

NOT FOR RELEASE

Summary of Hillary's views on children and the law as expressed in article in Harvard Educational Review in 1973 and chapter in book on children's rights published by Teachers College Press in 1979, and suggestions for response to attacks misstating Hillary's views (suggested response begins on page 7)

Harvard Ed Review piece:

489: "Dividing point at 21 or 18 years is artificial and simplistic ... obscures dramatic differences among children of different ages...."

Historically, "children were regarded as chattels of the family and wards of the state...." Now "older children have a few additional legal rights ... to drive a motor vehicle,...drop out of school,...vote...and marry." Then refers to Gault, Board of Education v. Barnette, and Tinker.

490: Refers to "apparent contradiction" between "powerful social consensus" re parental control and "doctrine of parens patriae." Says "most striking characteristic of children's law is the large degree of discretion permitted decision-makers in enforcing community norms."

491: Says this "will also subject members of social minorities to the prejudices and beliefs of the dominant sector of the community...[R]eservations against state intervention are most easily overcome in cases involving poor, non-white, and unconventional families."

"State has not proved an adequate substitute parent in many...cases...[L]ed to increased rights of parents and custodians ... to certain procedural guarantees before the state may remove their children....Only recently...has attention focused on the rights of the children...This attention is struggling for legal recognition against the prevailing assumption in children's law that a child's interests are identical to those of his parents."

492: "The needs and interests of a powerless individual must be asserted as rights if they are to be considered and eventually accepted as enforceable claims against other persons or institutions."

493: "The basic rationale for depriving people of rights in a dependency relationship is that certain individuals are incapable or undeserving of the right to take care of themselves and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position....[P]resent and past examples...include marriage, slavery, and the Indian reservation system....[C]hildren...[are] uniquely vulnerable to this rationale."

494: "[T]he use of chronological dividing lines to mark legal distinctions has continued."

"Present claims of right follow two general approaches: ...extension of adult rights to children, and...legally enforceable recognition of children's special needs and interests."

495: Goes on to give examples of each, saying former are often "tailored to special characteristics of children."

496: Says second type "is reflected in the various bills of rights which have been proposed for children, each unveiling a blueprint for the child's fullest development." Says "their scope and content raise troublesome questions." Easier to define physical needs than psychological ones. Would be "necessarily broad and vague," and raise problems of broad state discretion.

497: "It is important to recognize the limited ability of the legal system to prescribe and enforce the quality of social arrangements."

497-503: Then discusses relevant Supreme Court decisions: Brown, Gault (quotes Gault approvingly: "neither the Fourteenth Amendment nor the Bill of Rights is for adults alone"), McKeiver v. Pennsylvania (refusing to extend the jury trial right to juvenile delinquency proceedings), Jefferson v. Hackney, Rodriguez, and Wisconsin v. Yoder.

503-505: Discussion of Yoder: "[I]n that case the children whose interests were at stake had the capacity to evaluate their interests for themselves." Douglas' view "ground-breaking" -- quotes him at length: "The child... should be given an opportunity to be heard before the State gives the exemption which we honor today." Points out that Douglas relied on Piaget, Kohlberg, Kay, Gesell, and Tlg. Majority does not disagree with Douglas on the merits -- "only notes that the children are not parties to the litigation."

505-506: Clinton analysis of the Court's posture: "These opinions illustrate two persistent, general problems of legal theory which children's rights advocates seek to overcome. First, legal policy is ambivalent about the limitation of parental control and the assertion of state control over children. There is an absence of fair, workable, and realistic standards for limiting parental discretion and guiding state intervention. Second, the state generally fails to evaluate a child's independent status, giving a competent child the chance to articulate his interests for himself."

"Ascribing rights to children will not immediately solve these problems, or undermine the consensus which perpetuates them. It will, however, force from the judiciary and the legislature institutional support for the child's point of view."

Discusses in detail:

507-509: "Abolition of minority status": "Age may be a valid criterion ... but ... its application should be subjected to a test of rationality.... [C]ould be ... legislative abolition... [on] an area-by-area approach... [or] judicial declaration that the present classification scheme is over-inclusive, after which the state would bear the burden of justifying its restrictions on infants ... The abolition of minority ... need not mean that children become full-fledged miniature adults before the law... [C]ould still be limited or modified on the basis of supportable findings about needs and capacities at various ages." The thrust of the argument at this point is that the law should "reverse its underlying presumption of children's incompetency Empirical differences among children would then serve as the grounds for making exceptions to this presumption and for justifying rational state restrictions."

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many legislatures now regard the presumption of incompetency as rebuttable and are legislatively removing some of children's legal disabilities." Citing: 18 year old vote.
509"Granting all procedural rights": major points discussed here are Gault and provision of legal counsel, including "Independent counsel for children ... should be required in any case where a child's interests are being adjudicated."
510"Substitution of an evaluation of consequences for the implied identity of interests between parents and children": Again cites Yoder. Then says: [I]n cases of potential conflict between parent and child the consequence to the child of parental action or inaction should be considered. Where the consequences appear irreversible, the assumption should be discarded in favor of an extrafamilial decision that takes into account the opinions of all interested parties. If the consequences appear reversible or insubstantial, the assumption that the parent knows best should probably continue to govern."

510-512: "Application of the new equal protection theory": argues for suspect classification in relation to education of poor children and AFDC benefits, says "There is less support for the contention that children qua children should be treated as a suspect class, but an argument may be constructed using the original rationale for suspect classifications." Essentially the argument here is that children are discrete and insular minority because of their political powerlessness.

512-514: "Moving away from the 'best interests' standard": says "the unchecked discretion of the state has vices of its own. The best interests standard ... is ... an empty vessel into which adult perceptions and prejudices are poured." Refers to Joe Goldstein least detrimental alternative, says this "still falls short because it does not specify the standards which should govern such intervention.... Sentiment against state intervention stems from the state's poor record in caring for children removed from their families." On the other hand, "some children, even in these days of inadequate services, do benefit from a temporary or permanent removal from their families. The principal challenge lies in determining which children would benefit from removal." Then essentially lays out what became P.L. 96-272, with reasonable efforts to prevent removal and periodic reviews and so on. "Parental behavior that does not result in medically diagnosable harm to a child should not be allowed to trigger intervention, however offensive that behavior may be to the community."

Finally, a suggestion that "Boards composed of citizens representing identifiable constituencies -- racial, religious, ethnic, geographical -- could make the initial decision regarding intervention or review judicial decisions." Would also do periodic reviews and make recommendations about terminating parental rights. Membership: parent, professional, perhaps

children. Require 3/4 vote to remove child or terminate parental rights.

Teachers College Press book chapter:

Much the same as the Harvard piece.

22: Divides children's rights issues into 4 categories: rights in relation to the family, rights of children without families, rights in juvenile-oriented institutions, and rights in society.

22-24: Children's rights and the family. State intervention is first subissue, "either in response to voluntary requests for assistance by the family or decisions by government representatives to intervene between a family and a child." Parental: "as when a parent tries to turn a child over to an institution or requests assistance in raising a child because of the child's alleged incorrigibility." One way to avoid excessive state intervention on a coercive basis would be "a family policy ... that provides stigma-free assistance to families in trouble before their problems reach the extreme point of requiring wholesale intervention....[E]ach family at some time needs a certain amount of assistance from the community or government to care for the needs of its members...I believe that when we speak about the rights of children in relation to their families under conditions of family failures, we are really talking about the needs of children to be cared for in order for their own families to function successfully...."

24-26: Independent decisions by children is second subissue -- "whether and to what extent children have a right to make decisions that conflict with the decisions that their parents or other guardians wish made." The problem arises because of the "invention" of adolescence.

25: "Because children now remain in the family for longer periods, during which they are still dependant but becoming more and more adult, the opportunities for intrafamily disputes have increased dramatically." Points to letter sent out by opponents of Child and Family Development Act (the child care legislation vetoed by Nixon) saying bill would "allow children to take parents to court if they were ordered to take out the garbage." Says relevant disputes are "of a more serious nature." Examples: disputed medical procedure, including abortion, and situations where family religious objections are overcome by medical necessity.

26: "Even among persons in the children's rights movement, there is a concern that extending rights to children against their parents is too difficult to control, and in all but the most extreme cases should questions should be resolved by the families, not the courts. I prefer that intervention into an ongoing family be limited to decisions that could have long-term and possibly irreparable effects if they were not resolved. Decisions about motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease, or employment, and others

where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future should not be made unilaterally by parents. Children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own future if they are competent." (The next to the last sentence is quoted out of context by Paul Gigot in the Wall Street Journal.)

26-28:Rights of children without families: "Who protects the child given over to the state?" Says litigation is difficult because court orders tend to be able to deal mainly in numbers -- of staff, square feet, etc. Concludes, referring to need for greater sophistication in agencies serving children, "The educational job facing us is enormous."

28-29:Children's rights in institutions: says until Gault "it was not even clear that children were persons under the Constitution." Talks about the various then-recent Supreme Court cases.

29-31:Children's rights in society: "issues ...are complex and hard to define. Nice if child had "a right to grow up in a world at peace,...but none of us ... has figured out a way to enforce it." Some claims allowed: "child heir's claim to an inheritance, a minor's right to sue for damages resulting from an automobile accident, ... infant's action for damages because of injuries suffered in ... womb."

"Question of enforcement...is an extremely difficult one. ... The principal difficulty in enforcing children's rights is that, except for a very few, they are enforceable only vicariously."

Fashioning rights for children: 3 basic approaches. 1) extend adult rights "wholecloth", 2) tailor adult rights "to fit a child's special needs, 3) create special rights for children.

32:"Rights carry with them responsibilities, even when -- or especially when -- we are discussing their applicability to children." Says "presumption of incompetency has profound significance ... because a child denied the opportunity to exercise responsibilities is effectively denied the opportunity to mature into a responsible adult."

33:"There are certain children at certain ages in certain circumstances who can and should exercise responsibilities. The task is to determine what those conditions are. The first thing is to reverse the presumption of incompetency and instead assume all individuals are competent until proven otherwise." Says easy to decide newborns are incompetent, "more difficult" to decide 12 year olds are "totally incompetent," and "impossible to presume the typical sixteen-year-old incompetent." Need laws which differentiate. Not any harder than decisions lawmakers make in other areas.

34-35:Concludes by calling for better advocacy.

Other background

Garry Wills' NY Review piece discussing Hillary's writings

Discussing the inconsistent Supreme Court decisions, he says: "The decisions in these matters are spotty and inconsequent because there is no comprehensive theory of graduated maturity. Though Clinton admits it would be impossible to establish a calibrated scale of increasing competence applicable to all children, she thinks that the effects of such a scale could be approached by a simple but radical proposal -- to reverse the legal presumption of children's incompetence, to which exceptions must be drawn up, and install a presumption of competence, to which exceptions no more extensive would be made."

Wills says (his words, not Hillary's) that "the area of admitted incompetence is smaller and more easily identified (the infant and physically unmastered stages) than is the large and complex area of growing competence. Children's advances in knowledge are explosive." He goes on to cite Hillary's reference to Yoder, and says if the presumption had been reversed, "A presumption of competence would have included that consideration in every Justice's ruling." He then gives an example of his own creation as to how the reversal in the presumption of competence would work in relation to high school newspapers.

A bit later he quotes the language from the Teachers College Press chapter about reversing the presumption of incompetency and mentions Hillary's point about stressing children's responsibilities.

Another point: Wills talks of Hillary's success in winning support in Arkansas "for programs that have a radical basis." "In the past," he continues, "the child's rights were asserted vicariously through the parent. Ms. Clinton sees those rights as, at times, to be asserted against the parent. This has always been recognized in abuse cases, but she would extend it much farther."

This generalized assertion by Wills can be taken out of context.

This in turn leads to Paul Gigot of the Wall Street Journal, who makes the following statements:

"She has long promoted a legal doctrine that would declare children to be 'competent' persons who would have wide standing to sue their parents.... It's just what our lawsuit-happy society needs: Kids suing dad over a job at McDonald's."

The foregoing, I hope, gives a basis for analysis of what might be said about Hillary's writing.

Talking Points

Suggestions for dealing with attacks on the articles:

The attack is the one Gigot makes in one sentence -- that Hillary is advocating that children should have the right to sue their parents, or, to be more precise, that they should "have wide standing to sue their parents."

This is an old right-wing tactic. Writing in the late 1970s, Hillary herself pointed out that the right wing opposed the child care legislation ultimately vetoed by Nixon in the early 70s on the ground that it would allow children to take parents to court if they were ordered to take out the garbage. There was nothing -- absolutely nothing -- in the child care bill to support that charge, but that sort of all too effective demagoguery caused us to have to wait almost 20 years (until 1990) to get federal child care legislation passed. (Nixon did a similar piece of demagoguery in vetoing that bill, pointed out by Hillary in a 1977 Yale Law Journal piece, saying the bill would "commit the vast moral authority of the National Government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing over against the family-centered approach.")

They are at it again. The child care bill of the early 70s didn't provide for kids to sue their parents, and Hillary isn't advocating kids suing dad over a job at McDonald's (Gigot's phrasology, whatever that means).

The two pieces that form the core of Hillary's writing in this area are a broad-ranging examination of the three-cornered relationship between children, their families, and the state. Like most family-law experts, Hillary found the existing law unsatisfactory. Paradoxically, it allowed for both too much and too little state intervention in families. It still does, although there have been some salutary changes.

It allowed the state to intervene too easily to remove children and put them in foster care, which it tended to do when dealing with poor or minority parents. And it failed to protect other children, particularly adolescents, when their parents refuse them medical procedures or educational possibilities that would make a major difference in their lives, or even more basic, when their parents seek to institutionalize them against their will for noncriminal behavior like repeatedly staying out too late at night or running with a bad crowd.

Hillary was looking for a better way to protect children from extreme overreaching by their parents. The idea she proposed -- that the presumption of incompetency be reversed -- can be twisted if taken out of context, no question about it, and that is what the Republicans are doing now.

Hillary herself was very careful to limit what she was saying, even though Paul Gigot has her having kids suing dad over a job at McDonald's (What does he mean? That dad wants the kid to take a job and the kid doesn't want to?). She says very clearly that she is not arguing "that kids become full-fledged miniature adults before the law," and she goes on to say that their rights "could still be limited or modified on the basis of supportable findings about needs and capacities at various ages."

Gigot takes Hillary egregiously out of context. In the very same paragraph that he quotes to claim that she wants to give kids wide standing to sue their parents, she says, "In all but the most extreme cases . . . questions should be resolved by the families, not the courts." This language is not of interest to Gigot. It gets in his way.

Hillary's examples illustrate the very limited nature of what she is advocating. She talks about the situation when a parent tries to turn a child over to an institution or requests assistance in raising a child because of the child's alleged incorrigibility. This is not about children being able to sue their parents. It is about their being able to defend themselves (essentially, by being entitled to representation by independent counsel, who will assert the child's independent interest) when the parent seeks to invoke the state's authority against the child.

These are very real situations. The Supreme Court has refused constitutional protection for children who resist being institutionalized at their parents' request, but state law could easily -- and usefully -- provide it without endangering the basic respect for the integrity of the family unit. Similarly, most parents would be shocked by the idea that some states allow parents -- and some parents accept the invitation -- to ask the state to take an unruly child off their hands. In calling for protection of children in these areas by creating a way for them to assert their interest independently, Hillary was not making a radical suggestion.

Hillary offers a number of other examples. Again, her context, which Gigot also fails to quote, is that the only circumstances in which she would allow children to assert an independent interest would be with reference "to decisions that could have long-term and possibly irreparable effects if they were not resolved." Her examples, as Gigot does quote, are "decisions about motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease, or employment."

The medical examples all share in common that they are not life-threatening situations, for which the law already typically allows intervention. But take the cosmetic surgery point. Hillary was actually referring to a case she knew about in which a girl had been refused permission by her mother to have a cleft

Only when the quality of life of a child is at stake for example
for example enabling a child to have surgery to correct a cleft foot or eyes

palate repaired, where the surgery would make a major difference in her life. Hardly radical or shocking to find a way to allow an adolescent to be able to decide for herself about such a thing. This is exactly the principle that underlies the type of parental notification statutes regarding abortion that have been upheld by the Supreme Court in cases like Bellotti v. Baird and Hodgson v. Minnesota. The child invokes a court procedure which inquires into and determines her maturity and competence to make the decision. This is essentially all that Hillary was advocating in a limited number of areas regarding health and life opportunities "where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future," as Hillary put it.

To say that she advocates giving children "wide standing to sue their parents" is a gross misrepresentation.

Additional notes to share with Hillary on questions relating to her writings:

If parental notification statutes in regard to abortion do not constitute the best example to use for one reason or another, it can be noted that many states have passed laws enabling youth in their mid-teens to make decisions independent of their parents (i.e., without consulting their parents) to seek drug counseling or treatment, medical or mental health care, or contraceptives. Notice that these measures have nothing to do with litigation. Legally enabling children to make certain decisions without consulting their parents is a far cry from saying children can sue their parents, but it is consistent with the idea of reversing the presumption of incompetency.

On the literal question of children suing their parents, Mr. Gigot has obviously not been following the case law. On December 17, 1991, in a case called Hartman v. Hartman, the Missouri Supreme Court abrogated the doctrine of parental immunity for negligence actions, adopting a reasonable parent standard to provide appropriate deference to parents' broad discretion in raising a child and to the exercise of parental authority within reasonable limits. The Missouri court, hardly a bastion of liberalism, noted that it had already abrogated the immunity for emancipated minors, the estate of deceased parents, and non-custodial parents. It said, "The interest in avoiding disruption of family harmony appears to be less significant than the interest in the right of the injured child to recover for injuries." It explicitly rejected the Florida rule which abrogates the immunity only to the extent of the parent's insurance. The Missouri court cited related decisions in Alaska, California, Hawaii, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Wisconsin, relying particularly on the California case in which the court in that state adopted the reasonable parent standard, all the way back in 1971. Very importantly, the Restatement of Torts (section 895(G), Comment k), recognizes reasonably prudent parent as the standard for suits involving negligent exercises of parental discretion.

A summary of the Missouri case is attached.

upon as the sole income of the party who is to receive the future payments. Rather, to the extent that the asset producing the income has been divided by requiring that party to pay a part of the asset's present worth to the other party, a sum representing the interest transferred must be subtracted from the transferor's income and added to the transferee's income before applying the statutory guideline. Failure to make such an income allocation would give to the transferee a double credit. — Criswell, J. □

MISSOURI ABROGATES PARENTAL IMMUNITY IN CHILDREN'S TORT ACTIONS AGAINST PARENTS

State high court adopts "reasonable parent" standard for actions based on alleged negligence of parents.

The doctrine of parental immunity no longer bars a child from successfully pursuing a negligence action against a parent in Missouri, that state's supreme court declared December 17. Noting that the increasing number of judicially recognized exceptions to the doctrine constitutes "a piecemeal abrogation of the immunity," the court decided that the purpose of the doctrine—the preservation of family harmony—no longer outweighs a child's right to recover for injuries suffered as the result of a parent's actions. The court further observed that it has previously abolished spousal immunity, and cited a number of decisions from other states in which abrogation of one of these intra-family immunities has been followed by abrogation of the other.

The high court went on to explain that some deference must be given to a parent's broad discretion in raising a child, while recognizing that parental authority must be exercised within reasonable limits. Accordingly, after rejecting the approach of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, which abolished parental immunity except in circumstances involving the exercise of parental authority or the exercise of parental discretion regarding the provision of necessities for a child, it adopted the reasonable parent standard previously articulated by the California Supreme Court. (*Hartman v. Hariman*, Mo SupCt, Nos. 73514 & 73568, 12/17/91)

Digest of Opinion: The court has consolidated for opinion two cases in which the appellants request re-examination of the parental immunity doctrine articulated in *Baker v. Baker*, 263 SW2d 29 (Mo SupCt 1953). In both cases the trial courts dismissed tort actions brought by minor children against their parents. Finding insufficient basis to retain the doctrine, this court reverses the judgments below.

Baker held that a 15-month-old infant could not sue her father for negligent operation of an automobile. The decision was grounded on the interest in preserving family harmony. Since *Baker*, we have engaged in a piecemeal abrogation of the immunity. See *Wurth v. Wurth*, 322 SW2d 745 (1959) (emancipated minors); *Brennecke v. Kilpatrick*, 336 SW2d 68 (1960) (estate of deceased parent); *Fugate v. Fugate*, 582 SW2d 663, 5 FLR 2705 (1979) (non-custodial parent). Finally, in *Kendall v. Sears, Roebuck, and Co.*, 634 SW2d 176 (1982), we held that application of the immunity should be on a case by case basis.

In Missouri, the adoption of the immunity rested primarily upon the need to "preserve and maintain the security, peace and tranquility of the home . . ." *Baker*, 263 SW2d at 30 (quoting *Cowgill v. Boock*, 218 P2d 445, 451-52 (Ore SupCt 1950)). (Other jurisdictions have considered additional reasons for adoption of parental immunity, see *Wagner by Griffith v. Smith*, 340 NW2d 255 (Iowa SupCt 1983).)

Re-examination of the significant interest in avoiding disruption of family harmony reveals that the interest exists in

tension with the consequences of the sometimes brutal application of the doctrine. As the Supreme Court of Hawaii noted in *Peterson v. City and County of Honolulu*, 462 P2d 1007, 1009 (1969), "[w]e think that when a wrong has been committed, the harm to the family relationship has already occurred; and to prohibit reparation can hardly aid in restoring harmony."

The weight afforded the policy of preserving family harmony is also diminished by recognition that significant erosions of intra-family immunity have occurred in the area of the marital relationship. Finding a close connection between parental and spousal immunities, other jurisdictions have abolished one after abolishing the other. *Hebel v. Hebel*, 435 P2d 8 (Alaska SupCt 1967); *Gibson v. Gibson*, 92 CalRptr 288 (SupCt 1971); *Rigdon v. Rigdon*, 465 SW2d 921 (Ky SupCt 1971); *Black v. Solmiz*, 409 A2d 634, 6 FLR 2250 (Maine SupJudCt 1979); *Plumley v. Klein*, 199 NW2d 169 (Mich SupCt 1972); *France v. A.P.A. Transport Corp.*, 267 A2d 490 (NJ SupCt 1970); *Elam v. Elam*, 268 SE2d 109, 6 FLR 2732 (SC SupCt 1980); *Goller v. White*, 122 NW2d 193 (Wis SupCt 1963).

Missouri has rejected the family harmony rationale as it applied to interspousal immunity. See *Townsend v. Townsend*, 708 SW2d 646, 12 FLR 1345 (Mo SupCt 1986); *S.A.V. v. K.G.V.*, 708 SW2d 651, 12 FLR 1345 (Mo SupCt 1986).

The interest in avoiding disruption of family harmony appears to be less significant than the interest in the right of an injured child to recover for injuries, particularly when Missouri recognizes all other forms of intra-family liability and applies the immunity only to actions in negligence involving unemancipated minors. It is also apparent that the ever increasing number of exceptions, which reflect the fault of the doctrine, will eventually engulf the rule. The preferred course is to abrogate the doctrine in its entirety.

What remains of concern, however, is the interest in avoiding subversion of parental care, control, and discipline. In view of this interest, the question becomes whether the need to preserve parental prerogatives regarding child rearing justifies barring all suits for negligence between child and parent. This court believes not. Parents should not be permitted to exercise parental prerogatives completely without concern for liability. It is incontrovertible, however, that parents must be able to exercise a great degree of discretion in control over the relationship with their child.

In acknowledging that the doctrine of parental immunity is difficult to justify, other jurisdictions have retained various exceptions as a means of protecting the integrity of the parent's right and ability to exercise independent judgment in raising a child. While the majority of courts that have re-evaluated parental immunity have decided that some form of abrogation is warranted, they have not reached a consensus as to whether there is a standard of care required of parents or whether a limited immunity should be retained.

One approach attempts to ensure that suits between parent and child will never engender familial discord by retaining immunity except to the extent of the parent's insurance. See *Ard v. Ard*, 414 So2d 1066, 8 FLR 2421 (Fla SupCt 1982). Formulation of different rules for the insured and uninsured, however, is not justified. See *Rousey v. Rousey*, 528 A2d 416 (DC CtApp en banc 1987). Furthermore, such a limited approach in Missouri would constitute an addition to the ever-lengthening list of exceptions to the immunity, thereby advancing the undesirable effects of piecemeal abrogation.

Other jurisdictions have abrogated parental immunity and substituted approaches that they believe adequately protect the family unit without unduly denying unemancipated minors a tort remedy. The first attempt at reform was undertaken by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, which held that parental immunity was abrogated except: "(1) where the alleged negligent act involves an exercise of parental authority over the child; and (2) where the alleged negligent act involves an exercise of ordinary parental discretion with respect to the provision of food, clothing, housing, medical and dental services, and other care." *Goller*, 122 NW2d at 198; See also *Wagner; Plumley; Rigdon*.

