.

"For me, looking at my kids tells me I'm doing O.K.," Mrs. Rumsey said. "My kids are excellent students. They are outgoing. They have minds of their own. No matter how much I've never wanted to work, there's never been any drastic indication from my kids that I shouldn't."

Blazing a New Path

Leaving the Land Of Make-Believe

With little chance of living out their ideal of the good mother, many mothers are searching for a new way to think about motherhood.

Elesha Lindsay works days checking references at Forsyth Memorial Hospital in Winston-Salem, N.C., and two nights a week studying for a higher-paying job as a medical stenographer while her husband juggles four jobs as a cook. She leaves her 16-month-old daughter at the hospital's day-care center, where she believes her daughter is happy and well-cared for. Yet she cried all week when she first had to return to work, when her daughter was 9 weeks old. She and a friend filled in for each other so she could add three weeks onto the hospital's normal six-week maternity leave.

Although she would rather work part time when her daughter is small, Mrs. Lindsay sees herself as a good mother, and work as a welcome part of her life.

"Being a good mother depends on what type of person you are and what you instill," she said. "My mother wasn't there the majority of the time, but I was watching her, knowing the type of person she was. We knew what our mother expected from us. That child is spending more time with that day-care giver than you, but I still feel like I'm a better person for her, out working, financially helping the family."

Mrs. Cassidy, the garment worker, also believes that too many mothers become obsessed with motherhood's gestures rather than its substance. "It doesn't matter if you bake cookies for them, and don't take them to Cub Scouts every time," she said. "You're not going to be there for their first step. But I never heard mine say, 'You were never there when I needed you.'"

Still, many mothers worry that they may be deluding themselves. "It looks fine to me," Mrs. Lencki said, "but maybe I'm not looking."

While there is debate about the effects of extensive nonmaternal care early in life,

experts agree that with conscientious, loving parents and high-quality care the vast majority of children do just fine, by any measurement of intellectual and emotional development. Some studies suggest that mothers' attitudes are crucial; if they are happy, whether staying at home or working, that will have an enormous impact on their relationship with their children.

Employer flexibility clearly makes a difference, said Arlie Hochschild, a sociologist and author of "The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home" (Viking, 1989), who is now studying the workplace and its effects on family life. "We have to acknowledge that the majority of American women will work for the majority of their lives through their childbearing years and we have to adapt the workplace," she said. "Don't pretend they're men who have wives at home to do this."

One reason Mrs. Cassidy feels little guilt is that she was able to take off work to watch her children in school plays, or tend them when they were sick. But other companies, particularly factories where workers' absences may slow assembly lines, are not so lenient. Several women said their employers required 24-hour notice for sick days — an impossibility with children — or docked their pay if they wanted to go to an event at their children's schools.

But even if they did not choose to work, some mothers have found that working has brought unexpected benefits: a new sense of identity, a role in a broader community, pride in their independence, a temporary escape from children that may allow them to be better mothers in the time they share.

And while women may yearn for the safe world of mythic families, they have seen enough of the sobering reality of divorce and widowhood to cherish the financial independence that working confers. "My mother stayed home, and when my father divorced her she had nothing to fall back on," said Donna King, a hospital laboratory supervisor who is a mother of four.

In fact, most of the women interviewed said they would prefer working to staying at home — but most wanted to work part time.

These days, some more affluent and educated women say they would feel embarrassed to tell their friends that they did not work. Yet many working-class mothers who have found that they are happy working treat it like a guilty secret. Mrs. Lencki dropped her voice almost to a whisper when she talked about enjoying her job, despite her guilt that her youngest son had not had her full-time presence.

Pride, embarrassment and defiance competed as Mrs. Moorefield talked about work. "For me, the ideal mother is one who is able to choose," Mrs. Moorefield said. "Even if we could financially afford that I could not work, I still think I would need at least some other contact, part time. You want to be there for your children, and on the other hand you want to be able to provide for them well. This sounds like I'm anti-family values..."

NEXT: Single mothers bring up their children in a landscape vastly different from the one in which they themselves were raised.

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Rise in Single Parenthood Is Reshaping U.S.

By TAMAR LEWIN 101
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA — As Janice Edwards drives home after work to the small, neatly kept house she bought last year, she proudly tells the story of how she has kept her family going since her husband left her five years ago, just before their second child was born.

"I thought we'd fall apart with no man there," she said. "There was a time I had no money for formula, no gas, no water, no electricity, and I didn't know what in the world we would do."

What Ms. Edwards, 27 years old, has done is work — an office job during the day and another job after hours, at Kmart, or, at one point, delivering newspapers from 2 A.M. to 5 A.M.

"I'm going to work 17 jobs if I have to, but I'm going to take care of these children," she said. "I'm not going to listen to people who tell me single mothers are bad. I'm not single by choice; I'm single by force, and I'm not going to listen to those negative things."

As single motherhood becomes an ever more common fact of American life, millions of women raising children by themselves are grappling with practical problems of child care and tight finances, and more elusive concerns about their children's development and their own place in society.

Most feel themselves in unfamiliar terrain, bringing up their children in a landscape profoundly different from the one in which they themselves were raised. But in dozens of interviews with single mothers, the feeling that was expressed most often and most strongly was a great pride in finding that, against all expectations — theirs and society's — they are managing reasonably well.

Given their pressing financial needs, most of the single mothers seem to spend less energy than their married counterparts agonizing about how to divide their energies between children and career, and suffer less guilt about the trade-offs working mothers make.

As Sarah Banton, a divorced mother of two sons, put it, her standards changed when she became a single parent. "I now say to myself, 'So what if I didn't make homemade cookies?'" said Ms. Banton, who lives in Columbia, Mo. "If everybody's been fed and everybody's got clean underwear, the needs have been met."

But, she and others said, coming to terms with single parenthood is not a simple task. Ms. Banton, a nurse, remembers laughing hilariously when another single mother showed her a 1953 etiquette book she had unearthed, full of outdated advice about how divorced women should not have their children at the ceremony if they remarry, but she stopped laughing when she realized that some vestiges of the old attitudes remained, even inside herself.

"My self-image as a parent had a difficult couple years when I got divorced," Ms. Banton said. "I believed that my children could have a full rich life with only one parent, but I wasn't sure I could be and do all that. It's only this last year that it's begun to feel

The Good Mother

Second article of a series:
Going It Alone.

natural to live this way, the three of us as a family unit.

That transition is one that most American families may have to make, for the stunning demographic fact is that more than half of all children born in this country in 1980 will probably spend some time living in a single-parent household before they reach the age of 18.

Last year, according to the Census Bureau, a quarter of the nation's children under 18 lived in single-parent households, 22 percent of them with their mothers, and 3 percent with their fathers. In 1970, only 12 percent of America's children under 18 lived with one parent, 11 percent with their mothers and 1 percent with their fathers.

"Sure, there are still some segments in society that look down on single parents, but I think we're beginning to outnumber them," said Stephanie Seate, a divorced mother of two teen-agers in Atlanta.

Public discussion of single mothers today tends to center on either pregnant teen-agers who go on welfare or, with the recent attention to the television character Murphy Brown, older, single career women who decide to have babies before it is too late.

Last year, one in four babies was born to a mother who was not married, and that percentage has been growing steadily. It is a worrisome phenomenon, because unmarried mothers tend to be younger, poorer, less educated and more dependent on welfare than those who were married at the time of the birth.

While never-married mothers are the fastest-growing group, they are still a minority. Two out of three single mothers today are women who have been divorced, separated, abandoned by their husbands or widowed, according to 1991 Census Bureau data.

Most, like Ms. Richards, work full time, but earn no more than \$20,000, receive little child support and face a constant wearying struggle to maintain a family. Many say they are stretched for both time and money, spending their days in such a rush of errands and work that they must consciously set aside time with their children in which they can be more like a mother and less like a drill sergeant.

Whether divorced or never married, most said that society does not give them enough credit for their efforts to build good lives for themselves and their children, and that they resent the recent uproar over Murphy Brown's pregnancy, in which Vice President Dan Quayle expressed his disapproval of the character's decision to become a single mother.

"I feel like he was putting her down, and I'm a single parent with kids, so he's putting me down, too," said Sharon Lewis, 28, who is raising two children in Dixon, Miss., on \$180 a week that she takes home from a factory where she packs chickens. "I need help with my kids; I don't need put-downs. I'm having a hard time, and I do the best I can."

The Worries

Of Child Care And Role Models

Most of the women interviewed, even those who described their family life in glowing terms, admitted to nagging worries about

how single parenthood affects their children. Whatever the child's problems — bed-wetting, learning disabilities, reluctance to date — they wonder how it might be related to the absence of a father.

"I grew up in that typical middle-class family, where someone was there with cookies and milk when you got home, but I think I'm a good mother for the situation I'm in," said Cheryl Baillis, 24, an unmarried mother in Grafton, Ohio, whose daughter, Nicole, was born while she was in high school. "Sometimes I fantasize about the white picket fence, the marriage where the wife stays home with the kids. In a way I feel that this is something I did to myself, but my daughter's paying the price, too."

For mothers of young children, good child care seems to be the biggest worry. But as children get older, the worries change. Mothers of boys worry about finding good role models for their sons.

"In the P.T.A. it came up that one thing we wanted as single mothers was to keep some male teachers visible to our kids, especially our boys," Ms. Edwards said. "That's why we have a man here in the morning at 7:20 when I drop the kids off at school for breakfast. I pick the role models I want and put a bug in their ear to watch out for my son."

Mothers of girls approaching adolescence wonder whether their daughters will ever trust a man.

"My daughter asked for a baseball mitt and ball for her 10th birthday, and I had to ask a male friend to go with me to buy it," said Liz Torres, a New York City teacher's aide whose two daughters live in a world peopled largely by women. "I do worry sometimes that having a single mom will affect how they feel about men when they grow up."

While it is clear that children in single-parent families are more likely to have behavior and academic problems than those in families that are intact, it is difficult to sort out the causes. For all the mothers' worries, sociologists say there are little data showing that single parenthood in itself causes dire problems for children.

Most of the problems, these experts say, appear to result from the poverty that often accompanies single parenthood, or the disturbances preceding the divorce, rather than the parenting itself.

"The economic differences between children from one-parent families and children from two-parent families are much greater than the psychological differences," said Frank F. Furstenburg Jr., a sociologist at the University of Pennsylvania.

In a long-term study comparing children growing up in divorced families with those in two-parent families, he said, there were consistent differences on things like mental health, problems with the law and school achievement. "But they were modest differences," he said, "and a fair amount of the differences were due to what preceded the divorce."

The link between single parenthood and poverty, on the other hand, is clear. Almost half of all female-headed families with children under 18 live in poverty, and the median

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family income for two-parent families is about three times that of female-headed families.

Tight finances can affect parenting decisions: Every morning, after Paula Brightbill gets her two older children out the door for school and leaves for her job, her 6-year-old, Michael, stays home alone for a half-hour, watching cartoons until it is time to join a child next door for the walk to school.

"There is a program before school he could go to, but it costs \$21 a week, and I'd rather have that money for food," said Ms. Brightbill, a divorced 36-year-old secretary in Harrisburg, Pa. "I worry about it: Did the door get shut and locked? Did he remember his lunch money?"

"The bottom line of being a single parent is money," said Barbara Webb, 38, a mother of three in Norfolk, Va., who separated from her husband in 1988 and now lives with her mother and father, who came out of retirement to help support the extended family.

The Changing Image

The Divorced And the Unwed

Douglas J. Besharov, a family-policy expert at the American Enterprise Institute, a research center in Washington, argues that there are basic differences between never-married mothers and those who married, had children and became single parents when their marriages dissolved.

"The ones who were married, as a group, have higher family incomes, are older, better educated, more likely to hold full-time jobs, less likely to go on welfare," he said. "When we talk about single parents as a social problem, we're really talking about the young unmarried mothers, 40 percent of whom end up as long-term welfare recipients, compared to only 14 percent of the divorced mothers. The worrying thing is that never-married mothers account for most of the children now entering single-parent households."

