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For Immediate Release

April 10, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATIONAL VOLUNTEER
ORGANIZATIONS

The Rose Garden

11:00 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Please, be seated. Well, what a great privilege it is to have you here in the Rose Garden. You're taking on the most difficult challenges that we face as a nation. You're fighting poverty, drug abuse, illiteracy, teen pregnancy, the alienation of young and old. And you're winning because you refuse to believe that it can't be done. And so I'm here to thank you. You've lived up to an ideal once given voice by Horace Mann that I've always admired. "Be ashamed to die," he said, "until you have won some victory for humanity."

Well, recently I received a letter from a man in Indiana who was forced to retire on disability because of heart problems. He was only 45 years old. And he wrote to explain that, while he couldn't take a job, he was giving his time to a nearby mental center -- mental health center, a local school and his county environment department. And he wrote this: "I guess what I'm trying to say is this -- I'm disabled, but not an invalid. And I enjoy being able to be of help." Then he went on, "I hope in some small way that I'm still able to make a contribution to this great nation of ours and, indeed, to the world as a volunteer. I hope and pray that you and I and, indeed, millions of others will strive to truly make this a kinder and gentler nation. We need that very much."

What an inspiration. The good that volunteerism does in this country every year wins countless victories for humanity, large and small. And here at the White House, we benefit from the tireless efforts of volunteers. And seated to my right are people motivated much the way you are. And I include my wife, Barbara, in that. And then there's Ella Miller sitting in the front row, who continues to serve her community, her church and in local schools. And she is 108 years old. (Applause.)

And I'm told that over half of adult Americans -- 80 million -- actively volunteer in some way in their communities. And last year that was worth almost \$150 billion in man- and woman-hours. But what you're doing goes above and beyond dollars and cents. Your work and the work of many others as motivated as yourselves is a testament to a powerful idea that, along with the many rights and privileges that distinguish us as Americans, is the shared responsibility to look after one another.

I always like to remember that there is no exercise better for the human heart than reaching down and lifting someone else up. You understand that helping the less fortunate is in everyone's best interest; that the most powerful gift we can offer anyone is a sense of purpose -- a path to self esteem; that the fabric of the family, like that of society, must forever be renewed and rewoven.

At the Inaugural, I spoke of a new engagement in the lives of others. We must seek common points where the practical and the compassionate converge. Yours is an example we seek to spread across every community, every town, every city in America.

MORE

This week I challenge every American who cares about the future of this country to get involved. Find a place or an organization or even a single life where you can make a difference for someone else. From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others. It's not simply volunteering, but the personal act of helping another individual in need, which gives us membership in a community. Giving and expecting nothing in return is what it means to be a citizen. When you volunteer you confirm your citizenship. Volunteering is an act. It's an act of heroism on a grand scale. And it matters profoundly. It does more than help people beat the odds; it changes the odds. You might say it puts the unity in community.

And today I'll be signing a proclamation to make this National Volunteer Week. But week in and week out, it will be people like you who bring the era of the offered hand to life. And I'll be establishing a program encouraging youth enterprise and service to America. But it will be your challenge to open your organizations to young people seeking meaningful service to their communities; to match need with need; to find a calling for every volunteer; and to keep reminding us that each one of us has something to give, each one of us has a gift to give -- which reminds me of an old story that Barbara likes to tell about a minister who was given a jar of peaches soaked in brandy by one of his admiring parishioners.

The minister opens the jar, takes a whiff, and says, "Oh, dear lady, you don't know how grateful I am for this gift." "Really," says the lady, "it's such a small present." "Ah," says the minister, "it's not the gift that counts. It's the spirits in which it's given." (Laughter.)

Well, the spirit of volunteerism in America is stronger than ever -- stronger than it's ever been. You know, Alfred North Whitehead once said, "With all its limitations, life in America is better and kinder than anywhere on Earth that I've ever heard of." And that's true, but we can make it better still.

We must lift away more of the limitations that remain and tap the limitless potential of the American people, through countless small victories for humanity. Together, let us give honor to the phrase, "I volunteered."

And now I'd like to ask Barbara and the group of kids and volunteers on the dais here to join me as I sign the proclamation making this National Volunteer Week. And I do it with great respect for everybody here and gratitude in my heart, as well. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

11:09 A.M. EDT

**REMARKS: VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS
MONDAY, APRIL 10, 1989
ROSE GARDEN
11:00 A.M.**

THIS IS ONLY MY THIRD ROSE GARDEN EVENT. AND THE FIRST ONE, WELL, IT WENT TO THE DOGS. MILLIE RAN IT. SO EXCUSE ME IF I SEEM A LITTLE NERVOUS. THERE'S NOTHING HARDER TO FOLLOW THAN AN ANIMAL ACT.

- 2 -

WHAT A GREAT PRIVILEGE IT IS, TO HAVE YOU HERE. YOU ARE TAKING ON THE MOST DIFFICULT CHALLENGES WE FACE AS A NATION. YOU'RE FIGHTING POVERTY; DRUG ABUSE; ILLITERACY; TEEN PREGNANCY; THE ALIENATION OF YOUNG AND OLD. AND YOU'RE WINNING -- BECAUSE YOU REFUSE TO BELIEVE IT CAN'T BE DONE.

SO I AM HERE TO THANK YOU. YOU HAVE LIVED UP TO AN IDEAL, ONCE GIVEN VOICE BY HORACE MANN, THAT I HAVE ALWAYS ADMIRER: "BE ASHAMED TO DIE," HE SAID, "UNTIL YOU HAVE WON SOME VICTORY FOR HUMANITY."

RECENTLY, I RECEIVED A LETTER FROM A MAN IN INDIANA, WHO WAS FORCED TO RETIRE ON DISABILITY BECAUSE OF HEART PROBLEMS. HE WAS 45 YEARS OLD.

HE WROTE TO EXPLAIN THAT, WHILE HE COULDN'T TAKE A JOB, HE WAS GIVING HIS TIME TO A NEARBY MENTAL HEALTH CENTER; A LOCAL SCHOOL; AND HIS COUNTY ENVIRONMENT DEPARTMENT. HE WROTE, "I GUESS WHAT I AM TRYING TO SAY IS THIS. I AM DISABLED BUT NOT [AN] INVALID, AND I ENJOY BEING ABLE TO BE OF HELP."

- 5 -

HE SAID, "I HOPE, IN SOME SMALL WAY, THAT I AM STILL ABLE TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THIS GREAT NATION OF OURS, AND INDEED TO THE WORLD... AS A VOLUNTEER. I HOPE AND PRAY THAT YOU AND I AND INDEED MILLIONS OF OTHERS WILL STRIVE TO TRULY MAKE THIS A KINDER AND GENTLER NATION. WE NEED THAT... VERY MUCH."

THE GOOD THAT VOLUNTEERISM DOES IN THIS COUNTRY EVERY YEAR WINS COUNTLESS VICTORIES FOR HUMANITY, LARGE AND SMALL.

- 6 -

HERE AT THE WHITE HOUSE, WE BENEFIT FROM THE TIRELESS EFFORTS OF VOLUNTEERS. AND SEATED TO MY RIGHT ARE PEOPLE MOTIVATED MUCH THE WAY YOU ARE. AND THEN, THERE'S ELLA MILLER -- SITTING IN THE FRONT ROW -- WHO CONTINUES TO SERVE HER COMMUNITY, HER CHURCH, AND IN LOCAL SCHOOLS -- AND SHE'S 108 YEARS OLD.

- 7 -

I'M TOLD THAT OVER HALF OF ADULT AMERICANS -- 80 MILLION -- ACTIVELY VOLUNTEER IN SOME WAY IN THEIR COMMUNITIES. LAST YEAR, THAT WAS WORTH ALMOST 150 BILLION DOLLARS IN MAN- AND WOMAN-HOURS.

BUT WHAT YOU'RE DOING GOES ABOVE AND BEYOND DOLLARS AND CENTS.

- 8 -

YOUR WORK -- AND THE WORK OF MANY OTHERS AS MOTIVATED AS YOURSELVES -- IS A TESTAMENT TO A POWERFUL IDEA: THAT ALONG WITH THE MANY RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES THAT DISTINGUISH US AS AMERICANS, IS THE SHARED RESPONSIBILITY TO LOOK AFTER ONE ANOTHER. I ALWAYS LIKE TO REMEMBER THAT THERE IS NO EXERCISE BETTER FOR THE HUMAN HEART THAN REACHING DOWN, AND LIFTING SOMEONE ELSE UP.

- 9 -

YOU UNDERSTAND THAT HELPING THE LESS FORTUNATE IS IN EVERYONE'S BEST INTEREST. THAT THE MOST POWERFUL GIFT WE CAN OFFER ANYONE IS A SENSE OF PURPOSE -- A PATH TO SELF-ESTEEM. THAT THE FABRIC OF THE FAMILY -- LIKE THAT OF SOCIETY -- MUST FOREVER BE RENEWED AND RE-WOVEN.

AT THE INAUGURAL, I SPOKE OF A NEW ENGAGEMENT IN THE LIVES OF OTHERS. WE MUST SEEK COMMON POINTS WHERE THE PRACTICAL AND THE COMPASSIONATE CONVERGE.

- 10 -

YOURS IS AN EXAMPLE WE SEEK TO SPREAD ACROSS EVERY COMMUNITY, EVERY TOWN, EVERY CITY IN AMERICA.

THIS WEEK, I CHALLENGE EVERY AMERICAN WHO CARES ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY, TO GET INVOLVED. FIND A PLACE, OR AN ORGANIZATION, OR EVEN A SINGLE LIFE, WHERE YOU CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE FOR SOMEONE ELSE. FROM NOW ON, IN AMERICA, ANY DEFINITION OF A SUCCESSFUL LIFE MUST INCLUDE SERVING OTHERS.

- 11 -

IT IS NOT SIMPLY VOLUNTEERING, BUT THE PERSONAL ACT OF HELPING ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL IN NEED, WHICH GIVES US MEMBERSHIP IN A COMMUNITY. GIVING AND EXPECTING NOTHING IN RETURN IS WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A CITIZEN. WHEN YOU VOLUNTEER, YOU CONFIRM YOUR CITIZENSHIP.

VOLUNTEERING IS AN ACT OF HEROISM ON A HUMAN SCALE -- AND IT MATTERS PROFOUNDLY. IT DOES MORE THAN HELP PEOPLE BEAT THE ODDS -- IT CHANGES THE ODDS. YOU MIGHT SAY IT PUTS THE UNITY IN COMMUNITY.

- 12 -

TODAY, I'LL BE SIGNING A PROCLAMATION, TO MAKE THIS NATIONAL VOLUNTEER WEEK. BUT WEEK IN AND WEEK OUT, IT WILL BE PEOPLE LIKE YOU WHO BRING THE "ERA OF THE OFFERED HAND" TO LIFE.

AND I WILL BE ESTABLISHING A PROGRAM ENCOURAGING YOUTH ENTERPRISE AND SERVICE TO AMERICA. BUT IT WILL BE YOUR CHALLENGE TO OPEN YOUR ORGANIZATIONS TO YOUNG PEOPLE SEEKING MEANINGFUL SERVICE TO THEIR COMMUNITIES.

TO MATCH NEED WITH NEED -- TO FIND A CALLING FOR EVERY VOLUNTEER -- AND TO KEEP REMINDING US, THAT EACH ONE OF US HAS A GIFT TO GIVE.

WHICH REMINDS ME OF AN OLD STORY THAT BAR LIKES TO TELL, ABOUT A MINISTER WHO WAS GIVEN A JAR OF PEACHES SOAKED IN BRANDY BY ONE OF HIS ADMIRING PARISHIONERS.

THE MINISTER OPENS THE JAR, TAKES A WHIFF, AND SAYS, "OH, DEAR LADY, YOU DON'T KNOW HOW GRATEFUL I AM FOR THIS GIFT." "REALLY," SAYS THE LADY, "IT'S SUCH A SMALL PRESENT."

"AH," SAYS THE MINISTER, "IT'S NOT THE GIFT THAT COUNTS. IT'S THE SPIRITS IN WHICH IT IS GIVEN."

WELL, THE SPIRIT OF VOLUNTEERISM IN AMERICA IS STRONGER THAN EVER.

- 15 -

YOU KNOW, ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD ONCE SAID, "WITH ALL ITS LIMITATIONS, LIFE IN AMERICA IS BETTER AND KINDER THAN ANYWHERE ON EARTH THAT I HAVE EVER HEARD OF."

THAT'S TRUE. BUT WE CAN MAKE IT BETTER STILL. WE MUST LIFT AWAY MORE OF THE LIMITATIONS THAT REMAIN -- AND TAP THE LIMITLESS POTENTIAL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- THROUGH COUNTLESS SMALL VICTORIES FOR HUMANITY.

- 16 -

TOGETHER, LET US GIVE HONOR TO THE PHRASE: I VOLUNTEERED.

I'D LIKE TO ASK BARBARA -- AND THE GROUP OF KIDS AND VOLUNTEERS ON THE DAIS, HERE -- TO JOIN ME AS I SIGN THE PROCLAMATION MAKING THIS NATIONAL VOLUNTEER WEEK.

#

Photocopy-Preservation

**TABLE 1.4
 DISTRIBUTION OF VOLUNTEER JOBS* IN THE PAST MONTH**

Jobs	Percentage	Jobs	Percentage
Aide/assistant to paid employee	6.2	Assistant at nursing home	2.4
Aide to clergy	4.0	Visiting nurse	0.4
Assisting the elderly or handicapped	7.7	Fire or rescue squad volunteer	0.7
Baby-sitting (not part of an organization or group)	5.9	Coach, director, recreational volunteer	3.3
Choir member or director	2.0	Librarian or aide	0.6
Church usher	1.5	Teacher or tutor (not as aide to paid employee)	3.5
Deacon or Deaconess	1.0	Youth group leader or aide	3.3
Parish visitor or missionary	0.9	Community coordinator	1.2
Sunday school or Bible teacher	3.3	Counselor (Big Brother/Big Sister, substance abuse prevention)	0.9
Driver	2.5	Social service counselor	0.6
Fund raising for local organization	5.3	Arts volunteer (theater, arts, and music)	1.6
Board member or trustee	2.3	Usher, guide, or tour leader	0.4
Office personnel, office work, or telephone answering	2.1	Civic or social group spokesperson	1.1
Organization officer (elected or appointed)	1.3	Meeting or convention planner	1.7
Committee member	4.9	Poll taker	0.4
Campaign worker or election day worker	1.6	Other	1.3
Cleaning or janitorial work	1.3	Don't know	32.7
Blood bank or blood donation station	1.2		

* For the 39 percent of respondents who did volunteer work in the past month.

Question: *In which of these areas have you done some volunteer work in the past month?*

**TABLE 1.5
 VOLUNTEERS: NUMBER, HOURS, AND DOLLAR VALUE IN 1987**

Volunteer indicator	Value
Civilian noninstitutional population 18 years old or older (March 1988, in millions)	176.7
Volunteers (percentage of population)	45.3
Volunteers (in millions)	80.0
Average weekly hours per volunteer	4.7
Average annual hours per volunteer	244.4
Annual hours volunteered (in millions)	19,552.0
Annual hours volunteered, excluding informal volunteering (in millions)	14,890.7
Full time equivalent employment, excluding informal volunteering, at 1,700 hours per year per employee (in thousands)	8,759.0
Assigned dollar value, excluding informal volunteering, at \$10.05 per hour* (in billions of dollars)	149.8

**TABLE 1.6
 DISTRIBUTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS AS A PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME**

Type of Respondent and Percentage of Household Income Contributed	All Households (Percent)	Contributing Households (Percent)	Percentage of Respondents Who Volunteered
All	100.0	NA	45.3
Noncontributors	28.9	NA	19.6
All contributors	71.0	NA	55.8
Contributors reporting dollar amount and income	62.8	100.0	56.6
Gave less than 1 percent	32.1	51.1	49.2
Gave 1-1.99 percent	11.3	18.0	56.9
Gave 2-2.99 percent	5.3	8.5	57.0
Gave 3-4.99 percent	5.2	8.4	71.0
Gave 5 percent or more	8.7	13.9	74.8

*The average hourly wage for nonagricultural workers in 1987 as published in the Economic Report of the President increased by 12 percent to estimate fringe benefits.

Totals may vary from 100 percent because of rounding

NA = Not applicable.

R.P. quote → he made it up
might of heard it a long time ago.
NHL Prayer Breakfast speech
2/2/89

(Lange/Blessey)
April 6, 1989
10:00 a.m.
[VOLUNT.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS
MONDAY, APRIL 10, 1989
ROSE GARDEN
[TIME] 11:00 a.m. Peggy Swift

Ellen from
sched. calling me.

Ellen from sched.
Mrs Bush's
Press Off.

[[This is only my ^{third} [second] Rose Garden event. The first one,
well, it went to the dogs. Millie pretty much ran it. So excuse
me if I seem a little nervous. There's nothing harder to follow
than an animal act.]]

Sched

It is a pleasure, and a great privilege, to have you here.
You've taken on the most difficult challenges we face as a
nation. You're fighting poverty; substance abuse; illiteracy;
teen pregnancy; the alienation of young and old. And you're
winning.

15
20
25

So I am here to thank you. You have lived up to an ideal,
once given voice by Horace Mann, that I have always admired: "Be
ashamed to die," he said, "until you have won some victory for
humanity."

The Ham Book
of Quotations
p. 208

Quoted
back

"Touching"
[anec.] ⇒ to come from ONS?

The good that volunteerism does in this country every year
wins many victories for humanity, large and small. I'm told that

Independent Sector

80 mill from I.S.
Nancy V. ACTION
634-9108
2
80

OWS
Newswatch
PD

Independent Sector

over half of adult Americans -- 89 million -- actively volunteer in some way in their communities. Last year, that was worth almost ~~80~~ billion dollars]. [in man- and woman-hours] ~~149.8~~

But what you're doing goes above and beyond dollars and cents. Your work -- and the work of many others as motivated as yourselves -- is a testament to a powerful idea: that among the many rights and privileges we share as Americans, we share a responsibility to look after one another.

Helping elevate

You understand that the empowerment of the less fortunate is in everyone's best interest. That the most powerful gift we can offer anyone is a sense of purpose -- a path to self-esteem. That the fabric of the family -- like that of society -- must forever be renewed and re-woven.

Political Candidates
Every Candidate
I must

Inaugural Address
P. 2

At the Inaugural, I spoke of a new engagement in the lives of others. We must seek common points where the practical and the compassionate converge. Yours is an example we seek to spread across every community, every town, every city in America.

This week, I challenge every American who cares about the future of this country, to get involved. Find a place, or an organization, or even a single life, where you can make a difference for someone else. From now on, in America, our idea of a successful life must include serving others.

Volunteering is an act of heroism on a human scale -- and it matters profoundly. It does more than help people beat the odds -- it changes the odds. You might say it puts the unity in community.

Today, I'll be signing a proclamation, to make this National Volunteer Week. But week in and week out, it will be people like you who bring the "era of the offered hand" to life. And I will be establishing a program to encourage youth to enter service. But it will be your challenge to make room for these young people in your organizations. To match need with need. And to keep reminding us, that all of us have gifts to give.

Which reminds me of an old story that Bar likes to tell, about a minister who was given a jar of peaches soaked in brandy by one of his admiring parishioners. The minister opens the jar, takes a whiff, and says, "Oh, dear lady, you don't know how grateful I am for this gift." "Really," says the lady, "it's such a small present."

"Ah," says the minister, "it's not the gift that counts. It's the spirits in which it is given."

Alfred North Whitehead once said that, "With all its limitations, life in America is better and kinder than anywhere

X

she said

Mrs Bush's speech

Quoted Back

The Great
Quotations
p. 757

British philosopher
Mrs Bush's speech
Memorial
Lunch Center
12/2/86
p. 22

4
on earth that I have ever heard of." That's true. But we can
make it better still. We must lift away more of the limitations
that remain -- and tap the limitless potential of the American
people -- through countless small victories for humanity.

Handwritten notes:
C...
...
...

I will now sign the proclamation...

the
Great
quotations

compiled by George Seldes

with an introduction by J. Donald Adams

A CAESAR-STUART BOOK : LYLE STUART, NEW YORK

You say that freedom of utterance is not for time of stress, and I reply with the sad truth that only in time of stress is freedom of utterance in danger . . . Only when free utterance is suppressed is it needed, and when it is needed it is most vital to justice. *Ibid.*

Put fear out of your heart. This nation will survive, this state will prosper, the orderly business of life will go forward if only men can speak in whatever way given them to utter what their hearts hold—by voice, by posted card, by letters or by press. Reason never has failed men. Only force and oppression have made the wrecks in the world. *Ibid.*

Alfred North Whitehead

(1861-1947)

English philosopher

There are no whole truths: all truths are half-truths. It is trying to treat them as whole truths that plays the devil.

Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead.
As recorded by Lucien Price. Atlantic Monthly Press, 1954.

Responsibility for a social system is the groundwork of civilization. Without a society in which life and property are to some extent secure, existence can continue only at the lowest levels—you cannot have a good life for those you love, nor can you devote your energies to activity on the higher level. *Ibid.*

I consider Christian theology to be one of the great disasters of the human race . . . It would be impossible to imagine anything more un-Christlike than Christian theology. Christ probably couldn't have understood it. *Ibid.*

The Reformation was one of the most colossal failures in history; it threw over-

board what makes the Church tolerable and even gracious; namely, its esthetic appeal; but kept its barbarous theology. *Ibid.*

The vitality of thought is in adventure. *Ideas won't keep.* Something must be done about them. When the idea is new, its custodians have fervor, live for it, and, if need be, die for it. *Ibid.*

An aristocracy that shirks its leadership is done for. Its only excuse for existence is that it takes the lead. *Ibid.*

Your diffusion of literacy and average comfort and well-being among the masses, in my opinion, is one of the major achievements in human history . . . With all its limitations, life in America is better and kinder than anywhere on earth that I have ever heard of. *Ibid.*

Art flourishes where there is a sense of adventure, a sense of nothing having been done before, of complete freedom to experiment; but when caution comes in you get repetition, and repetition is the death of art. *Ibid.*

What is morality in any given time or place? It is what the majority then and there happen to like and immorality is what they dislike. *Ibid.*

My main thesis is that a social system is kept together by the blind force of instinctive actions, and of instinctive emotions clustered around habits and prejudices. It is therefore not true that any advance in the scale of culture inevitably tends to the preservation of society. On the whole, the contrary is more often the case, and any survey of nature confirms this conclusion. A new element in life renders in many ways the operation of the old instincts unsuitable. . . . Mankind misses its opportunities, and

5/6/89 Volunteer Ex.

Boy Scouts 530-9360
Bethesda

Salvation Army 626-0920
783-9085

Intake counselor

Bob Truse/boll → put me in touch
w/ corps

Los Angeles 213
Boy Scouts 413 4400

Salvation Army 620-1270
627-5571
[Barry] Beverly Ventris

Seattle, WA 206

Big Brother / Big Sister 4161-3638

Loretta

→ Chris

Salvation Army 587-0503

~~9/2/89 Rose Garden w/ P.M. of Japan~~

1/24/89 Tossed ball to Millie

Paul Rollig 7988

~~Former~~ Big Brother

Christopher - Seattle

4/6/89 Independent Sector

Table 1.5 p. 8

Giving & Volunteering in U.S.
Survey by Gallup Poll for I.S.

% of population volunteer 45.3% of Amer.

80 mill. volunteers

avg. weekly hrs per vol. 4.7

avg. annual hrs per vol. ~~20~~ 244.4

annual hrs. volunteered in millions 19,552
19,552,000,000 hrs.

assigned \$ value excluding informal volunteering
@ \$10.06 per hr. → (avg. hourly wage for non-agricultural workers)
in billions \$149.8 billion in 1987
as published in Econ. Report of Pres.

"The 14.9 bill. hrs. of formal volunteering represented an equivalent of 8.8 million employees at an estimated value of \$150 bill."

increased by 12%
to estimate fringe benefit

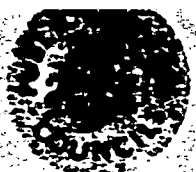
To paraphrase W. H. Auden, " We are here to help others, but I don't know what the others are here for". Like many quips, this one makes an important point. For too long we have been led to believe that the least fortunate among us have no special talents and abilities. We generally think of the physically, economically and emotionally disadvantaged as recipients of service, not givers. But, as we all know, it is better to give than to receive, and this is no less true for the disadvantaged than it is for the rest of us. I firmly believe that every young person, whatever his or her background, whatever his or her condition, whatever his or her circumstances, has gifts to give to his fellow human beings.

In thinking, as many of us unwittingly do, that the disadvantaged have no gifts to give, we devalue them and diminish ourselves. Stories abound of young people who overcame difficulties and tribulations to become valuable contributors to the lives of others. Let me give just a few examples.

By her own admission, 18 year-old Pamela Runions was a troubled youngster. She skipped school, slept in class, never did her homework and harassed other children. Then she enrolled in the alternative education program at Douglass Community School, a unique school that pairs troubled young people with disabled children. Pam became a tutor to the disabled children. They grew to respect and love Pam. Pam grew to love and respect them. And, miraculously, Pam's own performance in school dramatically improved. It seems that all Pam needed was a sense that she was needed, that despite her own problems, she could contribute something meaningful to the lives of others.

Shelly Spell is a 17 year-old high school student in Houston. Shelly was an abused child. When she sought counseling and other help, she had difficulty finding it. Rather than being defeated, Shelly started her own program, Teens Against Child Abuse, or TACA. TACA is a support group and public awareness organization to get teenagers involved in the prevention of child abuse. There are plans to bring TACA to other schools in the near future.

Delynn Jones of Lexington Kentucky is a high school senior who recovered from despair and near death in an accident by starting a hospital garden for other recovering patients. By investing their energy in other living things that literally bore fruit, Delynn found that he and the other patients recovered their own will to live.



Memo From the Public Affairs Council

March 27, 1989

To: Clark Ervin
From: Ray Hoewing
President, Public Affairs Council

Notes

The Presidents' speech should:

- Challenge business - make CEO'S uncomfortable (that is, have a hard "edge" -- a not "smoke-and-mirrors" tone).
- Confront the undeniable -- business commitment to its communities has lagged in recent years for understandable, but no longer sufficient, reasons (competitive pressures, etc.).
- Seek business involvement not because it is in the public interest (though that too) but mainly because it is in business' self-interest.
- Make clear the Bush program will go beyond publicity, awards, "P.R."
- Suggest that the emphasis will not only be to stimulate more business involvement but to provide models/yardsticks/case studies of effective involvement.
- Note that -- despite many instances of laudable business activity -- many business firms have yet to become engaged.

Some other suggestions/pointers/speech lines:

- Short-run profitability cannot be the only criterion for business in a society where cities are rampant with drugs, a public school system often fails to educate and hundreds of thousands are homeless.
- The speech must go beyond exhortation. (For example: "Next month I will be assembling a group of chief executive officers ..." "Because this Administration is giving top priority to winning

the war against drugs and in restoring our public education system to its previous standards of excellence, I have appointed two task forces of business people to spearhead business efforts to address these critical issues").

- Business must apply hard-headed business principles to its social involvement -- for example, researching needs, establishing objectives, measuring results. Mere "activity", no matter how well intentioned, is not sufficient.
- Business must become more actively and intelligently involved, not because we wish it would, but because it will not survive as viable, profitable enterprises over the long haul in a society that is failing.
- We must learn what business is doing that is truly making a difference and then find ways to help replicate widely.
- A few examples of business efforts which have made a difference (and which have been clearly documented) should be considered for mentioning.

Perceptions and realities to keep in mind:

- Remember that most serious and knowledgeable people in business (at both CEO and "program manager" level) view Reagan PSI as essentially a public relations effort doing little harm but also not much good.
- Therefore, the President should convey that the program he is undertaking will be qualitatively and substantively different than Reagan PSI efforts.
- A real risk or danger: leaving the impression that the President views private sector programs as the way to "off load" the responsibilities for social programs (thus replaying the near-fatal impressions created by Reagan's people in 1981-82).
- One key word is "partnership" (but speak to this point: many business people have concluded that government means by partnership, "Business, you put up the money. Government will define and control the agenda and the program.").
- Beware of excessive poor mouthing. While business supports fiscal integrity, it wants to know that the Federal Government is not some pitiable, penniless giant but rather is committed to finding/diverting additional government resources when they are indisputably required.

- CEOs, particularly, will be looking for evidence that the President understands and accepts that in a democracy government is accountable for social progress and business cannot and must not pre-empt decision-making which properly belongs to political leadership.
- Acknowledge in no uncertain terms that under the most optimistic scenario about social problems the public sector is by far and away the "heavy" compared to the private sector (excellent summary statistics and exposition of this point have come recently from Brian O'Connell of Independent Sector).

DRAFT

Perhaps no foreign observer of American society has proved to be more insightful and prescient than Alexis de Tocqueville. More than a century ago de Tocqueville foresaw and lamented the gradual transfer of responsibility for America's social and economic problems from the people to the government. In words that were prophetic he wrote:

It is easy to foresee that the time is drawing near when man will be less and less able to produce of himself alone, the common necessities of life. The task of the governing power will therefore perpetually increase, and its very efforts will extend it every day. The more it stands in the place of associations, the more will individuals, losing the notion of combining together, require its assistance: these are causes and effects which increasingly engender each other.

In other words, as men and women become more and more dependent upon government to solve their problems, they would lose the initiative, dynamism, creativity and resolution that lay at the heart of America's greatness. How right de Tocqueville was. Simply look at postwar American history.

Responding to real and pressing human needs and motivated by compassion and concern, the federal government has spent billions and billions of dollars, written regulation after regulation and devised program after program. But, my fellow Americans, let us be honest with ourselves. Despite these well-intentioned programs, plans and initiatives, the age-old scourges of poverty, hunger and illiteracy are still with us and growing worse; and, if those were not enough, new problems have arisen: homelessness, rampant drug abuse, teenage pregnancies and AIDS. After so much government involvement, aren't they even worse off today than they were yesterday?

Government is simply too bureaucratic, too inefficient and too removed from where the problems are to make a positive difference in our lives. And government has too few resources and too little vision and drive. Finally, it is the irrepressible tendency of governments to control and dictate all that they touch, in the process stifling individual creativity and initiative.

But let me be clear. I have said it before; I will say it again. "I do not hate government." I do not agree with those who say that government has no role to play in helping to solve the nation's socio-economic problems. My friends, government has a critical role to play, critical, but not sufficient.

The fallacy of contemporary thinking lies in the notion that only government can solve these problems. Big as it is, powerful as it is, resourceful as it is, government alone cannot solve these problems. It is time for us to treat national problems as just

DRAFT

L. . . . T

that, "national" problems, not " federal" problems, and not "government" problems. All of the human and institutional forces at our disposal must be deployed if we are successfully to combat the army of problems that we face. To insist, as some do, that only the government address these issues is not unlike expecting a general to win a war with only his tanks. My friends, these problems are so formidable and their solution is so inscrutable that we need to deploy not only our tanks, but our planes, our ships, our submarines, our infantry, in short, our entire arsenal.

Schools and colleges, churches and synagogues, businesses and labor unions, civic groups and philanthropic organizations, federal, state and local governments and individual men and women, the true arsenal of democracy, must work together if progress is to be made in the battle against the socio-economic problems that now bedevil and defy us.

I read an editorial recently which quoted a young man who had become involved in voluntary community service as saying that he had volunteered because he had been asked to do so. If it takes asking, today I stand before you to ask for your support in bettering the community in which you live and work. To employers, I challenge you to establish a literacy program or a day care center for the benefit of your workers. To local civic groups, I challenge you to "adopt" a local school, hospital or nursing home. To churches and synagogues, I challenge you to organize food drives for the hungry and homeless. To each individual man and woman in America, I ask you to give not just some of your money, but far more important, some of your time, talent, energy and creativity to bettering the lot of just one other person in your community.

I believe with all my heart that each of you will accept and rise to this challenge. No people on earth are more compassionate and more caring, more willing to engage themselves in each others' lives for good than are Americans. Working together, each in his or her own unique way, whatondrous progress we can make in addressing the nation's problems.

I know that many of you are already contributing somehow to your communities. A recent study showed that the private sector contributed approximately 94 billion dollars to charity in 1987. That same year, approximately 80 million adults gave a total of nearly 20 billion hours of volunteer time, the dollar value of which was approximately 150 billion dollars.

Impressive as these figures are, we can do more. We should do more. We must do more. This study confirms my belief that Americans are ready and willing to do more. Of the three-fourths of respondents to the survey who believed that they should volunteer to help others, 50 percent did not volunteer in the past year. And three-fourths of the respondents reported that they had not refused to volunteer when asked, yet only 45 percent

-DRAFT-

reported volunteering, suggesting that more people will serve if asked to do so.

There are some who say that America's decline is inevitable, that the end of the American century is nigh and that the dynamic, creative energy which has carried us so far for so long is spent. But I don't believe that for a minute, and neither do most of you. As we are challenged on the world stage by beguiling new leaders and explosive new economic dynamos, we must rediscover within ourselves the idealism and spirit which made of a tiny band of immigrants a great nation.

To those among the doomsdayers who are our friends, I say, "Do not abandon hope." To those among them who are our adversaries, I say, "Do not underestimate our will and ability." To all I say in the words of Pope Pius XI, "The American people have a genius for great and unselfish deeds. Into the hands of America, God has placed an afflicted mankind."

The genius of America, the greatness of America and, yes, the salvation of America is not its government, but its people. Therefore, with abundant faith and firm conviction in your compassion and your ability, I commend into your hands our destiny.

My fellow Americans, I would like [today] to address an issue of profound importance to the Nation and its future, the crisis facing our young people. But rather than reciting the dismal statistics, which are all too familiar, the alarming number of teenage pregnancies, the shocking dropout rate, the legion of functionally illiterate youngsters, the scores of gang members, runaways, drug addicts and suicides, I want to speak to what I believe to be one of the principal causes of this crisis and to suggest a solution.

DRAFT

I was fortunate enough to be blessed with a large and loving family. My father and mother were very much the caring, concerned and ever present parents one hopes for in life. And, in addition to Mother and Father, there were three brothers and a sister to watch over me and share my joys and sorrows. And if they were not enough, I could count on scores of other relatives, friends and acquaintances for strength and support, not to mention my teachers, my coaches and my priest. Not everyone is so lucky.

Indeed, many of our young people come from broken homes. The Census Bureau has reported that the proportion of children living with only one parent has increased dramatically since 1980. Overall 15.3 million children of all races live in one-parent households, while 1.9 million others live with neither parent. When asked, one youngster responded that he was more saddened by the prospect of never seeing television again than by the prospect of never seeing his father again. In short, the model of the nurturing nuclear family seems to be obsolete.

Add to the disintegration of the Family the decline in moral standards, civic virtue and religious faith. Sex, violence, materialism and selfishness are glorified and worshipped, not integrity, patriotism and God.

The long and the short of these developments is that young people feel that they no longer have anyone or anything to believe in. In a desperate search for something to lean on and someplace to escape to, our children are turning to crime, drugs and promiscuity. In a recent interview a Los Angeles gang member described in a rough but eloquent way why he and his fellows joined a gang. He said, "...human nature wants to be accepted. A human being gives less of a damn what he is accepted into. At that age - eleven to seventeen - all kids want to belong. They are un-people." And so many of us have seen interviews with teen mothers who explained their condition by saying that they wanted someone to love them and be loved by them.

I have said that I am haunted by the children out there suffering in the mean streets. There is a void in the hearts and minds of young people in America. And let's face it. That void cannot be filled by another government program, no matter how well-funded or well-intentioned. They desperately need someone to love them,

someone to care about them, someone to affirm their worth as human beings.

My friends, I have heard the cries of the un-people. That is why I have today acted in a dramatic, even revolutionary attempt to recapture and redeem our youth. Critical to the success of our program will be the willingness of adults to serve as mentors and role models for young people in their communities. By tutoring them, counseling them and simply spending time with them, adults show kids that they are intrinsically worthwhile. We must teach them to find self-esteem not in crime, drugs, material possessions and sex, but in themselves, in the better angels of our nature.

their

DRAFT

5/31/89 Volunteer Meeting
1000 pts of letters

Theme: Pri. sector has resources to solve problems; Evidence: tot. vol. hrs. Independent Sector → wrong

From now on in America!

Any definition of a ~~successful~~ successful life includes ~~rather~~ public service.
matchings need w/ need everybody has New enthusiasm

inter-weaving of society → wire all family

Announcing YES initiative

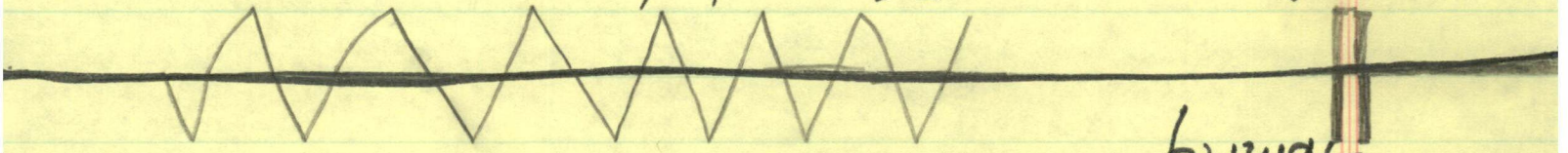
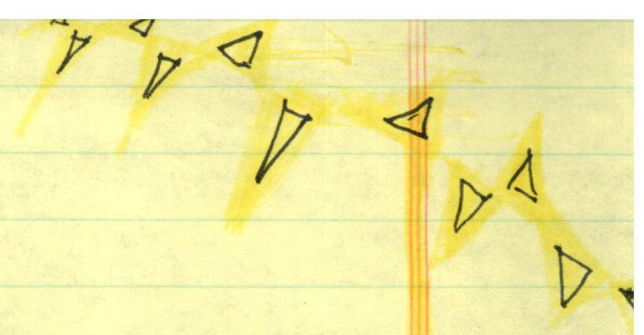
125-450 leaders in volunteer organizations exemplifying helping neighbor

3:00pm Policy:

GB: RR as T. Jeff: James Madison

Policy makers look at it as interesting idea but not as a policy

Frs to A. Offit



[Food Bank in San Antonio
retired citizens filling baskets]

The researchers would like
to be included in all ~~editing~~ ~~and~~
~~the~~ editing ~~but~~ meeting now

Points of Light Foundation proposal

Volunteer Action Heard luncheon

Rose Garden luncheon 10:00

150 leaders of vol. organizations
introduce L/ES

more difficult for organizations to
get children meaningful work than
it is to recruit youth.
Emphasis on finding good places

10% of Blue Cross/Blue Shield are
members for Boys & Girls Clubs

B & G Club - one of the only field
tried of ~~public~~ social
programs for teaching children
values of raising their self-esteem

→ All young people have gifts to share
- disabled, delinquent, dropout, anything -
all have something to share

power to help raise self-esteem

L/ES is vehicle to tell people there
is something special

CB's view of govt. -
not all evil
can be cheerleader, challenger

Maybe there ought to be more
focus on creating spin answers
for the Q & A to make a
sound byte.

Suggest that Petersmeyer
meet w/ Martin to
give catchy phrases
to repeat

S. Martin
Petersmeyer

Bring some down about kid
who's self-esteem was boosted
b/c of the mentor program.

Ask for letters to local vol.
grp. or have regional news
cover response

- Target problems unique to each
community

A Day ~~in the~~ For All to Volunteer

1st Pres. ask for letter to local volunteer or media group.

2nd Coverage across the country on response

3rd Organize day all who responded meet & work on causes unique to that community.

- Coverage across nation on many different responses.

- Perhaps make a PSA or video flashing to all the diff. responses. Present to people to encourage further involvement

Rose Garden Ceremony - 11⁰⁰ AM 4/12.

Suggested Talking Points (for YES Initiative, pending approval)

- As existing outlets for community service, you are being amplified and also honored.
- Use this opportunity to ask existing service programs to expand their capacity in order to absorb young volunteers in meaningful service programs.
- To thank these organizations for doing their part in stressing the notion that to improve the life in America, we must attack the most fundamental socio-economic problems in the country at their source: the disintegration of communities and families and the resulting sense of loss of self-esteem among young people. Each person should be made to feel a part of the "social compact," with an obligation to do his or her part to better his or her community.
- All young people have gifts to give and the nation is now in need of these gifts.
- All young people between the ages of kindergarten to 25 (students, drop-outs, minorities, poor, affluent, disabled and delinquent) should engage themselves in community service.
- Young people have as much ability as adults to evaluate their own community needs and to devise and implement strategies to meet those needs.
- It is critical to the nation's future and to the character of a young person to instill at an early age the notion that service to others is a necessary part of any definition of a successful life.
- Service to others builds self-esteem. Lack of self-esteem is at the very heart of many of the problems of youth.

CEO and volunteer coordinator from 65 organizations attending

deTocqueville Quotes

"Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association." (p. 114)

"If men living in democratic countries . . . never acquired the habit of forming associations in ordinary life, civilization itself would be endangered." (p. 115)

"[B]ut what political power could ever carry on the vast multitude of lesser undertakings which the American citizens perform every day, with the assistance of the principle of association?" (p.116)

"The more it [government] stands in the place of associations, the more will individuals, losing the notion of combining together, require its assistance: these are causes and effects that unceasingly create each other." (p. 116)

"The first time I heard in the United States that a hundred thousand men had bound themselves publicly to abstain from spiritous liquors, it appeared to me more like a joke than a serious engagement, and I did not at once perceive why these temperate citizens could not content themselves with drinking water by their own firesides. I at last understood that these hundred thousand Americans, alarmed by the progress of drunkenness around them, had made up their minds to patronize [i.e. promote] temperance. They acted in just the same way as a man of high rank who should dress very plainly in order to inspire the humbler orders with a contempt of luxury. It is probable that if these hundred thousand men had lived in France, each of them would singly have memorialized [i.e. called upon] the government to watch the public houses all over the kingdom." (p. 118)

"This . . . country is the only one in the world where the continual exercise of the right of association has been introduced into civil life and where all the advantages which civilization can confer are procured by means of it." (p. 123)

April 3, 1989

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Anecdotes for Volunteer Week from Mrs Bush's office

Helen Keller said, "literature kept her from being disenfranchised from life."

Look up and not down
Look out and not in
Look forward and not back
And lend a hand

Edward Everett Hale

"A community in unity."

Alonzo Crim
Atlanta, Georgia School Superintendent

Young Ralph Waldo Emerson offered to help a man chopping wood one day. But the man told him that the job was too big for the young boy. After being turned down repeatedly young Ralph pleaded, "Well, you could at least let me do the moaning and groaning." [Mrs Bush then says, "And that's how it is for me with so many of the causes I care about. Other people do the work, and I get to make the supporting noises."

Almost half of all Americans -- about 89 million people -- involving themselves in worthy causes and contributing almost \$80 billion last year.

Mrs Bush
Sloane Kettering Hospital

"As I grow older, I don't listen as much to what people say. I just watch what they do."

Andrew Carnegie

"A few years ago, during one of New York's monumental blizzards, A group volunteers in the chaplains office who conducted Saturday services for Jewish patients showed up despite the severe inclemency. Understand these were Orthodox Jews, which meant they walked to the hospital."

Mrs Bush
Sloane Kettering Hospital

"I understand when Judith Garden retired from the florist business some 11 years ago, Laurence Rockefeller suggested that she come and start some sort of little flower activity at memorial. Some little activity! This woman started an endowment called "The Fresh Flower Fund;" and ever since, she and about 25 other volunteers have worked daily on magnificent flower arrangements which they then place in 95 different public locations in the hospital. And a flower welcomes each incoming patient to his or her room."

Mrs Bush
Sloane Kittering Hospital

"A few years ago, one of the volunteers who works on recruiting blood donors from within the hospital was giving her spiel to a group of people visiting an adult patient. Well, unbeknownst to that volunteer, the patient was a police officer from Long Island, and so were his visitors. Those policemen apparently went home and spread the word, because for the next three consecutive Saturdays, busloads of policemen came here to donate blood. So when I say that everyone has something to give, I mean it."

Mrs Bush
Sloane Kettering Hospital

"With all its limitations, life in America is better and kinder than anywhere on earth that I have ever heard of."

Alfred North Whitehead

There's an old story about the minister who was given a jar of peaches soaked in brandy by one of his most admiring parishioners. The minister opened the jar, took a whiff, and said, "O dear lady, you don't know how grateful I am for this."

"Really," said the lady, "it's such a small present."

"But you don't understand," said the minister, "it's not the gist that counts. It's the spirit in which it is given!"