The principal difficulty with the *Goller* approach is that the exceptions are vague, which has resulted in inconsistent verdicts. Compare e.g., *Thoreson v. Milwaukee & Suburban*

Transport Co., 201 NW2d 745 (Wis Sup Ct 1972), with *Paige v. Bing Const. Co.*, 233 NW2d 46 (Mich Ct App 1975).

Even more troubling than these interpretative difficulties is that the exceptions appear to give parents "carte blanche" to act negligently with respect to their children so long as their conduct falls within one of the exceptions. *Gibson*. There is no sound reason to distinguish among the various parental duties so as to permit unfettered parental discretion with respect to provision of necessities or the administration of discipline.

The Supreme Court of California adopted a "reasonable parent" standard in *Gibson*, giving deference to a parent's exercise of broad discretion in performing parental functions yet recognizing that parental prerogatives must be exercised within reasonable limits.

The Minnesota Supreme Court, after 12 years of employing the *Goller* standard, decided that application of the exceptions was difficult and presented a danger of arbitrary line drawing. *Anderson v. Stream*, 295 NW2d 395 (1980). It concluded that instructing the jury on a reasonable parent standard would adequately protect functions that are parental in nature. See also *Nolechek v. Gersuale*, 413 NYS2d 340, 5 FLR 2346 (Ct App 1978) (Fuchsberg, J., concurring).

The reasonable parent standard permits an injured child, or a third-party, to recover only if the parent fails to meet the standard of care required of parents. This court, in the spouse's immunity context, has recognized that courts are capable of examining and adjusting the duty of care required between family members according to the facts of the case. *S.A.V.*

The Restatement (2d) of Torts (1979) recognizes that the reasonably prudent parent is the applicable standard to be applied in suits involving negligent exercises of parental discretion. § 895(G), Comment k.

Some courts have abandoned the immunity doctrine without committing themselves to an alternative general formula of parental tort liabilities and privileges, leaving the problem for subsequent cases. See, e.g., *Nocktonic v. Nocktonic*, 611 P2d 135, 6 FLR 2555 (Kan Sup Ct 1980); *Black*.

This court concludes that a reasonable parent standard should be adopted. The primary criticism of the reasonableness standard is the belief that parental judgment regarding the required degree of discipline and supervision of a particular child cannot be subjected to a judicial determination of reasonableness. See *Brunner v. Hutchinson*, 770 FSupp 517 (DC SD 1991); *Holodook v. Spencer*, 364 NYS2d 839, 1 FLR 2168 (Ct App 1974). (New York held that a child had no cause of action against a parent for negligent supervision, reasoning that negligent supervision had not historically been a tort actionable by the child. *Holodook* is not in accord with the fact that Missouri recognizes causes of action for negligent supervision by children against individuals who could be considered standing in the shoes of parents. *Rogger v. Voyles*, 797 SW2d 844 (Mo Ct App 1990) (grandfather); *Swain by Swain v. Simon*, 699 SW2d 769 (Mo Ct App 1985) (babysitter); *Smith v. Archbishop of St. Louis*, 632 SW2d 316 (Mo Ct App 1982) (teacher).) Use of the reasonable parent standard, however, provides a single test for all aspects of the parent-child relationship. The standard can be managed to ensure that clearly unacceptable conduct giving rise to tort liability may be subjected to scrutiny. — Covington, J. □

INTERCOURSE IN STATE SUBJECTS NON-RESIDENT PATERNITY DEFENDANT TO LONG-ARM JURISDICTION

Mississippi court says man's "begatting" of resident's child while in the state bestowed paternity court with personal jurisdiction over him.

A paternity court has personal jurisdiction over a non-resident who allegedly fathered a state resident's child while attending school within the state, the Mississippi Supreme Court ruled December 18. Rejecting the man's appeal from a paternity and child support order, the court noted three grounds for jurisdiction under the state's long-arm statute. It said that begetting a child

suggests that the man has assumed a quasi-contractual support duty, that doing so and refusing to support the child sounds in tort, and that the statute's catchall provision concerning the performance of "any business ... work or service" within the state is not limited to commercial activity, and encompasses the conduct alleged in this case.

The court noted that other jurisdictions have found in the similar laws of their own states the bases for personal jurisdiction over a non-resident putative father. The chief justice and two other justices dissented, arguing that it is up to state lawmakers, not the courts, to provide for jurisdiction in cases such as this. Two justices concurred, concluding that the man subjected himself to the long-arm statute by negligently impregnating the mother. (*Jones v. Chandler*, Miss Sup Ct, No. 90-CA-0555, 12/18/91)

Digest of Opinion: In 1977 and 78 Velma Hodges and Carl Jones engaged in a sexual relationship while they were both students at Mississippi's Jackson State University. Hodges claims that Jones is the father of her son, who was born in October 1978. In 1989, after Jones moved to Tennessee, Hodges commenced a paternity and support action against him in Mississippi. The court found Jones to be the father of her child and imposed a support duty. Jones appeals, presenting no question as to the merits of the case, but arguing instead that the court did not have personal jurisdiction over him.

There is no question that Jones was amenable to a paternity and support suit here so long as he remained in Mississippi. Jones says in effect that his subsequent (re)flight across the state line to Tennessee changes all of this. The point arises under the law of this state. No one suggests that Jones enjoys any federal constitutional shield from suit here.

Had Jones and Hodges been married when they performed their "begatting act," all other facts being the same, Jones would have been amenable to suit for support in Mississippi. Miss. Code Ann. 93-11-67(1) (Supp. 1990). Had just one of them been married (to someone else) and had they had intercourse in Mississippi, albeit fruitlessly, Jones would have been amenable to suit here. *Camp v. Roberts*, 462 So2d 726 (Miss Sup Ct 1985), construing Miss. Code Ann. 13-3-57 (Supp. 1990) (non-resident defendant committing criminal conversation here may be sued here). On today's facts, Carl Jones is on principle amenable to suit here as a matter of this state's positive law.

The chancery court held Jones amenable to Rule 4, Miss. R.C.P. Jones charges this was error, and we agree. Rule 4 provides a procedure for serving process upon those amenable to suit here by reference to other law, but, in his survey of "other law," Jones mistakenly assumes our hands are tied because he says we may find no statute expressly making him amenable to the suit in Mississippi.

In the first place, we see no reason why this case does not lie within § 13-3-57, this state's general long-arm statute. Begetting a child suggests the father has assumed a quasi-contractual obligation to support the child, the statute requiring only a contract "to be performed in whole or in part by any party in this state" in order for jurisdiction to arise over a non-resident. Begetting a child and refusing to support it sounds in tort, in the sense that we think a tort a "civil wrong," and the statute clearly provides for jurisdiction over someone who "commit[s] a tort in whole or in part in this state." Section 13-3-57's catchall—"do any business or perform any character of work or service in this state"—is so broad that it belies any suggestion that it be limited to commercial activity.

The states' legal long arms commonly take statutory form, but this does not have to be. To suggest that long-arm amenability rules may be only statutory in form and legislative in source is to confuse the familiar with the necessary and thus fall into fallacy.

We have accepted this view in an analogous context. Where persons are married to each other and live in Mississippi, both

To: George Stephanopoulos

As we discussed, I'm writing a story on Hillary Clinton's past legal writings on the issue of children's legal rights. Here are the questions. I am reachable Sunday after 12 noon EST or all day Monday at 202-862-9290. If you need to reach me at home, 202-723-4788.

Many thanks,

Cathy Trost, Wall Street Journal.

1. Critics contend that Hillary Clinton advocates children suing their parents. Has she ever said or written that children should be encouraged to sue their parents? How would she describe her views on childrens' legal rights.

2. How would she and Mr. Clinton respond to President Bush's allegation Wednesday that "They even encourage kids to hire lawyers and haul their parents into court. And I believe kids need mothers and fathers, not 'big brother bureaucracy', and the bond between the parent and the child is sacred and it is fundamental."

3. Critics often quote a line from "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective" in which Hillary Clinton says "Decisions about motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease or employment and others where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future should not be made unilaterally by parents. Children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own future if they are competent." Please explain what she means by this, how far she believes such rights should be expanded, and any limitations she would impose on these rights. For instance, some critics contend that she thinks children should be able to sue their parents to resolve family arguments. Please comment.

(more)

4. Daniel Wattenberg writing in the American Spectator contends that "she has likened the American family to slavery" and has called for a "radical redefinition of the relationship between state and family." Please comment.

5. Critics from the right also contend that she will try to further her views on children's legal rights by counseling Mr. Clinton, should he be elected, on legal policy and judicial appointments. They cite her statement that "if you vote for him you get me." Please comment on her intentions in this area should she become First Lady.

6. A Judge in Lake County, Fla. recently ruled that a 12-year-old child abandoned several times by his mother and now living with foster parents has the right to take legal action on his own behalf against his parents. Does Hillary Clinton view this as an important decision in the furtherance of children's legal rights.

7. Hillary Clinton has said she will be a voice for children in the White House, and "one of the first things that we will see happen is a real childrens and family agenda." What would that agenda include, and would it include efforts to expand children's legal rights?

8. Please clarify Hillary Clinton's stand on abortion. Does she advocate parental notification but not parental consent? What is Mr. Clinton's position.

- U -

To: Jody & George
From: Melanne
Re: Response to Wall Street Journal questions on HC's legal writings

First, a few contextual points:

Trost's questions refer to "critics." It is important to keep in mind the source of the criticisms. The attacks against HC's writings thus far have come from Cal Thomas (former official of the Moral Majority), Paul Gigot and the American Spectator. Their attacks are an old right wing tactic. The right wing opposed the child care legislation ultimately vetoed by Nixon in the early 70s on the ground that it would allow children to take parents to court if they were ordered to take out the garbage. There was, of course, nothing in the child care bill to support the charge.

The pieces that form the core of HC's writings were written a long time ago, both in terms of years and the law. Children Under the Law (Harvard Educational Review) was written in 1973, almost 20 years ago when HC was 26 years old. The second key piece, Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective was written in 1979.

These articles were not intended as a prescription for policy, legislative or judicial action.

The views expressed are generally in harmony with mainstream positions expressed by children's advocacy organizations such as the Children's Defense Fund. CDF is hardly considered to be outside the mainstream, except by the ultra right.

For purposes of background for you, George, that is, HC's purpose in these writings. What she was trying to deal with in the articles was an examination of the relationship between children, their families and the state. Like most family law experts, she found existing law unsatisfactory. It allowed for both too much and too little state intervention in the family. It allowed the state to intervene too easily to remove children and put them in foster care, which it tended to do when dealing with poor or minority parents. And it failed to protect other children, particularly adolescents, when their parents refuse them medical procedures or educational possibilities that would make a major difference in their lives, or even more basic, when their parents seek to institutionalize them against their will for noncriminal behavior like repeatedly staying out too late, etc.

HC was looking for a better way to protect kids from extreme overreaching by their parents. Some of what she proposed can be twisted, if taken out of context. The articles include sentences that if taken out of context could be used to suggest HC is a radical out to destroy the family, and that is what her right wing critics are attempting to do.

Lastly, there is a question as to how all of this is relevant to BC's Administration. As you rightly pointed out to the NYT this week, these are HC's legal writings; they do not represent BC's future policies (or past policies for that matter) Paul Gigot wrote, however,

"Is it fair to link a candidate with the views of his spouse? In the post feminist age, I think so, If a candidate's wife is now First Partner the way HC claims to be, her policies will shape his policy."

Now to Trost's questions. As you, no doubt, have noticed questions 1,2, and 3 are all variations of the same theme: does HC (and therefore BC) think kids should be encouraged to sue their parents.

First, HC believes (and this is a core principle that informs her writings) that the best thing for children is to grow up in a strong and loving family. Her primary concern, and the focus of her work on behalf of children, has been that families should be allowed to flourish so that children can too.

Families not courts, should make their own decisions. After all, she is the mother of a 12-year-old daughter and understands how important it is for parents to decide what's best for their kids.

But everyone understands that in the unfortunate situation where a parent abuses a child, the state has to act to protect the child. There are other extreme cases where parents make decisions that harm a child, and we haven't protected children so well in these situations.

HC is not arguing "that kids become full-fledged miniature adults before the law." (Children Under the Law, Harvard Ed Rev, p.508). HC has written clearly about the limited nature of the court's intervention (something her critics disregard): "Even among persons in the children's rights movement, there is concern that extending rights to children against their parents is too difficult to control, and in all but the most extreme cases such questions should be resolved by the families, not the courts. I prefer that intervention into an ongoing family be limited to decisions that could have longterm and possibly irreparable effects if they were not resolved." (Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective- Teachers College Press: 1979, p.26).

HC's examples go on to illustrate the very limited nature of what she is advocating.

Q2/ HC & BC believe too that "the bond between the parent & child is sacred and fundamental" and they have worked to strengthen that bond, to help families take care of their children. Bush's allegation about "encouraging kids to hire lawyers" is patently untrue and yet another example of Bush not knowing what he's talking about, and following the right wing's guidebook.

Q3/ The context for the quote cited is that the only circumstances in which HC would allow children to assert an independent interest would be with reference "to decisions that could have longterm and possibly irreparable effects, if not resolved." (Teacher's press, already cited).

Take the example of "cosmetic surgery" for example. HC was actually referring to a case she knew about in which a girl

had been refused permission by her mother to have a cleft palate repaired, where the surgery would make a major difference in her life. Hardly radical or shocking to find a way to allow an adolescent to be able to have recourse in such a situation. You may not want to use this example, but this is exactly the principle that underlies the type of parental notification laws regarding abortion that have been upheld by the Supreme Court in cases like Bel-lotti v. Baird and Hodgson V. Minnesota. The child invokes a court procedure which inquires into and determines her maturity and competence to make the decision. This is essentially all that HC was advocating in a limited number of areas regarding health and life opportunities "where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future." To say that she is advocating that children sue their parents for the most insignificant reasons is a gross distortion of her work.

Nothing in her writings would even suggest that HC is seeking to drive a wedge between parents and children. But as US News & World Report rightly observed: "HC's concern simply is with giving adolescents and teenagers a say in major decisions that could have longterm and possibly irreparable effects."

Q4/ Nothing in her writings, work or life supports the charges. These are Wattenberg's lies.

Q5&7/ As HC has often stated she has no intention of holding any official position. As First Lady, she hopes to be a voice for children. This does not mean that she sets the children's agenda in the Administration. BC knows America's kids need help. You can spell out the Clinton positions. BC & HC believe that if we don't invest in our children, we have no future. HC intends to go out to people across the country to develop support for the solutions the Clinton Administration will put forward in areas like health care, education and child care, not children's legal rights.

HC will also be in touch with the best ideas across America --wonderful things happening for children. Washington has to be responsive and build on what works, and people around the country should be aware of what's happening elsewhere. HC will be in a position to listen and make these voices heard in Washington and she will be able to bring people together, including people who haven't been involved in children's issues, to help implement the next Administration's agenda for children.

Q6/ I don't think HC should comment on the Florida case. How is it related to the campaign? It's a state case with no federal claim. Every legal issue is case specific. She has been campaigning and not closely followed the case. The case does have consequences for children's rights law: see attached article; therefore, I think it's best not to get into details. You can repeat the principle that always in the first instance, the family should stay together, but that's not always possible. Where children are abused in some way, other systems of care need to be established.

Q8/ You are more qualified to discuss how BC & HC are discussing

conserve-
time
court!

this issue. Just be sure that what's said is an accurate reflection of what they've both been saying. As I understand their position, they strong support some form of adult involvement in the serious decision of abortion by a young person and support parental notification with a judicial bypass.

LAW

Children's Rights Will Be Tested in Case

By HELENE COOPER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

In a court battle beginning today, a judge will be asked for what is believed to be the first time to determine whether children have the right to take legal action on their own behalf.

At the heart of the dispute in a Lake County, Fla., courtroom is a small, bespectacled boy who claims his childhood has been destroyed and who is doing battle with two formidable adversaries: his parents and the U.S. legal system.

Gregory K., age 11, (his name is being withheld by the court) has taken the unprecedented step of filing a petition to divorce himself from his parents.

After a decade of being bounced from the care of his parents to foster homes and an institution, Gregory has asked that the parental rights of his mother and father be terminated. In papers filed in Lake County Circuit Court, the child argues that his father physically abused him, his mother emotionally abused and neglected him, and the state of Florida has imprisoned him by "depriving him of the freedom to enjoy a normal childhood."

Judge G. Richard Singeltary is being asked to decide whether Gregory has the right to divorce his parents. The court is also being asked to allow Gregory's foster parents — with whom the boy has been living for nine months — to adopt him.

The existence of this case illustrates the change in the way society and the legal

system view children's rights. Children are coming to assume certain rights of their own, and scholars say the law is evolving to affirm children's rights as being equal to, or perhaps even superior to, the rights of their parents.

"Even 10 years ago, any concept of a child having rights just wasn't in the realm of consideration," says Leonard Loeb, past president of the American Association of Matrimonial Lawyers. "But now the law has evolved. The existence of this case isn't shocking."

Although moviegoers will remember that a similar story was spun in a 1984 film starring Drew Barrymore, there is scant real-life precedent for Gregory's case. In 1990 a Fairfax, Va., circuit judge allowed 11-year-old Daniel Eilin to retain a lawyer in a custody battle between his parents. That case marked what is thought to be the first recognition of a child's right to counsel in a custody case. Although he gained counsel, Daniel ultimately lost his bid to live with his mother and was sent back to his father.

Some legal scholars say Gregory might have a shot at winning his case — if he is able to persuade the judge to consider the real-life issues of the case, and not just the legal precedents.

Unlike Daniel, Gregory is seeking not only the right to counsel, but also the right to sue on his own behalf. And that represents uncharted territory, says Chris Hansen, associate director of the Children's Rights Project at the American Civil Liberties Union in New York. While suggesting that the judge could hand down a narrow ruling in Gregory's favor, Mr. Hansen predicts that a broad ruling giving children the right to sue is unlikely.

Such a ruling, legal scholars say, would open the door to a wide variety of suits.

Children would be able to sue their parents for, say, not taking them on a particular vacation. Also, allowing children to sue means they could, in turn, be sued by their parents.

Gregory's saga began in 1983, when his parents separated. The child's father assumed custody of Gregory in 1984, keeping him for five years until 1989, when a report alleging neglect and physical abuse was filed with the Florida Protective Services System. Gregory was turned over to his mother, who eventually gave him up, saying she wanted to put him up for adoption.

A children's rights attorney whose family took Gregory in as a foster child wants to adopt him, but the state stopped efforts to terminate Gregory's parents' parental rights when they objected.

That's when Gregory sued. "We talked for a long time before I agreed to take his case," says Gregory's Tavares, Fla., attorney, Jerri Blair, who says the boy first talked with his foster father about retaining an attorney. "This boy is intelligent. He knows what he's doing."

Gregory's natural father has consented to the adoption, but his mother says she wants her son back. "The boy's mother is a loving, caring parent who made some mistakes, but nothing so glaring that her rights should be terminated," says Jane Carey, the mother's Orlando attorney.

DISNEY GENERAL COUNSEL sees his former law firm.

Sanford M. Litvack, Walt Disney Co.'s senior vice president and general counsel, and Andrew Kilcarr, both former partners

of Donovan Lelsure Newton & Irvine, sued the New York law firm claiming that they are owed about \$1.1 million under a deferred payment clause in their partnership agreement.

Mr. Litvack and Mr. Kilcarr, now a partner at Washington's Hogan & Hartson, are also seeking punitive damages in their lawsuit, filed in Los Angeles County Superior Court.

As chairman of Donovan Lelsure's executive committee in the mid-1980s, Mr. Litvack was widely viewed as the mastermind of an unusual plan to solve the major law firm's economic problems. Messrs. Litvack and Kilcarr then left the firm in 1986.

Their attorney, Henry Ben-Zvi of Proskauer, Rose, Goetz & Mendelsohn in Los Angeles, said Messrs. Litvack and Kilcarr had agreed that the firm could hold money it owed them for five years. "Our interpretation of the partnership agreement is that the money was due in March of 1992, and the firm hasn't paid," Mr. Ben-Zvi said. A spokesman for 150-lawyer Donovan Lelsure couldn't immediately be reached for comment.

NOTED: Federal Judge David N. Edelstein resentence former congressman Robert Garcia to three years in jail, the same length as before, but made the former congressman immediately eligible for parole. Mr. Garcia was convicted of extorting a \$20,000 no interest loan from Wedtech Corp., a Bronx, N.Y., defense contractor that was at the center of an influence peddling scandal during the 1980s. He had already served 104 days in prison before a previous conviction was overturned in 1990. His wife, Jane Lee Garcia, was resentence to three months in prison; she previously was sentenced to three years. They were both reconvicted on different Wedtech-related charges.



DAVID PRYOR
ARKANSAS

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COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND
FORESTRY
FINANCE
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

*Isk
Did you
fax to Melbourne?
Maggie*

November 9, 1992

Ms. Hillary Clinton
The Governor's Mansion
State of Arkansas
Little Rock, AR 72201

Dear Hillary:

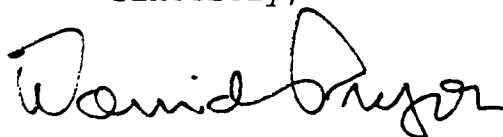
I am writing about your efforts on behalf of children and to recommend something which I think would be an excellent means of extending your work in this area as First Lady here in Washington. Your long-standing association with Arkansas Children's Hospital prompted me to mention this to you.

Children's National Medical Center (CNMC) in Washington, D.C., is a stellar pediatric health care facility, nationally recognized as a champion for children and their families. Children's Hospital is a free-standing 279-bed non-profit pediatric hospital serving children and their families in Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia. This organization provides not only state-of-the-art pediatric health services, but continually strives to incorporate a comprehensive, holistic approach to care for children and their families. This is accomplished through the development and implementation of initiatives that help compensate for the fundamental vulnerability and powerlessness of children, issues that I know have always been of great concern to you.

I believe that your association with Children's Hospital may be mutually beneficial, and I strongly recommend that you explore this opportunity at your earliest convenience. I know everyone at Children's is eager to help welcome you and Bill to Washington, and to introduce you to their faculty and staff. Enclosed for your information is a profile of CNMC and a summary of their advocacy/community outreach initiatives which I think you will find of particular interest.

Please have a member of your staff contact Mr. Henry Woods of my Senate office staff (202-224-2353) to facilitate further discussion on this matter. Children's is a wonderful institution and we all look forward to your potential participation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "David Pryor". The signature is fluid and stylized, with a large initial "D" and a long, sweeping underline.

David Pryor

DP:hw

Wendy Lazarus

[REDACTED]

FACSIMILE COVER LETTER

Date Wed Nov 25Time 9:30 AMFrom Wendy Lazarus☐

Bay Area

FAX:
Telephone:(510) 763-1974
(510) 763-2444☐

So. California

FAX:
Telephone:(310) 399-7399
(310) 399-7444☐

State Capital

FAX:
Telephone:(916) 441-2463
(916) 441-2444

Total number of pages, including cover letter _____

Please deliver the following pages to:

Name Maggie WilliamsOrganization/Firm Clinton Transition OfficeLocation _____ FAX Number 501 - 399 - 7188

Message Maggie - Great to talk to you last
nite. As promised, here's a packet for Hillary.
We could meet with her Mon, Nov 30th or over
the weekend. I'm reachable today at 310-399-7444.
Then at 310-394-5999. Hello to Susan T. too -
If you do not receive all pages, please call _____ Happy thanks
and cheers.

November 24, 1992

Hillary Rodham Clinton
c/o The Clinton Transition Office
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Hillary:

My deepest congratulations on a superb campaign and an even more superb victory! I am so very hopeful and excited about the prospects for our country under Bill's and your leadership. The new spirit you have both kindled is already evident around us and is a great joy to feel once again.

I am writing in hopes that Harley and I can spend a little time with you during the next few days when you're in Southern California. Knowing that this is the time when you are thinking through the role you want to play in the new Administration and how best to staff up for it, we'd like to be helpful in any way possible, particularly on issues related to children and families where we both bring a good deal of experience.

We would like to share some thoughts with you about how you might structure your role most effectively (Harley discussed some of his ideas with Marian Edelman today in Washington, and she seemed interested and asked that he put them down on paper). In addition, I have some ideas about projects related to kids which should be considered early on.

As background, attached is a brief memo laying out several initiatives you could spearhead which would make a real difference for children. Also by way of background, you've met Harley, but you might not know that he has chalked up an unusual list of accomplishments at the federal and state levels which have given him experience that could be helpful as you plot your course. Harley has had over a decade of Executive Branch experience in the federal government (rare among Democrats of our generation), including running the Head Start program, Deputy Director of Presidential Personnel, and Deputy Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In addition, he has had extensive corporate experience during the 12 years since we left Washington.