The merging of the two categories in public parlance is relatively recent. Until the 1970's, women were either called divorced mothers or unwed mothers, and there was no all-inclusive label. The widespread acceptance of the undifferentiated term 'single mother,' experts say, signaled a de-stigmatization of the role.

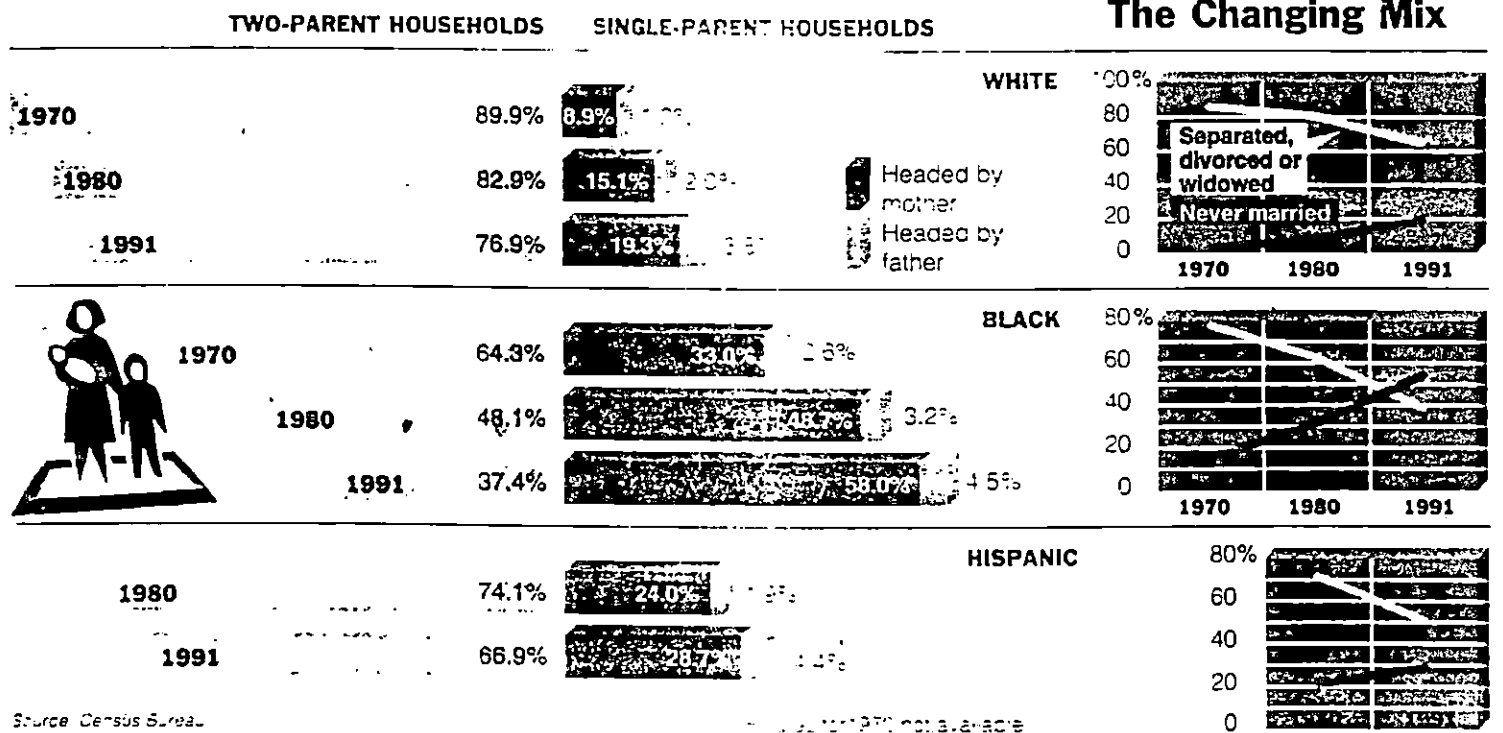
But many children still wish for a mom-and-dad household. Ms. Banton, the Missouri nurse, described the picture that her son made this fall when his first-grade teacher asked him to draw his family.

He drew himself and his brother and a mother and father, all holding hands," she said. "I felt sad for him when I saw it, the kind of twinge you get in the playground if your kid isn't picked for the team."

NEXT: Trying to settle the emotional debate over day care.

Single-Parent Families: On the Rise

Single Mothers: The Changing Mix



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Finding Out What Happens When Mothers Go to Work

By ERIK ECKHOLM
Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — An infant girl squirms among the toys at a day-care center, saying "ahh, ahh" and reaching out. The teacher, who is holding another infant in her arms, smiles at the girl, says "Want to play ball?" and reaches over to push a beach ball into the infant's lap.

It hardly seems the stuff of high science, let alone Presidential politics. But these everyday actions of teacher and baby, scored by a watchful researcher in dozens of categories like "responds to child's vocalizations" and "positive physical contact," are yielding specks of data in a vast national study designed to answer some of the most emotionally charged questions in science and society today: Do working mothers imperil their children's inner security and future happiness? Does day care at an early age put children on a slow track for life?

Passions Aroused

One of the most complex research projects ever undertaken in the behavioral sciences, the federally sponsored study of more than 1,300 randomly selected babies is searching for both the patterns of early care that may help a child thrive and patterns that may hinder learning or emotional development.

The Good Mother

Third article of a series:
Minding the Children

The goal is as incontestably good as motherhood, but the researchers pursuing it at 10 universities around the country know they are poking into giant passions. The issues at the heart of the research have generated acid exchanges among scientists, sown fear and guilt among millions of parents, been fashioned into rhetorical clubs for bashing or defending feminism and even provided raw material for this year's Presidential campaign.

The inner conflict and public debate reflect a swift transformation of the American family. It is not just that more mothers work. Since the 1950's, the change has been most striking among mothers of the youngest children.

By 1976, the first year the Census Bureau asked the precise question, 31 percent of mothers with a child under the age of 1 were in the labor force. By 1990, driven by economic need and changing attitudes about personal fulfillment, 53 percent of such mothers were. The trend was most pronounced

Continued on Page A21, Column 1

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Among college graduates with infants under the age of 1, 5 percent worked.

With the increased reliance on day care and baby-sitting arrangements came the questions and the defiant, often self-justifying assertions. Gradually, too, has come the research, which scientists agree has not yet provided conclusive answers.

Most of the research up to now has assumed that all day care is comparable," said Bettye Caldwell, an expert on child development at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock and a leader of the new study. "But we know that's not true. There's excellent care and abysmal care, and care by the families differs dramatically, too."

In the late 1980's, Jay Belsky of Pennsylvania State University said accumulating evidence suggested that extensive, early nonmaternal care might be harming some children. His statement created a professional uproar, and the subject was hashed out on talk shows and in midnight discussions of countless working parents.

Some Broad Agreements

While the debate continues today, there are also wide areas of agreement among the experts, including these items:

"The debate is largely over care in the first year of life. Even the minority of studies that raise alarms about extensive, early nonmaternal care find few differences in cognitive, social and behavioral traits when care begins after the age of 1, though of course the quality of care matters at any age.

"Any negative effects from early nonmaternal care itself are small, and most children of working mothers are unaffected in the traits that were measured.

"For children from poor families, early, high-quality day care often means improved scores.

"Even if early outside care does no harm, having a parent at home full-time for at least the first three or four months is an intrinsically good thing for both parents and children.

Whatever their views of the evidence, child-development experts lament the wearying stresses that afflict many two-earner families and are virtually unanimous in their calls for generous parental-leave policies, improved availability and quality of day care and greater flexibility in the workplace to allow, for example, more part-time work.

To some degree, a strident academic debate that came to be seen as a referendum on feminism and women's work has softened as experts acknowledged that most mothers are in the work force to stay. Attention has shifted to evidence that much of the day care provided in this country, both in centers and the private homes that provide most nonparental care, does not meet high standards in crucial areas like the number of children per adult, whether children see the same adults over time and whether children receive warm, responsive, individual attention.

"I'm very worried, not because so many women are working — they are, and it's economic — but because the quality of infant care in this country typically is not good," said Ellen Galinsky, co-president of the Families and Work Institute, a research group in New York.

Clarifying a Stand

Dr. Belsky, an investigator in the new national study, clarified his assertions about possible risks of early maternal work in a recent interview. "I wasn't saying anything about the inevitable effects of day care," he said. "I was talking about care as we have it in this country."

Alison Clarke-Stewart, a psychologist at the University of California at Irvine, an investigator in the new study and a critic of Dr. Belsky, said: "I do think it is important for an infant to form an attachment with a parent. I am less convinced a

Returning to Work

Barner

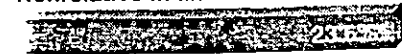
Percentage of women, 18 to 44 years old, who are in the labor force after leaving a child at home last year.



... and Seeking Child Care

Primary child care arrangements used by working mothers for children under 5 years old, as of 1988.

Nonrelative in another home



Day/group care center



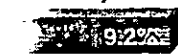
Father in child's home



Relative in another home



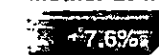
Nursery school/preschool



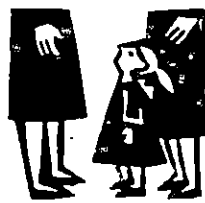
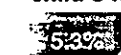
Relative in child's home



Mother at work



Nonrelative in child's home



Source: Census Bureau

The New York Times: illustration by Nancy Doniger

mother can't still do that when she works.

"I think it's pretty hard to do if you are working long hours every day. In the best of all worlds, everybody would have access to part-time work."

Scholars in this field have mainly studied the role of mothers as primary care-givers, not out of sexist bias, they say, but because fathers who truly play that role remain so rare. Most say they believe that a father could take much the same place in an infant's life.

The Old Debate

A Study in 1986 Raised a Warning

Much research on child care and development has focused on infant-mother attachment, a quality many psychologists consider a cornerstone of emotional and social development.

Infants who are more likely to feel confident as they explore their surroundings, to have good relations with peers and teachers and to be more competent at solving problems, said Susan Spieker, a psychologist at the University of Washington. Scientists are unsure about how lasting and immutable the effects are.

Although researchers increasingly try to observe real-life interactions, the security of infant-mother attachment is usually measured in "strange situation" experiments. In such tests, babies at about 12 to 15 months are typically left alone in a room for a few minutes with a friendly stranger, then rejoined by their mothers, then left all alone before their mother returns again. Studying how the babies respond to the separations and especially the reunions, psychologists judge whether the child is securely or insecurely attached.

In 1986 Dr. Belsky created a furor when, citing data from several strange-situation studies and behavioral observations, he said that extensive nonmaternal care in the first year appeared to be a risk factor for development of insecure attachments in infancy and "heightened aggressiveness, noncompliance, and withdrawal in the preschool and early school years."

Many of his colleagues reacted sharply, asserting, among other things, that the differences he had found were small, that the study samples may have been biased, that the strange situation may be an inappropriate test for children accustomed to separations and, above all, that differing outcomes were almost certainly related to quality of care, rather than the fact of nonmaternal care.

At a "summit meeting" in 1987 the warring parties agreed with the proposition that when parents have access to "stable child-care arrangements featuring skilled, sensitive and motivated care-givers, there is every reason to believe that both children and families can thrive."

The gap was narrowed, but differences remain. Dr. Belsky, who believes he has been pilloried by ideologues, says he still believes it is possible that future evidence will show that early, extensive day care in and of itself is harmful to some infants.

"I think what we've got here is a cause for concern, nothing to call for alarm and hysteria," Dr. Belsky said. While most children are not adversely affected, he said, the small number who are would add up to a social problem. For example, it could be an extra disruptive child or two in a classroom.

But Deborah Phillips, a psychologist at the University of Virginia who is also participating in the Federal project, said: "There's a world of difference between saying that child care is harmful, and saying that when care falls below a threshold of quality it places a child at risk. Then you talk about quality, instead of who's providing the care. That's a very different issue."

More Research

More Ambiguities. Fewer Certainties

A new, more extensive analysis of

8912

strange-situation studies, just duplicated by Michael E. Lamb and others at the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. Also found a difference between babies whose mothers stayed home through the first year and those who received other care. But the difference was small: 71 percent of those with exclusive maternal care were judged to be securely attached, while 65 percent of those with regular nonmaternal care were. None of the studies measured the quality of care, and the families studied had above-average incomes and were almost all white.