Mrs Bush
Sloane Kittering Hospital

BLACK WOMEN: PORTRAITS OF ACHIEVEMENT

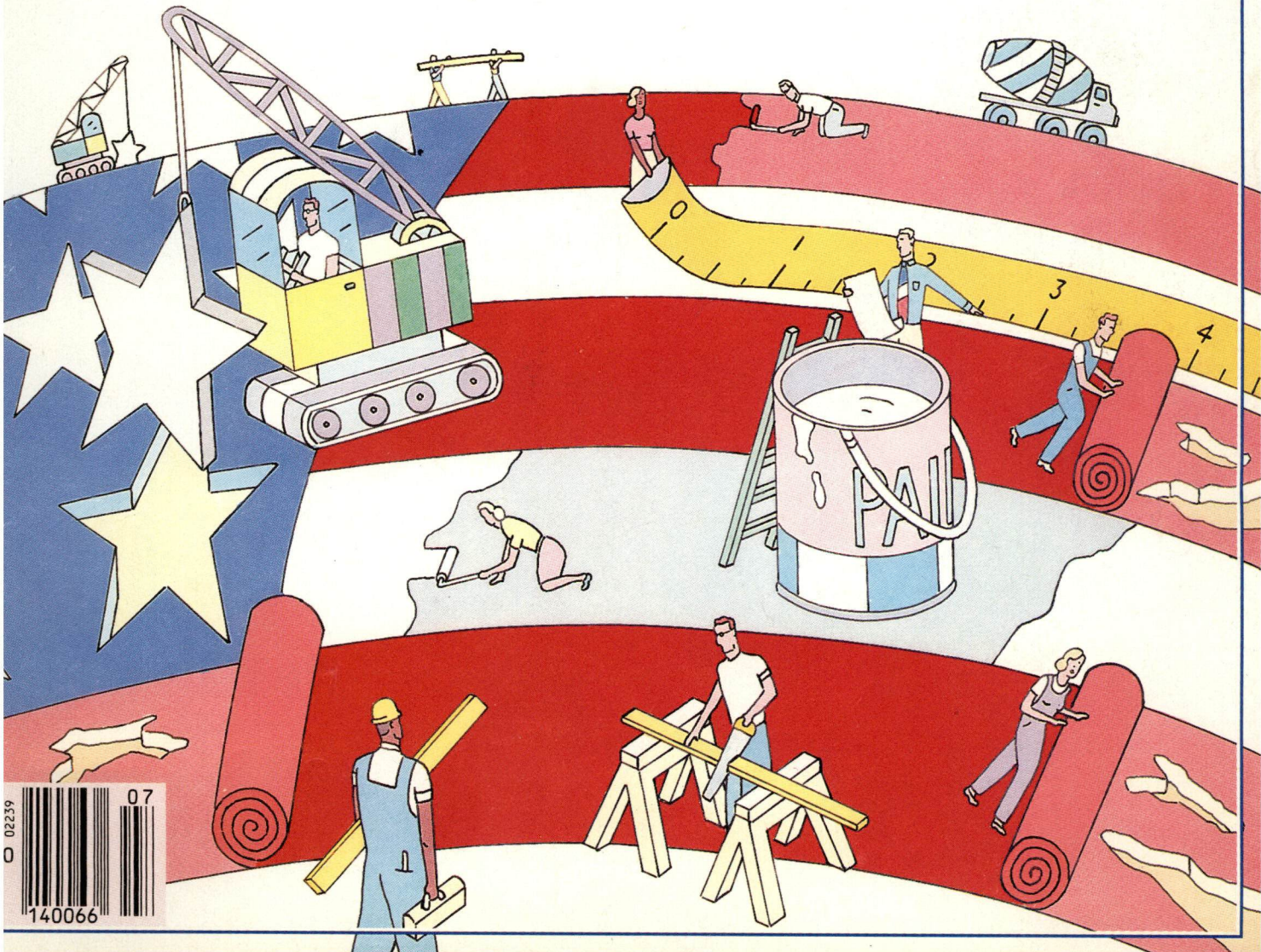
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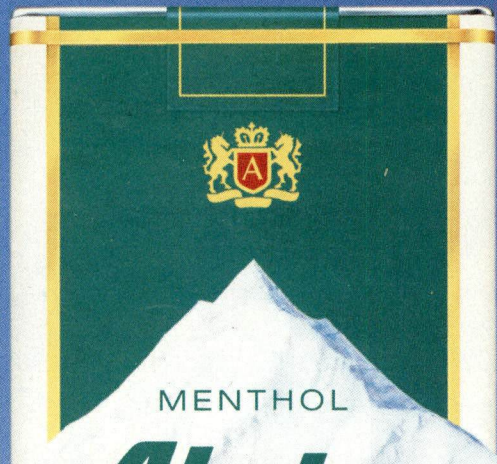
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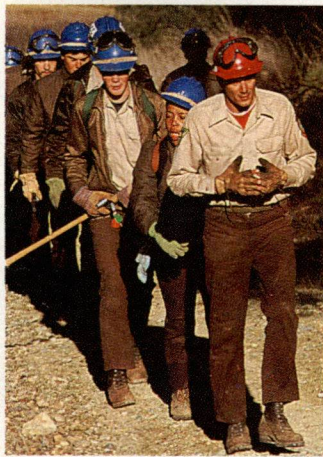
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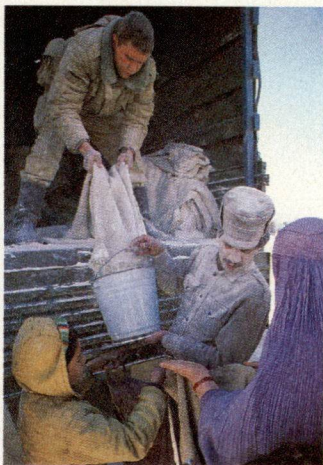
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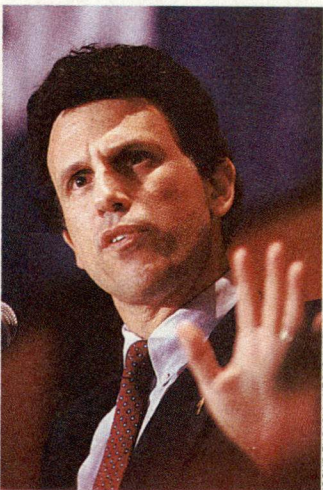
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COVER: Illustration by Stephen Turk

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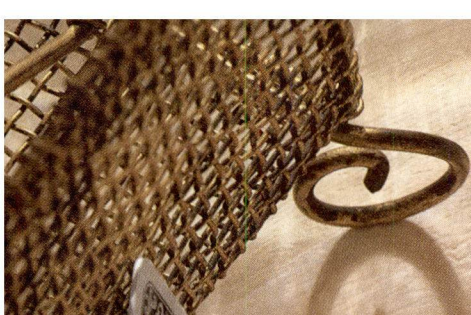
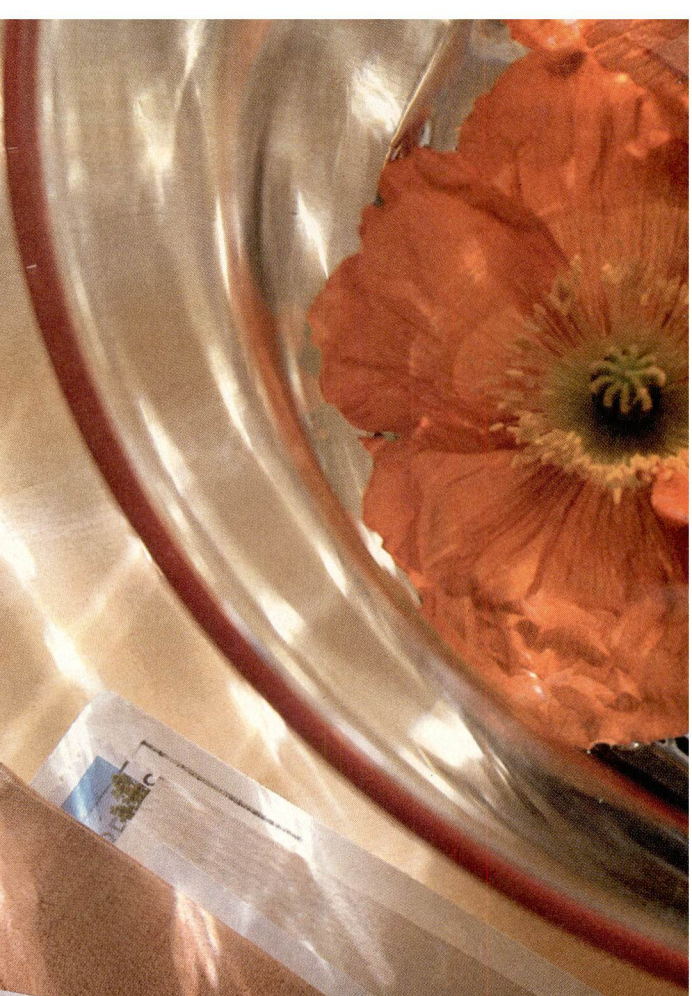
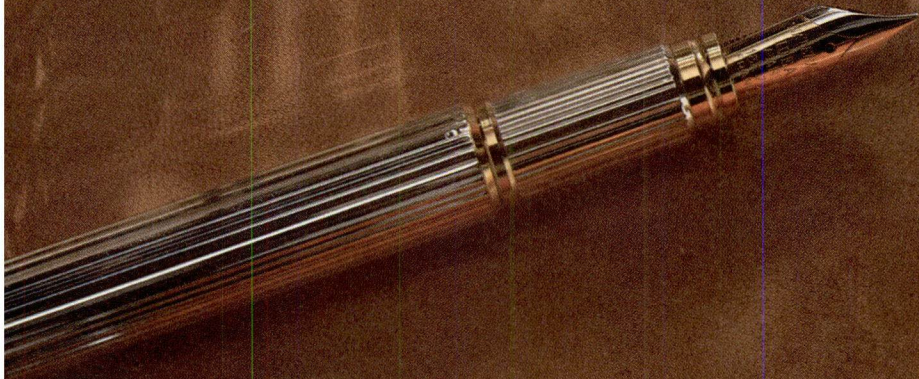
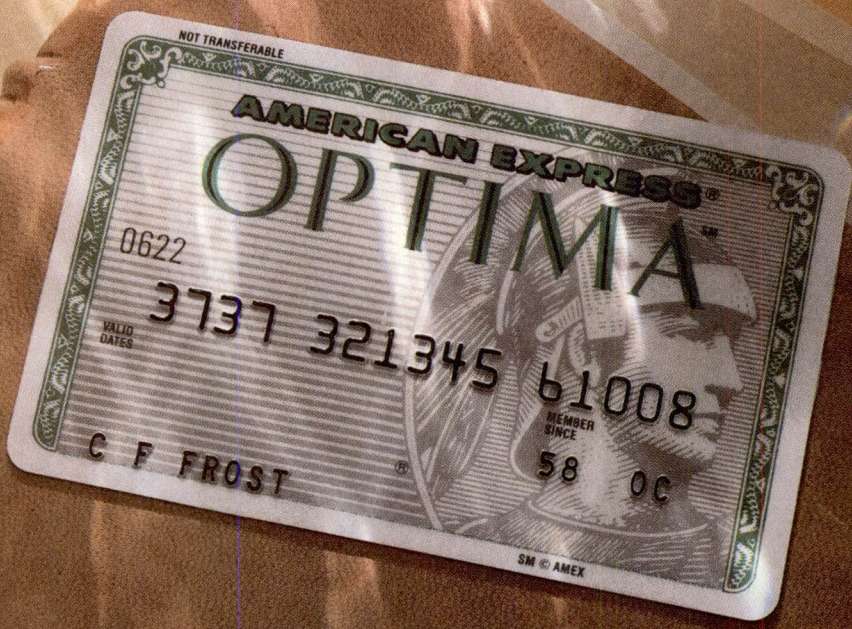
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LETTERS

TO THE EDITOR

Medical judgment: There is a major shortcoming in the revolutionary scheme to improve medical care by using computerized data to determine the need for certain procedures ["Looking Over the Doctor's Shoulder," January 30]. Who is going to establish the infallible "criteria" by which to check a physician's judgment? It is abhorrent to think that "standard criteria" concocted by insurers, administrators and other such experts will form the basis for determining appropriate care. It is too tempting for such criteria to be used as a scheme to save money on health care, to the detriment of the patient.

*James D. Colson, M.D.
Shreveport, La.*

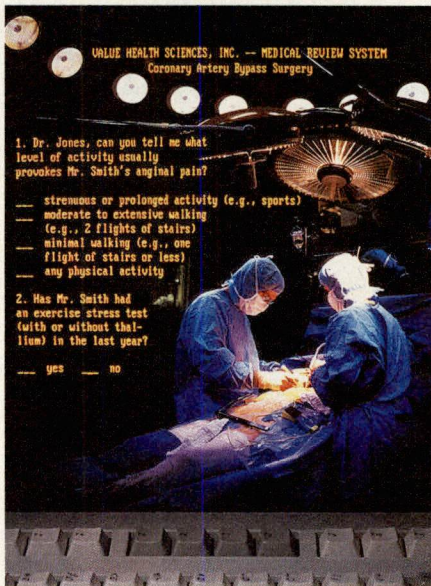
■ As a health professional with no preformed bias before starting in practice in 1980, I have concluded that insurance companies will exhaust every possibility to get out of paying for even justified covered procedures. Giving them added control will surely jeopardize the delivery of adequate care. I have found a positive side, though. If everyone has insurance and the doctor merely delivers data to a computer, the insurance companies' doctors can make the treatment recommendation. Then, surely, the same companies will be the liable parties in all the resultant lawsuits. Goodbye stress, big insurance premiums and good medicine.

*G. R. Horton, D.D.S.
Southern Pines, N.C.*

■ Unless responsible oversight committees can re-establish a reasonable degree of ethical and fiscal sanity within our health-care programs, the programs are destined to become another savings and loan type scandal. My wife and I have had many operations and, in less than a decade, the cost of our medical bills has closely paralleled our lifetime earnings. Efforts to get documented errors and overcharges corrected or reviewed by so-called oversight committees rarely, if ever, received an acknowledgment, let alone an investigation. I deeply resent the apparent attitude among medical professionals that it is ridiculous to be concerned over unreasonable and excessive costs as long as we have adequate insurance and are eligible for medicare. I can't understand who these individuals think is paying for this protection or how much longer we can afford it, while trying to exist primarily on Social Security.

*Paul V. Garnett
Weslaco, Tex.*

■ As chairman for quality assurance for the peer-review organization in Hawaii, I appreciated the information provided. What concerns me, however, is that you did not comment on another aspect of "overutilization"



Controlling health costs. Computerized databases will second-guess doctors

that is fairly common. Many tests are ordered by physicians to "cover their backsides" in the event of a lawsuit. Many tests and procedures may be unwarranted. But the public's impression of what dictates good medical care often influences a physician's decision to test. Most worry about how their medical decisions will be reviewed in court against societal standards.

*Ronald O. Lee, M.D.
Honolulu*

■ Medical insurers never mention statistics on the percentage who have died from heart attacks after "seeing a doctor" without having had angiography. Speaking as a "senior" recovered heart-attack victim, I prefer being a live statistic listed as "inappropriate" to being dead.

*Donald C. Cheney
Thousand Oaks, Calif.*

An administration begins: There is little doubt that the Bush cabinet will be solid, well proven and quite capable ["A White House of Many Mansions," January 23]. No one on the list can be expected to be an Ed Meese, much less a James Watt. We can attribute this fine situation to none other than the choice of Dan Quayle. We all know that Bush made a serious error in personnel selection at the very first. As a result, he was forced to rely on tried-and-true figures for all subsequent choices for the "real" jobs. So

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next time we hear a Quayle joke we should remember the "silver lining" of his selection.

*C. Wallace Miller
Tucson, Ariz.*

■ You featured a picture of Bush and his "full complement of cabinet officers in their places with bright, shining faces." What is wrong with this country that we don't express outrage that women and people of color are obviously missing from our elected officials' chosen advisers? Is Bush saying that there are few or only token women and minorities who could serve in these positions, or is he telling us that he believes Americans could not care less that his cabinet is too white, too upper crust and too male? Bush is behind the times before his times start.

*Judith Forsyth
Long Beach, Calif.*

Miami riots: British playwright Israel Zangwill wrote, "America is God's crucible, the great melting pot where all the races of Europe are melting. . . ." If he could view California, Florida and South Texas as described in your January 30 Currents ["As the Huddled Masses Roll Across El Norte"], I believe he would agree that the great melting pot is furiously boiling over.

*Edgar Kling
Kosse, Tex.*

■ You stated that "U.S.-born blacks resent economic competition from new immigrants." What competition? These new immigrants, many of whom are too proud to go on any long-term government assistance, are taking the menial jobs that no one wants. The only resentment is that the ambitious new immigrants are leaving other minorities in the dust.

*Felix J. Gonzales
Hartford, Conn.*

Proposition 42: I feel that Coach John Thompson can keep right on walking straight to the unemployment line ["When Is the Playing Field Too Level?" January 30]. Once again we see the cry of discrimination regurgitated in order to obtain yet another free lunch. In a country where there is immense talk about a much needed educational overhaul, a respected governing body such as the NCAA takes a step forward only to have opposition from a basketball coach acting out of self-interest, not principle. If an incoming freshman cannot meet the two extremely liberal requirements of Proposition 42, then he has no business wasting an institution's time or the taxpayers' money.

*James Lloyd Jester
Ocean City, Md.*

■ Once the smoke clears in the debate over Proposition 42, we must ask: Will the stu-

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dent athlete receive an education? In answering, we can look to the example of John Thompson, whose team travels with an academic adviser, or to the basketball program at Duke, where all players in recent years have graduated. There is a great responsibility that must be borne in large part by coaches to ensure that student athletes receive the same education as all other students.

Mark C. Alexander
Milford, Conn.

Activist professors: In "'60s Protesters, '80s Professors" [January 16], an essential area was neglected—how do students respond to the courses of these former activists? We are, for the most part, studying at considerable cost to better understand our world and the ways in which we can improve it. Maybe some believe that we prefer Reaganesque optimism to "reality." But maybe a lot of us see that the radicalism of our '60s predecessors did no more to change the world's evils than more conventional methodologies. We have our own activism and want to work toward a better world in our own way, just as the in '60s had their way.

Margaret E. McCormick
Marquette University, Milwaukee

■ As one of those interviewed for the story, I appreciated the sensitive and even-handed treatment. I do wish to clear up one possible false impression about my past, however. Although I worked closely with an insurgent rank-and-file caucus within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in St. Louis in the early 1970s, I was not a member of the union and was not employed by the Teamsters in any capacity.

George Lipsitz
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

■ You give readers a sense that the radicals of the '60s are leading the students of the '80s to a downfall. But the best professor I have is of that era. The amorous picture of America that high-school teachers painted is not what college students want to be subjected to again. We want to know what really happened and want to think about it analytically.

Lori L. Pollock
Chatham College, Pittsburgh

In "The Best Mutual Funds for 1989" [February 6], we listed an incorrect telephone number for the Investech Mutual Fund Advisor. The correct number is (800) 348-2729, ext. 1.—Eds.

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PAUL ADAMO—NEW YORK POST



What will memory do to this story? *Joel B. Steinberg was convicted of first-degree manslaughter in the death of 6-year-old Lisa, the child*

The painful remembrance of things past

The trouble with Santayana's too-often-quoted dictum that "those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it" is that it puts an unrealistic moral burden on memory. If remembering the past were all that progress required, the world would be in clover. But memory shows very little power as a corrective; to the contrary, one could just as easily make the case that the recollection of terrible events only inflames the self-punishing urge to have them repeated. See last week. On Monday, a jury convicted Joel B. Steinberg of first-degree manslaughter in the death of 6-year-old Lisa, the child Steinberg and Hedda Nussbaum raised in an apartment in Greenwich Village, N.Y. Nussbaum, too, became a memorable element in the case as the slavish lover whose spirit, like Lisa, was beaten to death. What will memory do with this story?

If Steinberg serves the maximum sentence of 25 years, the next time the public will see his face, people will have to search its aged transformations to recall what has been so repellently familiar these past months: the shaggy, disinterested, almost scholarly look; the air of quizzical contemplation as horror after horror was recited in the court. There is so much for the memory to store now, before Steinberg is locked away: the rising statistics on abused children; the failures of city agencies to protect the weak; the dehumanized condition of Nussbaum; the debate she inspired about battered women and the degree of responsibility for their fate.

All that was filed away last week for whatever future use, if any. January's end also marked the third anniversary of the explosion of the space shuttle Challenger. At the time that event was stored away, a 16-year-old student at Concord (N.H.) High School, where Christa McAuliffe, the first citizen observer in space, taught, called the explosion "something I hope to forget soon." It will never happen. Pictures like those of the Challenger or of Lisa Steinberg write a sort of endless elegy in the mind, to which names and incidents, both public and personal, are added continuously. The effect of such compositions may be the enlargement of one's capacity for sympathy, for melancholy, for anger or gravitas, but it rarely goes further.

Those who remember the past are just as likely to see it re-created. The commemorations of the French Revolution, an all-year event, recall a whole series of violent revolutions that, however justified, resulted in governments at least as oppressive as those they replaced. Ten years ago last week, the Ayatollah Khomeini was preparing to make his triumphant return from Paris to Iran, declaring a "holy war" against the forces of the Shah. Shortly before Khomeini instituted his policy of freewheeling public executions, Andrew Young, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., predicted that "Khomeini will be somewhat of a saint when we get over the panic." Or sometimes memory loses its power to present circumstances. Oliver North, no longer the model for dolls and haircuts, drew only a dozen spectators to his trial that began on Tuesday in Washington. No longer able to topple a Presidency, North looked a lot smaller than one remembered him.

In West Berlin, an extreme-right political party led by a former SS officer gave German memories a jolt by winning a shockingly high number of votes in municipal elections. The Republican Citizens Party gained 8 percent of the popular vote and 11 seats in the city's parliament, causing demonstrators to take to the streets with signs: "We have no need for Nazis." Commentators read the party's success more as a protest against the current government than a swing to the right—an analysis to jar historians' memories as well. In New York, as Joel Steinberg awaited sentencing, people who never knew Lisa paid homage at her grave in modest memorials heartfelt and helpless.

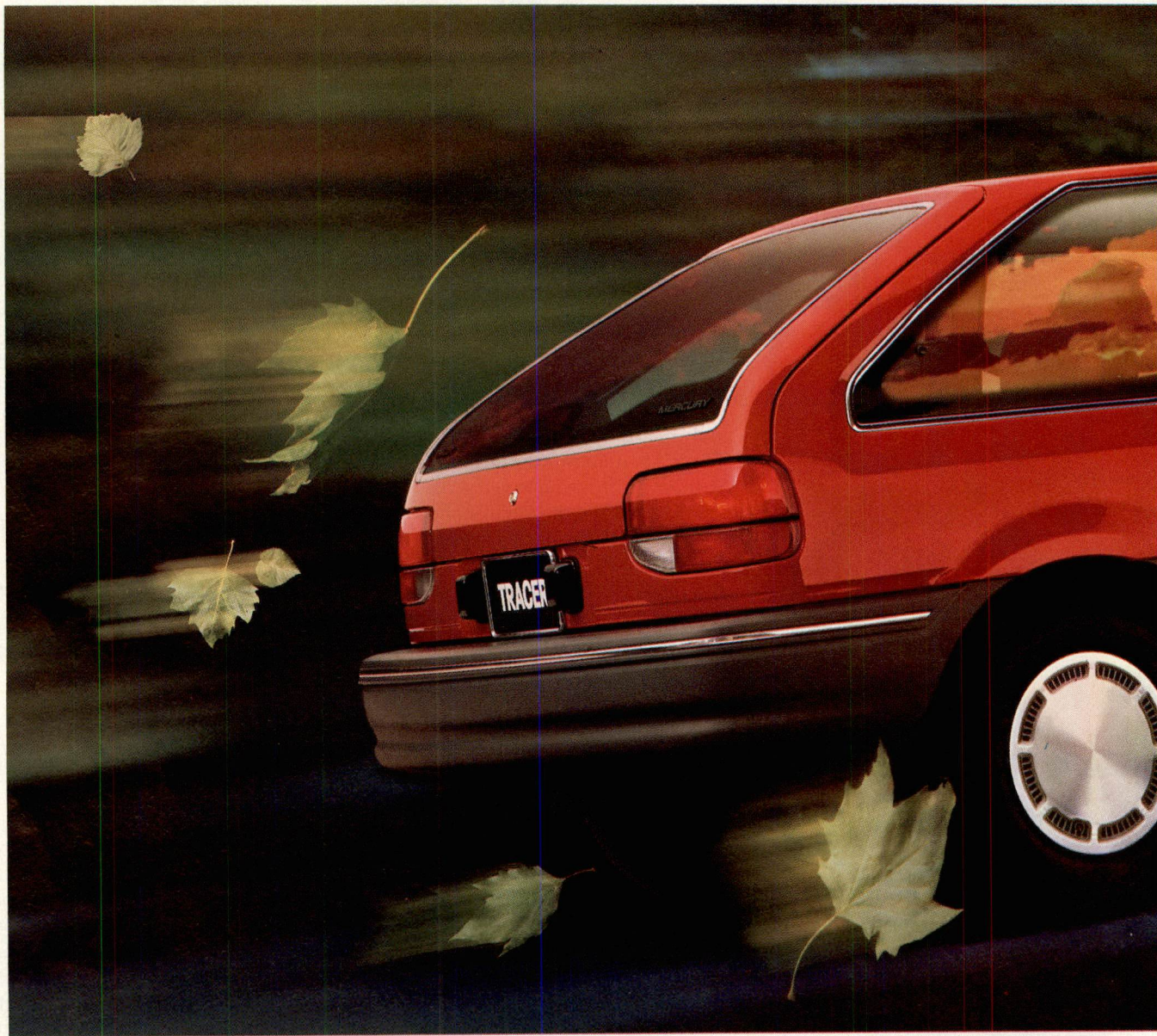
'If remembering the past were all that progress required, the world would be in clover. But memory shows very little power as a corrective'



raised with Hedda Nussbaum

by Roger Rosenblatt ■

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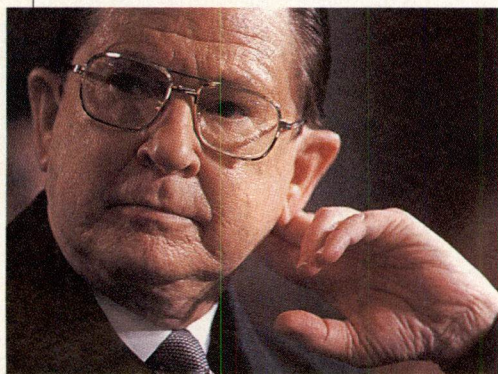
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POLITICIANS

The credibility gap that keeps on growing

This was not the way it was supposed to be. Ever since George Bush made ethics a personal cause, Washington has seemed to be drowning in it, or at least in questions about how to handle it. In just two weeks, Congress has been torn apart in a public morality play about the questionable virtue of a 50 percent pay raise. While most lawmakers argue privately that they deserve it, they are admittedly hypocritical about telling their constituents as much, and with good reason. Pay has become the hot-button issue. The President's own idealism, meanwhile, has been sorely tested by some of his key appointments. Secretary of Defense-designate John Tower has



Ethics lock. A beleaguered John Tower

been plagued with questions of both personal and revolving-door ethics. Dr. Louis Sullivan, the Health and Human Services nominee, puzzled some administration officials with his request to continue receiving income from the Morehouse School of Medicine while serving in the cabinet. Even HUD Secretary Jack Kemp had to promise to return thousands of dollars in speaking fees he accepted above legal limits while a Buffalo congressman.

If Bush has made anything clear in his nascent Presidency, it is that he wants his team to behave as models of ethics in government. Selfless service, he says, is the calling of this administration, and any perception to the contrary is unacceptable. Still, his own men last week managed to show just why the public is so skeptical of Washington's peculiar ethical culture. Tower has become the most embarrassing example. The former Senate Armed Services Committee chairman has earned more than \$750,000 as a private

citizen since 1986 from an array of defense contractors and is regarded by some as rife with conflicts of interest. He spent last week trying to mollify skeptical senators, but his problems only grew when conservative activist Paul Weyrich charged publicly that he had often "encountered the nominee in a condition—lack of sobriety—as well as with women to whom he was not married." Soon after, other allegations poured in, and confirmation was delayed. Even if confirmed, Tower could suffer severe credibility problems, a condition Congress fully understands in the face of the massive public outcry against its own proposed pay hike.

JUSTICE

Why some trials go on and on . . . and on

Convicting Tennessee teacher John Scopes for teaching evolution took 11 days in 1925. A decade later, Bruno Hauptmann was in court barely six weeks for the Lindbergh kidnapping. But in the mass-media age, celebrated trials can be an eternal ordeal. Last week in Washington, D.C., Oliver North settled in for a trial that may stretch to July 4—20 times longer than his Iran-Contra testimony before Congress. In Los Angeles, prosecutors began presenting evidence expected to take two full years in the trial of "Night Stalker" Richard Ramirez, accused of 13 murders.

Prolonged jury selection is partly responsible for these courtroom marathons. "Lawyers used to believe they knew how Italian or black jurors would vote," says Arne Werchick, a San Francisco lawyer. "Now, they spend an hour questioning each candidate." In high-profile cases, anyone who has heard details or cannot afford to be in court for months may be excused, which leaves jurors who tend to be unemployed or retired and less likely to have college degrees.

Prosecutors often present more evidence than needed, and defenders are increasingly prone to challenge police evidence-gathering methods and to question witnesses relentlessly. Judges let testimony run to avoid reversals. Last year, 96 federal criminal trials lasted a month or longer, up from 35 in 1975. A Reno drug case may set a federal record this month when it hits its 188th trial day—at a cost to taxpayers of \$8 million—a mark that may be eclipsed by a Massachusetts sedition case that could last two years.

Reformers want to trim the extravaganzas. Experts met last week at the National Judicial College in Reno to plot action. "Judges should take control," urged Ernest Friesen of California West-



Teheran, 1979. He returned in triumph 10 years ago, hailed as a 20th-century prophet by millions of Iran's downtrodden, who wildly cheered his vision of a populist, benevolent Islam. But as Iran's pious spiritual head—and its Machiavellian political arbiter—the

ern School of Law, "or jurors may forget evidence." Lawyers risk alienating jurors by dragging out cases. But no one expects a return to the days of Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan. Warns law Prof. Peter Arenella of the University of California at Los Angeles: "Judges can't undo constitutional safeguards."

METEOROLOGY

Baby, how cold can it get outside?

Extremes are the essence of Alaska, and last week Alaska was again testing the limits of nature and of man. Temperatures fell to within 4 degrees of the state's official all-time low—80 below zero Fahrenheit, recorded at Prospect Creek in 1971. In one town, Northway, the barometric pressure (31.85 inches) reached an all-time high for North America. As Alaskans watched their

DAVID BURNETT—CONTACT



Ayatollah Khomeini has presided over repression at home, terrorism abroad, a struggle against the West and a war with Iraq that killed 1 million Iranians.

Now, a new "Decade of Dawn" with openings to Western nations and restoration of personal freedoms is being

promised in the name of the aging, ailing leader. But not quite yet. Khomeini last week suggested Mikhail Gorbachev convert to Islam and ordered 50 lashes for four broadcasters who aired an interview that he said insulted the daughter of the Prophet Mohammed.

drivers in Fairbanks waited 2½ days for a tow, and the streets were littered with fan belts snapped by the cold. Ice fog cut visibility to 30 feet. But, miraculously, no cold-related deaths were reported in the state. By midweek, the cold spell eased (temperatures rose to minus 10 in Fairbanks) as the Arctic front roared through Canada into the Lower 48.

SOVIET UNION

A bargain at twice the price

It came out through a twist of *glasnost*, not pressure from any ethics committee, but Mikhail Gorbachev's salary is no longer a state secret. He makes the ruble equivalent of about \$30,000 a year, far below George Bush's \$200,000 presidential paycheck—or the salaries of most other Western leaders—but very well up on the Soviet scale.

Gorbachev's pay was unearthed by a Moscow editor, Vitaly Korotich, who then found that even the new "openness" did not extend to publishing it in his own large-circulation *Ogonyok* magazine. But an obscure provincial youth newspaper did print the figure after interviewing Korotich, who has been crusading to end the taboo against reporting personal and financial details about Soviet leaders.



The rubles in Gorbachev's wallet mean little when it comes to comparing lifestyles of the powerful and famous. As with other world leaders, Gorbachev's home, vacation retreats, car, airplane and entertainment outlays are paid out of the public purse. Nor are these the only perquisites that he and other top Soviet officials enjoy. But Gorbachev also has applied *perestroika* to the leadership. He is the first Soviet President to have curbed privileges previously accorded top officials, even closing some of the special shops that stock low-priced, high-quality Western goods not available to ordinary citizens.

Moscow rules

In cash terms, Gorbachev earns at least seven times as much as the average Soviet worker, while Bush's pay is 6.5 times the U.S. median family income. But the Kremlin chief ranks well behind several thousand genuine Soviet millionaires, mostly artists and writers who earn foreign royalties, and an unknown number of black marketeers who amass huge piles of rubles by filling consumer demands for everything from toothpaste to cars.



PAUL SOUDERS/ANCHORAGE DAILY NEWS—GAMMA/LIAISON

thermometers shatter, everyone wondered: Is this as cold as it can get?

The experts say no. Alaska is chilled by air from the North Pole. The temperature of the air arriving in Alaska largely depends on the time of year—how far the pole is tilted from the sun—and the length of time the air sits over the pole before moving south. The longer it sits, the colder it gets. The mass of air that caused last week's superfreeze had lingered for several weeks before moving south. If the air mass had arrived earlier when days were shorter or, alternatively, if it had tarried longer over the pole, Alaskan weather could have been still more bitter. How much colder, no one dares guess. But Alaska has a way to go to match the Siberian record of 96 below zero set in 1964. Vodka freezes at around 10 below.

The human impact of fierce cold is chilling to behold. Exposed skin freezes in 30 seconds at 75 below. Breath turns to ice crystals at 40 below. Last week,

Deep freeze. Shivering in Fairbanks

DICTATORS

The last tango in Paraguay

It came, surprisingly, in the autumn of the patriarch. Gen. Alfredo Stroessner had presided over the criminal enterprise that is Paraguay for 34 years and had long since bought off or crushed all enemies, real and imagined. He had become the dean of dictators in the Western Hemisphere and was second in seniority worldwide only to North Korea's Kim Il Sung. When the tanks rolled in Asunción last week, the author of the short, violent coup d'état that toppled Stroessner was a man after his own heart, Gen. Andrés Rodríguez.

People who had never known another Supremo in their lifetime cheered the news of Stroessner's fall and danced in the streets when Rodríguez promised that he would give them democracy. Elsewhere, the betting was that Rodríguez meant nothing of the sort. The new liberator, in two decades as a Stroessner crony, grew fat on his share of the world's largest government-run smuggling operation. Rodríguez's name first began cropping up in narcotics investigators' files in 1970 when he was accused of protecting and profiting from the "French Connection" heroin smuggling ring. The general, who earns an



So much for El Supremo. Stroessner's fall brought joy, but for how long?



Stroessner



Rodríguez

official salary of \$500 a month, lives on millionaire's row in a mansion copied from the palace at Versailles.

Stroessner, 76, whose son is married to Rodríguez's daughter, smelled danger and, too late, moved against his friend.

Now, the dictator who made his nation a haven for the most odious of exiles—Nazi war criminals like Josef Mengele and out-of-work despots like Juan Perón and Anastasio Somoza—must find a country willing to give him sanctuary.

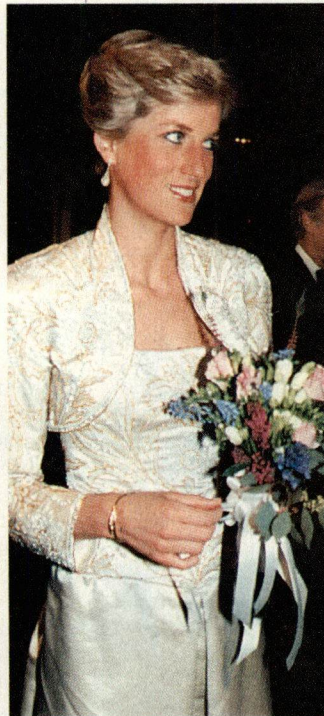
A bit of plaster and paint should put the National Palace right, and then Paraguay can get back to the Stroessner family business, under new management. Smuggling accounts for more than 50 percent of Paraguay's gross national product; half the cars on the road are stolen in neighboring Brazil, and the country's whisky imports amount to five bottles per day for every man, woman and child.



Cockney lad. Actor Michael Caine has ditched his linguistic roots for RP



Grocer's daughter. Thatcher's well-polished accent can be heard by all the backbenchers



Downmarket Di. Princess drops her T's but someday she'll speak the Queen's English

LANGUAGE

You are what you speak

Does accent matter? More than many sociologists will admit, says linguistics expert John Honey, whose book posing that issue in its title is a bestseller in England. Ask the producers of the tabloid TV show "Inside Edition," which may remove Britain's David Frost as anchor because, one senior executive says, Americans "didn't like his accent." Ironic: For a quarter-century, Frost's classless drawl is said to have irked some British listeners, too.

Accent, as any class-conscious Brit knows, is not simply a question of birthplace; it defines social origin and aspirations. Professor Honey argues that—egalitarian ideals aside—careers, marriages and restaurant tables are still hostages of the "right" accent in Britain.

Honey defines the right accent for England today as "Re-

ceived Pronunciation," or RP, the unaccented tones of news readers on the BBC. In surveys, RP speakers are not only rated higher in intelligence and ambition but are even perceived as taller, cleaner and better looking. Cockney, Scouse and Brum, the distinctive traditional accents of big cities, have few admirers.

What of the Queen's English of old—the rich, plummy accent of a Churchill or a Gielgud? "Marked RP," the experts call it. A marked liability in Margaret Thatcher's England, according to Honey—one that even Thatcher abandoned. Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother and Prince Charles are among the last holdouts. To level the playing field, Honey proposes that British schools teach all children RP. What a pity, ducky!

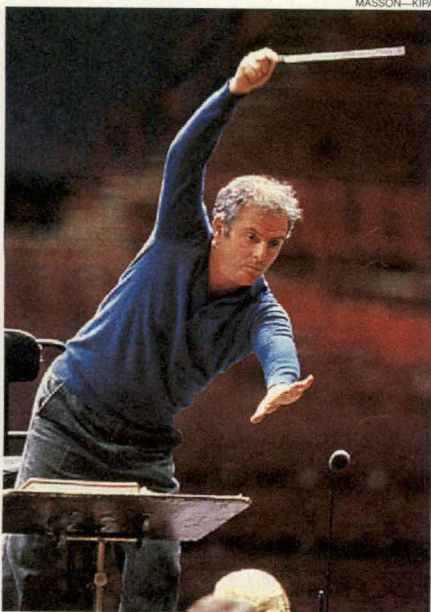
MUSIC

Searching for a maestro with magic

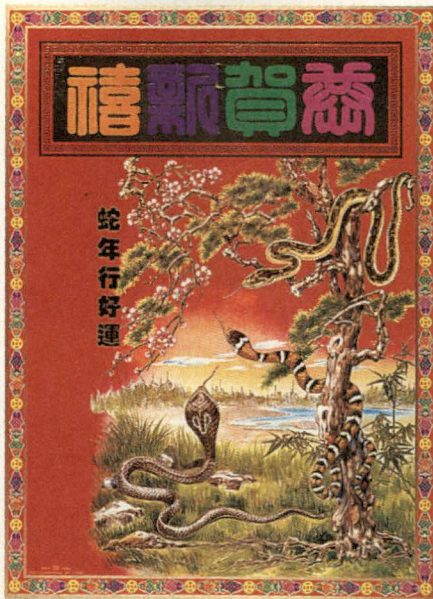
WANTED: Classy orchestra seeks new conductor. Should have the charisma of Leonard Bernstein, the brains of Pierre Boulez, the exotic romance of Zubin Mehta. Glittering friends a must, also graceful manner at fund-raising soirees. Favor glamorous European or Asian, preferably with lucrative recording contract. Should be eager to conduct the popular warhorses. Genius desired.

These are lean times for orchestras. So budget-minded boards of directors are employing their business instincts at the concert hall. Daniel Barenboim was recently dumped from Paris's new Bastille Opera in part because he wouldn't program operatic hits sure to pack in the crowds. The Chicago Symphony, in hiring Barenboim last week, got not only a brilliant new conductor but also a string of other stars. Friends Jessye Norman, Herbert von Karajan and Christoph von Dohnanyi canceled Bastille contracts to bestow their talents on Chicago.

Other U.S. orchestras in search of conductors may not be as lucky, especially with homegrown talent getting scarcer. Many conductors, put off by bottom-line bullying, head for state-subsidized European orchestras. Michael Tilson Thomas went to the London Symphony, Gilbert Levine to Kraków, Andrew Litton to Bournemouth. The New York Philharmonic seeks a maestro who can match the retiring Mehta's 90 percent draw. Genius is desired. Competence may have to do.



Glittering baton. Daniel Barenboim



Happy New Year. Chinese style

ENVIRONMENT

The far side of Paradise

February 6 ushers in the Year of the Serpent, which comes at 12-year intervals in the Chinese calendar. Except on the island of Guam, a U.S. possession embedded in the Pacific Ocean halfway between Japan and New Guinea. There, every year is the year of the snake.

Guam was once as snakeless as Paradise after the Fall. Then came World War II and the brown tree snake, which slithered into military shipments in Australia, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands and slithered out again after the supplies reached Guam. With no natural enemies to prey on them, the big, blind serpents, many 8 feet or longer, have since multiplied like rabbits, all the while gnawing away unmercifully at the bird population. With 6,000 to 12,000 snakes per square mile, seven of the island's 10 native bird species have been rendered extinct.

Other islands that are still snakeless remain ever vigilant. A few pets or stowaways have reached Hawaii (where the unauthorized possession of a snake carries a \$1,000 fine or a year in jail or both), there to be seized. But Ireland, half a globe away and the world's biggest snake-free land mass with a climate that snakes appreciate, evidently is safe. Legend credits St. Patrick with driving the creatures from Ireland; science credits the Ice Age. ■

Currents contributors: Gloria Borger, Ted Gest, Betsy Carpenter, Jeff Trimble, James Wallace, Joseph L. Galloway, Robin Knight, Miriam Horn, Sarah Burke, Don L. Borroughs

PEOPLE MAKING NEWS

Table mates

Natan Sharansky has sat across the table from the Soviets before. The KGB interrogated him 110 times, trying to squeeze a confession from the prominent *refusenik*. He paid for his silence with nine years in prison and labor camp. Now, just three years after his dramatic release across a Berlin bridge, Sharansky faces the prospect of sitting across from the Soviets once more. Israeli leaders are considering the human-rights activist for appointment as Israel's Ambassador to the U.N. His appointment, not yet final, has raised the ire of some who fear that it will chill Jerusalem's slowly warming relations with Moscow.

■ Lady in waiting

In 1986, CBS managed to keep Diane Sawyer in her chair at "60 Minutes" by boosting her salary to \$1.2 million and promising her anchor roles in shows still on the drawing board. Such top billing would bring within reach her ultimate goal: Crashing the men's club of TV evening news. Her programs never made it to the air, however, and despite last-minute wining and dining by Chairman William Paley and President Laurence Tisch, CBS lost its waiting lady last week. Sawyer signed with ABC to coanchor a prime-time news report with former White House correspondent Sam Donaldson.

■ One for the books

His career .286 batting average falls short of Jackie Robinson's .311. His 16 stolen bases in a season pale next to Willie Mays's 40 steals. He didn't even come close to Hank Aaron's 755 home runs. Yet Bill White has secured a place in the history of sport. National League team owners elected the former first baseman as their president last week, the first black man to fill such a high position in professional sport. White played down the significance of that milestone: "You just do the job whether you're red, yellow, purple or whatever."



Sawyer

Farewell to arms. President Mikhail Gorbachev had planned to announce several changes in the Soviet approach to Central America during his December visit to Cuba, which had to be canceled because of the Armenian earthquake. The focus was to be Nicaragua. Gorbachev intended to make a unilateral offer of restraint in supplying Soviet aid and weapons to the Sandinistas. He also had in mind a proposed role for the United Nations in the region, including a U.N. force to ensure that no arms flow between Nicaragua and the guerrillas in El Salvador. Officials in the Bush administration, using Henry Kissinger as an intermediary between Washington and Moscow, are now discussing the putative proposals with the Soviets. Gorbachev could take them public when he finally travels to Cuba this spring.

The Jimmy jinx. Last week's attack by Vice President Dan Quayle on former President Jimmy Carter for meeting with Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega may not have been an act of personal peevishness. Reflecting concern in the White House that Bush's down-to-earth style may remind people of the former President, Quayle was trying to prove George Bush is no Jimmy Carter. Administration strategists have been warning Bush not to reinforce such associations by using this week's state-of-the-union address to explain how the deficit has ushered in a new era of limits—or to issue a Carteresque call for lowered expectations.

Junk the junkets? If Congress votes to forbid members to accept honorariums from special-interest groups, the next step in Washington's current ethical frenzy may be a campaign to control one of the lobbyists' venerable traditions: The junket. Reformers are upset that the honorarium ban will not affect the custom of all-too-eager lobbyists offering lawmakers all-expenses-paid travel. The reformers cite, for example, two items on the junket calendar: This month's turkey shoot for as many as 30 lawmakers in Western Maryland, sponsored by the Associated Builders and Contractors, and next month's Congressional Charity Tennis Tournament at the Greenbrier Resort in West Virginia, hosted by the Grocery Manufacturers of America.