We could meet over the weekend if that's convenient for you or on Monday, Nov. 30th. How about a walk on the Santa Monica beach? I will follow up with Maggie Williams to see if we can get on your calendar. Or you can leave a message for me at 310-394-5999. In the meantime, our very best wishes to you and Bill and happy holidays.

With Warm Regards,


Wendy Lazarus

November 24, 1992

To: Hillary Rodham Clinton

From: Wendy Lazarus 

Re: Children's Initiatives To Consider Spearheading

As you explore various roles you might play as First Lady, I'd like to suggest three initiatives related to children and families where you could make an enormous contribution. I've developed these proposals based on the following five criteria:

- Their ability to improve the lives of large numbers of children;
- Their practicality in these tight fiscal times;
- Their importance in sustaining the Clinton Administration's legacy for children and families--well beyond the eight years of your Administration;
- Their value as positive political messages, e.g. that lasting progress for children must involve the private sector as well as government;
- Their likelihood of success.

I. Corporate Campaign for Children

Through a well-planned campaign and wise use of the bully pulpit, you can create a climate in which corporate responsibility for children and families is expected and is rewarded by respect and recognition. This sends a useful political message that you understand the importance of the private sector in furthering publicly-held goals. Furthermore, while enlightened and well-funded government policies are essential, they, alone, will not fill the bill for children (since their parents' lives are so heavily influenced by actions taken or not taken by employers).

Over the past few years, the corporate community has paid increasing lip service to kids but, with few exceptions, has not taken meaningful actions. This can change if you and Bill provide the strong moral leadership that has been lacking over the past decade. The goals of this initiative are to enlist the corporate sector in:

- Establishing family-friendly policies for employees--e.g. child care assistance, health insurance coverage, parental and sick leave etc.;
- Demonstrating what it means to be a good corporate citizen for children--i.e. by providing money, training, and other kinds of support for children's programs in the community;
- Becoming vocal leaders for improved public policies that enable children and families to thrive.

You are ideally positioned to champion this effort directed at corporate leaders and to lead the nation in this sustained public/private partnership for kids. The initiative should involve leading corporate executives and include a menu of ways employers can help, a media component, and a means of recognizing achievement. Most importantly, certain elements will need to be built in from the start in order to institutionalize a corporate ethic of valuing children and families and to sustain these positive corporate practices.

II. Blueprint for Sound Family Income Policy in America

While the Clinton Administration works on invigorating the economy, 1993 provides an opportune time to develop the blueprint for a comprehensive income policy in America that rewards work and assures at least subsistence income for all families. Our family tax policies and welfare system badly need repair. And while there are a number of valuable proposals floating around which are a part of the solution--including Bill's campaign proposals for welfare reform, child support enforcement and insurance, expanding the Earned Income Credit and making it refundable, and a children's allowance--the work has not yet been done to assemble these pieces into a coherent national policy and build consensus around it.

The silver lining in these tough economic times is that they provide a window for this crucial work. Hopefully, by the time a sound blueprint is developed and political support for it is built, the economy will have turned around enough to begin financing these elements. As the economy improves, certain pieces of this comprehensive blueprint can move forward as the first phase in implementing the longer-term vision.

But this important initiative will happen successfully only if a serious commitment is made now to assemble the most knowledgeable and "fresh-thinking" people to focus on this issue. In the same way that you "chaired" the school reform issue in Arkansas, family income policy would be an ideal issue for you to "chair" nationally. In my view, along with health care reform there's no more important uncharted policy area affecting America's families than family income policy. Because the task requires such sophisticated thinking and political savvy, your leadership could make a terribly important difference. Of course, the politics of this issue and your precise role in it would need to be considered further.

III. Dedicating Special Funds to America's Children

After years of lobbying for funding for children's programs at the federal and state levels, I have come to believe very strongly that children will never get the sustained fiscal resources they need until we find ways to compensate for the political disadvantages they face in the budgeting process. Because children don't vote and their parents represent a shrinking minority of voters, they will never be able to ~~complete successfully in a budget process based upon an special interest~~ ~~children under age 18, today 55% of 1991). California's latest attempts to~~ close a multi-billion state budget deficit resulted in taking 43% of the cuts out of programs for children.

While I'm confident that you and Bill will ensure that children receive the best possible "fiscal shake" during the Clinton years, these gains will evaporate in subsequent Administrations unless we can find a way to restructure the budgeting process vis-a-vis children. Just as policymakers have treated certain groups of deserving Americans (e.g. seniors and veterans) as "special cases" and have earmarked money for them, we should take a similar approach for children.

I'm convinced there is no more important legacy that you can leave America's children over the long term than to level the playing field when it comes to allocating public funds. In addition, I believe the Clinton Administration is the key to getting this fundamental change accomplished for kids because it obviously has to be done by leaders who care and want children attended to properly over the long haul. I'm in the process of drafting an op-ed piece on this subject. I'd be happy to share it with you.

If this area is of interest, I would spend some time consulting our colleagues about how best to frame and deal with the issue. Then, the right people need to be convened to devise the most sensible policy response (a Children's Trust Fund like Social Security has been floated as one option). Finally, there must be a strategy to sell the idea politically.

A Closing Note: Hillary: These ideas are presented in short form. I'd be happy to elaborate on them and to work with you to develop any of them in greater detail. You or your staff can reach me at 310-394-5999.

Children's National Medical Center

NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

- Children's mission is four-fold: To provide quality programs of excellence in the areas of **Care, Advocacy, Research, and Education**
- Service Area: Children's began primarily as a **local and regional** facility; now also **serves national and International patients**
- Annual Patient Care Statistics:
 - 11,000** hospital patients **admitted**
 - 50,000 emergency** medical department visits
 - 240,000** children seen on an **outpatient** basis
 - Patients come from **46 states**
- 1990 *U.S. News & World Report* named CNMC **one of the top 13 hospitals in the nation for pediatrics**
- Children's is the **clinical consultant to the National Institutes of Health (NIH)** for pediatric patients. We are the only institution to provide this type of service to NIH

Medical Research

- While total resources devoted to research are smaller than some of our peers, **Children's researchers publish more articles and papers for professional journals than scientists at other pediatric institutions**
- **More than 200 separate research projects are currently underway**, ranging from studies of the virus that causes AIDS to how cancer tumor cells evade destruction from host defense mechanisms
- With the recruitment of investigators such as **Dr. Stephan Ladisch** (UCLA) for cancer/tumor research and **Dr. Christie Holland** (UMass) for virology research, Children's is becoming **fully competitive** and is **exerting national leadership**

Emergency Trauma Service:

- **Nationally recognized** for its medical care and educational/training activities
- **Regionally designated Trauma Center** for D.C. and the surrounding five-county region in Maryland
- **More than 1,800 trauma patients** admitted annually -- transported by helicopter, ambulance, or light aircraft
- **Patient referral base includes D.C., Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Delaware**
- **Provides consultation** to other pediatric trauma programs throughout the country
- Received a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to develop an Emergency Medical Services for Children (EMSC) National Resource Center. **As one of only two centers in the country**, Children's will help each state's Emergency Medical Service mobilize the system of care for acutely ill and injured children.

Emergency/Trauma Training Programs:

- **Conducts the first paramedic training program in the nation** for pediatric emergency/trauma care
- **More than 250 Emergency Medical Service Directors from all 50 states, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and Canada** have been trained
- **Children's provides pediatric emergency training to more than 500 nurses in the mid-Atlantic region over the next two years**

Neonatology/ECMO (Extracorporeal Membrane Oxygenation) Program:

- Children's offers **one of only two training programs in the nation** for this procedure -- an intensive care/heart-lung system for prolonged support of infants otherwise dying of heart and lung failure
- **Dr. Billie Short is known internationally** for her research and expertise in this area

Neonatology/ECMO, cont.

- **Children's has treated 350 babies since 1984 -- more than any other ECMO center in the nation**
- **Before ECMO, 80% of these children died; now, more than 85% survive**

Pediatric AIDS

- **Children's is one of six centers funded by the Centers for Disease Control in its Pediatric Surveillance Definition Project.** Children's was selected in part because of the confidential tracking system designed by Children's health professionals
- **Children's was the first hospital in the Washington metropolitan area to establish an interdisciplinary team dedicated exclusively to the care of HIV-positive children and their families: the Special Immunology Service.**
- **Children's also established a model of care specific to the needs of adolescents infected with HIV: the Burgess Clinic, the only comprehensive health care service in the Washington area for patients ages 13 to 21 who are infected or at risk for HIV infection.**
- **In October, 1991, researchers at Children's concluded a four-year study funded by the Centers for Disease Control to ascertain the incidence of HIV infection in adolescent patients seen in an urban pediatric hospital. The study shows the prevalence of HIV infection in urban teens is increasing rapidly.**
- **The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation awarded a grant of \$1 million to Children's National Medical Center for Project CHAMP: Children's HIV and AIDS Model Program.**
- **The goals of CHAMP are to prevent HIV infection in high risk adolescents; to prepare a training curriculum for out-of-hospital caregivers, and to broaden the number of people who are willing and trained to care for HIV infected children.**
- **Children's has also begun a multi-city training program for out-of-hospital caregivers of HIV infected children.**

Cancer Care:

- **Conducts the largest pediatric cancer treatment and research program in the Washington region**
- **One of 30 pediatric cancer centers throughout the U.S. and Canada participating in the Child Cancer Study Group, a professional consortia which shares diagnostic resources and research data on childhood cancer**
- **Dr. Gregory Reaman, Chair, Hematology-Oncology, Dr. Stephan Ladisch, recently recruited from UCLA to be director of Children's Center for Cancer and Transplantation Biology Research, are nationally recognized for their efforts in patient care and research**

Transplantation:

- **Programs exist in kidney, bone marrow and heart transplantation**
- **Donors and recipients come from across the nation**
- **In 1989, Children's performed the first pediatric heart transplant in the Washington area**

National SAFE KIDS Campaign:

- **Developed by Children's Trauma Department , SAFE KIDS is the only national initiative to reduce the number of preventable childhood accidents and injuries**
- **Chaired by Former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, M.D.**
- **Children's coordinates the efforts of more than 110 local coalitions participating in 40 states and Canada**
- **Founding sponsor, Johnson & Johnson, provides \$1 million annually to SAFE KIDS**

Division of Child Protection:

- **Largest pediatric, hospital-based program in the nation** for treatment of young victims of physical abuse, sexual abuse and neglect
- **Sponsors a National Symposium on Child Victimization** biannually; more than 2,000 professionals attended in 1990
- **Dr. Mireille Kanda**, department chair, is **nationally recognized** for her clinical expertise and **frequently testifies at the local and national levels** on this subject

11/7/91



Maggie
File Hunger-

Millions of kids are hungry in America.

**POLICY GOALS OF THE CAMPAIGN TO END CHILDHOOD HUNGER:
A Statement of Principles**

Hunger hurts everyone, especially children. In the long run, pursuit of various strategies to reduce the level and pain of poverty will reduce hunger among American children. To achieve this, we must assist families in their efforts to attain self-sufficiency by making available to them quality education and training, income from work that lifts them out of poverty, and adequate and affordable housing, child care and health care. We must also provide assistance for those who for the long or short term are unable to provide for themselves.

New and creative thinking is needed in our efforts to alleviate hunger and poverty. Of vital importance is the achievement of food security -- access by all people at all times through normal channels to enough nutritionally adequate food for an active, healthy life.

The Campaign to End Childhood Hunger supports the adoption of national policies guaranteeing food security to all Americans.

However, hungry children cannot wait for the long run. The most immediate and direct way to alleviate hunger and move toward food security is to strengthen an array of food assistance programs already in place. These food assistance programs can and should offer healthful and nutritious meals to children. Achievement of the following policy objectives would result in a dramatic reduction of hunger among children in the United States.

1. The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) provides essential nutrition assistance and access to health care to pregnant and postpartum women and infants and children at nutritional risk. Study after study has shown WIC to be highly effective in reducing low birthweight rates, averting infant mortality, improving the nutritional status of children, and saving Medicaid funds for women and infants. Yet, almost half of all those eligible for WIC nationwide fail to receive benefits due to a lack of program funding.

The Campaign to End Childhood Hunger seeks to ensure that all eligible low income women, infants and children can receive assistance through the WIC program.

2. The National School Lunch Program and the School Breakfast Program often provide the best meal of the day for low-income children. Studies show that these children receive



Campaign To End Childhood Hunger

one-third to one-half of their daily nutrient intake from school lunch. Studies also show that participation in school breakfast programs results in significantly higher achievement test scores. Yet today, less than half of the schools offering lunch operate a breakfast program and school food programs have been targeted repeatedly for reductions in federal funding.

The Campaign to End Childhood Hunger seeks to make the School Breakfast Program available to low-income children across the country and encourages federal, state and local policies to ensure that the National School Lunch Program remains broadly accessible to all such children.

3. Millions of low-income pre-school children do not have access to school meal programs and millions of low-income school age children lose access to these meals during the summer months. The Child and Adult Care Food Program and the Summer Feeding Program were established by Congress to meet the needs of these children, yet each serves only a fraction of the needy children eligible for these programs.

The Campaign to End Childhood Hunger seeks to greatly broaden the availability of meals for low-income children through expanded use of the Child and Adult Care Food Program and the Summer Food Program for Children.

4. The most important line of defense against hunger for millions of impoverished Americans is the Food Stamp Program. Few people realize that over half of all food stamp recipients are children, and that families with children receive over 80 percent of all benefits paid. Yet, barriers to food stamp participation prevent millions of eligible families from receiving assistance and benefit levels are so low that many food stamp families run out of food before the end of each month.

The Campaign to End Childhood Hunger seeks to make the Food Stamp Program accessible to all who are eligible and supports changes in benefit levels so that children and their families will have enough to eat each month.



Millions of kids are hungry in America.

April 27, 1992
Sept. 8

Hunger in the United States

Extent of Hunger

About five million American children under 12 go hungry each month and millions more are at risk of hunger according to estimates based on the results of the most comprehensive study ever done on childhood hunger in the United States -- the Community Childhood Hunger Identification Project (CCHIP). Hunger was shown to be a major problem among low-income families with children less than 12 years old in all of the CCHIP sites. Based on the results of seven CCHIP surveys -- in Alabama, California, Connecticut, Florida, Minnesota, Michigan and New York -- applied to the best available national data, FRAC estimates that approximately 12 percent of all families with children under 12 are hungry. The CCHIP estimates are based on pre-recession data; current hunger rates are probably much higher.

Other private and government surveys conducted throughout the last decade also document dramatic increases in the demand for emergency food:

- Since 1983, the U.S. Conference of Mayors has documented an annual increase in the demand for emergency food in major cities across the nation. In 1991, requests for emergency food increased in the survey cities by an average of 26 percent, up substantially from increases of 19 to 22 percent each year between 1988 and 1990. The number of families with children requesting assistance also increased by 26 percent. Two out of three persons requesting emergency food assistance were members of families with children. In 79 percent of the cities, emergency food assistance facilities turned away people in need because of lack of resources. Employment-related problems led the list of causes of hunger.
- A national survey conducted by Catholic Charities USA, the nation's largest private human service organization, shows that six out of every 10 people (62 percent) who went to Catholic Charities agencies in 1990 needed emergency food or shelter. Ten years ago, only two out of every 10 people (23 percent) sought those services.

While no one knows exactly how many people in this country are hungry, there is no question that millions face hunger every month. Harvard University's Physician Task Force on Hunger in America estimated in 1985 that 20 million people suffer from hunger.

Causes of Hunger

During the 1980s and early 1990s, hunger increased primarily due to a combination of economic factors and cuts in federal assistance programs.

Income and poverty data released annually by the U.S. Commerce Department's Bureau of the Census show that the lion's share of the income gains during the seven year economic expansion of the 1980s went to those at the top end of the income scale while poverty remained consistently high (see "Hunger and Poverty," below). As recession hit in 1990 -- signaled by a slowing economy, increases in the unemployment rate, rapidly growing demand for food stamps and other public assistance programs, and emerging budget crises at all levels of government -- an already high poverty

Campaign To End Childhood Hunger

rate began to grow. Participation in the Food Stamp Program and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) have increased substantially throughout the recession and are now at all-time high levels. In fact, one in 10 Americans is now receiving food stamps.

This recession came on top of significant cutbacks in federal programs aiding low-income people in the early 1980s. This weakening of the "safety net" included cuts in programs like AFDC, Medicaid, and Unemployment Compensation, in addition to food assistance programs. According to the Congressional Budget Office, food stamp and child nutrition programs incurred a cumulative cut of \$12.2 billion between fiscal year 1982 and fiscal year 1985. Despite some restoration of funds to these programs, the cuts have had lasting effects.

State and local governments and private charities, which were enlisted to make up for federal cutbacks and budget restraints, are increasingly unable to shoulder the burden. Many states are now in financial crisis and are announcing severe cuts in human services programs. And private charities -- such as soup kitchens and food banks designed to meet emergency need -- find donations unpredictable amid increasing demand. Every city participating in the U.S. Conference of Mayors' 1991 survey reported that the recession has affected the problem of hunger in their jurisdiction. And, all cities expect the demand for emergency food assistance to increase during 1992. Catholic Charities USA, reacting to the results of their agency survey, collected 10,000 letters to Congress voicing support for improvements in the Food Stamp Program to meet the growing need.

Moreover, CCHIP data and other sources indicate that because of barriers to participation, lack of information about eligibility, or inadequate funding, many of the federal food assistance programs are not used by million of people who appear eligible to participate in them. Also, survey results consistently show that food stamp benefits are not sufficient to protect many low-income families from experiencing hunger.

Without significant improvements in the economy and stronger safety-net programs, hunger will persist.

Hunger and Poverty

Hunger is a condition of poverty. Living below the poverty line puts tremendous strains on a household budget, adversely affecting the ability to purchase a nutritionally adequate diet. In fact, government surveys show that as income goes down, the nutritional adequacy of the diet goes down as well.

According to data released by the U.S. Census Bureau in September 1991, ^{1992 35.7} ~~33.6~~ million Americans -- or ^{14.2} ~~13.5~~ percent of our population -- lived in poverty in 1990. This increase, from ^{31.5} ~~31.5~~ million in ¹⁹⁸⁸ ~~1988~~, reflects the ^{first} ~~first~~ annual increase in the poverty rate since 1982 and in the number of poor people since 1983. The increase showed the early effects of the recession. *-Largest number of people in poverty since 1965.*

Children continued to represent the poorest age group in the country, a tragic distinction they have had for ¹⁹ ~~18~~ years. In ¹⁹⁹¹ ~~1990~~:

- ^{21.3} ~~20.6~~ percent of all American children were poor. (^{14.3} ~~14.3~~ million)
- ^{25.5} ~~25.5~~ percent of children under age three lived below the poverty line.
- One in every two black children under age six was poor.
- ^{12.4} ~~12.2~~ percent of all Americans 65 and over were poor.

The 1990 recession came as a major blow to the working poor, whose numbers grew throughout the 1980s. The working poor are at risk of hunger because their income often is not sufficient to cover all of their living expenses, including food. Roughly ^{15.2} ~~15.2~~ percent of all heads of households living in poverty worked year-round and full time in 1990. Among poor householders, ^{40.3} ~~40.3~~ percent worked for some period of time in 1990. The average amount of money needed to raise the incomes of each poor family (including those with working members) to its respective poverty threshold was \$5,192. So, despite efforts to lift themselves and their families out of poverty, wages for many working people were inadequate to do so. And, recession meant that even those low-paying jobs might be lost dropping those families deeper into poverty.

The 1991 poverty figures, reflecting the full impact of the recession, will, without doubt, be higher still.

Health Consequences of Hunger

Hunger and undernutrition contribute to a number of negative health consequences:

- Hungry children suffer from two to three times as many individual health problems, such as unwanted weight loss, fatigue, headaches, irritability, inability to concentrate and frequent colds, as low-income children whose families do not experience food shortages, according to CCHIP.
- The infant mortality rate is closely linked to inadequate quantity or quality in the diet of the infant's mother. The United States ranks 21st among developed nations in preventing infant deaths, down from 16th in 1980. Black infants in the U.S. die at nearly twice the rate of white infants.
- Stunting and wasting in children result from inadequate nutrition. According to the U.S. Public Health Service, the Surgeon General's 1990 goal of eliminating growth retardation of infants and children caused by inadequate diets could not be met because significant numbers of low-income children continue to suffer retarded growth.
- Iron-deficiency anemia in children can lead to adverse health effects such as developmental and behavioral disturbances and increased susceptibility to lead poisoning. Anemia remains a significant health problem among low-income children, according to the Centers for Disease Control.
- Hunger has a negative impact on children's ability to learn. Recent research indicates that low-income children who participate in the School Breakfast Program showed an improvement in standardized test scores and a decrease in tardiness and absenteeism compared to low-income students who did not eat breakfast at school.
- Hunger and malnutrition exacerbate chronic and acute diseases and speed the onset of degenerative diseases among the elderly. This not only leads to an unnecessary decrease in the quality of life for many older people, but also increases the cost of health care in the United States. National data for people ages 65 to 75 show that a majority are not consuming even two-thirds of the nutrients they need to stay healthy.

Public Attitudes Toward Hunger

The public is very concerned about what is seen as a growing hunger problem. A national public-opinion poll released in April 1992 reveals that over 90 percent of registered voters believe that hunger in the U.S. is a serious and growing problem. Hunger ranks with education, health care policy and poverty and homelessness as a serious issue, trailing concerns about unemployment, drugs, the deficit, AIDS and the economy. Unlike these other issues, however, hunger is seen as a very solvable problem.

Voters place the responsibility for ending hunger squarely in the government's lap. It is clearly understood that private feeding efforts, as valuable as they are, are not the most effective way to feed families over time. The poll found very strong support for school breakfast and lunch programs, senior feeding, WIC, and the Food Stamp Program. In fact, when told that half of food stamp recipients are children and that more than 80 percent of food stamp benefits go to families with children, the approval rate for the Food Stamp Program jumped from 61 percent to 81 percent. The sentiment that the government needs to increase its anti-hunger efforts is so strong that voters would be willing to earmark \$100 more in taxes annually to end hunger.

The poll was commissioned for release with the Medford Declaration to End Hunger in the U.S., the broadest collective statement ever made that hunger in this country can and must be ended. The declaration, which calls for an end to domestic hunger by 1995 through improvements in the federal food assistance programs and lays the foundation for ending poverty in the U.S. by the end of the decade, has been endorsed by more than 2,000 leaders of American society. Endorsers include approximately 170 U.S. Senators and Representatives, Governors and Mayors; 62 corporate CEOs and presidents; 135 entertainment and sports personalities; 33 labor union presidents; 215 presidents of universities and educational institutions; 220 doctors and medical association heads; 110 philanthropic leaders; 340 religious leaders; and the directors of 530 hunger and poverty groups. The Medford Declaration was coordinated by the Center for Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy at Tufts University, FRAC, the End Hunger Network and World Hunger Year. The poll was conducted in January 1992 by Dr. Vincent Breglio, current Republican pollster for the Wall Street Journal/NBC News monthly surveys and former polling director for the 1988 Bush/Quayle presidential campaign.

Federal Food Assistance Programs

The federal food assistance programs are our nation's first line of defense against hunger. These programs, which are administered by the Food and Nutrition Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, are intended to provide access to a nutritionally adequate diet for families and persons with low-incomes, and encourage better eating patterns among the nation's children.

The *Food Stamp Program* improves the nutrition of low-income people by providing coupons or, in some areas, an electronic benefits ("debit") card to cover part or all of a household's food budget. The program operates as an entitlement and is the only food program in the United States that is available to all who meet eligibility standards regardless of their age or family composition. Recent studies, including CCHIP, have shown that current benefit levels are inadequate and millions of children, women and men are denied benefits because of barriers to participation. Reflecting the economic recession, food stamp participation increased by 6.26 million people between July 1989 and January 1991. *June 1992 (June '92 participation 7.1, or 25.74 million.*

The *Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC)* safeguards the health of pregnant, postpartum and breast-feeding women, infants and children who are at nutritional risk because of inadequate nutrition and inadequate income. WIC benefits include supplemental nutritious foods, nutrition education and access to health care. Numerous studies, including a 1991 USDA study, have found WIC to be both successful in achieving its mission and cost-effective. WIC is not an entitlement program and currently serves roughly 60 percent of those eligible.

The *National School Lunch Program* was started in 1946 as a "measure of national security, to safeguard the health and well-being of the nation's children." In 1970, national guidelines were established for free and reduced-price school lunches for needy children participating in the program. All public and private nonprofit schools are eligible for the program. Lunches are available to all children at participating schools.