A few other recent studies, looking at actual behavior and at cognitive tests in a large number of 3- and 4-year-olds, have also found small differences. But Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, a psychologist at Columbia University and an author of a study published in 1991, explained why the results should be received with caution. The detrimental impact of first-year maternal employment, while significant, accounted for only a minor part of the variations between the groups of children, the study found. Other factors like poverty, the mother's education and the number of adults in the household had greater effect, she said.

Numerous similar studies have suggested intriguing or surprising patterns. For example, some have found that children did better if the mother returned to work earlier rather than later in the first year, or that boys with nonmaternal care scored more poorly than girls. Some have found that infants raised by grandmothers or baby sitters in the home did as well as those raised by their mothers. But these results have sometimes been contradictory and were seldom presented with scientific confidence.

The New Project

Clear Answers Are Being Sought

The new Federal study, sponsored by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, is intended through its large size, broad scope and intricate design to provide the clearest answers yet. Begun in 1991 and scheduled to last five years, it is registering not only the types of care that children receive but also evaluating the emotional texture of care, both from outsiders and from parents.

"We're trying to far more carefully identify the actual pattern of the child's experience than has been done in the past," said Robert Bradley, a psychologist at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. "We're looking at the place of care, we're looking at the same child at home with his mother, and we are also looking at the child's individual temperament and needs."

The children's development is being evaluated in several ways. At the age of 15 months, maternal attachment is measured in strange-situation experiments, but attachment will also be examined through direct observations in the home at the age of 2. Cognitive and language development, peer relations, self-control and compliance with parents and teachers will all be evaluated.

The newly detailed look at the home environment, for children of working as well as stay-at-home mothers, should provide far more subtle conclusions than ever before. "For example," Dr. Bradley asked, "if a child has problems, is it a function of the outside care, or is it because the mother is overworked and worried about money, and not enjoying child-rearing?"

Researchers may begin analyzing early data in about two years, said Sarah L. Friedman, project director at the national institute, but most results will not come until later. Despite the enthusiastic cooperation of academic foes and the unusual richness of data, experts warn that no study is apt to provide a simple blueprint.

"Both sides are excited about it for now," Dr. Belsky said. But "there will be different spin doctors" interpreting the data, and "to the extent people think they'll get a green light or a red light, they'll be disappointed," he added. For many mothers, work and child care are givens in any case, but better information may help them seek the care that is best for their child, and create the best home environment.

Whatever the study finds, none of the child-development experts are apt to advocate the kind of stressful return to work in as little as six weeks that some working women face today.

"I feel very strongly that mothers and infants need a certain period together after birth to learn the rhythms of each other's life," Dr. Caldwell said. "Once that happens and that attachment is there, we know it can survive."

She said there was ample reason to promote parental leave without assuming that early day care is harmful.

"The experience of being a mother of a young infant is a grand and glorious one," Dr. Caldwell said. "And the most precious thing in a relationship is time. I think there is a difference between saying that something is better to do, and saying something is wrong or harmful."

NEXT: The ambivalent political response to the needs of the changing American family.

In Family-Leave Debate, A Profound Ambivalence

By FELICITY BARRINGER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 — Mary Wendy Roberts, the labor commissioner of Oregon, set out in 1988 to guarantee most of the state's work force — 47 percent of which is women — the right to 12 weeks' unpaid leave when they give birth, adopt a child or need to care for a sick relative. Her strategy shows lawmakers that their own families or friends had a stake.

"We'd say: 'You've got grandkids. Was your daughter able to take time off?'" Ms. Roberts recalled. "The work force has changed so dramatically that people making decisions can't close themselves off from it. Someone, either in their family or among people they knew, would be coming to them and saying, 'Hey, I need that.'"

In Oregon, the politics of the personal worked. In other states, like Florida, with its high proportion of elderly citizens or Utah, despite having one of the highest proportions of working mothers in the nation, mandated family leave has been a nonstarter.

Deep Ambivalence

The fate of this issue, debated for a decade from county office buildings to the White House, reflects Americans' deep ambivalence as they grapple with new patterns of motherhood.

As the ranks of working mothers grow, personal doubts about how best to raise small children have multiplied. This uncertainty has its parallel in the often hesitant responses of politicians to what many working mothers on

The Good Mother

Last of four articles:

Searching for a Policy

single parents say are pressing needs.

In the Presidential campaign, image-makers for both Democrats and Republicans have stumbled while trying to figure out which maternal symbol — often, which dimension of which political wife — best fits the national fancy.

Meanwhile, around the country, a more fundamental debate is going on: whether the new realities of mothers and work, which reflect deep economic and social trends, warrant revising the social contract between government, businesses and families.

Enter Politics

"We've never had the Federal or state support that's necessary to make the new American family work properly," said Edward F. Zigler, professor of psychology at Yale University and a leading authority on child development. Dr. Zigler and many other students of the changing family favor generous leave policies, national efforts to make higher-quality child care more widely accessible and encouragement of more flexible working arrangements for parents. But conservative opponents say measures like these are often best left to the marketplace.

Early in the Presidential campaign, Republicans presented themselves as champions of tra-

Continued From Page A1

ditional family values. At the convention, speakers went out of their way to praise mothers who stayed home with the kids.

When it came to the practical question of family leave, though, President Bush, vetoed a comparatively mild bill that, in principle, would have helped some mothers do just that. The bill required only companies with 50 or more employees to give new mothers 12 weeks of unpaid leave. It was his second veto of such a measure.

Mr. Bush, who says he supports the concept of leave, said he thought it was wrong to impose another government mandate on business and proposed an alternative plan built on tax credits for cooperative employers.

Proposals like the most recent legislation have had mixed success, embraced by some counties and states and shunned by others despite the vast increase of working mothers. Nearly 60 percent of mothers with children under age 6 worked in 1990, according to the 1990 census, as did 75 percent of mothers with children age 6 to 17.

In insecure economic times, Mr. Bush may not pay much of a political price for vetoing a generally popular measure like the Family and Medical Care Leave Act. In a New York Times/CBS News poll earlier this week, 57 percent of those queried said that Mr. Bush should have signed the bill. Another 36 percent said he did the right thing by vetoing it.

"Part of the background for this has always been that family issues are outside of the government domain," said Barbara Willer, Public Affairs Director of the National Association for the Education of Young Children. "As a family member, it's your responsibility to work that out on your own. That's made it more difficult in terms of mobilizing action around this issue."

Women Struggle To Define Interests

As working women drift toward a new status as an interest group, they are struggling to define where their interests lie — when they have time to look beyond the next item on the "To Do" list. Researchers say that, while many would cherish the right to 12 weeks leave, some could not afford to go that long without a paycheck anyway. But proposals to require paid maternity leave, common in many other industrial countries with different social and economic traditions, got nowhere.

And not all mothers agree with the proposition that government ought to mandate family leave. "Family accommodation is crucial," said Merrie Spaeth, a free-market conservative and former aide to President Ronald Reagan who now has a public-relations business in Dallas. "But mandated family leave is a catastrophe to small business. It hurts women and minority-owned businesses most."

Many of those who could benefit most from the law have the least time to push for it. "The very people who are desperate for a national policy to deal with their struggles in juggling family and work responsibilities are the least able to become major advocates," said Judith Lichtman, executive director of the Women's Legal Defense Fund. "They don't have the time or the energy. They're struggling to keep their heads above water."

Dr. Zigler said the sheer numbers of women in the workplace had produced new support from another quarter: older men, whose daughters are likely to be working. "It's certainly true in the business community," he said. "These people are being educated. In the case of many business leaders, their wives never worked. But daughters are turning a lot of these people around."

Dr. Zigler, who has pushed for family leave guarantees for 30 years, is puzzled that the United States remains the only industrial democracy without mandated family leave. He marvels at the resistance even to unpaid leaves, when Japan and many European countries offer full or partial salaries.

"Part of it," he said, "has been this tremendous ambivalence in the country. There is a strong, forceful group very unhappy about women in the out-of-home work force," he added, referring to conservative ministers like the Rev. Pat Robertson.

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Ambivalence on Family Leave Thwarts Solutions

For the more visible opposition to family leave proposals has come from business, often represented by the Chamber of Commerce. Their view is that many larger employers covered in the proposals will never have enough, and that smaller businesses will have less flexibility and often cannot bear the financial burden.

In a 1991 survey of Oregon, Rhode Island, Minnesota and Wisconsin, all states with new leave laws, the Family and Work Institute, a nonprofit research group in New York, found that 83 percent of employers had offered at least some disability leave to new mothers even before the law was passed. More than half of 583 employers surveyed found that implementing one of the laws was "extremely easy" (33 percent) or "moderately easy" (49 percent). Still, up to 4 percent of working mothers surveyed in these states reported that in previous years they had lost their jobs after taking maternity leave.

Twenty-five states have enacted family leave bills, but even cover only state or public employees, according to the institute. In the nation's capital, large majorities of both houses of Congress have passed family leave measures twice, only to see them vetoed. In any place that gets family leave legislation passed, there's a history of it being introduced and defeated and then reintroduced and defeated and then, they eventually win," said Ellen Gaffney, co-president of the Families and Work Institute.

National day-care legislation that eventually became part of the Child Care Development Block Grant in 1990 followed a similar pattern. It began with a 1971 proposal for a Child Development program vetoed by President Richard M. Nixon, who criticized the goals but said the legislation promised "fiscal instability" and for help in "family and community

When President Bush signed it into law in a compromise with Congress, the measure funneled \$2.5 billion to the states over three years, designating it as aid to working parents — in most cases low-income working parents — to subsidize child care. Nationwide about 750,000 children, and their parents, are expected to benefit.

But it remains hard, researchers have found, for many middle-class parents to find child care that is affordable and of high quality. In many day-care centers, staff turnover is high, for example, in part because wages are barely above poverty level. Improving day care on a large scale will be costly, either for parents, government or business.

Assessing Models From Overseas

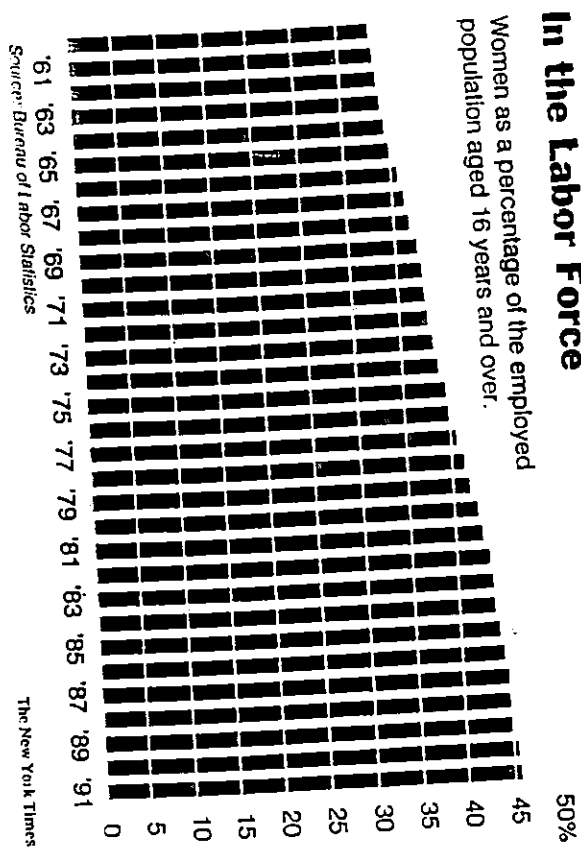
It is probably no coincidence that many states first passed family leave laws in the late 1980's, when for the first time more than half of all women went back to work inside one year of giving birth.

From 1975 to 1985 the percentage of women who were working or looking for a job rose from 46 percent to 58 percent, according to Federal data, and now, women account for nearly half of all workers in the labor force.