Paranoia in the polis. Political paranoia is rife in Greece. Opponents of Premier Andreas Papandreu are fearful that the beleaguered leftist leader will gerrymander voting districts so he will not lose the

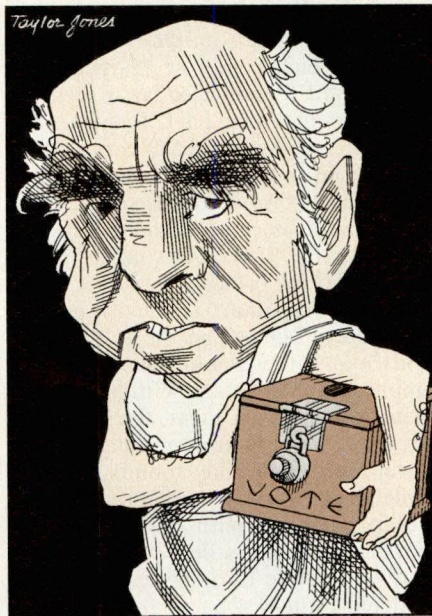
Gorbachev's plan for Central America

George Bush is no Jimmy Carter

Moscow's hot export: Ultramodern icons

elections scheduled for June. After eight years in power, the 70-year-old Papandreu is in deep political and personal trouble. A worsening economy, a series of financial scandals in his cabinet, his public liaison with a 34-year-old former airline hostess and assassination attempts against three judges by leftist terrorists have so weakened the socialist regime that he has resorted to the old gambit of blaming his troubles on a CIA plan to destabilize his regime. In turn, his oppo-

TAYLOR JONES



Greece's Andreas Papandreu
How not to lose an election

nents are so suspicious that they warn about his using a CIA plot as an excuse that might even lead to postponement of the elections, which experts believe Papandreu now stands to lose.

Switching sides. In a turnabout, it is the congressional Democrats who are likely to fight a new tax supported by the White House. The Bush administration

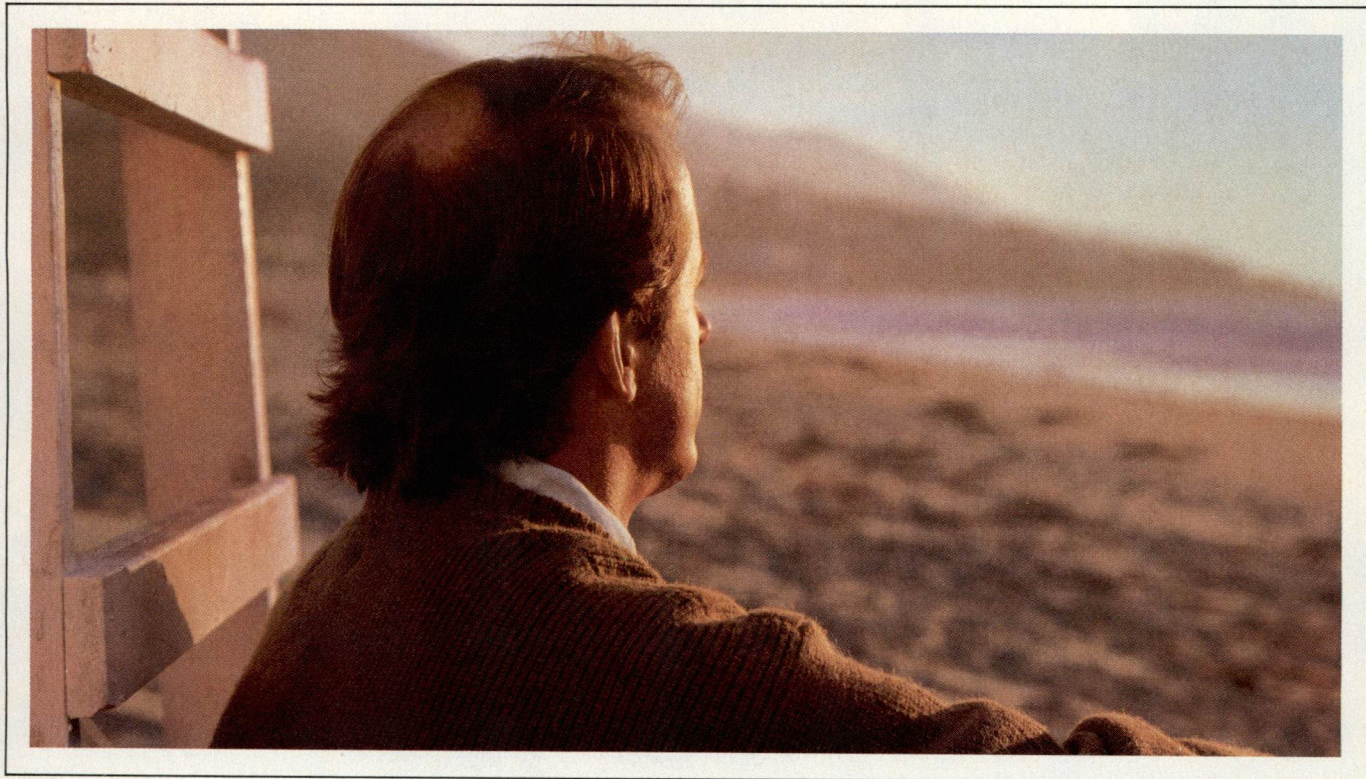
Edited by Charles Fenyesi

is backing a Reagan-budget proposal suggesting that the 5 million state and local-government employees now exempt from federal payroll taxes be required to pay the medicare portion of those taxes, since most eventually take other jobs making them eligible for medicare benefits. However, the Democratic leadership is certain to oppose the changes. Many of the affected workers are from Texas and Maine, the home states of House Speaker Jim Wright, Senate Finance Chairman Lloyd Bentsen and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell.

Art beyond muscles. Even though few of the artists have names that are known to or can even be pronounced by the buyers, modern Soviet art of the sort that used to be confiscated by the KGB at the border has become a red-hot export from the land of perestroika. Last year, New York's Eduard Nakhamkin gallery, founded a dozen years ago by a Soviet immigrant, sold \$5 million worth of Soviet art and expects to double that figure this year. Unlike the muscles-and-motors style of Stalin-era socialist realism, the new Soviet art ranges from turn-of-the-century impressionism to the abstract expressionism of the '60s and ultramodern fantasies based on medieval icons. So popular are the works that Nakhamkin, who sells only Soviet art, now has six galleries, including the newest in Japan.

As you like it. Once, East-West discussions on conventional military forces in Europe were called MBFR—for Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions. Then, the negotiations came to be known as the Conventional Stability Talks—or CST. But "conventional stability" struck some Kremlin officials as a little too bourgeois, so the diplomats conjured up the acronym CAFE—for Conventional Armed Forces in Europe—not to be confused with the domestic CAFE, which refers to the Corporate Average Fuel Economy standards for U.S. automobiles. Alas, CAFE endured only a week, when it was decided the acronym presented too "frivolous" an image. To replace it, the negotiators dreamed up CAFCA, for Conventional Armed Forces and Conventional Armaments. However, to literary-minded negotiators, the new acronym sounded too much like Kafka, the brooding Czech novelist. In the end, when the talks begin next month in Vienna, they will be called CFE, for Conventional Forces in Europe. As Shakespeare might have asked: What's In A Name? Or WIAN.

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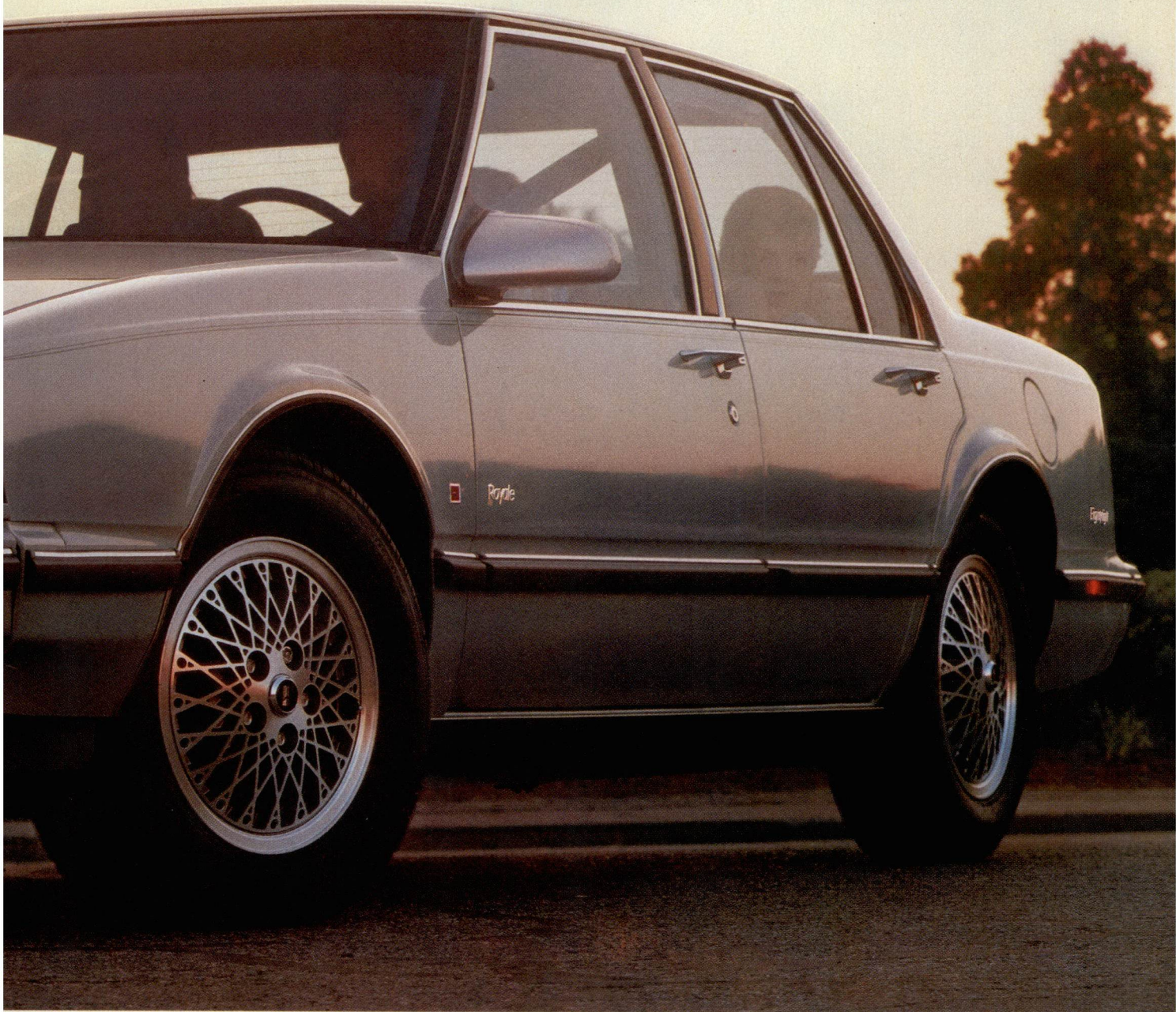
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California. Youths, like these exercising in the Sierra Nevada foothills, will participate in service programs and do useful work if they are



Atlanta. High-school students must volunteer for 75 hours before graduating



New York. City youths, paid a stipend, learn to

The push for national service

There is new interest in voluntary efforts to help the needy and revive patriotism. Yet advocates should beware the problems that might ensue

Alexis de Tocqueville, the early chronicler of the American experiment, referred to them in the 1830s as "habits of the heart"—the penchant of this young nation's citizens to join together and to work for the civic good. But less than a century later, pacifist-philosopher William James detected a lapse of civic passion and called for the nation's "gilded youth" to be drafted into an army of workers, to do "dish-washing, clothes-washing and window-washing [and] road building and tunnel making," in what he described as "the moral equivalent of war."

Today, James's concept of a national-service campaign steeped in "martial virtues" is again capturing the imagination of the nation's leaders, but for different reasons. To some, a faltering civic spirit, especially among the materially minded young, is still a concern. But an even greater concern is that, in the most prosperous nation on earth, basic social needs such as child care, elderly care and help for the homeless, the poor and the mentally handicapped are going largely unmet because of tight government budgets and a lack of public will. A national volunteer corps of motivated, well-trained young people, say the proponents, could contribute mightily to solving pressing problems.

The most prominent thumping for volunteer service is being done by President Bush, a staunch believer in the redemptive qualities of doing good for others. Aides say he will soon propose a modest \$35-million-to-\$40-million Youth Engaged in Service (YES) program that would dispense grants to community groups to encourage volunteer service. Bush's hope is that YES will enable "the young men and women of our tree-lined suburbs to get on a bus, or the subway or the metro, and go into the cities where the want is."

Many Democrats have grander plans. A sweeping proposal by party centrists, led by the Democratic Leadership Council, would establish a Citizen Corps of

up to a million volunteers and reward their civilian or military service with government vouchers worth \$10,000 for a year of civilian service and \$12,000 for a year of military service. The chits could be used for education or for buying a home. But the hook is that existing federal student grants and loans, except those to the poorest and neediest, would be phased out, in effect saying that most youths seeking federal educational assistance would have to perform "voluntary" service before getting any aid—a provision that already is stirring protests in political quarters from libertarians and some liberals and institutional quarters such as powerful college presidents.

The problems that can't wait

To many proponents in and out of government, the case for national service is compelling. It is rooted in two things that boosters say America badly needs. The first is that hundreds of thousands of persons could be enlisted to perform important work. The nation desperately needs tutors, orderlies, health-care aides and laborers in forests, farmlands, parks and neighborhoods. Those jobs are not filled by private business. The second is the desire to rekindle civic responsibility, altruism and self-sacrifice in a generation of young people that seems sorely lacking in those traits. Surveys of high-school seniors conducted by the University of Southern California found that of 14 life goals, the one that increased most in importance between 1976 and 1986 was "having lots of money," while "finding purpose and meaning in life" decreased the most. "We are in danger of what one might call 'yuppie isolation,'" warns Frank Newman, president of the Education Commission of the States. "People who grow up in isolation do not see that they have a role."

Community and state-run service programs are becoming increasingly popular because they are frontally addressing that problem. The most prominent is the California Conservation Corps (see story on



sked and the incentives are generous



towards of helping others and themselves

LINDA L. CREIGHTON FOR USN&WR



Virginia. The Pentagon wants youths to join the military, not plant trees

page 24), which is cited as a possible model for a federal program. In New York, 100 part-time and 300 full-time volunteers paint buildings, clean parks, help the elderly, tutor children and perform other jobs for a weekly stipend of \$81. Participants in the City Volunteer Corps are eligible for free tuition during their one-year terms and for scholarships afterward. Four school systems—those of Atlanta, Detroit, Springfield, Mass., and Cherry Creek, Colo., a Denver suburb—require community service as a condition for graduation. In Atlanta, high-school students must put in 75 hours of free labor at hospitals, churches, day-care centers or other nonprofit agencies.

Despite the strong arguments for a national service, and the positive experiences in local and state service corps, there are good reasons for proceeding cautiously. In fact, skeptics warn that it is precisely the fact that national service seems so appealing that could lead to its backfiring. It means too many different things to too many people. Some national-service advocates, for instance, want to get disadvantaged kids out of poisonous inner-city neighborhoods and into rural conservation corps. Others see it as a school of civic virtue where rich and poor kids work side by side.

Yet experience suggests that even programs that work have not been able to recruit rich volunteers. In late 1986, fewer than 5 percent of the enrollees in the City Volunteer Corps in New York City were white and 70 percent were high-school dropouts, even though the CVC tried desperately to lure middle-class kids into the program with financial incentives. After a three-year study of various corps, the Philadelphia consulting firm Public/Private Ventures re-

ports bluntly that “no youth corps in the United States has recruited youth from middle-income or more-affluent backgrounds.” The study also found that participation in a jobs program or youth-service corps does not automatically produce more civic mindedness

and only marginally improves prospects for postprogram employment.

The corps class war

There is reason to fear that a national-service plan based on all carrots and no sticks would end up resembling the existing “two track” system: A small number of job-training programs that attract mainly disadvantaged youth, and an even smaller number of “elite” groups, such as the Peace Corps, that appeal to affluent youth. That is the kind of system the Bush YES plan might perpetuate, because it will contain few incentives to draw in middle and upper-middle-class volunteers. Bush’s top White House aide responsible for voluntary programs, Gregg Petersmeyer, may accidentally be an exemplar of the problems with which he has been entrusted: He has never done any charitable volunteer work.

Assuring “equality of sacrifice” in a large-scale volunteer program is the most difficult of problems facing national-service organizers. Critics of the vouchers-for-service plan just introduced in Congress by Senator Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and Representative Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.) argue that it would place an unfair burden on lower-income youth for whom a year or two of national service would be the only route to college. More-affluent young people would have no stimulus to enlist. Martin Anderson, a former Reagan White House policy adviser, bitterly denounces the Democrats’ proposal as an attempt to “force low-income kids to build roads and empty bedpans. It’s just mean spirited. They want to turn these kids into the new indentured servants.” But national-service proponents say middle and lower-income students already are forced into a form of indentured servanthood because of heavy reliance on student loans, which leaves them saddled with huge debts at graduation. National-service vouchers presumably would enable many students to forgo such loans.

Clearly, the most equitable scheme entails universal conscription of all youths. That would avoid the class structure of voluntary programs by insisting that the rich enjoy the balm of service and the tonic effects of new patriotism. But there are historical, constitutional and political hindrances that prevent serious consideration of a national-service draft. Even Charles Moskos, a Northwestern University sociologist and godfather of the current voluntary-service movement, originally favored a more universal and coercive system. But, facing objections from many quarters, he abandoned that in favor of one based more on incentives.

The biggest inside-the-government opponents of a widespread national-service program work at the Pentagon. Military

THE NATION'S UNMET NEEDS

The Democratic Leadership Council identifies areas “that have low profit potential but high civic value.” Where the public and private sectors have not gone to work, a civilian-service program could fill in the gaps by creating about 3.5 million positions in these areas.

Education **1.2 mil.**
Tutoring, counseling, etc.

Health care **715,000**

Hospital, nursing-home inpatient care 196,000

Outpatient care 52,000

Home care 438,000

Research, other 29,000

Child care **820,000**

Environment **164,000**

Fish, wildlife conservation 17,000

Forestry 7,000

Soil, water conservation 6,000

Parks, recreation 71,000

Water, air quality 1,000

Solid-waste disposal 22,000

Energy conservation 40,000

Criminal justice **250,000**

(Police reserves, civilian patrols, corrections staff, etc.)

Other **300,000**

(Libraries, museums, etc.)

USN&WR—Basic data: Richard Danzig and Peter Szanton, “National Service: What Would It Mean?”

officials fear, with justification, that a national-service drive would severely compromise the all-volunteer armed forces by drawing away prospective recruits. A Brookings Institution study in 1984 found that by 1991 the shrinking military-age pool will mean Army recruiters will have to enlist 55 percent of eligible 18-year-olds, compared with 42 percent in 1981, just to maintain the same size force. "We don't want high-caliber people who might otherwise join the Army off planting trees instead," says Thomas Byrne, public-affairs director for the private Association of the U.S. Army. But national-service proponents insist the argument could cut the other way: Military recruiting would be helped by a national-service program that offers added incentives for military service.

Protecting jobs

The potential for job displacement poses another obstacle. Although national-service proponents insist that volunteers would do only work that no one else is doing, labor-union leaders worry that an army of young workers earning little or no pay would displace adults in low-rung public-service jobs. Organizers of the 5-year-old Minnesota Youth Service sought to allay such fears by bringing union leaders into the planning process. But even that has not prevented volunteers from "infringing on existing jobs," says Peter Benner, executive director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in St. Paul.

Then there is the matter of price. Any ambitious national-service plan, even a voluntary one, will be expensive. After phasing out \$8.3 billion of student aid, the Democratic Leadership Council projects that a civilian corps of 800,000 volunteers would cost the federal government \$5.3 billion a year. But that, the DLC acknowledges, is just a loose guess. And whether the true cost is \$5 billion or \$14 billion, finding such funds at a time of crushing deficits will not be easy.

Once the policy issues are decided, there are administrative matters to sort out. The potential for pitched warfare among charitable groups is great. For example, who would choose which local projects qualified for national-service status and which did not? The losers could see their volunteer pool dry up as workers went to the organizations where work yielded vouchers. The Nunn-McCurdy plan envisions a national committee and local boards making such decisions. In addition, the work of the winners in selecting, training and keeping young workers would require diligent supervision likely to tax the abilities of a largely volunteer staff.

Much of the feel-good sentiment to-



Minnesota. Unions have tried to make sure volunteers will not displace workers

ward national service undoubtedly stems from nostalgia and, in some instances, misleading memories of the New Deal and the GI Bill. But those are poor analogies to current proposals. The GI Bill was passed *after* World War II, and so was not an inducement to get men to

serve. Rather, it rewarded men for risking their lives for their country—which is not quite the same as visiting a nursing home. And it helped prevent an enormous labor glut that the return of millions of veterans threatened to create. "The GI Bill," says Peter Szanton, a national-service supporter and former Carter administration official, "was a solution for a problem we don't have."

Much the same can be said about Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps. The most massive national-service program in U.S. history, its 2 million workers built more than 63,000 buildings, 800 parks and 7,500 impounding dams. But that program for the unemployed also had flaws. It generally worked well as a jobs initiative as long as men were out of work. When the unemployment rate started dropping in the mid-1930s, the CCC proved to be of little value in training men for new jobs. Today, by contrast, the job market is glutted. "National service is no program for all seasons," say Szanton and co-author Richard Danzig in their book *National Service: What Would It Mean?*

Moskos and other ardent backers of national service readily admit the limitations of their proposal. But they see the concept as having matured since the experiments of the New Deal and the Great Society, and they expect more maturation as the debate progresses. It may well prove to be, as Nunn says often, "an idea whose time has come." If it does, it would alter the character of American life. The final test will be whether the alterations apply to the rich and poor alike. ■

by Jeffery L. Sheler and David Whitman
with Joseph P. Shapiro

WHAT OTHER NATIONS DO

MANDATORY

West Germany

Men drafted for 15-month term in the military may instead serve three years with the police or border patrol, two years overseas in a program like the Peace Corps or 10 years part time as a volunteer for civil defense and disaster relief. Conscientious objectors may substitute 20-month civilian service in lieu of military or police service.

France

All men must serve one year of compulsory service, either military, domestic civilian or overseas civilian.

Denmark

Lottery in which about 40 percent of all 19-year-old men serve for nine months in military.

Spain

Men serve 18 months in military upon turning 21. Exceptions for only sons.

VOLUNTARY

Britain

Volunteers may enter either the Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), the British equivalent of the Peace Corps, or the Community Service Volunteers (CSV), which covers a range of human services.

Canada

Volunteer program called Katimavik was canceled in 1986 for budgetary reasons.

USN&WR—Basic data: Democratic Leadership Council, Charles Moskos, "National Service in America"



PHOTOS BY RICH FENSHAM FOR U.S. NEWS

Blood. A strong sense of teamwork is the lasting legacy of the California Conservation Corps to those who participate

For whom the corps toils

There is a new CCC that helps youths and clears hiking trails

A year ago, Keith Yukle fancied himself a punk rocker. He sported a day-glow Mohawk haircut, hung out on Hollywood's Sunset Strip and sold drugs to get by. The only child of strict Mormons, he dropped out of high school a few months before graduation and stopped speaking with his parents. "Anarchy was my way of life," he said. "Anything society did not like, I did."

Today, the lanky, freckle-faced 18-year-old has a crew cut, gets up at 6:30 every morning to do calisthenics, wears a hard hat and khaki uniform and earns the minimum wage by smashing rock and building hiking trails in beautiful remote parks. He works for the California Conservation Corps, the oldest, largest and most successful state-run public-service youth corps in the country. Described as a cross between the Marine Corps and a kibbutz by founder and former Governor Jerry Brown, the CCC is a program that aims to foster both conservation and youth development. While many federal jobs programs founded in the past decade, the CCC won

the hearts and minds of Californians by fighting forest fires, floods and medflies, helping local communities build parks and saving the state hundreds of thousands of dollars in energy costs by cleaning light fixtures and installing solar-heating systems in government buildings. But its biggest and least appreciated impact has been on the lives of some 40,000 corps members who have passed through its ranks since its inception in 1976.



Toil. Keith Yukle is no longer a dropout

Yukle's experience is remarkably typical. He still chafes at being reined in and likes to rail against what he calls the corps' dictatorial disciplinary system. But he talks regularly with his folks now and takes his life and relationships more seriously. Elected to represent corps members in discussions with CCC staff, he has proved he can lead and help people. "My ultimate goal is to get a job in the U.S. forestry service fighting fires," he says. "When you stop something from destroying things, it's a real good feeling, kind of like how I feel when I get to the top of a rock climb."

Tough, nasty, great

His transformation came simply. One day he just made up his mind he was going nowhere and decided on his own he was ready to make a change. Visiting his high-school outreach office, he noticed a flier for the corps, liked its rugged outdoor appeal ("low pay, hard work, miserable conditions") and joined up. It has not been easy and, like 4 out of 5 CCC recruits, he may quit or be fired before his

one-year term is up. He almost got suspended in January for missing a required high-school-equivalency class in the evening. But with seven months in the corps behind him, he has changed noticeably. Mostly, he has grown up.

A pet project of Governor Brown's, the corps was modeled after Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, which put over 3 million men to work building trails and parks during the Depression. Brown's Republican successor, George Deukmejian, tightened up the organization but also expanded its budget and turned it into a permanent state department. Twelve other states and dozens of cities and counties have since established similar year-round programs. Recent Democratic proposals to establish a national-service corps borrowed CCC elements. And last October, candidate George Bush cited the CCC in a major campaign speech in California as the kind of public-spirited local effort his administration would like to help duplicate around the country.

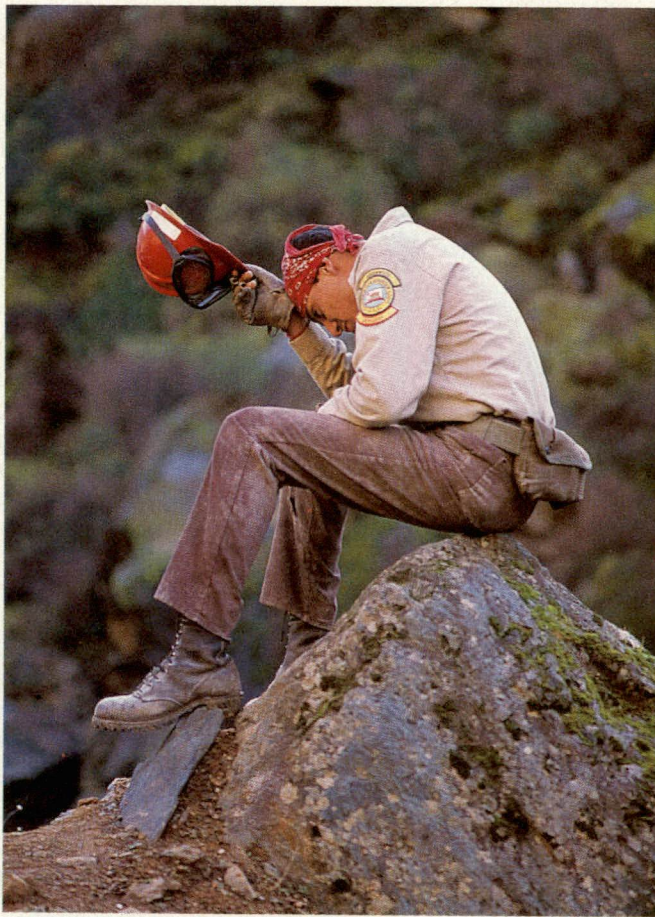
In contrast, federal jobs programs have fared poorly. Many of the Great Society youth programs ended up becoming bureaucratic boondoggles. Images linger of inner-city kids wearing new T-shirts with catchy service slogans lollygagging about subway stations with brooms in their hands. Troubled camps in Jimmy Carter's Young Adult Conservation Corps got the program off to such a bad start that critics quickly dubbed it "Hoods in the Woods." The Reagan revolution derailed, starved or eliminated many other efforts.

How has the CCC succeeded where many other youth programs have failed? One advantage has been that it is simply a local service, dreamed up by and for Californians. It did not bear the stigma of being a federal program foisted on a community. Low though the pay may be, competitive entry-level paychecks have been essential in attracting kids into the program. Most recruits say they joined because they needed a job. Anyone who is between the ages of 18 and 23, a California resident and not on probation or parole can join.

Demanding exercise, discipline and hard work provide healthful therapy and structure. But the fact that recruits are doing work that will have lasting benefit, like replanting burned-out forests, is

equally important. "As a rule, we refuse to do maintenance or make-work, like picking up garbage," says CCC Director Bud Sheble. Moving kids away from their local environment to live in residential work centers in scenic settings reduces distractions and enhances the corps' influence.

Quality supervision is critical. Unlike many understaffed volunteer programs that throw well-intentioned people indiscriminately at problems, often with pathetic results, CCC projects are planned meticulously in advance, much like construction work. An adult foreman supervises every work crew of 10 to 15 kids; and at the same time serves as a mentor,



Sweat. "Like how I feel when I get to the top of a rock climb"

teacher and counselor. The corps also energetically encourages citizenship. It requires members to register to vote, give blood and further their educational level through evening classes taught by local high-school or community-college teachers. In addition, each member must keep a regular written journal.

But most supervisors point to teamwork as the key factor behind the corps' success. "The whole program is based on the crew dynamic," says David Boyd, director of the Placer Energy Center, one of 17 residential centers around the state. "The peer pressure of working together in

tight-knit crews helps develop work ethic, pride in the quality of the work, self-esteem and a sense of belonging."

Is it worth the money?

Shining though its example may be, the CCC is expensive. State taxpayers will put \$55 million into the program this year, up from \$37 million in 1982, when Brown left office. After reimbursements from other agencies for work done, that comes to \$22,749 per corps member, assuming an average enrollment of 2,000. CCC members get only \$10,000 in wages and benefits, and they must reimburse the corps for room, board and some medical insurance.

Is it worth it? That is the central question this country must address as it begins a new debate about how much the federal government ought to foster public service among young people in a time of scarce resources and public skepticism about government efficiency. According to different estimates, the corps' conservation work for the state adds up to an economic benefit worth \$1 to \$1.77 for every dollar spent, assuming the state would hire free-market labor to accomplish the same tasks. But much of the work the corps does, such as tree planting and building hiking trails, delivers low-priority public services that would not otherwise be provided.

The corps' real value has more to do with helping kids like Keith Yukle find themselves and become productive, responsible citizens. It does not work for everyone. The high attrition rate suggests many recruits leave with their act no more together than when they came in. But it is misleading, since some corps members quit to take good jobs, a positive attrition the CCC supports. Moreover, even an abbreviated

term can have positive effects. Such intangible benefits are hard to measure and sound 1960s soft. But in the hard-edged 1980s they have suddenly moved to the center of political debate. Faced with labor shortages and tough global competition, even the hardest-nosed business people would admit that offering kids who fall between the cracks of schools, jobs and the military an effective way to straighten out has important social and economic value. What the CCC shows is how this can be best accomplished. ■

by Thomas Moore

Can patriotism be legislated?

BY DANIEL J. BOORSTIN

When the nation basked in the euphoria of John F. Kennedy's inaugural in January, 1961, nearly everybody applauded his "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country." My irreverent friend at the University of Chicago, Milton Friedman, wondered whether our eloquent young President had not got it backwards. In a free society do citizens exist for the nation, or vice versa? Today, when we hear proposals for national service, we ought to ask Milton Friedman's question.

Americans have always been ambivalent about national service. Colonial conditions, the menace of Indians and the need for firearms to hunt food all encouraged the tradition of an armed citizenry—"a well regulated Militia" and "the right of the people to keep and bear Arms"—now preserved in the Bill of Rights as the Second Amendment to the Constitution. In the American wilderness, colonists armed as a militia had a great advantage over Britons schooled in the programmed battles and open battlefields of Europe. But for the defense of any larger community, this individualistic tradition would make problems.

Again and again, colonial "isolationism" prevented a common defense. Massachusetts and Virginia both refused the request of the governor of New York in 1691-93 to send men to defend that far-off frontier. When Massachusetts suffered a wave of Indian raids in 1703, her urgent requests to neighboring Connecticut and Rhode Island were similarly refused. General Washington later complained that "America has been almost amused out of her Liberties" by the militia who "combat for safety instead of victory" and who were reluctant to fight outside home territory. After brief service, "If the Salvation of the Country had depended on their staying Ten or Fifteen days, I don't believe they would have done it. Militia won't do. Their greatest Study is to rub through their Tower [Tour] of Duty with whole Bones."

The militia tradition—every man on his own and every community for itself—did have its points. An armed defense force was always at hand. Another positive side of community "isolationism" was the local pride and community loyalty that would flourish in boosterism and an active citizenry. But a deep ambivalence, a skepticism and suspicion of any sort of "national" service, has itself become an American tradition. The Civil War Conscription Act of March 3, 1863, which enlisted all able-bodied men 20 to 45, allowed them to avoid service by paying \$300 or procuring a substitute. The resulting New York Draft Riots (July 13-16) made a chaos of the city, left a thousand casualties and required additional troops to keep order—thus actually depleting the forces desperately needed to pursue Lee after Gettysburg. Enterprising "bounty jumpers" profited from these troubles by volunteering, then deserting and returning to service for another bounty. The draft for the Vietnam War produced a national trauma and widespread evasion. Americans fled abroad and, even after the pardons by President Ford in 1974 and President Carter in 1977, left scars noted by President Bush in his recent inaugural address.

In the United States, we have no proper precedent for a

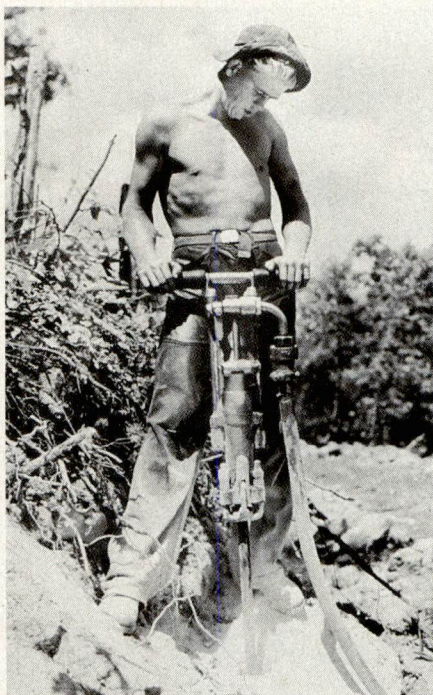
peacetime civilian draft. The Civilian Conservation Corps (March 31, 1933) for men 18 to 25 was primarily a program for unemployment and family relief. Jobless young men received room and board and medical care plus a \$30 cash monthly allowance, \$25 of which was sent to their families. At one time a half-million men were on the rolls, and by 1941 almost 2 million had been employed. They added 17 million acres of new forest land, fought forest fires and plant diseases, stocked hatcheries with over a billion fish, built 6 million check dams to halt erosion and refurbished the national parks. Another national program, the Works Progress Administration, created in 1935, despite some notorious "leaf raking" projects, produced substantial and enduring benefits. While employing more than 8 million jobless, it left a rich legacy in literature, music, the theater and the arts, and provided us with guidebooks to the American historic landscape that are still unexcelled. These successful programs were emphatically, even enthusiastically, voluntary.

Unenforceable laws. Anyone who would devise a scheme of national service today must recognize our national ambivalence toward compulsory service—even in wartime. We must recall our honorable, if not always honored, tradition of respecting the consciences of conscientious objectors. We must recall, too, the risks in peacetime of using laws to enforce the unenforceable. Past American efforts to legislate loyalty and patriotism, tried repeatedly since the Civil War, have led to witch-hunts and more often incited personal vendettas and demagogic politics than the nobler sentiments. We have enough liberty-loving, conscientious citizens among us to make all efforts to enforce patriotism by law painfully divisive. If we are to compel government service, it should be only under a direct menace to our national existence.

Our nation today offers an ample field for voluntary national service in the battle against the human erosion of illiteracy, drugs and alcohol. Our environment offers new challenges to fight deforestation, pollution and the extinction of wildlife.

Not to mention the amorphous and diffuse problems of treating AIDS and caring for the homeless. Our teachers have long been a National Service Corps. In this grass-roots-oriented nation, our communities, properly encouraged by our federal government, can devise countless service programs.

The memory still lingers of our ancestors—including my own—who came here to avoid the tyranny of military service in Russia and Eastern Europe. The characteristically American voluntary programs—the current GI Bill, the Peace Corps and the Fulbright program—that we already know, can provide precedents for other programs. While patriotism cannot be legislated, the resources and incentives for education and service can be. Our whole educational system and our research-and-development laboratories are a proper focus for American kinds of national service. Programs modeled on the GI Bill, but without requiring previous military service, could provide continuing incentives for a more imaginative, more community-minded, more literate and more technically competent citizenry—qualified to play their roles in a uniquely federal nation. ■



The CCC. A jobs program in the 1930s

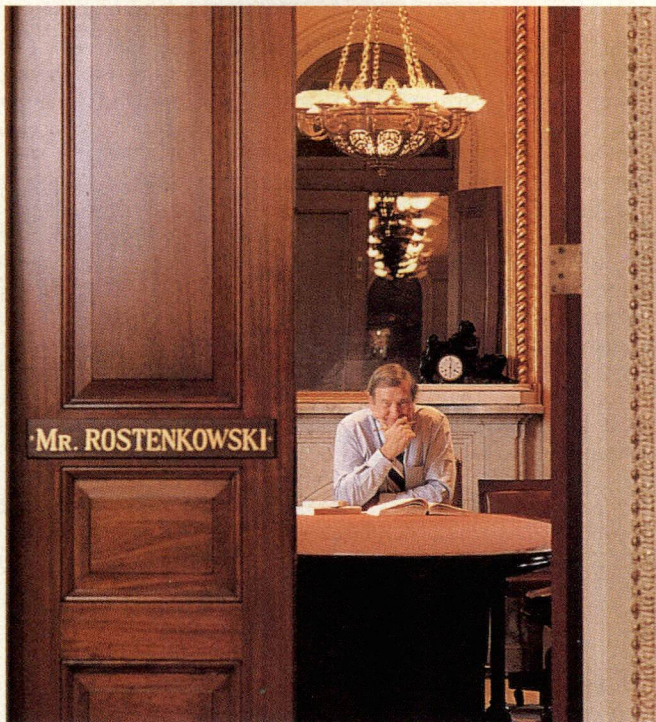
The short, unhappy life of tax reform

Simplification is threatened by proposals for new incentives and loopholes

For at least one day in the summer of 1986, even the cynics had to admit the little guys won. With an agreement on tax reform, a brave new world of fairness and simplicity was at hand. Fat-cat lobbyists would forfeit special-interest loopholes. The nation's poorest would pay no taxes. The guarantee of equity was there for all the rest. If its gushing authors referred to the measure as historic, they could be forgiven since they had arguably created the most sweeping overhaul of the tax system in more than a half-century. Such achievement seemed, even to the vanquished, a shining moment when political imperatives coincided with the national interest.

That was then. Now tax reform, like other political miracles before it, has been recast as something short of salvation. With untamed federal and trade deficits and an uncomfortably low national savings rate, the tax code has instead become a convenient target. Given the spending restraints in this age of austerity, George Bush and his congressional colleagues are now concentrating their budget efforts on ways to slip social and economic policy in through the back door. That means offering a host of politically attractive tax breaks ranging from the President's proposed cut in the capital-gains rate to plans for child-care tax credits. Taken together, "all these goddamn credits cost money," warns House Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski. But what worries him even more is that the most politically appealing incentives will work to shorten the already unhappy life of tax reform.

Nobody really liked it. Despite its advance billing, tax reform never delivered much political capital. From the outset, there were complaints that it was not fair. Some wealthy taxpayers still pay less than many in the middle class. And there were gripes that it was not simple. Businesses have been hurt by the law's new, onerous administrative requirements. Restrictions on savings incentives have not helped its popular image. And there are other signals that the measure



Write Rosty. Tax-writer Rostenkowski wants no more fiddling

TAX HIKES ON THE TABLE

While Washington focuses on tax breaks to implement social policy, there are shadow plans for tax *increases* as well. Some top contenders include:

- **Energy taxes.** An oil-import fee is popular with producers, and a gas tax is popular with those who aren't.
- **Sin taxes.** Alcohol and tobacco levies are seen as relatively noncontroversial ways to boost revenue.
- **The top rate.** Some Democrats, including House Speaker Jim Wright, would hike the top tax rate for the wealthiest from the current 28 percent.

might not perform as promised. Treasury Department projections indicate the supposedly revenue-neutral law could fall \$47 billion short over five years. Experts disagree, but even reform pioneer Senator Bill Bradley admits that the truth is anyone's guess.

Such uncertainty signals vulnerability, no matter how virtuous tax reform may be. And its successes are considerable: The economy and investment spending are growing at a steady pace, the real-estate industry is working off its binge in unnecessary office-building construction, millions of the nation's poor are off the tax rolls. "I know of no country in the world that doesn't envy us," says Joseph Pechman, a Brookings Institution senior fellow. For now, not many Democrats or

lobbyists profess an urgent yen for a wholesale reform of reform. But there is a growing sense that the unraveling could begin when Bush makes the first moves on tax breaks and Congress follows. "Then you can lose control," says corporate-tax lobbyist John Winburn. "Every special interest wants a bedfellow."

No-cost capital gains. Bush could be that man. In his budget this week, he will propose to cut the top rate on capital gains to 15 percent from the current 28 percent level. He promises the cut will not lose money because it will create new jobs and businesses with taxable income. That revenue, he maintains, would offset any losses from the capital-gains tax cut or his other tax-incentive proposals for oil-and-gas exploration, enterprise zones for inner-city development and child care. The Democrats do not believe him, and with some reason. Past estimates have shown the capital-gains plan would cost the government billions. While Senate Finance Chairman Lloyd Bentsen says he is "willing" to consider an incremental proposal to reduce the top capital-gains rate, his House counterpart balks. "If Bush rolls me on capital gains for the rich, I'll do something about [raising] the rates," says Rostenkowski. "I'm a Democrat."

For Rostenkowski, that would mean the "beginning of the end" of reform, an achievement he considers the capstone of his career. He will not go gently and suspiciously eyes House Speaker Jim Wright's subterranean campaign to raise the top rate for the wealthiest taxpayers from 28 to 33 percent. Wright even sent a letter to tax-committee members asking them to "restore a greater degree of equity" to the code, advice not warmly greeted by the chairman. As Congress inched toward a new code more than two years ago, Rostenkowski made a prime-time television appearance to plead his case. If you want tax reform, he said, "write Rosty." Thousands did, and it worked. Maybe he ought to try again. ■

by Gloria Borger

Should Congress get a 51 percent raise?

Lloyd Cutler, head of commission that proposed pay hike for federal officials

PRO

Q Is it fair to let Congress implement the pay raise without requiring an on-the-record vote in both houses?

There are some measures that congressmen truly believe are in the national interest, yet which they feel compelled to vote against because they know their constituents are so strongly opposed. This is one of those. Congress is free to reject the pay raise or limit the raise for itself and allow the raises for the other two branches to go through. Personally, I think Congress should be taken out of this game entirely, that Congress should pass a law delegating the authority once and for all either to the President or to a commission such as ours appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The commission would have the final authority.

Q Why did your commission suggest such large salary increases? Isn't the proposed 51 percent congressional pay raise, from \$89,500 to \$135,000, too much?

We took the 1969 salaries, which were the first ones set under this quadrennial commission process and which made up for prior inflation and reflected President Johnson's judgment as to comparability with the private sector. Adjusting for inflation, those salaries today are worth 51 percent less than they were in 1969.

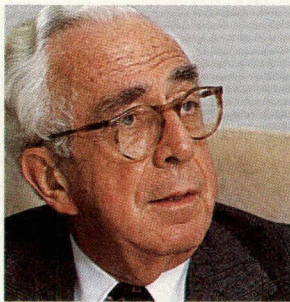
Q In return for the pay raise, will lawmakers agree not to take honorariums for speeches?

Honorariums ought to be abolished anyway. I like to call them "dishonorariums." Public confidence in the integrity of members of Congress is going to be shaken when members are receiving payments on the side from interest groups who are trying to lobby them to vote one way or the other on particular issues. The only possible justification for allowing honorariums is that existing salaries are inadequate. The obvious solution would be to have a significant enough salary increase—which is justified anyway in order to correct past inflation—so that honorariums are ruled out. A senator or congressman should have only one paymaster: And that's the United States Treasury, the people of the United States. The raise we are recommending is only slightly above the maximum amount of honorariums which lawmakers are now allowed to receive. A senator can receive \$36,000 in honorariums, and our proposed pay increase is only \$45,500. If this pay raise is rejected, Congress will not eliminate honorariums completely, and we will have the worst of all worlds.

Q Even with salaries at their current levels, don't we still have good people taking jobs in government?

