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Folder Title:
Knights of Columbus 8/5/92 [OA 7578] [1]

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(Duggan/Bunton)
August 4, 1992
Draft Eight
Knights.2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS
NEW YORK MARRIOTT MARQUIS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992
11:00 a.m.

Thank you, Virgil Dechant [DECK-ant]. Your Eminence, Cardinal O'Connor; Cardinal Law; Cardinal Hickey; Ambassador Meladay; Attorney General Barr; Bishop Daily; reverend clergy; ladies and gentlemen:

A report came across my desk the other day. It stated that most people in the Western world "felt exceedingly gloomy about the future." It said that "institutions were decaying, well-meaning people were growing cynical."

My first thought was: That's what happens when people spend too much time watching the evening news. \\

But what I was reading was <u>not</u> a report about <u>Nineteen</u> ninety-two. It was a history of public attitudes in Europe in <u>Fourteen</u> ninety-two! \\

Public moods are prone to change, of course. We know the gloom of 1492 was not to last for long. It was dispelled by the achievement of a man of humble birth. . . a man of vision and courage. . . a man named <u>Christopher Columbus</u>. \\

Now I know that every speaker comes before you and says they identify with Columbus. But I really mean it.

Think about it. The guy was faced with questions at home about whether his global efforts were worth a darn. Some critics wanted him to cut his voyage short. He even faced the threat of

mutiny. And yet Columbus persevered and won -- (not a bad analogy, huh?)

Now I admit ... Columbus also had to worry about a lack of wind -- I don't have that problem. I have Congress. //

This year, as in Columbus's time -- we hear a lot of talk about change. And sure, change is natural. But maybe a better word is renewal -- because the changes we need must be based on principles that never change. \\

My parents were like yours: They brought me up to understand that our fundamental moral standards were established by Almighty God. They taught me that if you have something for yourself, you should give half to a friend. They taught me to take the blame when things go wrong and share the credit when things go right. These ideas were supported by society.

Only recently in America have we seen the rise of legal theories and practices that reject our Judeo-Christian tradition. Cardinal O'Connor eloquently describes this as an "inversion of values." It's a deeply disturbing trend -- and it is diametrically opposed to my idea of the kind of change that's good for our country. \\

Last month, just 12 blocks from here, there was another convention. Now, I didn't hear any of those speeches -- I was up in the mountains fishing. But I understand one of the speakers, known for his florid language, called me "the captain of the ship of state." \\ I'm not sure the guy meant it as a compliment, but

believe me: As a Navy man at a Knights of Columbus convention ... the term suits me just fine. \\

I look at this office you have entrusted me with as more than managing the economy -- more even than being Commander in Chief. I stake my claim to a simple belief -- the President should set the moral tone for this nation.

All around us, we see evidence that America's moral compass has gone awry. We seem to be moving away from the enduring idea of taking responsibility for our actions.

Our city newspapers are filled with stories of drive-by shootings -- the taking of human life made more horrible by the awful anonymity through which it is accomplished. And recently I read a story of a kid from a good neighborhood charged in a gun store robbery. He told the police -- "it's not like I'm a criminal, I'm on the Dean's list."//

What is happening to America? As a nation -- we face enormous challenges in education, crime, drugs -- yet each of them come back to the challenge of pointing our moral compass in the right direction.

So I believe that a central issue of this election should be -- who do you trust to renew America's moral purpose? Who do you trust to fight for the ideas that will help rebuild our families and restore our fundamental values?

On this -- as in so many other issues -- the other side is talking a good game, saying the right words -- and yet when you get down to specifics, I wonder if their commitment is to do

what's right to win an election, or to do what's right to win back America?

Look at welfare.

We all know that our welfare system has destroyed the concept of responsibility -- tearing families apart, with no incentives for people to work and save and improve.

I want something different -- I have fought for a new welfare system that says yes to people's lives.

Today, as we speak, states are changing welfare rules to encourage families to stick together, not fall apart. They are saying to recipients -- either you get training, or you don't get a check. They are even going so far as to make the tough call of saying to single mothers -- if you can't afford another child, don't expect the taxpayer to pick up the added costs.

These are tough choices, but they are all intended to promote responsibility.

The other side says they agree with us. But if you look close, they argue that the ultimate solution to welfare is to guarantee a government job for every recipient.

And I ask -- is this any way to promote responsibility? If we guarantee everyone a government job -- how can we reward initiative? -- how can we reward industry? -- how can we break the cycles of dependency and despair?

Look at education. We know that renewing education depends on giving parents real freedom and real responsibility to choose their kid's schools. The other side tries to posture on the side

Here's the case I will be taking to the American people: Now that we have changed the world, we can change America. But we must keep something in mind. Now that our moral values are victorious around the globe -- we cannot and we will not abandon them at home!

Let the other side traffic in trendy and transitory moral fashions, I'll stick to 100 percent family values. I'm going to defend the principles for which you stand so firm. \ We'll keep our sights on what's good in America. We'll keep our focus on the potential in our families and our kids. We'll keep a reliable compass. We'll put our ship of state in finest sailing trim. We'll navigate our way to shining new horizons. \\

Thank you. May God bless you and our beloved country.

# # #

Let me be clear to the American people. If you're looking to restore America's moral fiber, why buy synthetic, when you can get real cotton?

This is the choice we face. Nowhere is it more clear in the decisions a President must make every day to build real peace: to establish freedom and democracy, not the mere absence of war.

Saint Ignatius said, "Work as though all depended upon yourself, and pray as though all depended on God." The practice of that motto conquered Communism. Ceaseless prayer and tireless work halted the Cold War \ and spared us from the catastrophe of a third world war. Believers behind the Iron Curtain defied persecution; believers in the West defied indifference. Over four decades, our servicemen trained -- our taxpayers paid four trillion dollars -- to keep our defenses strong. And as a consequence, the Iron Curtain is no more -- and our kids no longer face the threat of nuclear war.

But while the Soviet bear is no more, there are still plenty of wolves in the woods. When we faced our first big challenge after the Cold War, we didn't shrink. We stood up to Saddam's aggression and expelled him from Kuwait. We protected the people of Israel and Saudi Arabia. Now we've brought age-old adversaries to the peace table for the first time. His Holiness, Pope John Paul, has spent many days and nights at work and in prayer for peace in the Middle East. As long as I am President, I assure you I'll do everything I can to bring about that peace that so many pray for. \\

of parents, but I don't think anyone will be fooled. Remember how old Henry Ford used to tell his customers, they could have any color Model T they wanted -- so long as it was black? Well, the other side says their ideal is that parents could choose any school for their kids -- so long as it's run by the government. \\ My opponent won the teachers union endorsement by saying he's "unalterably opposed" -- those are his words, "unalterably opposed" -- to letting Catholic parents and other private school parents have a fair share of education benefits. \\

My plan is different -- I call it the G.I. Bill for Kids. \ Right now, if you want an alternative to public schools, you have to pay twice -- first for tuition and again through taxes. A couple weeks ago, I was in Philadelphia. A group of parents told me, "we want our kids to go to Catholic school, but we just can't afford it." So my solution is the G.I. Bill. Like the original G.I. Bill, my new bill offers scholarships or vouchers for students to take to any qualified school -- not only public schools, but Bible schools, yeshivas, and Catholic parish schools. The principle is basic. When it comes to schools, let the parents choose! \\

What about promoting religion as a force for good in our society. I'm reminded of the story about a small boy who once began a prayer this way: "God bless mother and daddy, my brother and sister. And, God," he said, "do take care of yourself. If anything happens to you, we're all sunk." America is still the most religious nation on earth, and I want to strengthen our

faith further. The other side gathered here in New York and crammed 10,000 words into their party platform. I would have found room for three simple letters -- "G-O-D."// The other side thinks it's fine to hand-out condoms in school but not to put your hands together to say a prayer. I disagree. I call again on Congress to pass a constitutional amendment restoring voluntary prayer to our classrooms. Let's allow the faith of our Fathers back into our schools. \\

And there's a national tragedy: more than a million and a half abortions in this country every year. We know there must be a better way. \\ The other side turns a deaf ear to humane and responsible alternatives -- like adoption; like abstinence. Seven times I have ignored the polls and acted on principle -- and vetoed abortion legislation. And I promise you again today, no matter the political price, I will stand on conscience, I will turn away any abortion-on demand legislation.//

As you look at all these issues, a clear pattern emerges. Both sides talk about restoring values like personal responsibility, but only one side has the courage to take a stand.

So the question is -- Who do you trust: those with the courage to stand for what may not be popular -- but is right? Or the side that talks a good game -- but whose record and example make a mockery of their words?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Paul Simmons
Dep. Asst. Sec
Public Health
Service
690-6867

looking for can
some

Doug Johnson - Fed. Legis.

National Right to Life Committee

None in CEC - has anyday

Phyllis Schaly Eagle Forum

[Family Life Foundation
WDC

Gary Bauer - Family Research Council
703-2102

From

Michael Schwartz
456-3002

National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

Suite 500, 419 7th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-2293 — (202) 626-8800

- 619-9610
- 690-6867
Public Health
Sarah @ HHS
(Barbara) Emily

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DATE: 7/27/92

TO:

NAME: Lars Pierson

OF: W.H. SPEECHWRITING

FAX NUMBER: 456-6218

FROM: Douglas Johnson, Federal Legislative Director: (202) 626-8820

Our telephone number for automatic facsimile reception is:

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LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 15 STORIES

Copyright 1992 The Atlanta Constitution
The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

June 30, 1992

SECTION: STATE NEWS; Section D; Page 4

LENGTH: 134 words

HEADLINE: Parental consent backed

BYLINE: By John Harmon STAFF WRITER

KEYWORD: courts; regulations; law; government; rights; voting; elections; reviews; legislation; abortion; protests

BODY:

One aspect the Supreme Court upheld was the requirement that at least one parent consent before a minor child can have an abortion. Mr. Deal said he supports that limitation.

"We require parental permission in this state to go to summer camp or get your ears pierced, " he noted. "I think we should require at least that much for something this serious."

But on the issue of gun control, all but one candidate took a conservative tack more in keeping with the mostly rural North Georgia district. Only Mr. Orr said he supports a nationwide waiting period on handgun purchases.

The same was true for giving the president a line-item veto over spending legislation, a power many governors have; only Mr. Orr voiced opposition.

"It would give dictatorial powers to one person," he contended.

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Right to life

helps all family programs system

Ed. pt. Choice

Freedom Choice Act

Gary Bauer Comm

help to Gary Bauer @ Family Research Council

Caused major stops & snarls
Dallas, Atlanta, Houston
— bombing found women pain ears — W/o note

Fetus can live w/o person w/o parents

Lawsuits

LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 15 STORIES

Copyright 1992 Newsday, Inc.
Newsday

May 11, 1992, Monday, CITY EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 597 words

HEADLINE: O'Connor Backs Bill;
Doctors may have to notify parents before teen abortion

BYLINE: By David Glovin. STAFF WRITER

KEYWORD: JOHN O'CONNOR; ABORTION; PARENT; LAW; PROPOSED; MOTHERS DAY

BODY:

As abortion-rights activists marched outside, Cardinal John O'Connor yesterday used part of his Mother's Day sermon to praise pending state legislation that would require doctors to notify the parents of minors before performing an abortion.

Speaking in his weekly sermon, O'Connor also extolled the Bronx legislator who introduced the bill. "God bless you," he said to Assemb. John Dearie (D-Bronx), as applause filled St. Patrick's Cathedral.

"In a state in which, as far as I know, you must have parental permission to have your ears pierced or your tonsils out, one would think few if any legislators would resist proposed legislation that would require merely notifying a parent if it's reasonably possible," O'Connor said.

Dearie's bill would require parental notification 48 hours before a doctor performs an abortion on a woman 17 or younger, unless there is a medical emergency or the woman has obtained a family court judge's authorization. Dearie's bill does not require a parent's consent for the operation.

The U.S. Supreme Court in 1990 upheld parental notification laws that provide teenagers with the option of gaining a judge's approval. Last year, the first parental notification bill ever introduced in New York failed to pass the Assembly, where numerous parental consent bills have failed to pass in the last decade.

O'Connor also used his Mother's Day sermon to honor single mothers, who he said are "so often treated with contempt, so infrequently appreciated, deserted by the man responsible for their babies, yet courageously bringing those babies into the world."

O'Connor restated the archdiocese's offer of free medical care, legal assistance or adoption counseling to women who choose not to have an abortion.

And the Cardinal praised "those who mother children spiritually" - those "who are laying down their lives to protect and to enhance other human lives," including "the unborn."

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Outside St. Patrick's, about 40 members of a group called Women's Health Action and Mobilization condemned Dearie's bill and O'Connor's involvement. Calling the Cardinal sexist, the group marched amid a gauntlet of police as parishioners arrived at church.

One of the protestors, Christine Ryan, 17, of Richmond Hill, Queens, said, "I do not come from a family where I can sit down at breakfast and say, 'Mom, Dad, I had sexual relations with a guy. I'm pregnant. I'm going to get an abortion. See you at five."

The group also criticized a reception in support of Dearie's bill which O'Connor sponsored for legislators in March.

Dearie's bill is pending in the Assembly's Health Committee and needs 10 committee members' support before it reaches the full house. Dearie said the bill lacks the necessary backing but that several pro-choice legislators have quietly voiced their approval. He would not identify the legislators.

The Bronx Democrat added that the bill is backed by 50 legislators in the full Assembly and 15 in the State Senate, where it is sponsored by Sen. Frank Padavan (R-Queens).

"Those who oppose this legislation are going to try to make this a litmus test for people - pro-choice or pro-life - [but] I want to underscore that our anaylsis of the bill is that it is a pro-family bill," Dearie said during a news conference immediately after yesterday's service.

Dearie said he recognized that "a byproduct of this legislation" may be fewer teenage abortions. According to a fact sheet distributed by a St. Patrick's spokesman yesterday, a similar Massachusetts law produced a 28 percent drop in teenage abortions.

GRAPHIC: Newsday Photo by Jon Naso- Abortion-rights demonstrators in costume for march near St. Patrick's Cathedral

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LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 15 STORIES

Copyright 1992 American Political Network, Inc.
Health Line

June 24, 1992

SECTION: THE NATIONAL DEBATE

LENGTH: 1027 words

HEADLINE: ABORTION: LEGISLATORS PUSH FOR SAFEGUARD

BODY:

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER reports, "Pro-choice legislators in Congress stand ready to push ahead with a bill to guarantee abortion rights by statute if the Supreme Court decides to seriously limit access to abortions." The Freedom of Choice Act (FOCA) was designed by the legislators to safeguard the rights protected by Roe v. Wade. FOCA reads: "A state may not restrict the reproductive right of a woman to choose to terminate a pregnancy before fetal viability." After viability, states could restrict abortions except in cases where the health or life of the woman are at risk. Supporters of the bill say it serves to "codify Roe" while opponents of the bill say it is "more sweeping than the original Roe decision and would strip away state abortion curbs that the Supreme Court has allowed over the years, including restrictions on abortions in the second trimester of pregnancy and requirements that minors get the permission of parents before having an abortion." FOCA could "increase the importance of abortion as a congressional campaign issue" because members who "might prefer to waffle will be forced to take a clear position -- voting on the bill and perhaps on a series of weakening amendments that anti-abortion forces will try to offer." Advocates of the bill, such as House Speaker Tom Foley (D-WA), hope to force floor action and a "showdown vote" by the end of summer. President Bush: "I will veto it now, I will veto it again, it will not become a law as long as I am president." It is extremely unlikely that the bill will draw support from two thirds of each chamber to override the veto this year. Nat'l. Abortion Rights Action League spokeswoman Loretta Ucelli said that forcing a vote, even in the event of a veto, would be worthwhile because it will show voters that "either a pro-choice president or a veto-proof, pro-choice Congress" is needed to safeguard abortion rights. From a legal standpoint, however, there is debate over whether Congress has the power to "force such legislation upon unwilling states" without a constitutional amendment (Christopher Hanson, 6/23).

MINORS: According to the CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, the AMA "is considering a policy that for the first time explicitly states that doctors do not need parental permission before performing an abortion on an unmarried minor." The AMA's policy-setting House of Delegates will vote this week on the proposal. Joseph Scheidler, director of the Pro-Life Action League says, "My daughter cannot have her ears pierced without my permission. Now the AMA is saying that they want doctors to be able to take a girl in for major surgery" without parental notification (Howard

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Wolinsky, 6/23). Eighteen states currently require parental consent for a teen to have an abortion. Similar laws have been blocked by the courts in nine other states (Tim Friend, USA TODAY, 6/24).

NUMBERS: CBS/N.Y. Times poll (see HEALTH LINE, 6/23) of 1,315 adults surveyed 6/17-20; margin of error +/- 3% asked the following abortion-related questions (CBS release, 6/22).

IF COURT OVERTURNS ROE, SHOULD STATES LIMIT ABORTION?

	TOT	GOP	DEM	IND
Yes	56%	57%	55%	56%
No	41	40	41	40
Don't Know	3	3	4	4

ABORTION AVAILABILITY SHOULD BE ...

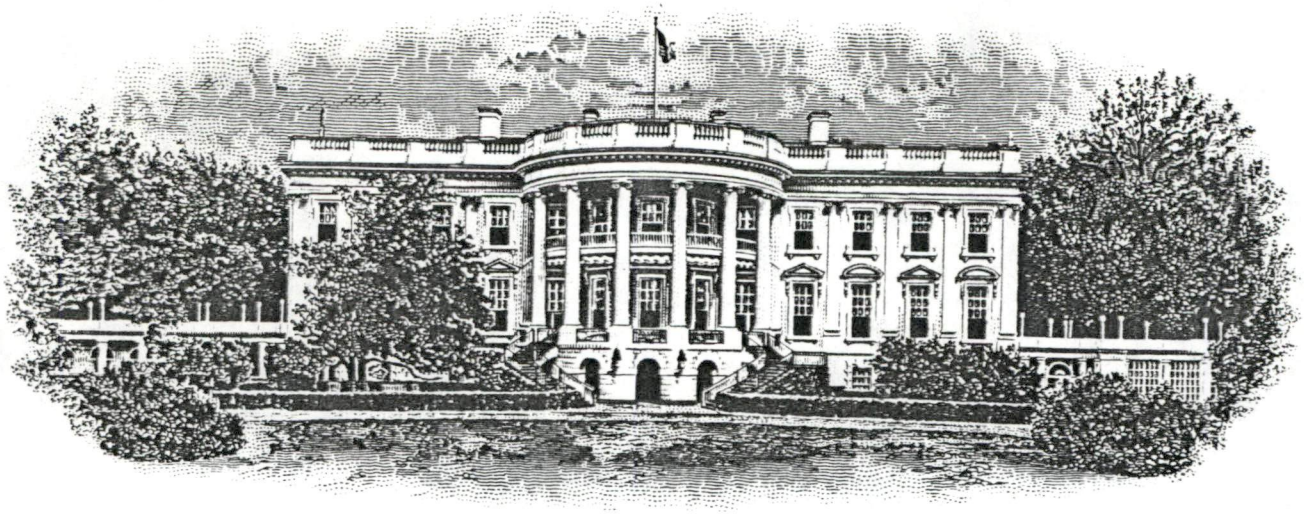
	TOT	GOP	DEM	IND
Made to all	42%	40%	42%	43%
Available but stricter	39	41	38	39
No permitted	17	18	17	16
Don't Know	2	1	3	2

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Date 5 AUGUST 1992

From JEANNIE BUNTON

Office Number 202-456-7750

****** COMMENTS ******

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A FUNNY HAT.

J BUNTON

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 4, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: STEVE PROVOST SP

FROM: JOSEPH P. DUGGAN JPD

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS TO KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

I. SUMMARY

On Wednesday, August 5 at 11:00 a.m., you will deliver remarks to an audience of 2,200 members of the Knights of Columbus at their 110th Annual Supreme Council Convention at the Marriott Marquis in New York City.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 15 minutes / teleprompter), follow the theme that change must be based on principles that never change, such as family and personal responsibility. This theme is tied to the issues of welfare, education, school prayer and abortion. The sound bite of the day is: when it comes to restoring America's moral fiber, why choose synthetics when you can get real cotton?

(Duggan/Bunton)
August 4, 1992
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wanted him to cut his voyage short. He even faced the threat of mutiny. And yet Columbus perservered and won -- (not a bad analogy, huh?)

Now I admit ... Columbus also had to combat food shortages and hurricanes -- which I don't face at all. But then again, did Columbus ever have to deal with Congress?

This year, as in Columbus's time -- we hear a lot of talk about change. And sure, change is natural. But maybe a better word is renewal -- because the changes we need must be based on principles that never change. \\

My parents were like yours: They brought me up to understand that our fundamental moral standards were established by Almighty God. They taught me that if you have something for yourself, you should give half to a friend. They taught me to take the blame when things go wrong and share the credit when things go right. These ideas were supported by society.

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So the question is -- Who do you trust: those with the courage to stand for what may not be popular -- but is right? Or

the side that talks a good game -- but whose record and example make a mockery of their words?

Let me be clear to the American people. If you're looking to restore America's moral fiber, why buy synthetic, when you can get real cotton?

This is the choice we face. Nowhere is it more clear in the decisions a President must make every day to build real peace: to establish freedom and democracy, not the mere absence of war.

Saint Ignatius said, "Work as though all depended upon yourself, and pray as though all depended on God." The practice of that motto conquered Communism. Ceaseless prayer and tireless work halted the Cold War \ and spared us from the catastrophe of a third world war. Believers behind the Iron Curtain defied persecution; believers in the West defied indifference. Over four decades, our servicemen trained -- our taxpayers paid four trillion dollars -- to keep our defenses strong. And as a consequence, the Iron Curtain is no more -- and our kids no longer face the threat of nuclear war.

But while the Russian bear is no more, there are still plenty of wolves in the woods. When we faced our first big challenge after the Cold War, we didn't shrink. We stood up to Saddam's aggression and expelled him from Kuwait. We protected the people of Israel and Saudi Arabia. Now we've brought age-old adversaries to the peace table for the first time. His Holiness, Pope John Paul, has spent many days and nights at work and in prayer for peace in the Middle East. As long as I am

President, I assure you I'll do everything I can to bring about that peace that so many pray for. \\

Here's the case I will be taking to the American people: Now that we have changed the world, we can change America. But we must keep something in mind. Now that our moral values are victorious around the globe -- we cannot and we will not abandon them at home!

Let the other side traffic in trendy and transitory moral fashions, I'll stick to 100 percent family values. I'm going to defend the principles for which you stand so firm. \ We'll keep our sights on what's good in America. We'll keep our focus on the potential in our families and our kids. We'll keep a reliable compass. We'll put our ship of state in finest sailing trim. We'll navigate our way to shining new horizons. \\

Thank you. May God bless you and our beloved country.

# # #

" tip top shape "
ethnic blue collar

OSA →

BISHOP DAILY (Thomas)

27 of DAIS BEHIND POTUS

✓ Ambassador Mahady – to Am. Emb. @ Vatican

Thomas

✓ (Cardinal Hickey
Cardinal Law)

✓ Sec. Barr Attorney Gen.

— Several have brought their wives

(Supreme Dir.'s Office of K of C)

Bob Van Dine
for a Portable Pk.
Jane Barnett

dine 212-847-ROAM
then dir 202-213-0500

will see them

fax to
fax copy to staff office
212-421-7631
Jane Barnett

*** w/ACKS

(Duggan/Bunton)
August 4, 1992
Draft Eight
Knights.2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS
NEW YORK MARRIOTT MARQUIS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992
11:00 a.m.

Thank you, Virgil Dechant [DECK-ant]. Your Eminence, Cardinal O'Connor; Cardinal Law; Cardinal Hickey; Ambassador Meladay; Attorney General Barr; Bishop Daily; reverend clergy; ladies and gentlemen:

A report came across my desk the other day. It stated that most people in the Western world "felt exceedingly gloomy about the future." It said that "institutions were decaying, well-meaning people were growing cynical."

My first thought was: That's what happens when people spend too much time watching the evening news. \\

But what I was reading was <u>not</u> a report about <u>Nineteen</u> ninety-two. It was a history of public attitudes in Europe in <u>Fourteen</u> ninety-two! \\

Public moods are prone to change, of course. We know the gloom of 1492 was not to last for long. It was dispelled by the achievement of a man of humble birth. . . a man of vision and courage. . . a man named <u>Christopher Columbus</u>. \\

Now I know that every speaker comes before you and says they identify with Columbus. But I really mean it.