The last time American women flooded into the work force was during World War II, when Rosie the Riveter became a role model. In 1944, 16 million women competed over third

Women's Growing Importance In the Labor Force

Women as a percentage of the employed population aged 16 years and over.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The New York Times

of the nation's work force, according to Meryl Frank and Robyn Lipner of Yale's Infant Care Project. The Federal government opened 3,000 day-care centers for the 1.5 million children of these working women. In 1945, it closed 2,800 of them.

In Europe, social policy took a different route after the war, often oriented toward helping working parents stay home after the birth of a child. Sheila B. Kamerman, a professor at Columbia University's School of Social Work, notes that most European countries, including Austria, France, Germany, Sweden and Finland, now provide paid, job-protected leaves of at least five months. Some offer a year or more. Many give women the right to work part time for

a limited period after the birth of a child.

Not all observers feel the country needs to follow Europe's lead. "I'm not sure if I like the European model for America," said Burton E. Pines, director of the conservative National Center for Public Policy Research. "If you say we're helping different from Europe, I'd say, 'Good.' We've always had a looser employee system here in America. A conservative would say family leave is between employer and employee."

Not All Women Press for Leave

Women themselves are not all marching shoulder to shoulder with family leave banners waving. When Dade County, the only jurisdiction in Florida with a family leave ordinance, approved the measure — requiring businesses with 50 or more employees to offer 12 weeks' unpaid leave, but exempting higher-paid and executive employees — the only woman on the nine-member county board cast the only "nay" vote.

In the few months since the trade County ordinance took effect, only three complaints have been filed, said Toni Margulies-Eisner, chairwoman of Dade County's Equal Opportunity Board. Ms. Margulies-Eisner said she believed this is a sign the ordinance is working.

To some extent, lobbyists for women's groups have taken up family issues like these.

But Ms. Margulies-Eisner said she was not sure how family leave fits in the priorities lists of some women's groups. "I would hope that women as mothers — as opposed to feminists — could be a rallying point," she said. "But we trip over our own feet."

Support for Family Leave

Do you think George Bush should have signed the family leave bill, or did he do the right thing in refusing to sign the bill?

	Should have signed it	Did the right thing
Total	57%	36%
Men	51	43
Women	62	31
Bush supporters	31	62
Clinton supporters	77	19
Republicans	36	57
Independents	59	36
Democrats	71	21
Whites	63	40
Blacks	78	12
Income less than \$15,000	59	33
\$15,000-\$30,000	61	30
\$30,000-\$50,000	56	37
\$50,000-\$75,000	48	48
Over \$75,000	49	47
Working mothers	68	29
Working fathers	52	40

Based on nationwide telephone interviews with 1,252 adults conducted Oct. 2-4. Those with no opinion are not shown.

ests for stupid reasons. We ask 'Is it a politically correct thing to do? Is it a feminist activity? Am I aligning myself with the right people?'

Judith Lichtman of the Women's Legal Defense Fund said: "Women understand that this affects them and that they deserve family leave. But we now have to translate that into the

feeling that yes, we not only need it and deserve it — but we can get it, if we hold politicians accountable."

More national news
appears on page D19.

The Boston Globe

Founded 1872

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The failing schools

Americans hear a cacophony of rhetoric about what it will take to improve the nation's failing public education system. They are inundated with stories of both educational failure and success. But Rose Garden ceremonies honoring exemplary teachers or insipid calls for "world-class educational standards" are diversions from the main subject. Our children are failing in school because our nation's leaders have failed them.

The federal government provides less than a dime of every dollar spent on the nation's primary and secondary schools. Since 1980, the federal share of spending on public education has declined from 9 percent to less than 6 percent. Communities that can afford to — usually white, wealthy and suburban — have raised their property taxes to make up the difference. Poorer communities — largely black and urban — have been forced to struggle with less.

America's public schools are nearly as separate and unequal as they were before the Brown v. Board of Education decision. Most of the nation's black and Hispanic students languish in urban schools that are underfunded, ill equipped and, in many cases, in squalid condition. Although the dropout rate among black and white students has declined, it remains high, and the dropout rate for Hispanic students continues to rise.

Although suburban students enjoy far better facilities than do their urban and rural counterparts, their educational performance also leaves much to be desired.

Yet President Bush's meager response is to offer parents more choice and establish a few "model" schools. Rather than take on the difficult task of improving education for all children, he has pressed for states and local governments to allow students to attend public schools across district lines and use tax dollars to attend private and parochial schools. He offers little for the overwhelming majority of students who cannot be accommodated by those schools.

Continued failure

The notion that lesser schools will somehow be improved if forced to compete for students is a fallacy. Further disinvestment in ill-equipped schools will only promote continued failure.

The president asserts that one of his achievements as "education president" was the establishment of the New American Schools program, which awards seed grants to groups that submit proposals for model schools. While innovation must be encouraged, a smattering of funding for individual projects alone will do little to revitalize the nation's 83,000 public schools. Model programs are valuable only when sustained and duplicated until they are no longer models but the norm.

Gov. Clinton has called for a "revolution in lifetime learning," promising to invest in people at every stage of their lives. He wants full funding for preschoolers through Head Start, for a Youth Opportunity Corps that matches school dropouts with adult mentors and for a national apprenticeship program in which students not headed for college can learn trades and other marketable job skills.

For college students, Clinton promises to maintain the Pell Grants, designed in 1972 to help relieve the loan burden carried by poorer college students. But he has a far more comprehensive plan in mind.

He would replace the existing student loan program with one that would provide every American who wants to go to college with the means to do so. The program would allow students to borrow from a GI Bill-type National Service Trust Fund, then pay it back over time or through teaching, policing or other forms of public service.

Clinton opposes the use of public money for private and parochial schools, but he supports the notion of parental choice within public school systems. His response to the disparities between rich and poor school districts is to increase federal Chapter One grants for low-income students. Increasing Chapter One appropriations, however, will be insufficient as long as schools get the bulk of their funding from local real estate taxes, which leaves poorer communities at a disadvantage. Federal and state government must bear more of the burden so educational costs can be shared more equitably.

In his book "Smart Schools, Smart Kids," Edward Fiske identifies what makes schools successful. It lies in their ability to move away from the centralized "19th-century factory model of education," which places little value on varied learning styles or teacher professionalism. Smart schools are those where parents and teachers are valued partners in decision-making and students are encouraged to discover knowledge.

A Lesson from Japan

Fiske went to Japan looking for clues to that nation's success in providing quality education. He found more appropriate models in the American schools he visited than among schools in Japan, whose homogenous national culture emphasizes rigid conformity. He says the one lesson America can learn from Japan is its national commitment to education.

"Japan is a collection of islands cumulatively the size of California ... with a population slightly more than half that of America crammed into this space and with no natural resources. ... Especially since World War II, the Japanese have realized that as a nation, they must live by their wits, by what comes out of their heads. They have nothing else going for them. The United States, on the other hand, could always be a little sloppy about our educational system because we had other resources to fall back on. But the ecological frontier has closed. We must now live by our wits.

"There is evidence that Americans want good schools and are willing to pay for them ... evidence that the rebuilding of American schools is under way. The only issue is whether it will happen fast enough to prevent us from becoming a second-rate industrial power and a socially polarized nation."

The task for the next president is to transform into action the electorate's call for improved public education. Americans know their children are being shortchanged, placing them and the nation at a disadvantage in the new global competition for worthwhile work, economic markets and enriched lives.

Only by cultivating its most abundant resource — the minds of our children — can America succeed. Only by a president's unwavering commitment to a full investment of public funds and government support in education can this happen.

(Wednesday: The neglected cities)



Setting the Agenda

Magazine

Wednesday, October 14, 1992

Parents of successful students give advice

High on the list are love, support, respect.

By Pamela Curtin
INQUIRER WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON — When Phillip Johnson came home from his first day of kindergarten, "he was annoyed that there weren't reading assignments for them to do," his mother Kathryn recalled.

Phillip began reading before he began school. "With a very small child, you have to have stuff in the house for them to read," his mother explained. "You have to make reading a natural thing."

Phillip, now a junior at Peoria High School in Illinois, is one of 700,000 students across the country named in the 26th edition of *Who's Who Among American High School Students*, a publication that recognizes academic excellence.

In the past, the guide has surveyed students about topical issues that affect their lives.

This year, though, the publication randomly surveyed 2,000 parents of *Who's Who* students to learn how they helped their kids achieve academic success.

With 97 percent of the listed students bound for college, "We thought, what's going on in those families that we can share with others?" said the guide's publisher, Paul Krouse. He likens it to a "public service announcement."

Students included in the guide not only must maintain a grade point average of B or better, but also must be involved in leadership activities in their schools and communities.

The survey found 81 percent of parents believed a good education was important to their child's success, and 79 percent said an intact family was also important. Accord-

See **WHO'S WHO** on G3

WHO'S WHO from G1
ing to Krouse, about 78 percent of the students named in the book come from two-parent families.

Almost 80 percent of the parents credited their child's hard work as the reason for academic success. Additionally, 61 percent make sure their children do their homework.

The respondents were asked what advice they would offer parents in raising academically successful children. Their top words of wisdom: Let children know how much they are loved; take time to talk with them, and respect their opinions.

Other common suggestions: Give children an ethical and religious foundation; get involved in the things they're interested in; teach them the importance of a good education; offer support and encouragement; teach them to be the best they can be; let them know they can rely

on you; discipline them with consistency and fairness, and let them make and be responsible for their own decisions.

For William Timoney of Philadelphia, the most important thing is to "let them know they're special, from the time they're little," he said.

His daughter Janel, a senior at Central High School, is an avid reader. Timoney says Janel averages five books a week during the school year. "You have to encourage them to get involved and stay involved," the father said.

"Stay involved and keep them motivated" was the advice offered by Connie Harrell, whose daughter Leslie is a senior at Terry Parker High School in Jacksonville, Fla.

And what about Kathryn Johnson? Phillip has stayed busy with activities like soccer and is now checking out college engineering programs. Advised his mother:

"Let the kids know education is important. ... This is how they're going to get through the rest of their lives."