The *School Breakfast Program* provides a nutritious morning meal to children in schools. Established in 1966 as a pilot program, it was permanently authorized in 1975. The program operates under the same eligibility criteria and administration as does school lunch. Despite its proven effectiveness in improving school performance and attendance, breakfast is currently available in less than half of those schools offering lunch and serves only 31.5 percent of the number of low-income children served by school lunch.

The *Summer Food Service Program for Children* provides nutritious meals to low-income children during the summer months when school is out. The program is available free to all children under age 18 who attend the meal site of a sponsor organization. Though it is an entitlement, the program serves only a fraction of those children receiving school lunch.

The *Child and Adult Care Food Program* provides nutritious meals for all children up to age 12, handicapped children up to age 15, and handicapped or older adults who participate in nonprofit, licensed or approved day care programs. This entitlement program only serves a small proportion of those who could benefit from its services.

Conclusion

Hunger in the United States increased significantly during the 1980s, and currently affects the lives of millions. Jobs lost during the 1990-1992 recession, exacerbated by cuts in federal and state safety-net programs early in the '80s and '90s, consistently high poverty rates, and budget crises at the state and local levels, have left the poor and near poor extremely vulnerable to hunger.

New and creative thinking is needed to actually end hunger and poverty. Of vital importance is the achievement of food security -- access by all people at all times through normal channels to enough nutritionally adequate food for an active, healthy life. However, those who are hungry, especially children, cannot wait for the long run. The federal food assistance programs -- including the Food Stamp Program, the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC), the School Lunch and Breakfast Programs, the Summer Food Program, and the Child and Adult Care Food Program -- are this country's first line of defense against hunger. With improved access, funding and benefit levels, these programs can go a long way toward ending hunger in the United States.

Millions of kids and adults are hungry in America. And we can do something about it.

F·R·A·CFOOD RESEARCH
& ACTION CENTERCONTACT: Ann K. Kittlaus
Christin Driscoll
(202) 986-2200HOLD FOR RELEASE:
Thursday, August 6, 1992**SUMMERTIME MEALS FAIL TO REACH
MILLIONS OF NEEDY CHILDREN***Communities, Schools, Government Share Responsibility
for Missing Chance to Feed Kids*

Millions of low-income children may be going hungry this summer because a program designed to provide them with summertime meals is severely underutilized, according to the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC).

Only 15 percent of the low-income children who received low-cost or free lunches during the 1991 school year participated in the federal Summer Food Service Program for Children last summer, according to government data analyzed by FRAC. Participation figures for this summer are not yet available, but anecdotal reports indicate that, while program use is expected to be higher than last summer, the overall increase will do very little to close the gap.

"On Mondays during the academic year, teachers see children who devour their school lunches like they're the first real meals the kids have had since Friday," said Robert J. Ferish, FRAC's Executive Director. "Just think what happens to these children when Monday at school is three months away."

Government studies show that low-income children receive one-third to one-half of their daily nutrient intake from the National School Lunch Program. The Summer Food Service Program for Children is designed to fill the void when school is not in session. Both programs are operated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) as federal entitlements to schools and communities to provide nutritious meals to children.

More than 12 million low-income children received low-cost or free school lunches daily in 1991. When the school year ended, however, only 1.8 million such children participated in the summer food program nationally.

Responsibility for the summertime nutrition gap lies at the local, state and federal levels, according to FRAC. First, most local community groups, public agencies and schools that are eligible for federal money to operate programs do not apply for funding. Second, some state agencies have not done enough

-more-

The Leland bill passed the House as part of the Children's Initiative on Aug. 6 by a vote of 256-163. June 23, 1992
Bill is most significant anti-hunger initiative in 15 years.

Talking Points on Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act

Senate is uncertain - hopefully part of Urban Aid bill

- o Over 90 percent of its benefits would be provided to families with children, primarily through reforming the federal Food Stamp Program.
- o This is a scaled-back version of the Panetta-Emerson anti-hunger bill that has won broad support in the House and Senate Agriculture Committees and on the House floor over the last two years.
 - o The House Agriculture Committee passed the bill twice, most recently in October 1991 by a voice vote.
 - o The Leland Bill passed on the House floor in 1990 by a 336-83 vote, with every Democrat who voted and a majority of Republicans supporting it.
 - o The Senate Agriculture Committee reported out a more expansive version of the Leland Bill in November 1991 with only one dissent.
- o The nationwide Community Childhood Hunger Identification Project (CCHIP) released in March 1991 found evidence of widespread hunger among children in the United States.
 - o About 5 million children under the age of twelve were estimated to go hungry each month. With the rapid increase in poverty brought on by the recession, the number today is almost certainly higher.
 - o Hungry children were sick significantly more often and missed more days of school than non-hungry children.
- o Polls indicate widespread support for the Food Stamp Program and for expanding programs to feed hungry children and their families.
 - o A 1992 poll of 1,000 registered voters conducted by Dr. Vincent J. Breglio, Republican pollster for the Wall Street Journal/NBC News monthly survey, found that when voters are informed that 80% of food stamp benefits go to families with children, support for the program reaches 80%.
 - o That poll also found that 67% of voters are willing to pay \$100 more in taxes to end hunger among children and their families.
- o The Leland Bill would make substantial improvements in the Food Stamp Program for families with children.
 - o It would help families with children on the brink of homelessness by allowing them to deduct high shelter costs in the same way that elderly and disabled households do at present.
 - o It would assist custodial parents seek and absent parents meet child support obligations.
 - o It would help working families with children by raising the \$4500 limit on the value of a vehicle a household may own.

to encourage program use. Third, USDA has not adequately promoted the program and has made participation by some eligible sponsors unnecessarily difficult.

"There may be millions of kids who wait out the summer at risk of hunger because they do not have access to a program specifically designed for their benefit," said Fersh. "As the result, they may lose ground nutritionally and developmentally compared to other children when they arrive at school in the fall. These kids are likely to be at an educational disadvantage."

"Our society pays a huge price for social problems like hunger," said Fersh. "When parents go hungry or see their children go hungry in this land of plenty, it can only contribute to the sense of anger and injustice that many poor people feel."

"Hunger deprives children of important opportunities to be creative and learn," said Fersh. "In the summer or anytime, childhood hunger is unconscionable. We have successful nutritional assistance programs in place to help families who are experiencing financial difficulties. Community groups and government agencies at all levels must make it a priority to see that these programs reach all children who are in need."

A FRAC study of low-income families with children, which was based on pre-recession data and released last year, indicates that about five million American children under age 12 are hungry and millions more are at risk of hunger on a monthly basis. Although all of the households interviewed by the Community Childhood Hunger Identification Project (CCHIP) were potentially eligible for the summer food program, more than half had not heard of it. Of those that were aware of the program, less than half (48 percent) were participating. Overall, less than one-quarter of the CCHIP households were benefitting from summer meals for their children.

Of the households interviewed by CCHIP that had heard of summer food but were not participating, 43 percent attributed their lack of participation to no local program or difficulties accessing the program (including site inconvenience, scheduling or transportation difficulties), according to the CCHIP study.

"Lack of program information, outreach and availability has left parents struggling in the summer to make ends meet without the benefit of an important nutrition insurance program for their children," said Fersh. "Other program benefits they may receive, such as food stamps, do not increase to compensate for the loss of school meals. And, emergency food programs are hard-pressed to feed all who are in need. Summer is often a low point for charitable food donations."

"Instead of enjoying the long, lazy days of summer, many children from low-income families eagerly await the first day of school and the opening of the school cafeteria," said Fersh.

Public sentiment is squarely behind federal anti-hunger initiatives. Despite the heroic efforts of private charity to feed hungry Americans, voters place the primary responsibility for fighting hunger

3-of-3

with government. According to a recent poll conducted by former Bush/Quayle pollster Dr. Vincent Breglio, support for federal food assistance programs is very high. In fact, a strong majority of voters is willing to earmark \$100 more in taxes annually to solve the hunger problem.

Summer food program expansion is one of the primary policy goals of the one-year-old Campaign to End Childhood Hunger. Through the Campaign, FRAC and a 50-state network of anti-hunger advocates and emergency food providers are educating the public and policymakers on the extent and causes of childhood hunger and advocating solutions to the problem. Campaign partners are working with local governments, agencies and schools to program summer food program expansion.

The federal Summer Food Service Program for Children was established in 1968. Sponsors may operate feeding sites in areas in which at least one half of the children are from low-income households (those with incomes below 185 percent of the federal poverty line) or at sites where 50 percent of the children participating are documented to be from low-income households. All children who attend a summer food site are eligible to receive free meals.

Eligible summer food sponsors include public or private nonprofit schools; units of local, municipal, county or state government; summer camps; and certain private nonprofit organizations, such as Boys' Clubs, community action agencies, churches and YWCAs. Sponsors contract with their state operating agency (usually the state education agency) or with USDA to receive federal operating funds. Meals served through the program must meet specific nutritional requirements.

Congress and the Administration can show their commitment to promoting the well-being of children and families by supporting summer food program expansion efforts and improvements in the program as part of the 1995 legislative reauthorization of the program. Additionally, significant anti-hunger legislation is being considered today by the House of Representatives. The Downey/Panetta Children's Initiative includes critical federal anti-hunger and child welfare program reforms. The nutrition program improvements are targeted on families with children, particularly those with high shelter costs.

A list of state and local partners in the Campaign to End Childhood Hunger is available from FRAC.

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The Food Research and Action Center is one of the leading national groups working for more effective public policies to eradicate hunger and undernutrition in the United States. FRAC, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, was established in 1970.

The Campaign to End Childhood Hunger is a long-term, public education and advocacy campaign which is being waged by FRAC and a 50-state network of anti-hunger groups and emergency food providers. The Campaign has been endorsed by more than 100 national organizations and has an advisory council composed of bipartisan congressional leaders and mayors, business and union leaders, physicians, creative artists, and the directors of anti-hunger, child advocacy and religious organizations.

School Lunch vs. Summer Food
State-by-State Low-Income Participation Rates, 1991

State	School Lunch	Summer Food	SF Participation as % of SL
AL	297,877	46,745	15.7%
AK	19,498	*****	*****
AZ	193,365	18,617	9.6%
AR	149,388	10,301	6.9%
CA	1,474,643	148,709	10.1%
CO	120,432	11,360	9.4%
CT	84,989	19,235	22.6%
DE	20,821	14,477	69.5%
DC	37,116	6,318	17.0%
FL	623,227	195,850	31.4%
GA	396,307	66,514	16.8%
HI	42,280	2,993	7.1%
ID	53,883	1,842	3.4%
IL	511,095	77,984	15.3%
IN	181,759	14,728	8.1%
IA	102,793	6,953	6.8%
KS	105,035	5,871	5.6%
KY	238,772	26,757	11.2%
LA	409,257	53,939	13.2%
ME	42,684	2,268	5.3%
MD	144,577	28,463	19.7%
MA	153,111	19,489	12.7%
MI	317,231	49,766	15.7%
MN	150,469	13,827	9.2%
MS	292,695	45,649	15.6%
MO	216,873	18,859	8.7%
MT	35,559	3,013	8.5%
NE	65,370	5,057	7.7%
NV	29,917	1,280	2.1%
NH	19,787	1,236	6.2%
NJ	228,732	66,960	29.3%
NM	122,271	51,181	41.9%
NY	891,263	335,679	37.7%
NC	339,445	42,667	12.6%
ND	28,899	1,885	6.5%
OH	390,670	34,663	8.9%
OK	182,411	7,532	4.1%
OR	100,351	9,874	9.8%
PA	359,747	86,070	23.9%
RI	29,256	8,512	29.1%
SC	232,029	67,246	27.3%
SD	43,159	5,359	12.4%
TN	255,832	25,211	9.9%
TX	1,194,781	78,368	6.6%
UT	83,767	9,621	11.5%
VT	15,677	454	2.9%
VA	207,948	27,495	13.2%
WA	165,069	13,676	8.3%
WV	114,751	7,591	6.6%
WI	161,387	14,628	9.1%
WY	19,267	1,898	9.9%
US	12,178,102	1,839,674	15.1%

*Participation rates are based on average daily attendance in July. Because of weather conditions, programs in Alaska generally don't operate until August.

**LANDMARK STUDY SHOWS SCHOOL BREAKFAST PARTICIPATION
IMPROVES TEST SCORES AND REDUCES TARDINESS**

A recent study found that low-income elementary school children participating in the School Breakfast Program showed an improvement in their standardized test scores and a decrease in tardiness, compared to students who did not eat breakfast at school.

School Breakfast Program and School Performance - conducted by Alan Meyers, M.D., M.P.H. from Boston University School of Medicine, Boston City Hospital; Amy Sampson, B.S., from Tufts University School of Nutrition; Michael Weitzman, M.D., from Boston University Schools of Medicine and Public Health, Boston City Hospital; and Herb Kayne, Ph.D., from Boston University School of Public Health - was released at the Ambulatory Pediatric Association's Annual Meeting, May 2-6, 1988 in Washington, D.C.

In August 1986, Massachusetts enacted legislation requiring all public schools to offer a School Breakfast Program if at least 40 percent of the students qualified for free or reduced price school meals. This circumstance allowed Meyers, et al conduct a study on children participating in the School Breakfast Program for the first time in Lawrenceville, MA.

The study found that:

- o achievement test scores on a scale of 200 to 800, which improved for both groups, showed a greater increase for students in the School Breakfast Program, an average of 48.4 points as compared with 40.9 points for those students not participating;
- o students participating in the School Breakfast Program showed slightly decreased rates of tardiness; and
- o increases in absentee rates were less for Breakfast Program participants.

In summary, the study found "a small but statistically significant positive association between participation in the breakfast program and improvement in standardized achievement test scores and in tardiness....there may be even greater measurable effects over periods of time longer than the three months the Program was in place in Lawrence prior to the 1987 achievement testing."

For a copy, contact Alan Meyers, Boston City Hospital, Boston U School of Medicine, 818 Harrison Avenue, Boston, MA 02118 (617) 424-5506.



HOLD FOR RELEASE:
Thursday, February 13, 1992 (10:00 am)

FOOD RESEARCH
& ACTION CENTER

**SCHOOL BREAKFAST PROGRAM MISSES
MILLIONS OF NEEDY CHILDREN**
Bush Budget Proposal Threatens Program Expansion Efforts

Millions of needy students are going without school breakfast -- many without any breakfast at all -- because their schools have not enrolled in the federal School Breakfast Program, according to a report released today by the Washington, D.C.-based Food Research and Action Center (FRAC).

FRAC's *School Breakfast Score Card* shows that in 1991, fewer than half of the schools that ran federal lunch programs also operated school breakfast programs. As a result, participation by low-income students in school breakfast was less than one-third that of low-income students in school lunch. The *Score Card* includes state-by-state data on school and low-income student participation in breakfast.

"Children starting school without breakfast are at a significant disadvantage," said Robert J. Fersh, FRAC's Executive Director. "Hunger in the morning leaves children cranky and lethargic. They are tired and unable to concentrate."

"Most significantly," said Fersh, "hunger deprives children of important opportunities to be creative and learn. Teachers will tell you that hungry kids can't learn."

"The good news is, school breakfast works," said Fersh. "Studies have documented the significant relationship between eating a nutritious breakfast at school and the ability to perform in class. Compared to non-participating low-income students, low-income students who eat school breakfast achieve higher standardized test scores, and have lower rates of tardiness and absenteeism."

The School Breakfast Program, like the widely-utilized school lunch program, is available as a federal entitlement to any public or non-profit, private school that wishes to participate, according to Fersh. And, all children attending participating schools can take advantage of school breakfast.

"The bad news is that potentially millions of school children do not receive this boost to academic excellence because their schools haven't requested the federal money to run a breakfast program," said Fersh.

2 of 4

"Schools sometimes perceive barriers to starting breakfast programs, like rearranging bus schedules and monitoring students. But, these barriers can be overcome," said Fersh. "It's time to make school breakfast a priority. When administrators, teachers, parents and community groups work together, barriers fall and kids benefit."

In fact, school breakfast organizing efforts are underway in sites across the country, according to Fersh. To highlight successful efforts, the *Score Card* includes state-by-state information on recent program expansion among schools and low-income students.

Across the country, school participation in school breakfast increased by eight percent between 1990 and 1991, according to the *Score Card*. Low-income student participation jumped by 9.7 percent during that time.

Increases in participation by low-income students also reflect the impact of the current recession on the need for school breakfast, noted Fersh.

"Parents who have recently lost jobs are looking for ways to save money," said Fersh. "The School Breakfast Program is designed to serve these children in need. But it only works if schools choose to offer it. At a time of severe financial difficulties in states and households across the country, it makes no sense at all to ignore federal money that is readily available."

The *Score Card* also indicates states' use of tools for breakfast expansion, including breakfast mandates for certain schools, state funding for the program, application for federal breakfast start-up funds, and direct certification for free meals for students participating in other assistance programs.

Fersh expressed concern that current efforts to expand school breakfast will be hindered if President Bush's fiscal year 1993 budget proposal is adopted by Congress. The President's proposal would lower the reimbursement rates to schools for meals served to children from households earning more than 185 percent of the poverty line.

Schools are reimbursed by the federal government for every breakfast served. The reimbursement rate varies depending on the family income of participating students. Children from very low-income households can qualify for free meals. Children in households with income between 130 and 185 percent of the federal poverty line can get meals at a reduced price. The price of school meals for other students is set by the school.

To compensate for the cut in the reimbursement rate for paying students, schools will likely increase the price of the meals, making school breakfast a less-affordable option for middle-income students, according to Fersh. The program, then, becomes less attractive for schools that are not yet participating.

"In the end, all students -- particularly low-income students attending schools in predominantly middle-income areas -- lose," said Fersh.

The Administration proposes to use program savings to lower the cost of reduced-prices meals that go to low-income students.

"We support whole-heartedly efforts to lower the cost of meals to needy students," said Fersh. "But the eventual impact of shifting the money may inadvertently sabotage school breakfast expansion efforts across the country."

"In this election year, candidates are jockeying to be seen as the most sensitive to the well-being of our children. We must hold our President, other elected officials and candidates accountable," said Fersh. "FRAC is proud to be a partner in the Coalition for America's Children, which is highlighting children's issues in the political debate. Vocal support for the School Breakfast Program is one clear way in which candidates can indeed prove: Who's for Kids and Who's Just Kidding?"

A FRAC study of hunger among low-income families with children, which was based on pre-recession data and released last March, indicated that an estimated five million children under age 12 are hungry on a monthly basis in the United States. The Community Childhood Hunger Identification Project (CCHIP) demonstrated that children who were eating both school breakfast and school lunch were significantly less likely to suffer from problems associated with low energy reserves (fatigue, irritability and inability to concentrate) than those who were getting school lunch only. In addition, children were less likely to have increased school absences if they got breakfast at school.

"Millions of kids are hungry in America," said Fersh. "School breakfast is just one of our nation's successful food assistance programs helping struggling families. We are working at the state and local levels to expand school breakfast and there are tremendous opportunities at the national level as well. Right now, Congress is considering passage of the most significant anti-hunger bill since the late 1970s."

"The Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act (HR 1202, S 757) would make critical improvements in the Food Stamp Program, our nation's most important childhood nutrition program," said Fersh. "Half of all food stamp participants are children and more than 80 percent of program benefits go to households with children. Improvements included in the Leland bill are heavily targeted toward families and would go a long way toward helping them weather this recession and other financial crises they may experience."

"Despite strong congressional support, the President's budget does not include funding for the Leland bill," said Fersh. "Last fall, the bill passed the House Agriculture Committee unanimously and passed the Senate Agriculture Committee by a vote of 14 to 1. And, the Leland bill passed the full House in 1990 by a vote of 336-83. It is terribly unfortunate that the President has chosen to ignore this measure to provide relief for struggling families."

4 of 4

The *School Breakfast Score Card* is being released as part of the nationwide **Campaign to End Childhood Hunger**, an effort by FRAC and advocacy groups in 49 states to improve and expand the federal food assistance programs and ultimately achieve food security in the United States. Among the Campaign's primary goals is to: *make the School Breakfast Program available to all low-income children across the country*. Campaign events in support of the School Breakfast Program are scheduled in sites across the country on February 13.

###

In addition to Robert J. Fersh, speakers at the February 13 news conference in Washington, D.C. include:

Keith Gelger, President, National Education Association

Sue Greig, R.D., President, American School Food Service Association

Thomas M. O'Neill, Executive Director, Partnership for New Jersey

Marcia Jackson, R.N., Certified Pediatric Nurse Practitioner, District of Columbia Commission of Public Health, Bureau of School Health

Julius Jacobs, Director of Food Services, District of Columbia Public Schools

Michele A. Tingling-Clemmons, Coordinator, National School Breakfast Campaign, FRAC.

The Food Research and Action Center (FRAC) is widely recognized as the leading national group working for more effective public policies to eradicate hunger and undernutrition in the United States. FRAC, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, was established in 1970.

IMPACT OF PRESIDENT BUSH'S FISCAL YEAR 1993 BUDGET PROPOSAL ON THE SCHOOL BREAKFAST PROGRAM

The Bush Administration's FY 1993 Budget Proposal Would Have a Negative Effect on the School Breakfast Program and the National School Lunch Program.

- The Administration is proposing to cut six cents from the subsidy paid to schools for breakfasts served to students whose families' incomes exceed 185 percent of the poverty level (\$24,790 for a family of four in FY 1992). The effect of this cut on the School Breakfast Program reimbursement would be significant. A six cent per meal reduction in this program represents a 33-1/3 percent cut in the subsidy provided to schools for this category of school breakfast funding.
- In order to compensate for this loss in reimbursement, schools will have to raise the price of breakfasts to middle-income students. (Schools would have to raise the price of school breakfasts to cover their costs since schools cannot by law raise the price of free or reduced-price meals.) It is likely that a significant price increase in the School Breakfast Program would result in a decrease in program participation by middle-income children. This loss of middle-income students has the potential of stigmatizing school breakfast participation in some schools (i.e., "Only poor students participate in school breakfast").
- This kind of cut in school breakfast subsidies would have a chilling effect on expansion of the program to new schools, and on the use of the Program by middle-income children who for one reason or another are not eating a nutritious breakfast at home.
- The Administration justifies this cut by proposing to use the savings to lower breakfast charges for students from families whose incomes are between 130 percent and 185 percent of poverty from 30 cents to 10 cents. This change would be a great help to low-income children, their families, and their schools' meal programs. However, coupling this improvement with a cut in subsidies for breakfasts consumed by middle-income children makes it an undesirable trade-off. It is unclear how schools or children will benefit if, because of the need to increase charges to middle-income students in order to make up for the cuts, schools have to risk stigma and decreasing participation levels.
- The Administration also proposes to cut six cents from the subsidy paid to schools for lunches served through the National School Lunch Program to students whose families' incomes exceed 185 percent of the poverty level. This proposal would reduce the FY 1993 reimbursement level for lunches from 31-1/2 cents to 25-1/2 cents, a 20 percent reduction in this category of funding. The Administration also proposes to use the savings from this cut to lower student lunch charges for families whose incomes are between 130 percent and 185 percent of poverty from 40 cents

to 15 cents. Similar concerns to those raised above about the breakfast program apply to this proposed cut and trade-off in the lunch program. In fact, this kind of cut could have an even more profound effect on the School Lunch Program because almost half of its participants are middle-income. The American School Food Service Association estimates that if this cut went into effect, one to two million children would drop out of the lunch program. This cut could contribute to a growing trend of schools dropping out of the lunch program for a variety of reasons. **It should be noted that if a school drops its lunch program, it is very likely to drop its breakfast program as well. Therefore, the economic viability of lunch programs should be of concern to those who wish to expand the accessibility of the School Breakfast Program to more students.**

TRENDS IN SCHOOL BREAKFAST PARTICIPATION

Participation in the School Breakfast Program by schools and low-income students is increasing.

- The number of schools nationwide participating in the School Breakfast Program increased by 8.0 percent between 1990 and 1991.
- Participation nationwide by low-income children in the School Breakfast Program increased by 9.7 percent between 1990 and 1991.
- These increases in participation probably reflect two on-going trends -- greater need for the Program (increasing poverty among children and increasing participation in the work force by mothers) and strong efforts on the part of community organizations and school officials to expand the School Breakfast Program to more children. In addition, it is likely that these increases reflect the increased need for assistance brought on by the current economic recession.

*February 13, 1992
Food Research and Action Center
(202) 986-2200*

HELPING ARKANSAS' CHILDREN

Governor Clinton and Hillary Clinton recognized from the outset how many of the state's economic handicaps have been rooted in the problems caused by poor beginnings for many of Arkansas' children. These problems are particularly acute in a state where many families live in poverty, often in remote rural areas complicating access to services, and where the funds to address these problems (especially in view of federal cutbacks) are severely limited.