Think about it. The guy was faced with questions at home about whether his global efforts were worth a darn. Some critics wanted him to cut his voyage short. He even faced the threat of

mutiny. And yet Columbus persevered and won -- (not a bad analogy, huh?)

Now I admit ... Columbus also had to combat food shortages and hurricanes -- which I don't face at all. But then again, did Columbus ever have to deal with Congress?

This year, as in Columbus's time -- we hear a lot of talk about change. And sure, change is natural. But maybe a better word is renewal -- because the changes we need must be based on principles that never change. \\

My parents were like yours: They brought me up to understand that our fundamental moral standards were established by Almighty God. They taught me that if you have something for yourself, you should give half to a friend. They taught me to take the blame when things go wrong and share the credit when things go right. These ideas were supported by society.

Only recently in America have we seen the rise of legal theories and practices that reject our Judeo-Christian tradition. Cardinal O'Connor eloquently describes this as an "inversion of values." It's a deeply disturbing trend -- and it is diametrically opposed to my idea of the kin[illegible] good for our country. \\

Last month, just 12 blocks from here, convention. Now, I didn't hear any of thos[illegible] in the mountains fishing. But I understand known for his florid language, called me "t[illegible] of state." \\ I'm not sure the guy meant i[illegible]

Leigh Ann Metzger
final on either speech?

believe me: As a Navy man at a Knights of Columbus convention ... the term suits me just fine. \\

I look at this office you have entrusted me with as more than managing the economy -- more even than being Commander in Chief. I stake my claim to a simple belief -- the President should set the moral tone for this nation.

All around us, we see evidence that America's moral compass has gone awry. We seem to be moving away from the enduring idea of taking responsibility for our actions.

Our city newspapers are filled with stories of drive-by shootings -- the taking of human life made more horrible by the awful anonymity through which it is accomplished. And recently I read a story of a kid from a good neighborhood charged with gun-running. He told the police -- "it's not like I'm a criminal, I'm on the Dean's list."//

What is happening to America? As a nation -- we face enormous challenges in education, crime, drugs -- yet each of them come back to the challenge of pointing our moral compass in the right direction.

So I believe that a central issue of this election should be -- who do you trust to renew America's moral purpose? Who do you trust to fight for the ideas that will help rebuild our families and restore our fundamental values?

On this -- as in so many other issues -- the other side is talking a good game, saying the right words -- and yet when you get down to specifics, I wonder if their commitment is to do

what's right to win an election, or to do what's right to win back America?

Look at welfare.

We all know that our welfare system has destroyed the concept of responsibility -- tearing families apart, with no incentives for people to work and save and improve.

I want something different -- I have fought for a new welfare system that says yes to people's lives.

Today, as we speak, states are changing welfare rules to encourage families to stick together, not fall apart. They are saying to recipients -- either you get training, or you don't get a check. They are even going so far as to make the tough call of saying to single mothers -- if you can't afford another child, don't expect the taxpayer to pick up the added costs.

These are tough choices, but they are all intended to promote responsibility.

The other side says they agree with us. But if you look close, they argue that the ultimate solution to welfare is to guarantee a government job for every recipient.

And I ask -- is this any way to promote responsibility? If we guarantee everyone a government job -- how can we reward initiative? -- how can we reward industry? -- how can we break the cycles of dependency and despair?

Look at education. We know that renewing education depends on giving parents real freedom and real responsibility to choose

their kid's schools. The other side tries to posture on the side of parents, but I don't think anyone will be fooled. Remember how old Henry Ford used to tell his customers, they could have any color Model T they wanted -- so long as it's black? Well, the other side says their ideal is that parents could choose any school for their kids -- so long as it's run by the government. \\ My opponent won the teachers union endorsement by saying he's "unalterably opposed" -- those are his words, "unalterably opposed" -- to letting Catholic parents and other private school parents have a fair share of education benefits. \\

My plan is different -- I call it the G.I. Bill for Kids. \ Right now, if you want an alternative to public schools, you have to pay twice -- first for tuition and again through taxes. A couple weeks ago, I was in Philadelphia. A group of parents told me, "we want our kids to go to Catholic school, but we just can't afford it." So my solution is the G.I. Bill. Like the original G.I. Bill, my new bill offers scholarships or vouchers for students to take to any qualified school -- not only public schools, but Bible schools, yeshivas, and Catholic parish schools. The principle is basic. When it comes to schools, let the parents choose! \\

What about promoting religion as a force for good in our society. I'm reminded of the story about a small boy who once began a prayer this way: "God bless mother and daddy, my brother and sister. And, God," he said, "do take care of yourself. If anything happens to you, we're all sunk." America is still the

most religious nation on earth, and I want to strengthen our faith further. The other side gathered here in New York and crammed 10,000 words into their party platform. I would have found room for three simple letters -- "G-O-D."// The other side thinks it's fine to hand-out condoms in school but not to put your hands together to say a prayer. I disagree. I call again on Congress to pass a constitutional amendment restoring voluntary prayer to our classrooms. Let's allow the faith of our Fathers back into our schools. \\

And there's a national tragedy: more than a million and a half abortions in this country every year. We know there must be a better way. \\ The other side turns a deaf ear to humane and responsible alternatives -- like adoption; like abstinence. Seven times I have ignored the polls and acted on principle -- and vetoed abortion legislation. And I promise you again today, no matter the political price, I will stand on conscience, I will turn away any abortion-on demand legislation.//

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Thank you. May God bless you and our beloved country.

# # #

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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June 29, 1992, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: METRO; PAGE D1

LENGTH: 1122 words

HEADLINE: Youth in Gun Case Proves a Puzzlement;
Suspect Is Business Student on Dean's List

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Pierre Thomas, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Matthew Stong, 20 years old, former Eagle Scout and an honor roll student at George Washington University, did not fit the usual profile of a gunrunner.

But there he was, his wiry frame in the shadows of the Potomac Arms gun store in Old Town Alexandria and 90 powerful handguns worth $ 75,000 stuffed in three nearby duffel bags.

It was shortly before daybreak on April 24, during a two-year stretch in which more than 40 robberies and burglaries of area gun stores had netted more than 1,300 firearms, that business major Stong was arrested with William O. Lara, 30, a convicted felon from Texas, and led away in handcuffs.

The question of how Stong, who as a teenager had minor brushes with the law, came to be charged in a major gun store burglary has intrigued federal and local authorities, who are examining whether he and Lara may have been involved in gunrunning in the District.

Police say Stong is not the type of person they would expect to have connections to the dangerous and highly profitable underworld of weapons trafficking.

Now authorities are trying to determine whether Stong was an equal partner in the alleged crime or a young overachiever caught in a misadventure.

Charged with statutory burglary, the college junior and Lara each face a 20-year prison sentence if convicted. They are scheduled to face grand jury proceedings this summer.

"It's not like I am a criminal," said Stong, sporting a new-wave haircut, Mickey Mouse T-shirt and shorts imprinted with green turtles during an interview outside his Foggy Bottom town house. "I scored 1,400 on my SAT. . . . I'm on the dean's list here. . . . Now they want to throw me in prison."

In statements to police and in two interviews, Stong said he was coerced into the burglary attempt.

At the same time, some statements Stong has made to police suggest he had knowledge of illegal gun activity, court records show. And he once told police

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that going to the gun store was "daring."

He has told police that in recent months, he had allowed Lara to store weapons briefly in his apartment and later saw the weapons in a drug-plagued Southeast Washington neighborhood that he visited with Lara, the records say. He also said Lara gave a weapon to a friend while the two were visiting Arizona.

Lara, who declined to be interviewed, recently was charged with burglary in an earlier incident at Potomac Arms in which dozens of guns were stolen. Two of those weapons have been recovered from District residents, one in a drug raid near Potomac Gardens, which has been targeted recently by police officials, the other from a District man wearing a bulletproof vest at the time he was interviewed by police.

Stong was reared as one of seven children in a military family that spent time in Kansas, New Mexico, Mississippi and Germany before moving to Fairfax County.

Stong's parents would not comment about their son's case, but by all accounts he was a young man living a decidedly middle-class life in a conservative Mormon family, according to several sources.

Active in the church, Stong was in the top 10 percent of his class at West Potomac High School, from which he graduated in 1989. He was a member of the debate team and the Future Business Leaders of America club.

"Matt was a bright kid," said Charles J. Little, who coached Stong's crew team for two years. "He was a good kid. . . . When I heard about the arrest, I was surprised because it did not fit the Matt I know. . . . I would expect Matt to do something mischievous, but nothing illegal."

After graduation, Stong enrolled in George Washington University, a private institution with about 8,000 undergraduates that charges $ 15,900 a year in tuition for a full-time student. He has studied business and economics, making the dean's list, a university official confirmed.

Stong was arrested by police in 1990. He was convicted in Prince William County of stealing stereo equipment, two speakers, a walkie-talkie, tapes and tools. After two felony larceny charges were reduced to misdemeanor counts, Stong received suspended sentences and was ordered to do 40 hours of community service work.

Stong's family supported him throughout the ordeal and suggested that he was a naive youth swept into trouble by other juveniles.

According to several sources, Stong's father wrote a letter reminding court officials that his son had cooperated with police and was an exemplary youth whose immaturity led him to become entangled with delinquents.

Stong met Lara in February or March of this year through a former student at George Washington University, police sources and Stong said.

Stong said he did not know about Lara's criminal record, including an eight-year prison sentence in Texas on burglary charges. Before his release in June 1990, Lara had violated parole three times and his release was revoked

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twice, Texas corrections officials said. He came to Washington soon after.

The two began partying together, and Lara soon became a companion, occasionally staying over at Stong's home, police and Stong said.

It was then, Stong said in interviews and statements to police, that he sometimes saw Lara with heavy-duty firearms.

Before their April arrests, "Willie Lara brought a bag with four guns to my apartment," Stong said in a statement to police. The weapons included an assault rifle and a machine pistol. He said he later saw the guns at an apartment in Potomac Gardens, which he visited with Lara.

On another occasion, when he and Lara traveled to Phoenix, Lara gave a friend of Stong's a Smith & Wesson 9mm handgun, Stong said.

On the day of the break-in, Stong said in the interview, he "didn't know [Lara] was planning on breaking in until we got there."

"He asked me to take him to Chadwick's," an Old Town restaurant, Stong said. "The next thing I knew he was up on the roof."

The arrest of the two men has left members of the District's Rapid Deployment Unit, Alexandria police and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms trying to find out where the guns were destined. Much of the focus has been on Lara, who has been arrested twice since the April burglary attempt.

Lara was released on $ 5,000 bond by Alexandria officials, and was arrested again on May 21 in the District by U.S. Park Police and charged with carrying a pistol without a license. A few days later, Lara was arrested again and charged with another burglary after the firearm was traced to a February theft at Potomac Arms, when 41 guns were stolen.

In an interview, Stong said he felt "terrible" about his arrest and the events that led to it.

"I know that people in D.C. get killed every day," he said.

Staff writer Avis Thomas-Lester contributed to this report.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, MATTHEW STONG

TYPE: VIRGINIA NEWS, DC NEWS

SUBJECT: ARRESTS; FIREARMS AND EXPLOSIVES LAWS; BURGLARY AND THEFT AND LARCENY

ORGANIZATION: ALEXANDRIA CITY

NAMED-PERSONS: MATTHEW STONG; WILLIAM O. LARA

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WASH. POST: 07/01/92

DOROTHY GILLIAM

120

Crime and Stereotypes

The conceit of the honor roll student is daring.

The George Washington University business student was caught by police near the Potomac Arms gun store in Old Town Alexandria with 90 handguns worth $75,000 jammed into three duffel bags. Along with a convicted felon from Texas, he was arrested and charged with statutory burglary.

Not the type! said the police.

Surprised! said a former instructor.

A puzzlement! said the media.

Impossible! said the alleged felon.

"It's not like I am a criminal," Matthew Stong, 20, told this newspaper. "I scored 1,400 on my SAT. . . . I'm on the dean's list here. . . . Now they want to throw me in prison."

Why is there such incredulity here? The annals of crime are paved with the names of people with high credentials.

We make the mistake of equating intelligence with honesty, when criminal behavior has to do with the absence of character.

Certainly it is unusual for a college student to be caught before daybreak with $75,000 worth of guns in tow—and that uniqueness was in large part the reason the incident received so much attention. A college student, after all, is expected to be more idealistically career-oriented.

The case has yet to come to trial. But I was disturbed by the implication that being on the dean's list bestows automatic integrity, or that high Scholastic Aptitude Test scores eliminate greed. That this youth seems to believe that his academic success should excuse his alleged behavior is mind-boggling.

When the motivation is greed and when character is flawed, it is just as plausible for a college student as it is for some poor guy from Southeast Washington to get involved in crime.

That the items allegedly stolen are guns and that police are examining whether Stong and William O. Lara, the convicted felon from Texas, may have been involved in gunrunning make the young man's attitude even more surprising.

Stong told police that he had allowed Lara to store assault weapons in his Foggy Bottom apartment and later saw some of the same weapons at an apartment in Potomac Gardens in Southeast.

Gunrunning in the District of Columbia is a serious matter; during just a four-year period, the number of homicides has doubled. The villains are crack cocaine and semiautomatic weapons.

A Washington Post editorial yesterday was on target in observing: "The drugs and guns fueling the city's violence are strictly smuggled imports: the cocaine from overseas, the weapons from a black market trade that probably couldn't survive without the gun stores of Virginia and Maryland."

So this young man—who seems to believe his credentials put him above the law—allegedly is involved in a dangerous, extremely volatile crime that is killing at an alarming rate, wrecking families, destroying neighborhoods and setting this whole city atremble.

Stong told police, and said in two interviews, that he was coerced into the burglary attempt by Lara. But even if you accept that, he not only let a friend come to his apartment with weapons and store them there, but also saw the friend give another man a weapon. Yet he told none of this to authorities.

Now he says he knows that "people in D.C. get killed every day." But curiously, he was not worried about that until he was caught.

His story, at a minimum, calls into question a rampant stereotype: White college boys don't commit felonies.

Well, it's not true.

And this incident, whatever the outcome, should teach police and the media that crime—not culture, not color, not intelligence—makes the criminal.

...much ...
they are planning to spend well over $350 billion for new planes now on the drawing boards when a fraction of that will do.

On the ground, the Army has five light infantry divisions for rapid deployment to brush-fire wars and the Marines have three, costing $2 billion apiece per year. The Pentagon is spending billions more on fast sealift ships to transport the Army, amphibious ships for the Marines and prepositioning ships to store equipment and supplies for both.

Such duplication of effort wastes billions of dollars and still leaves holes in America's defenses. As defense budgets shrink, it will be imperative to reshape the armed forces to retain their potency despite reduced rations.

That's why Senator Sam Nunn is bravely mounting a frontal assault to redefine service roles and missions. His colleagues in Congress would do well to rally to his cause.

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Each service fights for its preferred roles and missions and tries to keep its rivals from performing them. Marines complain, for example, that they were left offshore as decoys during the Persian Gulf war while the Army got the glory on the ground in Kuwait.

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The Marines want to spend billions on a aircraft, the part-helicopter, part-plane Os

Back in 1948, an agreement was negotiat Key West, Fla., to divide responsibilities among services. It barred the Army, for example, from having fixed-wing aircraft. But changing military technology and expanding bureaucracies have made the existing division of responsibilities obsolete. There is no good reason today why the Army and the Marines need different helicopters, or the Air Force needs helicopters at all.

As the Persian Gulf war showed, the military that can integrate forces for combined operations has an enormous battlefield advantage. If the services can now redefine their roles and missions, they could become more efficient and affordable as well.

Editorial Notebook

On August 3, He Put to Sea

Columbus's Journal Logs the Journey

"We departed Friday the third day of August of the year 1492 from the bar of Saltes at the eighth hour."

Thus, in Columbus's own words, did the Niña, Pinta and Santa Maria set out 500 years ago today from the little Spanish port of Palos de la Frontera on a voyage that would change the world. Ten weeks later, in the small hours of Oct. 12, a crewman aboard the Pinta sighted land, at last, and the three ships lowered sail to wait for daylight. "At dawn," Columbus wrote in his journal, "we saw naked people, and I went ashore in the ship's boat, armed."

That Columbus kept a journal is remarkable in itself; so far as is known, he was the first explorer to do so. The original, which he presented to Queen Isabella, has been lost; likewise the copy that royal scribes made for Columbus. But the essential content, much of it verbatim, survives in Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional in a detailed abstract of the duplicate copy.

This priceless documentation was done by Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Dominican friar and friend of the Columbus family, who spent years recording West Indies history and exposing Spain's mistreatment of the natives. The best English translation was published in 1989 by Oliver Dunn and James Kelley, two American scholars; another, Robert Fuson, has done a more fluid, less precise version, fleshed out with detail from other writings by Las Casas and Columbus's son Fernando, and transposed into an imagined first-person narrative throughout.

From these two works one learns, for example, what Columbus thought when the Pinta's rudder broke on the third day out: sabotage, by her owner and a crewman. "Neither of these men wanted to make this voyage," he wrote, "and even before we departed Palos they attempted to delay or prevent the enterprise."

The damage forced a long layover in the Canary Islands while Columbus sought another ship and finally repaired the rudder. After four weeks' delay, the westward voyage resumed on Sept. 6.

Sept. 9: Mindful of the crews' marginal commitment to his mission, Columbus admits in his journal that he plans to give them false reports on each day's progress, so that "they might not think themselves so great a distance from Spain as they really were."

Sept. 15: "I saw a marvelous meteorite fall into the sea." To some of the crew it was a bad omen. He told them not to worry; he'd seen many before. But in private he wrote, "I have to confess that this is the closest a falling star has ever come to my ship."

Sept. 23: Concern for his own safety. Inconstant winds and a flat sea have "led the men to believe we will never get home," he wrote. "Later, when the sea made up considerably without wind, they were astonished. I saw this as a sign from God. As with Moses when he led his people out of captivity, my people were humbled."

Not for long. The next day he says "a few trusted men (and these are few in number!)" have reported talk of throwing him overboard some night if he persists in sailing on.

He persisted.

RICHARD E. MOONEY

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The Challenger

Clinton Offers National Education Plan

By GWEN IFILL
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, May 14 — Gov. Bill Clinton said today that America's commitment to bettering itself economically and socially had been hurt by a failure to place education at the top of the nation's priorities, and he called for a revived commitment to schools and job training.

In a speech delivered at a distressed public college in East Los Angeles, Mr. Clinton outlined an education plan that calls for Federal college tuition assistance, job training for high school dropouts and graduates who choose not to go on to college, and legislation that would allow parents to choose which public school their children will attend.

"We know we have real gaps in American education," he said. "Opportunity gaps and responsibility gaps which are more important to our national security today than the missile gap that played such an important role in the Presidential election of 1960.

"The education opportunity gaps between ourselves and the rest of the world and among our own people are immense."

New National Goals

Mr. Clinton said his administration would set new education goals, including a plan to increase high school graduation rates to 90 percent of enrolled students, "meaningful" national examination standards for students and teachers and increased Federal spending on programs to reduce class size and expand preschool opportunities.

His remarks today, which were essentially a repackaged version of the education speech he has delivered at schools and colleges throughout the country this year, featured sharp partisan attacks on President Bush.

As has become Mr. Clinton's habit in the weeks since he began transforming his campaign into a general election effort aimed at stressing the failures of White House policy, he faulted the Administration for not living up to promises Mr. Bush made as a candidate in 1988 and during an education summit with governor's in 1989.

"America needs an education President who shows up for class every day, not just once every four years," he said. Mr. Bush, he said, has cut funding for bilingual education, job training, literacy programs and college aid.

'Trickle-Down Education'

"The President's education plan amounts to a form of trickle-down education that won't help America anymore than trickle-down economics has helped us in the 1980's," he said.

Mr. Clinton's speech was received warmly by the audience of several hundred students and administrators at East Los Angeles College, a two-year school where recent tuition increases made the audience especially receptive to his assistance proposal.

Inner-City Links

Mr. Clinton also used the opportunity to link his education proposals to the problems of inner-city crime that have preoccupied elected officials and California voters since the Los Angeles riots.

Recalling a 1989 visit he made to a South-Central Los Angeles school, the Arkansas governor said the students he talked to then "were most worried about being shot going to and from school."

"Those kids are now in ninth grade," he said. "I have often wondered in the last few days, after what happened here, how many of them wound up in gangs, whether they looted, whether they're still alive. . . . We need to make something of the lives we're wasting."

Tuition Plan Is Popular

Mr. Clinton's most popular proposal, judging by the applause he typically gets from audiences around the country, is a plan to replace the existing Federal student loan programs with a program that would allow any student to borrow money for college if the student promised to repay the loan either by committing to pay a small percentage of income over a period of time or by agreeing to join a national service program as a teacher, police officer or other public servant for reduced pay.

Such a plan, his aides have estimated, would cost about $8 billion by its fourth year. Mr. Clinton has said he would pay for this and other priority programs — including health care and deficit reduction — by instituting cost controls and trimming defense spending.

Mr. Clinton drew heavily upon his experience as governor of Arkansas and parent of a 12-year-old public school student to illustrate his commitment to improving education. Recalling his own education, he said he had used loans and scholarships and had worked six jobs to go to college and law school.

Wants Parental Choice

"What bothers me so much about America today is that there are so many people who are being left out of that opportunity channel," he said.

Mr. Clinton repeated his call for allowing parents to choose the public schools their children should attend, an approach he has championed in Arkansas. But he said he "unalterably opposed" the proposal favored by the Bush Administration that would allow parents to use vouchers to send their students to private schools if they wished.

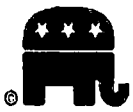
"Now is not the time to further diminish the financial resources of schools when budgets are being slashed by states all across America," Mr. Clinton said, "when the Federal Government has restricted its commitment to education."

Mr. Clinton has delivered formal speeches on foreign affairs, economic policy and the environment to stress the substantive differences between his campaign and the President's and to try to put behind him the constant discussion of character questions that had dominated his campaign.

He said he did not want to spend the bulk of his speech today blaming Republican administrations for the failures in education. But in the end, he was unable to resist taking repeated aim at President Bush, who declared during the 1988 campaign that he would be the "education President."

Of his own education reform package, Mr. Clinton said: "I'll work day and night to get it passed, unlike our current President, who often proposes and then leaves it to someone else to dispose or not to act at all."

NEW YORK TIMES
5.15.92.
CLINTON
D & HOCRAT.
Bush.



Republican
National
Committee

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To: J. Bunton Date: 8-4-92

From: G Kinahan Page 1 of 2

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COMMENTS:

This appeared in our Jan '91 issue of "Emerging Trends". You'll see the U.S. is 2nd on two questions and 1st on the third, and most telling, question. It's important to note that we didn't question every country. You could say that 'of 14 countries polled (by the Gallup Org. in 1989 and 1990), the U.S. rated the importance of God in One's life the highest (scale of 1-10)

Religion Triumphs Over Atheism in Eastern Europe

Religious belief in Eastern Europe has persisted at high levels despite nearly a half century of suppression. Resisting aggressive official policies and indoctrination in atheism, the level of those professing not to believe in God has remained small. For most measures there is little apparent difference in religious attitudes and behavior between Eastern and Western Europeans.

These findings emerged from Gallup surveys conducted in Czechoslovakia and Hungary in late 1989 and in Lithuania in 1990. Gordon Heald, managing director of the Gallup Poll in Great Britain, provided the survey results at a recent seminar sponsored by the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate at Georgetown University.

The surveys show that from four to five persons in 10 in each of the countries and groups surveyed describe themselves as "religious persons." In Lithuania, 45% of ethnic Lithuanians describe themselves this way, and 50% of non-ethnic Lithuanians consider themselves to be religious persons. Comparable self-descriptions were given by 56% of the Hungarians and by 49% of the Czechoslovakians interviewed on the surveys. There is a considerable religious gap between Czechs and Slovaks, with 69% of Slovaks saying they are religious persons, compared to 38% of the Czechs. The Eastern Europeans are in the middle of the religious spectrum in comparison to the West, where between 62% of Western Europeans and 46% of Scandinavians consider themselves to be religious persons. By comparison, 81% of Americans describe themselves as religious persons.