VIA SATELLITE

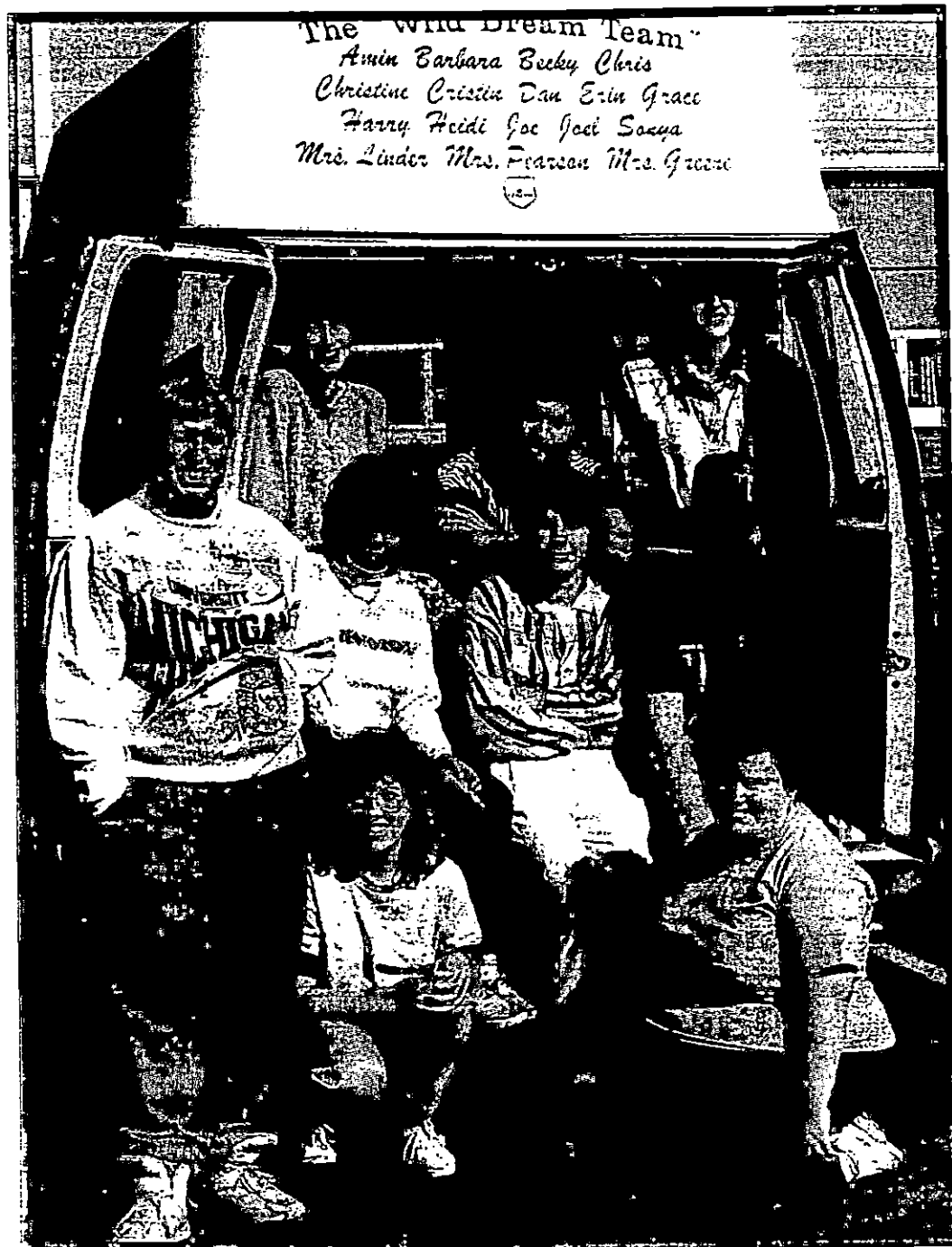
USA
TODAY

Life

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1992

No dream is too wild

Special students reach for the stars



By Craig Houtz, AP

TEAMWORK: Teacher Teri Lindner, left, and the Wild Dream Teamers — Cristin McTavish, top left, Daniel Decker and Sonya Myers; Heidi Houck, center left, Christine Szmolko and Joe Campbell; and, kneeling, Erin Scanlon, left and Grace Keen. The special education students used the money they won in Paul Newman's recipe contest to buy a van, which they gave to the Easter Seal Society.

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continued →

Cooking up a winner

This recipe won the Wild Dream Team lunch with Paul Newman:

BANDITO VEGETABLES

1 medium eggplant
6 oz. mushrooms
1 medium carrot, peeled
1 medium yellow squash
1 large ripe tomato
1 small red, yellow and green pepper
1 small onion, peeled
1 garlic clove
2 tbsp. butter
1 14-oz. jar Newman's Own Diavolo Sauce
1 10-oz. box couscous
1/3 cup minced fresh parsley plus sprigs for garnish
Grated parmesan cheese
Scoop out soft pulp and seeds of eggplant, discard; dice remaining eggplant. Slice mushrooms, carrot, squash. Chop tomato, peppers; mince onion and garlic. In large skillet, melt butter; stir-fry vegetables over medium-high heat 5 minutes. Prepare couscous per package directions. Set aside and keep warm. Stir Newman's Own Diavolo Sauce into vegetables; simmer until heated through. Fluff couscous with minced parsley. Put vegetables on platter surrounded by couscous. Garnish with parsley sprigs. Serve with parmesan cheese.

COVER STORY

This team has a recipe for success

Learning-disabled class pulls together for contest and personal victory

Pat Ordozensky
USA TODAY

STATE COLLEGE, Pa. — A letter to Paul Newman, from a contestant in the actor's annual recipe contest, asked him to bend his rules and allow more than two people to have lunch with him if they won.

"Don't you think," asked high school senior Chris Dixon, "that because you give

money to educational things and that we worked for so long and so hard, we could all come to New York if we win? That's 12 of us, 2 teachers and Erin's hearing interpreter. (We know that's a wild dream but we thought we'd ask.)"

That wild dream came true. And it's coming true a second time today.

Chris Dixon and his classmates in the special education class at State College Area High School won Newman's 1991 contest and traveled to New York en masse for lunch. Today, the class will be back dining with Newman because it won an auxiliary contest it helped inspire.

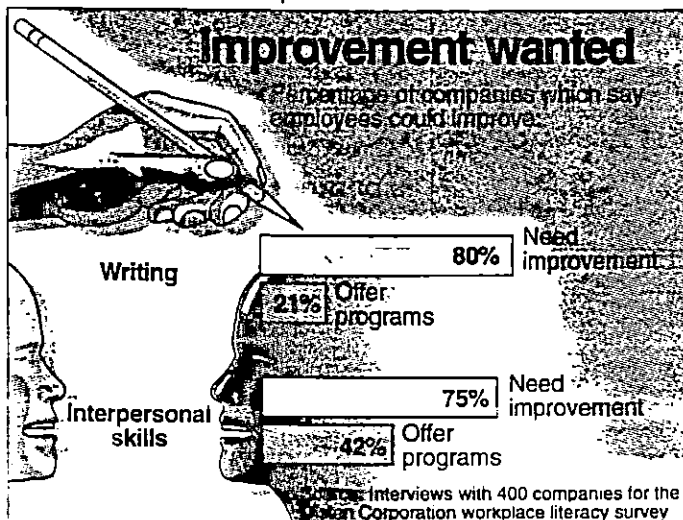
And nobody in this central Pennsylvania mountain town — best-known as the home of Pennsylvania State football teams — is surprised. Teacher Teri Lindner and her class of learning-disabled students have achieved so many wild dreams they're known as the Wild Dream Team.

The name "Wild Dream Team" and the names of the

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

USA SNAPSHOTS®

A look at statistics that shape our lives



By Elys A. McLean, USA TODAY

page 2 of 3
Continued →

COVER STORY

Newman 'was nice'

Continued from 1D

Team's members are painted on the blue van equipped with a wheelchair lift that's used to transport the physically disabled in the State College area. Lindner's kids bought the van with the \$15,000 they won from Newman last year and gave it to the Easter Seal Society. The \$5,000 they'll be awarded today goes to the same cause. "It makes me feel good to see the van go down the street with my name on it," says Cristin McTavish, 13. "I feel like I'm helping other people."

The van was presented at halftime of last year's Penn State-Notre Dame football game, which the Wild Dream Team watched from the private box of Coach Joe Paterno.

"In the school where I used to be (elsewhere in Pennsylvania), special ed kids were stuck back in a corner and nobody paid attention," says Grace Keen, 18. "Here, we're famous."

The team's first really wild dream occurred two years ago, when Lindner asked where in their wildest dreams they would like to go on a class trip. The consensus: Disney World.

So they brainstormed plans to get there and started by writing to celebrities requesting frequent flier airline tickets.

"I said, 'Look, this dream will probably not come true so write to people you want a letter back from and at the minimum you'll have an autograph,'" Lindner recalls.

Only Sen. Edward Kennedy sent a ticket. Roseanne Arnold sent an autographed photo. Kenny Rogers replied that he owns his own plane, thus no frequent flier miles.

The kids then turned to businesses, with more luck. They got 12 airline tickets from Intel; the use of five condos and three vans in Orlando from Michigan-based Entertainment Publications. Disney granted free access to the Magic Kingdom.

The students eventually wrote more than 500 letters seeking help. The class dictated the letters, often working after school. Two team members typed them into computers. They made a list, meanwhile, of 32 things they would have to learn before they could make the trip. Among them:

- "Learn to talk on the phone. We have many calls to make if this is going to work."

- "Learn how to bowl so we can have a bowl-a-thon (to raise money)."

- "Learn about staying in a hotel."

- "Learn about airplanes, how to check in, how to get our suitcases onto the plane, how to get through a metal detector."

- "Learn to compromise and share."

After the Disney trip, Lindner says, the class decided it "wanted to take all the things we learned and do something for other people." A month later, she saw a notice about the contest sponsored by *Good Housekeeping* magazine and Newman's Own Inc., Paul Newman's non-profit food company. It sought recipes using Diavolo Sauce, its newest product. Winners would earn money for the charities of their choice.

Lindner's students asked their parents for recipe ideas using the sauce, scoured stores looking for the ingredients and prepared the dishes in the kitchen adjoining their classroom.

Teachers taste-tested the finished dishes, and the six most popular were submitted. Bandito Vegetables became one of seven regional winners earning cash and lunch with Newman.

"I had no idea who Paul Newman was," says Daniel Decker, 18, who graduated last year and works at a plastics company. "But he was nice."

And Cristin McTavish, pointing at teacher Lindner, confides the real reason they entered the contest: "She wanted to meet Paul Newman."

The wild dreams, Lindner says, are her students' way of sending a message: "That special-needs kids have the same desires, feelings, need for success, need for enrichment as other teen-agers. They just need a different level of support. Internally, they are not different."

Sometimes that message isn't heard, says McTavish, as she offers to tell a visitor what makes her "not feel good." It's when "people make fun of you because they think you can't do things. But we try and now we're showing them that we can."

And now the team works on a few new dreams.

It's raising money for a trip — destination yet undecided. It's opening a classroom store selling Bush and Clinton T-shirts, flowers and miscellaneous services, such as reminders to send greeting cards or buy birthday presents. "The principal has hired us to send out cards," says associate teacher Sharon Pearson. "We haven't decided how much we'll charge."

And then, of course, there's today's lunch with Newman.

At last year's lunch, Newman asked the Wild Dreamers if they'd enter his contest again this year. The kids decided it would be "unfair" to try again, that they should let someone else have a shot. But they asked Newman how they could help.

That question, says spokeswoman Linda Rohr, led to another contest: Newman offered \$5,000 to the 1991 regional winner who best promoted this year's competition. And the Wild Dreamers did it again.

Two weeks ago, Lindner's class got a call telling them their efforts to promote this year's contest — letters to 150 newspapers and posters in supermarkets — won the \$5,000.

"I was excited and started to cry," says Christine Szmolko, 17. "Everybody else was cheering. And when I walked into my mainstream class, everybody cheered."

Says Newman: "The Dream Team is a very special bunch of young people. We hope that they've learned a little something from us. We've certainly learned a lot from them."

Testimony

ONE TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE

'I Don't Have a School in the Middle of a War Zone'

As told to ROBERT SCHEER

Jim Mamer, 43, is an honored teacher in an often honored school district. He has taught social studies for 15 years at Irvine High School, where he has served as department chairman, mentor teacher and union representative. Mamer, who has written widely on educational issues, was a Fulbright Scholar and a fellow at Stanford. This year he was named by the National Council for the Social Sciences as the outstanding high school social studies teacher in the nation. His wife, a native of Ecuador, teaches in Santa Ana.

I teach in a school district that, according to the U.S. Department of Education, has the lowest dropout rate in the nation [2.8%]. My wife, Jessica Puma, teaches in Santa Ana, 10 minutes away, which has the country's highest dropout rate [36.7%], according to census data. When I recently received a national award for social-science teaching, I thought about what it is that I do and whether I could do it in Santa Ana.

I try to teach kids to think. My approach is, here is the question and here are a lot of ways to think about it. So the kids begin to learn to analyze things as a matter of course, rather than regurgitate quick answers. It's not aimed at boosting test scores but because of their background they get the high scores anyway.

Usually the test scores reflect socioeconomic privilege more than academic excellence. Not a lot of articles are written about how well kids think, and how they debate issues, and how many books they read, and if they enjoy their subjects.

Fast students who live in an upper-middle-class environment will go on to succeed in college. But I hope that I have

given people some joy in learning and exposed them to questions and academic pursuits that they wouldn't have found elsewhere. Maybe what I've done to some of them is to convince them that they ought to pursue careers in which they won't be as monetarily advantaged. So maybe I've ruined their incomes later on in life. But I do think it sort of contributes to a better society. And it also contributes to a better life for them.

I think that there are hundreds of teachers who have the same take on how to teach that I do. But I work in a system that is supportive. And I work in a community where the kids have enough advantages so they come to school ready to learn. And so I don't have to deal with a lot of the social problems that a lot of other teachers have to deal with. And that gives me a huge advantage right there.

My wife, Jess, works at Century High School in Santa Ana. I've driven her to work, and in Irvine they must have a tree every 10 feet. Some kind of regulation, I think. As soon as you hit the Irvine-Santa Ana border, there are no trees. And you begin to encounter potholes.