We have good people, I grant you that. But they leave. In a recent poll conducted by the American Bar Association, 30 percent of the present judges said they would not serve their lifetime appointments unless pay were substantially increased. And our top scientists find great difficulty in accepting a government research position when they can be paid 50 percent or 100 percent more by a private laboratory.

YES: "Those salaries today are worth 51 percent less than in 1969"



CHICK HARRITY—USNS/WR

CON

Ralph Nader, consumer activist and founder of *Public Citizen*

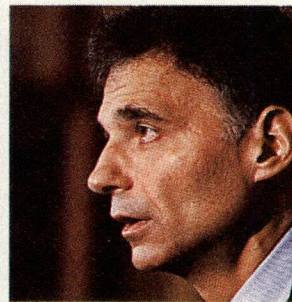
Q Why do you oppose this pay raise?

The taxpayers owe these top government officials nothing more than a decent standard of living. And \$89,500 plus generous pensions, comprehensive health insurance, life insurance and, in the case of Congress, \$3,000-a-year housing deductions and a line of perks a train-length long is more than a decent standard of living. Second, these are the same officials who have presided over a government drowning in red ink and who tell the American people there is not enough money for Head Start, emergency-shelter assistance, meat and poultry inspection, educational grants and scholarships. Third, when top government officials get a huge salary increase, the rest of the federal bureaucracy and then the state and local bureaucracies will move to get their salary increases. So you have the governmental sector fueling a whole ricochet of inflation throughout the economy, which will not only press hard on consumers and impede the recovery of the economy but increase the public deficit as well.

Q Isn't it important to get lawmakers to give up honorariums?

The money itself is not the biggest corrupting problem. Lawmakers still will allow all-expense-paid trips. They are still going to go to Las Vegas or the Bahamas. They're still going to socialize and fraternize with these corporate lobbyists when they should be at work in the Senate, where they're getting paid every day. They're going to give the money to charity, spraying the contributions to all kinds of charities in their districts with accompanying press releases. So it increases the advantages of incumbency.

NO: "The gap should not be wider between the rulers and the ruled"



GARY L. KIEFFER

Q Is pay keeping talented people away from government jobs?

Talented people do not refuse to serve because of lousy pay; they refuse to serve because of lousy government. Scientists left OSHA and EPA because they were working under people who wanted to dismantle those agencies. Four judges per year on average have left the federal bench since 1974. That's less than a 1 percent attrition rate. Ninety-nine percent of the people in this country earn less than members of Congress, federal judges and top government officials. The gap should not be wider between the rulers and the ruled, who pay their salaries. The worst thing is that this salary grab intimidates, corrupts or demeans everything it touches. Look at President Bush. Inside, he felt Congress should vote on the raise, but he didn't want to offend the leadership in Congress. Look at the trade associations and law firms. They want to ingratiate themselves with these guys from whom they seek favorable decisions. Look at the citizen groups, afraid that they'll get retaliated against on their pesticide-reform bill. This salary grab symbolizes what is arrogant, authoritarian and insensitive about official Washington to millions of people around the country. This is not going to blow over.

Interviews with Joseph P. Shapiro

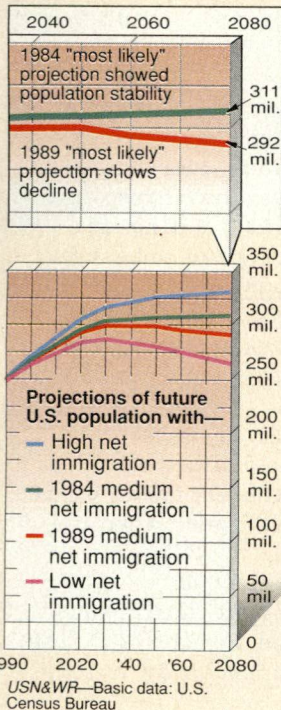
TOMORROW

THE CASE FOR MORE IMMIGRANTS

by Ben J. Wattenberg

Down from the heights

New census projections show a diminishing America in the mid-2030s unless more immigrants arrive



■ FROM SLOW GROWTH TO NO GROWTH

Consider some of the growth stock words of America's social history: "The frontier," "homestead," "melting pot," "suburbia," "sun belt." For two centuries, the American experience has been suffused by population growth. The first census, in 1790, tallied 4 million Americans. The census of 1990 will show about 250 million—a 60-fold increase. It has been the largest and longest population explosion in world history, directly linked to the stunning rise in the U.S. standard of living and America's gain in geopolitical and cultural influence.

But the future may be different. Last week, the U.S. Census Bureau published new population projections. For the first time, they showed that although America will grow for a while, there is a no-growth future ahead, leading to a demographic deficit. If these middle-series ("most likely") projections prove true, there will be a stark change in American life. Society will get older: Median age will go from 33 years in 1990 to 43 in 2040. In the next decade, the number of young adults age 25-34 will drop from 44 million in 1990 to 37 million in the year 2000. The ratio of working-age taxpayers to elderly people will shrink from 5 to 1 now to 2½ to 1 in 2030.

All that change will echo in every cranny of society: Budget deficits and future Social Security shortfalls, labor and customer shortages. Ultimately, the issue goes beyond numbers to the regnant question of the moment: Is America in decline?

■ RELIEVING THE COMING CUSTOMER AND LABOR SHORTAGE

The new census report is an important indicator, but there are caveats. Projections are not predictions. They only reveal what will happen if certain assumptions obtain. The key assumptions in population projections involve fertility, immigration, and

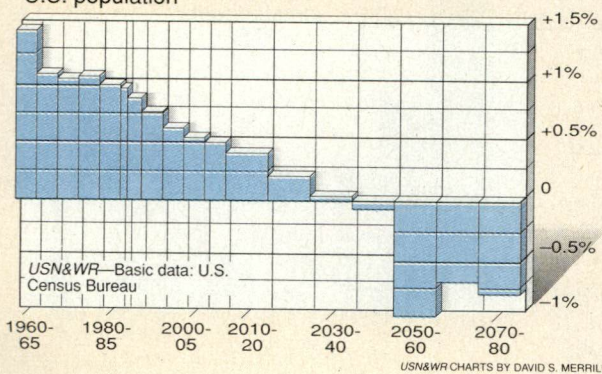
mortality rates. All are subject to argument. The major difference between this set of projections and the last set (issued in 1984) is the lowering of the middle-series total fertility rate (TFR) from an already low 1.9 lifetime births per woman to 1.8. (To keep a population stable over time, it takes a TFR of 2.1, absent immigration.)

The surest way to break the downward momentum of the projections is through more immigration. And only more immigration can provide the stream of "instant adults" to deal with the looming problems in a timely manner. Immigrants are likely to be young workers. So they relieve the coming labor shortage and put a quick dent in the

customer shortage. (For example, they need houses.) Immigrants play a helpful role in the deficit and Social Security equations. They are twofers—a double-barreled benefit. A typical extra young immigrant worker will add about \$3,000 per year to the Social Security trust fund, which cuts the federal deficit. The second benefit comes in the next century when the baby-boomers start retiring. Part of their spiraling pension and health costs will be paid by that immigrant worker, then middle-aged.

For a country worried about the educational quality of its work force, immigrants can be a source of trained young people (mostly

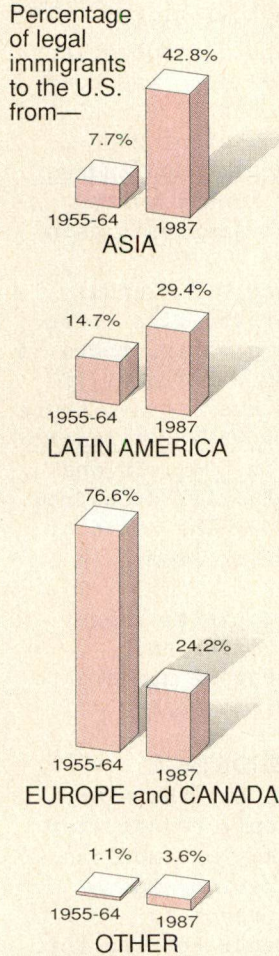
Average annual percentage change in total U.S. population



Note: Projections for 1984 assumed 450,000 new legal immigrants entering the U.S. each year. Projections for 1989 are based on low net immigration of 300,000 new immigrants per year, medium net immigration of 600,000, diminishing to 500,000 by the year 1998 as employer-sanctions legislation takes effect, and high net immigration of 800,000. All 1989 projections include estimates for illegal immigration and out-migration. Moderate fertility and mortality levels are assumed.

USN&WR CHARTS BY DAVID S. MERRILL

The march of immigrants



Note: Numbers do not add to 100 percent because of rounding.
 USN&WR—Basic data: Immigration and Naturalization Service

■ **Changing immigration patterns are yielding an America that is the first truly universal nation in history. However, a rewrite of U.S. immigration laws in 1965 had the unintended effect of limiting European immigration, while at the same time encouraging Asian and Hispanic immigration. The total volume of legal immigration has shrunk dramatically during this century. It was proportionately much greater in earlier periods (see chart, opposite) when the nation was smaller and the level of immigration was not nearly as restricted as it is today**

educated at another nation's expense). In a country concerned about a decline in the work ethic, immigrants may well be among the most ambitious workers. In a country worried about an Asian challenge, immigrants give us a connection to the burgeoning commerce of the Pacific Rim. In a country worried about traditional values and patriotism, immigrants are often their exemplars. Finally, the American immigrant experience has taught the human species a powerful lesson: Democracy can work for everyone. That is a new idea in history and is still being learned in a world where nondemocratic societies are slated to grow much more rapidly than democratic ones.

■ **THE CRITICS ARE WRONG**

Who's against increased immigration? Those who say immigrants take jobs from Americans; those who say America is overpopulated, overpolluted and running out of resources; those who think, but rarely say, that the racial and ethnic balance is tipping and America will no longer be a country of white European ancestry.

Each of these arguments has flaws. Most serious economists do not believe that immigrants eat up American jobs. Immigrants "consume" jobs. But they also "create" jobs. Working immigrants buy food, clothing and magazines. This activity yields demand, and demand yields jobs.

Is the world running out of resources? No, but if it were, slower population growth only means that we would hit "empty" a few years later. Is America overcrowded? More than a third of its counties are losing population. And pollution is lower than it was two decades ago.

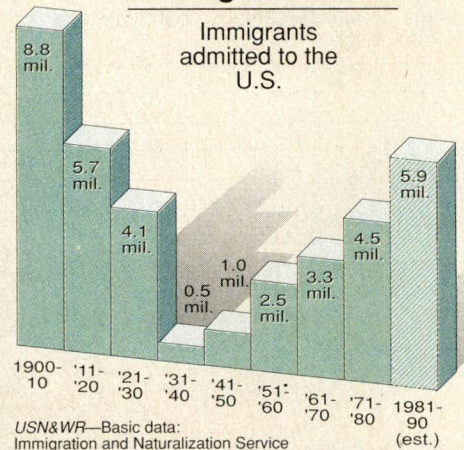
Racial and ethnic fears exist in America, as they do everywhere. They should be addressed by noting that immigrants are succeeding here and that Americans were once afraid of Irish, Jews, Italians. Further, fear can be allayed somewhat by mildly and equitably changing the mix of immigrants.

■ **DON'T IGNORE THE SKILLFUL**

Two principles, each sound but neither sufficient, are now under congressional consideration. The first concerns the overemphasis on family preference to make immigration decisions. Today, only about 5 percent of all legal immigrants come to America on the basis of their skills. That shortsighted policy turns away ambitious individuals who want to live the American dream and have skills, like nursing and engineering, that are in short supply here.

The second issue concerns race and ethnicity. Prior to 1965, America had a tilted immigration code, kind to white Europeans but restrictive to many others. A 1965 immigration law tried to make the formula fair. Hispanic immigration went up. Asian immigration soared. But European immigration plummeted. Today, few Europeans who seek to emigrate have the close family ties that the law usually demands. Moreover, the likely partial

Coming to America



USN&WR—Basic data: Immigration and Naturalization Service
 USN&WR CHARTS BY DAVID S. MERRILL

lifting of the iron curtain will provide a larger pool of European immigrants. Some stopgap legislation has been enacted.

■ MAKE THE PIE BIGGER

As it now stands, the various immigration claimants are nervous about each other, locked in what is almost no-growth, zero-sum, numerative and parochial politics. There is a one-word solution that could solve everyone's problems: "More." The obstacle to that concept is Senator Alan Simpson. He is irreverent, intelligent, conservative, shrewd, popular, diligent and, as ranking Republican of the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Affairs, usually heeded.

His focus is not on "more." In fact, some of his adversaries on this issue, primarily in the House, say he is a "restrictionist." Simpson says they are wrong. He is outraged by the gimmickry, deception, complexity and irrationality of the current system. He has a point. The immigration code is a hypercomplicated hodgepodge, a feast for immigration lawyers. Simpson says too many of the new immigrants are not very productive because they were picked on the basis of family ties, not by potential productivity or needed skills.

Simpson wants coherence. Working with his odd-couple sidekick Senator Edward Kennedy (who is neither conservative nor restrictionist), Simpson engineered an immigration bill that passed the Senate in 1988. It featured coherence, including more occupational preference and slightly more European immigration but not much growth. The House did not act, and the bill died.

From a demographic point of view, the probable increases in the new Kennedy-Simpson bill might not even make up for the likely forthcoming drop in illegal immigration (due to tough employer-sanctions enacted in the 1986 immigration law). The other players are left bickering in the old zero-sum game, picking at the edges with a 10,000 bump here and a 15,000 bump there.

As the new projections reveal, long-term growth comes only with immigration. The difference between the middle and high-line projections shown on page 29 involves increasing annual immigration by 300,000--a wise policy that should include an across-the-board rise with an extra lift for Europeans.

It is not easy to get the word "more" from Simpson, but it comes easily from Representative Romano Mazzoli, formerly chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee. His father was an Italian tile-and-terrazzo setter. Mazzoli knows that Americans oppose more immigration in the abstract, but will applaud it when they grasp that without more immigrants, there would be no easy access to bakers, tailors and tile setters. His successor, Representative Bruce Morrison, is also progrowth.

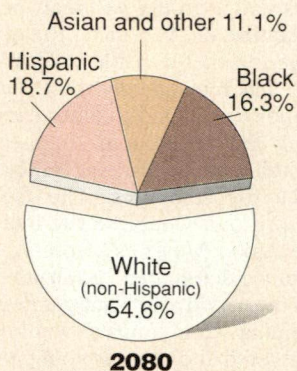
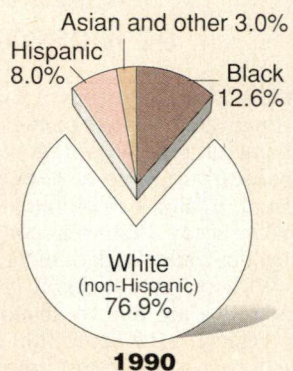
There is a constructive compromise. Simpson should understand that a policy of coherence is not enough. Immigration should be raised. Exercised in earlier times, the Simpson doctrine of coherence could have yielded an America about as influential as Australia, with the world the loser. In turn, the House should understand that it is right to make immigration law rational.

The stakes are high. The results will be shaping America when the battle over budget deficits is a musty asterisk in history books. The 20th century has been the American century. At issue is whether the same will be said of the next one.

Ben J. Wattenberg is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.
Marianna I. Knight contributed to this report.

The new melting pot

Percentage of U.S. population

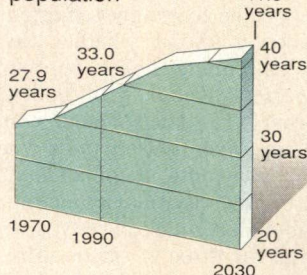


Note: Figures do not add to 100 percent because of rounding.
USN&WR—Basic data: U.S. Census Bureau, USN&WR estimates

■ **The ethnic and racial proportions of America's population can be significantly altered by changing immigration rules to allow more European immigrants into the country. Without young immigrants, the population will age (see below)**

Going gray

Median age of U.S. population



USN&WR—Basic data: U.S. Census Bureau

After the Soviets go

Diplomats talk of peace, warriors maneuver for power as Moscow's troops leave Afghans to sort out their future

In the marbled ministries of Islamabad, distinguished visitors come and go, talking of broad-based governments and peaceful transfers of power for Afghanistan. Behind Kalashnikov-carrying guards in seedy Peshawar compounds, mujeheddin leaders talk of plots and sell-outs. With barely a week to go before Soviet troops are due to abandon their client regime in Kabul, the divisions among would-be successors are as deep as ever. It is an open question whether some 15 resistance groups will manage to meet as planned on February 10, much less cobble together a viable shadow government. The remotest prospect is an imminent nonviolent end to nine years of war.

Only the Soviets could engineer that—by withdrawing President Najibullah and his closest comrades. The face-saving quid pro quo would be the inclusion of some “good Moslems” from Kabul in a resistance-dominated government. But Moscow would also want guarantees that remaining Communists would not be slaughtered and that economic ties to the Soviet Union would continue. Diplomats in Islamabad think the Soviets will end up betting that their allies can hold out and that the resistance will shatter.

Even after Soviet troops leave Kabul, up to 500 advisers may remain behind. In scenes reminiscent of Saigon, 1975, the Soviets have been clearing trees near their homes to create emergency helicopter pads. They are also continuing to fly in food, though the seven or eight flights a day are largely symbolic. The United Nations, gearing up for a massive relief effort, is preparing to send convoys, but not until after February 15, the formal date for Soviet withdrawal. Mujeheddin groups have taken some 60 truckloads of supplies to Jalalabad. They are now debating whether to move food to Kabul or to let people go hungry to hasten the end.

Nobody knows whether the Soviets will risk international opprobrium by supporting Kabul with bombers after February 15. Their Kabul commander said last week that air raids would stop. But mujeheddin commanders concede that even without Soviet air support, the Najibullah regime can resist a siege of the capital for three to six months. The severest winter in 16 years, which has caused the Soviets as much trouble as it has the mujeheddin, prevents reinforcement



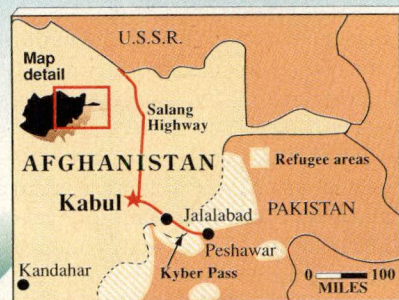
Outward bound. Its last troops will be gone, Moscow pledges, by February 15

The toll of a long war

Afghanistan, a poor nation with per capita gross domestic product of \$130 per person, life expectancy of 41 years (about half that in the U.S.), and literacy rate of 10 percent, has suffered these ravages of war—

- 50% reduction in agricultural production
- 50% less livestock
- 70% of paved roads damaged
- 60% of rural health centers destroyed
- 35% of villages destroyed
- 40% of population displaced
- 6% (1 million people) killed

USN&WR—Basic data: United Nations



ment of the 25,000 rebels surrounding Kabul for another month or so.

Circling the prey. For now, the Peshawar groups all claim to oppose frontal assaults on cities as suicidal for the attacking forces and as deadly for the civilians inside. Their strategy is to strangle the capital while attempting to provoke revolt from within. “The mujeheddin are like tigers circling a campfire,” one analyst says. “As it grows dimmer, they come closer and closer.”

Commander Abdul Haq, one of the best-known resistance heroes, is said to have a detailed plan to set off insurrection

in Kabul through moles within the Afghan forces. But the commander is bitter these days because of the alliance's failures to sink differences and to heed fighters in the field. The commanders, too, are divided. Haq recently rebuffed a bid by hard-line fundamentalist Gulbuddin Hekmatyar to make a joint grab for Kabul, cutting out other factions. Hekmatyar denies any such plot and accuses yet another commander, Ahmed Shah Masoud, of doing deals with the Soviets.

Factionalism is a way of life for Afghans. In Peshawar, the main fault line runs between four groups labeled Islamic



PAUL O'BRIEN/CORBIS

Emergency rations. Surrounded, Kabul must rely on Soviet soldiers for flour

fundamentalist and three known as moderate. Some fundamentalists campaign for revival of the Ahmed Shah government set up for the Geneva Accords last spring and now in unlamented eclipse. Some moderates urge restoration of the exiled King Zahir Shah and threaten to walk out if Ahmed Shah is foisted on them, though they might accept him in partnership with a moderate President.

Eight factions based in Iran are threatening not to attend the conference, or *shura*, at all unless they get twice as many seats as they have been offered. Teheran has recently entered the Afghan maneu-

vering and now supplies arms to Peshawar-based groups, including some non-fundamentalists. Iran's objective is to edge through the Kabul door and, if possible, slam it on the mujheddin's big arms suppliers, the Americans.

The Americans, in turn, have little notion of their role in post-Soviet Afghanistan. For nine years, their interest was to get the Soviets out. They were content to let Pakistan channel some \$1.3 billion worth of weapons and handle the mujheddin politically, even if that meant underwriting Islamic extremists. But now the U.S. worries that a continuing civil

war could tarnish its hard-bought victory and even allow the Soviets to claim that their intervention was justified. President Bush signaled an undefined new activism when he told his first press conference that the U.S. would play a "catalytic" role in bringing stability.

Groping for unity. The key catalyst, however, remains Pakistan, which has the highest stake in the outcome. Some Pakistani officials claim there has been a radical change in policy since the death of President Zia last August followed by the inauguration of Benazir Bhutto in December. Pakistan, they say, is no longer bent on a fundamentalist regime in Kabul and instead is driven by two overriding interests: That violence in Afghanistan not spill across the border and that sufficient stability be created to pull 3 million refugees homeward. Officials see the *shura* as a vital step to these ends, which is why Pakistan's intelligence chief was in Peshawar last week, knocking fractious bearded heads together. But Pakistanis know that strong-willed Afghans can be pushed just so far. This is what they tell importunate Soviets who hold out visions of postwar largesse if only Pakistan would persuade its Peshawar friends to make a place for the Kabul Communists.

Failure of the *shura* would exact more than a toll on mujheddin credibility; it would further weaken ties between the Peshawar front men and the commanders and local *shuras* across the border. It would also advance a scenario that most observers consider inevitable: Whenever and however the mujheddin conquer Kabul, they will exert scarcely more sway over the countryside than the capital-bound regime of Najibullah does. "Once the muj take Kabul, it will make Beirut look like a picnic," says Selig Harrison, a longtime observer of the region, predicting a succession of coups.

For the foreseeable future, Afghanistan is virtually certain to remain a mosaic of local fiefdoms with varying loyalties to Kabul and shifting relations with their neighbors. This prospect of near anarchy in a country with hazardous terrain, littered with unexploded mines and its infrastructure shattered by war has led one relief administrator to describe the rebuilding as "the most difficult relief operation anywhere ever." It may also be the biggest ever resettlement movement, with some 40 percent of Afghans migrating back to their homes.

The shape of this relief effort is no clearer today than the future political map of Afghanistan. Traditional rescue operations rely on a central government to fix priorities and provide basic facilities. In Afghanistan, 70 percent of the paved roads, most of the warehouses and a third of the villages have been de-

stroyed. All this in a country where in the best of times only 6 percent of the people outside cities have electricity and only 8 percent have piped water; where one doctor serves 20,000 people, and malaria, tuberculosis and maternal mortality help explain a life expectancy that has fallen from 41 years to 38 during the war.

Afghan needs are infinite; possibilities of meeting them in conventional ways are infinitesimal. The aid community in Peshawar will be pressing new solutions on the United Nations aid coordinator, Sadruddin Aga Khan, when he visits refugee camps this week. One creative plan, devised by an Afghan agricultural expert, envisages using private traders instead of U.N. convoys to get food into rural areas.

The U.N. would sell the wheat allocated for registered refugees in Pakistan and then distribute the proceeds—some \$40 million—as refugees set off for home. Refugees could use the cash to buy whatever they need and can find. The \$100 payout per family is conveniently equivalent to the black-market price of the ration card each would surrender on leaving. The plan would save on transportation and distribution costs, help revive trade patterns and increase the chances of moving food through political minefields. The scheme is not the universal solution. More than a million displaced persons inside



A choice of limbs. Artificial legs await maimed mujeheddin

Afghanistan would have to be fed in other ways. The U.N. is budgeting 130 million tons of grain for them over the next year on top of 500 million tons for refugees.

Just as control of arms has meant power in wartime, so control of relief supplies will bring political leverage. Alliance leaders are already demanding that all aid be channeled through them. However, aid agencies are determined as far as possible to keep supplies out of politicians' sticky hands. They aim to deal directly with local commanders and local *shuras*, though a respected aid official admits that "the hard part will be picking the right horse."

Arguing priorities. Hedayet Arsala, a former World Bank economist and one of Afghanistan's tiny cadre of world-class professionals, makes a strong counter-

argument. In a fragmented nation, he says, aid should be used not to reinforce divisions but to promote cohesion and central authority. He sees the reconstruction as an opportunity to put his primitive country on a faster track, consolidating villages into centers capable of supporting a school, a clinic, a market. It could mean replacing lost oxen with tractors, estimated to cost only 20 percent more. Arsala says Afghanistan will need \$1.5 billion a year in aid for at least five years to become self-sufficient in food. "If they can provide that much for war, why not for peace?" he asks.

World generosity is bound to fall far short of that. Sadruddin Aga Khan has collected \$900 million in pledges in response to his \$1.6 billion appeal for initial relief. But two thirds of that came as pledges of commodities from the Soviets, leaving very little cash in hand. The mujeheddin have dismissed Moscow's \$600 million with the same word Zia used for America's first postinvasion offer to Pakistan: "Peanuts!" The remaining \$300 million, also mostly commodities, allows an insufficient amount for transport. More will have to come from somewhere. The only Afghan economic sector that survived the war intact is natural gas, 97 percent of which goes to the Soviet Union.

A top priority for aid will be the areas

LOOKING FOR WITHDRAWAL SYMPTOMS IN MOSCOW

'Guidance isn't coming'

Soviet citizens are seeing an end to the Afghan War vastly different from the one seen in the West: Theirs is a war limned in heroism and hope, not destruction and defeat. As Western accounts dwell on continued bloodshed and the bleak outlook for the Kabul government, Moscow media extol the sacrifices of Soviet soldiers and snarl at the opposition mujeheddin as bandits.

Many Soviets, particularly intellectuals, bemoan the puffy coverage as a retreat to mediocrity. "Just wait a bit longer—the soldiers will be home soon," *Pravda* advises soothingly. An accompanying photo features smiling Afghan girls on a Kabul street. Other papers highlight the economic mess in Kabul without emphasizing the heavy fighting. Television, earlier hard-hitting in reports from Afghanistan, has been even more cautious. Commenta-

tors stick to unrevealing dispatches and brief film clips. Rush visits to Kabul by high-level officials, including Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov, rate only official announcements with shots of friendly meetings.

For Soviet citizens now accustomed to greater candor, the media backslide recalls the days of suppression before *glasnost*. Once again, they must read between the lines and rely on Western radio. From reports of food and energy shortages in Kabul, readers discern that Afghan leader Najibullah's hold is precarious. Accounts of a Soviet airlift of food reveal that the capital is surrounded by mujeheddin forces. Dispatches citing heavy mujeheddin losses leave no doubt that Soviet troops are still dying as well. The abandonment of Kabul by Western diplomats is reported indirectly, with quotations from the Afghan press agency condemning the depar-

tures as part of a "propagandistic war." Editors who still look for official hints about how to play foreign news are on their own. "The guidance isn't coming," one foreign-affairs reporter says. "We don't know how to handle it."

It may be unrealistic to expect instant analysis, like that by the American media about Vietnam, of where Moscow went wrong. In a country proud of its military heritage, the deaths of nearly 14,000 Soviet troops torment the public mind. Nor can blame be assigned to long-gone officials. Too many leaders of 1979, when the Soviets went into Afghanistan, including Mikhail Gorbachev himself, remain in power.

The pace of coverage will probably pick up in a rush of safe flag-waving as the last troops come home. Foreign and Soviet correspondents are being mobilized to meet them at the border. Only later might the mood turn to critical examination of a disastrous adventure, including the question America asked itself after Vietnam: Why? ■

by Jeff Trimble in Moscow

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IPS 527

On the trail of terrorists

Pan Am 103: The FBI's hunt for clues

along the Pakistan border, both because of easy access and because the Islamabad government is eager for the refugees to go home. But no one is packing up yet: It will take more than Soviet withdrawal to convince Afghans their homeland is secure. In fact, recent refugee movements have been toward Pakistan, with 20,000 crossing in recent months. When refugees do return, it will be with altered awareness and expectations—about preventive medicine, infant mortality, the outside world. Even heavily veiled women, who have been more confined in the camps than in their home villages, have told researchers they will not go back until there is an Islamic government in Kabul, which they define as ensuring equal rights for women.

Starting from scratch. The initial rebuilding will be labor intensive and low tech. Farmers will need basics—seeds, fertilizer, roof beams because of deforestation—and expert help for everything from clearing Soviet land mines to repairing irrigation works. But no inducement will be great enough to divert farmers from a logical economic decision—to plant part of their land with poppy, 10 times as profitable as wheat. Azam Gul, an Afghan agronomist, concludes that poppy growing will increase five times over prewar levels. The best land for poppy is the area nearest the drug labs and dealers in Pakistan.

Control of the poppy trade might be beyond any local Afghan authority. A better test might be resolution of the land disputes bound to break out as refugees return to claim farms taken over in their absence. A lot will depend on whether traditional mediation mechanisms, such as councils of elders, can prevent feuds over land, women and other issues from being settled with the ubiquitous Kalashnikov.

"The war was not just a scorching of the Afghan earth," says Ijaz Gilani, editor of a monthly war report in Islamabad. "It was a scorching of the social order." Naim Mazrooah, chief of the Afghan Information Center in Peshawar, puts it another way: "The fundamentalists consciously set out to destroy the tribal structure. The moderates did so unconsciously by competing for the loyalty of local leaders." The result, he claims, has been a collapse of the pillars of the old order. In some places, a new order has emerged in alliances between mujaheddin commanders and tribal councils. In others, local leaders have been strengthened by the retreat of central authority. But in many parts of Afghanistan, there is nothing but scorched earth. Fields can be regenerated in one or two seasons. Societies take a lot longer. ■

by Emily MacFarquhar in Pakistan

When Pan Am Flight 103 shattered over Scotland in December, killing at least 270 people, the world recoiled in horror. If any good can come from such tragedy, it is that it has catalyzed America's scattershot war against terrorists. *U.S. News* has learned that the FBI, operating under the authority of a little-known law that makes it a crime to attack Americans anyplace in the world, has initiated the largest counterterrorist investigation in its history. Working with investigators from Scotland Yard, more than 40 agents



Looking for leads: Wreckage before reconstruction

have been assigned to the case, and FBI supervisors are directing the input of other U.S. agencies.

In the past, the FBI has been prevented from investigating terrorist actions overseas because of diplomatic reasons. This time, only hours after the Pan Am disaster, an FBI agent was on the ground in Scotland inspecting the debris. Officials say that the investigation, while still far from complete, is progressing rapidly. Among the principal accomplishments so far:

- By collecting tens of thousands of the plane's shards and pieces, more than 80 percent of the plane has been recovered and major sections have been reconstructed in Scotland and England.

- FBI explosives experts have analyzed fragments of the plane for traces of high-performance plastic explosives and hope that by identifying the particular type or batch, they can trace it to a specific terrorist group.

- Intelligence operatives are beginning to spread the word quietly in Europe

and the Middle East that a reward of up to \$500,000 is available to those who provide reliable information about the bombing. Investigators hope to "flip" rival terrorists—that is, get them to talk, much as the FBI gets Mafia informants to talk about their rivals.

- The National Security Agency, which electronically monitors conversations overseas, is combing its files for all cables and telexes between Syria, Iran and Libya and their embassies in Europe transmitted in the weeks preceding the bombing. In 1984, the NSA traced telex messages between Syria and Iran that proved their involvement in the bombing of the Marine barracks in Lebanon, and officials now hope to discover message traffic that could provide evidence in the current investigation.

Maddeningly complex.

Although American investigators say they do not have hard leads or evidence yet, they now believe the bomb most likely was placed on the flight at its point of origin—Frankfurt, West Germany—either by an airport employee or by someone traveling on a connecting flight from

the Middle East. The chief suspects so far are Iranian, Libyan and Palestinian factions, including the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command headed by Ahmed Jibril. All oppose Yassir Arafat's recent recognition of Israel.

As investigations go, this one is maddeningly complicated. There were some 700 pieces of luggage aboard the plane, any one of which could have contained the bomb. And while Israel has shared intelligence with the U.S., investigators say that Egypt and the Palestine Liberation Organization, despite promises to help, have not been cooperative. FBI officials nevertheless say they are confident that with more time, they will be able to identify those responsible for the bombing. When that happens, they say, arrest warrants will be issued, and if it is determined that a foreign government participated, indictments of foreign leaders might be handed down. ■

by Steven Emerson

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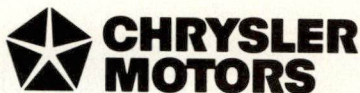
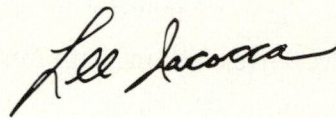
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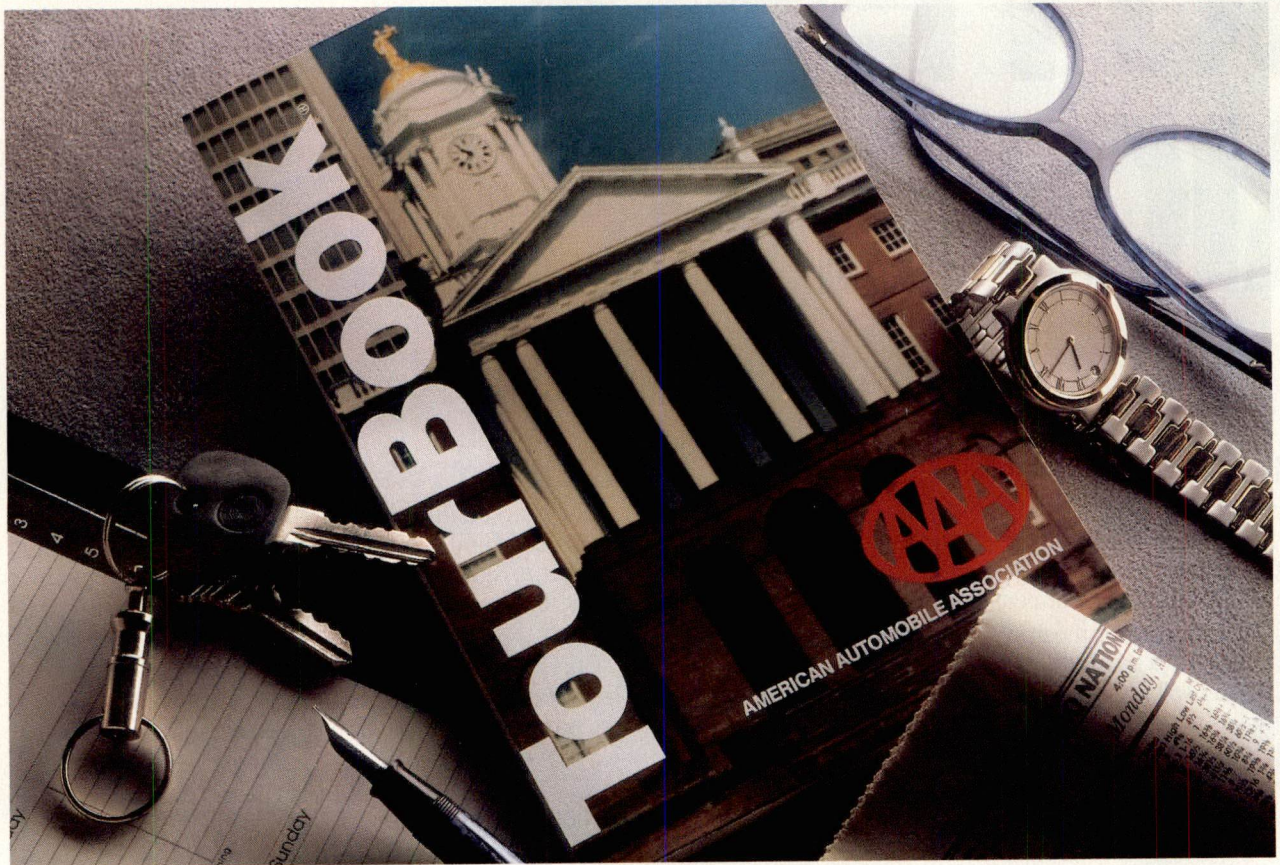
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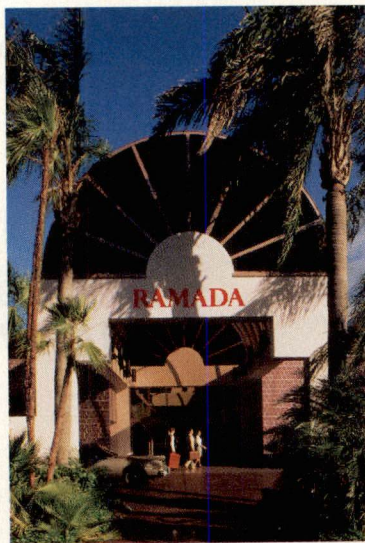


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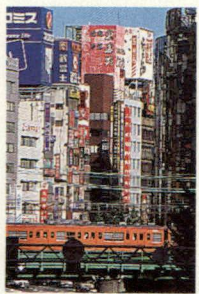
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To have and have not in Japan

Huge trade surpluses do not buy the good life in a crowded nation



To foreign eyes, the Japanese are not just rich. They're giddy with yen. Witness the busloads of Gucci-bag-toting Japanese who scour the U.S. for real estate on organized buying tours. Or a television program called "The What-Comes-Out Game" that features viewers calling in orders for overseas bargains ranging from a \$1.9 million 15th-century French castle to original Marc Chagall lithographs for a mere \$400,000. Life is just one big yen-denominated party.

Clearly, someone is making out mightily from years of spectacular trade surpluses. But it isn't the vast majority of Japanese, the 3 out of 4 who describe themselves as middle class. For them, the good life as well-off Americans and Europeans know it remains frustratingly out of reach. More worrisome politically is what Japanese call *kakusa*, the widening gap between the privileged few who own urban land or stocks and the many millions who do not.

The great disparities of the present are graphically highlighted by the government's vision of the future. To dramatize a report on improving the quality of life, a young bureaucrat at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry has written a short story called "Tale of a Certain Family Sometime in the Next Century." The protagonist, a 54-year-old engineer named Eichi Nomura, owns a big house far from Tokyo that did not require a two-generation-long loan to buy. Nomura can reach the capital in less than an hour on a magnet-powered train. But he doesn't have to commute; his company's factory was relocated from Tokyo and is now only a few minutes' car ride from home. There is time to swim at the local recreation center and to shop for cheap, plentiful imports.

For the story's author, Hideo Morimoto, 25, that happy situation is a distant dream. Every workday, he braves a bone-crunching, hour-plus commute to and from a 29-square-foot dormitory room, without a private bath or toilet, that he calls home. Steeped in the virtues of self-denial, frugality and diligence, Japanese like him have long tolerated such conditions. Few question a social contract that expects hard work without a promise of great rewards, or challenge a system that has traditionally favored producer over consumer.

Sacrificing for harmony. Though increasingly confident of their nation's economic brawn, Japanese still share a sense of vulnerability originally fostered by life on cramped, isolated, resource-starved islands. "We are willing to sacrifice a high standard of living to maintain social harmony," explains economist Yoko Sano. To most people, social harmony is synonymous with job security, reflected in a low, 2.7 percent unemployment rate, and with the safe streets and orderliness that make other deprivations easier to endure.

But overcrowding, long commutes, woefully inadequate leisure facilities and sky-high prices do leave most Japanese feeling distinctly unrich. Just before Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita arrived in the U.S. last week to meet with President George Bush, the government of the world's leading creditor nation released results of a poll showing that 70 percent of its citizens do not believe that they have an affluent lifestyle.

Partly because they don't feel well-off, Japanese continue to work long hours and squirrel away money. There also are practical reasons for that. Even major companies pay only meager pensions, so workers must save constantly for retirement, or take a chance that their children will be able and willing to maintain an increasingly costly tradition of supporting elders. Full-time employees clocked 30 minutes more a month on the job in 1987 than they did a year earlier. The savings rate, estimated at 15.5 percent of disposable income in 1988, is nearly four times the U.S. level.

Figures that look intoxicating on paper often mask sobering realities. Japan's \$19,450 annual per capita gross national product, a key measure of national wealth, now surpasses that of the United States. But this is mostly due to a steep increase in the yen's international value over the past three years. At home, Japanese pay up to three times as much as Americans do for food, and nearly twice as much for other goods. Rice costs 10 times the world market price because the government grants such high subsidies to politically powerful farmers. The Japanese are told to take longer vacations, work less and play more. Yet a single round of golf can cost a player \$300. Over all, economists estimate that the yen's purchasing power domestically is only about half as great as it is abroad.

A good part of every family's income is absorbed by a Byzantine distribution system. Largely because of the 1.6 million mom and pop stores that dot every neighborhood corner, there are nearly 4 retail outlets for every wholesaler. But distributors' total sales greatly exceed retail business volume because most goods are re-sold several times while working their way through the merchandising chain. That keeps prices high, as does

the unusually large number of people working in the distribution sector—nearly 18 percent of the work force. Though inefficient marketers, the horde of small retailers forms a powerful lobby that has successfully pressured the government to restrict big discount stores. "Our distribution system is really an unofficial job program subsidized in full by the consumer," observes Wakako Hironaka of the opposition Komeito Party.

The government churns out statistics each year showing near-zero inflation levels. But critics say the official price index is overweighted on the side of rice, tofu and other basic staples more appropriate to a lifestyle of 20 years ago than to things people now want but often cannot afford. "If you're



Room for one more. For Tokyo subway-station "pushers," sardine packing would be a snap



Just you and me. Getting away from it all seldom means being alone in a country where people pressure strains public facilities

happy with tatami (straw) mats and all the family living in one room, fine, the cost of living has not gone up," says Kenichi Ohmae, the author of several books on Japan's economy. "But if you want to get out of a traditional life mode, if you want a shorter commute, a home with a one-car garage and a study, it's prohibitively expensive."

Price of a footprint. The heaviest drain by far on living standards is the cost of housing. Though the U.S. is 25 times bigger than Japan, the total value of land in Japan is estimated to be four times greater than that in America. A prime piece of Tokyo real estate the size of your footprint now fetches about \$8,000. Japanese workers have to dish out six times their annual salary to buy a house half the size of the average U.S. home. Geography is partly to blame. Some 123 million people are squashed onto an archipelago no larger than Montana, two thirds of it uninhabitable. Bad policies compound bad luck. Farmers still are permitted to work some 4,000 precious acres of urban Tokyo land, though they pay almost no taxes on it. A combination of rigid zoning laws and earthquake phobia keeps the average building height in Tokyo under 10 stories.

Japan's income distribution has remained remarkably even, compared with that in other affluent nations. Captains of industry proudly point out that their salaries often are only 10 times higher than those of entry-level employees. Yet the land-price spiral is creating a schism between haves and have-nots that is beginning to stain Japan's cherished portrait of itself as a great middle-class society. More than 500,000 Tokyo families, about 6 percent of all households there, now count as *nyuu ritchi*, or new rich; they own individual properties valued at \$1 million or more. A cut below are the *akirame ritchi*—roughly translated as the "rich who are resigned to not owning a home"—who compensate by going on shopping binges for luxury goods. BMW car sales are booming, and art and curio imports more than doubled in 1987 to nearly \$1 billion.

The widening gulf between those who own land and assets and those who do not threatens to erode the sense of egalitarianism and social cohesion that has spurred Japanese to work hard and sacrifice during the postwar period. About half of all people polled by the Economic Planning Agency late last year said that such disparities were increasing; 75 percent called them unfair. A new 3 percent sales tax could strengthen those perceptions by making daily necessities even more expensive.

The government also is blamed for many other things that keep prices high, including the frenzied run-up of land prices, agricultural protectionism and delays in removing controls over transportation and communication. To repair the effects of past neglect, officials plan to spend a staggering \$8 trillion over the next decade to upgrade Japan's infrastructure and public amenities. Only 37 percent of Japanese households have sewage service, compared with 75 percent in most other wealthy nations. The amount of open park space per person in Tokyo is less than a tenth of that in London.

Even massive public-works spending may not prevent a political backlash. Unlike an earlier generation, whose reference point was the urban moonscapes of a nation in ruins after World War II, Japanese increasingly are comparing themselves with other well-off societies. A new generation with little or no prospect of homeownership could someday make life tough for Japan's perennial power center, the Liberal Democratic Party. Some commentators go so far as to suggest that disgruntled workers could eventually stage a real-estate *ikki*, or peasant uprising. That seems farfetched now. But there is reason to wonder, as some do, whether ordinary Japanese will continue to sacrifice themselves for the good of the company and country if they feel left out of the yen-rich party the rest of the world so vividly sees. ■

by Jim Impoco in Tokyo

Final exams at Le Cordon Bleu.



Honors awarded in St. Louis.

*"...and then he said
my terrine aux foies de
volaille was superb."*

"What's that?"