Despite the aggressive espousal of atheism under communist rule, there is actually a lower percentage of "convinced atheists" in Lithuania than in many Western European countries. Just 2 percent of ethnic Lithuanians and 4 percent of other Lithuanians say they are convinced atheists. The average for Western Europe is 5 percent, ranging from 1 percent in Ireland, 3 percent in West Germany and Scandinavia, 4 percent each in Great Britain, Italy and Spain to a high of 10 percent in France. In the United States, 5% of Americans say they do not believe in God.

Weekly church attendance for the Eastern Europeans appears to be remarkably high when the comparative scarcity of places of worship and clergy are considered, not to mention frequent official discouragement of attendance in the past. Attending at least once a week now are 17% of Czechoslovaks, 15% of ethnic Lithuanians, 12% of other Lithuanians, and 13% of Hungarians.

In the Hungarian study, the people of that country average 4.8 in rating the importance of God in their lives, on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means one does not consider God at all important and 10 means God is believed to be of paramount importance. This is a lower rating than found in most Western European countries and the United States, but still higher than the average ratings in Denmark, France and Sweden.

A high proportion of the people of Czechoslovakia and Hungary have been baptized. Two in three Czechoslovaks (66%) were baptized as Catholics, 10% in Protestant denominations, 1% Orthodox, and 1% in another faith. Only 19% were not baptized, and 3% are unaware if they had been baptized. Seven in 10 Hungarians (71%) were baptized as Catholics, 22% Reformed Church, and 4% Lutheran. Only 1% said they were never baptized, and 2% did not know if they had been.

The findings for each question are based on probability samples of at least 1,000 interviews conducted in each country in 1989 and 1990.

Consider Selves Religious Persons

Italy	83%
United States	81
Ireland	64
Spain	63
Great Britain	58
West Germany	58
Hungary	56
France	51
Other Lithuanians	50
Ethnic Lithuanians	45
Czechoslovakia	49
Slovaks only	69
Czechs only	38
Scandinavia	46

Attend Church At Least Weekly

Ireland	82%
United States	43
Spain	41
Italy	36
West Germany	21
Czechoslovakia	17
Ethnic Lithuanians	15
Other Lithuanians	12
Great Britain	14
Hungary	13
France	12
Scandinavia	5

Average Ratings of Importance of God in One's Life

United States	8.2
Republic of Ireland	8.0
Northern Ireland	7.5
Italy	6.9
Spain	6.4
Finland	6.2
Belgium	5.9
Great Britain	5.7
West Germany	5.7
Norway	5.4
Netherlands	5.3
Hungary	4.8
France	4.7
Denmark	4.4

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Times

July 27, 1992, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part E; COMMENTARY; Pg. E3

LENGTH: 860 words

HEADLINE: Clinton's convoluted school choice record

BYLINE: Donald Lambro; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

On Oct. 18, 1990, Bill Clinton wrote a letter to Wisconsin state Rep. Polly Williams to encourage her crusade for a school choice program that helps bright but poor inner-city Milwaukee children attend local private schools.

The governor had read a column I had written supporting Mrs. Williams' work as the author of a state law that was bitterly opposed by the NAACP, teachers unions, the local news media and an assortment of other liberal litmus groups.

This spunky and articulate former welfare mother, who was state chairwoman for Jesse Jackson's 1988 presidential campaign, was stunned to find that her support came not from her liberal friends, but from the editorial page of the Wall Street Journal and conservative activists who believe school choice is the only way to force meaningful educational reforms.

"I read Don Lambro's recent column about your version of the school choice bill in Milwaukee," Mr. Clinton wrote her. "I am fascinated by that proposal and am having my staff analyze it.

"I'm concerned that the traditional Democratic Party establishment has not given you more encouragement. The visionary is rarely embraced by the status quo."

Mr. Clinton is running this year as the candidate who is challenging the status quo, but he isn't supporting Polly Williams' plan anymore.

Sometime in the middle of his campaign for president he addressed the National Education Association, which opposes Mrs. Williams' school choice program, and told the nation's public school teachers that he was for public school choice but against any choice program that included private schools.

Mr. Clinton had a choice between a big powerful union that could deliver votes and a modest state program that helps academically qualified, inner-city children shift from badly run public schools to local, non-sectarian private schools that offer them a better education and a step up the ladder of opportunity. He sided with the union.

Mrs. Williams' pilot program offers her constituents a way out of poverty. Under its terms, 1,000 school children are eligible for up to $2,500 for tuition costs that comes out of the public school budget.

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The purpose is not to hurt the public schools but to force them to change through healthy competition. Yet the NEA wants no such competition with their public school monopoly, and the Democratic Party has sided with the elitists against those who are trying to break the status quo.

Earlier this year, Mrs. Williams' program was the subject of a highly positive report on the CBS "60 Minutes" program. One viewer was so moved by this story that he offered a full college scholarship to one of the young, black students who is in Mrs. Williams' program.

Mr. Clinton pays lip service to "public school choice" in his speeches and in his party platform. But he does not want the federal government encouraging choice programs - as President Bush has proposed - that would empower poor and median income families to choose from a broader range of school choices, including private schools.

This is not the only case where Mr. Clinton has said one thing and done another.

Not that long ago, he was critical of federal funding for abortions, only to change his mind to win the votes of the pro-choice lobby.

"There's a big difference between being pro-choice and being for spending tax dollars for any kind of abortion," Mr. Clinton said last October. "I don't think that's appropriate."

Now he is a down-the-line supporter of the Democrats' pro-abortion choice act that would use tax dollars to finance abortions.

Somewhere in his long political career, Mr. Bush also changed from a more pro-choice to a staunch pro-life position on abortion. But changing positions from one year to the next, as Mr. Clinton has done, is a remarkably fast switch on an issue of such deep moral complexity.

Meantime, much was made at the Democratic National Convention of Mr. Clinton's moderate image and the so-called moderate positions in his party platform.

But a careful reading of the party platform reveals that Mr. Clinton would create nearly two dozen new federal programs. And many of them are proposals long promoted by Jesse Jackson's far-left Rainbow Coalition.

Indeed, at the end of the convention Mr. Jackson held a news conference in which he proudly listed a number of Clinton programs that his organization and the AFL-CIO have been pushing for years. Among them: Indexing the minimum wage so that it rises with the rate of inflation (which would destroy entry-level jobs and worsen youth unemployment); a $220 billion public works jobs program; pushing affirmative action programs; and sharply raising taxes on business and upper-income people making $90,000 and up.

"These are positions that the Rainbow Coalition took in 1984 and 1988," said a satisfied Mr. Jackson. So much for moderation and change.

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

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The Washington Times, July 27, 1992

GRAPHIC: Cartoon, "DON'T LET THIS UNDERWEAR WORRY YOU...MY SUIT HERE IS PRETTY MODERATE!...", By Gorrell/The Richmond Times-Dispatch

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(Duggan/Bunton)
August 3, 1992
Draft Six
Knights

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS
NEW YORK MARRIOTT MARQUIS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992
11:00 a.m

Thank you, Virgil Dechant. Your Eminence, Cardinal O'Connor and reverend clergy; distinguished Knights; ladies and gentlemen:

A report came across my desk the other day. It stated that most people in the Western world "felt exceedingly gloomy about the future." It said that "institutions were decaying, well-meaning people were growing cynical."

Samuel Eliot Morison — "Admiral of the Ocean Sea" p.1

My first thought was: That's what happens when people spend too much time watching the network evening news. \\

But what I was reading was not a report about 1992. It was a history of public attitudes in 1492.

Public moods are prone to change. When some people turn negative, all I can do is hold the rudder firm.

((I told Barbara that the more I'm criticized, the more I turn it into humor. She said, "At this rate, you'll soon be funnier than Jay Leno."))

As I said, public moods are prone to change. We know the gloom of 1492 was not to last for long. It was dispelled by the achievement of a man of humble birth. . . a man of vision and courage. . . a man named Christopher Columbus. \\

Columbus opened up a new world of opportunity . . . for the spread of commerce \ culture \ and faith. \ In this 500th anniversary year of his voyage of discovery, I'm honored to meet

with a group of Americans dedicated to his ideals.

This year we hear a lot of talk about change. And sure, there are things I'd like to change. Though maybe a better word renewal is ~~is~~ renewal -- because the changes we need must be based on principles that never change.

My parents were like yours: They brought me up to understand that mankind's fundamental moral standards were established by Almighty God. They're as natural and unchangeable as the laws of physics. Our common law, our Constitution and our Bill of Rights are firmly rooted in this tradition -- the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Only recently in America have we seen the rise of legal theories and practices that reject our tradition. Cardinal O'Connor eloquently describes this as an "inversion of values." It's a deeply disturbing trend -- and it is diametrically opposed to my idea of the kind of change that's good for our country. \\

Cardinal Speech on Apr. 4, 1991

Last month on a stage just 12 blocks from here, there was another convention -- very different from this one. Now, I didn't hear any of those speeches. I was up in the mountains fishing -- where the air was clear, not hot. But I understand one of the speakers, known for his florid language, called me "the captain of the ship of state." He didn't mean it as a compliment, but believe me: As a Navy man at a Knights of Columbus convention . . . the term suits me just fine.

DNC convention July 13-18, 1992

MSG is on 46th St. Marriott is on 34th

Mario Cuomo Nomination Speech July 15, 1992

POTUS Lt. J.G.

Whoever is chosen to pilot the ship of state must have a reliable moral compass. \\ Personal responsibility -- among the

people and in our leaders -- must be more than just a slogan. It must be embodied in our ideas and actions.

Americans will make a choice this year about economic freedom and growth, and about keeping our defenses second to none -- keeping America safe and strong. But the choice is about more than that: It is about renewing our moral strength.

Principles don't change from one day to the next. Principles aren't driven by opinion polls. Principles endure. \\ This year, one side offers real change to make America One Nation under God. The other side -- in that convention I spoke of -- wrote a 10,000 word platform -- and never once mentioned the one word that counts the most: God.

DNC platform as approved @ convtn Jun 16, 1992

You can see the differences of philosophy reflected in our policies. As a baseball umpire would put it, "You make the call."

Consider our system of welfare. In too many cases, it's not lifting people up, it's holding them down. This system is neither well nor fair. \\ The key to reform: personal responsibility. Now, on the other side of the debate are the interests that want to protect bureaucracy and spending -- even if it means saying no to unwed mothers who want to get married. Even if it means saying no to families on public aid who somehow manage to put money aside in savings.

It's time the system started saying yes: Yes to people like Sandra Rosato, who worked and saved money for college because she didn't want to leave a legacy of welfare to her kids. The system

NYT 15 MAY 92

NYT May 15, 1992

said her family couldn't continue to get benefits while she saved money for school. She saved ~~$4,000~~ $4,900. I call that amazing. The welfare bureaucrats? They called it fraud. Something is wrong here. That's why I aim to shake up the top-down bureaucratic way of welfare and let our states innovate to reward people like Sandra -- reward work and responsibility. \\

Take education. We know that renewing education depends on giving parents real freedom and real responsibility to choose their kids' schools. The other side tries to posture on the side of parents, but I don't think anyone is fooled. Remember how old Henry Ford used to tell his customers, they can have any color Model T they want -- so long as it's black? Well, the other side says their ideal is that parents could choose any school for their kids -- as long as it's run by the government. \\

My plan is different -- it's called the G.I. Bill for Children. Right now, if parents choose a Catholic school or any other alternative to the public schools, they have to pay twice -- first for tuition and again through taxes. Catholic parents I met in Philadelphia last month made it plain to me: that makes it hard to exercise your religious freedom. Like the original G.I. Bill, my new bill offers scholarships or vouchers for students to take to any qualified school -- not only public schools, but Bible schools, yeshivas, and Catholic parish schools if that is what parents want. \\

My plan for education preserves religious freedom. That's also true of another issue where there's a Grand Canyon of a

divide. ((A small boy once began a prayer this way: "God bless mother and daddy, my brother and sister." He continued, "And, oh, God, do take care of yourself, because if anything happens to you, we're all sunk.")) That boy knew why, according to the Gallup Poll, America is the most religious nation on earth. Sadly, one side this year thinks it's fine to give out condoms in school but not to say a prayer. I totally disagree. So today, I again call on Congress to pass a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer to our classrooms -- and I challenge my opponent to support me. Let's bring the Faith of our Fathers back to our schools. \\

And there's the issue of a national tragedy: more than a million and a half abortions in this country every year. We know there must be a better way. \\ The other side turns a deaf ear to humane and responsible alternatives -- like adoption; like abstinence. The other side refuses to let the Governor of Pennsylvania present a pro-life view at his own party's convention. The other side is pushing a so-called "Freedom of Choice" bill, which is in fact the most radical abortion-on-demand legislation ever offered.

This bill would prevent states from enacting even modest restraints against abortion on demand. It would threaten the autonomy of Catholic hospitals and other private institutions that refuse as a matter of conscience to perform abortions. Suffice it to say: This radical abortion on demand bill will never become law as long as I am President of the United States

of America. \\

On each of these issues, the choice is clear. Who do you trust to change America -- to renew timeless values like personal responsibility? Who do you trust: those with the courage to stand for what may not be popular -- but is right? Or the side that talks a good game -- mouths the right rhetoric about values -- but whose record and example make a mockery of their words?

Nowhere is this choice more vital than in the decisions a President must make every day to build what I call real peace: the triumph of freedom and democracy, not the mere absence of war.

Saint Ignatius said, "Work as though all depended upon yourself, and pray as though all depended on God." The practice of that motto conquered Communism. Ceaseless prayer and tireless work halted the Cold War \ and spared us from the catastrophe of a third World War. Believers behind the Iron Curtain defied persecution; believers in the West defied indifference. Over four decades, our servicemen trained -- our taxpayers paid four trillion dollars -- to keep our defenses strong. And as a consequence, the Iron Curtain is no more -- and our kids no longer face the kind of nuclear threat that used to haunt us.

ANPA SPEECH April 9, 1992

TO WAGE THE COLD WAR

I'll always be grateful for the Knights of Columbus' support on the morality of our strategic deterrence. Because Americans understood the moral stakes in the Cold War, because we persevered -- we're now able to work at building a lasting peace between East and West. We're working with democratic Russia to

reduce the arsenals that once threatened to unleash a nuclear war and to cooperate on defenses against ballistic missiles.

When we faced our first big challenge after the Cold War, we didn't shrink. We stood up to Saddam Hussein's aggression and expelled him from Kuwait. We protected the people of Israel and Saudi Arabia. Now we've brought age-old adversaries to the peace table for the first time. We've gained the greatest opportunity in centuries to establish peace and stability in the Holy Land. His Holiness, Pope John Paul, has spent many sleepless nights in prayer and endeavor for peace in the Middle East. As long as I am President, I assure you I'll do everything I can to bring about that peace that so many pray for. \\

Respect for life \ for freedom \ for human dignity \ forms the common basis both for peace in the world and for renewal at home. The Knights of Columbus are in the forefront of this effort. In countless ways you help your neighbors: Organizing Scout Troops. Sponsoring that magnificent program, the Special Olympics. Visiting the sick and the elderly. Nourishing minds and souls that hunger for sound values. You bear witness to the fact that real compassion and tolerance cannot abide abandonment of standards of right and wrong. \\

I try to keep that at my core. Whatever the political cost, I intend to do what's right for America. I'll work to protect and renew America -- with a strong national defense, and with a true and steady moral compass. \\ Now that America's moral values -- liberty, honor, personal responsibility -- are

victorious around the globe -- why in the world would we abandon them at home?

We cannot. As long as I'm President, we will not. Let the other side traffic in values that are trendy and transitory. I'm going to defend the principles for which you stand so firm. We'll keep our sights on what's good in America. We'll keep our focus on the potential in our families and our kids. We'll keep a reliable compass. We'll put our ship of state in finest sailing trim. We'll navigate our way to shining new horizons. \\

Thank you. May God bless you and our beloved country.

# # #

☆ = applause line

(Duggan/Bunton)
August 4, 1992
Draft Eight
Knights.2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS
NEW YORK MARRIOTT MARQUIS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
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Thank you, Virgil Dechant. Your Eminence, Cardinal O'Connor; reverend clergy; ladies and gentlemen:

A report came across my desk the other day. It stated that most people in the Western world "felt exceedingly gloomy about the future." It said that "institutions were decaying, well-meaning people were growing cynical."

My first thought was: That's what happens when people spend too much time watching the network evening news. \\ laugh line

But what I was reading was not a report about Nineteen ninety-two. It was a history of public attitudes in Europe in Fourteen ninety-two! \\ laugh line.

Public moods are prone to change, of course. We know the gloom of 1492 was not to last for long. It was dispelled by the achievement of a man of humble birth. . . a man of vision and courage. . . a man named Christopher Columbus. \\

Columbus opened up a new world of opportunity . . . for the spread of commerce \ culture \ and faith. \ In this 500th anniversary year of his voyage of discovery, I'm honored to meet with a group of Americans dedicated to his ideals.

This year we hear a lot of talk about change. And sure, there are things I'd like to change. Though maybe a better word is renewal -- because the changes we need must be based on

principles that never change. \\

My parents were like yours: They brought me up to understand that our fundamental moral standards were established by Almighty God. They're as natural and unchangeable as the laws of physics. \\ Our common law, our Constitution and our Bill of Rights are firmly rooted in this Judaeo-Christian tradition. Only recently in America have we seen the rise of legal theories and practices that reject our tradition. Cardinal O'Connor eloquently describes this as an "inversion of values." It's a deeply disturbing trend -- and it is diametrically opposed to my idea of the kind of change that's good for our country. \\

Last month just 12 blocks from here, there was another convention -- very different from this one. Now, I didn't hear any of those speeches. -- laugh -- I was up in the mountains fishing. -- laugh -- But I understand one of the speakers, known for his florid language, called me "the captain of the ship of state." \\ He didn't mean it as a compliment, but believe me: As a Navy man at a Knights of Columbus convention . . . the term suits me just fine. \\

That reminds me of a story about Columbus. He wrote in his log that the longer he stayed on course -- the farther he traveled on his mission -- the more he faced threats from crewmen who wanted to throw him overboard and turn the ship around. \\

Let me make you this promise: No matter how rough the going gets, I won't turn around. \\ I'm going to stay on course. \\ I'm going to finish what I've started. \\

Whoever is chosen to pilot the ship of state must have a

reliable moral compass. \\ Personal responsibility -- among the people and in our leaders -- must be more than just a slogan. It must be embodied in our ideas and actions. \\

Americans will make a choice this year about economic freedom and growth, and about keeping our defenses second to none -- keeping America safe and strong. But the choice is about more than that: It is about renewing our moral strength.

Every day we hear stories showing the human cost of the breakdown in values. Somewhere in this country every day, an innocent kid gets killed in the crossfire of the drug wars. Just last month we read of an honor student, a kid from a good neighborhood, charged with gun-running. He tried to make his privilege a cover for his lack of responsibility. "It's not like I'm a criminal," he told the police. "I'm on the dean's list."

Well, you and I know that the Ten Commandments don't have exclusions for the poor -- or the rich. Principles don't change from one day to the next. \ Principles aren't driven by opinion polls. \ Principles endure. \\

This year, one side offers real change to renew America as One Nation under God. The other side -- in that convention I spoke of -- wrote a 10,000 word platform -- and never once mentioned the one word that counts the most: God. You can see the differences of philosophy reflected in our policies. As a baseball umpire would put it, "You make the call."

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It's time the system started saying yes: Yes to people like Sandra Rosado, who worked and saved money for college because she didn't want to leave a legacy of welfare to her kids. The system said her family couldn't get benefits while she saved money for school. She saved $4,900. I call that amazing. The bureaucrats called it fraud. Something's wrong here. That's why I aim to shake up the old bureaucratic ways and let our states reward people like Sandra -- reward work and responsibility. \

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My plan is different -- it's called the G.I. Bill for Children. \ Right now, if parents want any alternative to the

public schools, they have to pay twice -- first for tuition and again through taxes. As Catholic parents told me in Philadelphia last month: That makes it hard to exercise your religious freedom. //Like the original G.I. Bill, my new bill offers scholarships or vouchers for students to take to any qualified school -- not only public schools, but Bible schools, yeshivas, and Catholic parish schools if that is what parents want. \\

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appointments to the court. The other side is pushing a so-called "Freedom of Choice" bill, which is in fact the most radical abortion-on-demand legislation ever offered. \\

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# # #



LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 1 STORY

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The Christian Science Monitor

July 23, 1984, Monday

SECTION: Ideas; Perspectives; A Monday Column; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 750 words

HEADLINE: Gallup's poll of pacesetters suggests the shape of the year 2000

BYLINE: RUSHWORTH M. KIDDER

BODY:

... confused and ambivalent in our feelings about marriage and the family.''

Confused, too, is the view of religion. After citing poll results showing that America, second only to India, is ''the most religious nation in the world,'' he notes that only 29 percent of these opinion leaders thought that organized religion is ''giving adequate answers.'' ''We lack ...

NJ 609-921-8112 → Princeton Religion Resource Center through Gallup

Call Gallup → 609-924-9600 organization

Lydia → passed to religious section [Allison Gallup] ↓ headed by Geo. Gallup Jr.
News service

Our church attendance hasn't changed in 30 yrs. — pretty stable

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(Duggan/Bunton)
August 4, 1992
Draft Eight
Knights.2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS
NEW YORK MARRIOTT MARQUIS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992
11:00 a.m.

Thank you, Virgil Dechant. Your Eminence, Cardinal O'Connor; reverend clergy; ladies and gentlemen:

A report came across my desk the other day. It stated that most people in the Western world "felt exceedingly gloomy about the future." It said that "institutions were decaying, well-meaning people were growing cynical."

My first thought was: That's what happens when people spend too much time watching the network evening news. \\

But what I was reading was not a report about Nineteen ninety-two. It was a history of public attitudes in Europe in Fourteen ninety-two! \\

Public moods are prone to change, of course. We know the gloom of 1492 was not to last for long. It was dispelled by the achievement of a man of humble birth. . . a man of vision and courage. . . a man named Christopher Columbus. \\

Columbus opened up a new world of opportunity . . . for the spread of commerce \ culture \ and faith. \ In this 500th anniversary year of his voyage of discovery, I'm honored to meet with a group of Americans dedicated to his ideals.

This year we hear a lot of talk about change. And sure, there are things I'd like to change. Though maybe a better word is renewal -- because the changes we need must be based on

principles that never change. \\

My parents were like yours: They brought me up to understand that our fundamental moral standards were established by Almighty God. They're as natural and unchangeable as the laws of physics. \\ Our common law, our Constitution and our Bill of Rights are firmly rooted in this Judaeo-Christian tradition. Only recently in America have we seen the rise of legal theories and practices that reject our tradition. Cardinal O'Connor eloquently describes this as an "inversion of values." It's a deeply disturbing trend -- and it is diametrically opposed to my idea of the kind of change that's good for our country. \\

Last month just 12 blocks from here, there was another convention -- very different from this one. Now, I didn't hear any of those speeches. I was up in the mountains fishing. But I understand one of the speakers, known for his florid language, called me "the captain of the ship of state." \\ He didn't mean it as a compliment, but believe me: As a Navy man at a Knights of Columbus convention . . . the term suits me just fine. \\

That reminds me of a story about Columbus. He wrote in his log that the longer he stayed on course -- the farther he traveled on his mission -- the more he faced threats from crewmen who wanted to throw him overboard and turn the ship around. \\

Let me make you this promise: No matter how rough the going gets, I won't turn around. \\ I'm going to stay on course. \\ I'm going to finish what I've started. \\

Whoever is chosen to pilot the ship of state must have a

reliable moral compass. \\ Personal responsibility -- among the people and in our leaders -- must be more than just a slogan. It must be embodied in our ideas and actions. \\

Americans will make a choice this year about economic freedom and growth, and about keeping our defenses second to none -- keeping America safe and strong. But the choice is about more than that: It is about renewing our moral strength.

Every day we hear stories showing the human cost of the breakdown in values. Somewhere in this country every day, an innocent kid gets killed in the crossfire of the drug wars. Just last month we read of an honor student, a kid from a good neighborhood, charged with gun-running. He tried to make his privilege a cover for his lack of responsibility. "It's not like I'm a criminal," he told the police. "I'm on the dean's list."