In these circumstances, Governor Clinton's record on helping Arkansas' children is an exceptionally strong one. Arkansas has developed some innovative programs with highly beneficial results.

For example:

✓ * Governor Clinton has been an outspoken proponent of school-based health clinics. The state now funds 26 such clinics reaching thousands of Arkansas children who wouldn't otherwise have access to health care. Clinic services include one or more of the following: health, vision and hearing screenings, scoliosis screenings, wellness promotion, treatment of minor illnesses and injuries, immunizations, and presentations on family life/health education topics (i.e. safety, self-esteem, alcohol and drugs). State health personnel work through the clinics to fight the problems which can devastate young lives.

* EPSDT screening of children has increased by more than 2,000 percent (from 4,000 in 1986 to around 85,000 in 1991) because of a new emphasis on this program by Governor Clinton.

* Today the Arkansas Health Department performs approximately 90% of all immunizations given to children in the state.

* Arkansas' infant mortality rate dropped from 16.4 to 9.3 deaths per 1,000 births from 1978 to 1990, a decline of 43% (while the national rate dropped only 34%). Arkansas' infant mortality rate has been reduced from 20% above the national average in 1978 to virtual parity in 1990.

Through Governor Clinton's efforts, the state has also:

* Created a Children's Trust Fund, financed by a \$5 fee on marriage licenses, which grants funds for local child abuse and neglect prevention projects; and established a Child Sexual Abuse Education Commission to train social workers, teachers, police officers and others on the problems of child sex abuse.

* Introduced the Healthy Beginnings/Nurse Midwife Programs in East Arkansas to provide low income women with access to comprehensive maternity care. Then, through Good Beginnings, expanded components of the Healthy Beginnings Program (prenatal education classes, early discharge home visits) statewide. Through Good Beginnings, these projects have demonstrated that access to proper care is critical in reducing infant mortality.

* Established a Good Beginnings Program to increase basic health services for pregnant women and their children from birth to age five if they are at or below the national poverty line. Arkansas was the first state to participate in such a program.

✓ * Initiated two major media campaigns, "Teen Pregnancy: Arkansas" Time Bomb" and "Campaign for Healthier Babies." The teen pregnancy campaign's goals are to focus public attention on adolescent pregnancy and its associated problems, and to increase public support for adolescent pregnancy prevention strategies. The Campaign for Healthier Babies promotes awareness, education and incentives for pregnant women to seek early prenatal care.

* Initiated a newborn hearing screening program which now screens about 70% of all newborns for hearing loss.

* Most recently, Governor Clinton proposed and passed a "Health Care Access Law," a program designed to, among other things, prepare a plan to provide for universal health coverage for all Arkansas children under age 16, regardless of family income, with an emphasis on preventive and primary care.

* The Arkansas Child Support Enforcement Unit has received national recognition for identifying fathers and aggressive enforcement of child support payments. Among the tools used by the Child Support Enforcement Unit are income withholding for children's health care coverage, reporting overdue support payments to consumer reporting agencies, and the establishment of a rebuttable presumption of paternity if the father's name and social security number are recorded on the birth record. The Child Support Enforcement Unit collected more than \$41 million in 1991, a 20% increase from 1990.

* Raised standards for licensing child-care centers, created more state inspectors to insure those standards are enforced, and perhaps most important, established a training fund to train child care workers. A loan guarantee fund was also established to support development of additional child care centers.

* Established the first statewide HIPPY (Home Instructional Program for Pre-School Youngsters) program in 1986. An Israeli program promoted in Arkansas by Hillary Clinton, HIPPY teaches parents how to become their children's teacher. One of the most successful pre-school programs in the world, Arkansas' is now the largest in the nation and has been "exported" to many other states.

* Clinton's newest state initiative, the Arkansas Better Chance Program, reflects a major state commitment to child care and early childhood programs. The Program provided \$5,000,000 last fiscal year and another \$10,000,000 this fiscal year to provide financing for early childhood programs for at-risk children ages 3-5.

* Because of Bill Clinton's leadership and additional Arkansas Better Chance monies, Arkansas can now serve 35% of the state's four-year-olds in free pre-school programs; that number will increase in 1992.

There has recently been considerable controversy and misinformation concerning Arkansas' child welfare system. Like systems all across America, Arkansas' child welfare system problems have been growing because of the irresponsible behavior of the parents of abused and neglected children. Governor Clinton, with the assistance of a team of nationally recognized experts, together with child welfare advocates in Arkansas, developed a thoroughgoing Child Welfare Reform Proposal. This proposal and a \$15 million appropriation to finance it were passed by a special session of the legislature, called by the Governor for that purpose, in February 1992. The initiatives will provide extensive additional services to foster parents, insure adequate health care for foster children, reduce caseloads of family service workers, and strengthen the state's capacity to deal with child abuse. These and other reforms will better protect children and give foster and adoptive families the support they need.

Clearly, Governor Clinton has no stronger or more steadfast commitment than that he has demonstrated over the past eleven years to children's welfare.

9-1-92

Susan Thomas -
Miss - here HRC

We should do this

this. Can Maggie

Williams be the R

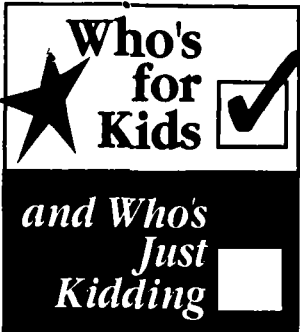
Campaign's Children's

Staff up?

Stephanie

media?

Coalition for America's Children



Ack: 8/25 - (B. Linn)

Stephanie - I think
we should do the tape
but not the live
appearance by staff. Can
you show this to Frank -

Patti -

Maybe
HRC could
do it.

Kate Mattos called 8/27
703-524-2793

Mike

August 17, 1992

**Coalition for
America's Children**

1710 Rhode Island Avenue NW
4th Floor
Washington DC 20036
Tel (202) 857-7829
Fax (202) 857-7841

Governor Bill Clinton
Bill Clinton for President Committee
Attn: Susan Morris
P. O. Box 615
Little Rock, AR 72203

Dear Governor Clinton:

Steering Committee

American Academy
of Pediatrics

American Association
of Retired Persons

American Association
of School Administrators

American Federation
of Teachers

Association
of Child Advocates

Association of Junior Leagues
International

Benton Foundation

Child Welfare League
of America

Children Now

Florida Center for
Children and Youth

Food Research
and Action Center

For the Children

National Association
of Children's Hospitals
and Related Institutions

National Association of
Elementary School Principals

National Association
of Secondary School Principals

National Black Child
Development Institute

National Education Association

Save the Children

I am writing on behalf of the Coalition for America's Children, which I chair, to invite your video appearance and the participation of an issues staff member in a National Satellite Summit on Children's Issues to take place September 24, 1992 in Washington, D.C.

The Coalition is a nonpartisan alliance of roughly 200 nonprofit groups and public agencies, representing over 40 million members, which has come together to raise the concerns of children to the top of the nation's public policy agenda. Our members include business leaders, heads of children's hospitals, Junior League and PTA presidents, pediatricians, principals, school teachers, parent groups and older Americans. We are Republicans, Democrats and Independents, all of whom want to see children's needs given a high priority in future years.

On September 24th, we will use a national corporate satellite network to broadcast a program to our membership which, with your participation, will present the two presidential candidates' approaches to children's issues.

Specifically, we would ask you to:

- provide a five minute taped presentation stating how you and your administration would approach the health, education, safety and security needs of American children over the next four years; and



- designate a Children's Issues Director on your campaign staff to join us in a live question and answer session at a Washington studio, following broadcast of your taped segment. 10

In addition, should there be a national presidential debate on September 22, as the Debate Commission has recommended, we would plan to tape any responses that directly address children's issues and replay these in their entirety in the course of our program.

The National Satellite Summit on Children's Issues will be hosted by our national spokesperson, Bob Keeshan (better known as Captain Kangaroo). We expect that it will be broadcast to 50 major cities, 30 of which have already committed to host the broadcast. In addition, it will be available to commercial, PBS and cable stations all across America. And, while this will not be a media event per se, we will be inviting reporters to watch and cover the broadcast at these sites. Tapes of the teleconference will also be distributed as widely as possible to our Coalition's 40 million members.

In keeping with our nonprofit status, this broadcast will be strictly nonpartisan in nature. The Coalition will not endorse any candidate for public office. While we expect to ask tough questions, we will not critique the respondents' answers, nor will we attack or promote either candidate's record. We are simply interested in eliciting from both you and President Bush how you would approach the needs of our children in the next four years and in making this information widely available.

We would be happy to meet with your staff to discuss this request further and to answer any questions they may have. Please note that we would prefer, because of the costs, to have your campaign provide the five minute taped interview (preferably in Betacam). However, should this prove prohibitive, we can dispatch a crew or provide a studio for the taping.

Your children's issues director would need to be available on September 24 here in Washington from noon to 3:30 p.m. S/he should be prepared to answer questions from the host as well as those from the field, available as audio calls from the downlink sites.

This electronic town meeting offers us all a thoughtful moment to reflect on family values, the needs of our children and the nation's role in securing our children's future. As a Coalition, we recognize that there are often several promising approaches to the problems that confront us. We hope your vision will help our members see your candidacy more clearly, and help them consider carefully the many potential ways we can direct attention to our children's needs.

We hope you will give this invitation a top priority and will agree to provide our membership with your views on our children's future. Mindful of the demands of the campaign trail, we have tried to make your participation as easy as possible. Please let us know if we can provide you or your staff with any additional information or answer any questions.

Very truly yours,

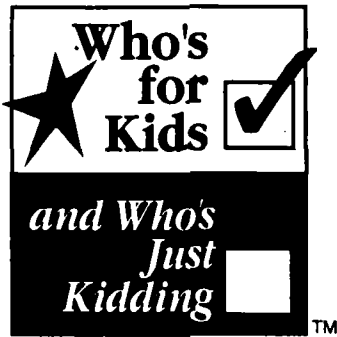


Lisa Tate
Chair



LT/snb

662-7460



**Coalition for
America's Children**

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Tel (202) 857-7829
Fax (202) 857-7841

A project of the M. B. Fund

Steering Committee

American Academy
of Pediatrics

American Association
of Retired Persons

American Association
of School Administrators

American Federation
of Teachers

Association
of Child Advocates

Association of Junior Leagues
International

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and Related Institutions

National Association of
Elementary School Principals

National Association
of Secondary School Principals

National Black Child
Development Institute

National Education Association

Save the Children

MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

(As of AUGUST 5, 1992)

ACTION FOR ALASKA'S CHILDREN
ADOPTION ACTION NETWORK (NY)
ADVOCACY ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN (CA)
ADVOCATES FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH (MD)
AGENDA FOR CHILDREN (LA)
ALLIANCE FOR CHILD SURVIVAL (MD)
ALLIANCE FOR THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN (VA)
ALLIANCE TO END CHILDHOOD LEAD POISONING (WDC)
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF CHILD AND
ADOLESCENT PSYCHIATRY (WDC)
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS (WDC)
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES
FOR TEACHER EDUCATION (WDC)
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF PSYCHIATRIC SERVICES
FOR CHILDREN (NY)
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED PERSONS (WDC)
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
(VA)
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS (UT)
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS (WDC)
AMERICAN HUMAN ASSOCIATION (OH)
AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION (WDC)
AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION (WDC)
ASSOCIATION OF CHILD ADVOCATES (NY)
ASSOCIATION OF JUNIOR LEAGUES (WDC)
ASSOCIATION OF OHIO CHILDREN'S HOSPITALS
ATHENS COUNTY CHILDREN'S SERVICES (OH)
AWARE INC. (NJ)
BAYSTATE MEDICAL CENTER CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL
(MA)
BEECH BROOK (OH)
BELLEFAIRE/JEWISH CHILDREN'S BUREAU (OH)
BENTON FOUNDATION (WDC)
BLACK CHILD DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE (MD)
BREAD FOR THE WORLD (WDC)
BLYTHEDALE CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL (NY)
CALIFORNIA CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION
CALIFORNIA MENTAL HEALTH ADVOCATES FOR
CHILDREN AND YOUTH
CALIFORNIA RURAL LEGAL ASSISTANCE FUND
CAMPAIGN FOR KIDS' TV (MD)
CARDINAL GLENNON CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL (MO)
CENTER FOR MULTICULTURAL HUMAN SERVICES (VA)
CHILD ABUSE PREVENTION NETWORK (TX)
CHILD ADVOCATES, INC. (TX)
CHILD CARE CONNECTION OF BROWARD COUNTY (FL)
CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA (WDC)
CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE WESTERN OFFICE (CA)
CHILDREN AT RISK, INC. (TX)
CHILDREN NOW (CA)

CHILDREN UNDER SIX (AR)
CHILDREN'S ACTION ALLIANCE (AZ)
CHILDREN'S ALLIANCE (WA)
CHILDREN'S ADVOCACY INSTITUTE (CA)
CHILDREN'S CONSORTIUM, INC. (FL)
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL AND HEALTH CENTER (CA)
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL MEDICAL CTR OF AKRON (OH)
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL MEDICAL CTR, CINCINNATI
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL MERITCARE (ND)
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL OF ALABAMA
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL OF LOS ANGELES
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL OF MICHIGAN
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL OAKLAND (CA)
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL OF PITTSBURGH
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL OF SAN DIEGO
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL - VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY (TN)
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL OF WISCONSIN
CHILDREN'S HOUSE (NY)
CHILDREN'S MIRACLE NETWORK (UT)
CHILDREN'S MEDICAL CENTER (Dayton, OH)
CHILDREN'S MEDICAL CENTER OF DALLAS
CHILDREN'S NATIONAL MEDICAL CENTER (WDC)
CHILDREN'S SERVICES CENTER (CA)
CITIZENS FOR MISSOURI'S CHILDREN
COALITION FOR MAINE'S CHILDREN
COLEMAN ADVOCATES FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH (CA)
COLORADO CHILDREN'S CAMPAIGN
COLUMBUS CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL (OH)
COMMUNICATIONS FOR YOUTH (IL)
COMMUNITY MEDIATION SERVICES CENTRAL OF OHIO
CONFERENCE OF PRIVATE CHILD CARING AGENCIES OF OREGON
CONGRESS FOR HOUSTON TEACHERS
CONNECTICUT ASSOCIATION FOR HUMAN SERVICES
COOK-FORT WORTH CHILDREN'S MEDICAL CENTER (TX)
COSHOCKTON COUNTY CHILDREN'S SERVICES (OH)
COVENANT HOUSE (NY)
CROSSROADS PROGRAMS, INC. (NJ)
DADE COUNTY CHILDREN'S SERVICES COUNCIL (FL)
DAWN FOR CHILDREN, INC. (RI)
DENVER BOYS, INC. (CO)
DENVER GIRLS, INC. (CO)
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES (KY)
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CLINTON • GORE ON HELPING AMERICA'S CHILDREN

For far too long we have failed to address the needs of America's children. We do not provide them with adequate health care, the best education or protection from violence, and we do not address the special problems of the disadvantaged. We need to achieve bold reform to help every child reach his or her full potential.

It is time to put children first. The next generation of young people should not be America's first to grow into a less certain future than their parents. Bill Clinton and Al Gore will make sure that America's children are prepared for the 21st century — with the education, the health care, and the safe neighborhoods they need.

Our children and our country cannot afford another four years of neglect. It is time for action.

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

Provide access to quality, affordable health care

Revolutionize lifetime learning

Make our homes, schools and streets safer for children

Support pro-family and pro-children policies

We need an Education President who shows up for class every day, not just once every four years.

Guarantee quality, affordable health care

- Control costs, improve quality, and cover everybody under a national health care plan. The Clinton/Gore plan will require insurers to offer a core package of benefits, including pre-natal care and other important preventive care benefits.
- Create a nationwide program like Arkansas' "Good Beginnings" to provide health care services to more low-income women and their children.
- Develop a comprehensive maternal and child health network to reduce both the infant mortality rate and the number of low birth-weight babies — because every child deserves a fighting chance to grow up healthy.
- Fully fund the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) program and other critical initiatives recommended by the National Commission on Children that save us several dollars for every one we spend.

Revolutionize lifetime learning

- Make good on the Bush Administration's broken promises by fully funding Head Start and other pre-school programs.
- Through innovative parenting programs like the Home Instructional Program for Pre-school Youngsters (HIPPY), help disadvantaged parents work with their children to build an ethic of learning at home that benefits both parent and child.
- Dramatically improve K-12 education by establishing tough standards and a national examination system in core subjects, leveling the playing field for disadvantaged students, and reducing class sizes.
- Give every parent the right to choose the public school his or her child attends, as Governor Clinton has done in Arkansas.
- Create a Youth Opportunity Corps to give teenagers who drop out of school a second chance. Community youth centers will match teenagers with adults who care about them, and will give kids a chance to develop self-discipline and skills.
- Develop a national apprenticeship system to give kids who don't want to go to college the skills they need to find high-wage jobs.
- Give every American the opportunity to borrow money for college: retain the Pell grant program but scrap the existing college loan program and establish a National Service Trust Fund. Those who borrow from the fund will be able to repay the balance either as a small percentage of their earnings over time, or through community service — as teachers, law enforcement officers, health care workers or peer counselors helping kids stay off drugs and in school.

Make our homes, schools, and streets safer for children

- Crack down on violence against women and children. Sign the Violence

We ought to restore schools as the safest, not the most dangerous, places in our society -- places where kids do fire drills instead of bullet drills.

We need a leader who values families, not one who just preaches about family values. I'll work to empower those who rely on welfare with the education, child care and medical coverage they need to break the cycle of dependency and go back to work.

Against Women Act, which would provide tougher enforcement and stiffer penalties to deter domestic violence.

- Launch a Safe Schools Initiative so kids can focus on learning again: make schools eligible for federal assistance to pay for metal detectors and security personnel if they need them; encourage states to grant school officials greater authority to conduct locker and automobile searches; and fund mentoring and outreach programs so kids in trouble with crime, drugs or gangs will have someone to turn to.
- Establish school-based clinics and drug education programs to prevent drug abuse, and to help kids who get hooked on drugs.
- Promote AIDS education in American schools.
- Set standards for crime emergency areas by making communities hit hardest by crime eligible for federal matching funds to assist in the war on crime when they adopt proven anti-crime measures.
- Fight crime by putting 100,000 new police officers on the streets; create a National Police Corps and offer unemployed veterans and active military personnel a chance to become law enforcement officers here at home.
- Expand community policing, fund more drug treatment, and establish community boot camps to discipline first-time non-violent offenders.
- Sign the Brady Bill, which will create a waiting period for the purchase of handguns and allow authorities to conduct background checks before guns fall into the wrong hands.
- Work to ban assault rifles that have no legitimate hunting purpose.

Support pro-family and pro-children policies

- Expand the Earned Income Tax Credit to guarantee a "working wage" so that no American who works full-time is forced to raise their children in poverty.
- Lower the tax burden on middle class Americans by asking the very wealthy to pay their fair share; give middle class taxpayers a choice between a children's tax credit or a significant reduction in their income tax rate. Virtually every industrialized nation recognizes the importance of strong families in its tax code; we should, too.
- Sign into law the Family and Medical Leave Act, which George Bush vetoed in 1990, so that no worker is forced to choose between maintaining his or her job and caring for a newborn child or sick family member.
- Create a child care network as complete as the public school network, tailored to the needs of working families; establish more rigorous standards for licensing child care facilities and implement improved methods for enforcing them.
- Promote tough child support legislation and develop stricter, more effective methods to enforce it: crack down on deadbeat parents by reporting them to credit agencies, so they can't borrow money for themselves when they're not taking care of their children; use the Internal Revenue Service to collect child support; start a national deadbeat databank; and make it a felony to cross state lines to avoid paying support.

THE RECORD

Health care

- Governor Clinton established 21 school-based health clinics serving thousands of Arkansas children who wouldn't otherwise have access to health care. State health personnel use the clinics to fight problems that can devastate young lives.
- Introduced programs to provide low-income women with access to comprehensive maternity and infant care. Arkansas' infant mortality rate has dropped from 16.4 to 9.3 deaths per 1,000 births, one of the lowest for a Southern state.
- Proposed and passed a Health Care Access Law, a program designed to provide universal health care coverage by the year 2000 for all children 16 and under, regardless of family income.
- Senator Gore was a principle sponsor of the Infant Formula Act to improve nutrition and safety standards.
- Authored legislation that led the FDA to ban the use of life-threatening sulfites on fresh fruits and vegetables.
- Voted for the Family and Medical Leave Act, which President Bush vetoed.
- Authored and helped to enact into law the Trauma Core Revitalization Act, which makes grants to hospital trauma centers incurring substantial uncompensated costs in providing trauma care in areas with high rates of crime related to drug trafficking.
- Gore conducted hearings that led to the passage of the National Organ Transplant Act, which he also helped to write. The Act established a national network to match organ donors and recipients.

Protecting children

- Governor Clinton created a Children's Trust Fund, financed by a \$5 fee on marriage licenses, which grants funds for local child abuse and neglect prevention projects.
- Established a Child Sexual Abuse Education Commission to train social workers, teachers, and others on the problems of child sexual abuse.
- Cracked down on deadbeat parents by reporting those who owe more than \$1,000 in support to major credit agencies.
- Senator Gore cosponsored the Child Welfare and Preventive Services Act, which establishes innovative child welfare and family support services that strengthen families, keep children out of foster care, promote the development of comprehensive substance abuse programs for pregnant women, and provide improved health care services for low-income children.

Early childhood programs

- Governor Clinton established the first state-wide Home Instructional Program for Pre-school Youngsters in 1986, which helps mothers teach their children to read. Arkansas' is now the largest in the nation.

- Launched the Arkansas Better Chance Program, which expands early childhood programs for at-risk children ages 3-5.
- Raised standards for licensing child-care centers, hired more inspectors to enforce them, and established a fund to train child care workers.
- Senator Gore voted for legislation to expand Head Start and bolster programs that help children into elementary school.
- Fought to continue funding for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, in order to continue high quality programming like Sesame Street.

Education

- Governor Clinton created tough new standards for students, teachers and schools.
 - Provided matching funds to assist school districts in obtaining up-to-date scientific and technical equipment.
 - Demanded responsibility from students and parents. In Arkansas, students who drop out of school for no good reason lose the privilege of a driver's license, and parents are fined if they repeatedly fail to show up for parent-teacher conferences.
 - Permitted parents to choose the public schools their children attend as long as an acceptable racial balance is maintained.
 - Created the Arkansas Academic challenge scholarships to provide college scholarships to middle income and poor students who achieve good grades, score 19 on the ACT and stay off drugs.
 - Got real results: under Bill Clinton's leadership, Arkansas students' test scores, graduation rates, and college attendance rates increased dramatically.
-
- Senator Gore voted for the Neighborhood Schools Improvement Act, which provides assistance to school based management efforts, increases parental involvement, improves teacher training and aids dropout prevention.
 - Voted for legislation to expand funding for Chapter 1 and 2 programs for disadvantaged children.
 - Voted to expand the Pell Grant program, increasing the number of grants and lowering income eligibility standards.

(3) **HEAD START AGENCY.**—The term "Head Start agency" means any agency designated as a Head Start agency under the Head Start Act.

(4) **LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCY.**—The term "local educational agency" has the same meaning given such term in section 1471(12) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

(5) **SECRETARY.**—The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services.

(6) **SUPPORTIVE SERVICE.**—The term "supportive service" means service that will enhance the physical, social, emotional, and intellectual development of low-income children, including providing necessary support to the parents of such children and other family members.

SEC. 133. HEAD START TRANSITION GRANTS

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—With funds made available under section 639(c) of the Head Start Act to carry out this subtitle, the Secretary may make demonstration grants to Head Start agencies and local educational agencies to develop and operate programs that assist low-income elementary school students grades kindergarten through 3 (giving priority to students entering their first year of elementary school) and their families in—

(1) obtaining supportive services that build on the strength of families, including health, immunization, mental health, nutrition, parenting education, literacy, and social services (including substance abuse treatment, education, and prevention services); and

(2) supporting the active involvement of parents in the education of their children.

(b) **TERM OF GRANT.**—Each grant awarded under this subtitle shall be for a period of 3 years and shall be not less than \$200,000.

SEC. 134. ELIGIBILITY.

(a) **HEAD START AGENCY.**—A Head Start agency shall be eligible for a grant under this subtitle if such Head Start agency has formed a consortium with one or more local educational agencies that received funds under part A of chapter 1 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and that serves children who have been served by such Head Start agency.

(b) **LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCY.**—A local educational agency shall be eligible for a grant under this subtitle if such agency receives funds under part A of chapter 1 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and has formed a consortium with one or more Head Start agencies serving children who will enroll in any elementary school located within the school district of such local educational agency.