*"What's that? How can
my own little sister be such
a philistine?"*

"Is it like chopped liver?"

*"Yes. The way chocolate
mousse is like mud pie."*

*"Have you finally learned how
to make a good mud pie?"*

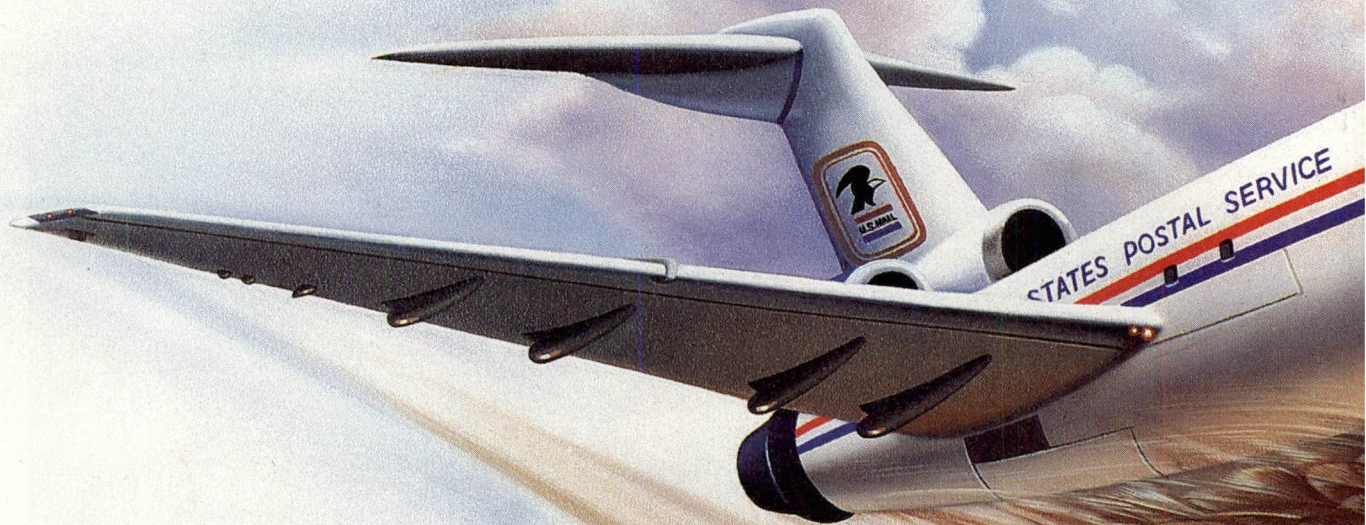
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■ A BID TO THE WEST BANK AND GAZA...

Spurred into action by the Palestinian "intifada" and the rising international support for a Palestine Liberation Organization role in Mideast diplomacy, Israeli leaders are hoping to persuade West Bankers to accept a made-in-Jerusalem brand of autonomy--without the PLO. Such initiatives seem doomed to fail, for now.

Both Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir suddenly are pushing propositions for peace with Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Rabin, apparently moving to assert himself as the new political trailblazer for the Labor faction of the unity government, speaks of negotiations with local Arab leaders, holding elections after calm returns to the occupied territories and eventual Palestinian confederation with Jordan or Israel. The harder-line Shamir also talks of home rule, Israeli troop withdrawal from some urban centers and future negotiations on sovereignty of the territories. It's a near carbon copy of the long inoperative Camp David Accords.

Behind the show of apparent moderation is concern that if the intifada worsens or if Jerusalem fails to produce its own formula for a Mideast settlement, there will be increasing pressure from abroad, including Washington, for some kind of imposed scenario. Shamir and Rabin also realize that while hawks at home call for tougher action against rock-throwing West Bankers, sentiment is growing among other Israelis, including the military, for a political solution to the uprising.

■ ... BUT NOT ARAFAT'S PLO

Ruled out, however, are any direct, or indirect, contacts with Yassir Arafat's PLO. So Arafat rejects the latest initiatives and warns West Bank leaders not to deal with Israel--or else. And without PLO participation, or at least acquiescence, chances for any agreement are remote. Still, some Palestinians in the occupied lands show signs of movement. Sheik Ahmed Yassin, spiritual leader of the Islamic Resistance Movement in Gaza and no friend of Arafat's, endorses the idea of internationally supervised elections. Faisal Husseini, the prominent pro-PLO West Banker just released from Israeli detention, supports the election

concept, but only if Arafat gives the go-ahead. That's a big if, one certain to block any West Bank-Israel settlement unless Arafat himself shifts course or a completely independent leadership emerges among Palestinians in the West Bank. Neither prospect is in sight.

■ THATCHER VS. THE HEALTH SERVICE

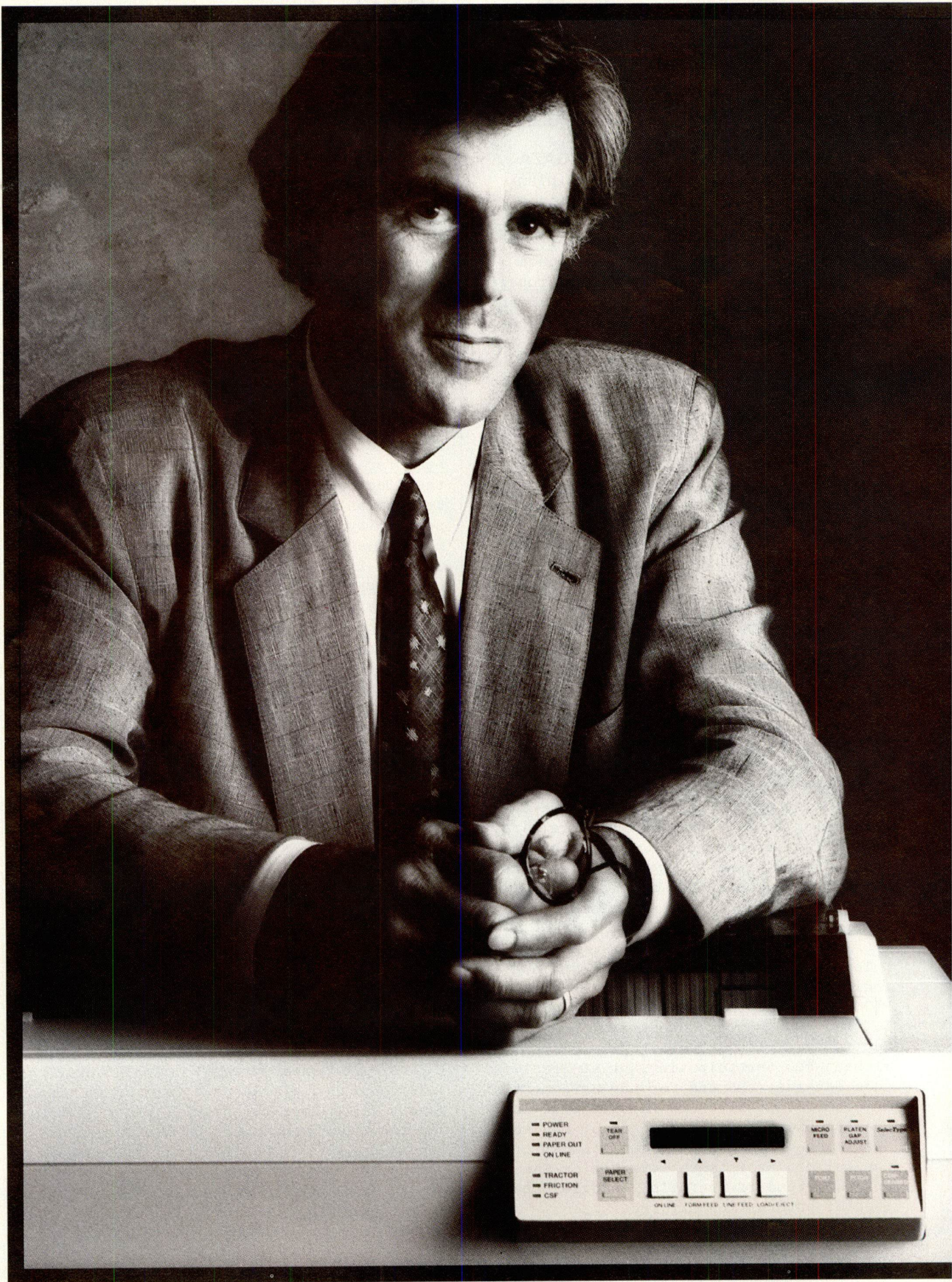
Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, by nature politically cautious, is taking a huge gamble by proposing to overhaul the National Health Service, Britain's most popular government institution. Unless a skeptical public can be convinced of the need for change, the spell she holds over the electorate could easily be broken. The opposition Labor Party, lagging in the popularity polls and long searching for a mass-appeal issue to regain credibility, already is charging that the Tories are out to wreck the health system.

The reforms, the most far-reaching since the largely fee-free NHS was set up in 1948, are aimed at introducing more competition, more choice and more efficiency into the service. The idea is to shift decision making to hospitals, doctors and patients, stimulate more competition among hospitals, depoliticize the NHS management and encourage Britons to invest in private health plans. But the principle of open access to all, no matter their income, is to be kept intact.

It's a formidable task. Labor, counting on backing of the medical profession and hospital workers, will try to push the idea that Tories are more interested in the health of the balance sheet than the health of patients. And many Britons, used to years of "nanny knows best," may prefer the familiar comfort of the existing welfare system. A year ago, Thatcher's own Tories nearly wrecked her plans to charge fees for dental and eye checks.

Past experience suggests that Thatcher, once convinced of the need for reform, is almost impossible to budge. It took a year of street demonstrations by nurses and others to get her to order a basic review of the service. But now she has gone for broke. It is conviction politics taken to an extreme, and the survival of her government may well be at stake.

by Gerson Yalowitz with foreign-bureau reports



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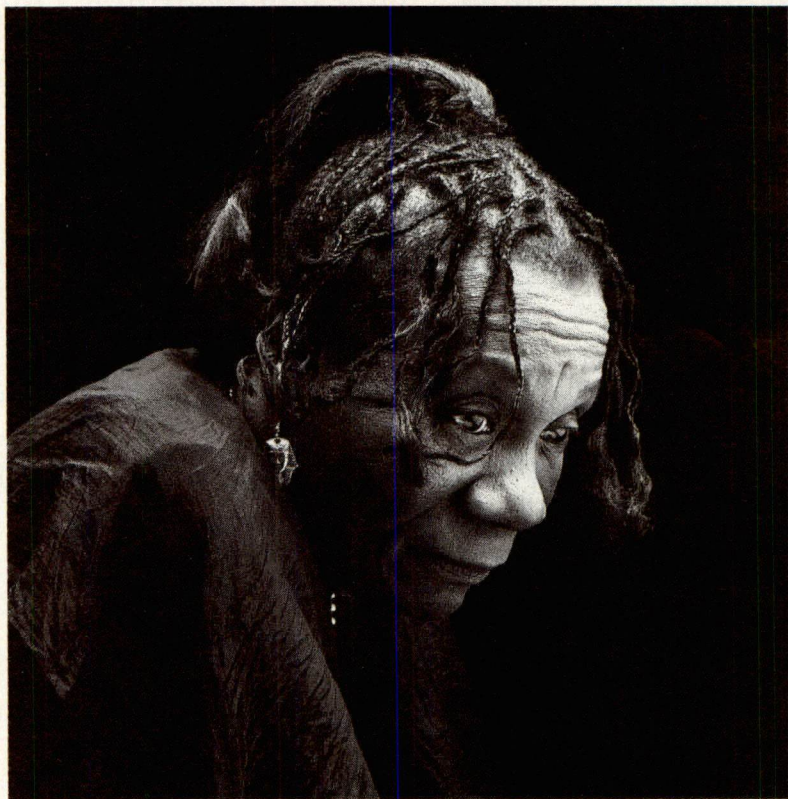
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BEAH RICHARDS

Born July 12, 1926, Richards is an actress, poet and playwright.

If you go inside where all people are and where the essence of their being is, you are not going to find anything to hang your prejudices on.

Race, what is that? Somebody winning and somebody losing. That's what we have translated it to be. But if you can use my



heart, my liver or my eye, then we are more a family than a competition. Blood doesn't run in races! Come on!

I decided I wouldn't bring a child into this world. I adore them, but I can't stand to see children suffer.

We had great hope that education was really going to do it. But class and race survived education. What is education then? If it doesn't help a human being to recognize that humanity is humanity, what is it for?

'ORDINARY WOMEN OF GRACE'

A remarkable new exhibit of photographs opens a window on history

This week in the nation's capital, 54 women, from every part of the country, will meet for an extraordinary event. Some of the women have soundly famous names; others are unsung. Some remember when racial integration and women's liberation were almost unimaginable; others were barely aware of when circumstances began to change. Yet all dared to dream of a world where character and accomplishment would conquer color and gender. Photographer Brian Lanker spent two years capturing their portraits on film and their memories and insights on tape. Lanker's photographic exhibit, "I Dream a World," will open at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., at the beginning of Black History Month, and will travel to 20 states in 1989. His subjects, Lanker writes, "acted on [their] dreams, and they changed America."

Professional storyteller Jackie Torrence recounts bad old days only dimly remembered by many Americans. As a child, she secretly tested whites-only water fountains "to see if the water came out white." Other testimonies recall the highs and lows of the civil-rights movement, when women often had to take the first steps of civil disobedience and file the suits to challenge discrimination because their sex afforded a certain protection. Some, like Myrlie Evers, widow of civil-rights activist Medgar, warn that all those hard-won gains could be

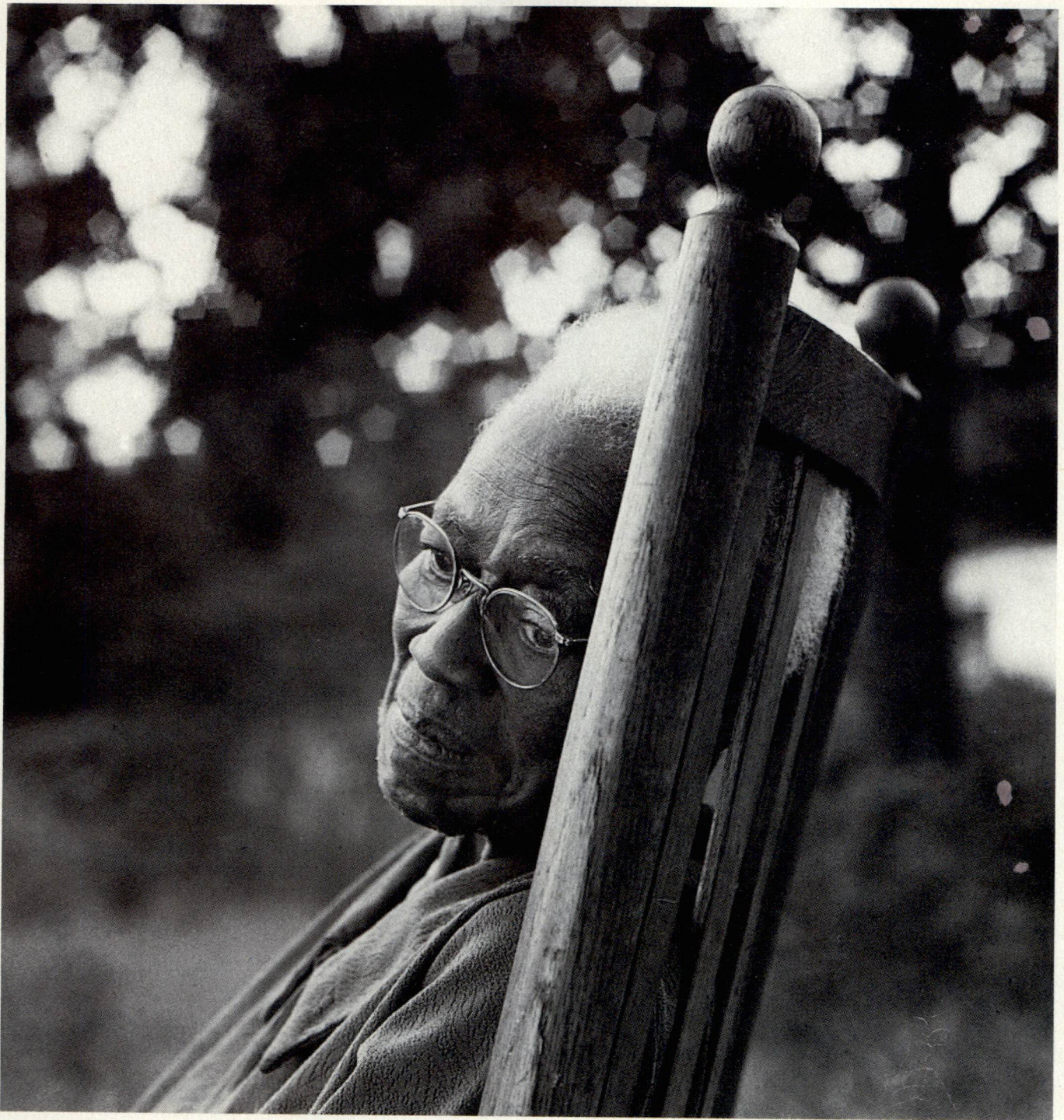
lost: "I feel as though I should shout from mountaintops to valleys, 'Don't you see what's happening? Don't let history repeat itself!'" Many face the continuing battle with remarkable good humor. Chicago teacher Marva Collins, confronted by an illiterate, 17-year-old white student's racist epithet, responded: "Sweetheart, when you learn to read, write and spell *jungle bunny*, Mrs. Collins will take offense to it."

Lanker photographed the project in black and white, he says, because it allowed him "to weave" images together in a way that color does not allow. "I didn't want people to be overwhelmed by red flowers on a dress or the blue of a sky. I wanted to control what a viewer's sense of a person was going to be." To Lanker, a white stranger to the world of black women, "My greatest lesson was that this is my history, this is American history."

One of Lanker's subjects, child-welfare activist Marian Wright Edelman, calls the group "ordinary women of grace." As these pictures and words reveal, grace joins strength and wisdom enough for all Americans to celebrate.

by Merrill McLoughlin

Excerpts and photographs from the book I Dream a World, copyright 1989 by Brian Lanker and Stewart, Tabori & Chang, Inc., and from the traveling exhibition opening at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., February 9. Project made possible by a grant from the Professional Photography Division, Eastman Kodak Company



JOSEPHINE RILEY MATTHEWS *Born Oct. 3, 1897, "Mama Jo" was a licensed midwife for four decades. She safely delivered more than 1,300 babies in rural South Carolina.*

I am the fourth. My great-grandmother was a midwife, my grandmother was a midwife, my mother was a midwife, and then it dropped down into my lap. I didn't have any children.

To be able to help the mothers and the babies, it was a pleasure. Before I left home on a labor case, I would ask the Lord to go with me to help me, and it seems like it just opened the way.

The funniest thing happened. The

baby was about a year old and I was passing that way, and I said I'm going to stop in here and see this baby. The oldest little boy was about 4 years old, I reckon, and there were two under him, and the baby. When I got there, the 4-year-old said, "Miss Josephine," he said, "now we want this one, but don't bring no more them babies here. We'll keep this one, but don't bring no more in that little black bag."

I was 77 when I retired. On my 76th birthday, a lady had triplets. It was quite a birthday present.

The woman is supposed to be the weaker sex, but they sure have to stand up for the men a lot. I'll bet if the man had to have the first baby there wouldn't be but two in the family. Yes sir, let him have the first one and the woman the next one, and his time wouldn't come around no more.



JANET COLLINS *Born March 7, 1917, prima ballerina Collins was the first black artist to perform on the stage of New York's Metropolitan Opera House.*

I come from a unique family, exceedingly proud of their background. They never allowed us to have an inferiority complex. In fact, they were arrogant. I had to overcome arrogance.

When I was about 15, I auditioned for the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. [Choreographer] Léonide Massine called us one by one. When my turn came, there was a hush in that place like you wouldn't believe. I was the only little black face around. When I finished, the ballerinas applauded.

Massine saw talent. He told me,

"You would make a wonderful character. The only trouble is, in order for you to belong to the company, I would have to paint you white. You wouldn't like that, would you?"

Those were the terms. I said, "No, I wouldn't want that." So I thanked him and went out on the library steps, and I will never forget. I cried, cried and cried. I thought talent mattered, not color. That's why I cried.

When I went home and told Aunt Adele, she said, "You get back to the barre and start your exercises. Don't try

to be good, be excellent. Don't let that stop you."

Art serves me. I don't serve it. But I have to be a servant before it serves me. In other words, I have to be disciplined. There is no such thing as freedom without discipline.

I used every gift God gave me. The gift of love is the greatest. It's a difficult thing because there are people I know that I can't stand. But love doesn't mean affection. It means treating them justly even when they are terrible people. That takes a bit of doing.



MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN

Born June 6, 1939, Edelman is the founder and president of the Children's Defense Fund.

The outside world told black kids when I was growing up that we weren't worth anything. But our parents said it wasn't so, and our churches and our schoolteachers said it wasn't so. They believed in us, and we, therefore, believed in ourselves.

The work force of the year 2000 is our preschoolers. One in 4 of them is poor. For black kids, 1 in 2 is poor. One in 6 hasn't got any health insurance. One in 2 has got a mother in the labor force and is not getting decent child care. One in 5 is going to be a teen parent. One in 7 is going to drop out of school. This is a recipe for national catastrophe.

We lose about 10,000 children every year to poverty. That's more kids over a five-year period than we lost in the Vietnam War. But where is the outrage?

If the foundation of your national house is crumbling, you don't say you can't afford to fix it and continue to build multitrillion-dollar defense fences around to protect it from something without. It's crazy.



LENA HORNE *Born June 30, 1917, the actress and singer began her career at 16 as a chorus girl at Harlem's Cotton Club.*

My grandmother took me to her meetings until I was 15. She was in the Urban League, the NAACP and the Ethical Culture Society. If I hadn't had that from her, then the other side of my life might have finished me.

I was a kind of black that white people could accept. I had the worst kind of acceptance because it was never for how great I was or what I contributed. It was because of the way I looked.

I was always battling the system to try to get to be with my people. Finally, I wouldn't work for places that kept us out. I couldn't get a place to live, so I fought for housing. It was a damn fight everywhere I was, every place I worked, all over the world.

I'm glad I lived through the '60s, because that's the first time and the last time I saw a commingling of whites and blacks with an attitude that started out to be very right and very healthy.

I never thought I'd live this long to see this kind of ruin, decimation. My own people are so disillusioned, desperate and angry.

CLARA McBRIDE HALE

Born April 1, 1905, Mother Hale has provided haven for more than 600 babies born addicted to drugs.

My first child was Nathan, Nathan Hale. Oh, I was really an American. I wanted them to know.

My husband died when my daughter Lorraine was 5 and Nathan was 6. So I [took] in other people's children. They got so they didn't want to go home. So the parents would give me an extra dollar, and I kept them all the time.

I raised 40. Every one of them went to college, every one of them graduated, and they have lovely jobs.

In 1969, I decided I wouldn't take care of no more children. Then my daughter sent me a girl with an addict baby. God kept sending them, and He kept opening a way for me to make it.

You can sit out in the world and say, "Well, white people kept me back, and I can't do this." Not so. You can have anything you want if you make up your mind. You don't have to crack nobody across the head, don't have to steal or anything. Don't have to be smart like the men up high stealing all the money. We're good people and we try.



SHERIAN GRACE CADORIA

Born Jan. 26, 1940, Brigadier General Cadoria is the highest-ranking black woman in the U.S. armed forces.

My mother is a very strong lady with strong moral values. Let me give you an instance. My brother, sister and I were almost always together because my mom worked. We had to stay together to look after each other. Once we had gone shopping and somebody gave us a penny too much, and we brought it home. My mother made the three of us walk back [5 miles] and return it.

In Vietnam, I interviewed for a protocol job. The colonel told me I couldn't do the job. He said, "You can't travel, you can't carry luggage, it's too heavy. Women can't do this." And I said, "Nobody said I couldn't carry those hundred-pound bags of cotton when I was just a little child."

By act of Congress, male officers are gentlemen, but by act of God, we are ladies. We don't have to be little minims to come across. I can take you and flip you on the floor and put your arms behind your back, and you'll never move again, without your ever knowing that I can do it.





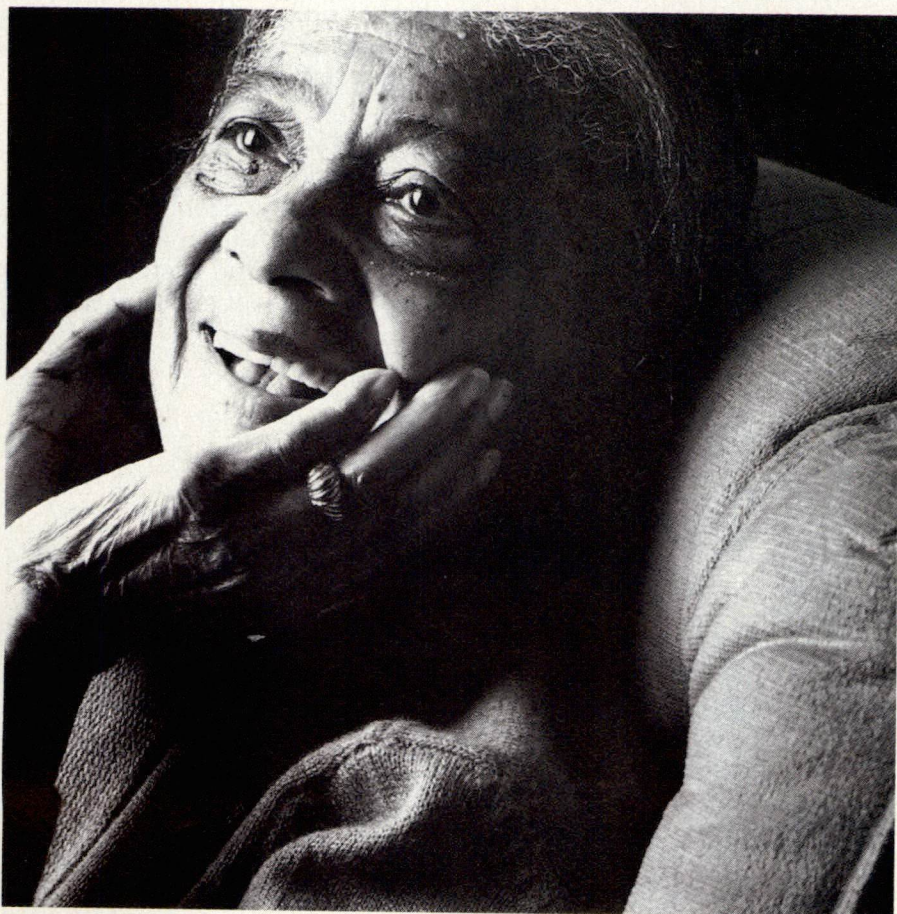
ALEXIA CANADY *Born Nov. 7, 1950, Dr. Canady was the first black woman neurosurgeon in the United States.*

My husband laughs. I can't watch people get shot and cut up in the movies. You can't intervene, you can't help. This is very different than going to the emergency room, where somebody's got blood and gore all over the place and you can do something.

You get to be a part of people's families in a very intimate way. You get to see the strengths of the human spirit that can survive terrible, devastating things. You can't make it not painful, but you can certainly make it much easier.

If you get to be where I am and you're black, they figure you must be really damn good. They perceive me as being more powerful than a white physician in the same role. It's just racism in a more benign form.

I used to tease my parents by saying, "You're raising me to be the person that you don't want my brothers to marry." People are just not very ambitious for women still. Your son you want to be the best he can be. Your daughter you want to be happy.



ELIZABETH COTTEN *Born January, 1892; died June 29, 1987. Cotten worked as a housekeeper until she was 67, then started her career as a musician.*

When I was a little girl, my mother and father used to bury their meat. Rub it up and bury it in the ground and put dirt back over it like we didn't have no meat. [Otherwise] the white people would take it away from us. My mother said she could hear the horses' feet coming over the bridge. And she said, "Neville, you better go to hidin' it."

When I was a child, I went to the door and asked people if they needed somebody to work. I said, "I can wash your dishes, I can set your table, and I can sweep your kitchen and everything." And I went to work for this lady for 75 cents a month.

I saved my money and gave it to my mother, and when she got enough, we bought a guitar. My mother said, "Now if you don't put that thing down, I'm gonna git ya. I gotta get to sleep and to work in the mornin'." And I just keep everybody awake all night. Lord have mercy. I was a nuisance.

I was just glad to get the Grammy. It's the honor what I loved.

Motor Trend's Car of the Year Award.

The automotive industry has always taken it seriously. And three of the last four years, Ford has taken it home.

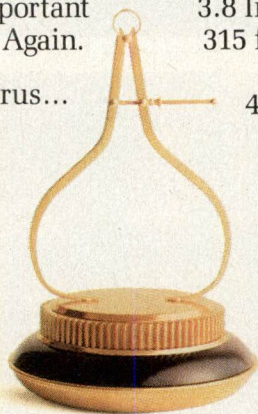
There are many automotive awards, but not many mean as much as *Motor Trend* Car of the Year. It's coveted by the automakers. It's important to consumers. And it's going home with us. Again.

In 1986, Ford took the honors with Taurus... chosen for its innovative design and engineering. The next year, Thunderbird Turbo Coupe gave Ford a record second consecutive win.

Now the new Ford Thunderbird SC has been named the 1989 *Motor Trend* Car of the Year, and it's easy to see why.

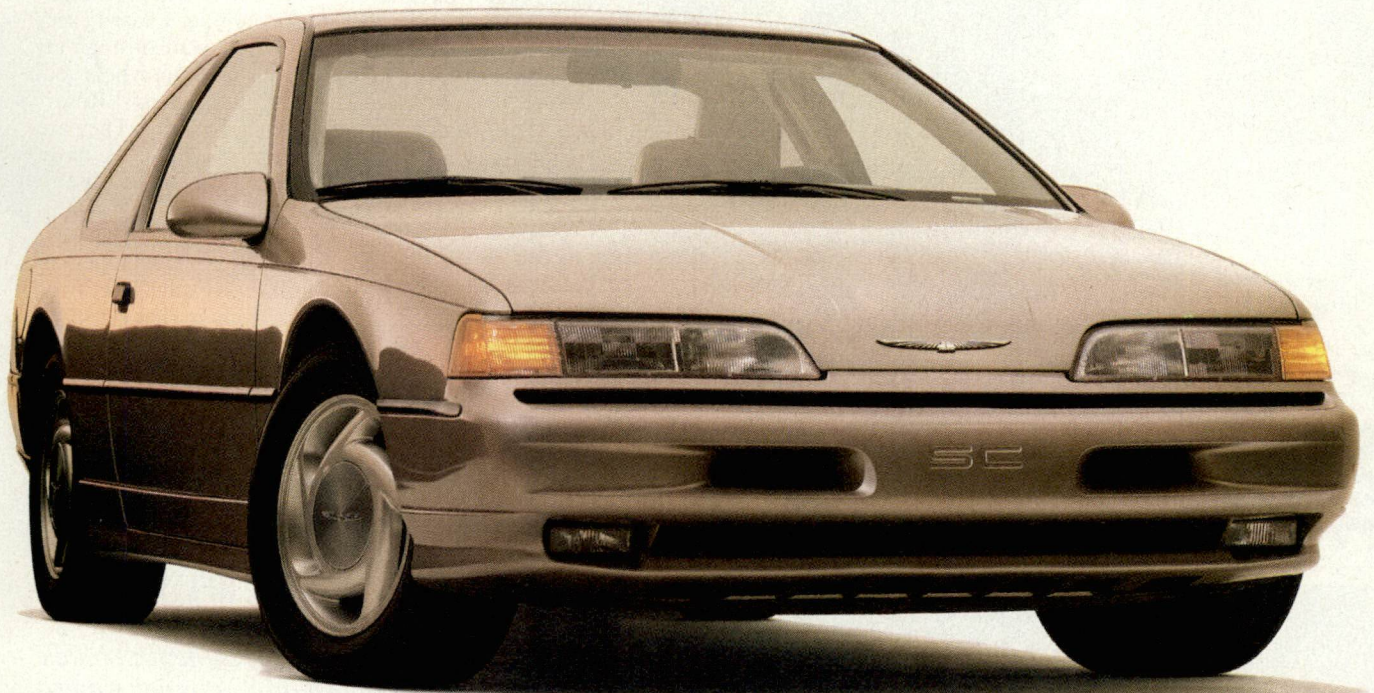
Beneath this Thunderbird's sleek

exterior is the most powerful supercharged production engine in America: an intercooled, 3.8 liter V-6 that turns out 210 horsepower and 315 foot-pounds of torque. Four-wheel-disc anti-lock brakes are standard. And so is a 4-wheel independent suspension with automatic ride control.



It's that combination of outstanding styling and advanced technology that's earned Ford an unprecedented three *Motor Trend* Car of the Year awards in the last four years. And that kind of design leadership is the reason we're winning the world over.

Buckle up—together we can save lives.



**Ford Thunderbird SC.
1989 Motor Trend Car of the Year.**

Have you driven a Ford...lately?





ALICE WALKER *Born Feb. 9, 1944, Walker is the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *The Color Purple*.*

During childhood, I wasn't aware that there was segregation. White people just seemed very alien and strange to me.

I was there for the march on Washington in 1963. I wouldn't have missed it for the world. It was one of those days when you feel the tide is turning, and you are with the tide. I heard every word, and every word went through my whole body and through my whole soul.

I've met [civil-rights activists] Rosa Parks and Fanny Lou Hamer. They are like jewels. We're rich because we have those women. And I don't mean just black people are rich. I mean human beings are rich because of those women.

It's so clear that you have to cherish everyone. I think that's what I get from these older black women, that sense that every soul is to be cherished, that every flower is to bloom.

I feel safe with women. No woman has ever beaten me up. No woman has ever made me afraid on the street. I think that the culture that women put out into the world is safer for everyone.



LEONTINE T. C. KELLY *Born March 5, 1920, United Methodist Kelly is the first black woman bishop of a major American religious denomination.*

As a child, I asked my father how could black people be Christian. How could they accept it, when the very persons that enslaved them taught them Christianity? My father said that in God there was the strength and the source for patience to wait for freedom. What I have found is that everybody wasn't waiting. People were working.

As children in Cincinnati, we located a station of the underground railway in the basement of our house. It ran from the house to the church. When my father told us about it, he said that the witness of this church was not the wood brought all the way from Italy for the great beams. The real witness of that church was in the cellar.

For me, the crux of the Gospel message is the way we share power. One of the things women bring is new styles of leadership. I know where the buck stops and who is responsible. But that doesn't mean I have to exert power in such a way that other people feel they are less than who they are because of who I am.



WINSON AND DOVIE HUDSON *Dovie Hudson, born July 29, 1911, and her sister Winson, born Nov. 17, 1916, are community activists in Mississippi.*

When the Ku Klux Klan would come through, other people would come to our house for safety. My daddy was not afraid, and that taught us.

We petitioned the school board to desegregate the public school. The petition carried 52 names. White people pressured all but 13 to remove their name. Dovie, she was the leader. She was a brave woman with 10 children. (WH)

I borrowed a little money from the bank to do my planting, and they called me in at the bank. The banker says to me, "We have been mighty good to you.

We lent you money." I said, "Yes, but I've been paying it back, haven't I?" He said, "Well, yes, but we have to have our money or else we're going to foreclose." I said I wasn't going to remove my name from the petition. They took all I had, seven cows and one mule.

They come through here putting bombs in the mailbox. I called my boys, and one got one gun and one got the other one. And just as they drove up and put the bomb in the mailbox, my boys started shooting. They just lined that car with bullets. (DH)

The more they did to us, the meaner we got. If my husband had've been in my place, he would not have made it, 'cause the black man has always been the target. (WH)

We taught them some lessons. (DH)

That's the reason we're so educated, because we taught 'em. I've never walked down the hall with a cap and gown on, but I walked down a hall in Washington and I lobbied for student loans, and I lobbied for Social Security, and I lobbied for teachers' pay raises. So I'm the educator. (WH)

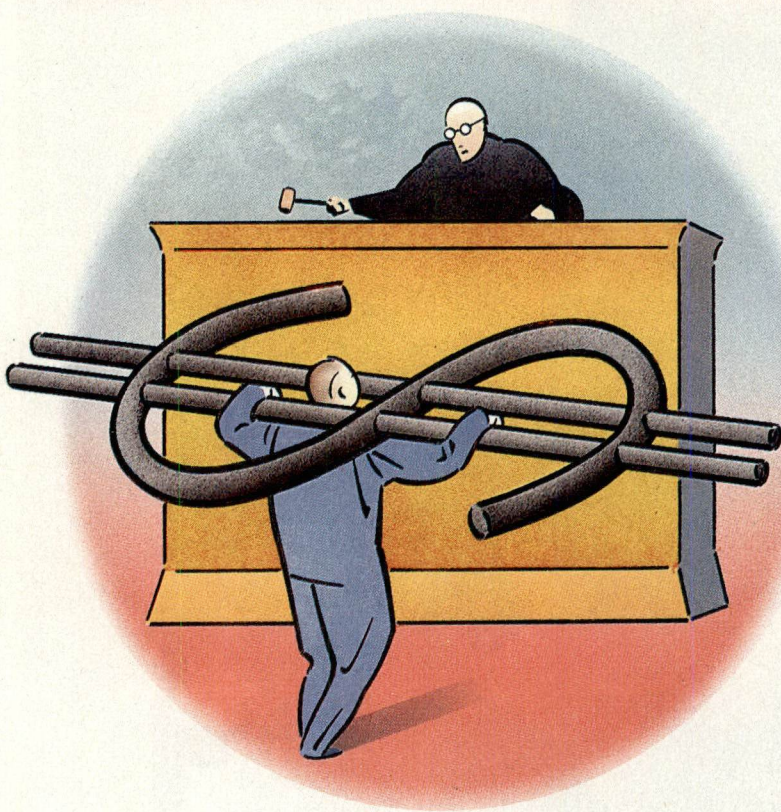


ILLUSTRATION BY STEVE MCCHRACKEN FOR USNEWS

DEBT ON TRIAL

Junk-bond financing has touched off a buyout binge that is fueling fortunes and forcing corporate America to shape up. Can all those IOU's really be good for us?

Michael Milken, the besieged financial genius who pioneered the use of high-yield, high-risk junk bonds, has yet to have his day in court. But the changes he helped bring about in corporate America are on trial now.

The issue is debt. A surge in takeovers and leveraged buyouts has fueled many of the fortunes made during this decade. However, as deals picked up in both pace and price, capped by last year's record-shattering \$25 billion bid for RJR Nabisco, they quickly drew blame for exacerbating many of the nation's corporate complaints. Today, leverage stands accused of undermining the competitiveness of U.S. companies, paring tax revenues and paving the way for disaster in the next economic downturn. "We've seen a major move away from equity to debt," says Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd

Bentsen, who recently opened hearings on the subject. "I'm afraid troubled companies could increase the depth and length of a recession."

So far, the worry seems to outpace the reality. By permitting managers to become part owners of their businesses, leverage can promote efficiencies. Whole layers of management are stripped away. Fledgling firms that once had a difficult time commanding financing now can secure the capital needed to expand. Going private cushions managers from relentless shareholder pressures to maximize short-term earnings at the expense of longer-term gains. At the same time, stockholders can sell out at a premium and reap investment bonanzas. Then, in another twist, the new owners sometimes find that spinning off parts of their just-purchased conglomerates, often at a greater multiple than what they paid, can make the sum of the parts worth more than the whole; that has the added benefit of allowing quick pay down on a disproportionately large chunk of the debt used to buy the company in the first place.

Along with that familiar litany, however, proponents of debt can bolster their case with an impressive array of new studies from industry, academia and Wall Street brokerages.

- A recent Morgan Stanley report shows that while the level of corporate debt is rising, the extra burden of interest payments is being shouldered largely by businesses, such as food and service enterprises, whose steady cash flows make them recession resistant.

- Although they can displace workers, LBO's often create fresh jobs at larger-than-average rates, depending on the business.

- New evidence suggests that buyouts can have a dampening effect on research-and-development spending, but there is no way to determine whether the cuts come as a result of improved focus or simply lack of cash. Thus armed, defenders of the current wave of corporate restructuring dismiss the backlash against buyouts as a rear-guard action on the part of managers whose real concern is to protect their own plush positions. "The debt issue is another rationale for those who don't like takeovers," contends Kenneth Lehn, chief economist at the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Loading up on leverage. Debt has certainly proved immensely popular. In 1980, \$3 billion worth of leveraged buyouts were concluded; by 1988, that total had ballooned to \$39 billion, excluding the mammoth RJR Nabisco deal. Corporate balance sheets are now carrying those loads. Over the past six years, IOU's have nearly doubled, to \$1.8 trillion. At the same time, shareholder equity has shriveled by hundreds of billions of dollars as companies bought back more shares than they issued—an aspect absent in previous takeover waves. (See chart page 62.)

This shifting balance between debt and equity troubles some economists, who point out that the more a company saddles itself with debt, the slimmer its cushion becomes for



GEORGE STEINMETZ

No bad debt—only bad managers

In a recent interview with *U.S. News & World Report*, junk-bond king Michael Milken, 42, defended the uses of debt, stressing the junk-bond market's ability to raise funds for growing companies rather than its more controversial role in takeovers. Some highlights from the interview:

What debt will do. Debt isn't good and it isn't bad. It depends on the type of business and the financial environment. Some companies can't afford it; they are not generating cash. Others are poorly managed. And there certainly is a time when it makes sense to sell equity. There are some firms for which no debt is right. For others, it should be almost all their capital.

The discipline of debt. It's amazing what companies that have taken on debt can accomplish. Before, no one expected enough of them. People are capable of much more if challenged. Debt awakens the senses; it increases the minimum level of expectations. And when things get tough, you're prepared.

Human capital. There is excess capital. What is scarce is human talent. The challenge is searching out those with ability, vision and dedication. This is an era of human capital. That's one reason for the Far East's success. Its workers are far more educated.

Effect on jobs. Most job creation in America's private sector has been at small and medium-sized companies, and those tend to be in emerging industries whose bonds typically are not rated as investment grade, such as the cable, cellular-phone and health-care industries. Junk-bond users are the industries of the future.

Employee ownership: We are seeing very favorable results from employee-owned firms in sales and revenue growth. And high-yield debt made 99.99 percent of them possible.

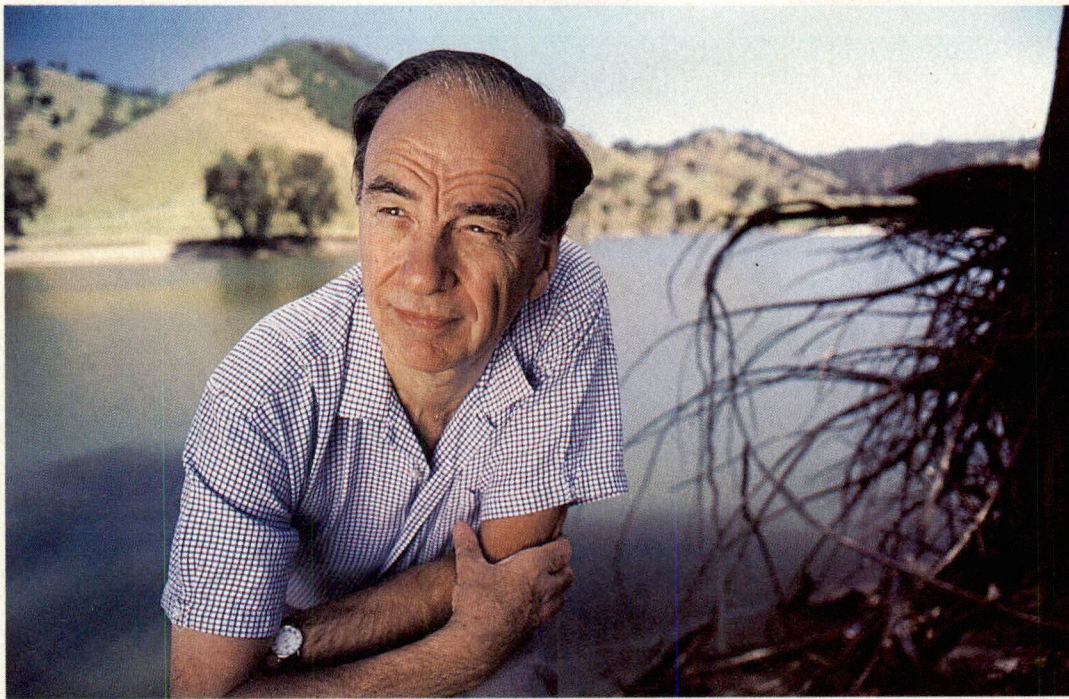
Corporate restructuring. If we had done this in the 1960s, Japan and Korea might not have had the chance to expand as they did. If some U.S. chemical companies had been challenged more over the past 20 years, the three largest chemical companies might not all be German.

The right capital structure. Just because you have capital doesn't mean you know what to do with it or when. In the 1950s, with constant interest rates, timing wasn't important and there was no value to changing a firm's capital structure. But in volatile times, the right capital structure at the right time can create values and freedom from short-term business cycles. ■

Michael Milken

Quite possibly the world's most influential capitalist since J. P. Morgan.