Well, you and I know that the Ten Commandments don't have exclusions for the poor -- or the rich. Principles don't change from one day to the next. \ Principles aren't driven by opinion polls. \ Principles endure. \\

This year, one side offers real change to renew America as One Nation under God. The other side -- in that convention I spoke of -- wrote a 10,000 word platform -- and never once mentioned the one word that counts the most: God. You can see the differences of philosophy reflected in our policies. As a baseball umpire would put it, "You make the call."

Consider our system of welfare. In too many cases, it's not lifting people up, it's holding them down. This system is

neither well nor fair. \\ The key to reform: personal responsibility. Now, on the other side of the debate are the interests that want to protect bureaucracy and spending -- even if it means saying no to people who want to take responsibility.

It's time the system started saying yes: Yes to people like Sandra Rosado, who worked and saved money for college because she didn't want to leave a legacy of welfare to her kids. The system said her family couldn't get benefits while she saved money for school. She saved $4,900. I call that amazing. The bureaucrats called it fraud. Something's wrong here. That's why I aim to shake up the old bureaucratic ways and let our states reward people like Sandra -- reward work and responsibility. \\

Take education. We know that renewing education depends on giving parents real freedom and real responsibility to choose their kids' schools. The other side tries to posture on the side of parents, but I don't think anyone is fooled. Remember how old Henry Ford used to tell his customers, they can have any color Model T they want -- so long as it's black? Well, the other side says their ideal is that parents could choose any school for their kids -- as long as it's run by the government. \\ And their leader won the teachers union endorsement by saying he's "unalterably opposed" -- those are his words, "unalterably opposed" -- to letting Catholic parents and other private school parents have a fair share of education benefits. \\

My plan is different -- it's called the G.I. Bill for Children. \ Right now, if parents want any alternative to the

public schools, they have to pay twice -- first for tuition and again through taxes. As Catholic parents told me in Philadelphia last month: That makes it hard to exercise your religious freedom. Like the original G.I. Bill, my new bill offers scholarships or vouchers for students to take to any qualified school -- not only public schools, but Bible schools, yeshivas, and Catholic parish schools if that is what parents want. \\

My education plan preserves religious freedom. That's also true of another issue where there's a Grand Canyon of a divide. ((A small boy once began a prayer this way: "God bless mother and daddy, my brother and sister. And, God," he said, "do take care of yourself. If anything happens to you, we're all sunk.")) That boy knew why, according to the Gallup Poll, America is the most religious nation on earth. Now, one side thinks it's fine to give out condoms in school but not to say a prayer. I totally disagree. I call again on Congress to pass a constitutional amendment restoring voluntary prayer to our classrooms. Let's allow the faith of our Fathers back into our schools. \\

And there's a national tragedy: more than a million and a half abortions in this country every year. We know there must be a better way. \\ The other side turns a deaf ear to humane and responsible alternatives -- like adoption; like abstinence. The other side refuses to let the Governor of Pennsylvania present a pro-life view at his own party's convention. The leader of the other side has promised to appoint only judges who would uphold Roe versus Wade -- in other words, an out-and-out litmus test for

appointments to the court. The other side is pushing a so-called "Freedom of Choice" bill, which is in fact the most radical abortion-on-demand legislation ever offered. \\

This bill would prevent states from enacting even modest restraints against abortion on demand. It would threaten the autonomy of Catholic hospitals and other private institutions that refuse as a matter of conscience to perform abortions. Suffice it to say: This radical abortion on demand bill will never become law as long as I am President. \\

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(Duggan/Bunton)
August 3, 1992
Draft Seven
Knights.2

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# # #

TELE-FAX COVER SHEET

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
OFFICE OF POLICY & COMMUNICATIONS
10TH AND CONSTITUTION AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20530

DATE: 8/3

SEND TO: Jeannie Butnam

COMMENTS:
Goldpill included -
I also have a thick packet of the summaries of actual investigations

FAX NUMBER: 456-6218

CONTACT PERSON: Kimberly Booth

PHONE: 514-9205

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THIS ONE): 6

OUR TELE-FAX NUMBER IS (202)-514-2424

U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Office of the Director Washington, D.C. 20535

Contact: FBI Press Office
(202) 324-3691

IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 30, 1992

"OPERATION GOLDPILL" TARGETS HEALTH CARE CRIME

Attorney General William P. Barr and Director William S. Sessions announced today that more than 1,000 FBI Agents and 120 other law enforcement officers are making arrests, conducting searches, and seizing assets in over 50 cities and towns as part of "Operation Goldpill," the most widespread criminal fraud investigation of the health care industry ever carried out.

Agents are expected to arrest more than 100 persons--including pharmacists and prescription drug distributors.

Barr said, "In February, the Justice Department released a report which underscored our continuing commitment to leading the effort to combat health care fraud. At that time, I announced resource enhancements in the FBI and Justice Department's efforts against this insidious type of white collar crime. Today, I congratulate the FBI, Director Sessions, the United States Attorneys and all those who have contributed to this most successful example of a nationally coordinated probe of fraud in the health care field.

"Health care fraud is a serious crime that cheats the government and private industry, taking vast numbers of dollars from the pockets of Americans who pay taxes and insurance premiums. This type of fraud hurts all who use the health care

Medical Licensing Boards, Blue Cross and Blue Shield Special Investigative Units, pharmaceutical industry managers, and the United States Attorneys.

Sessions said, "Our objective today is to focus the attention of the American people on the issue of health care fraud and on those who are responsible for this epidemic of fraud and abuse."

"Information gathered during the first portion of this investigation showed us that, in order to address the problem of health care fraud more adequately, we needed to assign more agents. Therefore, last February I redirected 50 FBI Agents because we want those engaged in health care fraud to know we will use all available investigative tools to stop them from lining their pockets by risking the health and well-being of the American public," Sessions said.

Dr. Louis W. Sullivan, Secretary of Health and Human Services, said, "While only a tiny fraction of the medical community might by involved, for me, 'Operation Goldpill' is a bitter pill. As a physician, I find it unconscionable that any health care professional would sacrifice a patient's welfare for economic gain."

"Operation Goldpill" is the first of many investigations being pursued to preserve the quality and integrity of our health care system," Sessions said. "Today's actions are part of the first phase of "Operation Goldpill" which intended to produce ongoing evidence against people who

fraudulently siphon money from the health care system and prey on others without regard for the health risks or financial problems they cause.

I want to assure the American public that at no time during this investigation did the FBI allow tainted or outdated pharmaceuticals to reach the public. During every step of this operation, the FBI worked closely with the FDA to carefully monitor potential sales of inferior medications. Whenever the FBI and FDA suspected any medications of being adulterated or expired, they were seized. Public safety was paramount, and plans were put in place to ensure that affected customers had continued access to medication. Signs advising patients to contact their physician if they require medications will be posted at pharmacies that are being closed. Hotline numbers will also be posted," Sessions said.

The investigation uncovered two schemes: Illegal diversion of non-controlled pharmaceutical medications and fraudulent billings.

ILLEGAL DIVERSION

* Individuals who are eligible to receive Medicaid obtain prescriptions for expensive medications through an unscrupulous physician, who may have recruited the patient.

* The physician would bill Medicaid for extensive office visits by these patients who are not ill and may only stay five minutes or less, just long enough for the doctor to write out the prescription.

* The patients then have the prescription filled by a pharmacist who is involved in the scheme. Medicaid is also billed for the medicine.

* The patient then turns around and sells the prescription drugs for approximately ten percent of their value to a "non-con" man, a street term for criminals who trade in non-narcotic prescription medication.

* The "non-con" men, or diverters, purchase the drugs for resale to other "non-con" men or, sometimes pharmacies which, in turn, then sell them to the unsuspecting public. In most cases, the drugs are repackaged to disguise the origin of the medications. FBI investigations show this criminal activity is occurring in many metropolitan areas throughout the United States.

FRAUDULENT BILLING

* Filling prescriptions with generic drugs and billing for the more expensive brand name products;

* Billing Medicaid and insurance carriers multiple times for the same prescription;

* Billing Medicaid and insurance carriers for prescriptions never written or filled; and,

* Filling only a portion of the prescriptions, causing patients to return at a later date to get the rest of their medications. By splitting the prescription, the pharmacist is paid two dispensing fees instead of the one he normally receives when he fills a prescription.

"Despite the number of arrests, searches and seizures executed today, it is essential that the American public continue to have faith in those health care professionals who work diligently to provide the very best medical care possible," said Sessions.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release June 30, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The federal government took another major step today to protect our citizens against a type of crime which victimizes all Americans: health care fraud.

More than 1,000 FBI agents carried out early morning raids in over 50 cities nationwide as part of "Operation Goldpill" and we expect charges against some 200 individuals, corporations, and pharmacies.

The targets of this unprecedented crackdown are pharmacists, other health care professionals, and prescription drug distributors who are charged with carrying out widespread fraud through excessive billings and the illegal diversion, repackaging and distribution of prescription medicine.

These health care professionals are charged with betraying a sacred trust to their patients. These frauds steal billions from the pockets of every American who pays taxes and health insurance premiums. These crimes also pose potentially grave health hazards to patients.

The government also has a sacred trust: to protect all Americans. Health care and health care fraud have long been enforcement priorities ~~for the~~ for the Justice Department and Department of Health and Human Services.

Let those medical professionals and others who prey on the public take heed: This is only Phase One of Operation Goldpill. The FBI and other enforcement agencies working with them are using every law enforcement tool in our arsenal against these serious crimes, including court-approved wiretapping and undercover agents.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the FBI, Attorney General Barr, and Health and Human Services Secretary Sullivan for this outstanding example of a nationally coordinated effort. I look forward to the continued results of Operation Goldpill.

# # #

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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
OFFICE OF POLICY & COMMUNICATIONS
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WASHINGTON, DC 20530

DATE: 8/3

SEND TO: Jeannie Butnam

COMMENTS:
Goldpill included -
I also have a thick packet of the summaries of actual investigations

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NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THIS ONE): 15

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FIGHTING FRAUD AND PUBLIC CORRUPTION

The Justice Department considers white collar crime -- fraud and public corruption -- a top priority and a major threat to the nation's well-being and economic health. In addition to the huge financial losses they impose on their victims, these crimes can undermine confidence in the nation's public and private institutions. During the past three years, the Department -- through the FBI, U.S. Attorneys, and the Civil, Tax, and Criminal Divisions -- has expanded its resources to deal firmly and swiftly with white collar crime. These new efforts include special offices and task forces to investigate and prosecute patterns of white collar crime as well as emerging areas of economic crime.

FINANCIAL INSTITUTION FRAUD. In June 1990, the Attorney General appointed a Special Counsel for Financial Institutions to coordinate investigations and prosecutions in this area. In February 1991, the Attorney General created the New England Regional Bank Fraud Task Force with its headquarters in Boston. In addition, 323 prosecutors have been added in U.S. Attorneys Offices and 100 U.S. Secret Service Agents have been assigned to financial institution fraud (FIF) cases as a result of resource enhancements in 1989 and 1990; a total of 853 FBI agents are presently working these important matters. During the summer of 1991, 30 AUSA positions were dedicated in 8 districts to work on a pilot project to recover fines, restitution and seek affirmative civil recoveries in these FIF matters in coordination with the regulatory agencies.

- o **Overall Statistics.** From FY 1989 through the third quarter of FY 1992, the Department charged 3,270 defendants in major financial institution fraud cases. During that period, 2,603 defendants were convicted -- a 95.9% conviction rate. Of those convicted, 77% were sentenced to prison terms. In addition, $18 million in fines were imposed, and nearly $800 million in restitution ordered. 1,188 defendants were charged, and 862 were convicted in major S&L cases. The convictions resulted in 542 defendants being sentenced to prison, and nearly $11 million in fines imposed.

- o **Dallas Task Force.** Since the Task Force began in 1987, 190 people have been charged and 142 of those charged have been convicted. It has achieved convictions in all the major failure cases commonly associated with the S&L crisis in Texas -- Sunbelt, Vernon, Western, Caprock, Security, Southwest and First Western. Sentences ranging to 30 years in prison and millions in fines have been achieved.

- o **BCCI.** The Bank of Credit and Commerce International pleaded guilty to federal racketeering charges in January 1992. In December 1991, BCCI agreed to plead

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guilty to federal and state charges of conspiracy to commit racketeering and fraud. As part of the agreement, BCCI will forfeit all of its assets in the United States ($550 million), the largest forfeiture in history, and will cooperate fully in ongoing investigations of individuals. The plea agreement covers all three of the BCCI corporate entities and a closely related organization. On January 24, 1992 the Court accepted the plea and ordered the $550 million forfeiture. On July 29, 1992, Clark Clifford and Robert Altman were indicted separately by federal and state authorities.

- In California and Arizona, the infamous Lincoln Savings case has produced several indictments and convictions. Recently indicted and awaiting trial was the head of Lincoln - Charles Keating. Three of the initial five people indicted in the Lincoln case pleaded guilty and are cooperating as government witnesses. Charles Keating, III also has been indicted and is awaiting trial. Both Keatings are scheduled for trial on October 20, 1992.

SECURITIES FRAUD. To combat fraud in the nation's securities and commodities markets, the Department established Securities and Commodities Fraud Task Forces in selected U.S. Attorneys offices in January 1989.

- More than 400 cases are now under investigation by the Task Forces in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Kansas City, Denver, New York (Manhattan), Philadelphia, Salt Lake City, and Newark. Major successes have been scored by the Department against traders and their firms as well as individuals engaging in illegal trading and market manipulation.

- In addition to the Department's successful prosecution of the massive Boesky-Milken-Drexel-Burnham securities fraud, a major Department undercover investigation into illegal floor trading at the Chicago Board of Trade and the Chicago Mercantile Exchange resulted in 48 indictments returned on August 3, 1989; 36 convictions have been obtained to date. Eleven of those convicted were found guilty on RICO charges.

HUD FRAUD. In 1989, the Attorney General directed all U.S. Attorneys to "give HUD fraud cases a top priority." In addition, a HUD Fraud and Corruption Coordinating Group was created in the Criminal Division.

- During FY 1989-91, the Department has obtained 386 convictions; over $48.4 million in fines, recoveries and restitution have been ordered.

- In Oklahoma City, a HUD task force established in October 1988 to investigate HUD fraud secured 40 convictions and more than $6.4 million in fines and court-ordered restitution.

HEALTH CARE FRAUD

I. Introduction

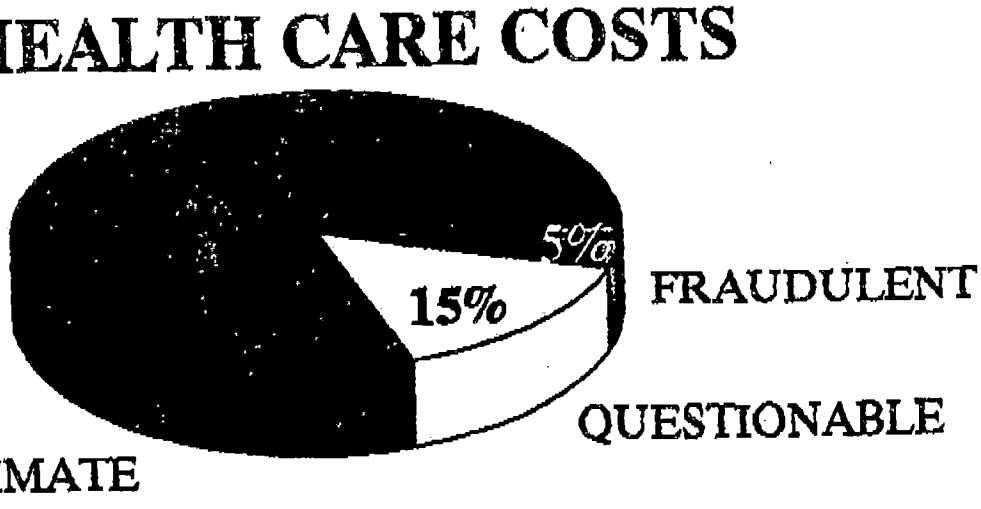
In 1991, the United States expended $738 billion in providing health care to the public. This equates to an expenditure in excess of $24,000 per second. By comparison, in 1980, health care cost approximately $282 billion. By 1994, the United States Chamber of Commerce estimates the United States health care costs will eclipse $1 trillion, and $1.6 trillion by the turn of the century.

By the year 2000 health care will consume up to 16.4 percent of the Nation's gross national product (GNP).

Health care frauds and crimes committed by health care professionals affect our income and imperil the safety of patients. People stricken with illnesses seeking medical treatment are the unwitting victims of unnecessary laboratory tests, surgeries, x-rays, prescriptions, supplies, and other ancillary services which defraud Government-funded programs and private insurance carriers. Additionally, these frauds expose patients to treatments which potentially subject them to unwarranted dangers.

Health care fraud continues to be a top investigative priority within the FBI's White-Collar Crimes Program (WCCP). Additionally, the Attorney General's Economic Crime Council has mandated health care fraud as a top prosecutive priority, having recognized the safety issues and the enormous economic considerations involved.

The Chamber of Commerce estimates that between 5 to 20 percent of all paid insurance claims are fraudulent or questionable.



While a number of law enforcement and commercial investigative agencies look into allegations of criminal activity by health care professionals, the FBI has taken a prominent role in bringing these cases to prosecution. During the past fifteen years, the FBI has focused on a variety of criminal activities by different types of health care providers, including:

- o false billings and excessive diagnostic tests by physicians
- o controlled substance and prescription distribution abuse by pharmacies and physicians
- o pharmaceutical diversions, false billings, generic substitutions and kickbacks by pharmacies
- o kickbacks and false test results by medical laboratories
- o false cost reports by hospitals and nursing homes
- o kickbacks or patient screening by health maintenance organizations (HMO)
- o false billings and kickback activities by therapists, ambulance service companies, and other ancillary health care providers

A. The Historical Perspective

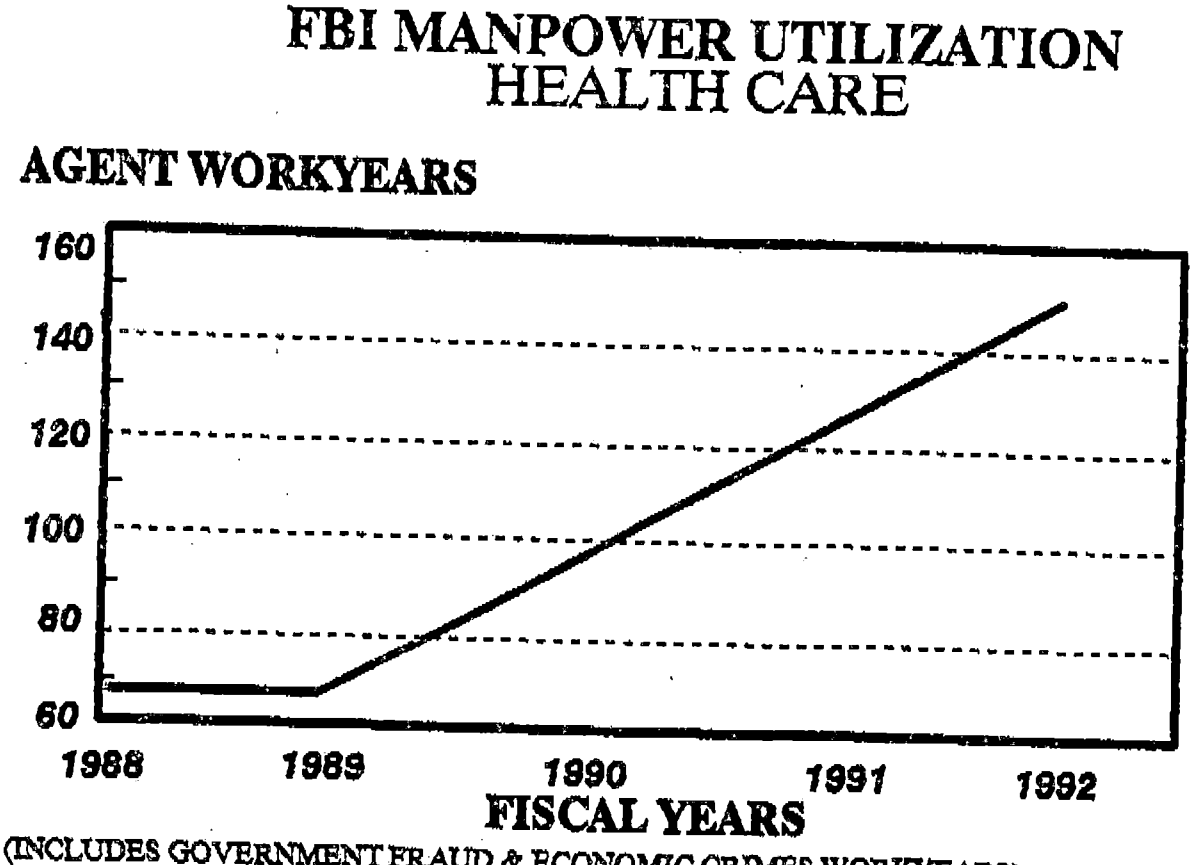
The FBI's initial investigations into health care fraud during the 1970s were viewed favorably because this type of fraud had not been investigated before. But there were also some negative aspects. First, the investigative efforts were restricted to a few field offices and the FBI's national coverage was spotty. Second, these investigations were almost exclusively traditional in that field divisions overwhelmingly resolved criminal allegations through strictly overt investigative techniques such as record reviews and interviews.

During the early to late 1980s, the FBI's resources in health care fraud investigations were diverted from the WCCP to address two major crime problems: drugs matters and the savings and loan crisis. FBI offices were only able to address significant investigative health care fraud matters. By 1990, the FBI's trained investigators and the criminal intelligence base in health care frauds diminished.

B. The FBI's Current Perspective

However, during the past two years, the FBI's efforts in health care investigations have been redefined and focused on addressing significant crime problems, developing an extensive intelligence base and training field Agents in the complex aspects of conducting health care investigations. As a result of an aggressive training program and increased interest from field divisions, the FBI coverage of health care fraud has become less localized and is pursued nationally by virtually all FBI field offices. Currently, present day health care efforts involve broader participation by most field divisions with a focus on larger regional and national crime problems.

Since 1989, FBI expenditures in health care fraud investigations have more than doubled from $4.2 million to expenditures of $9.3 million in Fiscal Year 1991. At the same time, manpower committments have increased by 150 percent. Currently, 147 Agents are working on health care violations.



As in the early 1980s, where the FBI used its arsenal of sophisticated investigative techniques to address organized crime families, white-collar crime investigations, and more specifically health care frauds, have also been addressed through undercover operations, consensual monitoring and Title III electronic surveillance.

Single defendant prosecutions have given way to multi-defendant conspiracy indictments; and, rather than "reacting" to isolated complaints, the current initiatives include the deployment of unique and sophisticated proactive investigative techniques. The FBI's efforts now focus on the larger crime problems and are evidenced by recent successes in:

- o pharmaceutical frauds and diversions
- o medicare frauds
- o medicaid clinic frauds

The FBI has also taken a broader approach to health care provider fraud cases. While it has been recognized that Government-funded health care frauds are significant criminal problems, it has been repeatedly shown that providers who defraud the Government also defraud commercial insurance carriers.

Field offices have more effectively addressed Government frauds by investigating the same provider for commercial insurance fraud. This approach not only deals with significant financial ramifications of health care fraud on the commercial insurance industry, but also streamlines the inherent difficulties in investigating many Medicare cases. Medicare patients can make good witnesses, but often they are reluctant to testify or cannot produce the evidence needed to bring the case to prosecution. Also, for age reasons, undercover efforts are difficult in many Medicare cases.

Consequently, a broader investigative approach to health care fraud is necessary to more effectively address crimes perpetrated by health care providers and unscrupulous businessmen. Recent results have been extremely successful with a certain expectation there will be significant prosecutions of professionals and businessmen engaged in criminal activity.