(c) **COOPERATING AGENCY.**—A nonprofit agency or institution of higher education with experience in child development may participate in any consortium formed under subsection (a) or (b) in developing, operating, and evaluating programs assisted under this subtitle.

(d) **FOLLOW THROUGH GRANTEEES.**—A local educational agency that is receiving assistance through a program under the Follow Through Act shall also be eligible for a grant under this subtitle if such agency meets the requirements of subsection (b).

SEC. 135. REQUIREMENTS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary shall award grants under this subtitle to Head Start agencies and local educational agencies in both rural and urban areas.

(b) **SPECIAL RULE.**—The Secretary shall award at least one grant to one eligible applicant in each State before the Secretary may award a second grant within any one State.

(c) **CONSIDERATION.**—In awarding grants under this subtitle, the Secretary shall consider—

(1) the commitment of the Head Start agency and local educational agency to the program for which assistance under this subtitle is requested;

(2) the quality of the Head Start program operated by a Head Start agency desiring financial assistance under this subtitle, as measured by compliance with Head Start program performance standards;

(3) the proportion of low-income children in the school attendance area where the program assisted under this subtitle will be located;

(4) the suitability of the proposed program for replication in other locations;

(5) the quality of information and plans in the application; and

(6) the commitment of the community to the proposed program, as evidenced by additional resources, in cash and in kind, available to the applicant to support the program.

(d) **PRIORITY.**—The Secretary shall give priority to applicants that will operate a program under this subtitle at a school designated for a schoolwide project under section 1015(a) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

SEC. 136. APPLICATION.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Each Head Start agency or local educational agency desiring a grant under this subtitle shall submit an application to the Secretary at such time, in such manner, and accompanied by such information as the Secretary may reasonably require. Each such application shall include—

(1) a description of the activities and services for which assistance is sought;

(2) a description of members of the consortium established in accordance with section 134, including any cooperating agency;

(3) a self-assessment of the Head Start agency's and local educational agency's programs to address the health, immunization, mental health, nutrition, parenting education, literacy, social service (including substance abuse treatment, education, and prevention), and educational needs of low-income students and their families, including the use of a developmentally appropriate curriculum such as a model approach under the Follow Through Act;

(4) a plan for the development of a supportive services team of family service coordinators to—

(A) assist families, administrators and teachers to respond to health, immunization, mental health, nutrition, social service and educational needs of students;

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20

"They Are All Our Children"
Governor Bill Clinton
East Los Angeles College
Los Angeles, CA
May 14, 1992

Thank you very much, President Suarez, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you for coming here today and for giving me the opportunity to come to this very important institution of education to talk about a subject that I care about very deeply.

I wanted to come to a community college in this community to talk about this subject, because you represent the future of America's education - and the future of America's economy.

It is enrollment in these kinds of institutions that is exploding. In my state, last year, with the support of the state's business community, we raised the corporate income tax one half of one percent and put it all into two-year institutions of higher education to try to make more opportunities for people like you.

Your president told me on the way in today that this year, this institution had to turn away between four and five thousand people who wanted to take advantage of the programs here. That is a significant problem for our economy and one which I hope to address today.

I want to talk about the role that education will play in your future and in your country's future. Education is the issue that I know most and care most about because I've spent more than 11 years now as a governor on the front lines of the battle to revolutionize, revitalize, and reform education.

As a governor, as a co-chair of the nation's education summit, and as a parent of a child in the public schools of Little Rock, Arkansas, I have devoted more of my time and energy to education, than to any other issue.

We know two things about education in our country today. It's more important to our economic well-being than ever before. And we still don't have the educational quality or opportunities that our people need.

The key to our economic strength in America today is productivity growth - a phrase that means more products and services from each one of us. In the 1990s and beyond, the universal spread of education, computers, and high speed communications means that what we earn will depend on what we can learn and on how well we can apply what we learn to the workplaces of America.

That's why, as we know, a college graduate this year will earn 70 percent more than a high school graduate in the first year of work. That's why the earnings of younger workers who dropped out of high school, or who finished but received no further education or training, dropped by more than 20 percent over the last ten years alone.

We know that too many students drop out of school. And too many who do finish still don't have the basic skills they need to get and keep good jobs. We know, too, that all children can learn, but that it's tougher to teach them when so many bring society's greatest problems through the schoolhouse door.

We know we have real gaps in American education, opportunity gaps and responsibility gaps which are more important to our national security today than the missile gaps which 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. We have a shorter school year than all our major competitors. We do less well than most all of them on comparative tests in math and science. And while we send more of our high school graduates on to college than any other nation, we do far too little for the forgotten half that do not go on to college or don't even finish high school, a group that other nations take care to train and retrain throughout their lifetimes.

Within our country there are wide gaps in the level of readiness for children to start school. Many lack the basic building blocks of knowledge and thinking without which learning simply cannot occur. There are huge gaps in how much we spend on students, and in what kinds of courses and other opportunities they have. The distinguished American writer, Jonathan Kozol, has called these gaps "savage inequality."

Most important, there are massive performance gaps among our schools that cross economic and social lines, schools that I have seen with my own eyes in this country.

Take for example, the Beasley Academic Center in Chicago. Here's a school located in the neighborhood with the highest murder rate in Illinois, yet it ranked consistently in the top ten percent of the schools in all tests.

Or Thomas Jefferson Junior High School, a mile from our nation's capital in Washington with a 98 percent minority population. In the mid-1980s, during three out of four years, Thomas Jefferson sent a team to the final four in the national junior high school mathematics competition.

I could give you example after example after example from Maine to California which prove beyond question that all children can learn, but that fact leaves us all the more frustrated when these results are not achieved everywhere.

Just as there are opportunity gaps in education, there are responsibility gaps as well. Places where our system fails because people don't do their part. Politicians who posture instead of act on education. Schools where turf battles get more attention than gang battles. Bureaucrats who'd rather shuffle paper than change lives. Teachers who have burned out and have given up, and are just going through the motions. Parents who treat school as government-financed child care. Citizens who couldn't care less about education as long as they keep their local taxes down, and students who sometimes act more like kids in "Beverly Hills 90210" than the kids in "Stand and Deliver."

Just look at the Student Loan Program, for example. Since 1980, the cost of defaults in the Government Guaranteed Student Loan Program have increased 14 times over, from \$239 million in 1980, to \$3.4 billion this year.

In Washington, D.C., five doctors who got the government to finance their medical education in return for promising to practice in chronically underserved rural or urban areas are now being sued for breaking their promise.

People like these deadbeat doctors cost more than money. They deny medical education to others who would have kept their word and deny urgently needed medical care to blighted urban areas and forgotten pockets of rural poverty.

Look at the President's own record on education. At the education summit in 1989, I was part of a small group representing Democratic and Republican governors in the White House, who worked late into the night to hammer out six national education goals for our nation in the year 2000.

And, let me just repeat them here. By the year 2000, all students should be mentally and physically ready to learn. By the year 2000, we should raise the all-time high school graduation rate to 90 percent, the international standard. By the year 2000, we should have national standards that our children should know at the 4th, 8th, and 12th grades, in math and science and language, and geography, and history, and other subjects, and a meaningful - not a meaningless -- a meaningful set of national exams to measure whether we know what we're supposed to know.

By the year 2000, we should be second to none in achievement in mathematics and sciences. By the year 2000, our schools should be safe, disciplined, and drug-free. By the year 2000, we should have a lifetime system of learning which guarantees that we give all adults the chance to learn to read, the chance to get a GED if they don't have a high school diploma, and the chance to get training throughout their lifetimes. These

4

Now we knew that state and local governments would have to provide most of the funding for public education as they do now. But we also knew that in the decade of the eighties, the percentage of the federal budget going to education had declined by about 50 percent. And the percentage of local school budgets coming from federal funds had declined dramatically.

So in the agreement we asked the White House to make some commitments, and the White House promised to fully fund the Head Start program, among other things. Yet now, in the fourth year of Mr. Bush's administration, according to one study, only 36 percent of the eligible children of this country are being served by Head Start.

The President promised to support bilingual education. It has been cut by 47 percent during the 1980s while we have faced an explosion of immigrants arriving from around the world.

The President now promises to improve worker training, but federal employment and training outlays have gone down 26 percent in the 1980s. And the President's current budget calls for removing 224,000 trainees from the Job Training and Partnership Act, an act his own Vice President helped to write into law.

He himself has pledged to help end adult illiteracy by the year 2000, yet the President's proposed budget eliminates four needed literacy programs, including one that helps to teach literacy to inmates incarcerated in prisons, when we know that ignorance is one of the main causes of crime in this country.

But one promise he has kept. When he said, and I quote, "I don't believe it is the federal role to say the federal government will pay for every kid to be educated in college." Now that's a commitment he's kept.

He has taken bold, decisive action to keep that promise. He's proposed eliminating Pell grants for any family that earns more than \$10,000 a year. If your income's over \$10,000 a year, you're too rich to get any college aid. But, if you make \$300,000 a year you're still poor enough to need a capital gains tax cut. It isn't right.

Those who do receive Pell grants know that they are so small; they are worth about half as much as they were a decade ago. The 1993 budget cuts overall student aid by \$79 million. The President even recently vetoed a bill that would have allowed Americans to deduct the interest on their student loans from their tax returns, and use IRA savings for college costs.

Why did he veto that bill? Because the bill payed for this assistance to the middle class with a modest tax increase on the richest Americans. And he was opposed to the tax increase on people whose incomes went up in the 1980's, while their tax burdens went down.

5

Now that the election is upon us, he has reversed part of 11 years of administrative effort by advocating a policy to give greater access to students to student loans, eight or nine months after I called for universal access to student loans for all Americans.

It took this President more than a year after our education summit to send an education plan to Congress. And, while there are some impressive sayings in the President's "America 2000" proposal, the heart of the Bush education plan is to tinker around the edges, to build 535 new public schools, one for every congressman and senator. That's how that number was decided.

Instead of providing real incentives to improve and to restructure all of our schools, they want to raise up a few and leave the rest behind. The President's education plan amounts to a form of trickle-down education that won't help Americans anymore than trickle-down economics helped us in the 1980s.

We must close the gaps in our society between what people are capable of achieving and what we ask of them; between what we promise our people and what we deliver. Regardless of who's to blame, and there's always enough blame to go around, what we really need is to forget about blame, roll up our sleeves and get to work.

Let's be clear. This situation is not all bad. There are great schools, great teachers, great principals in America, great places where learning is occurring against all the odds. There are huge numbers of Americans, like you, who understand the importance of education to your future, and who are filling the classrooms of our community colleges.

There are public officials from school boards to governors and legislators, to members of Congress, and yes, people in this administration in Washington, who really do care about education.

But the fact is we are not doing enough. Because I've spent so much of my life over the last decade working on education, I wish we had time to talk about every aspect of it today. But today I have to confine myself to what I believe the President and the national government could do. Otherwise, we won't be out of here until lunchtime and you'll be sorry I came.

America needs an education President who shows up for class everyday, not just once every four years. In the first 100 days of my administration, I'll give Congress and the American people a real education reform package. 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 of or not to act at all.

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First, we must implement that portion of the national education goals which calls for the establishment of world-class standards in math and science and other subjects.

Today we have an educational system that too often moves people up the ladder whether they study or not, graduates people whether they know anything or not, and dumps people into the work force whether they have the skills it takes to succeed or not. And that is wrong.

We must develop a meaningful national examination system. Not one of these so-called norm reference tests that you give two or three years and then every American is making above the national average, and the only people who make out are the people who sell the tests.

We need to determine whether our students are meeting the standards we set and we shouldn't use the national standards and the national test simply to measure performance. They should be used to increase expectations, and to give schools incentives and structures to improve students' performance. It is just not true that only our most gifted students can do demanding work. Our competitors all around the world know that effort, not ability, makes the biggest difference in educational achievement.

That is the real lesson of the outstanding national achievements achieved in inner city poor and rural schools by remarkable teachers. It is the lesson of the wonderful movie "Stand and Deliver," set here in Los Angeles, in which Edward James Olmos played Jaime Escalante, whose advanced math students at Garfield High School, led the nation in passing the advanced placement tests.

My wife and daughter and I have watched that movie together a lot of times. Every few months my daughter asks me to go rent it again. I asked many members of my administration to go and see the movie when it came out. And when they would come out of the movie, I would say, "What was the lesson of the movie?" And they would say, "That guy is an amazing teacher."

I would say no, that's one lesson. The real lesson is: all children can learn.

All over this country, when parents and teachers and administrators challenge students to do their best, they come through with world-class performances. It is not a question of I.Q. It is a question of vision, will, organization, and effort. We will never close the achievement or the opportunity gaps without high standards and real measurements.

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The second thing we need to do is to make sure all of our kids start out on a level playing field, because national standards can't be fair unless we do. We have to work hard to see that every American school has a challenging, rich curriculum, that every teacher has the opportunity to develop the skills that he or she needs to teach well.

In the past, the poor and the minority and the immigrants have too often been the victim of the system which held them to lower standards than others and provided fewer opportunities than other children got. Too often less is expected -- and less is provided. We must both have high standards and a level playing field of opportunity so that all can reach the standards.

One of the things that means is preschool for every child who needs it. Surely a country that found \$500 billion to bail out the savings and loan industry can find \$5 billion to fund the Head Start program. Surely we can carry out the recommendations of the National School Readiness Task Force, which I chair, so that states and localities can offer prenatal care, day-care, and family support services that can prevent learning problems and equip children to make the most of school.

Surely we can provide more funds to the Chapter One program so that we can have smaller classes in the early grades for poor and disadvantaged children. There are now clear national studies, coming out of the state of Tennessee, which demonstrate conclusively that if you get class sizes for poor kids down as low as 15-to-1 in the early grades, they have permanent measurable, lasting learning gains which increase the chances of their staying in school, succeeding, and winding up in a place like this, just as you have. And we ought to pursue those reforms.

Finally, we ought to restore schools as the safest, not the most dangerous, places in our society again - not a place where kids do bullet drills instead of fire drills.

Earlier this year, I visited Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn. One month later two students, to whom I spoke, were shot to death while walking in the hall.

Three years ago I visited a grade school in south central L.A., 6th grade class. And I asked these children what they were most worried about. They were bright, articulate, intelligent children. They were most worried about being shot going to and from school. They were most worried then about being forced to join gangs when they got in the eighth grade. Those kids now are in the ninth grade. I've often wondered in the last few days after what happened here, how many of them wound up in gangs, and whether they looted and whether they're all still alive. They're all our children.

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A national government ought to provide security equipment, help cities put more police on the streets, on the beat, in the neighborhoods, and around school. And it ought to pass the Brady Bill and require a waiting period before people with criminal records, or mental health histories, or those who are too young can just get guns without proving anything.

These are all our children. And there can be no level playing field where people are not safe in their schools.

I also believe that we need to give some people a level playing field by giving them some more leverage in the schools they attend. I support magnet schools in big cities. I support public school choice. I think parents of children ought to have the ability to go to schools other than the ones their residence dictates within the public school system. But the present administration wants to use public funds to subsidize parents to send their children to private schools.

Now, while I support public school choice, and our state was the second state to adopt it, I am unalterably opposed to a voucher system to give people public money to take to private schools.

We already spend less than many of our competitors on kindergarten through twelfth grade education, a smaller percentage of our income. Now is not the time to further diminish the financial resources of schools, when budgets are being slashed by states all across America. When the federal government has restricted its commitment to education, now is not the time to adopt a private school plan.

The third thing I think we ought to do is to launch an all-out effort to increase our high school graduation rate to 90 percent by the year 2000. Nearly a quarter of our high school students fail to graduate on time. In some cities the drop-out rate is 50 percent. That dooms the people who do it to a series of low skill, low wage jobs or a life on the outskirts of society which often leads to crime and to prison.

It's no wonder we have the highest incarceration rate in the world and spend more money to keep people in prisons than to send them to college. We need to make something of the lives we're wasting.

In my state we do something that might not work in a big city but it works in a rural state. You drop out of school for no good reason, you lose your driver's license. More than 1,750 young people have lost their driver's license since we passed the law, but our state now has the highest graduation rate in our region. The other state that's about tied with us is West Virginia, another poor state that was the first state to adopt the driver's license law.

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If I were President, and when I become President, we will help schools prevent dropouts and reach out to the young people who do drop out to bring them up to the same world class standards that we expect of everyone else. We need to give students incentives to stay in high school. Programs like the "I Have a Dream" program in New York, where Eugene Lang, a businessman, promised a group of students that if they'd stay in school, he would send them to college. A program like "Contact" in Orlando, Florida, where a young friend of mine named Charles White organizes businesspeople to work one-on-one with students who might get in trouble and keep them in school and give them summer jobs and insure there's a future for them after they get out of high school.

A program like the Academic Challenge Grant that we adopted in my state where we made the bottom two-thirds of our kids, by income, eligible to get \$1,000-a-year scholarship for four years. If they made a C+ average on the recommended college courses, stayed off drugs and behaved themselves, as a matter of right they got the scholarship. We need to give people incentives to stay in school.

But we need to help those who drop out anyway. We need things like youth opportunity centers, which have been proposed in New York, opportunity centers that would provide youngsters regular contact with an adult who cares about them. It would give students who don't succeed in traditional school settings a second chance to make it in an alternative learning environment.

I'd like us to consider forming a Youth Opportunity Corps that would recruit young high school dropouts for a year or two, pay them entry-level wages, and help them develop self-discipline, learning skills and skills training.

As we reduce our military forces in the wake of the Cold War, we could make the most of the training facilities and the expert personnel of our military -- the best training ground on Earth -- by using them to teach in the Youth Opportunity Corps, and giving them a chance to continue to serve their country instead of just putting them into the street. A Youth Opportunity Corps would give dropouts the opportunity and the discipline to complete their high school diploma at the same standards as everyone else and a second chance to earn a decent living.

The fourth thing we should do is to challenge American business to live up to its responsibility, to help Americans develop skills in the workplace.

Something's wrong with a country that strips the dignity from blue collar work by permitting younger workers with a high school diploma watch their earnings drop 20 percent over a decade.

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In our administration, we'll establish a national apprenticeship program, like those in Europe, that will encourage non-college-bound students to stay in school, take challenging courses, move into the workforce and then get two years of further training on the job, in cooperation with institutions like this community college. That's what we need to do for those kids.

Last year in our state we passed a statewide apprenticeship bill. The other day, a woman in northwest Arkansas told our program director there how proud she was that her daughter, as a result of the apprenticeship program, will now be earning a higher wage than her own mother makes in her regular job. For that mother and that daughter, the American dream is still coming true. Knowing your child can have an opportunity for a better life is an important part of restoring hope in this country.

We also need to establish a national system to teach every adult in the work force to read and give every working adult the chance to earn a high school diploma within the next five years. It doesn't cost that much money. You could do a lot of it in the workforce. In my state, a very small state of 2.4 million people, we spend more money on adult education now than our next-door neighbors in Texas, a state five times our size. But it is the best money we have ever spent.

We have increased by more than four times in the last eight years the number of adults in our job training program and it is working to lift their incomes. We ought to teach everybody to read who has got a job, give everybody who has a job a high school diploma. Then they can come to places like this.

Instead of treating job training as a poor stepchild, in our administration we will require employers to invest 1 to 1.5 percent of payroll in the retraining of their own workforce. This is what our competitors do. And we will require them to spend it on workers up and down the line.

In America, 70 percent of the job training paid for by private companies goes to the top 10 percent of the employees. But our competitors in Europe and Japan give job training programs to people up and down the line. Because smart folks know that the frontline workers make the money for you, and you'd better retrain them every year if you want your productivity to continue to rise.

At the same time, we need to force our government to straighten out and streamline the unbelievable bureaucratic maze of the countless of publicly funded training programs, each with their own application forms, eligibility criteria, rules and procedures. That needs to be done, too.

Finally, to respond to what your president said, we need to make sure every American who wants to, has the chance to go to college.

We have done some things no other state has done. We became the first state in the country to require existing teachers to take and pass a test to continue to get recertified. You can imagine how popular that was. But you know what? After two years, most of them passed, and those that didn't shouldn't have been recertified, and they weren't. And we raised pay and morale in the end.

We became the first state to require students at the eighth grade level to pass an exam to be promoted to high school. They said, "Oh, you can't do that, you'll increase the dropout rate." But you know what? The dropout rate went down and the graduation rate went up because there were no more bored kids in high school who couldn't at least read, because of the eighth grade test.

We went for smaller classes in the early grades, for elementary counselors for the kids. We had the lowest high school college-going rate in the country in 1980, but now we are up to the national average.

These things can happen. We can change the future and the opportunity for all the people in America if we work together, if we have high standards, if we close the opportunity gap, if we close the responsibility gap.

You know, I was born at the end of World War II in a state where the whole state had a per capita income that was just a little above half the national average. Most of us lived, in other words, below what you would call the poverty line now. We didn't know much about that or anything else having to do with federal statistics. But we did know that if we worked hard and played by the rules and got a good education, we could get ahead.

What bothers me so much about America today is that there are so many people who are being left out of that opportunity channel. I got a chance to get a world-class education, starting in my public schools. I had the opportunity to work my way through college, to work my way through law school. I had six jobs doing it but it didn't kill me. But it was economically possible because I also had a scholarship and a loan. I had the kinds of things that now too many people don't have. And I know that if it hadn't been for my education, the help I got in scholarships and loans, as well as the chance I had to work my way through school, I wouldn't be standing here giving this speech today.

And I got into this race because I could not tolerate any longer seeing millions of Americans squander the opportunities that ought to be theirs because we do not have a good economic policy to create more jobs in this country and because we do not take advantage of what is there because of educational gaps in performance, achievement and standards.

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For the last 12 years, under the last two Presidents, until this President's election year conversion last month in Pennsylvania, these administrations have worked harder to make it harder for millions of Americans to get help to go to college.

Here's what I would like to do. I think we ought to scrap this existing student loan program. We waste over \$3 billion on default and \$1 billion of bank subsidies every year. I'd like to replace it with what I call a domestic GI bill, a national service trust that would give every American, regardless of income, the right to borrow the money to finance a college education.

All of you could show up and borrow the money. You won't have to be poor, although to be sure, you could be poor and get it. You could be middle class and get it. You could be upper-middle class and get it. But you have to be willing to pay the money back. And it would be your choice.

You'd have one of two options. You could sign a contract to pay the money back as a small percentage of your income after you go to work, which you would pay at tax time so you couldn't beat the bill. But you would pay not just according to how much you borrowed but also according to how much you make. So we would never cripple people or discourage them from becoming teachers or public servants or doing other work that might pay less money but be otherwise more rewarding. You would pay according to your ability to pay.

Or you could chose to pay it off with public service. If you borrowed the funds for two years of education, you could do one year of work at a reduced salary, paid by the national government, as a teacher, a law enforcement officer, in a drug program, with troubled children, or you could work to help kids stay out of gangs and in schools, solving the problems of your community and getting your own education. We could get a whole generation of Americans to do that.

In the end, politicians can't and won't solve this problem for you. If we are going to compete and win again, we are all going to have to work harder and work smarter and become lifelong learners. I know this can happen because I have seen it happen before.

In 1978, a distinguished educational advisor consultant named Kern Alexander came to my state and said that a child would have a worse chance to get a good education in Arkansas than virtually any other state in the country. We didn't point the fingers or place blame. We just went to work.

In the early 1980s when I became Governor for a second time, my wife and I and a committee of distinguished Arkansans that she chaired traveled our state and talked to parents and teachers and ordinary citizens. We began what has been a decade-long struggle to raise standards and improve opportunity in our state. We've raised taxes twice and put all the money into education. The salar-

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Parental
Involvement

Parental and Community Involvement: Rx for Better School Discipline

by William B. Thomas

It is up to educators to forge a productive liaison between home and school, says Mr. Thomas, Miller Elementary School in Pittsburgh is a shining example.

Parents and educators alike see discipline as a major U.S. public school problem. This problem has political overtones, because economically deprived urban children are the youngsters educators are most likely to label as behavioral problems. This labeling, in turn, deprives such youngsters initially of self-esteem — and ultimately of societal —

... do not intend to take issue here with the school's goal of developing student conformity to behavioral standards. I intend, rather, to focus on an expedient but unacknowledged strategy for achieving that goal. Educators should be adjusting lower- and working-class parents' allies in their struggle to maintain school control.

The process is the primary credentialing agent for occupational status in the U.S. Teachers, therefore, are occupational gatekeepers through a system of rewards and punishments, they determine to a considerable degree who will and who will not gain access to the social prizes of power, wealth, and prestige. Even student behavior is a competition for a limited supply of rewards, and the resources for obtaining these rewards are unequally distributed. Thus, a reinforcing artificial barrier exists between the poor and the middle class, and the poor must overcome major obstacles to compete effectively.