Recognized potential of using high-yield junk bonds to capitalize thousands of small and medium-sized companies, then sold money managers and investors on the idea. Formed tight network of junk-bond buyers and sellers that helped finance takeovers. From base in Beverly Hills, helped make Drexel Burnham Lambert a top investment bank. Built personal fortune of \$1 billion but claims "one house, one wife, one cat and one car." SEC charged him and Drexel in September with securities fraud and stock manipulation. Criminal indictment on similar charges, which Milken intends to fight, have been expected for months. May sue Drexel for agreeing to fire him and for withholding \$200 million in 1988 bonuses—part of Drexel's own plea bargain on related criminal charges.



DAVID BURNETT—CONTACT

Rupert Murdoch

Used father's stake in an Australian newspaper to build a global media empire. Modernized Fleet Street. Admits being ruthless in breaking union resistance. Became U.S. citizen to buy U.S. broadcast properties. Renowned red-tape cutter.

Biggest Deals: Bought Triangle Publications (*TV Guide*) for \$3 billion, seven Metromedia TV stations for \$2 billion and 20th Century Fox Film for \$575 million.

Major Holdings: News Corporation, which in turn owns the *Boston Herald* and *New York* magazine in the U.S.; the *Times* of London and the *Sunday Times* in Britain. Other publications in Australia, New Zealand and Hong Kong.

Debt: With \$14 billion in assets, News Corporation will have \$6.5 billion in debt when the Triangle deal is complete.

Estimated Net Worth: Over \$1 billion.

Quote: *By borrowing [rather than issuing new shares], we have control. We can't grow as fast, and there are major moves we can't make. But we don't want to be controlled by fund managers looking for quarterly results.*

weathering a slump. American business now must devote more than one fifth of its cash flow to interest payments (see chart, page 63), a proportion more typical of a recession than the current expansion.

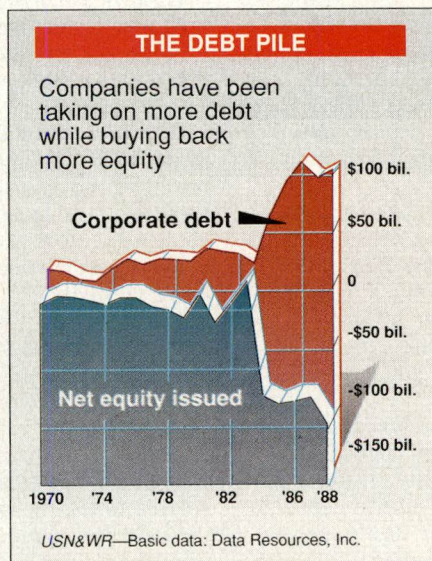
High levels of leverage don't necessarily mean dangerous levels. In his day, J. P. Morgan was lambasted for taking on too much debt when he created U.S. Steel. If current borrowing is up, it's partly because Milken's junk-bond revolution has allowed more players, both companies and individuals, into the game—what some call the "democratization of debt." According to Drexel Burnham Lambert's latest tally, of some 22,214 U.S. firms with revenues of \$35 million or more, a scant 1,111 boast investment-grade ratings. Before the emergence of junk bonds, those businesses were the only ones that could sell debt directly to the public. Now, about half of the \$140 billion of high-yield notes issued since 1982 have been used to finance takeovers. The rest have given smaller, less well-capitalized firms and ambitious start-ups, such as MCI Communications (see box, page 68), the wherewithal to expand. "Thousands of companies now qualify to issue public debt," notes MCI Chairman William McGowan. "That's wonderful for the economy."

Moreover, reports Morgan Stanley economist Stephen Roach, most of the debt growth has occurred in busi-

nesses that historically suffer less than others during recessionary downdrafts. In the 1975-82 business cycle, increases in interest payments didn't vary much by industry. Sorting out LBO's by area, Roach found that food and tobacco firms, which boast steady incomes no matter what the economic climate, alone accounted for one fifth of the deals from 1982 to 1987. Over 95 percent of the rise in interest expense came in sectors comprising just one third of the nation's total output. "American industry is not running amok," says Roach. "The debt is being carried by those who can handle it best." Besides, when the economy

starts to slide, some companies could find it easier, not harder, to meet their debt payments. Recessions cause interest rates to fall, enabling companies to refinance at cheaper rates. The mathematics of leverage is familiar to any homeowner who sees a 10 percent down payment double in value when real-estate prices rise by 10 percent. In an LBO, debt often comprises 90 percent of the total capital, enabling small equity investments to earn huge profits—or suffer large losses. "Leverage amplifies wealth in boom times, and diminishes it in bad times," explains James Grant, editor of *Grant's Interest Rate Observer*.

Besides this fundamental calculus, the U.S. tax code provides an additional incentive for borrowing. Interest payments on debt have been tax-deductible ever since corporate income taxes first were imposed in 1909. By contrast, corporate dividends get taxed twice, once through the tax on a firm's profits and again when those earnings are paid out as shareholder dividends. For example, if a company financed by common stock earns \$10 a share pretax, it must pay 40 percent tax, leaving \$6-per-share earnings. Its stock might then sell at \$66 a share—11 times earnings. For a raider, those same \$10 earnings can pay off the interest on \$71 worth of 14 percent junk bonds, because a debt-financed company pays no income tax. He could afford an even higher premium by financing the



acquisition in part with some bonds bearing lower interest.

Like any game of musical chairs, acquisitions and mergers demand that someone lose a seat. For many companies, swollen after three decades of conglomerate-forming, this turns out to be all for the good. Spinoffs spawn "real efficiencies," says Dun & Bradstreet economist Joseph Duncan, as firms streamline operations and sell off "orphan divisions" that no longer fit their basic businesses to managers who can run the castoffs with lower overhead and greater productivity.

A case in point is last May's \$1.8 billion management buyback of battery maker Duracell, Inc., from Kraft, Inc., its corporate parent. Duracell President C. Robert Kidder is jubilant at being out from under the Velveeta fist. As he puts it, "High interest payments are not as inhospitable as being part of a company with an aversion to investment in a business not considered strategically important."

Shedding divisions rewards LBO companies, too, by providing a quick way to trim their debt. Revlon proved a bargain for investor Ronald Perelman, who was able to recoup about half what he paid to take over the famous cosmetics firm in 1985 by selling several health-care divisions. Textile behemoth Burlington Industries, which was taken private in a \$2.6 billion buyout 20 months ago, reduced its debt to \$1.9 billion from \$2.9 billion, while Safeway whittled its \$5.7 billion debt by nearly half with asset sales. Of course, the pressure to reduce debt can force sales of crown jewels as well as corporate dogs, and the price might not always be right. Burlington's sales included one of its most efficient denim makers, and Safeway parted with its profitable British stores.

Such radical restructuring has given LBO's a rap for busting up firms and laying off workers. But when LBO managers sell off divisions, it is often to good homes. For instance, Beatrice sold its Tropicana division to Seagram, a firm that knows as much as any about managing a bever-



T. WESTENBERGER/SYGMA

age company. Moreover, some evidence indicates that, over all, firms that are financed with junk bonds actually spur employment growth. A study conducted by the Economic Research Bureau of the State University of New York at Stony Brook and financed by Drexel Burnham Lambert reveals that employment at firms that issue junk bonds increased at an annual average of 6.7 percent between 1980 and 1986. The comparable figure for industry overall came to 1.4 percent. "People talk about mass firings, but on a percentage basis, I've cut out fewer jobs than AT&T and GM," asserts veteran raider Carl Icahn.

Corporate restructurings tend to foster leaner, more cost-conscious managements, especially because management often owns a significant piece of the company. If institutional investors grow unhappy with a company's performance, they tend to sell their shares rather than push for improvement. "Management simply isn't as accountable as when a company is owned by one person who calls on the phone and says, 'Profits are down 5 percent; what are you going to do about it?'" says James Burke, president of Merrill Lynch Capital Partners, an LBO fund. Some managers, such as deposed RJR Nabisco Chairman Ross Johnson, who lost out in his bid for the company, have drawn barbs for hogging a huge stake of the equity. Many other LBO's,

Saul Steinberg

One of the youngest and earliest of the corporate raiders. Bought, then sold back to the company at a hefty premium, major stakes in Walt Disney, Quaker State and Lomas & Nettleton. This tactic is known as greenmail.

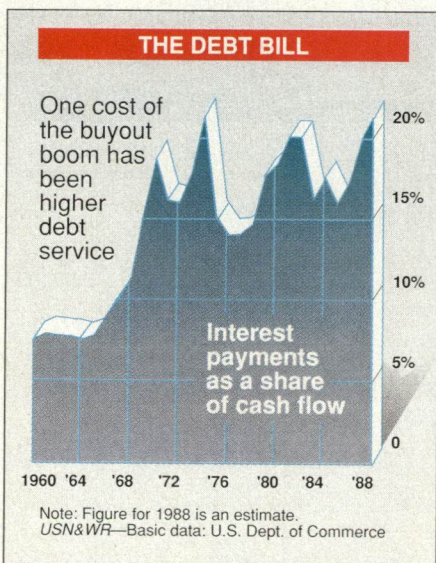
Biggest Deals: Failed to capture Chemical Bank in 1969. Took Reliance Holdings (insurance and investing) public in 1986 and recently sold Tiger International for \$125 million. Also sold off big chunks of three other companies. Lost as much as \$400 million in the Black Monday stock-market crash.

Major Holdings: A 60 percent stake in Reliance Group Holdings and owns an impressive art collection.

Debt: Reliance holds about \$1 billion in long-term debt.


Estimated Net Worth: In excess of \$400 million.

Quote: *What we do is very hard investing. We go into troubled situations and turn them around. You don't see results for two or three years. You have to be willing to look like a bum for a while before you can look like a genius.*





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You're paying tomorrow's prices for yesterday's engineering. You're paying for safety at the expense of fun. You're paying for performance at the expense of utility.

The cure for the common car.

You pay for none of these things in a Saab 900 Turbo.

You don't pay the outrageous price that's commonly asked for European performance cars with rear-wheel drive. You get real-world performance from the Turbo's uncommonly capable front-wheel drive and turbocharging, at a real-world price.

You don't pay the usual price of dullness for a car that's safe. In a recent Highway Loss Data Institute study, Saab 900's ranked first in safety in their class. Yet they're uncommonly exciting to drive.

You don't pay for performance at the expense of practicality. The 900 Turbo holds more than any car in its class.

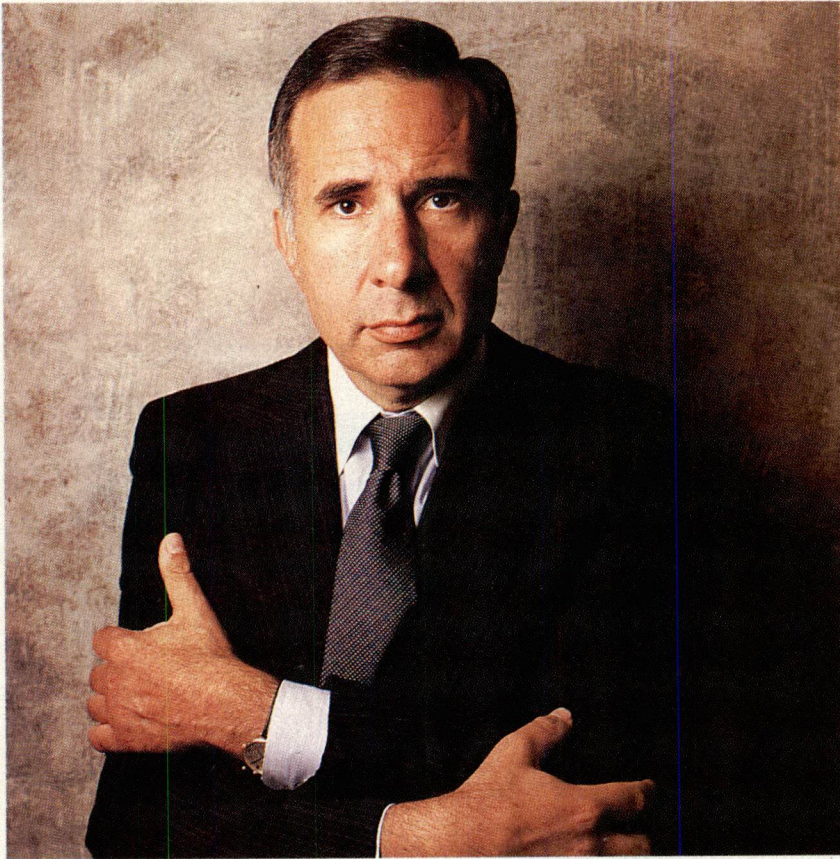
A test drive in a Saab 900 Turbo won't just relieve you from the symptoms of the common car.

It could help you develop a lifetime immunity.



SAAB

The most intelligent cars ever built.



WILLIAM COOPER

Carl Icahn

Raided firms such as Marshall Field, Viacom, Phillips Petroleum and Texaco. Vociferous critic of corporate management.

Biggest Deals: Amassed huge profits from raids, increased earnings of ACF, a rail-leasing firm, from \$4.5 million to \$35 million. Bought near bankrupt TWA; confounded critics by making it fly straight, saving nearly \$1 billion with union concessions and waste cutting.

Major Holdings: With partners, owns most of ACF and 11 percent of steel-and-energy giant USX. In a truce with Texaco, a special dividend on his 16.6 percent stake will net him \$300 million.

Debt: Undisclosed.

Estimated Net Worth: Close to \$1 billion.

Quote: *Were the incompetent, inbred managements of many of our major corporations replaced by strong and capable leadership, we might still be able to save our economy from decline.*

though, have pushed performance incentives and ownership further down the ranks of the organization than when the firms were traded publicly. After its leveraged buyout in 1987, New Jersey-based Supermarkets General granted stock options to the top managers at each of its 300 stores. SRC Corporation, a leveraged spinoff from International Harvester, established an employee-stock-ownership plan as well as bonuses for hourly workers who achieve specific production goals. A company slogan sums up the new operating credo, "Stop the praise, give us the raise."

At Wickes, recently acquired in a \$539 million leveraged buyout by investment firms Wasserstein, Perella and the Blackstone Group, each of the company's 11 divisional directors has been given a direct stake in the performance of his business, which he can also use to motivate his managers. "We hope these executives will get very rich," avers Robert McKeon, LBO chief at Wasserstein, Perella. In a public company, by contrast, an operating executive rarely makes more than half his salary in bonus, giving him less reason to strain.

Harvard economist Michael Jensen argues that in publicly traded companies, managers often have incentives to grow their firms beyond an optimal size. Rather than put profits toward shareholder dividends, executives often are tempted by ill-considered investments. Debt reduces that excess cash flow, and imposes discipline. The petroleum industry, for instance, reacted to high oil prices by diversifying, mostly with disastrous results. But after corporate raider T. Boone Pickens set in mo-

tion an industrywide restructuring by going after Gulf Oil, the industry changed its accustomed practice; it paid out excess cash to shareholders rather than making unprofitable investments.

Some cost reductions seem achingly obvious. After acquiring Beatrice in 1986, buyout specialists Kohlberg Kravis Roberts cut \$74 million just by canceling the contract that put the Beatrice name on the hood of race-car driver Mario Andretti. The sport had been a pet interest of former Beatrice Chairman James Dutt. At Wickes, the first things to be put on the block after its \$539 million leveraged buyout were three corporate jets and a \$2.5 million Manhattan apartment used by the former chief executive on occasional visits to New York.

And that's just small change. "High leverage forced us to do things that were advantageous because there was no alternative," admits Clayton Stephenson, vice chairman of Union Carbide, where management trimmed hundreds of millions of dollars by paring inventories and accounts receivable by 15 percent over three years. The company took on a heavy debt load in 1986 to thwart an unfriendly takeover. "We now are sharper, better at managing lots of things," says Stephenson.

A Fonda workout. Slimnastics can, but need not, have devastating consequences. Annual interest payments of more than \$500 million compelled Union Carbide to chop its 1986-87 capital expenditures by 24 percent from previous levels, an exercise that dealt a major blow to the firm's chemical division, its largest business. "If we were forced to stop research and development for several years, our future would be gone," acknowledges Stephenson. A strong market for chemicals boosted Union Carbide's cash flow and spared its laboratories. Yet the troubling question remains: Are other leveraged companies similarly starved?

The evidence so far is mixed. A study of 42 LBO's conducted last year by Steven Kaplan of the University of Chicago Business School found that while capital expenditures indeed fell, the drop was a mere 1 percent over the first 24 months. The report also revealed that operating profits rose more quickly for the LBO companies than for their competitors. A recently released National Science Foundation survey paints a gloomier picture. At eight companies that recently underwent leveraged buyouts or major stock buybacks, R&D spending dropped significantly. Neither study determined whether the slide in expenditures came from efforts to trim fat and refocus assets, or simply reflected a shortage of cash.

Some LBO's clearly are investing for the future. Beatrice has boosted marketing expenditures 20 percent for Wesson Oil and other products still in its holdings. "If the question is whether the LBO is forcing us to milk this company, the answer is emphatically 'No,'" asserts Chairman Frederick Rentschler. Still, not all LBO managers favor a long-term approach. Before selling out to another restaurant chain, the LBO managers of Denny's restaurants cut back on renovations. Profits improved

sharply, boosting the company's selling price, but the new owners are now spending heavily.

A recession or jump in interest rates could force LBO managers into many unwanted cuts. In a worst-case scenario, a severe slump could propel many debt-strapped companies into bankruptcy. Even then, however, most lending institutions would emerge relatively unscathed because their loans are secured by the companies' assets. The real losers would be the junk-bond holders, whose claims on the company are satisfied only after the banks have been paid. As Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan told Congress last week, the soundness of a deal depends on which firms are leveraging and the structure of the financing.

So far, relatively few highly leveraged deals have gone sour. Revco D.S., the Ohio-based drugstore chain that was taken private in a \$1.25 billion management-led buyout three years ago, won the dubious honor last summer of being the first large LBO to go bankrupt. (See box, page 69.) Fruehauf, a Detroit truck and auto-parts maker, could soon top that record. The company recently had to ask creditors to restructure its debts, incurred in 1986 when it went private to avoid a hostile suitor. A combination of leverage and bad real-estate gambles has weakened Southland Corporation, parent company of 7-Eleven convenience stores, while Southmark, one of Drexel's biggest junk-bond clients, has seen its fortunes dive recently.



DAVID MICHAEL KENNEDY

Nelson Peltz

Created a corporate empire from an over-the-hill copper-wire and coin-change company—with help from \$4 billion in Drexel junk bonds.

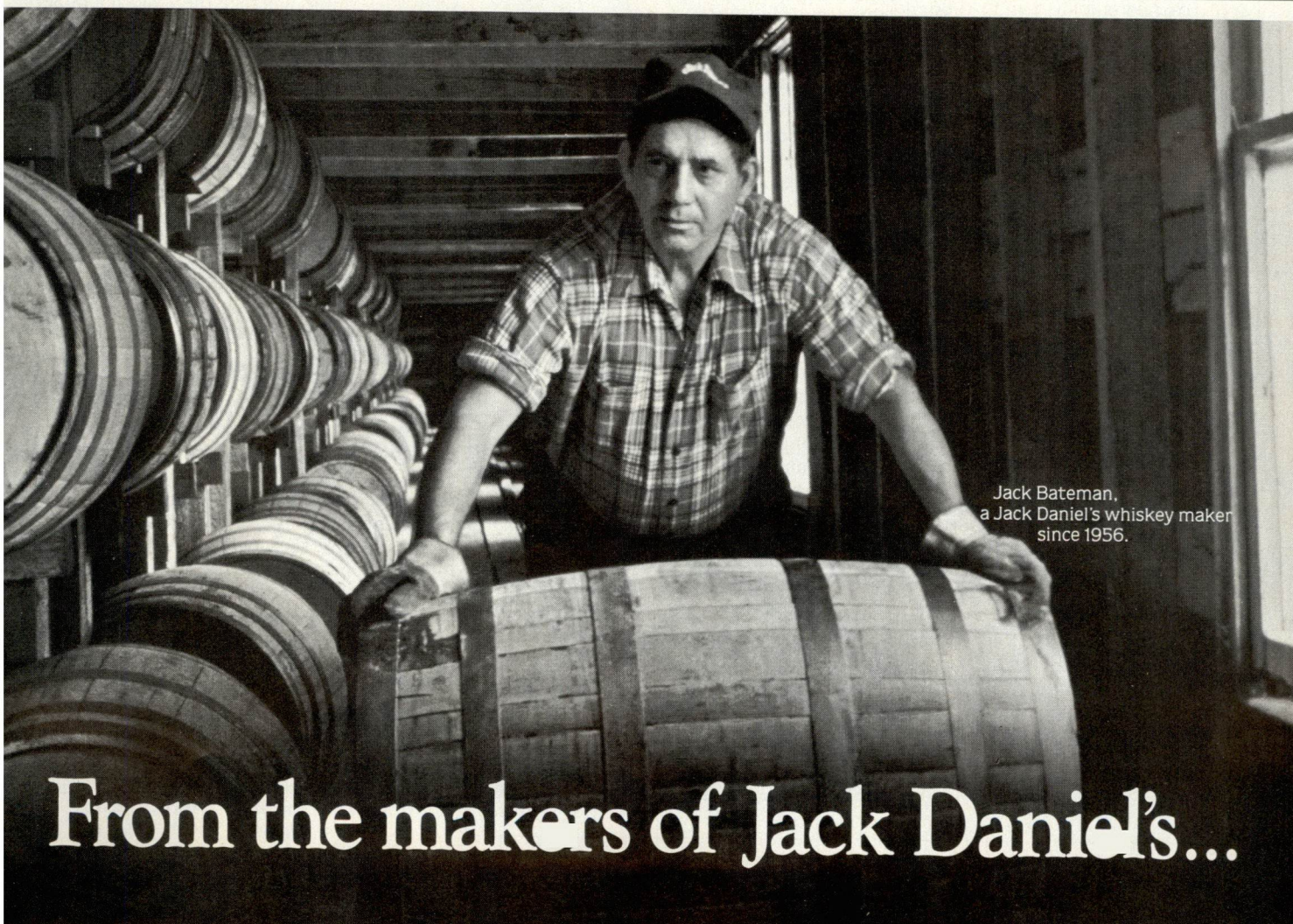
Biggest Deals: Mortgaged everything, including his summer home, to acquire 29 percent of Triangle Industries with partner Peter May in 1983. Using junk bonds, Triangle swallowed National Can for \$421 million and the packaging unit of American Can for \$570 million. Sold Triangle in 1988 to French-government-owned Pechiney SA for \$1.26 billion. Plans to buy back nonpackaging part of Triangle for \$225 million.

Debt: None.

Estimated Net Worth: \$500 million.

Quote: *Cash flow is the only thing that counts—that's our philosophy. If you work with high leverage, you gotta have high liquidity.*

If these are the exceptions, then why the worry? Even buyout practitioners fear that a "herd mentality," nurtured by seven years of buoyant economic conditions, may be pushing prices for current buyouts too high. "There is a kind of pathology going on," says Peter Peterson, chairman of the Blackstone Group



Jack Bateman,
a Jack Daniel's whiskey maker
since 1956.

From the makers of Jack Daniel's...



CHARLIE ARCHAMBAULT FOR USNEWS

Putting leverage on the line

William McGowan

Under the discipline of debt, this hard-charging CEO wielded every weapon to wrest greater efficiency from MCI in its battle against AT&T. Slashed employment in 1986 by 15 percent and capital spending in 1987 by 11 percent. But the effort nearly took his life; in December, 1986, received a transplanted heart and returned to the company nine months later. A \$677 million stock buyback firmed up MCI's share price. Stock now trades above \$25, from \$5 in early 1986.

Believes other firms could learn from MCI's experience with debt and that junk bonds are "wonderful for our economy" because they allow thousands of companies to issue public debt. Downplays concern over takeovers and LBO's, arguing that many accelerate needed change. But backs limits on junk-bond investments by federally insured thrifts.

Quote: *Most of the hand wringers actually have another agenda—saving their backsides from corporate takeovers. If you stop them from happening, our economy will end up like the Russian economy.*

Debt, or more precisely junk bonds, was the right choice for MCI Communications. With \$5 billion in revenues and 10 percent of the long-distance telephone market, MCI now gets plenty of respect. But its audacity in challenging AT&T's monopoly in the mid-1970s might have earned it nothing but sand in the face had not junk bonds come along. "We grew to where we are on the back of debt," says Chairman William McGowan.

Initially, MCI financed itself by leasing most of its equipment. "If I couldn't lease it, we couldn't get it," McGowan recalls. When the company grew larger, bank financing was too restrictive. Banks insisted on strict rules and on holding liens on MCI equipment. If the firm wanted to switch purchasing plans due to changing technology, it had to renegotiate with the banks.

High-yield strategy. The developing junk-bond market, however, offered a huge supply of funds with few strings attached. With underwriting from Drexel Burnham Lambert and other investment firms, MCI began offering bonds that yielded 2 percent more than investment-grade corporate bonds, to compensate buyers for the risk of a new, highly leveraged company. Between 1981 and 1986, MCI raised \$2.9 billion in a dozen junk-bond issues. The firm used the cash to build its domestic and international communications networks.

Today, MCI has either paid back or converted to equity \$1.1 billion of its junk borrowings and is no longer ravenously eyeing the capital markets for cash. With almost a measure of regret, McGowan reports that MCI recently won the traditional badge of blue-chip respectability: An "investment grade" bond rating. ■

and former Secretary of Commerce. Four years ago, LBO funds could take over a firm for only 10 to 12 times its annual earnings. By 1988, KKR paid 22 times annual earnings for supermarket chain Stop & Shop, while Morgan Stanley's LBO fund paid a similar premium for paper maker Fort Howard. Analysts are concerned by the recent decision of Quantum Chemical, formerly National Distillers & Chemical, to take on a heavy debt load even though its business is notoriously subject to economic downturns.

Some economists have urged President Bush to make curbing LBO's his top economic priority. "Every week of delay can add new threats to the health of U.S. corporations, financial markets and the federal Treasury," warns Henry Kaufman, former chief economist at Salomon Brothers. But what steps should be taken, and by whom?

After two weeks of intense hearings, Congress seems no closer to an answer. Proposals to broaden disclosure of buyout bids have met with little resistance on Wall Street. However, calls for restricting or eliminating the tax break for interest fees and allowing a break on dividend payments have touched off a cacophony of caution. As Fed chief Greenspan put it to the Senate Finance Committee last week, "Do very little with respect to legislation, but a lot with supervision."

A go-slow approach seems particularly prudent, given that government economists have yet to determine whether the LBO boom actually drains tax revenues, and if so, by how much. Clearly, deductions taken for interest payments cost the Treasury money in forgone taxes. At the same time, though, government reaps a windfall whenever shareholders sell their stock in takeover or LBO bids and then must pay capital-gains taxes.

More pain than gain. Any cure risks being worse than the malady. Limiting the deductibility of interest here could give foreigners an edge in acquiring U.S. concerns, since interest is widely deductible overseas. Moreover, "it would raise the cost of capital at precisely the time American companies need to raise capital to stay competitive," notes Morgan Stanley's Roach. Restricting junk-bond financing threatens to crimp growing companies along with excessive takeover bids.

Right now, legislators are hoping the leverage boom will peak on its own, sparing the need for any action. Institutional investors, particularly large pension funds, are becoming wary of committing new money. And moves to protect the value of outstanding investment-grade bonds, spurred by the harm suffered by RJR Nabisco bondholders in that buyout, may prompt some LBO promoters to proceed more cautiously.

Whatever the pluses or perils of leverage, a verdict may come only when a recession puts buyouts to the test. Until then, market forces may bail out the judges on Capitol Hill. ■

by Pamela Sherrid with Clemens P. Work and Robert F. Black

Chain of troubles: The LBO that went bust

Revco D.S., the 1,900-store drug-retailing chain based in Twinsburg, Ohio, earned a dubious distinction last July when it declared bankruptcy. It became the first billion-dollar leveraged buyout to turn sour. Revco's Chapter 11 filing exacerbated fears of a nationwide string of such collapses, but so far the company's fate has not proved contagious.

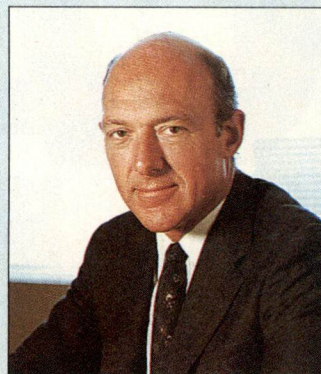
Prescription for failure. Revco's problems started with bad luck and were compounded by weak management. After years of galloping profits, Revco shares nose-dived in 1983 when its drug chain's vitamins were linked to infant deaths. Troubles at Odd Lot Trading, a discount chain bought in 1984 by then Chairman Sidney Dworkin, slashed Revco's 1985 earnings by nearly 60 percent. In 1986, Dworkin seized on a management buyout as a balm for the firm's ills. Beating out rival bids, Dworkin's group of investors paid \$1.25 billion to buy the firm's shares—and quadrupled debt.

When current Chairman Boake Sells took over in September, 1987, sales were up to \$2.3 billion annually, but interest payments were draining the bottom line. The

firm lost \$46 million in 1987 and nearly \$88.6 million in 1988. But when the drug retailer announced last April that it couldn't meet a \$46 million interest payment, investor Talton Embry of Magten Asset Management demanded full repayment of his \$100 million in junk bonds. Revco sought protection under Chapter 11.

Now, Sells is trying hard to prove there's life after bankruptcy. Banks provided a \$145 million line of credit so Revco stores could restock. Sells shut 61 unprofitable stores and is closing 48 more. By spinning off Odd Lot last November, he generated enough cash to rebuild inventories without tapping credit. Revco is redoing store interiors and installing a chainwide computer network. Sells has weaned Revco from such eclectic merchandise as television sets and lawn furniture, making the pharmacy the heart of each store. As the first major LBO to go bust, Revco has had easy access to bankers' bailout funds. If more LBO's collapse in an economic downturn, they might not be so lucky. ■

by Eva Pomice



Boake Sells

Established a record for curing or killing sick businesses as No. 2 at Dayton Hudson Corporation. Attracted to Revco by promise of an equity stake that would grow as he revived the company.

Quote: Chapter 11 allows us to reinvent Revco as the most customer-driven drugstore chain possible for the 1990s.

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ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

THE SAVINGS AND LOAN SHELL GAME

■ KEEP AN EYE ON THE PEA

Hurry, hurry, step right up and see Nicholas Brady perform his amazing sleight of hand. The Treasury Secretary will need all the adroitness he can muster to pull off his most pressing act of budgetary legerdemain: Hiding the mammoth bill that must be paid to clean up the savings and loan mess.

Don't get distracted by Shell One. The Brady move to sock depositors for up to \$9 billion a year was just a feint. The proposal provoked such a storm of protest in Congress that the Treasury is now looking for other sources of funds to repay the \$90 billion the government must borrow to close down the ailing S&L's.

The switch to Shell Two will come this week, perhaps even before President Bush's state-of-the-union message. But, again, don't be misled. Bush doesn't want the bailout costs to add to his deficit problems. At Brady's urging, he is expected to propose that cleanup costs be laid on the lenders, banks and credit unions as well as S&L's by charging them higher fees for federal deposit insurance.

That may seem a tidy solution, but Shell Three, marked Treasury general funds, is really the one to watch. In the end, that is where Congress will go to get most of the money to pay the S&L bill. That means taxpayers will be stuck with the tab.

■ DON'T BANK ON IT

There seems to be no escape from that conclusion. The banks don't want to pay the cost, and they're prepared to call every depositor to battle. "It's war," vows Kenneth Guenther, executive vice president of the Independent Bankers Association of America. And when banks mobilize, they usually win. Remember how they beat back the attempt to make banks withhold tax on interest earnings a few years ago? "The fight over withholding will look like a Sunday-school picnic compared with this," predicts Bert Ely, a thrift consultant in Alexandria, Va.

In fact, the banks have a stronger case this time than they did in the battle over withholding. They can claim they wear the white hats and should not be made to pay for the sins of the black hats, the rival thrifts. The Bush-Brady plan would quadruple the banks' premiums for deposit insurance, raising the industry's cost

to \$6.5 billion a year from \$1.6 billion.

If the higher premiums had been in effect last year, government sources estimate that 708 profitable banks would have topped into the red. That casualty list doesn't take into account deposits the banks would lose to foreign banks and money-market and other funds if they tried to pass on the extra costs to customers.

Nor does the list provide for the higher premiums the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which insures bank deposits, needs just to keep its fund intact, never mind saving thrifts. The FDIC reported its first loss ever in 1988, reducing its fund to below \$15 billion.

■ NOTHING UP THE SLEEVE

The S&L's, too, claim they can't afford the funeral costs for the 350 institutions that now await burial, and most experts agree with that assessment.

The thrifts also insist that to protect their future health, any remedy must put thrifts and banks on an equal footing. Just because their industry collapsed, they don't want to go on paying higher insurance premiums than banks do. So, both thrifts and banks will be pushing Congress to look to the Treasury for funds.

■ THE OLD HAT TRICK

Congress and the administration no longer have the option of doing nothing. Further delay would invite savers to pull their money out of institutions, warns Chairman Henry Gonzalez of the House Banking Committee. He also worries that the S&L infection, if allowed to fester, could damage the entire financial system, a view shared by the General Accounting Office.

That means a deal must be struck, and Chairman Don Riegle of the Senate Banking Committee suggests a way. Because the thrift crisis is unique, he says, perhaps an exemption should be granted from the Gramm-Rudman deficit restraints.

If Congress does vote such an exemption, that would allow the Treasury to pay a large share of the S&L cleanup costs without forcing Bush to raise taxes or cut other spending to stay within the Gramm-Rudman limits. Even so, paying the bill from Treasury general funds means the money comes from guess where: Your pocket.

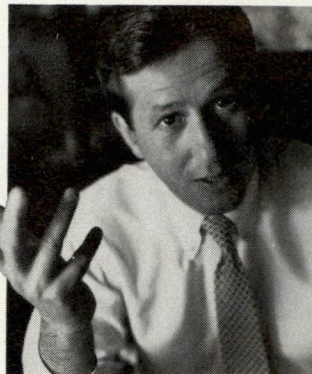
by Monroe W. Karmin

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Corporate refugee. Kathleen Goepinger used her professional credentials to land a teaching job at Loyola University of Chicago

A kinder, gentler job

CAREERS ■ Descending the ladder without leaving your company

This is *not* another 1980s inspirational tale of success and achievement. You will not learn how to climb the corporate ladder in record time and obtain complete career and financial fulfillment. The people in this story have done all that, by following to the letter the gospel of the '80s: More money, more power, less sleep. But their devotion to work collided with their personal lives, and they rebelled. Now they are writing a new chapter in corporate history: How to take a step down the ladder.

A recent and public case involved 36-year-old Deborah Coleman, Apple Computer's chief financial officer and top-ranking woman executive, who announced that she would take a leave of absence to tackle a serious weight problem and would return to Apple later this year in a lesser position. Coleman's decision generat-

ed considerable cocktail-party talk. This wasn't just another high-flying executive chucking the corner office and company jet to open a bed-and-breakfast in Vermont. Nor was it someone trading in a big rat race for a smaller one as an entrepreneur. This was a superachiever

asking to be placed on a slower track, where she could continue to work hard without sacrificing her personal life in the process. Every middle manager or executive who has struggled through another pointless meeting or killed a weekend for the sake of an important project has undoubtedly yearned to do the same thing.

Yet moving backward, or even staying put, is an idea that runs counter to the most basic notion of achievement in America: To push ahead, preferably the faster the better. For women torn between family and career, moving in reverse is a concession that they can't do it all. For men battling stress-related health problems or looking to spend more time with their children, consciously seeking to move down the ladder is an affront to the masculine ideal of achievement.

Some executives are backtrack-



Down the organization. Philip Sardella took a lesser job to get back to basics, like discussions of career strategy

ing anyway. In the last year, Herbert Freudenberger, a New York psychologist who counsels dozens of patients suffering from burnout, has noted a surge in the number of high achievers looking to slow down their careers. "For the first time," he says, "we are seeing people not just talking about this sort of thing, but doing it."

Paying a personal price. The step down is just the first in a series of battles, many of them personal and emotional. "It took me several months to get adjusted to the idea that I was no longer considered as important to the company," says Philip Sardella, who gave up a high-profile job as manager of U.S. employment for Digital Equipment Corporation in Maynard, Mass., about 1½ years ago. Sardella, 46, now holds a less prestigious position as a personnel consultant at the company. And although his salary has yet to be affected by the switch, he says he suffered in deeper ways. When his power disappeared, so did many friends and colleagues who had sought him out, and his priorities were questioned. With that type of negative reinforcement, says Sardella, "one of the toughest parts of scaling back was overcoming the idea that taking a lesser job made me less of a person."

In time, Sardella's less stressful life eased his pain. He is now freed from riding herd on a staff of 20 and has returned to what he likes best: Training and counseling employees and discussing career strategies with his colleagues. Most days, moreover, he is out of the office by 5 p.m.

Putting your career in low gear takes courage. It is one thing to fight your own internal battle between wanting to lead a more reasonable life and being perceived as a dropout or failure. In addition, you will have to persuade your boss to give you the opportunity. As always when asking for more flexibility, you will need to be creative. Probably your company doesn't have a ready-made program or policy for people who want to demote themselves. But with a little finesse and a lot of willpower, you just might be able to pull it off.

For those who don't mind hustling a bit, one option is to work on projects independently by contracting yourself out to your employer for a specific job. This is a good way to remove yourself from the daily grind and organizational politics without sacrificing a great deal in pay. Such setups work particularly well in fields like market research, advertising, computer programming and even law, where contracting out for work is standard practice. A market researcher, for instance, might come up with a project that calls for working ex-

clusively with the sales department on a new-product introduction, designing a sales-training plan and, in essence, functioning as a consultant to the department on the new product.

This approach, of course, would mean sacrificing some of the practical and psychological perks of being a full-time employee, such as medical benefits and the

Law and accounting firms, as well as other companies that do business with individual clients, may be especially sympathetic to the idea of downscaling, since they do not want to forfeit your expertise or the strong relationships you may have developed with clients. When Sheri McGinnis, 34, formerly an audit manager with Arthur Andersen, an accounting



Balancing act. Carol Bartz gave up her post as president of a Sun Microsystems division, along with 80-hour weeks, for a slower-paced job as divisional vice president so she could spend more time with daughter, Layne, and husband Bill Marr

prestige of being a corporate insider. It also would add new pressure: The need to sell yourself and your ideas every time you want to start a new project.

Chances are you will have to give up something when you decide to make a switch. But with a little coaxing, your company may actually be open to the type of creative job remodeling that will let you maintain a fulfilling, well-paying job and ease your monstrous workload. Some companies, for instance, now allow midlevel executives to take advantage of cross-training programs typically offered to young M.B.A.'s. Dozens of employees at Marion Laboratories, a pharmaceutical manufacturer in Kansas City, have participated in an informal cross-training program that lets them shift from such areas as human resources to communications.

A lateral move of this kind could also mask the goal of slowing down your career. A sales manager pressured to meet monthly quotas, for example, could move to a production or administrative position where the pressure to perform is less and the hours are fewer. With the reduced pressure, of course, would come reduced sales commissions.

firm based in Chicago, said she wanted out of the stressful client end of the business, the firm accommodated her with a less demanding position with lower earning potential as assistant to the head of the audit group. McGinnis also was allowed to keep a foot in her old job by continuing to do work for one client.

Forsaking a logical path. McGinnis, who had worked at the firm nine years, intentionally did not make the best career move when she jumped the partnership track and accepted her new position. "A more logical path for me might have been to move into an accounting job in industry," she says. By switching companies, McGinnis would have been able to stay on a more traditional career track while, at the same time, getting away from the grueling client side of the business. But her goal was to work fewer hours, and "the pressures of starting a new job would have defeated the purpose of making a move in the first place," she says.

An employer who knows and appreciates your work will likely be more flexible in letting you shape a lower-profile role for yourself. But if the organization, like most firms, only acknowledges an

up escalator, stability equals failure. It will probably be more difficult at such places to convince your employer, and yourself, that you can make a solid contribution but have no intention of getting promoted. "I knew that the corporate culture would never have tolerated someone like me stepping back, and I wouldn't have felt comfortable with it, either," says Kathleen Goeppinger, 41. Four years ago, Goeppinger resigned as corporate vice president of human resources for the Chicago retailer Carson Pirie Scott & Company to become a full-time assistant professor in industrial relations at Loyola University of Chicago. Her academic schedule gives her more freedom and more time to spend with her two children, ages 4 and 1.

Scaling back. Corporate refugees like Goeppinger, who continues to do consulting work for the retail industry, balk at the notion that they are dropping out. "I'm working as hard as I ever have. I just have more control over my time now," she says. Carol Bartz, formerly president of Sun Microsystems federal-systems division in Milpitas, Calif., admits that her decision to take on a reduced role as vice president of the customer-service division hardly means the arrival of low-key, 8-hour days, either. "For me, the issue is feeling like I don't have to run a marathon every day. It's learning to settle for a good 10K race," says Bartz, who made the switch so she could spend more time with her new baby and her husband.

Holding yourself back when your colleagues and even your own instincts are pushing you forward may call for fundamental changes in your life. "You need to replace the satisfaction gained from always striving for higher goals in the organization with clear alternative goals in other parts of your life," says psychologist Freudenberg. That may mean developing new, less stressful professional interests or exploring untapped talents and hobbies.

You also may find the temptation to zoom forward once again hard to resist. "When the first of your peers gets promoted, it isn't too bad, but when the third or fourth or fifth colleague moves ahead of you, it can be pretty tough," says a California executive who left a high-powered finance job with Xerox to work in a less glamorous accounting position with a consumer-products manufacturer. The accountant has not quite gone back to the 16-hour-a-day pace he perfected at Xerox. He did, however, ask not to be identified for this story. He thought it might hurt his chances of getting promoted. ■

by Amy Saltzman



Pushbutton notepads. Casio's Digital Diary, left, and Psion's Organiser II

Three weeks that did not reorganize my life

OFFICE TECH ■ Our writer tries the new electronic schedulers

Electronic diaries have arrived. Hundreds of thousands of these computerized schedulers with built-in calendars, address books, calculators, clocks and memo pads already have been snapped up in Britain and Japan, or so their manufacturers say. Are they better at organizing your life than a desk calendar and Rolodex, or a Filofax, that leather-bound collection of little pockets, pages and pens? Does the alleged convenience justify spending as much as \$300? U.S. News writer Daniel P. Wiener spent three weeks with the Sharp Wizard (list price \$299.99), the Psion Organiser II Model XP (\$249.99) and Casio's Digital Diary SF-4000 (\$120.95). His report:

WEEK ONE

Buttons, buttons, buttons. Together, the three machines are studded with nearly 200 of them. The Casio, about the size of a typical pocket calculator and the midget of the three, has the most keys, 83. Many buttons have more than one function. This isn't like scribbling on a calendar or typing a memo. I need help. I turn to the

instructions, first Sharp's. There is a warning on the inside cover: "SHARP strongly recommends that separate permanent written records be kept of all important data." Uh-oh. Do these things work or don't they?

Getting started isn't too onerous with the Sharp. I set the current date and time, enter a few names and phone numbers into the "address book" and some appointments into the "scheduler." No problem. I do the same with the other two. Incredibly, watchmaker Casio neglected to put a clock in its unit, so there's no way to set alarms for my appointments the way I can with the other two units.

Typing, if it can be called that, is frustrating. The keys are tiny, and my fingers are not. I resolve to work on patience and eye-hand coordination. Sharp and Psion have opted for an alphabetical keyboard layout rather than a typewriter's QWERTY style. Conditioned by years of typing, I grope for the "B," which is in the top rather than the bottom row. Casio's keys are laid out like a typewriter's. I can find the letters

faster. But I can't tell when I have pressed the flat membrane keys on the Casio hard enough to register. I punch in interview. It comes out



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Subtle

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interview. By contrast, the Sharp and Psion units beep or click when their keys are pressed.

A test. I type four names and phone numbers into each machine. Sharp wins the race; it takes me just over 3 minutes. But at that rate, transferring the contents of my address book into the machine will take weeks. Casio's toylike keyboard makes that machine the loser; I need 4 minutes. Psion has sent along a cable and software that supposedly let my personal computer squirt all the names on file into the Organizer with just a few keystrokes. A nice idea, but the cable doesn't fit. Psion says a replacement will be sent. It doesn't come.

WEEK TWO

I am getting the hang of it. I've loaded my electronic schedulers with appointments. For reassurance, I sneak a quick glance at my old-fashioned desk calendar, which I'm also using to be safe. It informs me it's going to be a busy week.

Switch on the Wizard. Whoops, four strange entries appear for Monday: Call, Call, Meta and Meet. With four keystrokes, the mystery is solved. The first two are phone calls I have to make. Meta is Wizard's truncated version of my entry for an appointment with Metaphor Computer Systems, Inc., and Meet refers to a meeting that's scheduled for later in the day. I will have to remember to make sure the first four letters of any entry make more sense.