II. The Health Care Industry

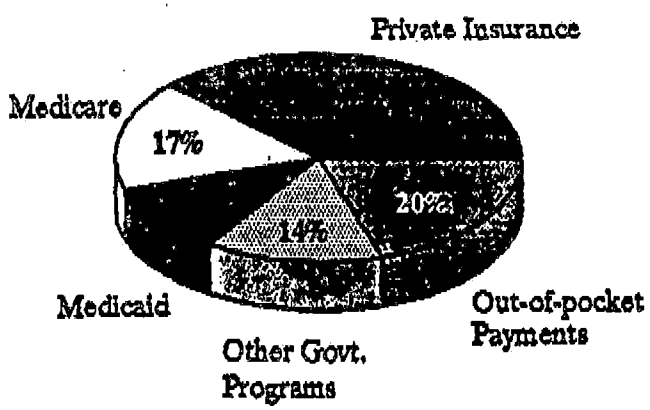
Medicaid is funded by both the Federal and state governments with each state contributing up to 50 percent to the program. Many states fund substantially less than 50 percent. In 1991, Federal/state contributions to Medicaid totalled approximately $80 billion. The Federal Government's share of contributions was approximately $40 billion.

Medicare is funded entirely by the U.S. Government. In 1991, $112.2 billion was expended in medical claims for the elderly. Medicare's high cost and continued rapid growth are evidence of inadequate economic incentives for patients and providers to contain costs.

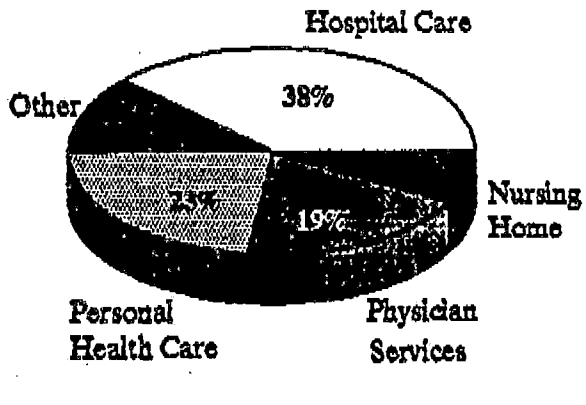
Other Government-sponsored programs, which include benefits provided to Federal employees, retired and active military and their dependents, veterans, and others, account for $92.4 billion in current expenditures.

Private health insurers, through contributions by employee benefit plans and the general population, support and pay the expenses of the substantial balance of health care costs. Private insurance costs as well as out-of-pocket expenses account for the majority of expenditures or $400 billion.

The Nation's Health Dollar: 1990



Where it came from



Where it went

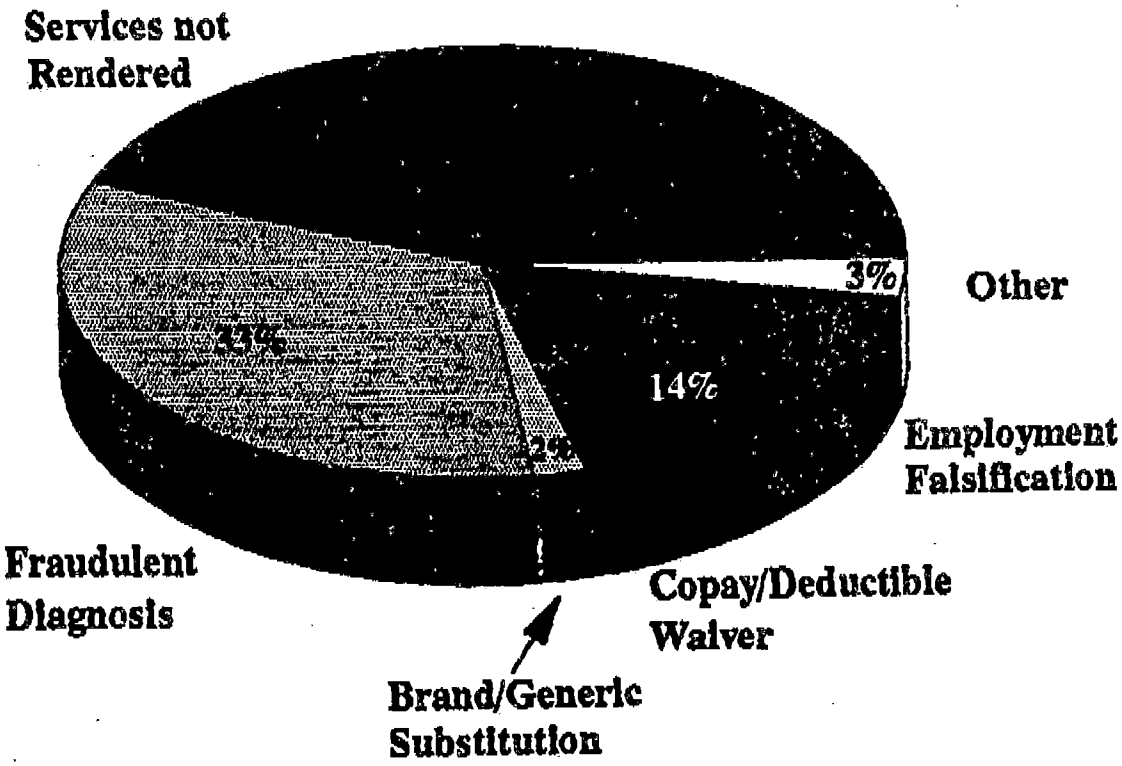
Source - HCFA

III. Health Care Crime Problems

Health care fraud is a criminal activity which is committed by both highly educated health care professionals and specialized business entities. Health care frauds occur in every segment of the health care industry. Frauds have been uncovered in hospitals, nursing homes, clinics, and pharmacies. Health care frauds have been committed by durable medical equipment (DME) companies and suppliers, pharmaceutical representatives, medical testing laboratories, and others who provide services to health care professionals and institutions.

Deception, violations of professional ethics, and betrayal of the public trust are key incentives to providers and businessmen committing health care frauds.

Distribution of Cases Investigated



Source: 1989 HIAA Survey

A. Billing Frauds

Primarily frauds revolve around the submission of false claims. False billings by health care providers generally occur when:

- o the service was never rendered
- o a service was in fact rendered, but a more expensive procedure (unperformed) was billed
- o the service was preformed fewer times than it was billed
- o the diagnosis code on the billing is altered to purportedly justify more expensive treatment and procedures
- o the service was not rendered by the qualified professional but was rendered by lesser or unqualified individual

One example of false billing for services not rendered involves medical laboratories who "sink test" a procedure which essentially involves dumping blood and urine specimens down the sink without performing the tests and then reporting test results within the normal range. Another example is a pharmacy which, upon receiving a prescription from a patient, dispenses an inexpensive generic drug but bills for a more expensive or brand name drug.

A similar type of pharmacy crime occurs when the pharmacist has purchased devalued, diverted, or stolen pharmaceuticals. Because pharmacies are required to bill insurance carriers on a cost basis, their billings should reflect actual costs incurred in the acquisition of pharmaceuticals. If the pharmacy has obtained stolen pharmaceuticals or dispensed samples, their acquisition costs are, of course, negligible. To bill legitimately the pharmacy should be reporting these reduced costs to insurers. If they do not accurately represent the costs, fraudulent billings result.

Other examples of false billings include:

- o clinics billing for patient examinations when none have been performed

- physical therapists performing two modes of therapy on a patient and then billing for four separate procedures

- physicians representing that a more expensive plaster cast was placed on the patient rather than the less expensive splint

- pharmacies billing for refilled prescriptions when the prescriptions are not refilled

- ambulance companies billing for emergency conveyance when no "emergency" existed

- podiatrists billing for extensive medical procedures while simply clipping a patients toenails

- durable equipment providers who bill for the purchase or rental of medical equipment well beyond the time period the equipment is used or on a more frequent basis than actually provided

In addition to the myriad of services that health care providers bill for without actually providing the services, criminal activity is being conducted to a number of less obvious yet insignificant segments of the health care industry.

B. Hospital and Nursing Homes

False cost reports filed by nursing homes or hospitals can also be prosecuted through Federal criminal statutes. Nursing homes and hospitals bill insurers on a cost basis. The greater the cost of operating their facility the greater the reimbursement rates for room use, treatments, and other components of in-patient care. Insurers, intermediaries, and auditors rely upon the representations these facilities make concerning their operating costs. Therefore, if the facility falsely inflates the reported costs, the insurer pays a higher fee structure than it should.

Since these cost reviews are mostly an auditing function, the FBI's role has been to work closely with other investigators and auditors, who conduct the initial review and determine the accuracy and necessity of charges generated by hospitals and nursing homes.

C. Health Maintenance and Preferred Provider Organizations

Additional criminal activities involve the "screening" of patients who obtain treatment through Health Maintenance Organizations (HMO) and Preferred Provider Maintenance Organizations (PPMO). Both HMOs and PPMOs are multipurpose provider organizations which charge reduced fees for services because they service large groups of the patient population.

The fees are usually paid on a per capita or patient basis. Both HMOs and PPMOs generally bill employers or insurers a single fee for each patient or employee on a annual basis, regardless of the number of patients, visits or number of procedures performed. Naturally, the HMOs profits are greater when fewer procedures need to be performed on patients. Therefore, the healthier the patients, the more profitable the HMO becomes.

"Screening" is the fraudulent practice that the HMO performs when it excludes or "screens" the sick patients and accepts only the healthy patients. The HMO falsely reports to the insurers, however, that it has not discriminated against individuals by not providing services to otherwise qualified persons.

Another type of false billing takes place if the physician or other primary care professional enters a false diagnosis code. Before ordering expensive laboratory x-rays or other similar services, physicians justify the ordering of such procedures by determining that a need exists to make such diagnostic inquiries.

They accomplish this by entering a diagnosis code on the service order forms. For example, a physician examines a healthy patient and orders extensive diagnostic tests for the patient based upon a knowingly false diagnosis, the physician has submitted a false billing. Prosecutions of this type of criminal activity has historically been limited to egregious situations. It must be remembered that a physician has a professional prerogative to treat patients with wide latitude. To be pursued criminally, it must be shown that the services billed bear absolutely no relationship to the patients' actual condition and therefore are a sham. Evidence in these situations must be exceptionally strong to sustain successful prosecution.

D. Diet Clinics

Current intelligence data shows that diet clinics commit significant frauds upon Government and private carriers. Clinics involved in criminal activity perpetuate fraud by soliciting patients (usually through mass media) and promise weight loss at nominal expense to the patient. Customers who frequent diet clinics are often required to undergo a series of blood tests, x-rays, and other ancillary tests. These services are then billed to insurers under the false pretense of a manufactured psychological malady.

The clinics solicit patients promising an in-house respite at a country club-type facility usually at a warm climate location. Patients are provided airfare and are often chauffeured to the club. Services such as trips to Disney World or deep sea-fishing are billed as therapy. The hospital stay as well as all services provided is billed to the Government and insured carriers based upon a purported psychiatric diagnosis when in fact the patients were at the clinic to lose weight or simply a respite-type vacation.

The clinics accomplish the fraud by misstating medical conditions of their customers in order to justify payments for the tests and other services. Frauds of this nature have been documented in the millions with little investigative emphasis.

E. Psychiatric Hospitals

In recent years, employers have expanded health care benefits to employees to cover treatments for substance abuse, alcoholism, and mental depression. Generally, health insurance allows for coverage of in-patient treatment for up to 28 days on an annual basis.

Current intelligence shows that psychiatric hospitals and clinics are defrauding Government programs and private insurers of hundreds of millions of dollars annually when out-patient treatment was appropriate. Patients have been forcibly admitted into psychiatric treatment programs in situations where they posed no threat to the community or themselves.

Often patients are subject to batteries of blood tests, x-rays, shock treatment, and other services. Investigations to date have disclosed billings to the Government in the hundreds of millions of dollars. Private insurers have also provided similar allegations involving hundreds of millions of dollars of billings.

F. Durable Medical Equipment Frauds

Current investigations and the intelligence base have shown that DME fraud is a significant criminal problem. DME frauds are perpetrated through several schemes. Subject companies often pay kickbacks to nursing homes and hospitals for obtaining supply contracts. Subjects have been known to use aggressive telemarketing scams to fraudulently bill unnecessary DME supplies and services. Other subjects obtain patient lists from nursing homes and routinely bill for products or services which are neither needed or rendered.

G. Senior Citizens' Homes

Senior citizens' homes often accommodate patients long-term medical attention to a lesser degree than care provided in nursing homes and hospitals. With "baby boomers" reaching retirement age, senior citizen homes are fast becoming a growing industry. The intelligence base has also indicated substantial fraud at these facilities. DME suppliers, pharmaceutical suppliers, physical therapists, and other ancillary care providers perpetrate fraud by paying kickbacks to the home's managers or bill for phony services.

Controlled substance violations

Title 21, USC, Section 841 addresses criminal behavior in the dispensing of controlled substances and issuance of prescriptions for controlled substances. This statute prohibits health care facilities from issuing prescriptions for controlled substances unless the physician has made medical inquiry through examination and has come to a bona fide conclusion that the patient has a need for controlled substances. (Pharmacists have similar obligations.)

The prosecution of health care providers for fraud coupled with narcotics-related offenses has been encouraged in White-Collar Crimes investigations for several reasons. Such prosecutions are usually more appealing to Assistant U.S. Attorneys and the criminal penalties are generally more severe and much more likely to result in significant jail sentences.

IV. Related Health Insurance Frauds

A. Slip and Fall Cases

Private insurers and the Government lose millions of dollars annually to phony automobile and "slip-and-fall" claims. Ongoing investigative matters and the intelligence base indicate that billions of dollars in medical and liability claims are paid annually to medical doctors, lawyers, and parties faking injury. Normally, to avoid litigation costs, insurance companies generally agree to settle claims through arbitration. The cooperating doctor will have conspired in structuring the fraud and the arbitrator generally is not able to determine that the claim is valid.

B. Multiple Employer Welfare Arrangements

A Multiple Employer Welfare Arrangement (MEWA) constitutes part of an employee welfare benefit plan, or any other arrangement, that is established or maintained for the purpose of offering or providing medical, surgical, or hospital benefits, or benefits in the event of sickness, accident, disability, or death to the employees of two or more employers, or to their beneficiaries.

Small employers lacking the expertise and desperate to cope with high health insurance costs, are turning to these arrangements on the erroneous assumption that they are safe, either regulated by the state insurance department or adequately protected under Federal law.

Operators forming fraudulent MEWAs use proposals, application forms, benefit booklets, and other materials that make them appear to be licensed insurance companies or which suggest that large legitimate insurers stand behind their policies. The low rates, offered by fraudulent MEWAs, may be very alluring to small businesses who require low cost insurance. However, these low rates provide for actuarially unsound insurance plans. The fraudulent MEWA represents a high-stakes Ponzi scheme paying today's claims with tomorrow's premiums.

Fraudulent MEWA operators deliberately design their scheme to pay small claims on time and in full during the early stages of operation. This process avoids consumer complaints that would normally alert insurance regulators and criminal investigators. When a fraudulent or unauthorized MEWA is discovered, regulators must initiate an investigation and bring civil proceedings in court to obtain an injunction to stop the MEWA. This process has built in delays which allow the fraudulent MEWA operator to collect additional contributions.

A fraudulent MEWA typically involves violations of the Federal Fraud by Wire, Mail Fraud, and various banking and/or securities fraud statutes. These statutes directly convey to the FBI authority to conduct investigations.

V. Development of a National Strategic Investigative Plan

- In order to impact on health care frauds affecting this country, the FBI has adopted the following:

- Assigned resources to address identified health care problems, using a national concept, "Goldpill," which will address a local problem nationally.

- Devoted resources to cases focused at national health providers such as psychiatric hospitals and diet centers which are committing frauds nationwide.

- Devoted resources to investigations involving ancillary services provided to the health care industry.

- Devoted a sufficient number of resources which will penetrate and attack health care frauds in every segment of the industry in a coordinated effort.

- Have resources able to follow up on intelligence obtained through current investigations and initiatives in order to expand upon existing efforts.

To attack the further problems which have already been defined will require an infusion of investigative resources and coordinated effort with both law enforcement and private insurers. The most fundamental hurdle to overcome in tackling health care frauds afflicting the Nation will be determining the magnitude of the crime problem.

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Note: The following points are for partisan use, and are written and constructed accordingly. They should be shared and copied within GOP circles only.

Clinton and Family Values

On Mother's Day, Clinton spoke in San Francisco and said, "For all the talk of family values by those who have governed this country for 20 of the last 24 years, we don't do anything like we should in the rearing and educating of children." He continued, "All the people who thump their convictions and religion and pretend to be so righteous, where are they when the family values can't be found on the streets of this country? When there is no health care for pregnant women? When too many children are born with low birth weights? . . . Where are they?"

Well, maybe they're somewhere in Arkansas. During Clinton's tenure as governor for 12 of the last 14 years, Arkansas has remained or sunk even lower in a mire of afflictions that threaten Arkansas' families. Clinton also said in San Francisco, "I grieve for the causes that led to" the riots and looting. Yet, he has done little or nothing to deal with the very same problems in Arkansas.

Families and Family Values in Clinton's Arkansas

condoms

- Despite objection from many churches and parents, Arkansas is one of the few states to have school-based health clinics which are encouraged to dispense condoms to children. The program was initiated and sustained under the Clinton administration in order to fight the second highest teenage birth-rate in the nation. According to the *Wall Street Journal* in 1986, teenage family planning clinics have led to lower birthrates nationally, but not lower pregnancy rates.

- Dr. Joycelyn Elders, the Clinton-appointed director of the Arkansas Department of Health, told *60 Minutes* in 1990 that, "It's apparent that preaching abstinence does not work." Elders also admitted that the school-based health clinics counsel girls on their options -- abortion being one such option. But, Clinton said during the 1990 gubernatorial campaign that the school clinics *did not* give abortion counseling.

- Though Clinton admits that unmarried pregnant women are a serious problem for America, pregnancy out of wedlock is rampant in Arkansas. The number of unmarried pregnant women rose from 20.5 percent in 1980 to 26.5 percent in 1988. In 1986, Arkansas ranked 17th nationally for unmarried women giving birth.

- On the campaign trail, Clinton has said that illegal drugs are a scourge, and yet the Arkansas high school dropout rate due to drug and alcohol abuse rose 29 percent from 1987-88 to 1988-89.

See next page for School prayer

ACCESS # AG21329
HEADLINE Special session to start Monday, focus on damage control from last
Byline: JOHN BRUMMETT
DATE 06/16/85
SOURCE THE ARKANSAS GAZETTE (AG)
Section: CITY
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The 75th General Assembly will convene in special session at 4 p.m. Monday, not quite three months since adjourning its regular session, for a meeting that is expected to last a week or two and is primarily designed to head off damage that could result from actions taken in the regular session.

The session, called by Governor Bill Clinton and encouraged by Attorney General Steve Clark, will deal mainly with the proposed amending, and perhaps repeal, of three laws that many now acknowledge were ill-conceived, or at least a bit freewheeling.

Three main issues

These are the laws:

Act 740 of 1985, which grants tax credits, meaning direct reductions in tax liability, for donations during 1985 and 1986 to public or private colleges and universities to maximum amounts of $200 for individuals, $400 for couples and $5,000 for corporations. In other words, a person could donate $200 to a college and reduce his tax debt by $200. The state, in effect, would reimburse him, and the taxpayer conceivably could profit by itemizing the contribution as a deduction in a federal tax return. The law would take effect June 28, the 90th day after adjournment of the regular session, but Mr. Clinton wants to restrict it before the effective date because of fear that the drain on the state treasury could reach $9 million a year or more. He has proposed granting a 33 per cent credit on donations to maximums equal to half those in the current law for individuals and couples, and $1,000 for corporations. That might reduce the state's loss to $1.5 million or so. Senator Ben Allen of Little Rock, chairman of the Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee, has promised to fight for outright repeal of the law. Colleges and universities, both public and private, have indicated a willingness to reduce the credit, though most oppose repeal.

Act 491 of 1985, which legalizes home schools, provides only that home-educated youths must pass a test after reaching age 9 and gives the state Education Department no authority to enforce regulations it has proposed on the subject. Mr. Clinton has avoided specifics and has asked the legislative Joint Interim Education Committee for advice. The Committee met Thursday and will meet again Monday morning. The governor has mentioned earlier testing requirements. Clark has said the law should require testing of parents who choose to teach their children and curriculum and attendance requirements. Some legislators can be expected to favor repeal of the law, while home school advocates want to keep the bill in its current form.

Act 417 of 1985, which grants tax credits of up to $4,000 a year for up to 10 years to defray the costs of individuals or businesses who build surface water impoundments for storage, conservation or wildlife management. The bill is intended to encourage the preservation of groundwater and was popular with many East Arkansas

legislators who considered it an alternative to the twice-unsuccessful efforts to adopt a comprehensive state water code. Mahlon Martin, the director of the Finance and Administration Department, has warned of a substantial, though undeterminable, revenue loss to the state. It is conceivable that the tax credits could extend to the building of stock ponds. Again, Mr. Clinton hasn't yet offered specifics, other than to say he wants to reduce the size of the tax credit.

Other issues are bound to attract attention and cause dispute, and it's possible the Grand Gulf matter will rear its head.

Grand Gulf not on list now

Friday, Mr. Clinton asked the state Public Service Commission to recommend any possible pieces of legislation that might help the state deal with the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission ruling last week requiring the Arkansas Power and Light Company to pay 36 per cent of the Middle South Utilities share of the Grand Gulf nuclear power plant in Mississippi. He hadn't mentioned any Grand Gulf issues in the formal proclamation for the session, but he could amend the proclamation later.

The governor has said a state takeover of AP and L is a last resort and that the point of last resort hasn't been reached. State Representative Lloyd George of Danville has a takeover bill ready for filing and has indicated a willingness to introduce it as an alternative to increases of 40 per cent or more in residential electric rates. (Increases that high only would come at the end of the phase-in of Grand Gulf costs and including a pending retail rate increase request.)

In a special session, the General Assembly may consider only those measures proposed by the governor or bills initiated by legislators that are germane to the subjects enumerated by the governor in his formal proclamation _ unless it votes by two-thirds majority to consider something else.

School prayer on agenda

School prayer will be on the agenda. Mr. Clinton wants to amend the state law permitting school prayer to make it conform to the ruling last week by the United States Supreme Court that struck down an Alabama law on silent school prayer. The Supreme Court indicated states could permit moments of silence or meditation as long as they were not for the expressed purpose of religious prayer.

As is the case with the college tax credit and home school issues, Clark had encouraged Mr. Clinton to include the school prayer issue in the session.

Splitting parimutuel handle

The potentially volatile issue of distributing the parimutuel handle from Oaklawn Park's horse racing season is also on the agenda. Until last year, the Arkansas Thoroughbred Breeders Association had received a portion of the handle for purses and breeders' awards. But a new law enacted in 1984 said the breeders would get a portion of the handle exceeding the handle of the previous year. What happened this year was that the handle was down for the first time in recent memory, so the breeders got nothing. Mr. Clinton wants to write the breeders into the distribution formula, assuring them some money.

The governor listed 21 items in his proclamation, issued Thursday, and most were housekeeping matters. His office said an amended proclamation could be expected Monday adding three or four more items.

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FACTS in BRIEF

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Abortion in the United States

INCIDENCE OF ABORTION

- More than 50% of the pregnancies among American women are unintended—1/2 of these are terminated by abortion.
- In 1988, there were 1.6 million abortions in the United States. From 1973 through 1988, more than 22 million legal abortions took place in the United States. Since 1967, when many states began liberalizing their abortion laws, almost 24 million legal abortions have been performed.
- Each year nearly 3 out of 100 women aged 15–44 have an abortion—43% have had at least one previous abortion and 49% have had a previous birth.
- The abortion rate—the number of abortions per 1,000 women aged 15–44—in 1975 was 22; in 1980, 29; in 1985, 28; and in 1988, 27.
- The United States has one of the higher abortion rates among developed countries; U.S. rates of abortion and unintended pregnancy are about 5 times those of the Netherlands.

WHO HAS ABORTIONS AND WHY?