... are part of the competition ... applied ... for example, ... 10 experienced teachers, enrolled in graduate education courses at the University of Pittsburgh. I asked this sample, drawn from urban, suburban, and rural schools throughout western Pennsylvania, to rank the kinds of students toward whom they were favorably disposed. The results, shown in Table 1, suggest that some teachers stress pupil behavior over pupil achievement. High achievers are sometimes penalized for antisocial behavior. Some teachers favor well-behaved low achievers over high achievers with behavioral problems. Moreover, replications

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Table 1. Frequencies and Percentages of Teacher Ratings Of Achievement and Behavior as Criteria for Favoring Pupils

Criteria	Ratings (N = 60)			
	Least Favorable	Less Favorable	Favorable	Most Favorable
	f %	f %	f %	f %
High achievers, usually well-behaved	2 (3.3)	11 (1.7)	12 (20.0)	35 (75.0)
High achievers, often misbehaved	19 (31.7)	35 (58.3)	5 (8.3)	1 (1.7)
Low achievers, usually well-behaved	1 (1.7)	6 (10.0)	40 (66.7)	13 (21.6)
Low achievers, often misbehaved	38 (63.3)	13 (20.0)	2 (3.3)	1 (1.7)

of this study with other groups of teachers and principals in Pennsylvania have shown these findings to be surprisingly consistent.

The findings suggest that there is a hidden educational agenda. The distribution of school rewards (e.g., high grades, high class rank, scholarships, leadership positions) is ostensibly based on objective performance and achievement criteria. Yet many teachers apparently evaluate and reward students — at least informally — primarily on the basis of their behavior.

This hidden agenda has ramifications that extend far beyond the classroom. Students who are labeled as behavioral problems are more likely than not to be urban black youngsters, if the suspension data from a nine-year period in the Pittsburgh public schools (Table 2) are typical.

Other research data suggest that children from economically depressed, single-parent families are also more likely than others to be suspended. It seems highly probable that many of these suspended students will never realize the social and economic benefits that school completion purposes to offer.

I have no doubt that school requires some discipline. Yet there is a certain relationship between a pupil's obedience to the teacher's authority and the mastery of basic skills.

The data relating behavioral problems to social class or minority group status are compounded by two other factors. First, teachers often see lower- and working-class parents as rapid supporters of school behavioral standards. For example, when I asked 29 urban schoolteachers in Penn-

Table 2. Frequencies and Percentages of Pittsburgh Students Suspended, 1970-79, Classified by Racial Group and School Population

Year	BLACKS			WHITES		
	Frequencies Of Suspensions	School Population	Percentage Suspended	Frequencies Of Suspensions	School Population	Percentage Suspended
1970-71	170	29,027	.58	28	43,800	.06
1971-72	245	28,564	.85	30	41,900	.07
1972-73	290	28,708	1.0	40	41,000	.12
1973-74	252	28,271	.89	45	39,238	.11
1974-75	245	27,529	.88	46	37,507	.12
1975-76	190	27,456	.69	41	34,884	.11
1976-77	342	26,820	1.27	65	32,202	.20
1977-78	389	25,858	1.50	111	29,353	.37
1978-79	429	24,756	1.73	109	26,978	.40

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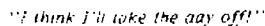
predominantly lower- and working-class families in Pittsburgh, is a good example of such a home/school liaison and its positive outcomes. At Miller an open-door policy encourages parents to visit school personnel at any time; appointments are not necessary. Principal Booker T. Reeves supervises classes himself, when necessary, to free teachers for conferences with parents.

The administration and faculty see Miller School as much more than an institution for imparting knowledge and skills; it is also a community resource and advocacy center. Reeves coaches basketball and baseball during and after school hours; Miller teachers voluntarily conduct after-school activities and urge all youngsters to participate. Moreover, Reeves counsels many parents and frequently invokes the power of his office to help them cut through red tape to obtain necessary help from governmental, judicial, and social service agencies.

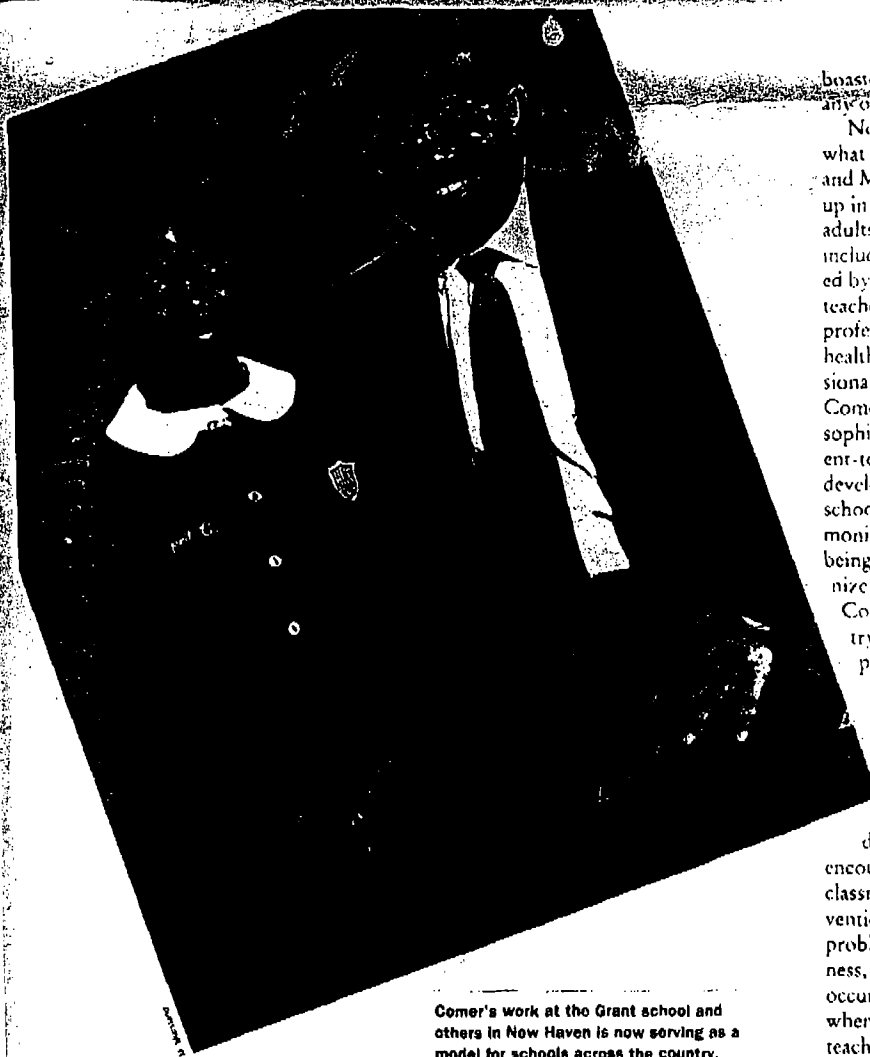
Miller parents, for their part, volunteer as tutors, teacher aides, chaperones for field trips and overnight camping trips, and as advisors to after-school cooking classes for fourth- and fifth-graders. Thanksgiving and end-of-year banquets

What has happened at Miller Elementary School can happen at any school. It's time for educators to stop talking about discipline problems and start taking action in the right direction — the recruiting of low-income, working-class parents as allies — holds considerable promise.

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DELTA KAPPAN - vol. 62 #3, Nov. 1980, pp. 203-204



Comer's work at the Grant school and others in New Haven is now serving as a model for schools across the country.

also to receive it. I was almost as frightened as he was. One part of me said, 'What am I doing here?' and wanted to run. The other part said, 'You want to make a difference—and this is your chance.'"

Shaken but determined, Comer settled in to "live in that system and try to understand it." Slowly and sometimes painfully (an angry group of parents once marched on one of the schools demanding to see "this person from Yale"), Comer carefully began

of traditional school that Comer remembered from his own childhood—creating a climate of trust and cooperation took much longer. So did efforts to improve the students' scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, the standardized achievement test used throughout the district. When the project started, both Baldwin and the Martin Luther King School (the other main site for the early phase of the project) ranked at the bottom of New Haven's thirty-three elementary

boasted the best attendance records of any of the city's elementary schools.

Not the least of the credit goes to what Comer calls the "Governance and Management Team," a group set up in each school representing all the adults with a stake in the school—including the principal, parents selected by parents, teachers selected by teachers, and members of both the professional support staff and mental health teams—as well as nonprofessional support staff. This body (which Comer describes as "a great deal more sophisticated than the standard parent-teacher organization") works to develop a comprehensive plan for the school, deals with staff issues, and monitors whether or not goals are being met. Most often, parents organize dances and other activities.

Comer is opposed to programs that try to involve parents in academic planning or managing money—unless for a specific event (since that's "not the area of their greatest expertise or responsibility"). Mental health professionals, who usually do not become involved with a student until a crisis arises, are

encouraged to work as a team with classroom teachers, focusing on prevention and looking for a pattern of problems (absenteeism, destructiveness, fearfulness) before a crisis can occur. In one New Haven school, when a transfer student kicked a teacher on the first day of school, the staff, instead of assuming that the youngster was just another problem child, immediately set up an orientation program for all new students.

Three principles obtain in all the operations of the Governance and Management Team. One is collaboration: "The group can't paralyze the principal, and the principal can't ignore the group." A no-fault policy is in force at all times: "Don't blame anybody" is the rule. Arriving at decisions by consensus is another important goal. "If you vote," says Comer, "there are always winners and losers."

two groups. *T*-test analyses facilitated the testing of the hypotheses that significant non-zero gain occurred or did not occur. The level of significance for rejecting the null hypothesis was set at .05.

Results

The research hypotheses were substantially supported by the results. The results are discussed according to the respective dependent measures and are summarized in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1

Mean Changes on Dependent Measures for Experimental Sample

Measures	1985 $\bar{X}$	1986 $\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$ Change	S_x	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Self-Concept</i>						
Behavior	8.0	8.9	.9	.37	2.4	.015*
School	7.8	9.2	1.4	.41	3.4	.001*
Physical	5.9	6.3	.4	.35	1.1	.175
Anxiety	3.9	4.3	.4	.30	1.3	.179
Popularity	2.6	3.2	.6	.31	1.9	.077
Happiness and Satisfaction	4.0	4.6	.6	.31	2.0	.063*
TOTAL	5.0	6.1	1.1	.31	3.5	.000
<i>Teacher Assessment</i>						
Classroom Behavior	50	53.7	3.7	.90	4.1	.000*
Group Participation	19.8	24.5	4.9	.93	5.3	.000*
Attitude to Authority	24.5	23.8	-.7	.98	.71	.510
TOTAL	31.0	32.8	1.8	1.0	2.0	.050*
<i>Percent Days Absent</i>	33.2	29.0	-4.2	2.1	2.0	.050*
<i>Achievement</i>						
Classroom Reading Grade	1.8	2.0	.2	.08	3.3	.010*
Classroom Math Grade	1.6	1.6	0	.57	0	1.00
Reading Grade Equivalent	2.0	2.5	.5	.05	10	.000*
Math Grade Equivalent	2.3	3.1	.8	.06	13.3	.000*
Language Grade Equivalent	2.3	2.8	.5	.08	6.3	.000*
TOTAL BATTERY	2.1	2.8	.7	.05	14.0	.000*

NOTE: *N* = 176, *df* = 175

* Significant Change

concept dimension ($t[90] = 2.3, p < .02$), and no significant changes on the other dimensions.

Overall the experimental sample showed significant improvement on self-concept ($t[175] = 3.5, p < .000$), while the control sample showed no significant change.

Assessment of Students' Behavior

The experimental sample showed significant improvement on classroom behavior ($t[175] = 4.1, p < .000$), and group participation ($t[175] = 5.3, p < .000$). A negative but insignificant change was noted on attitude toward authority. The control sample showed a significant negative change on group participation ($t[90] = 2.0, p < .04$).

Overall, the experimental sample showed a significantly positive change in behavior ($t[175] = 2.0, p < .053$), as measured by the *Teacher Questionnaire Scale* while the control sample showed no significant change.

Attendance

Children in the experimental sample showed a significant decrease in the per cent of days absent ($t[175] = 2.0, p < .053$), while children in the control sample showed no significant change.

Achievement

Children in the experimental sample showed a significant improvement in classroom reading grades ($t[175] = 14.0, p < .000$), and no significant change in classroom math grades. Children in the control sample showed no significant changes in classroom reading or math grades.

On the *California Achievement Test*, children in the experimental sample showed significant gains in grade equivalent units in Reading ($t[175] = 10, p < .001$), Language ($t[6.3] = 6.3, p < .000$), Math ($t[175] = 13.3, p < .000$), and the total battery ($t[175] = 14.0, p < .000$). Children in the control sample showed significant gains in grade equivalent units in Math ($t[90] = 2.7, p < .010$), and the total battery ($t[90] = 4.1, p < .000$), but not in Reading and Language.

Table 2

T Test for Mean Changes on Dependent Measures for Control Sample

Measures	1985 $\bar{X}$	1986 $\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$ Change	S_x	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Self-Concept</i>						
Behavior	8.7	7.7	-.97	.42	2.3	.02*
School	8.1	8.9	.8	.48	1.7	.09
Physical	6.3	6.0	-.3	.48	.63	.55
Anxiety	5.8	6.2	.4	.48	.85	.48
Popularity	4.9	5.2	.3	.44	.68	.37
Happiness and Satisfaction	4.2	3.6	-.6	.51	1.2	.23
TOTAL	6.3	6.3	0	.47	0	1.00
<i>Teacher Assessment</i>						
Classroom Behavior	50.0	51.9	1.9	3.5	.56	.54
Group Participation	22.7	19.5	-3.2	1.8	2.0	.04*
Attitude to Authority	23.8	28.7	2.9	1.7	1.7	.09
TOTAL	32.0	31.1	-.9	2.3	.39	.40
<i>Percent Days Absent</i>	30.5	33.2	2.7	4.2	.66	.511
<i>Achievement</i>						
Classroom Reading Grade	1.9	1.9	0	.58	0	1.00
Classroom Math Grade	1.6	1.7	.1	.73	1.6	.726
Reading Grade Equivalent	2.5	4.1	1.6	.89	1.8	.065
Math Grade Equivalent	3.8	4.5	.7	.26	2.7	.010*
Language Grade Equivalent	3.3	4.0	.7	.39	1.7	.098
TOTAL BATTERY	2.9	3.6	.7	.17	4.1	.000*

NOTE: *N* = 91, *df* = 90

* Significant Change

Self-Concept

The experimental sample showed significant improvements on three of the six self-concept dimensions: behavior ($t[175] = 2.4$, $p < .015$), school and intellectual status ($t[175] = 3.4$), $p < .001$, and happiness and satisfaction ($t[175] = 2.0$, $p < .053$). The control sample showed a significant decline on the behavior self-



Millions of kids are hungry in America.

**POLICY GOALS OF THE CAMPAIGN TO END CHILDHOOD HUNGER:
A Statement of Principles**

Hunger hurts everyone, especially children. In the long run, pursuit of various strategies to reduce the level and pain of poverty will reduce hunger among American children. To achieve this, we must assist families in their efforts to attain self-sufficiency by making available to them quality education and training, income from work that lifts them out of poverty, and adequate and affordable housing, child care and health care. We must also provide assistance for those who for the long or short term are unable to provide for themselves.

New and creative thinking is needed in our efforts to alleviate hunger and poverty. Of vital importance is the achievement of food security -- access by all people at all times through normal channels to enough nutritionally adequate food for an active, healthy life.

The Campaign to End Childhood Hunger supports the adoption of national policies guaranteeing food security to all Americans.

However, hungry children cannot wait for the long run. The most immediate and direct way to alleviate hunger and move toward food security is to strengthen an array of food assistance programs already in place. These food assistance programs can and should offer healthful and nutritious meals to children. Achievement of the following policy objectives would result in a dramatic reduction of hunger among children in the United States.

1. The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) provides essential nutrition assistance and access to health care to pregnant and postpartum women and infants and children at nutritional risk. Study after study has shown WIC to be highly effective in reducing low birthweight rates, averting infant mortality, improving the nutritional status of children, and saving Medicaid funds for women and infants. Yet, almost half of all those eligible for WIC nationwide fail to receive benefits due to a lack of program funding.

The Campaign to End Childhood Hunger seeks to ensure that all eligible low income women, infants and children can receive assistance through the WIC program.

2. The National School Lunch Program and the School Breakfast Program often provide the best meal of the day for low-income children. Studies show that these children receive

Campaign To End Childhood Hunger

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P. 2

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one-third to one-half of their daily nutrient intake from school lunch. Studies also show that participation in school breakfast programs results in significantly higher achievement test scores. Yet today, less than half of the schools offering lunch operate a breakfast program and school food programs have been targeted repeatedly for reductions in federal funding.

The Campaign to End Childhood Hunger seeks to make the School Breakfast Program available to low-income children across the country and encourages federal, state and local policies to ensure that the National School Lunch Program remains broadly accessible to all such children.

3. Millions of low-income pre-school children do not have access to school meal programs and millions of low-income school age-children lose access to these meals during the summer months. The Child and Adult Care Food Program and the Summer Feeding Program were established by Congress to meet the needs of these children, yet each serves only a fraction of the needy children eligible for these programs.

The Campaign to End Childhood Hunger seeks to greatly broaden the availability of meals for low-income children through expanded use of the Child and Adult Care Food Program and the Summer Food Program for Children.

4. The most important line of defense against hunger for millions of impoverished Americans is the Food Stamp Program. Few people realize that over half of all food stamp recipients are children, and that families with children receive over 80 percent of all benefits paid. Yet, barriers to food stamp participation prevent millions of eligible families from receiving assistance and benefit levels are so low that many food stamp families run out of food before the end of each month.

The Campaign to End Childhood Hunger seeks to make the Food Stamp Program accessible to all who are eligible and supports changes in benefit levels so that children and their families will have enough to eat each month.



Millions of kids are hungry in America.

April 21, 1992
Sept. 8

Hunger in the United States

Extent of Hunger

About five million American children under 12 go hungry each month and millions more are at risk of hunger according to estimates based on the results of the most comprehensive study ever done on childhood hunger in the United States -- the Community Childhood Hunger Identification Project (CCHIP). Hunger was shown to be a major problem among low-income families with children less than 12 years old in all of the CCHIP sites. Based on the results of seven CCHIP surveys -- in Alabama, California, Connecticut, Florida, Minnesota, Michigan and New York -- applied to the best available national data, FRAC estimates that approximately 12 percent of all families with children under 12 are hungry. The CCHIP estimates are based on pre-recession data; current hunger rates are probably much higher.

Other private and government surveys conducted throughout the last decade also document dramatic increases in the demand for emergency food:

- Since 1983, the U.S. Conference of Mayors has documented an annual increase in the demand for emergency food in major cities across the nation. In 1991, requests for emergency food increased in the survey cities by an average of 26 percent, up substantially from increases of 19 to 22 percent each year between 1988 and 1990. The number of families with children requesting assistance also increased by 26 percent. Two out of three persons requesting emergency food assistance were members of families with children. In 79 percent of the cities, emergency food assistance facilities turned away people in need because of lack of resources. Employment-related problems led the list of causes of hunger.
- A national survey conducted by Catholic Charities USA, the nation's largest private human service organization, shows that six out of every 10 people (62 percent) who went to Catholic Charities agencies in 1990 needed emergency food or shelter. Ten years ago, only two out of every 10 people (23 percent) sought those services.

While no one knows exactly how many people in this country are hungry, there is no question that millions face hunger every month. Harvard University's Physician Task Force on Hunger in America estimated in 1985 that 20 million people suffer from hunger.

Causes of Hunger

During the 1980s and early 1990s, hunger increased primarily due to a combination of economic factors and cuts in federal assistance programs.

Income and poverty data released annually by the U.S. Commerce Department's Bureau of the Census show that the lion's share of the income gains during the seven year economic expansion of the 1980s went to those at the top end of the income scale while poverty remained consistently high (see "Hunger and Poverty," below). As recession hit in 1990 -- signaled by a slowing economy, increases in the unemployment rate, rapidly growing demand for food stamps and other public assistance programs, and emerging budget crises at all levels of government -- an already high poverty

Campaign To End Childhood Hunger

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rate began to grow. Participation in the Food Stamp Program and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) have increased substantially throughout the recession and are now at all-time high levels. In fact, one in 10 Americans is now receiving food stamps.

This recession came on top of significant cutbacks in federal programs aiding low-income people in the early 1980s. This weakening of the "safety net" included cuts in programs like AFDC, Medicaid, and Unemployment Compensation, in addition to food assistance programs. According to the Congressional Budget Office, food stamp and child nutrition programs incurred a cumulative cut of \$12.2 billion between fiscal year 1982 and fiscal year 1985. Despite some restoration of funds to these programs, the cuts have had lasting effects.

State and local governments and private charities, which were enlisted to make up for federal cutbacks and budget restraints, are increasingly unable to shoulder the burden. Many states are now in financial crisis and are announcing severe cuts in human services programs. And private charities -- such as soup kitchens and food banks designed to meet emergency need -- find donations unpredictable amid increasing demand. Every city participating in the U.S. Conference of Mayors' 1991 survey reported that the recession has affected the problem of hunger in their jurisdiction. And, all cities expect the demand for emergency food assistance to increase during 1992. Catholic Charities USA, reacting to the results of their agency survey, collected 10,000 letters to Congress voicing support for improvements in the Food Stamp Program to meet the growing need.

Moreover, CCHIP data and other sources indicate that because of barriers to participation, lack of information about eligibility, or inadequate funding, many of the federal food assistance programs are not used by million of people who appear eligible to participate in them. Also, survey results consistently show that food stamp benefits are not sufficient to protect many low-income families from experiencing hunger.

Without significant improvements in the economy and stronger safety-net programs, hunger will persist.

Hunger and Poverty

Hunger is a condition of poverty. Living below the poverty line puts tremendous strains on a household budget, adversely affecting the ability to purchase a nutritionally adequate diet. In fact, government surveys show that as income goes down, the nutritional adequacy of the diet goes down as well.

According to data released by the U.S. Census Bureau in September 1991, ^{1992 35.7} 23.6 million Americans -- or ^{14.2} 23.6 percent of our population -- lived in poverty in 1990. This increase, from ^{21.6} 21.6 million in 1989, reflects the ¹⁹⁸⁹ first annual increase in the poverty rate since 1982 and in the number of poor people since 1983. The increase showed the early effects of the recession. *-Largest number of people in poverty since 1965.*

Children continued to represent the poorest age group in the country, a tragic distinction they have had for ¹⁹ 18 years. In 1990:

- 21.8 ~~20.6~~ percent of all American children were poor. (14.3 million)
- 25.5 ~~25~~ percent of children under age three lived below the poverty line.
- One in every two black children under age six was poor.
- 12.4 ~~12.2~~ percent of all Americans 65 and over were poor.

The 1990 recession came as a major blow to the working poor, whose numbers grew throughout the 1980s. The working poor are at risk of hunger because their income often is not sufficient to cover all of their living expenses, including food. Roughly ~~15.2~~ 15.2 percent of all heads of households living in poverty worked year-round and full time in 1990. Among poor householders, ~~40.2~~ 40.2 percent worked for some period of time in 1990. The average amount of money needed to raise the incomes of each poor family (including those with working members) to its respective poverty threshold was \$5,192. So, despite efforts to lift themselves and their families out of poverty, wages for many working people were inadequate to do so. And, recession meant that even those low-paying jobs might be lost dropping those families deeper into poverty.

The 1991 poverty figures, reflecting the full impact of the recession, will, without doubt, be higher still.

Health Consequences of Hunger

Hunger and undernutrition contribute to a number of negative health consequences:

- Hungry children suffer from two to three times as many individual health problems, such as unwanted weight loss, fatigue, headaches, irritability, inability to concentrate and frequent colds, as low-income children whose families do not experience food shortages, according to CCHIP.
- The infant mortality rate is closely linked to inadequate quantity or quality in the diet of the infant's mother. The United States ranks 21st among developed nations in preventing infant deaths, down from 16th in 1980. Black infants in the U.S. die at nearly twice the rate of white infants.
- Stunting and wasting in children result from inadequate nutrition. According to the U.S. Public Health Service, the Surgeon General's 1990 goal of eliminating growth retardation of infants and children caused by inadequate diets could not be met because significant numbers of low-income children continue to suffer retarded growth.
- Iron-deficiency anemia in children can lead to adverse health effects such as developmental and behavioral disturbances and increased susceptibility to lead poisoning. Anemia remains a significant health problem among low-income children, according to the Centers for Disease Control.
- Hunger has a negative impact on children's ability to learn. Recent research indicates that low-income children who participate in the School Breakfast Program showed an improvement in standardized test scores and a decrease in tardiness and absenteeism compared to low-income students who did not eat breakfast at school.
- Hunger and malnutrition exacerbate chronic and acute diseases and speed the onset of degenerative diseases among the elderly. This not only leads to an unnecessary decrease in the quality of life for many older people, but also increases the cost of health care in the United States. National data for people ages 65 to 75 show that a majority are not consuming even two-thirds of the nutrients they need to stay healthy.