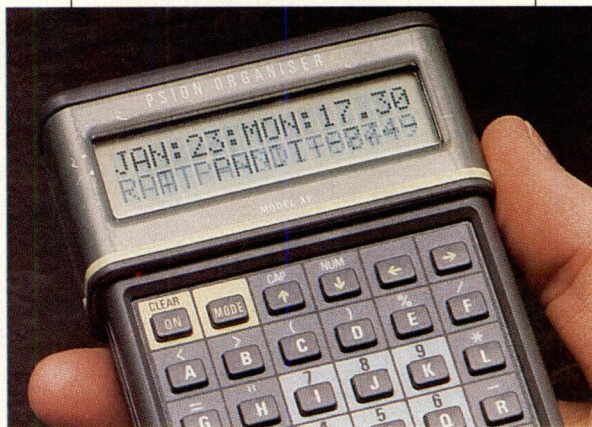
Tuesday is slightly better. I'm pretty sure Lunc means lunch. Casio's machine doesn't understand a.m. and p.m. Since I forgot to enter the time of day in the required 24-hour military style, my 5 p.m. meeting (which I should have punched in as 1700) shows up ahead of my 11 a.m. (1100) appointment. Not too helpful.

I call Casio's toll-free Help Line. A computerized voice asks if I want "product assistance" or "technical how-to information." I choose product assistance. Wrong. A live human being gives me a different toll-free number, which goes directly to "how-to." Tim, another real live person, agrees that my problems are problems with the machine, not me. He says he has used the Digital Diary in the past and dubs it a "novelty piece." I agree. He promises that improved models will come out later this year. I give up on the Casio. Although it is half the price of the other two machines, the aggravation isn't worth the savings.

With the Wizard, once you put information in, heaven forbid you should change it. I want to move the alarm for



Tiny buttons. *With little space between keys on the Casio, it is easy to hit one key and find the wrong letter displayed. There is also no beep or click to indicate that contact has been made.*



No room. *The two-line screen on the Psion makes it difficult to get a quick impression of a full day's activities. The unit also weighs close to 0.75 pound and is too bulky for some shirt pockets.*



Hunt, peck, hunt. *Instead of a typewriter-style keyboard layout, the Sharp Wizard (\$300) has keys arranged alphabetically, a hindrance to anyone used to typing. The Psion has a similar layout.*

my 3 p.m. appointment from 2:55 to 2:45. On the Psion, it means pushing three buttons. With the Wizard, I have to punch four buttons in a specific order before I can even enter the change. Is an alarm really necessary?

One night, at home, I can't figure out how to delete a calendar entry on the Wizard. Learning the complicated key combinations and committing them to memory will take practice. The instruction book is back in the office. Oh, well.

As simple calculators, all three gadgets work well, maybe too well. On the way home Friday night, I stop for flowers. The florist figures the bill with a pencil as I punch in the numbers. He figures wrong. My accuracy costs 5 percent more.

WEEK THREE

I explore the built-in writing tools. The Wizard has an add-on combination dictionary-thesaurus (\$129.99).

The Psion has a spelling checker (\$49.99). Both are crippled. The Wizard says "hewing" means bringing down with saw or ax. True, but the Wizard's dictionary is oblivious to a second definition, "conforming." The Psion, a British product, spells *organize* with an "s" and doesn't recognize *labor* but quickly finds *labour*. What other Britishisms am I likely to find? Webster's Ninth New Collegiate, on the shelf, comes to the rescue.

I become anxious. What if someone snatches a high-tech diary from my desk while I'm away getting coffee? I begin sliding a magazine or paper over the units whenever I leave my office. I never worried about someone running off with my Sierra Club calendar. And what about misplacing one of the little wonders? Andy Simon, the Wizard's national sales manager, can't respond to one of my questions. He needs his Wizard to answer, and he has left it at home.

I pack up the three units to send back and think about whether I'd want to buy one. I wish the Wizard had a typewriter-style keyboard. The Psion needs a bigger screen, which the company says will be coming sometime this year. Both machines are too expensive. A quick check turns up a shop selling a Wizard for \$250. Still too much. Yet here I am in the Information Age, chock full of data and still scribbling on a desk calendar. I can imagine becoming addicted to a little electronic diary. My cousin, a well-paid corporate lawyer, wants one. He says he'll try to cajole his secretary into typing his phone book in for him. I don't have a secretary.

I think I'll wait. ■

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When the corner drugstore falls short

HEALTH ■ By shopping abroad, you can get some drugs that have yet to gain U.S. approval. And it is perfectly legal

Last week, the Food and Drug Administration finally approved Eulexin, a drug for prostate cancer that has been shown to extend the life of patients by up to seven months when combined with another drug. But for many men who suffer from the disease, Eulexin was old news: They have been getting it from Canada since 1984.

Moreover, they have broken no laws. Any American, whether desperate to prolong life or plagued by a medicine's side effects, may bring or have sent into the U.S. a three-month supply of drugs available elsewhere. No one monitors the number of people who do so, but FDA officials believe the number is rising.

The reason is understandable. The 20 drugs approved by the FDA in 1988 took an average of eight years to reach patients, a wait that many could ill afford. Meanwhile, 18 of those 20 drugs had been available for an average of nearly six years elsewhere. "It's because of all the foreign drugs I've taken that I've been stable for six years," says one San Francisco AIDS patient. And not only the terminally ill can benefit. Epileptics could buy Depakene, a drug to treat seizures, in France in 1967—11 years before it got the FDA's O.K. But early access brings risk. Some foreign regulatory agencies do not require the rigorous testing of drugs that is standard practice here. And since manufacturing stan-

dards vary, even a beneficial drug may be inconsistent from one batch to another, or even contaminated.

Getting access to these drugs may require physician prodding on your part. Many doctors lack the time or, because of the risks, the incentive to follow drug development. When a drug is being tested in the U.S., you may not have to import it; your doctor might be able to get you into a clinical trial. Drugs that have been tested but are awaiting FDA approval can sometimes be prescribed for "compassionate use." Dipentum, a treatment for inflammatory-bowel disease, is now being given free by its maker, Pharmacia, Inc., to people for whom the drug Azulfidine is ineffective. Your doctor would have to request the drug for you from the company and agree to monitor your progress (see chart). And as of this week, the FDA will allow some AIDS patients access to the experimental drug aerosol pentamidine, which fights pneumonia. Such programs, however, typically are open only to patients who are good test subjects or have exhausted other options. Those who want to switch drugs to escape unpleasant side effects are often locked out.

Uncertain sources. People forced to look abroad will have to feel their way. Although FDA guidelines are clear on how to bring a drug into the U.S., getting your hands on it is up to you. Your doctor may help you find a foreign pharmacy willing to fill an American prescription. Or he or she may be able to team up with a foreign doctor who will prescribe the drug for you and send it to your doctor. Sometimes, manufacturers abroad will release the drug to American doctors who write and explain the need.

Customs and postal officials can intercept drugs for examination by the FDA. When that happens, you'll need a letter explaining your situation and giving your doctor's name and address. It may be wise to send such a letter to the person who will mail the drug and ask that it be enclosed in the package. You can call the FDA at (301) 295-8012 to find out which drugs cannot be imported because of their health risk. Recently, the FDA has told inspectors to intercept THA, an Alzheimer's-disease treatment that has caused liver failure in some patients, and RU-486, a French abortion pill that the agency considers dangerous.

Tracking down an effective drug may require research. Support groups for specific diseases often keep records of the latest drugs. Project Cure, (800) 552-2873, tracks nontoxic therapies to treat cancer, and Project Inform, (415) 558-9051, an AIDS-referral organization, can steer patients to new AIDS drugs. To find what has been written about a drug in medical journals, you can look under the drug's chemical name in the *Index Medicus*, a reference available in medical libraries and some large public libraries.

To succeed, you may have to refuse to take no for an answer. Dr. Larry Bruni of Washington, D.C., recently wrote a letter for an AIDS patient leaving for France, enclosing data showing that Roxithromycin, an antibiotic used there, could ease the severe diarrhea that was threatening the patient's life. The man took the letter to a French pharmacist, who provided the drug. In the absence of procedure, there is kindness. ■

by Francesca Z. Lunzer

USN&WR CHART BY MATT ZANG

HOW TO GET RELIEF FROM ABROAD

Most new drugs are available in foreign countries years before they reach the United States. The five drugs listed below, currently available elsewhere, are still under review by the Food and Drug Administration. Studies indicate that they may offer significant advantages.

	Motilium	Cisapride	Norplant	Dipentum	Losec
	Janssen Pharmaceutica Piscataway, N.J.	Janssen Pharmaceutica Piscataway, N.J.	Population Council,* New York City	Pharmacia, Inc. Piscataway, N.J.	Merck & Company** Rahway, N.J.
What it does	Treats poor digestion without producing side effects of nervousness and drowsiness.	May be more effective for certain heartburn patients.	Birth-control drug surgically implanted in the upper arm, and effective for up to five years.	Treats inflammatory bowel disease in patients for whom current drugs do not work.	More effective for hard-to-treat ulcers.
Where approved	Canada, Japan and all Western European countries, except Sweden	Belgium, Colombia, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Greece, Portugal, Finland	Finland, Sweden	Belgium, Denmark, Britain, New Zealand, Switzerland	Sweden, France, Switzerland
	USN&WR - Basic data: Company reports, Kidder Peabody & Company, Christina Heuer, Smith Barney		* Distributed in Europe by Leiras of Finland; requires surgical implanting and removal.		** Distributed in Europe by A.B. Astra of Sweden.

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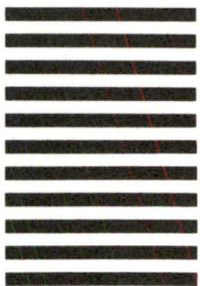
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Investors' wish list for Washington

Washington could have a bigger impact on investors than Wall Street this year. Some analysts believe the stock market's 1989 fireworks already reflect investor expectations of friendlier tax treatment with George Bush as President. A surprising number of proposals that could benefit investors have already surfaced. Investors are especially hopeful about a lower capital-gains tax, and perhaps cuts in taxes on dividends.

Bush, who talked during the campaign about cutting the top capital-gains rate to 15 percent from the present 33 percent for assets held at least one year, is set to deliver on his promise later this week when he submits a series of suggested budget measures to Congress. The package will omit recommendations concerning corporate dividends, which are taxed first as company profits and again when paid out to shareholders. But longstanding suggestions to do away with this double taxation resurfaced again during recent congressional hearings on leveraged buyouts, to offset limits on the amount of interest corporations can deduct.

Any of these proposals, if enacted, would significantly alter investor incentives. But a grab bag of conflicting policy goals will have to be sorted out before Congress and the administration can agree on changes. These goals range from lowering the cost of capital for U.S. companies to help them become more competitive abroad to reducing the current volatility in financial markets by rewarding investors who buy and hold stocks for the long term.

Cut, don't credit. Policy questions aside, most individuals would probably opt for a cut in the capital-gains rate over a tax credit for dividends. A major reason is that real estate historically has been the main beneficiary of the break for long-term capital gains. Only about a third of capital-gains profits come from the sale of stocks and bonds, while half result from real-estate transactions, notes Peter Davis, who follows Washington tax policy for Prudential-Bache. The Bush administration has yet to decide whether a lower top rate on capital gains should apply only to financial assets, but any attempt to limit it to stocks and bonds will produce howls from the real-estate industry.

Cutting the capital-gains rate would benefit some kinds of companies more than would changing dividend treatment.

BY JACK EGAN

Most fast-growing firms reinvest their profits in future expansion and do not pay out much in dividends anyway. Investors in these companies are rewarded when strong earnings gains translate into rising share prices. Dropping the top capital-gains rate to 15 percent would enhance their appeal. Companies with high dividend payouts are often mature, slow-growing companies, or utilities that have limited ways to reinvest their earnings. They often have conservative shareholders more interested in income than in capital gains. In the past, attempts by Congress to do away with the double

taxation of dividends have foundered because of a split between these two kinds of corporations. Growth companies resisted the change because they felt that to avoid being penalized in the marketplace, they would have to pay out more in dividends.

Capital loss. With the budget deficit a nagging concern, any tax-cut proposal that could reduce federal revenue faces tough going. The Bush administration claims that reducing the capital-gains rate would stimulate the economy, generating more revenues over the long term and lowering the deficit. The government theoretically would benefit, too, when individuals take advantage of the lower rates by selling long-held stocks and bonds. Yet other studies show that notwithstanding a

possible initial windfall, chopping the capital-gains rate to 15 percent would produce annual losses to the Treasury of anywhere from \$5 billion to \$10 billion within a couple of years. That is peanuts compared with estimates of \$30 billion in lost tax revenues if double taxation of dividends were eliminated.

A reduced capital-gains levy thus has a much better shot. "There is an inclination in Congress to do something on capital gains, but the Bush administration may have to

pay for it by accepting some increase for high-earning individuals so this doesn't look like a giveaway to the rich," observes Susan Simon, a Washington-based research analyst for Shearson Lehman Hutton.

The key bargain that sealed the deal on the Tax Reform Act of 1986 was eliminating the special break for long-term capital gains in exchange for reducing the top rate for high earners from 50 percent to 28 percent. The upcoming debate could also force a reconsideration of the individual-income-tax rates put into place in the 1986 overhaul of the tax system.

Some savvy Washington observers think a deal on capital gains could be cut later this year as part of an overall deficit-reduction package. The capital-gains preference would be restored, but some other taxes would be increased to offset any revenue losses and to help balance the budget. That means the President would have to renege on his oft repeated pledge to resist any and all tax hikes. But if it costs something to spur more savings and investment, the Bush administration and Congress should be able to find a way to pay the price. ■

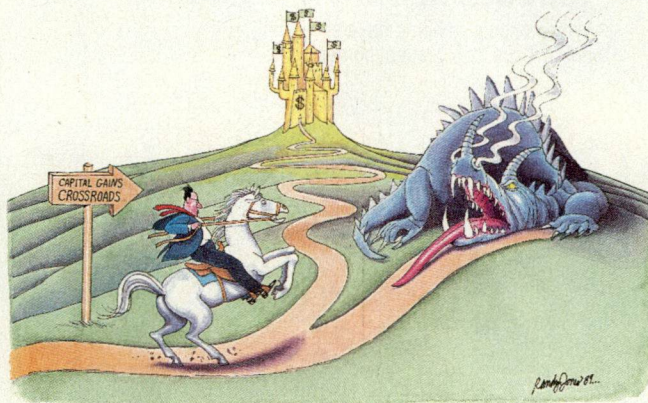


ILLUSTRATION BY RANDY JONES FOR USA TODAY

CAPITAL-GAINS HISTORY

Congress has never shied from tinkering with the tax on long-term capital gains. It has often changed the top tax rate and the amount of time that an asset must be owned before a profit from its sale qualifies as long-term. Favored treatment began in 1921 and was broadly widened in 1942. Here are changes since then.

- **1942.** Top rate capped at 25 percent. Minimum holding period set at six months.
- **1972.** Top rate raised to 35 percent on gains over \$50,000; kept at 25 percent for smaller amounts.
- **1977.** Holding period lengthened to nine months.
- **1979.** Top rate reduced to 28 percent. Holding period extended to 12 months.
- **1982.** Top rate cut to 20 percent.
- **1987.** Top rate lifted to 28 percent. Holding period reduced to six months.
- **1988.** All capital gains are treated as regular income, thus are subject to a top rate of 33 percent that applies to some upper-income people.

Where J.D.'s meet M.D.'s

One reason lawyers and doctors flock to states with big cities is that they like to settle where they have studied. The Northeast, in particular, is home to many law and medical schools. In Washington, D.C., another draw is the government, which employs over one quarter of all attorneys and doctors who work there.

	Lawyers per 100,000 residents	Number of lawyers
States with the most lawyers		
Washington, D.C.	5,875	36,250
Massachusetts	473	27,661
New York	429	76,183
Colorado	356	11,913
Illinois	351	40,644
Connecticut	344	11,115
New Jersey	337	26,159
Hawaii	313	3,449
Minnesota	304	13,000
Maryland	298	13,704

	Doctors per 100,000 residents	Number of doctors
States with the fewest lawyers		
Georgia	188	11,995
South Dakota	176	1,244
Mississippi	174	4,640
Indiana	170	9,400
Arkansas	167	4,000
North Dakota	165	1,101
Alabama	159	6,543
West Virginia	157	2,960
South Carolina	151	5,235
North Carolina	142	9,239

	Doctors per 100,000 residents	Number of doctors
States with the most doctors		
Washington, D.C.	687	4,253
Maryland	377	16,612
Massachusetts	348	20,248
New York	331	58,753
Connecticut	316	10,016
Hawaii	282	2,831
California	278	74,240
Vermont	278	1,506
Rhode Island	266	2,572
New Jersey	253	19,211

	Doctors per 100,000 residents	Number of doctors
States with the fewest doctors		
Montana	169	1,381
Alabama	164	6,600
Arkansas	163	3,839
Indiana	161	8,860
Oklahoma	160	5,245
Iowa	158	4,502
South Dakota	154	1,082
Wyoming	148	744
Mississippi	142	3,686
Idaho	140	1,395

Note: Figures for lawyers are as of January, 1988, and reflect the number of lawyers licensed to practice in each state, less the estimated 5 percent who have retired or are no longer offering their services as attorneys. Data for doctors are as of December, 1986, and reflect the number of doctors who provide direct patient care.
 USN&WR—Basic data: American Bar Association, American Medical Association

BLACKBOARD JUNGLE

Percentage of teens who say that in the last year they—

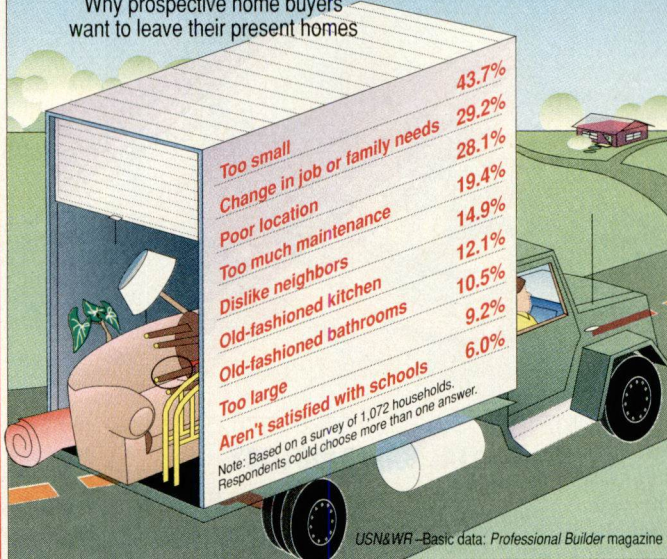
	Boys	Girls		Boys	Girls
Were in at least one fight at school	49%	28%	(While at school or on a school bus:)		
Had access to a handgun	41%	24%	Were threatened with violence	39%	30%
Carried a knife to school at least once	23%	5%	Were robbed	16%	12%
Carried a knife to school daily	7%	2%	Were attacked	17%	9%
Carried a handgun to school at least once	3%	0.7%	(While not at school:)		
Carried a handgun to school daily	1%	0.4%	Were threatened with violence	35%	30%
			Were robbed	15%	15%
			Were attacked	21%	12%

Note: Survey was taken of more than 11,000 eighth and 10th graders in over 200 public and private schools in 20 states during the fall of 1987.

USN&WR—Basic data: "National Adolescent Student Health Survey"

MOVING ALONG

Why prospective home buyers want to leave their present homes



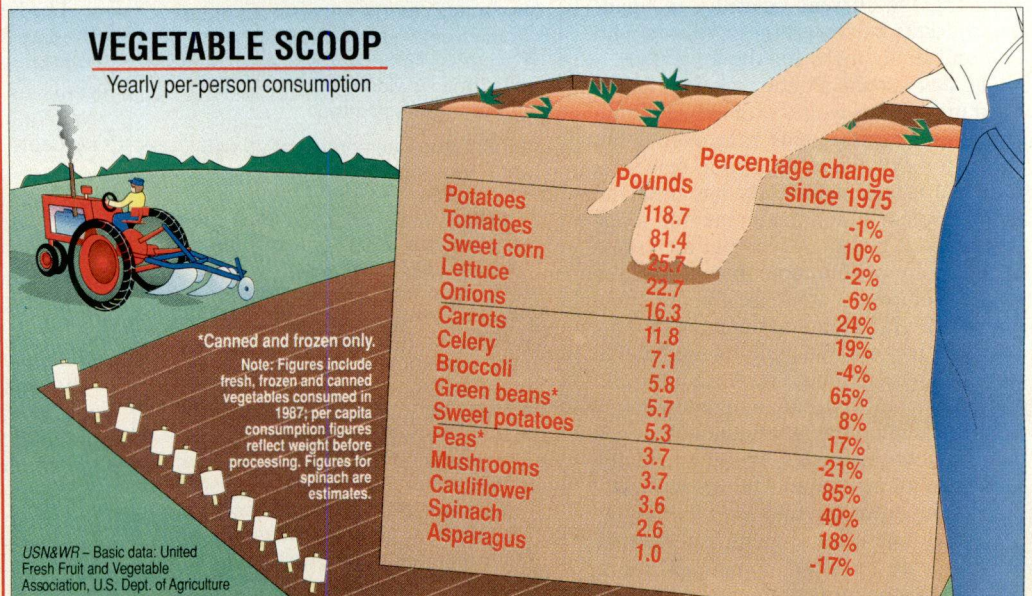
Lessons in violence

▲ For many teenagers, school is a place of fear, not a safe haven in which to embrace the three R's. Students pack knives and pistols along with pens and pencils, and violence frequently erupts in lunch lines and hallways. More than a third of eighth and 10th graders surveyed say that someone threatened to hurt them last year at school. Many after-school crimes occur because students don't use good judgment: Seventy-three percent admit they walk alone after dark.

Compiled by Jo Ann Tooley with Lynn Anderson Carle and Marianna I. Knight

VEGETABLE SCOOP

Yearly per-person consumption



MUTUAL FUNDS FROM YOUR BANKER?

Intimidated by the variety of choices, first-time investors in mutual funds may be tempted to turn for advice to their banker. The law bars banks from directly selling funds, but a growing number are doing so indirectly by teaming up with fund companies. A bank may act as sales agent for a firm that offers funds, such as Fidelity or Dreyfus, or it may push funds created for its customers. The bank often is the portfolio manager as well. Chase Manhattan Bank in New York, for example, manages eight funds under the Vista name. Novice investors used to the safety of bank certificates of deposit and money-market accounts may assume that a fund sold by a bank is safe, too. High-yield bond funds, now returning more than 12 percent, are sometimes promoted as an alternative to 8 or 9 percent CD's. But while you can't lose money in a CD, you can in a fund, and unlike CD's, funds are not federally insured. Since many banks charge sales fees, or loads, their funds may cost more than a no-load fund bought from a fund company. And though some banks have brokerage arms offering a wide array of funds, most banks sell a limited selection that may not pay top rates.

■ NICE PICTURE, GIGANTIC PRICE

The much ballyhooed high-definition television is still a few years off, but improved-definition TV's are on the market now. Philips came out with the first IDTV set last October, and Sony will introduce one this spring. On standard sets, images are made up of 525 lines, only half of which are "painted" on the screen at a time, followed 1/60 of a second later by the other half. This technology can produce a flickering, slightly fuzzy image. IDTV sets display all 525 lines at once, which eliminates flickering and sharpens picture detail somewhat. But prices on IDTV sets start at \$2,000, far above the average \$400 that Americans pay for a standard color TV. And in tests, viewers could discern better picture quality only at 3 feet or less, closer than most people sit. Russell Neuman, a researcher at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Media Laboratory, suggests that you put an ordinary set and an IDTV side by side in the showroom and watch both from a comfortable distance to see if the quality justifies the extra cost.

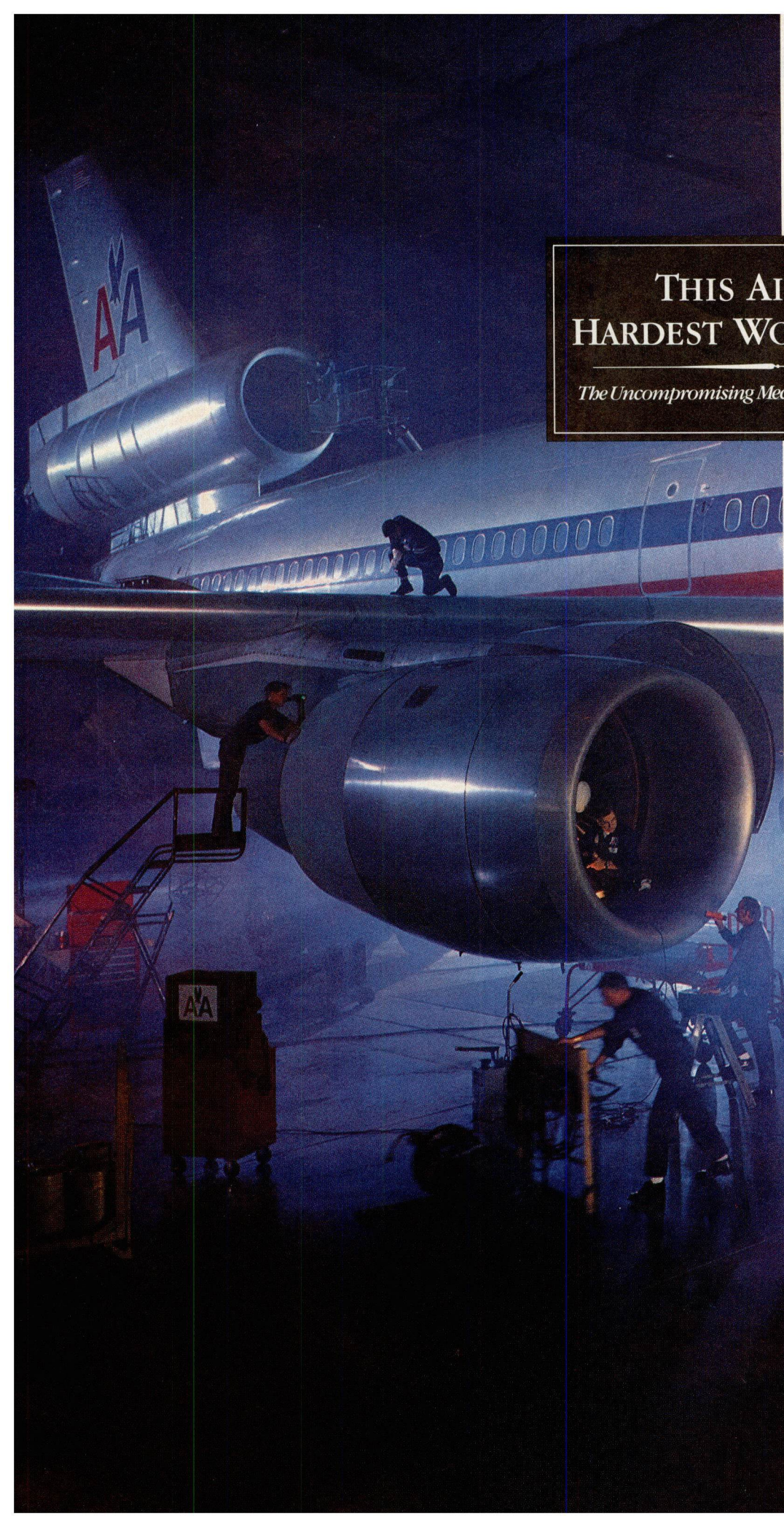
■ YOUNGSTERS WITH MIGRAINES

Children frequently are victims of adult-size headaches. But a study due out this spring indicates that 75 to 80 percent of migraines in children may be overlooked--mistaken for a virus or an excuse to goof off, says Dr. Harold Koller, a pediatric ophthalmologist who is also a surgeon at the Wills Eye Hospital in Philadelphia. In Koller's study of 250 children, signs of migraine include sensitivity to light and noise, restless sleep, blurred or double vision, seeing stars, stomach pain and nausea. Some 90 percent of the children studied come from families with a history of migraine. Among suspected causes: Vascular spasms, food sensitivities and stress. To prevent migraines, avoid giving kids trigger foods such as chocolate, peanuts and cheese. Caffeine in iced tea or cola syrup may help relax spasms of blood vessels in the head. And children nearly always get relief from sleep, says child neurologist Patricia Duffner. Parents whose children have frequent migraines should consult a doctor to rule out more-serious problems, such as a tumor, and to discuss further treatment.

■ FINDING RELIABLE BUSINESS ADVICE

Would-be entrepreneurs shouldn't be too quick to swing at the pitch made by "Money, Money, Money." The cable-TV show is largely a commercial for a \$50 book of business tips and forms, many of which can be obtained free from the government. The show also misleads viewers into thinking that free start-up cash is available from Uncle Sam. Thousands have called the Small Business Administration only to learn that grants aren't available from the federal government. SBA lawyers are asking the promoters to clarify the pitch. The SBA will send you a free book of tips on starting a business, plus a list of over 50 booklets on everything from choosing a site to understanding cash flow. Most cost \$1 or less. The SBA also offers free counseling at more than 600 Small Business Development Centers. Volunteers in the SBA's Service Corps of Retired Executives can give firsthand insights about your chosen field. For information, call the SBA at (800) 368-5855 or (202) 653-7561.

by Lisa J. Moore with Leonard Wiener, Francesca Z. Lunzer,
Judith A. Shapleigh and Marianna I. Knight



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by DAVID R. GERGEN

Editor at Large

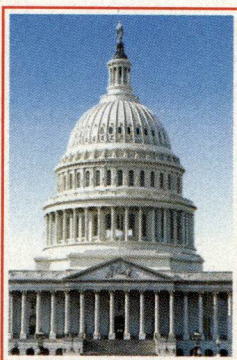
BUSH'S SECOND INAUGURAL SPEECH

It is not a matter of idle speculation whether George Bush succeeds as President. The whole nation *needs* him to succeed. America cannot afford four years of drift during which it fails to address the deep, underlying problems threatening its future health. Too much time has already been lost as we Americans sink deeper into debt, consume more than we produce, let our children fall further behind their peers overseas and poison our environment. Only a forceful President can galvanize the country.

So it is a matter of concern that after two weeks in office the administration is still creaking along. Bush himself is proving to be open and friendly, his wife Barbara promises to be a splendid First Lady, his family already serves as an inspiring model for the nation. But his government has not yet taken hold. Four key appointees are having trouble: Defense Secretary-designate John Tower is mired in rumors that overshadow his considerable talents for the job. Louis Sullivan, named as Health and Human Services Secretary, has indefinitely postponed his confirmation hearings amid reports that he is not ready for questioning. Nicholas Brady is catching flak as Treasury Secretary. And William Bennett has been effectively stripped of the powers necessary to be drug czar.

Folks beyond the Beltway, while pleased with his spirit and tone, are still puzzled by the President. Many do not know where he is heading and wonder whether he knows himself. Bush needs to get tough again. Here are some obvious places to start:

■ **Snap the cabinet into order.** Bush is wisely sticking by his men under fire. A new President cannot cave in at the first signs of pressure, as Jimmy Carter did in 1977 with Ted Sorensen's nomination to the CIA. But he needs to call on Republican veterans of the past like Kenneth Duberstein and Tom Korologos to help steer his nominees to safety and contain the damage. Orders should go out that no one in his cabinet hatch any more dead ducks like the tax on savings and loan deposits without coordinating through the White House. The administration must speak with a single voice and act with a single intelligence. And



Bush needs to put more drive into the lagging process of selecting his subcabinet.

■ **Shore up the White House.** If the cabinet is to carry the ball as a well-disciplined team, the White House must be strong enough to help call the plays. Below the level of Chief of Staff John Sununu, the President's aides are hampered by a lack of senior-level experience in knocking heads together. Though bright, they may need temporary, full-time help from a few heavyweights from the campaign such as Robert Teeter and Roger Ailes.

■ **Decide on long-term goals.** A President without a strategy is like a sailboat without a rudder—open to capsizing. In his nationwide address to Congress this Thursday, a speech that now rivals the inaugural in importance, Bush must present a credible, fair plan for wiping out the budget deficit. He can neither break his pledge on taxes nor hide behind the discredited economic forecasts of the Reagan team. Hard choices are still needed. And the effects of his program must be evenly felt: He cannot bestow more tax breaks on the wealthy, as reported, and simultaneously punish small depositors in S&L's.

Equally important, Bush must seize this occasion to spell out long-term priorities. Let us have a clarion call to restore America's supremacy in technology by a concerted effort to increase savings and investment, to educate more engineers and scientists, to rebuild our infrastructure. Let Bush embrace Jack Kemp's imaginative ideas for the inner cities, focusing foremost on the plight of children. And let him follow up the campaign promise to save the global environment.

Bush has spent most of his time so far talking with official Washington; soon he will pack his bags to begin talking with officials in other capitals. But he must not forget his most important constituency, the voters who gave him his job. He cannot count on the good will of Democrats in Congress to enact his programs; they have their own agenda and will follow his lead only if he is the leader of the people. His speech Thursday ought to be only the first in a continuing series to reach out and rally the country. As the saying goes, he needs to dance with the girl who brung him. ■

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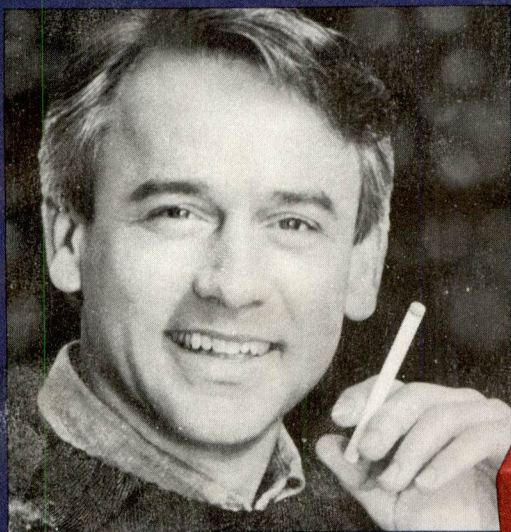
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Harbor Light shines brightest when spirit dims

By Elaine Lafferty
Herald Examiner special writer

This isn't a pretty place. Even if the Salvation Army's Harbor Light center weren't located in the dark heart of downtown's Skid Row, it wouldn't be much to enjoy.

Behind mostly windowless walls, this is a dim place, painted in non-descript institutional colors, littered with some very discouraged remnants of the human spirit.

In other words, this is a place concerned with final choices. To be here, to stay here for at least 90 days, someone has got to really want to get well, to conquer addictions to alcohol or drugs. The desire to survive must be overwhelming.

For Ronald Hood, 50, and Roszell Outley, 36, that need to survive almost didn't surface. Each had lived on the streets. But after completing the program, both now work for the Salvation Army, helping others to learn to live again.

Hood had been drinking for 21 years, he remembers, beginning with his friends back in Aberdeen, S.D. His father, a Los Angeles police officer, had been killed in the line of duty years earlier. Hood's mother decided to move back to California in 1971. Hood came with her.

Hood remembers when he first considered that he might be drinking too much.

"In 1977, my mother told me I had a problem. It was to the point where by 5:30 a.m. — I remember



Herald Examiner ANGEL FUND

because that's when Ken and Bob were on the radio — I was already on my second fifth."

The following year, Hood's mother died. Gone was the safety net, the place where he could live if his drinking got him into trouble.

Hood lost his job at a Tarzana hospital when his boss took a whiff of the contents of his thermos. He began living in Lenox Park in Van Nuys.

"You become real independent in the street. You get real brave when you're half-loaded all the time," he says. Sometimes he lived in a park in Reseda, working as a day laborer. It paid enough to support daily purchases of wine, blackberry brandy and a daily 2-quart supply of Black Velvet.

No money was left over for an apartment, but when you're an alcoholic, booze is the only thing that matters, Hood explains.

One day a guy — funny how these Samaritans are so often described this way — told Hood, "I'm gonna get you cleaned up." He brought Hood to Harbor Light.

Outley's story is much the same, although he managed to hold down a job as a housekeeper at the Veterans Hospital for 12 years. Eventually his cocaine and alcohol habit cut into the rent money for his Baldwin Hills apartment and he was evicted.

Outley spent a year on Skid Row — a year of being "Cold, hungry and scared. You never think it can happen to you," he says.

Like Hood, and the rest of those who come to Harbor Light, Outley spent 15 days in 'detox,' an isolated unit of the 231-bed facility. After that, he attended Alcoholics Anonymous meetings and began to put his life together.

Aside from the residential program, Harbor Light feeds people every evening. Huge stainless steel vats of beans and soup are prepared in the late afternoon. At the beginning of the month, business, as it were, is fairly slow. But as the money from general relief checks dwindle late in the month, the dinner crowd can swell to 350.

Both Hood and Outley now live in Harmony Hall, a residence sponsored by the Salvation Army. Because they are employees, they



Michael Justice/Herald Examiner

Ronald Hood got a second chance and a chance to help others.

pay reduced rents there, which normally are around \$350 a month. Both are asked if they aspire to live entirely on their own. Neither does.

Says Hood: "I'm very content here."

Indeed, his work, helping other men into the program, seems to give him the personal fulfillment that escaped him before. But he has no illusions about his chances for success.

"You have to want this to work. You have to be real sick and tired of yourself."

The Salvation Army's Harbor Light Center is one of five charitable organizations that will benefit from your contribution to the Herald Examiner's Angel Fund.

The following is a partial list of those people who have contributed to the Angel Fund:

- Anonymous — \$7
- M Bamberger — \$3
- Mr. Al Proll — \$25
- Michael O'Loughlin — \$10
- Anonymous — \$5
- Victoria L. Scidmore — \$5
- Mr & Mrs. T.B. Scidmore — \$10
- Mr. Al Melnick — \$25
- Alan Rosenberg — \$25
- Greg & Teresa Hendrickson — \$25
- Mrs. P.E. Zamangan — \$5
- Mr & Mrs. Reusch — \$100
- Mr & Mrs. Barragan — \$15
- Isabel De Vries — \$25
- Marion Simpson — \$25
- NGAZA Radio — \$15
- Daniel Garcia — \$25
- Shirayotaka — \$20
- Mr & Mrs. Arukowich — \$25
- Giana Livings — \$5
- Mrs. W.H. Burns — \$5
- Lottie Parlow — \$15

L.A. YESTERDAY

Southern senator warns Truman

1951

Thirty-seven years ago today, Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia predicted a possible Southern revolt against the renomination of President Harry Truman during a press conference at the Baltimore Hotel in Los Angeles.

Byrd, one-time leader of the states' rights bloc in Congress, denounced Truman's "rule by executive order" as a "subterfuge" with which he was continuously bypassing Congress.

The Southern Democrat accused Truman of "playing for votes" contrary to the best interests of the nation by instituting the fair practices measure against racial discrimination in government work.

Byrd predicted that if Truman was nominated some Southerners would vote for GOP Sen. Robert Taft for president while others would not go to the polls.



Sen. Harry Byrd

— Gerald Floyd

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MEMO: x32
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The Salvation Army 900 West Ninth Street - Los Angeles, CA 90015



Michael Justice/Herald Examiner

Together: Carpenter Gerardo Gonzalez with daughters Rosadel, 6, and Janete, 5, at Salvation Army's Zahn Center.

Proud Gerardo lost his job, but keeps his kids

Carpenter finds shelter for family

By Elaine Lafferty
Herald Examiner special writer

When times are rough, lots of parents try to hide that fact from their children. Childhood is, after all, supposed to be a relatively carefree time.

In that sense, Gerardo and Rosa Gonzalez are much like other parents. Except that, unlike most others, the Gonzalezes and their five children landed on the streets after Gerardo lost his job.

"I had a good job," Gonzalez explains. "I was making \$21.65 an hour. Pretty good, huh?"

A carpenter, Gonzalez worked for a well-known construction firm that did contracting work for state agencies such as the Department of Transportation or Caltrans.

"Then I got fired on my birthday in March," Gonzalez said. "Everything went down from there."

Gonzalez says he was fired because he asked his employer for "human rights." He's been fired before for similar reasons.

What does this 31-year-old Mexican emigrant mean by "human rights"?

He says simply: "Not to be yelled at all the time. To be treated with respect."

Those do not seem to be unreasonable desires, but employment counselors say that Mexican laborers are not often given much basic dignity.

At the time he was fired, Gonzalez family lived in an



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apartment in La Puente. But when a neighbor informed the landlord that five children were living in the apartment, the family was evicted.

With no home and no job, the family sought shelter at a church. To put a roof over their heads, Gonzalez found a job as a resident manager at a motel in North Hollywood. It paid hardly anything, but his kids were housed.

"We've been together all the time. That would be the worst thing. They can take your kids away, you know? They take my kids and then I would go crazy," he says.

The woman who ran the motel decided she didn't want Gonzalez or his family anymore and, Gonzalez says, she "put us on the street."

The son of a broken marriage marred by alcoholism, Gonzalez had known hard times, but nothing like this.

"I thought I would lose my mind," he says.

The county's information and referral service sent the

Angel, A-9 ▶

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Angel

► From A-3

Gonzalez family to the Salvation Army's Zahn Memorial Center at 832 W. Ninth Street.

From now until after Christmas, the family has a safe place to stay, hot meals, day care for the children, and the promise of job counseling so that Gonzalez can find another job, and also so he can learn how to deal with unpleasant bosses.

For now at least, Mario, 3, Janete, 5, and Rosadel, 6, can

sleep safely. Christine, 8, and Gerardo Jr., 10, can attend school. Meals like beef stew and yams are served them in a bright dining room with 10 tables. Nan, an elderly woman, is the senior cook. With her in charge, no one at Zahn goes hungry.

Says Nan: "I love to see the kids take a second helping. I tell 'em: No ice cream till you finish the last bite."

There are 56 beds here, all in individual motel-style rooms with two bunk beds. It's a warm place, with a TV room and a sign-out sheet for residents. Everyone who comes to Zahn must look for a job. Gonzalez, surrounded by his

bright-eyed, barefoot children, is grateful to be off the street. "The kids think they are on vacation. We don't want them to know it's tough times. Everything is gonna be OK."

And while he looks for work, Gonzalez is trying to learn how to cope. He is asked what he will do the next time a boss screams at him. "I'm gonna close my eyes and say, 'Lord, I can take it,'" he replied.

The Salvation Army's Zahn Memorial Center is one of five charitable organizations that will be helped by your donation to the Herald Examiner's Angel Fund.

Mother

► From A-3

the meanest things."

Despite her happiness with Rebecca, who stays close to her mother, Neal is eager to spread the word about contraception to other teenagers.

"People think babies are a lot of fun. They're also expensive and they take a lot of patience. I didn't know it would be so hard. You know, sometimes you want to go out to get away. But now you have to think about another person all the time."

Neal wants to finish her last year of high school. She plans to

begin classes at Lincoln High School in January. Then she wants to go to college for a degree in psychology.

"The most important thing is to get a good education. I want Rebecca to have things I didn't."

On this particular night, Neal is getting a chance to go out. She's going to City Hall, where she will meet with a mayor's advisory council, of which she is a member.

Neal wants to help other troubled youths learn to stay off drugs, stay out of gangs and make something of their lives. And she can do that, knowing that while she's gone, Rebecca is in a warm, safe place.

The Salvation Army's Booth

Memorial Maternity Center is one of five charitable organizations that will be helped by your contribution to the Herald Examiner's Angel Fund

Search turns up sister Venturan has never met

By Mike Comeaux
S-FP staff writer

A Ventura man opened his mailbox last week and found something special — a letter from a sister he never met.

"I've been trying to find her for about four years," said a jubilant Talbert Maynard Jr., 50, who lives on Halifax Street in East Ventura.

His search ended when a letter arrived Monday from Roberta McCoy, 63, Lincoln City, Ore.

"I called her on the phone last night. We had a long talk. It was real great, touching for both of us," said Maynard.

"We're definitely going to get together, but we didn't set down any firm date. I foresee within the next month we'll get together. I'll go up there."

Maynard, who retired after 22 years as a Navy Seabee, is a civil-service employee at Port Hueneme's Construction Battalion Center.

He had no clue that his sister — actually, half-sister — existed until one day in 1982, when his father confessed that he walked away from an earlier marriage in the 1920s. The elder Maynard was a sailor on the Navy battleship Maryland in the Los Angeles area.

"He told me that he had been

I called her on the phone last night. We had a long talk. It was real great, touching for both of us.

— Talbert Maynard Jr.

married and that he had a daughter that he had never seen, and that he would like to see her," Maynard recalled.

"A couple of years later, I think, I started trying to find her."

Maynard recalls talking to many people and public agencies in a fruitless search. Then his luck changed a few months ago when he contacted the Salvation Army's missing-persons bureau in Los Angeles. The office checked driver's license records, post office forwarding addresses and Social Security records, and took other steps.

Finally, the agency located McCoy, told her that relatives were trying to find her, and provided an address so she could write.

"A typical case takes about three months," said Salvation Army Maj. Gerry Hood, missing persons coordinator for Southern California. "We find about one in three."

(The regional office in Los Angeles, which handles more than

600 missing-person cases a year may be contacted at (213) 60695.)