- The majority of women obtaining abortions are young: 58% are under age 25, including about 26% who are teenagers (aged 11–19); only 20% are aged 30 and older.
- 18–19-year-old women have the highest abortion rate—64 per 1,000 women.
- The proportion of pregnancies terminated by abortion is higher among unmarried women (56%), women aged 40 and older (44%), teenagers (41%) and nonwhite women (39%) than among all women (29%).
- Unmarried women are 5 times more likely than married women to have an abortion.
- Poor women are about 3 times more likely than women who are financially better off to have abortions. Nevertheless, 11% of abortions are obtained by women whose household incomes are $50,000 or more.
- While white women account for 65% of all abortions, the nonwhite abortion rate is more than twice the white rate (57 vs. 21 per 1,000).
- Hispanic women are 60% more likely than non-Hispanic women to have abortions.
- Women who report no religious affiliation have a higher rate of abortion than women who report some affiliation.
- Catholic women are about as likely to obtain an abortion as are all women nationally, while Protestants and Jews are less likely. Catholic women are 30% more likely than Protestants to have abortions.
- 1 in 6 abortion patients in 1987 described herself as a born-again or Evangelical Christian; they are half as likely as other women to obtain an abortion.
- 70% of women having an abortion say that they intend to have children in the future.
- On average, women report more than 3 reasons that lead them to choose abortion: 3/4 say that having a baby would interfere with work, school or other responsibilities; about 2/3 say they cannot afford to have a child; and 1/2 say they do not want to be a single parent or have problems in their relationship with their husband or partner.
- Of women having abortions, 1% have been advised that the fetus has a defect and an additional 12% fear that the fetus may have been harmed by medications or other conditions.
- About 16,000 women have abortions each year because they become pregnant as a result of rape or incest.
- Most women who have an abortion after 15 weeks of pregnancy have had problems detecting their pregnancy, and almost 1/2 are delayed because of problems, usually financial, in arranging an abortion.

ABORTION AND TEENAGERS

- Among teenagers, 82% of pregnancies are unintended.
- Of the 1.6 million abortions obtained by U.S. women in 1988, 406,000 were obtained by teenagers.
- 41% of women who become pregnant as teenagers choose abortion, while 59% continue their pregnancies to term (excluding those who miscarry).
- Of teenagers having abortions, 3/4 say they cannot afford to have a baby, and 2/3 think they are not mature enough.
- More than 1/4 of unmarried teenagers under age 18 who get abortions have never used birth control. Of those who have, most have often used one of the less effective ones, such as the condom or withdrawal.
- Teenagers are more likely than older women to have abortions during the second 3 months of pregnancy, when health risks associated with abortion increase significantly.
- 55% of teenagers under age 18 who obtain an abortion do so with their parents' knowledge—the younger the teenager, the more likely that her parents know.

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- 18 states currently have mandatory parental involvement laws in effect for a minor to obtain an abortion: AL, AR, GA, ID, IN, LA, MA, MI, MN, MO, NB, ND, OH, RI, SC, UT, WV, WY. The laws in all of these states except ID and UT stipulate that a minor can seek a court order authorizing the procedure without parental knowledge. CT requires counseling by a professional for minors under age 16; ME requires parental consent or counseling by a professional (as of 4/92).

WHEN DO WOMEN HAVE ABORTIONS?

- 89% of abortions take place in the first trimester of pregnancy.
- 50% of the 1.6 million abortions each year take place at 8 weeks or less from the last time the woman menstruated (LMP); 27% at 9–10 weeks LMP; and 12% at 11–12 weeks LMP. 6% of abortions take place at 13–15 weeks LMP; 4% at 16–20 weeks LMP; and less than 1% at 21 weeks LMP or more (0.6%).
- About 100 or 0.01% of abortions take place after 24 weeks.
- One study found that of 78 reported abortions past 24 weeks of pregnancy, 75 were classified incorrectly and were actually in utero fetal deaths or occurred at earlier gestation, and two of the three correctly classified abortions were for anencephaly.

WHERE DO WOMEN HAVE ABORTIONS?

- 9 out of 10 abortions take place in clinics or doctors' offices.
- In 1989, the cost of a first-trimester nonhospital abortion ranged from $95 to over $1,000, and the average amount paid was $250; charges are slightly higher now.
- The number of abortion providers declined by 4% between 1985 and 1988 (from 2,680 to 2,582). The geographic distribution of services is markedly uneven: 83% of all U.S. counties lacked an abortion provider in 1988 yet these counties were home to 31% of all women aged 15–44.
- 2% of all abortions took place outside of metropolitan areas in 1988.
- Only 43% of all abortion facilities provide services to women after the 12th week of pregnancy.
- The states with the highest abortion rates (according to the state in which the abortion occurred) in 1988 were: CA (46); NY (43); HI (43); NV (40); and DE (36). Like other large cities, the District of Columbia has a higher rate (163) than any state.
- The states with the lowest abortion occurrence rates in 1988 were: WY (5); SD (6); WV (8); ID (8); and MS (8).

ABORTION AND CONTRACEPTIVE USE

- In 1988, there were 57.9 million women of reproductive age—generally considered to be those aged 15–44.
- 67% of women of reproductive age, or 39 million, are at risk for unintended pregnancy (women who are sexually active, fertile, and not pregnant or seeking pregnancy).
- 90% or 35 million women at risk for unintended pregnancy use some method of contraception: 10% or 3.9 million women are not contraceptive users.
- Women using contraceptives account for 43% or 1.7 million of unintended pregnancies a year; 57% or 1.9 million pregnancies occur among women not using contraceptives.
- Only 9% of women having abortions have never used a birth control method; nonuse is greatest among those who are young, unmarried, poor, black, Hispanic or less educated.

HOW SAFE IS ABORTION?

- The risk of complications with abortion is minimal—less than 1% of all abortion patients experience a major complication associated with the procedure, such as a serious pelvic infection, hemorrhage requiring a blood transfusion or unintended major surgery.
- There is no evidence of problems with later childbearing among women who have an early abortion performed by the most common method—vacuum aspiration.
- The risk of death associated with childbirth is about 11 times as high as that associated with abortion.
- The risk of death associated with abortion increases with the length of pregnancy, from 1 death for every 500,000 abortions at 8 weeks or less to 1 per 30,000 at 16–20 weeks and 1 per 8,000 at 21 or more weeks.
- The risk of death associated with abortion decreased more than fivefold from 1973 to 1985, with 3.4 deaths per 100,000 legal abortions in 1973 to 0.4 in 1985.

PUBLIC FUNDING AND ABORTION

- Since 1977, the U.S. Congress has barred the use of federal funds to pay for abortions for Medicaid-eligible women except when the woman's life would be endangered by a full-term pregnancy. However, 13 states use their own funds to pay for abortions for low-income women: AK, CA, CT, HI, MA, MD, NJ, NY, NC, OR, VT, WA, WV (as of 4/92).
- In 1987, 12% of all abortions in the United States were paid for with public funds, virtually all of which were state funds.
- For every $1.00 spent by government to pay for abortions for poor women, about $4.00 is saved in public medical and welfare expenditures incurred as a result of the unintended birth.
- When public funds are unavailable, 20% of Medicaid-eligible women who want to have an abortion carry their pregnancy to term.
- An estimated 22% of the Medicaid-eligible women who had second-trimester abortions would have had first-trimester abortions if the lack of public funds had not resulted in delay in trying to raise funds.

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Abortion and Women's Health: A Turning Point for America?, 1990, 74 pp., $15.00.

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RESEARCH NOTE

Abortion Trends in 1987 And 1988: Age and Race

By Stanley K. Henshaw

This research note updates and revises the numbers, percentage distributions, rates and ratios of U.S. abortion patients, according to age and race.[1] New data for 1988 are presented, and the statistics for 1987 have been recalculated to correct an anomaly in the 1987 data that occurred when one large state overstated the proportion of abortions that occurred among women under age 18. Data for 1980 and 1986 are shown to illustrate recent trends.

Methods

The total number of abortions that have occurred in the United States was derived from periodic surveys by The Alan Guttmacher Institute of all abortion providers in the United States.* The distributions by age and race were obtained from the abortion surveillance reports of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control[2] and include adjustments to eliminate the effects of year-to-year changes in the states providing data and in the completeness of the data collected by the states. The numbers of births as published by the U.S. National Center for Health Statistics[3] were used to calculate abortion ratios per 100 births plus abortions, and population estimates from the Census Bureau were used to calculate abortion rates.[4]

Findings

As in previous years, the majority of women who had abortions in 1988 were under 25 years old: 33% were aged 20–24 and 26% were under age 20 (Table 1, page 86). Of the estimated 406,400 teenagers who had abortions in 1988, 13,700 were younger than 15. The highest abortion rate, 64 per 1,000 women in the age-group, occurred among women aged 18–19, followed by a rate of 54 per 1,000 among women aged 20–24.

Most age-groups had a slightly higher abortion rate in 1988 than in 1987. The largest increases (3% or more) occurred among women aged 18–29 and those aged 40 and older. Among women aged 18–39, rates were slightly higher in 1988 than in any other year since 1980.† The rate among women under age 15 increased from 8.4 abortions per 1,000 in 1980 to 9.3 per 1,000 in 1984, then decreased to 8.6 per 1,000 in 1988. No clear trend was found among women aged 15–17 during this period. Among women aged 40 and older, the abortion rate declined 20% between 1980 and 1986, then increased slightly between 1986 and 1988.

The abortion ratios in Table 1, which equal the percentage of pregnancies (excluding miscarriages) terminated by abortion, were calculated after adjustment of births and abortions to the woman's age when she became pregnant. The ratios were lowest among women aged 25–29 (22 abortions per 100 pregnancies) and those aged 30–34 (21 per 100). At these ages, women are most likely to accept childbearing even when pregnancies are unintentional. The ratios were about twice as high among teenagers (41 abortions per 100 pregnancies) and among women aged 40 and older (45 per 100).

Between 1987 and 1988, abortion ratios fell by 3–5% among women under age 18 and women aged 35 and older. Among women younger than 15, the ratio declined from a high of 46 in 1984–1985 (not shown) to 39 per 100 in 1988. Pregnant women younger than 15 were slightly less likely to terminate their pregnancies by abortion than were older teenagers. The ratio among women aged 15–17 has also decreased since 1986, from 43 abortions per 100 pregnancies to 41 per 100. Among women aged 30 and older, the trend has been downward since 1980, reflecting higher fertility rates rather than lower abortion rates among women in their 30s, and both higher fertility and lower abortion rates among women aged 40 and older.

Large differences exist in the abortion rates, ratios and recent trends among white women, compared with those of nonwhite women. In 1988, minority women (black and other races) obtained 565,100 abortions, or 36% of total abortions. Their abortion rate of 57 per 1,000 women was 2.7 times that of white women, whose rate was 21 abortions per 1,000 women. The abortion ratio of nonwhite women was also higher than that of white women at all ages except among teenagers, whose ratio was 41 abortions per 100 pregnancies in both groups.

Between 1987 and 1988, abortion rates among white women remained stable or increased slightly among women of all ages except those younger than 15, whose rate decreased from 5.1 abortions per 1,000 to 4.5 per 1,000. Between 1980 and 1987, a downward trend occurred among white women in the following age-groups: 15–19 (down 7%), 20–24 and 25–29 (down 4%), and 40 and over (down 23%). The other age-groups experienced a slight upward trend, with increases of 4% or less. Although most abortion ratios were stable between 1987 and 1988, those of women in their 30s and 40s declined considerably between 1980 and 1988.

Greater changes in abortion rates have occurred among minority women than among white women. Between 1987 and 1988, abortion rates increased 5–6% among minority women younger than 25 and increased 3% among those aged 25–29. The

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*An exception is the total for 1986, which was estimated by interpolation between the figures for 1985 and 1987. The survey methodology is described in S. K. Henshaw and J. Van Vort, "Abortion Services in the United States, 1987 and 1988," *Family Planning Perspectives*, 22:102, 1990.

†For the abortion rates and ratios by age for the years between 1980 and 1986, see S. K. Henshaw and J. Van Vort, eds., *Abortion Factbook, 1992 Edition: Readings, Trends, and State and Local Data to 1988*, The Alan Guttmacher Institute, New York, 1992 (forthcoming), Detailed Table 1.

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Table 1. Number and percentage distribution of legal abortions, rate of abortions per 1,000 women and ratio of abortions per 100 live births plus abortions, by race and age, according to year

Race and age	N		%		Rate*				Ratio†			
	1987	1988	1987	1988	1980	1986	1987	1988	1980	1986	1987	1988
Total	1,559,110	1,590,750	100.0	100.0	29.3	27.4	26.9	27.3	30.0	29.4	28.9	28.6
<20	395,910	406,370	25.4	25.6	44.4	44.4	43.8	45.5	41.2	41.8	41.0	40.7
<15	14,270	13,650	0.9	0.9	8.4	9.2	8.8	8.6	42.7	43.8	41.0	39.1
15–19	381,640	392,720	24.5	24.7	42.9	42.6	42.2	44.0	41.1	41.7	41.0	40.7
15–17	161,120	158,330	10.3	10.0	30.2	30.0	29.7	30.3	42.4	42.8	42.0	40.9
18–19	220,520	234,390	14.2	14.7	61.0	61.9	61.0	63.5	40.1	40.7	40.2	40.6
20–24	518,290	519,600	33.2	32.7	51.4	52.2	52.5	54.2	30.1	31.5	31.3	31.3
25–29	337,450	347,250	21.6	21.8	30.8	30.9	30.8	31.8	21.8	22.0	21.6	21.7
30–34	191,540	197,210	12.3	12.4	17.1	17.9	17.9	18.1	23.3	21.5	21.1	20.6
35–39	93,030	95,870	6.0	6.0	9.3	9.7	9.6	9.9	37.2	31.9	30.4	29.1
≥40	22,890	24,450	1.5	1.5	3.5	2.8	2.9	3.0	51.7	46.2	45.3	43.9
White	1,017,310	1,025,670	100.0	100.0	24.3	21.8	21.1	21.2	27.4	25.9	25.2	25.0
<20	267,290	269,390	26.3	26.3	39.2	36.8	36.4	37.3	41.8	41.6	41.1	40.5
<15	6,650	5,740	0.7	0.6	5.0	4.8	5.1	4.5	u	u	u	u
15–19	260,630	263,650	25.6	25.7	36.3	35.9	35.5	36.6	u	u	u	u
20–24	337,270	332,280	33.2	32.4	43.1	42.2	41.5	42.3	27.4	28.3	27.8	27.7
25–29	213,920	218,890	21.0	21.3	24.5	23.9	23.5	24.1	18.1	18.0	17.5	17.6
30–34	121,920	124,920	12.0	12.2	13.3	13.6	13.7	13.8	19.6	17.6	17.1	16.7
35–39	61,240	63,340	6.0	6.2	7.4	7.7	7.7	7.6	33.8	28.1	26.4	25.2
≥40	15,680	17,050	1.5	1.6	3.0	2.3	2.3	2.4	50.5	44.0	42.1	41.2
Black and other	541,800	565,080	100.0	100.0	56.8	55.8	56.0	57.3	39.2	39.8	39.3	38.9
<20	128,630	136,980	23.7	24.2	70.4	77.9	75.8	80.1	39.3	41.9	40.8	40.7
<15	7,620	7,910	1.4	1.4	24.4	27.0	23.4	24.9	u	u	u	u
15–19	121,010	129,070	22.3	22.8	66.0	72.5	71.3	75.5	u	u	u	u
20–24	181,020	187,320	33.4	33.1	95.6	99.4	103.6	108.5	40.3	40.9	41.0	40.9
25–29	123,530	128,560	22.8	22.7	64.7	65.7	66.8	68.8	36.8	36.8	36.4	36.0
30–34	69,620	72,290	12.9	12.9	38.9	38.7	39.3	39.6	37.5	36.1	35.6	34.7
35–39	31,790	32,530	5.9	5.8	21.0	21.0	21.3	21.0	47.6	44.0	43.2	41.5
≥40	7,210	7,400	1.3	1.3	6.7	5.8	6.4	6.2	54.9	52.7	54.6	52.0

*Denominator for ages <20 is number of women aged 15–19; for ages <15, denominator is number of 14-year-old females; for ages ≥40, denominator is number of women aged 40–44, denominator for total is women aged 15–44. †Denominator is number of abortions plus live births six months later (to match times of conception for pregnancies ending in births and pregnancies ending in abortions), both adjusted to age of woman at time of conception. *Sources:* Total number of abortions—AGI abortion provider surveys. Distribution by age and race—see reference 2, data have been adjusted to assure comparability between years; joint distribution was adjusted by iterative proportional fitting to the marginal distributions. Number of women—for 1980, U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Preliminary Estimates of the Population of the United States, by Age, Sex, and Race: 1970 to 1981," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 917, Table 2; for 1986–1988, see reference 4. Number of births—see reference 3. *Note:* u=unavailable.

1988 rate was higher than that of any other year since 1980 for women aged 15–34. The abortion rates for minority women have increased considerably since 1984: In 1988, the rate was 13% higher than in 1984 among women aged 15–19, 16% higher for those aged 20–24, 8% higher among those aged 25–29 and 6% higher for those aged 30–34. Rates declined 13%, however, among women younger than 15 and changed little among women aged 35–39 and those aged 40 and older.

Abortion ratios for minority women younger than 20 and aged 20–24 have changed much less, reflecting increases in childbearing that approximate increases in abortion. Increased fertility among women in their 30s has reduced the abortion ratios for those age groups.

We were able to calculate approximate pregnancy rates for teenagers by totaling the abortion and birth rates, then adding a factor for miscarriages.* The rate declined slightly, from 111 pregnancies per 1,000 women aged 15–19 in 1980 and 1981 to a low of 108 pregnancies per 1,000 in 1986 and 1987, then rose to 113 per 1,000 in 1988. Because births and abortions increased by about the same percentage, the proportion of pregnancies ending in abortion changed little. Although the pregnancy rate increased between 1987 and 1988 by about the same percentage among white and nonwhite teenagers, the trends since 1980 differ: The rate for white women aged 15–19 fell from 96 pregnancies per 1,000 in 1980 to 93 per 1,000 in 1988, while the rate for minority teenagers rose from 186 pregnancies per 1,000 to 197 per 1,000. The increase among minority teenagers has been especially marked since 1984, when their rate was 181 per 1,000.

Trends in the pregnancy rates of teenagers cannot be attributed to changes in the proportions initiating sexual activity. Between 1982 and 1988, the pregnancy rate for white women aged 15–19 decreased, as shown in Table 2, even though the proportion of women in this age group who had ever had sexual intercourse increased from 45% to 53%, according to data from the National Surveys of Family Growth. Among minority women aged 15–19, on the other hand, the pregnancy rate increased even though the proportion of sexually active young women remained virtually unchanged.

Table 2 also shows pregnancy rates based on sexually active teenagers. The rate among teenagers who have ever had intercourse fell from 232 pregnancies per 1,000 women aged 15–19 to 212 pregnancies per 1,000. The rate for sexually active

(Continued on page 96)

Table 2. Pregnancy rates per 1,000 women aged 15–19, and rates per 1,000 women aged 15–19 who have ever had intercourse, by race, according to year

Race	1982	1988
All women		
Total	110	113
White	95	93
Other races	181	197
Women who have ever had intercourse†		
Total	232	212
White	211	177
Other races	322	352

†The proportions who have ever had intercourse were derived from special tabulations of the 1982 and 1988 National Surveys of Family Growth.

*Miscarriages are estimated to equal 10% of abortions plus 20% of births. These proportions attempt to account for pregnancies that miscarry after lasting long enough to be noted by the woman (six to seven weeks after the last menstrual period). See H. Leridon, *Human Fertility: The Basic Components*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1977, Table 4.20.

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There were significant differences in birth weights of white infants who were poor and those who were not poor, according to poverty status in the year of sample selection and in the year pregnancy began, but not when the measure was the general poverty pattern.

A white woman who was poor both at sample selection and at pregnancy was three times more likely to deliver a low-birth-weight infant as was a woman who was not poor at either time (14% vs. 4%). However, women who went from being poor to not being poor had a risk of low birth weight of 8%, while women who went from not being poor to being poor had a risk of 10%. A black woman who was not poor at either sample selection or pregnancy had a 10% risk of delivering a low-birth-weight baby, but a black woman who was poor at both times was only 1.3 times more likely to do so (13%).

A 31% risk of low birth weight was found among women whose prior birth was of low birth weight, compared with 4% among women whose prior birth was of normal birth weight. Among poor women with a prior low-birth-weight delivery, the risk of having another was 39%; among women in this category who were not poor, the risk was 27%. If the woman's prior birth was of normal birth weight, the risk of having a low-birth-weight infant was 7% among the poor and 3% among those who were not poor.

The investigators find little relationship between race and low birth weight among the poor, and conclude that factors preceding the specific pregnancy, such as poverty or prior low-birth-weight deliveries, have more of an effect. They point out that "the possible role of social class in explaining variations in birthweight distributions and, thereby, prognostic differentials is generally recognized but unexplored," and suggest that "a focus on women who are white and poor as well as on those who are black may provide a better understanding of the social factors that predispose to poor pregnancy outcome."—*R. Turner*

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Program for Adolescent Mothers...

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Abortion Trends...

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white teenagers decreased from 211 pregnancies per 1,000 to 177 per 1,000 (down 16%), while the rate for comparable minority teenagers increased from 322 to 352 pregnancies per 1,000 (up 9%). These results may indicate improved contraceptive use among white teenagers and less effective use among nonwhite teenagers.

Conclusion

Although overall abortion rates have declined slightly in recent years, both abortion rates and birthrates have increased markedly since 1984 among minority women aged 15–30. The increases were especially large between 1987 and 1988, and the fertility rates increased an additional 4–7% in 1989.[5] (The fertility rate also increased among white women in 1989.) These results suggest that young minority women are having increasing difficulty controlling their fertility. Further research is needed to determine the causes for this and to develop strategies to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

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From My Viewpoint

'O'Connor's Folly'—to Make Kids Wise

By CARDINAL JOHN J. O'CONNOR

The truth about our Catholic schools, like the truth about how much money the Archdiocese of New York has, is open to anybody who is open to it. That's why I can never get over the fact that so many people find the truth so strange that they refuse to believe it.

There are so many myths about our schools that we couldn't begin to talk about them in an entire issue of Catholic New York. So let's take just a few.

First, there's the myth that we take only the best and brightest young people from the "best" families (by which they mean all white, all Catholic), and that we throw everyone out who causes the slightest bit of trouble.

The truth is that in our inner-city schools (approximately 140 of them), the student bodies are 85 percent minority: black, Hispanic, Asian or Oriental. In many inner-city schools, at least 50 percent are not Catholic. In one Catholic school you may have read about in The New York Times, 95 percent of the youngsters are Chinese, almost 80 percent Buddhist. In upper counties the figures vary, but we have a mix of color, ethnic backgrounds and religion.

In the inner-city schools at least half of the youngsters are from families living at below poverty level, with a significant number from one-parent families.

Yet some 85 percent or more of our graduates go on to college. Fewer than 1 percent drop out of our schools, and we throw out even fewer than that, and then only after consultation with parents, pastors, teachers, principals, district superintendents and others. To be thrown out of one of our Catholic schools is not easy!

One of the biggest myths is that tuition paid by parents covers the cost to the school or the parish. Tuition pays only a portion of the cost. Average tuition in Catholic elementary school is $962. The actual cost is $1,768. Average tuition in Catholic high school is $2,289. The actual cost is $3,352. Tuition in some elementary and high schools is a lot lower, in some it's a bit higher.

How do we make up the difference? In some cases, the people of the parish pay the difference, whether they have youngsters in school or not. In a great many cases, the Archdiocese of New York raises the money to pay the difference. We don't raise nearly enough. That's what's killing us, and putting our schools in grave jeopardy—that and the ever increasing cost of personnel and taking care of buildings. If we are going to teach justice, we have to pay just wages.

Last year the Archdiocese of New York made up a more than $20 million deficit between tuition and parish payments, other school income and the actual costs of keeping youngsters in school. For this coming year we don't have that money to give.

That takes us to the myth about the wealth of the Archdiocese of New York. That really *is* a myth. Why can people see so easily that the federal government is running at an enormous deficit, as is the State of New York and the City of New York, but insist that the Church has untold wealth? One reason is that they see a lot of buildings owned by the Church, so they ask why we don't sell them.

Did you ever try to sell a school that needs capital repairs to the tune of $800,000? How about a church with the walls caving in? More importantly, what do you do if you sell them? Where do you hold school—on a vacant lot? But the people who bought the building either want to use it for something else or tear it down and build something else. Pretty soon you have no buildings left and nowhere to go.

Anyway, everybody knows that property is begging for buyers these days, and that buyers don't have the money. And would anybody really want us to sell St. Patrick's Cathedral?