Jess' school, which is a wonderful school filled with incredibly dedicated teachers, is in the middle of an industrial park. There are factories on both sides. My school is constructed next to a city park that includes 20 tennis courts and an Olympic-sized pool complex owned by the city, all of which we use.

Jess spends four or five hours a week talking on the phone with parents, 99% of which is in Spanish. And these parents care about their kids as much as any of the parents that I have. And a lot of them have two and three jobs. And some of them have their kids help them do the jobs at night, which is often custodial work.

In general, the schools are financed equally. You have the 1971 Serrano-Priest decision that says they have to be financed equally. But the problems are not in any sense equal.

In my school, with all of the normal problems it has, and it has normal problems—these kids are going through puberty—I don't have a school that's in the middle of a war zone.

We have the same budget cuts as they do in Santa Ana. But they've got other things they've got to take care of. I remember one night visiting at the home of Gerardo Mouet, who was on the Santa Ana school board, and he was talking about a discussion at the school board that if they didn't close off the street in front of Santa Ana High, the drive-by shooting drivers would have a clear shot into the campus, so they needed to build a wall. Now that's an absurd conversation, except I was having it. No one talks about getting a clear shot into Irvine High School.

We ought to put a lot more money into war zones than we do into privileged areas. But it's not like I'm asking to cut money out of Irvine. Why take from one school to aid another as if this is the only possible source of funding?

We have a society that never questions the countless billions of dollars they can put into war toys. Not a moment's hesitation—we just have to do this. And it can be for wars 10,000 miles away or 6,000 miles away. Half the population doesn't know where the country we are worried about is on the map. And yet at the same time and in the same breath, they tell you, "Well, we just don't have any money to pay for schools."

Cutting funds in Irvine or any other school is just crazy. I've got, right now, 35 students in five classes—175 students.



BARRETT STINSON / For The Times

"I don't have to deal with a lot of social problems," teacher Jim Mamer says.

I'm told I'm supposed to have them write. Now just assuming I have them write and I spend 10 minutes on each essay, you've just taken up my entire weekend. And then you have people saying, "Hey, you don't make them write enough." What do you mean, write enough? I'm lucky I know who their names are sometimes. You also have an advisement group, 27 kids. So I see about 200 kids a day just in my classes. And they just come through on an assembly line. Five minutes between them. And I'm pretty good at this. But by the end of the day, I feel like I've been beaten. So to remove money from the California schools when we have the

second-largest class sizes in the United States is nonsense.

Critics will quote statistics saying, "Well, we've put as much per capita into education as Japan does or Germany does." We have a different situation than Japan does. Japan has a homogenous population. We've got something like 80 languages just in Irvine and we're a privileged district. In Santa Ana, something like 50% of the parents are not fluent yet in English. You've got costs that just don't exist in Japan and Germany. I think schools like Irvine need more money and in Santa Ana they need a lot more.

NATIONLINE

FROM USA TODAY'S NATIONAL NEWS NETWORK

Navy to open free harassment hot line

The Navy Tuesday said a toll-free hot line concerning sexual harassment complaints will open in December. Acting Navy Secretary Sean O'Keefe said the hot line will give "advice and counseling" and track complaints "to gauge the effectiveness of the department's program to eliminate sexual harassment."

The Navy already is under fire for its lax handling of complaints by dozens of women who say they were sexually assaulted at the 1991 Tailhook convention. The Navy also announced reviews of sales of sexually explicit materials at bases, how cutbacks will affect women and recruiting policies to attract women.



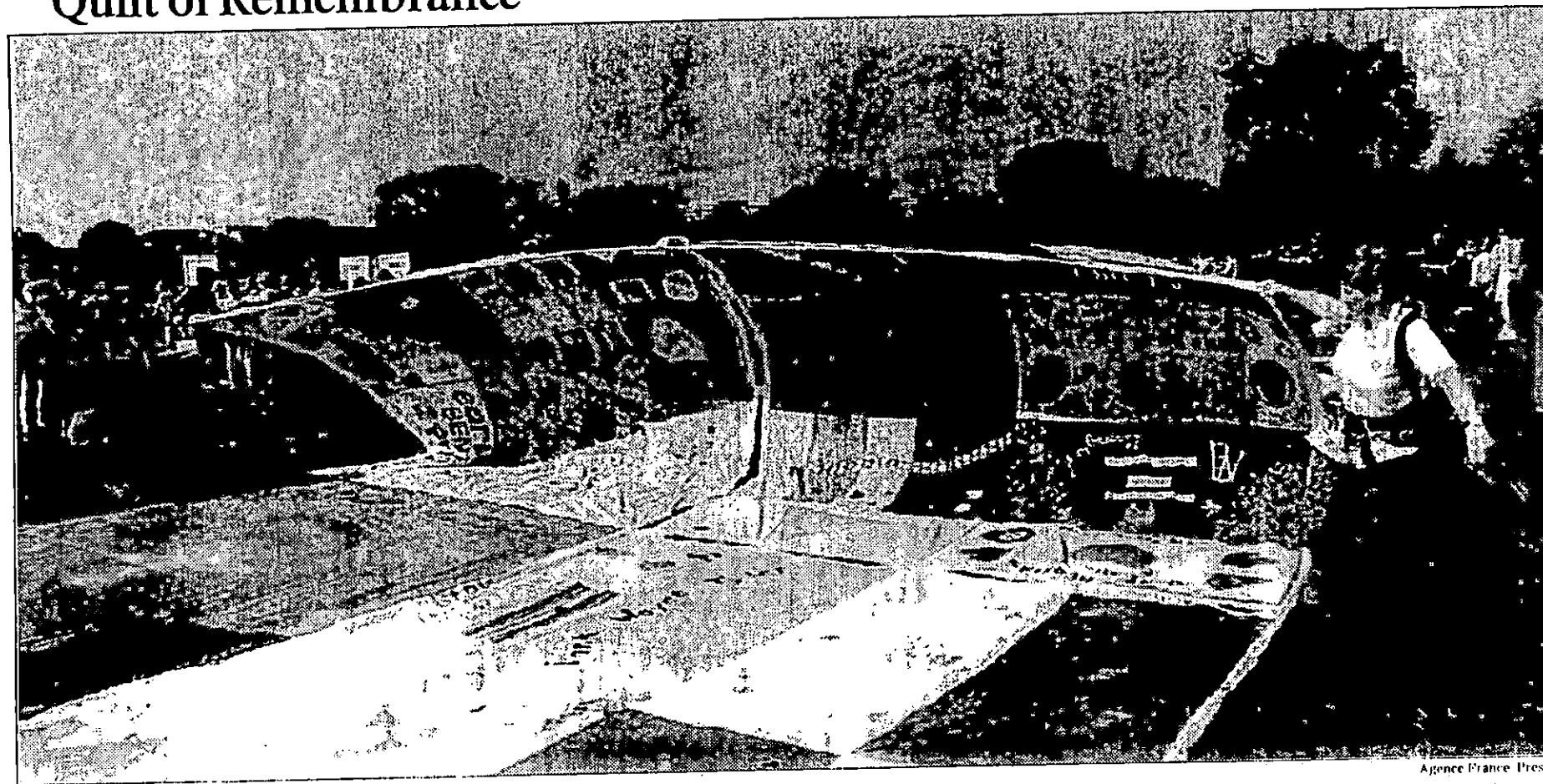
By Thomas B. Pfankuch, AP

CROWN DISPUTE: April Schuldt, left, who was replaced as homecoming queen by runner-up Elizabeth Weld, right.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1992

NATION

Quilt of Remembrance



Agence France Presse

Volunteers fold a section of the Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt, which goes on display today on The Mall in Washington. The memorial will cover about 15 acres.

Some AIDS Hot Line Data Found Faulty

Inadequate Training, Counseling Experience of Volunteers Is Blamed

Associated Press

ANAHEIM, Calif., Oct. 13—AIDS hot lines often give out information that is misleading, oversimplified or just plain wrong, a survey has found.

"They actually generate a lot of anxiety, although overall they probably do more good than not," said Stephen Gluckman of Cooper Hospital in Camden, N.J., who directed the survey.

In the survey, drama students called 33 hot lines pretending to be people infected with the AIDS virus or people who were well but worried. The answers they got varied widely.

Gluckman attributed the poor advice to haphazard training and often nonexistent counseling experience among the volunteers who staff the hot lines, which are intended to clear up confusion about the disease.

Among other things, the survey found:

- Some hot lines said the AIDS virus can be spread through kissing. Most experts disagree.

- Several urged people infected with the virus to take vitamins or go on special diets. Two hot lines strongly recommended macrobiotic regimens. There is no evidence that such strategies help.

- Hot line volunteers frequently failed to indicate that the standard screening test for AIDS can falsely show that someone is infected with the virus and must undergo another more rigorous test to confirm the results.

- Callers often got different answers to the same question from the same hot line, depending on whom they talked to.

Gluckman presented his findings Monday at a meeting of the American Society for Microbiology.

He said that although one of the hot lines requires that volunteers staffing the phones hold degrees in psychology or social work, others demand only a high school diploma or even require no academic credentials at all.

The hot lines typically give volunteers a few hours of training.

Some require only that their volunteers read a pamphlet.

"We start out incorrectly by letting anyone who walks in off the street, no matter how well meaning, answer these questions," Gluckman said.

He said he was particularly concerned by how emphatically the hot lines sometimes gave answers to such questions as the safety of oral sex, when experts are unsure of the right answers. "With almost no exceptions, advice was never qualified," he said.

Attempts to reach several hot lines for comment on the findings were unsuccessful because the lines were constantly busy.

Two of the hot lines in the study serve a national audience; the rest are local or regional hot lines in New Jersey and other mid-Atlantic states.

However, Julie Gerberding, an AIDS researcher at the University of California at San Francisco, said: "It doesn't surprise me at all. This points to the need for quality control on the hot lines."

Campus Journal

The Time and the Place For Addressing AIDS

At the Washington Monument last weekend, where the 21,000 panels of the AIDS memorial quilt lay in a dramatic sprawl, what caught the eye were the names of individuals: Alexandra Biggs. William Rosenthal. John Anthony Guerrero. Dan Mason.

But sprinkled among them were also the names of institutions, and among the institutions, colleges: Swathmore. Columbia. Oberlin. University of Tennessee.

The presence of these collegiate panels was mute testimony that young people who dwell in the so-called protected quarters of the nation's universities have begun to feel the devastation from acquired immune deficiency syndrome.

In 1990, a study conducted by the Center for Disease Control and the American College Health Association found that about 1 in 500 college undergraduates were infected with H.I.V., the virus that cause AIDS. Dr. Brian Edlin, the medical epidemiologist who conducted the study, suggests that those with the disease or the virus in university communities reflect the population at large, with most of them being men in urban areas and a disproportionately high number being blacks.

The proliferation of AIDS through shared needles in drug use may not be as applicable on college campuses, the report said. The virus is also spread through sexual intercourse with an infected partner and through infected blood.

"College could be a great laboratory for AIDS education," said Paul Douglas, the co-director of Columbia's Gay Health Advocates. Many educators agree, citing the instructional resources, an environment that, at least ideally, is tolerant and a small enough population for the the idea of safe sex to take hold.

But Kenneth Steinman, health education coordinator at the American College Health Association, said not all of the nation's campuses had responded to the AIDS crisis with the requisite urgency. "Most students know that you can't get H.I.V. from a mosquito bite," he said. "But many schools have only addressed the

AIDS issue superficially."

Already, many studies indicate that the majority of undergraduates are not practicing safe sex. One such study was conducted last spring by Dr. Karen Kotloff, associate professor of pediatrics at the University of Maryland School of Medicine.

From a sampling of 2,013 undergraduates, she discovered that only 48.5 percent of the heterosexual participants always or almost always used condoms when having intercourse. For gay students, the rate was 36.8 percent, with 28.2 percent of the gay respondents saying that they never used condoms.

Other studies have confirmed that students are more apt to have unsafe sex after binge drinking, which has been common on some campuses.