Maynard regrets that he did not locate his sister before their father died in January 1987 in West Virginia.

Maynard remembers his father's frank revelation. "He said, 'You've got to understand that I was young, I was away from home, and I was just wild.'"

"And he said he realizes he's wrong, but there's no backing up."

Maynard, who has lived in Ventura county since coming to Port Hueneme as a Seabee, was born in West Virginia and grew up in Phoenix, Ariz., area.

Now he tests cranes in construction equipment department at the military base at Port Hueneme.

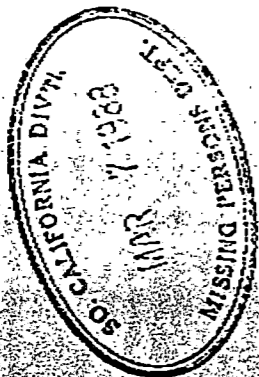
His sister addressed the breaking letter not to Maynard but to their deceased father.

"She didn't know I existed," Maynard said.



Patricia Sayer / Star-Free Press

Talbert Maynard Jr. of Ventura reads a letter he received from a sister he's never met.



Q. 100



Michael Justice/Herald Examiner

Together: Carpenter Gerardo Gonzalez with daughters Rosadel, 6, and Janete, 5, at Salvation Army's Zahn Center.

Proud Gerardo lost his job, but keeps his kids Carpenter finds shelter for family

By Elaine Lafferty
Herald Examiner special writer

When times are rough, lots of parents try to hide that fact from their children. Childhood is, after all, supposed to be a relatively carefree time.

In that sense, Gerardo and Rosa Gonzalez are much like other parents. Except that, unlike most others, the Gonzalezes and their five children landed on the streets after Gerardo lost his job.

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A carpenter, Gonzalez worked for a well-known construction firm that did contracting work for state agencies such as the Department of Transportation or Caltrans.

"Then I got fired on my birthday in March," Gonzalez said. "Everything went down from there."

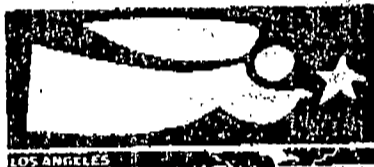
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Angel

► From A-3

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The Salvation Army's Zahn Memorial Center is one of five charitable organizations that will be helped by your donation to the Herald Examiner's Angel Fund.

Dear Mrs. Wood

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I thank you so very much for finding my sister for me. I have talked to her on the phone twice, and we will be getting together on the 30th July. We are so anxious to see each other. Thanks again for your help.

Thank you
Albert Maynard

file: MISSING PERSONS

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METRO

Editorials/Letters/Religion

Los Angeles Times

Saturday, January 30, 1988

CC11/Part II

Hiding Out on Skid Row—Many Don't Want to Be Found

By FREDERICK M. MUIR, Times Staff Writer

When her birthday came and went without the phone call, Linda knew things weren't right.

"Every year he would call to sing 'Happy Birthday.' He was always very consistent," Linda said. "This was the first year he didn't call."

It was also, Linda was to learn, the first year that her father became one of the estimated 33,000 homeless living on the streets of Los Angeles County.

Linda and her sister had walked the streets of Skid Row, calling his name, staring at the faces, lifting the blankets and drooped hats of the sidewalk denizens, looking for their father.

Finally, Linda, which is not her real name, volunteered to work on the food line at the Union Rescue Mission on Thanksgiving, hoping that her father would be among the hundreds lining up for the free holiday meal.

"My sister thought I was a little bit touched," Linda said. The chances that her father would walk through the door were remote, and Skid Row is not the most appealing place to spend Thanksgiving.

"The first 100 people came through and I looked at everyone, every single one. Do you know how many short, bald men there are down here?"

"I turned away for just a moment, and there he was. It was a shock for me . . . but my dad was traumatized. I walked over and hugged him."

After the tears and the laughter, her father joined the other men to eat. And then something even more unexpected happened.

"I turned around, and he had left," Linda said. To her relief, he returned a few hours later.

□ The problem of homelessness is complicated by the fact that many street dwellers have no families to rejoin, or families that they want to rejoin, or families they think would take them back, according to mission operators and others who work with the Skid Row population. The odds of finding a loved one among the homeless are about as good as "winning the lottery," said John Dickson, director of development at the Union Rescue Mission.

The odds of finding a loved one among the homeless are about as good as 'winning the lottery.'

And almost as unlikely is that a family member would care enough to search for someone who has drifted into the faceless world of the homeless, according to operators of Skid Row social services.

"If a person is lost, it's probably because they don't want to be found," said Janet Larkly of the Weingart Center, a multipurpose center serving the Skid Row community. "They're not interested in telling the

family that they're on Skid Row."

"Not only have they lost family contact, but they have exhausted family contact," said

Molly Lowry of the Los Angeles Men's Place, a day center for mentally ill homeless men. "The family can't handle them anymore so they end up on the street." Drug abuse, alcoholism, mental illness and the shame of failure drive many into the ranks of the street people and keeps them there.

"They feel that they have failed at responsibility, and

they don't want any more," said the Rev. Mark Holsinger of the Los Angeles Mission. "Especially the young fellows. They've stolen from their family, wife or their job . . . wasted every opportunity. Their families don't want them around."

Not all of the homeless fit into these categories. And many clearly would like to get off the street as soon as possible. But those who work closest with Skid Row's street people say that upward of two-thirds of the homeless suffer from mental illness or drug or alcohol addictions or were raised in abusive, dysfunctional family environments that make getting off the street difficult to impossible.

Linda's father worked for a telephone company for 28 years before losing his job because of an drinking problem. "He said he drank his way right out of job. That's how he put it," Linda said.

"He thought that because he drank he had nowhere else to go. He thought he was a problem, a burden to us. . . . I don't think he realized how it feels to not know where your parents are," she said.

"Not knowing is the worst. . . . Every time I heard of someone with frozen toes, I thought of my dad. Or

Please see SKID ROW, Page 10

SKID ROW: GOOD PLACE TO Keep From Being Found

Continued from Page 1

when someone was found beaten up or dead, I thought of Dad. Sometimes I wished he was dead, just so I would know."

□
The Salvation Army runs one of the largest private missing persons bureaus in the world. In the Los Angeles office, Gerry Hood said that of the more than 700 requests for help she received last year, fewer than 50 were for homeless.

Of the 700, Hood said she located about 500 missing persons. But of the 50 suspected of living on the street, perhaps just five or six were found. And Hood said she really remembered only one clearly.

Often, when she finds one of the missing homeless, the effort is for naught. "A lot of these guys want to be lost," Hood said. "So we will tell the family that they don't want to make contact at this time."

Often a found family's reaction is the same.

Lowry of the Los Angeles Men's Place said, "Once we gain [a client's] trust, we try to see if there is an aunt, uncle or sister that we can contact. But even that doesn't happen very frequently."

Recalling one such contact, Lowry said, "I have had the displeasure of calling about one long-lost son . . . and was told, 'Don't ever give him our number; don't ever tell him where we live.'"

"A lot of anger is focused at the family."

On several occasions, she said, "we've had the whole family turn out—parents, brothers and uncles—for a nice visit. But [the homeless person] had no desire to go home with them."

Many of the street people have made a new life for themselves, she said, however difficult and bleak it is. And so, they see no reason to return home.

Linda said she expected to find a skinny, gray caricature of her father. But what she found after her father was gone for more than 18 months was that "he looked the same, even chubby. He said that when you are on the street, you can stay clean. He took a shower [at the Union Rescue Mission] every day. 'If you are dirty, it's because you choose to be,' he would say. You can get a shower, clean clothes, food. . . . Everything you need is provided."

Her dad would make money filling out relief papers for the other guys on the street, Linda said. "He spent a lot of time at Los Angeles Mall doing crossword puzzles. . . . He said he was going to stay down here until he turned 62 and could collect Social Security."

□
Maxine Johnston, director of the Weingart Center, recalled a recent

visit from the mayor of Gaborone, Botswana, who was on a tour of Los Angeles and asked to see how the homeless problem was being handled in America. Mayor Paul M. Rantoa was concerned with the issue since his city was suffering with about 75 homeless people.

"They [the homeless] come to the city with naive enthusiasm that they will find a job, that they will fit right in. And that, of course, is not the case," Johnston recalled the mayor as saying. The solution, he had found, "was to send them back to their families," Johnston said.

But it is not that easy in America. There are larger cities and larger numbers of homeless. The biggest difference, Johnston said, is the

'A lot of these guys want to be lost. So we will tell the family that they don't want to make contact at this time.'

MaJ. Gerry Hood,
Salvation Army

nature of the family in the respective societies.

Johnston said the breakdown of the nuclear family is at the heart of the homeless issue here. "The nuclear family is not a part of the American system anymore," she said. "Family-less says more than homeless—lacking not only shelter, but family support and structure."

□
What made Linda's reunion with her father so startling was the fact that she began the search in the first place.

After initially fleeing, her father returned to the mission on Thanksgiving and agreed to go home with the family.

"Three times he came back [to the street]. He would stay with us on weekends and stay here during the week. He said, 'I have to go back.'"

Linda said that each time he left "I gave him \$1 bus fare. . . . He said, 'Why enable me [to drink]. I said, 'I'm giving you bus fare. If you care to spend it in the wrong way, that's your business.'"

Finally, Linda convinced her father that she needed him to stay at home to look after her sick child. "He feels useful again," she said.

"Now we're holding onto him for dear life. He won't ever come back. There's no reason for it. . . . I have his picture, and I told him I'll plaster it everywhere. He'll never be able to hide again," she said. "I'm so glad he's home."

THE HOME BOOK
OF
QUOTATIONS

Classical and Modern

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY
BURTON STEVENSON
Editor *The Home Book of Verse*

I can tell thee where that saying was born
SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*
Act i, sc. 5, l. 9

TENTH EDITION

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY
NEW YORK

1967

VICTORY

See also Conqueror, Success

I—Victory: Apothegms

- 1 I will not steal a victory. (Ὁὐ κλέπτω τὴν νίκη.)
ALEXANDER, when advised to surprise the Persian army in the dark. (PLUTARCH, *Lives: Alexander*. Ch. 31, sec. 7.)
- 2 Though Victory fruit of skill or fortune be,
To conquer always is a glorious thing.
(Fù il vincer sempre mai laudabil cosa,
Vincasi o per fortune, o per ingegno.)
ARIOSTO, *Orlando Furioso*. Canto xv, st. 1.
- 3 He conquers twice, who upon victory overcomes himself. (Bis vincit, qui se vincit in victoria.)
FRANCIS BACON, *Ornamenta Rationalia*. No. 3. Quoting PUBLILIUS SYRUS.
- 4 You know how to conquer, Hannibal, but you know not how to utilize victory. (Vincere scis Hannibal; victoria uti nescis.)
MAHARBAL, *Remark*, to Hannibal, after the battle of Cannae, when Hannibal delayed pursuit of the fleeing enemy. Maharbal was commander of the Carthaginian cavalry. (LIVY, *History*. Bk. xxii, sec. 51.)
- 6 Kings may be blest, but Tam was glorious,
O'er a' the ills o' life victorious!
BURNS, *Tam o' Shanter*, l. 57.
- 7 Mine is the victory. (Ἐμὴ ἡ νίκη.)
GAIUS MARIUS. (PLUTARCH, *Lives: Gaius Marius*. Ch. 26, sec. 2.)
- 8 You have vanquished victory itself. (Ipsam victoriam vicisse videris.)
CICERO, *Pro Marcello*. Ch. iv, sec. 12. By mercy to the conquered.
- That even in thy victory thou show,
Mortal, the moderation of a man.
MATTHEW ARNOLD, *Merope*, l. 2027.
- 9 The allies floated to victory on a sea of oil.
EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON. (ROSE, *Evolution of the Oil Industry*.)
- 10 In many a war it has been the vanquished,
not the victor, who has carried off the finest spoils.
HAVELOCK ELLIS, *The Soul of Spain*, p. 8.
- 11 Let the victory fall where it will, we are on that side.
EMERSON, *Essays, Second Series: Nature*.
- 12 War engenders war, and victory defeat. Victory is a Spirit.
ANATOLE FRANCE, *Revolt of the Angels*. Ch. 35.
- Victory is a thing of the will.
GEN. FERDINAND FOCH. His favorite maxim.

- 13 A Cadmean victory. (Καδμεια νίκη.)
HERODOTUS. *History*. Bk. i, sec. 166. Referring to the internecine strife of the Sparti, who sprang up from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus. A victory which involves one's own ruin.
Another such victory over the Romans, and we are undone. ("Ἄν ἐτι μίαν μάχην Ῥωμαίους νικήσωμεν, ἀπολούμεθα παντελῶς.)
PYRRHUS, King of Epirus, referring to his dearly bought victory at Asculum, 280 B. C. (PLUTARCH, *Lives: Pyrrhus*. Ch. 21, sec. 9.) Hence a "Pyrrhic victory," which costs the victor more than the vanquished.
Even victors are by victories undone.
DRYDEN, *Epistle to John Driden*, l. 164.
- 14 In one short hour's space comes swift death, or joyful victory. (Horæ Memento cita mors venit, aut victoria læta.)
HORACE, *Satires*. Bk. i, sat. 1, l. 7.
A crown, or else a glorious tomb!
A sceptre, or an earthly sepulchre!
SHAKESPEARE. *III Henry VI*. Act i, sc. 4, l. 17.
Either victory, or else a grave.
SHAKESPEARE. *III Henry VI*. Act ii, sc. 2, l. 174.
Westminster Abbey, or Victory.
HORATIO NELSON, at the battle off Cape St. Vincent. (SOUTHEY, *Life of Nelson*. Vol. i, ch. 4.)
"A peerage or Westminster Abbey!" cried Nelson, in his bright, boyish, heroic manner.
STEVENSON, *Virginibus Puerisque: Æs Triplex*.
- 15 Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *Letter to Major-General Joseph Hooker*, 25 Jan., 1863.
- 16 The victorious cause pleased the gods, but the victory pleased Cato. (Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.)
LUCAN, *De Bello Civili*. Bk. i, l. 118.
- 17 Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity.
HORACE MANN, *Commencement Address*, Antioch College, 1859. The concluding sentence of his last commencement address. He died a few weeks later. (*Dict. Amer. Biog.*, xii, 243.)
- 18 Odds blood, hammer and tongs, long as I've been to sea,
I've fought 'gainst every odds—but I've gained the victory.
FREDERICK MARRYAT, *The Captain Stood on the Carronade*.
- 19 Woe to the vanquished! (Væ Victis!)
PLAUTUS, *Pseudolus*, l. 1317. (Act v, sc. 2.) A proverbial saying since the day (c. 390 B. C.) when Brennus, leader of the Gauls, entered Rome, and consented to depart upon payment of 2000 talents, but when reproached with deceit, threw his sword into the scale with the cry of, "Væ victis!"
Woe to the conquerer, not the conquer'd host.
BYRON, *Childe Harold*. Canto i, st. 25.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 20, 1989

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
OF THE PRESIDENT

The Capitol

12:05 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michel, and fellow citizens, neighbors and friends.

There is a man here who has earned a lasting place in our hearts, and in our history. President Reagan, on behalf of our nation I thank you for the wonderful things that you have done for America. (Applause.)

I've just repeated word-for-word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago; and the Bible on which I placed my hand is the Bible on which he placed his.

It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today, not only because this is our Bicentennial Inauguration, but because Washington remains the father of our country. And he would, I think, be gladdened by this day. For today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact: Our continuity these 200 years since our government began.

We meet on democracy's front porch. A good place to talk as neighbors, and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences, for a moment, are suspended.

And my first act as President is a prayer. I ask you to bow your heads.

'Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank you for your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do your work, willing to heed and hear your will, and write on our hearts these words: "Use power to help people." For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people. Help us remember, Lord. Amen.'

I come before you and assume the presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better.

For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn; for in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. (Applause.) The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree.

A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken, and new action to be taken.

There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path.

But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through -- into a room called Tomorrow.

MORE

Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy -- through the door to freedom.

Men and women of the world move toward free markets -- through the door to prosperity.

The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought -- through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows.

We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state. (Applause.)

For the first time in this century -- for the first time in perhaps all history -- man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better. We don't have to wrest justice from the kings. We only have to summon it from within ourselves.

We must act on what we know. I take as my guide the hope of a saint: In crucial things, unity -- in important things, diversity -- in all things, generosity.

America today is a proud, free nation, decent and civil -- a place we cannot help but love. We know in our hearts, not loudly and proudly, but as a simple fact, that this country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good.

But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work and sacrifice?

My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving parent, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood and town better than he found it.

And what do we want the men and women who work with us to say when we are no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better, and stayed a moment there to trade a word of friendship?

No president, no government, can teach us to remember what is best in what we are. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper successes that are made not of gold and silk, but of better hearts and finer souls; if he can do these things, then he must.

America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral principle. We as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the nation and gentler the face of the world.

My friends, we have work to do. (Applause.) There are the homeless, lost and roaming, there are the children who have nothing -- no love and no normalcy -- there are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction -- drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums. There is crime to be conquered, the rough crime of the streets. There are young women to be helped who are about to become mothers of children they can't care for and might not love. They need our care, our guidance, and our education, though we bless them for choosing life.

The old solution, the old way, was to think that public money alone could end these problems. But we have learned that that is not so. And in any case, our funds are low. We have a deficit to bring down. We have more will than wallet, but will is what we need.

We will make the hard choices, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety.

And then we will do the wisest thing of all -- we will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows: the goodness and the courage of the American people. (Applause.)

And I am speaking of a new engagement in the lives of others -- a new activism, hands-on and involved, that gets the job done. We must bring in the generations, harnessing the unused talent of the elderly and the unfocused energy of the young. For not only leadership is passed from generation to generation, but so is stewardship. And the generation born after the Second World War has come of age.

I have spoken of a thousand points of light -- of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the nation, doing good.

We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light, and I'll ask every member of my government to become involved.

The old ideas are new again because they are not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in. (Applause.)

We need a new engagement, too, between the Executive and the Congress. The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and the Senate. And we must bring the federal budget into balance, and we must ensure that America stands before the world united -- strong, at peace and fiscally sound. But of course things may be difficult.

We need compromise; we've had dissension. We need harmony; we've had a chorus of discordant voices.

For Congress, too, has changed in our time. There has grown a certain divisiveness. We have seen the hard looks and heard the statements in which not each other's ideas are challenged, but each other's motives. And our great parties have too often been far apart and untrusting of each other.

It's been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But, friends, that war began in earnest a quarter of a century ago, and surely the statute of limitations has been reached. This is a fact: The final lesson of Vietnam is that no great nation can long afford to be sundered by a memory.

A new breeze is blowing -- and the old bipartisanship must be made new again. (Applause.)

To my friends -- and, yes, I do mean friends -- in the loyal opposition -- and, yes, I mean loyal, I put out my hand.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Majority Leader.

For this is the thing: This is the age of the offered

hand.

And we can't turn back clocks and I don't want to. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water's edge. And we don't wish to turn back time, but when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the Executive were capable of working together to produce a budget on which this nation could live. Let us negotiate soon, and hard. But in the end, let us produce.

The American people await action. They didn't send us here to bicker. They ask us to rise above the merely partisan. (Applause.) "In crucial things, unity" -- and this, my friends, is crucial.

To the world, too, we offer new engagement and a renewed vow; we will stay strong to protect the peace. The "offered hand" is a reluctant fist; once made, strong and can be used with great effect.

There are today Americans who are held against their will in foreign lands and Americans who are unaccounted for. Assistance can be shown here and will be long remembered. Goodwill begets goodwill. Good faith can be a spiral that endlessly moves on.

"Great nations like great men must keep their word." When America says something, America means it, whether a treaty, or an agreement, or a vow made on marble steps. (Applause.) We will always try to speak clearly, for candor is a compliment. But subtlety, too, is good and has its place.

While keeping our alliances and friendships around the world strong, ever strong, we will continue the new closeness with the Soviet Union, consistent both with our security and with progress. One might say that our new relationship in part reflects the triumph of hope and strength over experience. But hope is good. And so is strength. And vigilance.

Here today are tens of thousands of our citizens who feel the understandable satisfaction of those who have taken part in democracy and seen their hopes fulfilled.

But my thoughts have been turning the past few days to those who would be watching at home.

To an older fellow who will throw a salute by himself when the flag goes by, and the woman who will tell her sons the words of the battle hymns. I don't mean this to be sentimental. I mean that on days like this, we remember that we are all part of a continuum, inescapably connected by the ties that bind.

Our children are watching in schools throughout our great land. And to them I say, thank you for watching democracy's big day. For democracy belongs to us all, and freedom is like a beautiful kite that can go higher and higher with the breeze.

And to all I say, no matter what your circumstances or where you are, you are part of this day; you are part of the life of our great nation. (Applause.)

A president is neither prince nor pope, and I don't seek "a window on men's souls." In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, an easy-goingness about each other's attitudes and way of life.

There are few clear areas in which we as a society must rise up united and express our intolerance. The most obvious now is drugs. And when that first cocaine was smuggled in on a ship, it may as well have been a deadly bacteria, so much has it hurt the body, the soul of our country. And there is much to be done and to be said, but take my word for it -- this scourge will stop. (Applause.)

MORE

And so there is much to do; and tomorrow the work begins.

And I do not mistrust the future; I do not fear what is ahead. For our problems are large, but our heart is larger. Our challenges are great, but our will is greater. And if our flaws are endless, God's love is truly boundless.

Some see leadership as high drama and the sound of trumpets calling. And sometimes it is that. But I see history as a book with many pages -- and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning.

The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds -- and so today a chapter begins -- a small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity -- shared, and written, together.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END

12:25 P.M. EST

Revised as of 4/4 -- 1:00 pm

INVITEES

ACTION

American Association of Museum Volunteers
American Association of Retired Persons
American Cancer Society
American Council for the Arts
American Council on Education
American Heart Association
American Institute for Public Service
American Lung Association
American Red Cross
American Society of Association Executives
American Symphony Orchestra League
American Arts Alliance
Association of Junior Leagues
Association for Volunteer Administration
Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America
B'nai B'rith International
Boys Clubs of America
Boy Scouts of America
Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL)
Candy Stripers/Pink Ladies
Catholic Charities USA
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormon)
Coalition for National Service
Council of Jewish Federations, Inc.

Council on Foundations

Education Commission of the States

Energize Associates, Inc.

Family Service America

General Federation of Women's Clubs

Girls Clubs of America, Inc.

Girl Scouts of the USA

Goodwill Industries of America, Inc.

Governor's or State Offices on Volunteerism

Independent Sector

InterAction

Junior Achievement

March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation

National AIDS Network

National Alliance of Business

National 4-H Council

National Association of Broadcasters

National Association of Community Leadership Organizations

National Assembly of Voluntary Health and Social Welfare Agencies

National Association of Service and Conservation Corps

National Association on Volunteers in Criminal Justice

National Audubon Society

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA

National Council of Negro Women

National Easter Seal Society

National Future Homemakers of America

National Health Council

National Hospice Organization

National Mental Health Association, Inc.

National Multiple Sclerosis Society

National School Volunteer Program, Inc.

National Service Secretariat

National Urban League, Inc.

National Volunteer Clearinghouse for the Homeless

Nature Conservancy

Private Sector Initiatives, Advisory Board

Pro Sports Players Associations - (baseball, basketball, football)

Reading is Fundamental, Inc.

Salvation Army (The)

Special Olympics

United Jewish Appeal

United Negro College Fund

United Neighborhood Centers of America, Inc.

United Way

YMCA of the USA

YWCA of the USA, National Board

(Lange/Blessey)
April 6, 1989
12:45 p.m.
[VOLUNT.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS
MONDAY, APRIL 10, 1989
ROSE GARDEN
[TIME]

[[This is only my third Rose Garden event. And the first one, well, it went to the dogs. Millie pretty much ran it. So excuse me if I seem a little nervous. There's nothing harder to follow than an animal act.]]

It is a pleasure, and a great privilege, to have you here. You've taken on the most difficult challenges we face as a nation. You're fighting poverty; substance abuse; illiteracy; teen pregnancy; the alienation of young and old. And you're winning.

So I am here to thank you. You have lived up to an ideal, once given voice by Horace Mann, that I have always admired: "Be ashamed to die," he said, "until you have won some victory for humanity."

I got a letter from man in Indiana, who was forced to retire on disability because of heart problems. He was 45 years old. He wrote to explain that, while he couldn't take a job, he was

giving his time to a nearby mental health center; a well child clinic; a local school; and his county environment department. He wrote, "I guess what I am trying to say is this. I am disabled but not [an] invalid, and I enjoy being able to be of help."

He said, "I hope, in some small way, that I am still able to make a contribution to this great nation of ours, and indeed to the world... as a volunteer. I hope and pray that you and I and indeed millions of others will strive to truly make this a kinder and gentler nation. We need that... very much."

The good that volunteerism does in this country every year wins countless victories for humanity, large and small. I'm told that over half of adult Americans -- 89 million -- actively volunteer in some way in their communities. Last year, that was worth almost [80] billion dollars in man- and woman-hours.

But what you're doing goes above and beyond dollars and cents. Your work -- and the work of many others as motivated as yourselves -- is a testament to a powerful idea: that among the many rights and privileges we share as Americans, we share a responsibility to look after one another.

You understand that the empowerment of the less fortunate is in everyone's best interest. That the most powerful gift we can

offer anyone is a sense of purpose -- a path to self-esteem. That the fabric of the family -- like that of society -- must forever be renewed and re-woven.

At the Inaugural, I spoke of a new engagement in the lives of others. We must seek common points where the practical and the compassionate converge. Yours is an example we seek to spread across every community, every town, every city in America.

This week, I challenge every American who cares about the future of this country, to get involved. Find a place, or an organization, or even a single life, where you can make a difference for someone else. From now on, in America, our idea of a successful life must include serving others.

Volunteering is an act of heroism on a human scale -- and it matters profoundly. It does more than help people beat the odds -- it changes the odds. You might say it puts the unity in community.

Today, I'll be signing a proclamation, to make this National Volunteer Week. But week in and week out, it will be people like you who bring the "era of the offered hand" to life. And I will be establishing a program to encourage youth to enter service. But it will be your challenge to make room for these young people

in your organizations. To match need with need. And to keep reminding us, that all of us have gifts to give.

Which reminds me of an old story that Bar likes to tell, about a minister who was given a jar of peaches soaked in brandy by one of his admiring parishioners. The minister opens the jar, takes a whiff, and says, "Oh, dear lady, you don't know how grateful I am for this gift." "Really," says the lady, "it's such a small present."

"Ah," says the minister, "it's not the gift that counts. It's the spirits in which it is given."

Well, the spirit of volunteerism in America is stronger than ever. You know, Alfred North Whitehead once said, "With all its limitations, life in America is better and kinder than anywhere on earth that I have ever heard of."

That's true. But we can make it better still. We must lift away more of the limitations that remain -- and tap the limitless potential of the American people -- through countless small victories for humanity.

I will now sign the proclamation...

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

APRIL 6, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARK LANGE *ML*
SUBJECT: REMARKS TO VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS

I. SUMMARY

Attached are brief remarks for the Rose Garden ceremony on Monday, April 10, with the leaders of 65 volunteer organizations.

II. DISCUSSION

This will be the first event of a week focused on volunteerism. About 120 leaders of volunteer organizations will attend.

Your remarks suggest the range of good that volunteerism does; commend those attending as examples of the spirit you seek to spread across the nation; and issue a challenge to every American to get involved.

After your remarks -- expected to last eight to ten minutes -- you will sign a proclamation making next week "National Volunteer Week."

(Lange/Blessey)
April 7, 1989
10:15 a.m.
[VOLUNT.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS
MONDAY, APRIL 10, 1989
ROSE GARDEN
11:00 A.M.

[[This is only my third Rose Garden event. And the first one, well, it went to the dogs. Millie pretty much ran it. So excuse me if I seem a little nervous. There's nothing harder to follow than an animal act.]]

What a great privilege it is, to have you here. You are taking on the most difficult challenges we face as a nation. You're fighting poverty; drug abuse; illiteracy; teen pregnancy; the alienation of young and old. And you're winning -- because you refuse to believe it can't be done.

So I am here to thank you. You have lived up to an ideal, once given voice by Horace Mann, that I have always admired: "Be ashamed to die," he said, "until you have won some victory for humanity."

Recently, I received a letter from a man in Indiana, who was forced to retire on disability because of heart problems. He was 45 years old. He wrote to explain that, while he couldn't take a job, he was giving his time to a nearby mental health center; a

local school; and his county environment department. He wrote, "I guess what I am trying to say is this. I am disabled but not [an] invalid, and I enjoy being able to be of help."

He said, "I hope, in some small way, that I am still able to make a contribution to this great nation of ours, and indeed to the world... as a volunteer. I hope and pray that you and I and indeed millions of others will strive to truly make this a kinder and gentler nation. We need that... very much."

The good that volunteerism does in this country every year wins countless victories for humanity, large and small. I'm told that over half of adult Americans -- 80 million -- actively volunteer in some way in their communities. Last year, that was worth almost 150 billion dollars in man- and woman-hours.

What you're doing goes above and beyond dollars and cents. Your work -- and the work of many others as motivated as yourselves -- is a testament to a powerful idea: that along with the many rights and privileges that distinguish us as Americans, is the shared responsibility to look after one another. I always like to remember that there is no exercise better for the human heart than reaching down, and lifting someone else up.

You understand that helping the less fortunate is in everyone's best interest. That the most powerful gift we can

4/8 4:15 pm
called to
Brookline
Pt. Chk
Porter
credit for
quote.
said Porter
will take

offer anyone is a sense of purpose -- a path to self-esteem. That the fabric of the family -- like that of society -- must forever be renewed and re-woven.

At the Inaugural, I spoke of a new engagement in the lives of others. We must seek common points where the practical and the compassionate converge. Yours is an example we seek to spread across every community, every town, every city in America.

This week, I challenge every American who cares about the future of this country, to get involved. Find a place, or an organization, or even a single life, where you can make a difference for someone else. From now on, in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others.

It is not simply volunteering, but the personal act of helping another individual in need, which gives us membership in a community. Giving and expecting nothing in return is what it means to be a citizen. When you volunteer, you confirm your citizenship.

Volunteering is an act of heroism on a human scale -- and it matters profoundly. It does more than help people beat the odds -- it changes the odds. You might say it puts the unity in community.

Today, I'll be signing a proclamation, to make this National Volunteer Week. But week in and week out, it will be people like you who bring the "era of the offered hand" to life. And I will be establishing a program encouraging youth enterprise and service to America. But it will be your challenge to open your organizations to young people seeking meaningful service to their communities. To match need with need; a calling for every volunteer. And to keep reminding us, that each one of us has a gift to give.

Which reminds me of an old story that Bar likes to tell, about a minister who was given a jar of peaches soaked in brandy by one of his admiring parishioners. The minister opens the jar, takes a whiff, and says, "Oh, dear lady, you don't know how grateful I am for this gift." "Really," says the lady, "it's such a small present."

"Ah," says the minister, "it's not the gift that counts. It's the spirits in which it is given."

Well, the spirit of volunteerism in America is stronger than ever. You know, Alfred North Whitehead once said, "With all its limitations, life in America is better and kinder than anywhere on earth that I have ever heard of."

That's true. But we can make it better still. We must lift away more of the limitations that remain -- and tap the limitless potential of the American people -- through countless small victories for humanity.

Together, let us give honor to the phrase: I volunteered.

I will now sign the proclamation...

Vol. Organz

5/7/89

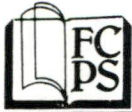
Julie Cook 7905

Elko Miller 108

3

~~6:30~~ Kids will be invited to table
3 ~~adult~~ sponsors Mrs. Bush & Elko
Thank W. H. volunteers

6:55 p.m. called Joy Farmer to confirm
info



FAIRFAX COUNTY
PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Administrative Area III

730A Marshall Road, S.W.
Vienna, Virginia 22180

Miller?
Mon. April 10
11:15

February 8, 1989

Mrs. Barbara Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Bush:

Attached are articles validating the contributions to children currently being made by an exceptional woman, Mrs. Ella Miller, of Vienna. As the articles indicate, Mrs. Miller celebrated her birthday of 108 years in December, 1988. She moved to Vienna last summer from her home in Ohio.

Since she came to this community, Mrs. Miller has touched the lives of all who have met her. She is positive, active and caring. Her love of people and life is infectious. Just touching the lives of others is not sufficient for Mrs. Miller. She wants, and does make a contribution to the community and her church. Long after others younger than she have settled back in comfortable chairs to reflect on their lives and contributions, Mrs. Miller is still out there giving of herself.

She has unselfishly, and with genuine delight, given of her time to young people in several of our schools so that they can glimpse a picture of history through the life of one who has lived it. The rapport between her and the students is nothing short of being magical. She communicates love for them and a sincere interest in what they are doing and what they plan for the future. The impact is best described in the attached poem written by an intermediate school student for Mrs. Miller after she visited her school.

Mrs. Miller encourages the students to maintain important values of life, which are courtesy, kindness, caring and faith. She helps them to understand that the value of a human being transcends race and petty prejudices which are based on differences. She helps them to appreciate the blessing of freedom and the opportunities in this country. Mrs. Miller reminds them of their responsibility for making a worthwhile contribution to life while teaching them in a gentle and loving way.

This unique woman has provided unforgettable moments for young people and for adults, none of which will ever forget knowing her.

I can't help but think, as I talk to and watch Mrs. Miller interact with children (telling them about their bright faces, how special they are, and seeing the looks on the young peoples' faces), that more of this type of contribution would greatly reduce the lack of esteem, insecurity and alienation which lead so many of our youth to abuse of the body and mind.

Mrs. Barbara Bush
Page 2
February 8, 1989

One of Mrs. Miller's desires is to meet you and the President, and as she stated in one of her interviews, "If I were pushier, I would meet the President in his office." I do hope that this will be a dream that will be realized for her. Your lives would be touched in a very special way by our Mrs. Miller.

You may contact me at 255-5675 or you may wish to contact Mrs. Miller at the following address or phone number:

Mrs. Ella Miller
2531 Lakevale Drive
Vienna, VA 22181
Phone: 281-7393

Sincerely,

Shirley T. McCoy

Shirley T. McCoy
Minority Achievement Specialist

/pr

attachments

Home 938-1754
30-300

History Lesson Heard Firsthand

By **PATRICK GRAHAM**

THE CONNECTION

Ella Miller's 108-year-old body is weathered and frail, but her mind and spirit remain as vibrant as someone half—or even a quarter—her age.

"Every night before I go to bed, I thank God for getting me through the day, and pray I will wake up the next morning," she said. "I say to you, just keep on living. Just keep doing what you are doing."

Miller, who moved to Vienna recently from Ohio, was invited to Franklin Intermediate School last Monday to talk with students about her life, which began when America was still a young country and the Civil War of 20 years earlier remained a painful and vivid memory.

"My parents were slaves," said Miller, who grew up in the mountains of Tennessee. "My parents

didn't talk much about the Civil War. We just didn't talk about it."

Miller spoke in a soft, steady voice to a group of young history students gathered around her. They stared up intensely at Miller, as if she were a character from a history book come to life before their eyes.

"I wish I could take all of you home with me," Miller said. "I'd call all you by your names and play basketball with you." The kids laughed.

Miller was the oldest girl in a family of five children and four nieces. She said her family didn't have electricity or running water

*Born in 1881,
Ella Miller has
lived under 23
presidents during
her 108 years.*

until the turn of the century. Before she dropped out of school to care for her nieces, she walked miles through the mud to get to school, she said.

"You children have so much today. I wish I had all of this," Miller reminded the students.

Miller acknowledged that her life was rough, but she said her long and difficult life had made her stronger and more determined, reaffirming her faith in God.

"You should all be glad that God loves you because God is love. He wants you to be kind to others. That's what life is about," she said.

In her lifetime, Miller has seen America grow from a rural, farming nation to an industrial and technological giant. Asked by one student what she thought of the airplane the first time she saw one, Miller said, "I thought to myself,



Miller's hands help tell story of her life as the daughter of slaves.

how they were going to get that thing up in the air."

The debut of television also puzzled Miller, she recalled. "I thought, how were they going to put a picture in there."

Miller said she, like many other blacks, was inspired by Martin Luther King Jr.'s struggle for civil rights. Miller said President John F. Kennedy was "the greatest president" because he was one of the first modern presidents to make civil rights a part of his legislation package.

"When he was shot, you know I

cried all day. It was terrible."

Miller has lived under 23 presidents, more than half of the 41 presidents who have held the position since George Washington took the oath of office in 1789.

Before Miller ended her talk, the students presented her with a bag, gym socks and a T-shirt, all bearing the school's name. "I can't put it on now, but I will wear it tomorrow," she said.

Miller reminded the kids to "live above the ugly things in life," but said she will "tell the elderly to take young people in their arms and hug them."



108-year-old Ella Miller

Senior Citizen Gives History a Personal Touch

In many ways, 108-year-old Evelyn Miller has had a bird's eye view of modern American history.

Born in 1880, just 16 years after the end of the Civil War, Miller has witnessed the comings and goings of countless historic events, including the failures of prohibition and segregation.

So as a special tribute to Black History Month, an event which will be celebrated in Fairfax County Public Schools throughout February, Miller was asked to share some of her memories with 30 children at Franklin Intermediate School last week.

Seated on the floor and in chairs around their soft-spoken guest, the seventh- and eighth-graders brought prepared questions to the interview and asked Miller about everything from her views on segregation to what music she listened to growing up in a suburb of Cincinnati, Ohio.

In her turn, she spoke of hauling water from a spring every morning, of the day President Kennedy was shot, of her very first plane ride at age 98 and her long vanished doll collection.

"I had over 100 dolls. I kept them dressed so nicely and they sat on my sofa. But during hard times I sold a lot and gave some away and I still miss them," she said, adding that her favorite doll, given to her by a doctor over 40 years ago, is the only one left. "I just put a clean dress on her last week."

Several of Miller's remarks touched on her life during the Great Depression.

When one student asked how her family weathered the national crisis, Miller responded that although the times were hard her family had managed to survive deprivation.

"We didn't have much but we lived through it," she said.

In response to an inquiry about segregation, Miller said it was the attitude behind a racially divided



Guest speaker Evelyn Miller chats with Franklin Intermediate School students about what it was like growing up at the turn of the century

society that had been the most difficult concept for her to accept.

"There was a 'this is mine and and I don't want you to have any of that' attitude," she said when recalling the way blacks were treated.

"I have a scrap book filled with clippings of Martin Luther King," she said.

After the informal question and answer period, which ended with a presentation of a student poem and a Franklin Intermediate gym suit for Miller to use on her daily morning walks, students had the opportunity to talk over what they learned.

Seventh-grader Apollos Thomasian was particularly impressed with the cheerfulness Miller displayed as she talked about her family's hardships.

"I liked how she emphasized the fact that she had to walk to the spring

but didn't think that was hard," said Thomasian. "Most kids nowadays don't even want to take out the trash and they don't walk further than the front yard."

Representing Franklin's literary magazine at the interview, editor Lisa Brooks said she was touched by the account of Miller's lost doll collection.

"She took everything in stride," said Brooks, adding that Miller's tales made her wish she'd experienced life during another era. "I'd like to compare the two."

Responsible for coordinating Miller's visit, social studies teacher Charles Harte said he was pleased with his students' interest and hopes Miller will consent to speak again.

"I've already invited her back for next year," he said.

—Amy Voss

At 107, woman won't sit still

Newcomer gets bored, finds a job

By **KENT C. BROKENSHERE**
Journal staff writer

Shop at the Pennywise Thrift Shop in Vienna, and you may be waited on by one of the nation's oldest store clerks, who is also one of Northern Virginia's newest residents.

Ella Miller — who will turn 108 next Tuesday — recently moved to the area from Ohio, to be closer to her niece, and quickly got bored with sitting around the house.

"When she first moved here, she told me I had better find something for her to do, or she would go out and get a job," said her niece, Helen Catching, of Lakevale. "She works from sunup to sundown. Sometimes I have run her to bed around midnight."

Shortly after moving, Miller offered her services to the thrift shop as a volunteer.

She was born in rural Tennessee in 1881. That was the year President Garfield was shot. The Civil War had been over only 16 years, and Queen Victoria would rule the British Empire for another two decades. She quit school at 15 to take care of her family while her widowed mother worked, then at 16 moved to Cincinnati, where she worked as a maid to a prominent family for 60 years. Miller was a member of the First Baptist Church in Woodlawn, Ohio, for 90 years.

"I remember seeing my first bus," she recalled. "They were the

first thing that really created excitement. We would sit on the side of the road and wait for the bus without horses to go by."

When she left Ohio two months ago, she donated her house to the church.

Despite her age, Miller is a spritely, giggling woman who smiles easily.

"I love life. It's my love for humanity that keeps me going," she said with twinkling eyes. "I also ask the Lord every day for strength and to help me reach out and help someone."

Officials at Vienna Town Hall say they didn't know of anyone older living in the area. A spokeswoman for the Census Bureau said that there were 40 people between 105 and 109 living in Virginia in 1980. The next census will not be taken until 1990.

By then Miller would be 109.

Miller credits her long life to work, exercise and a closeness to God.



Ella Miller
108th birthday coming up

THE HERNDON

OBSERVER

Vol. XIV, No. 4

HERNDON'S WEEKLY COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER — SINCE 1976



108-year-old Ella Miller at Franklin Intermediate School.

PHOTO BY CAROL SHEVIS

Students Learn from 108-Year-Old

By Carol Shevis

Herndon OBSERVER Staff Writer

Ella Miller was born in 1881, the year President James Garfield was shot. The centenarian, who recently moved from Ohio to live with a niece in Vienna, visited Franklin Intermediate School Monday for a warm and candid chat. Her words, delivered with conviction, kindness and clarity, echo 108 years of experience.

Mrs. Miller was born in the hills of Tennessee, oldest in a family of five children. When her father died and her mother was forced to work outside the house, she took over the raising of her siblings and did not, as a result, attend school regularly.

Widowed 40 years ago, Ella Miller worked in domestic service jobs until two years ago. She stressed the value of hard labor, love of God and

man, and the importance of education during her question and answer session at the local school.

The centenarian told Franklin teenagers that her favorite spare-time activities include visits to nursing homes, shut-ins and hospitals to cheer others. Later the sprightly lady, who walks with a cane, admitted that she has little patience with senior citizen groups since "every five minutes they want to sit down and rest while I want to keep going."

At the end of the session Mrs. Miller, who walks at least two miles every day, was presented with a Franklin jogging shirt and sweat socks while the young teens enthusiastically applauded.

The emotional highpoint of her visit happened spontaneously after eighth-grader Lisa Brooks read a poem she had written as a tribute.

(continued on page 10)

COMMUNITY NEWS

108-Year-Old

(continued from page 1)

"You are a remarkable woman...Still young at heart," the poem began.

As Ella Miller listened to the poetic tribute from a young woman five generations younger than herself, her composure changed visably. Face wreathed in joy, she nonetheless fought back tears.

Because The Observer agrees wholeheartedly with Lisa we want to share, uninterrupted by text, some of Ella Miller's life observations:

On poverty: "I've lived off the small things in life; but you know I've never been hungry."

Labor: "You have to love the work you're going to do. That's the way it's supposed to be."

Cooking: "I'll never get used to those microwave ovens. When I put something on the stove I want to smell it cooking."

Prayer: "First thing every morning I get down on my knees and I thank the Lord for keeping me through the night. I ask for a loving spirit so I can get on with my work. But you know, these days it's getting harder to get back up on my feet."

Rest: "Sleep don't mean anything when I have something I want to do. I got up a five this morning because I couldn't wait to be here with you. Well, it's the truth!"

Shiftless teenagers: "Look at the boys and girls who are out there hanging around on streetcorners, just because they don't want to be anybody. Now don't any of you end up that way."

Airplanes: "When I saw my first airplane, I thought 'now how in the world is that thing going to stay up there?' Now I've been to California in one of them."

On news traveling: "News gets around, you know. Good news sometimes takes its time, but bad news, why it flies just like a kite."

Motivation: "I sometimes wish I was pushy. Then I'd meet the President in his office. Now wouldn't that be something?"

Collecting: "I collect dolls. Have over 40 of them. I like to play with them—make clothes for them. You can learn to sew that way."

Baptism: "I'm a Baptist you know. I've been under the water and brought back up again."

Martin Luther King: "We're living on some of the things he left behind on his way up to the mountaintop."

Race: "There's nothing in color. We all have the same red blood. It's the love that makes us human. And the love has to come from within."

Favorite President: "Who do you think I'll say? Kennedy? You're right. The day he was killed, I was standing by a window of a hotel in Cincinnati, where I was working when I was told. You know, I just cried and cried."

Personalizing history: "I believe in pictures, and I like to cut them out of magazines. I have a scrap book on Kennedy and one on Martin Luther King. Now I want you all to start scrap books so you'll remember how things were when you were young."

Advice to children: "Just keep on living and doing the things you know are right. I want you to remember something else, and that's to live above the things that are ugly."

Advice to parents: "Take your young people in your arms and just love them and show them a better way."

Amen: "I'm all out of conversation," said Ella Miller, ending the long interchange between generations.