Moreover, schools aren't our only problem. We are trying desperately to keep our hospitals open, our nursing homes, our child care facilities. We are trying to help provide homes for the homeless, and to feed the hungry. If we closed down the buildings we use to take care of persons with AIDS, where would they go? Some day visit the brain-damaged children we care for, the utterly helpless, the twisted and deformed who in another society not so long ago would have been gassed to death.

With federal, state, county and city budgets cut by billions of dollars, the Church has to take care of even more of the poor, the hungry, the homeless, the helpless. Where *is* all the money so many people believe we have? Where are we going to get what is needed?

You who believe the Church has an immense amount of money, please—*please*—show me where it is. Tell me which buildings we should sell, which hospitals or daycare centers or homes for the retarded we should close down. *You* decide which children don't deserve a Catholic education.

Those who live in the worst drug-infested neighborhoods? Those who are surrounded by daily murders as a way of life? Shall we close schools in Harlem or in the South Bronx? In Newburgh or in Yonkers? Shall we close schools where there are no others for miles and miles? Should we tell one of two or three families living together in a tiny apartment not large enough for one family: You're too poor to send your kids to our schools? Shall we tell working mothers they can't rely on our schools to take their youngsters during the day?

We are engaged at this moment in the third intensive study of our schools since I have been Archbishop of New York, slightly less than seven years. Despite the finding of study after study, telling us we *must* close a large number of schools, and should have closed them years ago, I have refused to take such action. Some of my most responsible and efficient advisers have been angry at me. They tell me we have no choice. Some make clear they think I am bankrupting the archdiocese. They are sincere and responsible people.

But I believe desperately in our Catholic schools. I have fought to keep every single one of them open. I have literally begged people for money. Day after day, night after night I meet with business people, with wealthy contributors, with practically anyone who will meet with me with money or ideas to save our schools. Many people in the business community have been very generous, with their time and their money. Many others have not been able to help or have refused to do so.

It is so ironic. Some of the major research organizations in the United States have studied our Catholic schools and have marveled at our achievements. Every once in a while a newspaper or magazine reports on our schools and heaps praise on them. We save city, counties and state hundreds of millions of dollars in building and teacher costs every year, to say nothing of the long-term monies we save such governments because so few of our youngsters drop out, and so many are ready to enter the work force as contributing, reliable citizens immediately after graduation.

But the money does not come in. The bills scream to be paid. Praise doesn't pay them. Yet the moment we talk about closing a single school, we are flooded with protests. What in the world are we going to do?

I'll tell you what I, personally, am going to do. I am going to continue trying to move heaven and earth. With the help of my immediate associates and our pastors and parents, religious sisters and brothers and magnificent lay teachers, I believe we can keep schools closures to a bare-bone minimum, but we *will* have to close some schools before September of 1991—this year. I am committed to an outstanding *network* of schools, with a school within a reasonable distance for every youngster who really wants to get there.

I can no longer keep two schools open which are only a short distance from each other if neither has enough students, or one has a building falling down. We *must* make changes in such cases. In some instances, one school can better take care of pre-school youngsters, while other schools are better suited to handle upper grades.

But something must give *this year*, that is, by September of 1991. No decisions will be made arbitrarily or callously. I am keenly aware of the need to place faithful, loyal teachers in schools as close as possible to the schools in which they already teach.

I will continue efforts to raise monies, as will our pastors and others. I will continue to ask business people and others to pick up tuition costs for individual students. Some tuition charges will have to be increased, but I'm well aware that if we increase them too much, we will drive away the poor. I hope I will be able to get *everyone* to understand that tuition pays only a portion of the real cost of teaching each student.

Very soon the schools that will close will be informed. They will be as few as possible this year. You may know that there are 312 Catholic elementary and secondary schools in the archdiocese. The status of any school under the direction of the archdiocese will be changed only with my personal study and permission, and until I have assured myself that pastors and representatives of parents, teachers, principals, supervisors and others have been consulted. So whoever is looking for someone to blame can blame me. I have personally examined all reports and all recommendations on every school, and have prayed mightily for guidance in each case. Every change can be a painful one. No matter how many schools may be closed, *one* is many to the individuals involved.

Next year will be a different story. I can't guarantee what we can do. The problems won't have ended. Nevertheless, I am foolish enough to hope we can raise the money.

I suspect that a lot of "little people" would be willing to support a youngster through school, if we made arrangements. I suspect a lot more business people will be willing to help once they realize the need and appreciate what our schools do for them. We're trying to raise $100 million largely from the business community. Our pastors are busily engaged in parish campaigns that will help a great deal.

When Archbishop John Hughes built St. Patrick's Cathedral against great odds, a lot of people thought he was out of his mind. They called the cathedral "Hughes' Folly." Well, maybe I'm out of my mind, but I am fiercely committed to saving our schools. Some may call that "O'Connor's Folly." That's all right. I'm willing to be called a fool, if it makes it possible for a lot of kids to be wise.



From My Viewpoint

'At Issue Are Hundreds of Helpless'

By CARDINAL JOHN J. O'CONNOR

On March 2 of this year, while disagreeing with our position on AIDS prevention, The New York Times nonetheless observed: "...it would be unreasonable to expect the Church to teach otherwise in its own institutions and programs." On July 27, the Times made a similar observation. Addressing the conflict surrounding our refusal to put into practice certain state requirements opposed to our "institutional conscience" in caring for persons with AIDS, the Times editorialized: "If the archdiocese's position is regrettable, it is nonetheless unreasonable to expect the Church to teach otherwise in its own institutions and programs."

I don't agree, of course, that our position is regrettable, but sincerely appreciate the Times' objectivity and understanding. Further, I appreciate its recognition of the issue: homes for "hundreds of the helpless."

That is, indeed, the issue and not what some have reported it to be: a game, with each party waiting for the other to flinch, and back down. Such observers can not seem to understand the Church except in terms of a political cliché, the "powerhouse," an ecclesiastical Tammany Hall. They have utterly no understanding of an institution that takes seriously the question: "What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?"

The suffering of persons with AIDS is no game. Their deaths no power struggle. Hating and caricaturing the Church alleviates no suffering, saves no lives. The Church is trying to do precisely that: alleviate suffering and save lives. Yet, some even accuse us of "killing" people because we disagree with the "condom" approach to caring for persons with AIDS.

When the great myth of the "clean needle" was touted by city health care authorities in New York as the way to prevent transmitting AIDS by intravenous drug use, we refused to be duped by it, and argued not only that it was wrong, but that it simply wouldn't work. We were then accused of willingness to see AIDS transmitted, and therefore of killing people. A year or so later, city health care authorities withdrew the clean needle program on grounds that it didn't work!

Many medical doctors and other health care workers recommend the use of condoms to prevent transmitting AIDS. A number of medical doctors and health care workers do not trust condoms to prevent transmitting AIDS. Are the former "good" people and the latter "evil"? We recommend abstinence and nonuse of drugs to prevent transmitting AIDS. Does that make us "killers"? Our country has never before known the number of condoms in existence today, or the amount of instruction in their use to prevent teenage pregnancy. Our country has never before known the staggering number of teenage pregnancies. So much for quick fixes.

Yet on the very day I am writing this column a newspaper editorial notes with apparent scorn and disbelief that I "once told health care workers that abstinence is the only effective AIDS prevention method." The thrust of the editorial is that the Church has cornered the state into permitting us to run nursing homes for AIDS patients. What in the world do such commentators think we are up to: providing beds as a business? Have they any notion that we offer a *service* for the sick and the dying?

I have argued before and I argue again: when a society tries to treat such massive disasters as drug abuse and AIDS with quick fixes, it is ignoring causes and relieving itself of trying to achieve cures.

The other day I read a newspaper article which quoted a line from an address I gave at the International AIDS Conference in the Vatican: "Morality is good medicine." I have seen that principle denounced and ridiculed and used as a justification for violent and vitriolic protests. I have *not* seen the principle refuted.

Nor have I seen a shred of proof that Church health care facilities discriminate against persons with AIDS on the grounds of how it has been acquired, or the nature of a person's sexual orientation. I invite—no, I urge,—public health authorities to examine every one of our Catholic hospitals that care for persons with AIDS. They will find persons with AIDS from all ethnic and racial groups, of all religious backgrounds, who have acquired AIDS in different ways. They will find *all* of these receiving quality care, and more, being treated with dignity and respect. What do those who call us killers have to say of the countless numbers of doctors, nurses, assistants, volunteers who work day and night to care for the fever-wracked, the emaciated, the convulsive, the blind, the dying? I have seen them at work, lovingly, tirelessly, or rather, exhausted but still going. I saw them in the earliest days of the AIDS epidemic, washing sores and emptying bedpans and administering medicines and nourishment, when much of the world was in panic over AIDS, and terrified to go near a person who *might* have AIDS.

The Church was the first to urge that prisoners with AIDS be released into our care, rather than locked away to die untended and uncared for. The Church was the first to establish a dental clinic for persons with AIDS. The Church cares, therefore acts.

People are dying. We do not believe they are dying for lack of condoms. We will continue to do everything we can to take care of persons with AIDS, and try to help to prevent the transmission of AIDS. The state has determined that we qualify to do so. If the city chooses to deny us the right to add critically needed nursing beds for persons with AIDS, that is completely up to the city. State and city officials have the responsibility to do what they think best for the community. I have my responsibility. Integrity is not for sale, neither theirs nor mine, nor does it yield to threats.

Both The New York Times and Dr. David Axelrod got it right: at issue are hundreds of helpless. There is only one way the Church can help: by sticking to what it believes to be the right way.



From My Viewpoint

I Need Help and I Need It Now

By CARDINAL JOHN J. O'CONNOR

I didn't sleep last night, again. I couldn't. Christmas is upon us, and as for so many fathers and mothers in this crushing economy, the cupboard is bare; and though I don't live in a shoe, I have thousands of times more children to worry about than Old Mother Hubbard ever dreamed of—the children of every religion, color and nationality in our Catholic schools. I desperately want to give every one of them and every one of their parents a beautiful Christmas present: the promise that our Catholic schools will always be there, for them and for their children and their children's children, generation after generation.

So I sleep little and I worry a lot, night after night. Tossing and turning doesn't help. Time after time, I turn the light on again, and review staggering rows of depressing numbers, each preceded by both a dollar sign and a minus sign. The deficits refuse to disappear.

Every day I beg. I meet with the wealthy and the not-so-wealthy, Jew, Protestant, Catholic, Muslim, and ask them to help save our schools. Many are wonderfully generous. Others are embarrassed; they want to help, but are struggling themselves in these hard times.

Right now I am personally going over the data on each of 41 schools, with the proverbial fine tooth comb. Why these schools? My close consultants tell me they are "at risk." Most, if not all, have raised tuition as high as they can, without driving away those who can not afford another penny. Yet the overall deficit for the 41 schools is over four-and-a-half million dollars. I counted those dollars instead of sheep last night! And I added that four-and-a-half million to the four-and-a-half million dollar deficit our Catholic high schools are running. Where do I come up with money like that?

It's more than a tuition problem. The archdiocese supports a large number of our 413 parishes by as much as $20 million a year. Many of those parishes have to put a large percentage of that money into their schools. During the past few years we have been investing some $50 million in parish buildings to keep roofs from falling in and boilers from blowing up. Millions of more dollars have gone into asbestos removal, by government order.

Most importantly, from my viewpoint, we have been trying desperately to raise salaries and benefits for our teachers, who still deserve more than we can pay and will be able to pay for another several years. Some 86 percent of our parish elementary school teachers and 76 percent of our Catholic high school teachers are lay persons. A great many have families. I thank God for our lay teachers, as well as for our teaching sisters, brothers and priests. One day I hope we will be able to pay every one of them what they deserve.

It is not that Catholics aren't being generous. Our Parish Campaign has brought in $111 million. That, my friends, is a lot of money, and most of it has been given or pledged at great sacrifice. Eighty to 90 percent of that money stays in the parishes. Only 10 to 20 percent comes to the archdiocese, which the archdiocese in turn uses to assist parishes to pay bills they can not meet on their own.

So we turn to industry. Day after day we remind big businesses in New York that we provide them top-grade graduates, that 90 percent of our Catholic high school graduates go to college, that those who don't are ready to pass stiff tests for industry jobs. We remind them that all our Catholic schools include non-Catholic students; in some, 80 percent may be non-Catholic (three of our Catholic schools, for example, have heavy populations of Buddhists). Eighty-five percent of youngsters in our inner-city schools are black or Hispanic. Fewer than one percent of our students drop out of school.

There's a myth, perpetrated by some anti-Catholic school educators, that our schools are so successful because we throw kids out for the slightest reason. It is, in fact, very difficult to be thrown out of a Catholic school. You really have to work at it. No teacher can throw a student out, nor can a principal, without a hearing by the superintendent of schools, who doesn't listen to expulsion talk very sympathetically.

Some critics say we take only the best kids. In a sense we do, in that we believe every kid is a "best" kid if you see in him or her the Image of God, and are willing to go all out to help that Image shine through. In another sense, our youngsters come from the same backgrounds as youngsters in other schools—many from broken homes, from single parents, from families whose incomes are well below the poverty level. I have written before about one archdiocesan parish in the immediate neighborhood of which 65 murders were committed in one year. The Catholic school in that parish, to my knowledge, is drug free, and every year the youngsters score higher than the national average in basic academic subjects.

That's not unusual for our Catholic schools—to surpass national averages.

That's what's so frustrating. During the past year or so—*finally*—the story is breaking all over the United States that Catholic schools excel. Scientific studies are multiplying, all reporting the same story of excellence and superiority. Newspapers such as The New York Times and the Wall Street Journal have picked up the story and published it. Magazines such U.S. News & World Report and Forbes have done the same, as have many others, well-known and lesser known. Yet at the very time that their worth is being widely publicized, our schools are in greatest jeopardy. At a point in our national history when a solid education is absolutely crucial, one of the best educational systems our country has ever known is being dismantled in diocese after diocese. Catholic schools have closed in frightening numbers throughout the Church in the United States. It is not simply the Church that will suffer the loss, or even Catholics alone. Our Catholic schools are a national treasure, a treasure disappearing bit by bit every day.

I am trying desperately to save our Catholic schools for New York—every one of them. A great number of people are helping. Some provide scholarships, some adopt entire schools, some repair buildings in critical need. I am tremendously grateful to such committed individuals, but there are only a fraction of them in comparison with the need.

Some people assume that tuition paid by parents meets expenses. In truth, tuition meets between one-third and one-half of the costs, *at most*. The bulk of the money has to come from other sources.

That's why I beg, every day. That's why I go sleepless night after night.

What will be the next step after I finish all the reviews of the 41 schools "at risk"? In every instance where there is danger of closing a school, I will personally meet with representative parents and teachers, the principal, the local superintendent, the pastor, the Finance Council and Parish Council representatives and others. I will go over with them every conceivable way of trying to save the school if it should be and can be saved. The rest will be largely in their hands. I have done this before with other schools and we have been able to save many.

The schools are not mine. They belong to parents, to children, to the Church, to all society. I need the help of all society and I need it now! It is not enough to come up with the money to save a school only for this year or the year ahead. We need long-term help for a long-term problem. It's that, or close our schools. I can not believe that would be the right thing to do.

Practically every one of you who reads Catholic New York is already stretched to the limit. Some of you are in dread of losing your homes. Many of you are out of work. Many of you have *never* had a lot of money in the best of times. Yet I must appeal to you, not for big contributions, but for the "widow's mite" that Our Lord praised so highly. *Anything* you can give; *anything* you can do to help save our schools, I will be deeply grateful for.

I want more than anything in the world to give to all New York the magnificent Christmas present of promising a long-range, healthy future for our Catholic schools. Without you, that promise would be a mockery.

Can *you* give a year-round Christmas present to preserve our schools? A dollar? A hundred, a thousand dollars? Can you fund a youngster for a couple of thousand dollars a year? There might even be a rare and generous soul who would make a gift of a hundred thousand dollars, or a million dollars or more! Can you send whatever you can send to Bishop Patrick Ahern, Office of Development, 1011 First Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022? *Every* gift will be gratefully acknowledged. Every penny will go into our schools, and every penny will be accounted for.

Maybe not. Maybe you don't have a penny left. God bless you, nonetheless. Send me your prayers. A Hail Mary a day might keep more schools open than we know. And maybe you can at least pray me to sleep!

Have a wonderful, happy and holy Christmas, with my deepest gratitude for all that you do and for all that you are.

I want more than anything in the world to give to all New York the magnificent Christmas present of promising a long-range, healthy future for our Catholic schools. Without you, that promise would be a mockery.



From My Viewpoint

Health Care Is in 'Imminent Peril'

By CARDINAL JOHN J. O'CONNOR

Quite apart from being "my" physician, Kevin M. Cahill, M.D., has an extraordinary record of practicing medicine under some of the most difficult circumstances imaginable in some of the most demanding regions in the world; the Sudan is but one example. Hence, when Dr. Cahill uses the term "Imminent Peril," I listen carefully, anticipating a gripping description of a whole people in danger of perishing somewhere in the "Third World." When he uses the term to describe public health in *New York*, I listen with more than care; I listen with a sense of urgency.

"Imminent Peril" is the title of a compilation of lectures on public health in New York, lectures delivered at a symposium convened by the Board of Health of the City of New York in late August of 1991. Dr. Cahill generated the symposium and edited the collection. His introductory remarks are chilling:

"The 'public' served by the public health system is increasingly the disenfranchised, the uninsured, the impoverished, the homeless, the aged, the addicted. Failing their needs is more than morally indefensible in our 'new world order'; it threatens the health of all. For as surely as an untreated tuberculous lesion will cavitate the lungs of a homeless vagrant, so too will the deadly mist of his infection disseminate through every social and economic class, among innocent fellow riders in the subway, or passengers in an elevator and, inevitably, from child to child in the classrooms of our city.

"...Public health programs are not political privileges to be parceled out annually. They must be recognized as fundamental, non-negotiable prerogatives of every citizen. Such public services must be held immune from those who measure value merely with fiscal scales. There are irreducible levels of health care and prevention that are absolute requirements in the rare system of government our Founding Fathers created."

Gov. Mario Cuomo was one of 12 who provided papers for the symposium. The governor said something with which I agree strongly:

"...as important as medicine and medical care are to health status, they are not enough. *There's an equal need for a realignment of our priorities* so that the opportunities we Americans speak grandly of are in fact open to all; so that more people have access to them and a chance to lift themselves out of poverty– a chance to work; to educate themselves; to live in safe, decent housing; to provide themselves and their children adequate, nutritious food." (Emphasis added.)

Mayor David Dinkins was another of the 12 providing papers that pointed up the perilous nature of what is happening:

"...We face tremendous challenges in our public health system. The statistics are horrifying. Infant mortality in New York City is one-third higher than the national average and the rate for African Americans is twice as high as that for whites. A large percentage of pregnant women in New York City receive prenatal care only late in pregnancy—if at all. Maternal drug use has risen by more than 300 percent in the past few years..."



THE ELDERLY—"Most severely hit" by currently proposed cuts in state funding of public health "would be the elderly," Cardinal O'Connor writes. "If home health care is lost, a great number of them will have absolutely no care at all."

Dennis Rivera is the president of the Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees Union in New York. We discuss health care frequently. A couple of years ago, he brought to my attention the almost unbelievable treatment of home health care workers who were saving society a fortune and being paid a starvation wage, with no health-care benefits for themselves. Government listened, and some improvements were made.

On Dec. 23, Mr. Rivera wrote to give me his assessment of what currently proposed cuts in state funding of public health would do. Space limitations preclude my listing all the specifics, but there can be no question about the impact on hospitals and nursing homes. Hundreds of thousands of doctor visits provided in clinics would have to be eliminated. Outpatient services would be sharply reduced. Trauma units in some cases would have to be closed altogether.

Most severely hit, however, would be the elderly. Some 50,000 people currently get home health care services. The average has a worker for 212 hours a month. About 6,000 are so disabled and infirm that they are cared for 24 hours a day. If these folks were taken care of in hospitals or nursing homes, the costs would be beyond the astronomical. If home health care is lost, a great number of them will have absolutely no care at all. Add to the misery the increasing number of persons with TB and the suffering of those with AIDS.

Mr. Rivera summarizes what he estimates to be the cumulative effect of severe reductions:

"More and sicker people are flocking to the emergency rooms because they can't afford the co payment that would have been required before seeing a doctor or getting a prescription. Waiting for days for a bed to open up because the hospital can't discharge its elderly patients because there is no nursing home bed and no home care available. An increase in TB and measles deaths, increased suffering by people with AIDS, less treatment and more disease."

According to Mr. Rivera's letter, Medicaid this year costs about $12 billion, with half paying for hospitals and clinics, about one-quarter for nursing homes, and 15 percent for home care, while the remainder goes to doctors, dentists and other providers and to pay for drugs and supplies. It is estimated that next year's program will cost $16 billion. Medicaid is funded by federal, state and local governments, with the state paying some 30

Obviously there have to be limits to Medicaid as to every other governmental program. No government could fund everything. The question as I see it is: What *should* government fund? This is not merely a fiscal question; it's a *moral* question.

percent, local government some 20 percent, and the federal government 50 percent. Every dollar reduction in state spending means a two- to three-dollar loss in health-care spending. Yet the proposed cuts in state funding of Medicaid amount to approximately $1 billion.

What is the answer? Many compassionate people question both the social and fiscal soundness of Medicaid. Some, as New York Post's Ray Kerrison, blame New York's fiscal crisis in large part on Medicaid, and note that while New York has 7 percent of the nation's population, it consumes 20 percent of the nation's Medicaid spending. Mr. Kerrison reports: "From 1980 to 1990, the Medicaid bill jumped from $1.4 billion to $3.5 billion. Most states operate at half New York's costs while delivering similar services." (Dec. 27, 1991)

In his day, Sen. Hubert Humphrey faulted the allocation of health-care funding, arguing that "we have a system of sick care in this country, not health care." At that time some 96 percent of federal health-care funding went into treatment; less than 4 percent went toward preventing disease or promoting health.

In his introduction to "Imminent Peril," cited above, Dr. Cahill speaks along similar lines:

"If we cannot test, if we cannot treat, if we cannot immunize, if we cannot educate, then we shall fall victim to a calamity that will not only fill the corridors of our hospitals but will soon cripple the economic engine, and drive away those precious human resources that give life to cities such as New York. Time is not on the side of those who believe we can continue to replace reality with rhetoric."

In "Governing America," Joseph A. Califano Jr. writes that when he became Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, he hoped to start a "second health revolution in America." The first was the struggle against infectious diseases, won not with cures, but with sanitation programs, pasteurization of milk, mass immunization, and similar efforts. Results were spectacular. Today, victory against such leading killers as heart disease, stroke and cancer also "lies more securely in prevention than in cure," and is "the less costly way to mount a second revolution in public health." But any "major health promotion effort," writes Mr. Califano, "involves scientific and economic ingredients, financial incentives, and individual self-discipline." He goes on:

"We must, as a matter of social justice, provide health care to the millions of poor and unprotected Americans, particularly children and minorities. There are significant improvements to be made by federalizing Medicaid into a single program, opening up Medicare and Medicaid to more competition, putting a lid on hospital costs, encouraging more efficient delivery of health-care services through health-maintenance organizations and nurse practitioners, and moving the focus of our system from acute care to health promotion and disease prevention."

"But beyond that, we may be better off as a nation giving an awakened and aroused private sector a chance to function for the next several years, perhaps under a broad mandate that employers provide a minimum level of health benefits for their employees. For every free industrial nation—Canada, England, Germany, and even socialist Sweden—has much the same problems that plague our current system. Their national health plans provide easy access to health care—an important objective—but their health-care systems are just as expensive and profligate, and the ethical questions those systems face are no less vexing. Until we can deal with these problems, we should stop worshiping at the altar of an instant universal, mandatory, comprehensive national health plan and move instead in discrete increments to serve our most pressing health-care needs; reform our reimbursement and delivery systems, and curb waste, inefficiency, and escalating costs. In the process, we can learn how better to resolve the moral and ethical issues that a government providing health care must face."



Mayor David Dinkins
The statistics are horrifying.



Gov. Mario Cuomo
A need for a realignment of our priorities.



Sen. Hubert Humphrey
We have sick care, not health care.

Thus would many critics of Medicare argue: that costs are too high, waste too rampant, delivery systems too prodigal. They are not lacking in compassion, they are simply looking for a better way. They ask whether continuing escalation of the cost of Medicaid can prevail without completely destroying the economy, if not society itself. They question even more acutely the expansion or contraction of Medicaid spending for purposes of political expediency.