"The studies are disturbingly repetitive," said Patricia Fabiano, director of prevention and wellness services at Western Washington University. "We know this now. Information doesn't change behavior."

People like Ms. Fabiano are forever inventing and reinventing ways to teach students about AIDS. At her school, for example, the students have "rubberware parties," in which peer educators explain the differences between condoms in a college-version of show-and-tell.

The Condom Resource Center, based in Oakland, Cal., is renowned for supplying off-beat materials for educating college students about H.I.V., like patterns for life-sized condom costumes and books called "Condom Sense."

Ms. Fabiano said the real challenge was to create a climate in which the use of condoms during sex was as natural as wearing a hat in the winter. "It's an elaboration of 'Friends don't let friends drive drunk,'" she said. "Friends don't let friends walk into a sexual situation unprotected."

Laura Pinsky, the other co-director of the Columbia Gay Health Advocates, adds that the practice of safe sex is intertwined with issues of self-confidence. "We feel that if people have a higher self-esteem, they'll be more likely to feel comfortable asking their partner to use a condom."

AIDS activists protest Bush response

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON — AIDS activists carrying simulated American flags with skulls and crossbones in place of stars ringed the White House yesterday to protest what they charge is President Bush's weak response to the fatal disease.

The thousands of demonstrators, who formed a human chain with the aid of 6,000 feet of red ribbon, chanted, "Three more weeks, Bush will go."

Ed Des Rosier of Nashua said he was in the demonstration because he had friends who have died of AIDS and, "I have to let the president know we are not happy."

Bush was campaigning in Pennsylvania and uniformed Secret Service officers stood guard impassively on the grounds as the demonstrators pointed their fingers at the White House and shouted, "Shame."

Park Police Sgt. Patrick Gavin said an estimated 5,000 people took part in the demonstration.

Frederick L. Dyke, founder of the People With AIDS Theater Company in San Francisco, who said he had been diagnosed with AIDS six months ago, called Bush's remarks about AIDS "totally political" but added, "I don't trust any politician. Actions speak louder than words."

Park Police Lt. J.T. Mugavin said there were no disorders during the hour-long demonstration, spon-



AP PHOTO

AIDS protesters lead a shackled man disguised as President Bush around the White House yesterday.

sored by ACT UP, the Aids Coalition to Unleash Power, and billed as a "wake up call to Bush, Clinton and Perot."

The ring around the White House was completed when two columns of marchers, going in opposite

directions, joined hands and ribbons on the Ellipse, south of the executive mansion.

Marchers carried signs with such legends as "George Bush, you make me sick" and "Barbara, did you hold our AIDS babies?"

The paper flags, in various sizes, were labeled "Bush AIDS Flag." They had the standard red and white stripes, but the stars on the field of blue were replaced by skulls and crossbones, symbolic of deaths from AIDS.

METROPOLITAN



Photo by Tracy A. Woodward/The Washington Times

Squatters evicted from the Ellen Wilson Dwellings meet with housing director Ray Price (left), Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly and homeless organizer Cecil Byrd.

Mayor vows help, homes for squatters

Appoints task force after meeting

By Claudia Rosenbaum
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

While D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly met yesterday with the squatters who had occupied a crumbling building in the Ellen Wilson Dwellings complex on Capitol Hill, city workers were sealing windows of the squatters' building.

"We knew they weren't going to let us back on the site," said Pete Farina, a representative of the squatters. "We knew that was unrealistic."

Mrs. Kelly, speaking after a 90-minute closed-door meeting with the squatters, said she is committed to helping the men.

She promised to continue talks on the fate of the apartment complex in Southeast and said no decision would be made without consulting residents who live in the area.

The buildings will stay vacant until the city, neighbors of the complex, and the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development agree on a plan for the apartments.

Officials said the city will not prosecute three homeless protesters arrested in a standoff with police last week before the squatters were evicted from the complex.

Mrs. Kelly said she will work with the squatters to help find them housing, jobs and emergency financial assistance.

The mayor and the squatters plan to meet again next week.

Eleven squatters from the Ellen Wilson Dwellings have been provided with housing at Park Morton, a public housing complex in the 600 block of Morton Street NW. In ex-

change for apartments, the squatters are doing renovations in their apartments and in other units in the complex.

Some called the apartments a blessing, but others said they are an unacceptable solution. One squatter, a former drug addict, said he cannot live at Park Morton because drugs are readily available in the area.

Cecil Byrd, an organizer of the squatters, defended the former addict.

"Park Morton has the reputation for being one of the worst drug areas in the city," Mr. Byrd said. "You can't

**Mrs. Kelly will help
the squatters find
housing, jobs and
emergency financial
assistance.**

send our guy who has been clean for three years over there."

Mrs. Kelly appointed a task force to deal with the evicted squatters. Representatives of the city Department of Public and Assisted Housing, HUD, the Department of Veterans Affairs, the former squatters at Ellen Wilson Dwellings, the community and the mayor's office will make up the task force.

"We want to put together a task force so we can move forward," said Ray Price, director of the city housing agency.

Morristown's Man on the Street

He Sued the Town. It Paid Him a Bundle. So Why Is Richard Kreimer Still Homeless?

By Paula Span
Washington Post Staff Writer

MORRISTOWN, N.J.

If the day is fair and Richard Kreimer has enough quarters in his pocket, anything is possible.

He usually takes up his customary post in the municipal building parking lot (he doesn't have a car, just likes this stretch of asphalt) early in the day. At the rear of the lot, near a stone balustrade, stands the all-important pay phone.

Maybe he'll call the chairman of the Democratic Party and magnanimously volunteer to chair a national commission on homelessness for Bill Clinton. Maybe this is the day his Hollywood agent turns the Richard Kreimer Story into a movie of the week, though certain elements (sex, glamour, a happy ending) appear to be missing. Maybe he'll accept that invite to appear on comic Jackie Mason's TV talk show. When you're the most celebrated homeless man in the world, or at least in New Jersey, there are lots of demands on your time.

It's been six months since Kreimer, a 43-year-old Morristown native, settled two lawsuits he'd brought—one against the public library that's just across the street, one against the town and its police department—and walked away with the better part of \$230,000.

It did not make him a beloved figure hereabouts. Lots of folks were infuriated by the payments, weary of Kreimer's railings and his penchant for publicity. Let the ACLU argue that Kreimer had established impor-

tant constitutional principles; in Morristown, teeth were gnashed.

The one silver lining was that after years on the streets and in the courts, serving as both a reproach and a provocateur, Kreimer at least would take all that money and *just go away*.

But he's still here, idling on the parking lot. And he's still homeless. So all the questions about whether he deserves help or blame, about how much sympathy is due a man with a financial portfolio but no address, still swirl.

People who work with the homeless—even affluent Morris County counts about 500, by Mental Health Association estimates—aren't surprised that mere money hasn't solved Kreimer's problems. (His windfall was invested and he's living on the interest, he says.)

"His struggle is quite common to people living on the street," says MHA Executive Director Deborah Taggart. When the chronically homeless try to change their lives, "there's a transition that goes on, that's tough for us to appreciate. It's like taking a wild animal and attempting to domesticate it in one day. They're adapted to the wild."

But other locals who've tried to intervene insist that Kreimer's in a box at least partly of his own construction. "On his terms, you can't help him," says family friend Joel Beecher. "But he only wants help on his terms. It's an impossible situation, and that's the way he wants it."

Kreimer himself, as a triumphant spring yielded to a busy summer and then to an uncertain fall, has sometimes sounded anxious, depressed. "If you asked me,

am I more sure of things today than I was a year ago, I'd have to honestly say I'm more unsure," he admitted on the phone last month. "Everyone goes home at night, but I still have no place to go."

Other times, full of ambitious plans and odd projects, he's as curious as anyone to see how this saga turns out. Inclined toward the dramatic, he leaves phone messages that sound like cliffhanger promos for an adventure serial. "More legal nuances coming up," his voice boomed from the answering machine recently, "in this bizarre twist of the most unbelievable homeless story of all times!" Which was not so great an exaggeration as one might suppose.

Morristown has sprouted sleek corporate headquarters and glass-skinned office complexes in the past decade, but at heart it's still a gossipy small town of 16,500, built around a Colonial village green. Richard Kreimer (pronounced KRAY-mer) grew up and graduated from high school here. Lots of townspeople know him, though not well enough to explain how he wound up like this.

Poverty is not the culprit. Victor and Katy Kreimer owned part of a family paper business and raised Richard and his older brother, Kenneth, in a comfortable Crestwood Road split-level with dogwoods in the yard. Richard makes a point of this: "People thought that because I was homeless, I had to be stupid, incompetent. But I came from a middle-class family." His troubles began, in his retelling, after his parents died.

See KREIMER, C9, Col. 1

Page 1 of 3
Continued →

The Homeless Man And His Fortune

KREIMER, From C1

Kreimer prefers to be vague about certain biographical details, especially those involving money. There was "some unfortunate infighting by my family over my mother's estate," he says enigmatically, as well as "interference" by town officials (which may refer to a tax lien placed on his house). "Basically, people-being mean and vicious."

How much did Kreimer inherit and, apparently, burn through? Katy Kreimer's 1970 will gave each son half her assets, to be distributed in thirds when each turned 30, 35 and 40. Two years ago, when the estate's administration was reviewed at Richard's insistence, a letter from the Legal Aid Society estimated its original worth at \$340,000. Richard also inherited the house on Crestwood Road, which had deteriorated when he sold it in 1981 for \$61,000. He says he never got what his mother had intended. Whatever the total, though, he would have received the last installment in 1989. By that time, he'd become a fixture on the streets of Morristown.

More vagueness. He'd gone west in the early '80s, and when he returned in 1984, "I slept on the green, on the post office benches, on the sidewalks with blankets." He says he kept a sleeping bag in a park. He sometimes spent nights in the boiler room of the municipal building. Takeout food and other necessities came from \$400 to \$500 a month in Social Security payments, granted because of also-unspecified health problems. There was a name for this sort of existence by then: folks who would once have been "vagrants" or even "bums" had become "the homeless." It was a label Kreimer adopted and has never relinquished.

"Plaintiff" is another. In 1990 he instituted two lawsuits in U.S. District Court in Newark, preparing the filings himself.

One alleged repeated threats and harassment by local cops, followed by indifference when he complained to town officials. The other suit targeted his favorite hangout, the Joint Free Library of Morristown and Morris Township, where Kreimer spent hours nearly every day. His suit alleged that the library's newly adopted "patron policy" discriminated against the homeless. The library, acknowledging that Kreimer had been asked to leave several times, countered that he was a nuisance and a disruption, staring at patrons and employees, following them, smelling so foul that others could not bear to sit near him.

"It's not about homelessness," argues library Director Nancy Byouk Hammeke. "There are homeless people in this library every day, dozens of them. . . . What this case was about was antisocial behavior."

"To the best of my knowledge, his allegations had no merit," echoes Morristown Mayor Norman Bloch of the suit against the town. "He should have received nothing."

But he did, largely because Judge H. Lee Sarokin, known for underdog sympathies, secured him pro bono attorneys. "If lawyers hadn't popped into the case when they did, it would have gone away in three weeks," says Bruce Rosen, who represented Kreimer in the library case along with Frank Askin, general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union. Instead, a plethora of lawyers popped in, because Kreimer named so many individuals and organizations, many requiring separate representation. Legal fees spiraled upward so ominously that the defendants—more accurately, their insurance carriers—began negotiating.

The police/town suit never went to trial; Kreimer, anxiously asking his lawyers whether they were sure the sum was large enough, settled for \$150,000. The library suit was heard by Judge Sarokin, who ruled that several library policies were unconstitutionally broad and vague and noted, "If we wish to shield our eyes and noses from the homeless, we should revoke their condition, not their library cards." Kreimer's legal triumph was short-lived—three appellate judges overturned Sarokin's decision last March—but meanwhile the library's insurer had settled the case for \$80,000.

Though the appeals court ruled that the library's rules were constitutional, it delighted Kreimer's lawyers and the American Library Association by declaring a library a public forum. "The first 45 pages of that opinion are probably the best ever written on the issue of the First Amendment right to receive information," Askin says.