I agree with many of the anxieties. Obviously there have to be limits to Medicaid as to every governmental program. No government could fund everything. The question as I see it is: What *should* government fund? That's not merely a fiscal question; it's a *moral* question. What are our *real* priorities? What do we consider absolutely basic to our society and to every individual within that society? What do we really believe about the human person? Are we willing as a people to insist that rights must be balanced against responsibilities?

In my judgment, these are but a few of the questions that must be faced with moral courage by all who govern and all who are governed. Until such questions are taken seriously, budget after budget will be hostage to an inordinate number of demands that can be met only at the expense of fundamental human needs, human worth and human dignity.

But while all the questions are being raised and the ideologies debated, hundred of thousands of human persons are at grave risk. They need help critically now. For many of the needs are desperate and must be met *today*. However crucial it may be to effect a radical restructuring of our entire approach to health care as quickly as possible, that cannot possibly happen quickly enough to avert disaster for the unborn who need prenatal care, the infants who need neonatal care, the children, the frail elderly, the countless others in "imminent peril."

Let us set about immediately the task of honestly defining and realizing our priorities and restructuring our health-care systems as necessary, but being realistic about how long it will take to do this equitably. In the meanwhile, neither will critical immediate needs be met while the debate runs on, nor will long-term health-care needs be met by the outcome of such debates if such outcomes are purely political or ideological. Politics may well be the art of compromise, but not every compromise is morally right and good. Compromise can save a lot of lives. Compromise can send a lot of people to their deaths.

A realignment of our "priorities" can't wait. Everyone is *not* entitled to everything, but everyone *is* entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We fought a war over that belief a long time ago.

Since I write this during the Christmas season, it seems fitting to conclude with yet another excerpt from Dr. Cahill's Introduction:

"The hour for the rebirth of a caring and compassionate country is here, for renewing old priorities that may still allow that rough beast of hope—urban societies with all their failings—to continue, as an Irish poet would have it, slouching toward Bethlehem to be born to a better life."

Reprinted With Permission, Catholic New York, Jan. 2, 1992.



CNY/Chris Sheridan

EMERGENCY ROOM at St. Vincent's Hospital in Manhattan. "More and sicker people are flocking to the emergency rooms because they can't afford the co-payment that would have been required before seeing a doctor," Dennis Rivera wrote.



From My Viewpoint

'Beyond the Extra Mile'

By CARDINAL JOHN J. O'CONNOR

Sometimes I'm not sure whether New York Newsday is editorially anti-Catholic, or whether its editors simply don't do their homework on matters relating to the Church. In either event, the editorial "Can They Find A Just Solution" was a doozy! (Friday, Nov. 29, 1991.)

The editorial informs the world that "Cardinal John O'Connor is playing a dangerous game of chicken when he says he'll resist efforts to give information on birth control to teenagers in foster care agencies affiliated with the Archdiocese of New York." The writer goes on: "Such a move by the cardinal might force city officials to call his bluff and cut off Catholic funds..."

That's only the opening paragraph, but there are a host of things wrong with it.

First, to suggest that I am playing a game of any sort with the lives of thousands of young people or trying to bluff city officials is worse than insulting—it suggests gross and inexcusable ignorance of the facts. What Newsday is referring to, although its failure to say so makes one wonder if it knows, is the Wilder case. The Wilder case began more than 18 years ago, when I was still in Navy uniform and Cardinal Cooke, never in his life known as either a player of games or a bluffer, was Archbishop of New York. Bishop Mugavero was Bishop of Brooklyn.

What is—has been—the Wilder case? I will inadequately condense 18 years. Shirley Wilder was approximately 14 years old. In June of 1973, the Civil Liberties Union brought a class action suit, on her behalf and that of other children, against the City and State of New York on grounds of racial discrimination. Allegedly, black Protestant children were being discriminated against because they were *not* being placed in the Catholic child-care system, conceding the high quality of care provided by the Catholic system. In question was the constitutionality of New York State law and practice of placing children, when practicable, in institutions or agencies of the same religious faith of the child in accord with the wishes of the parents.

In 1974 a Federal Court ruled in favor of New York State constitutional and statutory provisions but left open the question whether these provisions, as implemented, violated the federal constitutional rights of the children. Then began several years of legal discovery involving motions and depositions. People like our own top child care expert, Sister Una McCormack, O.P., were extensively interrogated. In 1978 the ACLU filed a new complaint and by 1983 this new complaint had been amended, I believe, four times. Shortly before going to trial, the ACLU and the city entered into settlement discussions leading to a settlement agreement approved in final form by the court in 1987. The settlement was between the ACLU and the City of New York. The stipulation required the city, among other things, to "ensure that all children have meaningful access to the full range of family planning information, services and counseling to be provided either by the agency or by a suitable outside source or both." In my judgment, the primary thrust of the ACLU's present pressure on the city and, in turn, on our agencies is to ensure that the maximum number of children in Catholic child-care agencies be provided with abortion counseling, abortion services and condoms.

I apologize if this thumbnail sketch does a disservice to either the city or the ACLU. I have attempted to synthesize the complexities of 18 years of legal and judicial processes in a few paragraphs, and as I understand them.

What I deduce from a study of these years is that the ACLU will not be satisfied unless it succeeds in driving the Catholic Church out of child care. If it loses on one issue, it will go after us on another. Our financial expenditures have been staggering. We could have given up long ago, but we believe in our ability to provide high-quality child care, and have wanted to continue providing it.

I don't know whether the American Civil Liberties Union had the grace to be embarrassed, but all pretense of racial discrimination proved absurd when a head count consistently revealed a very high percentage of black and non-Catholic children in our Catholic child-care agencies. I do not recall an apology from the ACLU. On the contrary, as memory serves me, it was only after its racial discrimination suit fell apart, that it turned its big guns on alleged denial of information on a "full range of family planning" to youngsters in our care.

We are providing a vital service to the City of New York, and doing so happily and with integrity. If the city no longer needs or wishes to use our services—no hard feelings.

This brings me to another blooper in the Newsday editorial: that I say I will "resist efforts to give information on birth control to teenagers." Again, the ignorance. The reality is that our child-care agencies themselves provide full information on the "full range of family planning," including birth control and abortion. I will put our program of education in sexuality against any program the city or the ACLU can offer. What the editorialist apparently *means* is that we teach about birth control and abortion within a context of *values*. That's what sticks in people's throats. We refuse to be antiseptic or naive in our teaching. We believe that we have both the right and the responsibility to go beyond techniques to the public morality of techniques and of motives. We are quite as prepared as anyone to describe the physical activity of birth control pills and devices. We are also prepared and determined to teach the moral dimensions of the use of such.

I invite Newsday both to examine the curriculum that was so carefully developed in good faith to assure our consonance with the Court's decree. My understanding is that the ACLU representative alleges that anything produced under Catholic auspices is automatically unsatisfactory.

Furthermore, in my judgment, birth control is not the issue; abortion is. We categorically refuse to refer children to any agency that may encourage them to undergo abortion. To teach about abortion is one thing; to encourage abortion is another. But since the Newsday editorial fails to use the term *abortion* even once, while it uses the term *birth control* by my count six times, either the editorialist doesn't know that abortion is the issue, or considers abortion just another form of birth control. The difference, of course, is fatal. When most people speak of birth control they mean preventing conception. Abortion, of course, destroys a life already conceived.

The editorial proceeds. I will not. As the King of Siam put it: "It's a puzzlement." For more than a century Catholic child-care agencies have been entrusted to feed, house, clothe, care for, worry about, love children on behalf of the city. Why are we entrusted with the lives of children at all, if we can't be trusted to keep our word that we do teach about abortion and birth control? The law requires that our agencies be open at all times to city officials to visit in order to determine how well we are taking care of children. We invite and encourage such visits.

Why could the city not do any instructing it wants to do *before* remitting children to our care?

Why will the city not settle for sending letters to children in our care *inviting* them to visit the city's "Options Centers"? (An "Options Center" is obviously an optional place to visit.) Because the children can't read? Nonsense.

Before the editorial concludes, it piously hopes that before the "December 17 court deadline for resolving this dispute," the Commissioner of the Child Welfare Agency and I will manage to settle things amicably. It also urges the commissioner not to "cave in." I, too, would hope the commissioner will not cave in—to the ACLU. The city's battle is not and never has been with the Church, but with the ACLU.

If there is a danger of "cave-in," however, it is I (and, I suspect, Bishop Daily of Brooklyn) who may cave-in, but in a totally different sense. One simply gets fed up. More, one has to ask how many more hours, weeks, years of time and energy can we spend in trying to accommodate ACLU demands? How much more money can we throw away—money that *could* go to child care? What will be the next ACLU gambit? For a time they were vigorously protesting religious symbols in our Catholic child-care agencies. If it won't be that, it will be something else. Are we Catholic or are we not? If we have provided the highest quality—indeed, sought after—child care for more than a century, in large measure because we are value oriented, why fault us now for being value oriented?

Which really introduces the crucial question: Should Catholic child-care agencies stop being Catholic in order to continue caring for children? In my judgment, and in Bishop Daily's, I am certain, that would be a contradiction in terms.

We are providing a vital service to the City of New York, and doing so happily and with integrity. If the city no longer needs or wishes to use our services—no hard feelings. We have an almost infinite number of demands on our limited resources. Nor are we dazzled by the millions of dollars the city pays us. Child care still costs us money. We are not in it as a business, but as a service and a work of love.

After seven and a half years of an enormous amount of effort to achieve an amicable arrangement without compromising principle, I am substantially less than amused by an editor who speaks of playing chicken and bluffing. I don't own a leather jacket, with or without steel studs, and my only gold chain carries my episcopal cross. I am ill-suited to playing chicken or any other game with human lives.

No, Mr. Newsday Editor, I am not bluffing, nor is Bishop Daily. We have hung on, he for the year he has been Bishop of Brooklyn, I for my seven and a half years as Archbishop of New York, against inordinate challenges, demands and harassment. We have walked far beyond the extra mile. Our feet are worn out. Pray not that we will stop "bluffing"; pray, rather, if you care about both children and principle, that we won't give up in exasperation and discouragement.

No one is "playing chicken," Mr. Editor, but someone *is* throwing some pretty rotten eggs.



From My Viewpoint

'The World Will Hate You'

By CARDINAL JOHN J. O'CONNOR

Life is never easy; in Lent it often gets even harder. This Lent "Catholic bashing" has really been the *in* thing. That gives me a degree of comfort. It suggests we must be doing some things right. Our Lord made it very clear: "Because you are not of the world, but I have taken you out of the world, the world will hate you...as it hated Me before you."

The Roman historian, Tacitus, lived through the early days of Christianity (56 A.D.—117 A.D.). He saw Christians come to Rome and Rome worried by their presence. They were countercultural, like the Church today. Tacitus wrote a book called "The Annals of Imperial Rome," in which he described the burning of Rome during the reign of Nero, who ruled from 54-68 A.D.. Here's Tacitus:

"...neither human resources, nor imperial munificence, nor appeasement of the gods, eliminated sinister suspicions that the fire had been instigated. To suppress this rumor, Nero fabricated scapegoats—and punished with every refinement the notoriously depraved Christians (as they were popularly called). Their originator, Christ, had been executed in Tiberius' reign by the governor of Judea, Pontius Pilate. But in spite of this temporary setback the deadly superstition had broken out afresh, not only in Judea (where the mischief started) but even in Rome. All degraded and shameful practices collect and flourish in the capital."

Blaming the victim is an ancient, dishonorable and convenient practice. Neither the Church at large nor individual Christians should be the slightest bit surprised to hear from those who speak for this world's values that we are the ones who create problems, "stir up the people," impose our values on others whenever we proclaim, "This is what we believe." Do you remember the charge levied against Jesus standing before Pilate: "He stirs up the people."



'FOLLOW ME'—Bas relief of Good Friday event suggests Christ's words quoted by Cardinal O'Connor, "If you would follow Me, take up your Cross."

Expect that, each of you who would be called "Christian." Expect it when you object to your school boards about the imposition of the *world's* values on children. Expect it when you object to your television stations about imposing the world's values about marriage and family life and when you object to theater owners who show the movies they show, and to producers who produce them.

Expect it when columnists and editors who are censored for ethnic slurs or attacks on virtually any other people can romp all over the place at the expense of Catholics who dare to publicly uphold their faith, without a murmur from publishers or owners.

Expect to stand before the Pilates of the world each day of your life, my Christian brothers and sisters or any other good and decent people of other religious persuasions, and have the world wash its hands of you before it sentences you to death.

If you're going to be a real Catholic, expect to be treated like one and be glad, even if it doesn't make you *feel* good. Neither Christ nor the Church ever said that "feeling good" is the purpose of life. "If you would follow Me, take up your Cross." No in all of history has Easter Sunday come before Good Friday.

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or public subsidies, or fails to eliminate special interest PACs.

Further, as I have previously stated, I am opposed to different rules for the House and Senate on matters of ethics and election reform. In several key respects, S. 3 contains separate rules for House and Senate candidates, with no apparent justification other than political expediency.

S. 3 no longer contains the provision that the Senate passed last year abolishing all PACs. Although that provision was overbroad in banning issue-oriented PACs unconnected to special interests, S. 3 would not eliminate any PACs. Instead, the Act provides only a reduced limit on individual PAC contributions to Senate candidates and no change in the status quo in the House. Moreover, the limit on aggregate PAC contributions to House candidates to one-third of the spending limit, $200,000, is not likely to diminish the heavy reliance of Members on PAC contributions. The average amount a Member of Congress raised from PACs in the last election cycle was $209,000.

The spending limits for both House and Senate candidates will most likely hurt challengers more than incumbents, especially because S. 3 does little to reduce the advantages of incumbency. Inexplicably, there is no parallel House provision to the sensible Senate provision restricting the use of the frank in an election year. In the last election cycle, the amount incumbent House Members spent on franked mail was three times the total amount spent by all House challengers. The system of public benefits, designed to induce candidates to agree to abide by the spending limits, is unlikely in many cases to overcome the inherent favors of incumbency.

S. 3 contains several unconstitutional provisions, although none more serious than the aggregate spending limits. In *Buckley* v. *Valeo*, the Supreme Court ruled that to be constitutional, spending limits must be voluntary. There is nothing "voluntary" about the spending limits in this Act. The penalties in S. 3 for candidates who choose not to abide by the spending limits or to accept Treasury funds are punitive—unlike the Presidential campaign system—as well as costly to the taxpayer. For example, if a nonparticipating House candidate spends just one dollar over 80 percent of the spending limit, the participating candidate may spend without limit and receive unlimited Federal matching funds. The subsidies provided for in S. 3 could amount to well over 100 million dollars every election cycle, yet the Act is silent on how these generous Government subsidies would be financed. It seems inevitable that they would be paid for by the American taxpayer. I understand why Members of Congress would be reluctant to ask taxpayers directly to subsidize their reelection campaigns, but given the significant costs of S. 3, its failure to address the funding question is irresponsible.

Our Nation needs campaign finance laws that place the interests of individual citizens and political parties above special interests, and that provide a level playing field between challengers and incumbents. What we do not need is a taxpayer-financed incumbent protection plan. For these reasons, I am vetoing S. 3.

George Bush

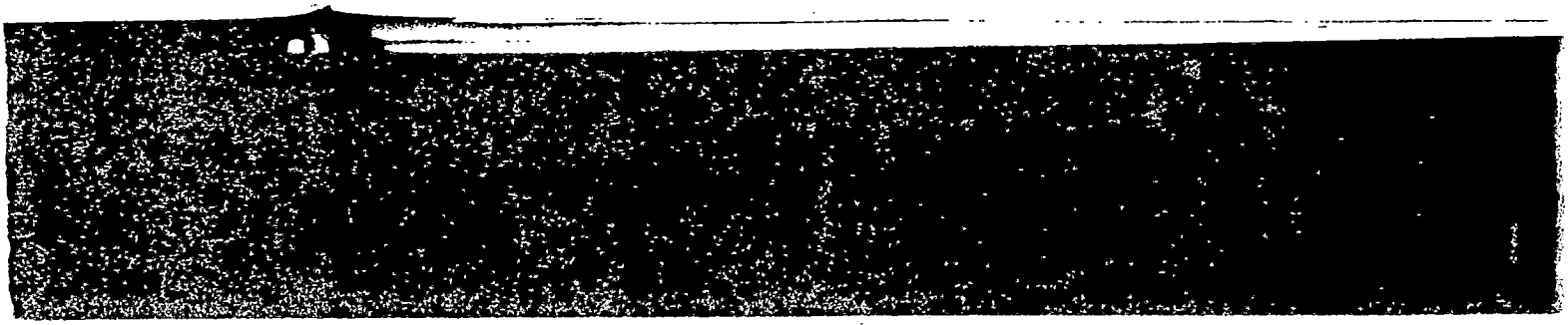
The White House,
May 9, 1992.

Remarks on Maternal and Infant Health Care

May 11, 1992

Thank you, Lou, thank you, Secretary Sullivan, and welcome, everyone. Let me just pay a special thanks to Senator Dale Bumpers and to Congressman Tom Bliley, who have been spearheading many of our prenatal and immunization initiatives on Capitol Hill. They are true leaders for this cause, and we're delighted to see you all here today. Also to Jim Mason, our Assistant Secretary for Health; Bill Roper from Atlanta, doing a superb job as our Director at CDC. And a warm welcome to representatives of the Advertising Council and to all the very special mothers and children who are with us today.

Yesterday, on Mother's Day, millions of Americans took time to appreciate the miracle of motherhood. We thank the mothers who brought us into this world, who taught



us our first lessons about life and love and character. Today, we're taking some vital steps to help American mothers, their children, and their families. We're announcing improved standards and a new action plan for immunization. We're beginning a public service ad campaign to promote an innovative prenatal care program called Healthy Start, the program Dr. Sullivan referred to.

Every year in America thousands of babies are delivered at dangerously low birth weights, and too many of these babies die or suffer chronic illness as a result. Thousands of our young children suffer crippling effects each year from measles and other communicable childhood diseases, and some even die. But the saddest fact of all is this: Most of this death and disease is easily preventable through immunization and through better prenatal care. To the extent they are preventable, they too often reflect bad health choices stemming from ignorance of good health behavior or absence of a defined sense of personal responsibility by the parents.

All of our maternal and child health programs are being improved, integrated, and developed to promote the principles of innovation, of community involvement, and personal responsibility. We are using new and creative approaches to bringing high-risk women into care. To attack this problem we are mobilizing the Nation's best ideas and resources. The hallmarks of our plan can be summed up in two words: immunization and action.

Last June I stood here in the Rose Garden with the Secretary to call for a stronger immunization effort. We sent out teams to six areas of our country to determine how we could do it better. We learned lessons that we're now applying nationwide. I was pleased to be a part of the visit to San Diego in February and happy that representatives of all six communities that we looked at are here with us today.

Today we're announcing a new action plan to get our children vaccinated when it makes the greatest difference, before the age of two. The plan requires more effective coordination to promote vaccination among the various Federal Agencies that serve children. We're helping States and localities with their own immunization plans. And our administration's budget for immunization continues to respond to the need. For fiscal '93, we're seeking an increase to $349 million. We're also announcing new standards for pediatric immunization, the work of an expert panel representing many private and public sector organizations. They're going to help clinics improve their method to provide vaccination to kids who need them the most.

I salute the leaders again of the Advertising Council for all the volunteer time and talent that you have organized for the cause of infant mortality. I know that public service ad campaigns such as this work. Think of the success of other Ad Council campaigns for kicking the smoking habit, for seatbelt use, for screening for cancer. All such efforts help people show greater responsibility in their own behavior.

Now, I've often thought that the same sort of diligent use of marketing science and communications talents could help motivate Americans to address other problems involving personal responsibility, for instance, in keeping families together, encouraging responsible sexual behavior, and other matters of personal and family well-being. So I'm confident that the Ad Council's new campaign will have strong and positive results.

The Council's messages will emphasize that the health of pregnant women and their unborn babies is a matter of concern to every member of a civilized society. When an expectant mother is financially needy or without a husband or a family to support her, it is all the more urgent for good neighbors to show that they care. The Ad Council's first message, therefore, targets the general public. It calls on all of us for action. The theme that you'll soon be hearing on television is this: We must not accept high rates of infant deaths because this is America.

The second announcement will impress upon men the importance of their role. Whether a man is an unborn child's father or another family member or friend, there is much he can and should do to help an expectant mother. We cannot understate male responsibility.

The third announcement will tell women that proper care begins long before the baby is born. Consider this: Babies born after a pregnancy with no prenatal care are four

r immunization continues need. For fiscal '93, we're e to $349 million. We're w standards for pediatric work of an expert panel private and public sector 're going to help clinics od to provide vaccination em the most.

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ncement will tell women gins long before the baby this: Babies born after a prenatal care are four times more likely to die than those whose mothers received care beginning in the first trimester. The full series assures pregnant women in need that they are not alone. Care is available, and good neighbors are being mobilized to help.

The Healthy Start approach represents what we should be doing to solve our social problems: local solutions, local control, local accountability. The first 15 Healthy Start communities were chosen from a long list of applicants. I understand that representatives of many of these communities from around the Nation are here today, and thank you all for your good work.

We're not weighing down these community initiatives with burdensome Federal mandates and command-and-control regulations. We're seeking to empower neighborhood volunteers in local governments to invent effective new ways to help save babies' lives and keep babies and their mothers strong and healthy.

Healthy Start successes will come from people who see neighbors in need and ask, "What can I do to help?" And they follow through on their generous impulses. And they keep noticing and helping more people. I'm talking about people like Minnie Thomas in Oakland, California. An energetic grandmother, she was helping drug abusers when she learned there was no facility for drug abusers who became pregnant. So she opened her own facility called Solid Foundation. And 47 kids have been born to mothers at Solid Foundation, and not one suffered from low birth weight.

Here in Washington, Tawana Fortune-Jones is the woman with the Mom Van, and she knocks on doors in neighborhoods where infant mortality is high. She's enlisted the cooperation of doctors and clinics to establish a Healthy Start Pregnancy Register. She drives the Mom Van, and each morning at 7 a.m. she begins picking up women and taking them to doctors' offices. Afterwards she takes them home, and then she shuttles another group in the afternoon. She's a friend to women who have no other friends, and she's saved and bettered the lives of hundreds of babies. And she's here with us today. Tawana, where are you now? Right over here. Tawana, good neighbors are the heroes of our cities, and you're the model of a good neighbor. Thank you for what you do.

Unbelievable as it may seem, the innovations of Healthy Start ran into resistance up in Congress where they are still too much wedded to the old bureaucratic ways of doing things. I'm optimistic, though. I believe our approach for empowering people with new ideas is the way of the future. Our crusade for preventive health care for infants and expectant mothers will move a step further when we reform this—overall reform of the health insurance system. I've proposed making every American able to afford a basic health insurance plan of his choice, using credits or vouchers. And through the market system, we would provide needy Americans better health care than they now receive.

These two efforts represent a new way of solving our problems in infant mortality and immunization. Our guiding principle is to reach out: Reach out to young parents, make sure they know what they need to do, and then help them to do it; reach out to community organizations; reach out to the private sector; and reach across the artificial lines in our Government so that any program that touches young children and their parents will become an opportunity point for better health.

We have new kinds of problems, and so we've got to think in new ways. We need to think about all the opportunities that we have to draw in young families who may be left out today, to help them, to inform them. We need to enlist them and enlist our communities to work together to help them. All the community organizations have a tremendous role to play. It's already worked in our six demonstration immunization cities, and I am confident that it's going to work in Healthy Start and in more immunization communities all around this great country.

Thank you all for your leadership. Again, my respects to the two Members of Congress here. Thank the doctors here, and thank all of you working in the communities to make life just a little better for the kids and for the families out there. Thank you all for coming.

Note: The President spoke at 11:16 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 3 STORIES

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In a Convent, Rapture And Questions of Reality

BYLINE: By MICHIKO KAKUTANI

... who just happens to be Mariette's older sister, warns her: "Don't try to be exceptional; simply be a good nun. St. Ignatius Loyola gives us the right prescription. Work as if everything depended on you, but pray as if everything depended on God."

Mariette, of course, is anything but ordinary. She radiates a beauty and purity that the other nuns ...

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REAL PEOPLE / REAL EXAMPLES

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