In personal terms, though, Kreimer's days in the headlines were presumed over. After the lawyers took their cuts (they won't say how much; one-third is typical), Kreimer had a six-figure windfall—not enough to fund a life of leisure, but enough to put a roof over his head. He could stop giving press conferences (he loves press conferences) and proceed with the "rehabilitation

I WAS ALWAYS THINKING ABOUT THE
could move on, couldn't he?

Spring

On a day too warm for the layers of clothing he's wearing, Richard Kreimer is on patrol in the parking lot. His graying beard and long, uncombed hair, plus a "lazy eye" he's had all his life, give him a slightly menacing appearance, though even his critics concede he's never harmed anyone. His face is scratched and scabbed, and he does smell unpleasant, but not unearable.

He can't give an interview, he announces, because he's expecting Hollywood people. And he's not feeling very well (his lawyer says he's been hospitalized with kidney stones). And anyway, an interview would require five hours at least. Which he doesn't have because he's about to leave for Washington to confront Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown, who unaccountably has failed to respond to his requests to address the Democratic convention about homelessness. "Now the challenges I'm taking on are of national and worldwide consequence," he explains. "I have to be careful of my image."

Then he talks anyway.

Certain themes and phrases surface in virtually any Kreimer conversation—his imminent book and film deals, for instance. He reels off the dates he's memorized of favorite newspaper accounts of his case. He invariably works in a reference to suing somebody about something.

He'll point out how much smarter and more articulate he is than people expect. In fact, if he decides to appeal the library case to the U.S. Supreme Court, "I think I'm educated enough to file it myself. I think I could do a better job arguing before the Supreme Court than most of these lawyers." His own lawyers (actually former lawyers, now that he's no longer entitled to pro bono counsel) are urging him not to appeal, fearing that the conservative court might actually strip away the public-forum access their appeal established. Maybe he will, maybe he won't.

He'll rant too about how nobody else truly understands or cares about homelessness. Not the National Coalition for the Homeless, not the late Mitch Snyder ("a bureaucrat"), certainly none of these Morristown do-gooders. "They want to make it look like they do all these wonderful things for the homeless when it's just this Band-Aid," he fumes.

Nothing about this whole mess angers residents more than Kreimer's portrayal of a heartless Morristown populated by "status people." What about the soup kitchens, the shelters, the churches that take in families, the vans that shuttle through town at night with sandwiches and blankets? Morristown is more caring, and Richard Kreimer less abandoned, than he's let on, argues the mayor. "Loads of people tried to help him over the years, all kinds of people. He turned them down."

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Continued →

Richard Kreimer returned to Morristown in 1984, according to Joel Beechner, several members of the town's synagogue sat down with "Richie," the estate lawyer and a rabbi. The group offered to put Kreimer up in a motel room if he would see a counselor and seek job interviews; it would meet weekly to monitor his progress. "He just sat there and grumbled like he always does," Beechner remembers. "He came back the same way a week later. He hadn't gone for the interviews, he refused the counseling, he hadn't done anything. We refused to just give handouts."

The Market Street Mission downtown normally doesn't house transients for more than four days, preferring to enroll people in a three-month program. But it made an exception, according to Executive Director David Scott, and allowed Kreimer to spend much of the winter of '89 sleeping in the chapel. When other residents began complaining about his personal habits, Kreimer left. "I think he does need help, but I'm not sure how the community can help him," Scott says. "I fear for him."

Hygiene was a point of contention, too, between Kreimer and former council member Margret Brady, who says he spent most of last winter in her house. "He said he'd had a death threat and was afraid to go back to his sleeping bag," she recalls. Brady and her husband said Kreimer could stay for a night; he ended up staying for months. They asked him to clean himself up. He said he would, then made "several months' worth of excuses," Brady says. She worries that her vow to dispose of the perspiration-soaked lucky sweat shirt he wore daily is what prompted him to leave. "I still consider myself a friend," she says. "I just feel frustrated at my inability to help."

Kreimer, it should be noted, disputes all of the above. The Jewish community has never lifted a finger to help him, he says. He's never set

foot in the Market Street Mission. As for the Bradys, Kreimer says he paid to use their house for meetings but never lived there. "It's all nonsense, just character assassinations, the way people try to discredit Bill Clinton," he says. As for charges that he's self-serving, well, people say that about Jesse Jackson too, he notes.

Meanwhile, there always seems to be a reason that life cannot improve. He won't put on the clean clothes people donate because he'll just dirty them out on the streets again. He won't shower at the mission (as many transients do) because it's Christian and he's not. He certainly wouldn't consider the dishwashing job offered by a downtown hotel because the town's attorney has an office in the same big complex. He hasn't begun his "rehabilitation" yet, either. "How can it start when I'm in the hospital. I'm still on the streets. I'm still homeless?"

Summer

Kreimer is having a whirlwind summer, documented by a series of calls and messages from pay phones near and far.

June 16: He's about to leave for San Francisco and the American Library Association convention, which for some reason declined his request to speak, to "distribute literature and make my presence known at the major, major, huge convention." Naturally, he's done advance work with the Bay Area media. "There's no better public relations man than me," he says.

June 18: "I'm going to give you a little scoop right here that no one knows. . . . I do have my sights set on running for governor of New Jersey."

July 1 (from San Francisco): "I was a major success out here! I must've handed out 2,000 pieces of literature. The people loved me, they loved me. . . . I got more attention even than Gloria Steinem."

July 13 (after handing out literature and hats and shirts that say "Be Kind to the Homeless" at the Democratic convention): "I ran into delegates from New Mexico, delegates from Washington, D.C., delegates from Minnesota, people from Paris. . . . They came up to me and said, 'Richard Kreimer! Two thousand miles away, 10,000 miles away, I'd know your face anywhere.' . . . It was in-cred-ible."

July 24: It's the day after a press conference outside the New Jersey Supreme Court, where Kreimer announced that he will not appeal further because "this is not one of the most intelligent U.S. Supreme Courts to put free speech and public forum issues before." He's agreed to meet at Rutgers University's library in New Brunswick, where he's been spending some time.

He looks better: his hair and beard trimmed, his facial scratches healing, his clothes cleaner. He smells better. He's surprised that people seem to treat him better when he's kempt. As for his mission, he's spent \$3,500 on the literature (namely, photocopies of newspaper articles about himself) and T-shirts he's been distributing. "If it weren't for me," he declares, "the homeless movement in the United States would have laryngitis."

He has begun to complain, however, about being hounded by the media and approached by the public. Perhaps, if he stopped holding press conferences? Nonsense, wouldn't help, Kreimer says. Anyway, he doesn't hold press conferences; he holds "public awareness sessions." And even if the media attention slackens, he says—apparently not noticing that outside northern New Jersey it largely has—it will crank up again when his book and movie appear.

What is it with Richard Kreimer, anyhow?

Some people think he's mentally ill. Kreimer says no. A 1989 letter from his brother and cousin to a Morristown police lieutenant reads, in part, "The family has tried everything to help Richard, nothing works. . . . Richard needs psychological help." The psychiatric evaluations requested by defendants in his lawsuits have been sealed and thus provide no enlightenment.

"There's no track marks on Richard Kreimer's arms," announces Kreimer, rolling up his sleeves, a favorite tactic, along with referring to himself in the third person. "I've

ever drunk a can of beer in my life. . . . Ten once. I've never had a nervous breakdown. Everyone's trying to look for a skeleton in Richard Kreimer's closet, but there isn't one."

Nevertheless, while he emphasizes that this has "nothing to do with any psychiatric problems," he has had his first appointment with a social worker, an adjunct professor at Rutgers who will help with "attitudes, emotions, priorities." And the Mental Health Association is trying to help him find housing, and then a job.

"The core issue, C-O-R-E, is, will Richard Kreimer win out over the people who want to dominate his life?" says Richard Kreimer.

Fall

David Lacouture, the MHA's outreach director for the homeless, has been ferrying Kreimer to rental apartments in a so-far fruitless search even though Kreimer is prepared to spend \$600 a month. Without a credit history, employment references or a previous address, Kreimer finds landlords are wary. The same deficiencies, Kreimer says, made him a bad bet for a mortgage when Lacouture investigated the possibility of his buying a condo. Motels are a poor solution, expensive and lacking kitchens or laundry facilities.

"He's making a good-faith effort; he's looking for housing. He's not homeless-by-choice," says Lacouture, borrowing a phrase from unsympathetic editorial writers. "But he's facing barriers, which is not unusual."

Of course, Kreimer might have an easier time if he relocated. His perception of international fame notwithstanding, the MHA's Taggart acknowledges that outside Morristown his notoriety diminishes. Yet, she says and Kreimer agrees, all his roots and contacts are here; he doesn't want to leave. "I'm a Morristownian right to my blood," he says.

It would also be helpful, he muses, if his elder brother could take him in for a couple of months. But he's been estranged from his family since the estate flap, says he hasn't spoken to his brother for eight years, won't even utter his name. Which makes matters difficult.

In a final phone interview, Kreimer sounds disheartened. If he's stuck on the streets, might he get robbed for his supposed fortune? And nights are getting chillier. Perhaps he'll have to spend the winter in some warmer place, like Florida.

"I'll tell you one thing," he says mournfully. "There's people out there right now that are taking odds. 'Kreimer's going to make it, he's going to move on to other things, he's never going to go back to the way things were.' Or 'Richard Kreimer is going to be homeless and poor again, and we're going to say we told you so.' People are taking odds." He says he doesn't like the pressure.

A few days later, he is seen hanging around the municipal lot. His clothes are too warm for the day, but not for the days to come: The leaves have begun to yellow.

They're sold on Streetwise

Monthly newspaper offers jobs — and hope — for Chicago's homeless

By Brenda Herrmann

There are enough homeless people in Chicago to fill all of the seats in the Cubs' Wrigley Field.

A lot of times people don't want to help the homeless, though. Instead, they tell them, "Get a job!" Well, now a lot of those homeless people are — they are working together selling Streetwise, a monthly newspaper written about homeless people that helps them make a living while they raise the public's awareness.

Homeless people 16 and older looking for work go to the Streetwise distribution center in the South Loop. They are given 10 free papers once a month to sell for \$1 each. They can use those profits to buy as many more issues as they want for 25 cents each. They keep the 75 cents profit.

Since Streetwise came out last month, more than 375 homeless people have found work selling the papers. After they apply and go through an

"The face of homelessness has really changed. It's you and me out there now."

—Editor Dave Whitaker

interview, they have to follow rules like wearing I.D. badges, being polite and, above all, staying sober.

"What they do on their own time is their business," Editor Dave Whitaker says. "But they've gotta be straight when they're representing Streetwise."

Vendors like Bill, a 23-year-old homeless man, move around the city trying to sell as many papers each day as they can. "It's a lot of work," says Bill, who's bright and kind but lost his home when he lost his job as a warehouse stocker. "I want to work, though. It's just hard to get a job when you don't have an address or a place to wash up." With the money he

makes from Streetwise, generally around \$30 a day, he can rent a transient hotel room and get off the streets.

Other vendors do even better. Devin Nealy has sold an average of 100 papers a day, going from making no money to making 75 bucks a day.

If he earns enough to get a place to live, he won't lose his job either, Whitaker says. "The vendors don't actually have to be living on the streets," he says. "If they need the money to keep their home, they qualify."

Although the paper has been around only a month, some vendors already have moved on to better jobs. "One of our vendors got a computer job with MCI," Whitaker says

proudly. "He was on the street selling papers and a man noticed him there every day, working hard, liked his attitude and offered him a job."

Whitaker adds: "We've got people with college degrees, a lot of young people and people of all races. The face of homelessness has really changed. It's you and me out there now."

If you can't get to the city to buy Streetwise, subscriptions are available for \$20 a year. That money goes to support the paper.

Unpaid contributors write the articles for Streetwise. Whitaker says kids are welcome to write letters and articles, but he can't guarantee they'll all be used. For subscriptions or submissions, write to Streetwise at 62 E. 13th St., Chicago 60605.

The first issue sold more than 60,000 copies — making the homeless people \$45,000 richer combined. If this keeps up, the staff hopes, there will be a lot fewer homeless someday.