Public Attitudes Toward Hunger

The public is very concerned about what is seen as a growing hunger problem. A national public-opinion poll released in April 1992 reveals that over 90 percent of registered voters believe that hunger in the U.S. is a serious and growing problem. Hunger ranks with education, health care policy and poverty and homelessness as a serious issue, trailing concerns about unemployment, drugs, the deficit, AIDS and the economy. Unlike these other issues, however, hunger is seen as a very solvable problem.

Voters place the responsibility for ending hunger squarely in the government's lap. It is clearly understood that private feeding efforts, as valuable as they are, are not the most effective way to feed families over time. The poll found very strong support for school breakfast and lunch programs, senior feeding, WIC, and the Food Stamp Program. In fact, when told that half of food stamp recipients are children and that more than 80 percent of food stamp benefits go to families with children, the approval rate for the Food Stamp Program jumped from 61 percent to 81 percent. The sentiment that the government needs to increase its anti-hunger efforts is so strong that voters would be willing to earmark \$100 more in taxes annually to end hunger.

The poll was commissioned for release with the Medford Declaration to End Hunger in the U.S., the broadest collective statement ever made that hunger in this country can and must be ended. The declaration, which calls for an end to domestic hunger by 1995 through improvements in the federal food assistance programs and lays the foundation for ending poverty in the U.S. by the end of the decade, has been endorsed by more than 2,000 leaders of American society. Endorsers include approximately 170 U.S. Senators and Representatives, Governors and Mayors; 62 corporate CEOs and presidents; 135 entertainment and sports personalities; 33 labor union presidents; 215 presidents of universities and educational institutions; 220 doctors and medical association heads; 110 philanthropic leaders; 340 religious leaders; and the directors of 530 hunger and poverty groups. The Medford Declaration was coordinated by the Center for Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy at Tufts University, FRAC, the End Hunger Network and World Hunger Year. The poll was conducted in January 1992 by Dr. Vincent Breglio, current Republican pollster for the Wall Street Journal/NBC News monthly surveys and former polling director for the 1988 Bush/Quayle presidential campaign.

Children & Nutrition

IMPACT OF PRESIDENT BUSH'S FISCAL YEAR 1993 BUDGET PROPOSAL ON THE SCHOOL BREAKFAST PROGRAM

The Bush Administration's FY 1993 Budget Proposal Would Have a Negative Effect on the School Breakfast Program and the National School Lunch Program.

- The Administration is proposing to cut six cents from the subsidy paid to schools for breakfasts served to students whose families' incomes exceed 185 percent of the poverty level (\$24,790 for a family of four in FY 1992). The effect of this cut on the School Breakfast Program reimbursement would be significant. A six cent per meal reduction in this program represents a 33-1/3 percent cut in the subsidy provided to schools for this category of school breakfast funding.
 - In order to compensate for this loss in reimbursement, schools will have to raise the price of breakfasts to middle-income students. (Schools would have to raise the price of school breakfasts to cover their costs since schools cannot by law raise the price of free or reduced-price meals.) It is likely that a significant price increase in the School Breakfast Program would result in a decrease in program participation by middle-income children. This loss of middle-income students has the potential of stigmatizing school breakfast participation in some schools (i.e., "Only poor students participate in school breakfast").
 - This kind of cut in school breakfast subsidies would have a chilling effect on expansion of the program to new schools, and on the use of the Program by middle-income children who for one reason or another are not eating a nutritious breakfast at home.
 - The Administration justifies this cut by proposing to use the savings to lower breakfast charges for students from families whose incomes are between 130 percent and 185 percent of poverty from 30 cents to 10 cents. This change would be a great help to low-income children, their families, and their schools' meal programs. However, coupling this improvement with a cut in subsidies for breakfasts consumed by middle-income children makes it an undesirable trade-off. It is unclear how schools or children will benefit if, because of the need to increase charges to middle-income students in order to make up for the cuts, schools have to risk stigma and decreasing participation levels.
- The Administration also proposes to cut six cents from the subsidy paid to schools for lunches served through the National School Lunch Program to students whose families' incomes exceed 185 percent of the poverty level. This proposal would reduce the FY 1993 reimbursement level for lunches from 31-1/2 cents to 25-1/2 cents, a 20 percent reduction in this category of funding. The Administration also proposes to use the savings from this cut to lower student lunch charges for families whose incomes are between 130 percent and 185 percent of poverty from 40 cents

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to 15 cents. Similar concerns to those raised above about the breakfast program apply to this proposed cut and trade-off in the lunch program. In fact, this kind of cut could have an even more profound effect on the School Lunch Program because almost half of its participants are middle-income. The American School Food Service Association estimates that if this cut went into effect, ~~one to two million children~~ would drop out of the lunch program. This cut could contribute to a growing trend of schools dropping out of the lunch program for a variety of reasons. **It should be noted that if a school drops its lunch program, it is very likely to drop its breakfast program as well. Therefore, the economic viability of lunch programs should be of concern to those who wish to expand the accessibility of the School Breakfast Program to more students.**

TRENDS IN SCHOOL BREAKFAST PARTICIPATION

Participation in the School Breakfast Program by schools and low-income students is increasing.

- The number of schools nationwide participating in the School Breakfast Program increased by 8.0 percent between 1990 and 1991.
- Participation nationwide by low-income children in the School Breakfast Program increased by 9.7 percent between 1990 and 1991.
- These increases in participation probably reflect two on-going trends -- greater need for the Program (increasing poverty among children and increasing participation in the work force by mothers) and strong efforts on the part of community organizations and school officials to expand the School Breakfast Program to more children. In addition, it is likely that these increases reflect the increased need for assistance brought on by the current economic recession.

*People
need these
programs more
because of the
current economic
recession.
Bush is attempting to take away
lunches at a time when children
need them the most.*

February 13, 1992
Food Research and Action Center
(202) 986-2200

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SELLAR, SEWELL, RUSS & SAYLOR, P. A.

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September 4, 1992

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

Dear President Bush:

You and other prominent Republicans have, directly or indirectly, criticized Gregory K., a twelve year old young man in foster care in Florida, for "hiring a lawyer to sue his parents," and accusing him of "divorcing" his parents. First, he has no resources to "hire" an attorney and, second, he is not "divorcing" his parents.

The United States and Florida Constitutions guarantee that all persons and citizens are equal before the law and have the right to "due process" and the right to "pursue happiness." Nothing could be more fundamental to a child's pursuit of happiness than some input into the legal process which will decide the family with whom he will live the rest of his life. The Florida foster care statute specifically provides that its purpose is to protect children from abuse and neglect, and to provide them a permanent home with a safe and nurturing environment. Further, the statutes' express purpose is to obtain recognition and enforcement of children's constitutional and other legal rights, and that ideally no child should remain in foster care for more than one year. This young man has been in state foster care, in violation of the law, for almost three years.

Gregory K. claims that he was abused and neglected for the first nine years of his life, and when then placed in the foster care system, he was moved from foster home to foster home, with no effort by the State to provide him with a permanent stable home. When he finally resorted to legal self-help the State claimed that he was an incompetent minor, and had no right to do so. Now his President has also sent a message to millions of Americans that children have no right to sue their parents to extricate themselves from abusive and neglectful families, and from foster care systems which are dysfunctional and refuse to respect their legal and constitutional rights. You have also left the false impression in the collective American mind that this young man has done something sinister, or unamerican.

Because others who are responsible for him (including his President), failed him, he took responsibility for himself. Like Rosa Parks, who brought national attention to the black civil rights movement by "sitting down" for her rights on the front of a bus, Gregory K. has "stood up" for his legal and constitutional

President George Bush
September 4, 1992
Page 2

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rights. Thus, he has brought national attention to the children's rights movement and to the plight of millions of children who are treated in our society as something to be owned or possessed, as opposed to their true nature as human beings. Now a judge who is familiar with the failings of the system, has ruled in Gregory's case that he is a "natural person" or a "human being," and entitled to the same constitutional rights of due process as yourself and other human beings. The judge has had the courage to say that there is nothing inherently wrong with listening to what a child, or his advocate, has to say when the court is making judgments that will effect the child for the rest of his or her life.

When the full truth is presented in a proper courtroom setting, there will be ample evidence to demonstrate that this young man is merely attempting to possess the very things to which you yourself have indicated he is entitled. Your wife has quoted you at the recent Republican National Convention as having stated: **"Every child should have someone he can count on."**

She further indicated that you were "determined to preserve a nation of strong families." Gregory K. on the second occasion he was placed in foster care, indicated, as he wept, that all he wanted was "a place to be." He has now found that place, and he has found a family that he can "count on."

Your comments in the media have been in the context of supporting "traditional family values." Because something is traditional, does not make it good or right. Were it so, Rosa Parks would still be relegated to a position at the back of the bus, blacks would still be slaves, and women would continue to be disenfranchised and unable to vote. It is admirable to retain worthy traditions. It is despicable to perpetuate indignities that are unjustly imposed upon minorities in our society. I trust the comments of high placed Republican leaders would not have been so lightly uttered, if children had the power to vote.

At the Convention, your wonderful family was held out as an ideal for which all Americans should strive. I applaud your family, as well as you and your wife for a wonderful job of parenting. I too have such a wonderful family. It includes nine beautiful children, one of which is Gregory K., the young man you have criticized for attempting to remain with the family he has come to count on.

If the Republicans insist on being the champions of "traditional family values," it would be well for them to ask the question, "What do we value in a family?" The United States Supreme Court has recognized that the emotional attachments stemming from intimate daily association form the crucial determinate in ascertaining the existence of a "family." They have recognized it is the "nature," and not the "name," of the relationship that determines whether it should be constitutionally protected. I would submit that the "family" which both the Republicans and Democrats should be seeking to protect, and the one that should be

President George Bush
September 4, 1992
Page 3

valued and constitutionally protected, is the one that loves, cherishes and cares for the child, and with whom the child feels secure and desires to live.

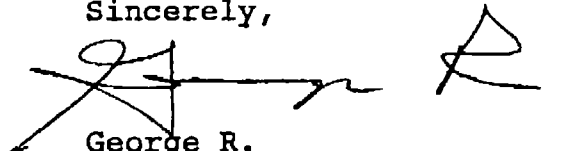
It is time to stop trashing Hillary Clinton on the children's rights issues. At least she has researched the subject sufficiently to have written a number of credible and scholarly articles in the past on this subject. If she is guilty of anything, it is her failure to stand up and be counted by responding to the false impressions created by the Republican party. I believe you, and others in the Republican party, owe an apology to the hundreds of thousands of children who depend on you as their President to defend their right to have, in your words, "someone they can count on." I thank God that this young man's fate is in the hands of a judge, who will hear all of the facts and make an informed decision based on the law and equitable principles, and not in the hands of politicians.

Even abusive parents have a right to hire lawyers and seek to force the return of defenseless children to an abusive environment. In this regard we never hear the question raised of whether they are "mature enough," as we do so often with children. What could possibly be so wrong with giving an abused child an attorney to prevent his return to abuse and neglect, and to present his case and his viewpoint to a judge, thus giving more than just lip service to the concept of doing what is in the best interest of the child.

The subject of children's rights is not a proper subject for uninformed, shallow political rhetoric. We all make mistakes and misstatements, and we only strengthen our credibility when we openly acknowledge them and make corrections. The subject is complex and of great importance to our nation's future. It deserves intelligent and vigorous debate, and not irresponsible comments without proper investigation. It is not too late for the Republican party to do the right thing, or for Hillary Clinton to set the record straight. I would be happy to discuss Gregory K.'s case with you in greater detail, and provide you with accurate information, at your option.

Sincerely,

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George R.
Foster Father/Co-Legal Counsel
for Gregory K.

pc: Hillary Clinton

FROM : Kate Mattos

PHONE NO. : 703 524 2803

We need to make some
decisions by close of business
tomorrow P01

Maggie

Give me a call & we'll work it out. Gloria

XJ666

FAX

KLM PUBLIC AFFAIRS

5310 NORTH BLUEMONT DR.
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22203

PHONE 703-524-2793

FAX 703-524-2803

FAX COVER SHEET

To: Name GLORIA JOHNSON
Company _____

Phone # _____
FAX # (501) 370-2670

From: Name KATE MATTOS

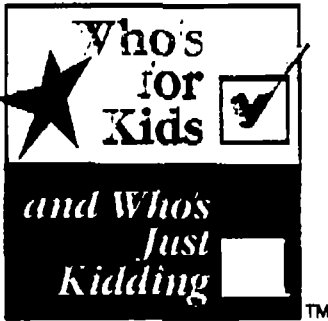
Date: SEPT. 2, 1992

THIS COMMUNICATION CONSISTS OF 5 PAGES
INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET.

COMMENTS: HERE'S THE LETTER. THANKS SO
MUCH FOR YOUR HELP. THERE
WILL BE AT LEAST 95 SITES PARTICIPATING
WITH 25-200 PEOPLE PER SITE. PRESS
WILL BE INVITED. WE KNOW GOV. CLINTON
WILL MAKE A TREMENDOUS CONTRIBUTION TO THIS
PROGRAM. THANKS FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION

*Need the tape
by Sept 21*

Coalition for America's Children



August 17, 1992

**Coalition for
America's Children**

1710 Rhode Island Avenue NW
4th Floor
Washington DC 20036
Tel (202) 857-7829
Fax (202) 857-7841

A project of the M. B. Fund

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Florida Center for
Children and Youth

Food Research
and Action Center

For the Children

National Association
of Children's Hospitals
and Related Institutions

National Association of
Elementary School Principals

National Association
of Secondary School Principals

National Black Child
Development Institute

National Education Association

Save the Children

Governor Bill Clinton
Bill Clinton for President Committee
Attn: Susan Morris
P. O. Box 615
Little Rock, AR 72203

Dear Governor Clinton:

I am writing on behalf of the Coalition for America's Children, which I chair, to invite your video appearance and the participation of an issues staff member in a National Satellite Summit on Children's Issues to take place

[REDACTED]

The Coalition is a nonpartisan alliance of roughly 200 nonprofit groups and public agencies, representing over 40 million members, which has come together to raise the concerns of children to the top of the nation's public policy agenda. Our members include business leaders, heads of children's hospitals, Junior League and PTA presidents, pediatricians, principals, school teachers, parent groups and older Americans. We are Republicans, Democrats and Independents, all of whom want to see children's needs given a high priority in future years.

On September 24th, we will use a national corporate satellite network to broadcast a program to our membership which, with your participation, will present the two presidential candidates' approaches to children's issues.

Specifically, we would ask you to:

- provide a five minute taped presentation stating how you and your administration would approach the health, education, safety and security needs of American children over the next four years; and

- designate a Children's Issues Director on your campaign staff to join us in a live question and answer session at a Washington studio, following broadcast of your taped segment.

In addition, should there be a national presidential debate on September 22, as the Debate Commission has recommended, we would plan to tape any responses that directly address children's issues and replay these in their entirety in the course of our program.

The National Satellite Summit on Children's Issues will be hosted by our national spokesperson, Bob Keeshan (better known as Captain Kangaroo). We expect that it will be broadcast to 50 stations, 30 of which have already committed to host the broadcast. In addition, it will be available to commercial, ABC and cable stations all across America. And, while this will not be a media event per se, we will be inviting reporters to watch and cover the broadcast at their offices. Tapes of the teleconference will also be distributed as widely as possible to our Coalition's 40 million members.

In keeping with our nonprofit status, this broadcast will be strictly nonpartisan in nature. The Coalition will not endorse any candidate for public office. While we expect to ask tough questions, we will not critique the respondents' answers, nor will we attack or promote either candidate's record. We are simply interested in eliciting from both you and President Bush how you would approach the needs of our children in the next four years and in making this information widely available.

We would be happy to meet with your staff to discuss this request further and to answer any questions they may have. Please note that we would prefer, because of the costs, to have your campaign provide the live transmission facilities (preferably in Betacam). However, should this prove prohibitive, we can dispatch a crew or provide a studio for the taping.

Issues Director would need to be available on September 22, 1992, at 7:00 PM EST. S/he should be prepared to answer questions from the host as well as those from the field, available as audio calls from the downlink sites.

This electronic town meeting offers us all a thoughtful moment to reflect on family values, the needs of our children and the nation's role in securing our children's future. As a Coalition, we recognize that there are often several promising approaches to the problems that confront us. We hope your vision will help our members see your candidacy more clearly, and help them consider carefully the many potential ways we can direct attention to our children's needs.

We hope you will give this invitation a top priority and will agree to provide our membership with your views on our children's future. Mindful of the demands of the campaign trail, we have tried to make your participation as easy as possible. Please let us know if we can provide you or your staff with any additional information or answer any questions.

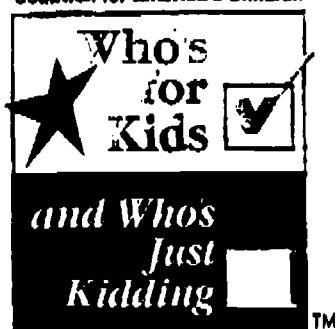
Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Lisa Tate".

Lisa Tate
Chair

LT/snb

Coalition for America's Children

**Coalition for America's Children**

1710 Rhode Island Avenue NW
4th Floor
Washington DC 20036
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A project of the M. B. Fund

Steering Committee

American Academy
of Pediatrics

American Association
of Retired Persons

American Association
of School Administrators

American Federation
of Teachers

Association
of Child Advocates

Association of Junior Leagues
International

Benton Foundation

Child Welfare League
of America

Children Now

Florida Center for
Children and Youth

Food Research
and Action Center

For the Children

National Association
of Children's Hospitals
and Related Institutions

National Association of
Elementary School Principals

National Association
of Secondary School Principals

National Black Child
Development Institute

National Education Association

Save the Children

MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

(As of AUGUST 5, 1992)

ACTION FOR ALASKA'S CHILDREN
ADOPTION ACTION NETWORK (NY)
ADVOCACY ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN (CA)
ADVOCATES FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH (MD)
AGENDA FOR CHILDREN (LA)
ALLIANCE FOR CHILD SURVIVAL (MD)
ALLIANCE FOR THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN (VA)
ALLIANCE TO END CHILDHOOD LEAD POISONING (WDC)
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF CHILD AND
ADOLESCENT PSYCHIATRY (WDC)
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS (WDC)
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES
FOR TEACHER EDUCATION (WDC)
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF PSYCHIATRIC SERVICES
FOR CHILDREN (NY)
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED PERSONS (WDC)
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
(VA)
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS (UT)
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS (WDC)
AMERICAN HUMAN ASSOCIATION (OH)
AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION (WDC)
AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION (WDC)
ASSOCIATION OF CHILD ADVOCATES (NY)
ASSOCIATION OF JUNIOR LEAGUES (WDC)
ASSOCIATION OF OHIO CHILDREN'S HOSPITALS
ATHENS COUNTY CHILDREN'S SERVICES (OH)
AWARE INC. (NJ)
BAYSTATE MEDICAL CENTER CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL
(MA)
BEECH BROOK (OH)
BELLEFAIRE/JEWISH CHILDREN'S BUREAU (OH)
BENTON FOUNDATION (WDC)
BLACK CHILD DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE (MD)
BREAD FOR THE WORLD (WDC)
BLYTHEDALE CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL (NY)
CALIFORNIA CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION
CALIFORNIA MENTAL HEALTH ADVOCATES FOR
CHILDREN AND YOUTH
CALIFORNIA RURAL LEGAL ASSISTANCE FUND
CAMPAIGN FOR KIDS' TV (MD)
CARDINAL GLENNON CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL (MO)
CENTER FOR MULTICULTURAL HUMAN SERVICES (VA)
CHILD ABUSE PREVENTION NETWORK (TX)
CHILD ADVOCATES, INC. (TX)
CHILD CARE CONNECTION OF BROWARD COUNTY (FL)
CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA (WDC)
CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE WESTERN OFFICE (CA)
CHILDREN AT RISK, INC. (TX)
CHILDREN NOW (CA)

National Commission on Children

November 23, 1992

Dear Hillary,

As chairman of the bipartisan National Commission on Children, I am writing to ask you to join me as co-chair of the National Summit on Children and Families. We plan to convene the summit on April 1-2, 1992 in Washington, DC to showcase the plans and initiatives of many public and private sector leaders who are working to put children and families at the top of the nation's agenda. It will also mark the end of the Commission's four-year tenure. Because of your longstanding leadership and involvement with these issues and because Governor Clinton has been a member of the Commission since its establishment, your willingness to serve as co-chair would mean a great deal. It would send a powerful message to America's parents and children and to those who touch their lives most closely that this nation is once again serious about making life better for its youngest citizens.

We see the summit as a "drumbeat event". Our intention is to refocus national attention on the needs of America's children and families and revive a spirit of shared commitment by all parts of society: government at all levels, private sector employers and professionals, the voluntary community, parents and children themselves. As the first major national forum on these issues in many years, the summit will spotlight and help link the action plans of many disparate public and private sector groups. With the Governor's victory earlier this month, it has also become a special opportunity to celebrate new leadership in the White House and a new era of cooperation between the President, the Congress, and the many organizations outside the federal government that are dedicated to improving children's lives and prospects.

Coming in the first 100 days after the inauguration, the summit also provides a neutral, bipartisan forum for the new administration to join hands with children's advocates, professionals who serve children, and others who work on these issues. As you know, most of these individuals and groups have received little attention or recognition from national leaders over the past decade. Therefore, the summit presents an important opportunity to make these individuals and groups once again feel connected and to see themselves as valuable allies rather than adversaries. It is a vehicle for marshalling their support and constructively channelling their energy to help the new President and those of us who will work with him in Congress.

Maggie -

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In addition, our strong view is that the summit should not just be about children and families, it should involve them. Therefore, we hope this event will provide an opportunity for the President and other national leaders to reach out to parents and young people, to communicate directly with them about the future policy agenda, to give them a voice and make them a significant force in the policymaking process.

Plans for the summit are still at a very formative stage. We are tentatively thinking about a day-and-a-half long event for approximately 500 to 1,000 children's "leaders" from many domains. It would have several major components:

- an opening that sets the tone and combines a sense of urgency about the problems facing children with a sense of hope, opportunity, and new forward movement to address them;
- a platform, an eager, friendly audience, and extensive media for the President to publicly announce his plans and priorities related to children and families;
- an opportunity for the leaders in Congress to publicly present their legislative goals and to link them to the President's plans and priorities;
- several sessions that will enable key groups or coalitions of groups outside the federal government to showcase their plans and initiatives in a visible and prestigious forum and demonstrate their readiness to help the President get his children's agenda moving;
- a televised town meeting (as an element of the summit agenda or as an adjunct activity) that will enable children (and perhaps their parents) to engage national leaders directly on issues that are of great concern to them and will give national leaders an opportunity to take their message directly to real people.

Our conversations over the past couple of months with children's advocates and others suggest that there is enormous enthusiasm for the summit. A brief prospectus describing our preliminary thinking about the themes and structure for the event is enclosed. Also enclosed is a brief summary of several other possible activities that might be undertaken in conjunction with the summit, including a children's gala, a televised town meeting, a photo exhibition, and a series of community-based summits on children and families. Let me emphasize that none of these ideas is set in concrete, and we welcome your help in shaping the events and bringing them to life.

As you probably know, the National Commission on Children is a joint creation of Congress and the President. Its 34 members were appointed in equal numbers by the President, the President pro tempore of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House. They come from many walks of life and represent an array of viewpoints, professional

Page Three

affiliations, and political perspectives. Yet in June 1991, they unanimously approved a bold blueprint for a comprehensive national policy for America's children and families.

Against this backdrop, your participation as a co-chair of the summit would make a strong statement about the future partnership between Congress and the White House on children's issues. It would signal a serious commitment to action. And it would help launch a new phase of creative activism on behalf of the nation's children and families.

I realize how many decisions you will be pressed to make in the next few weeks and how difficult it is right now to schedule events as far off as next April. Yet for obvious reasons planning for the summit must proceed. My hope is that you will agree to serve as co-chair, and then over the coming several weeks we can work with you and your staff as well as the transition staff on more specific issues. Please know that we will be comfortable with whatever level of involvement you would like to have in planning and organizing this event.

Hillary, I want you to know how much your participation in the summit would mean to me, other commissioners, and to the individuals and organizations, inside and outside of government, who work on behalf of children and families. The National Commission on Children has significantly changed the terms of the debate over children's issues, and it has provided a very special experience for all who have been a part of its activities over the past three and a half years. I am quite confident that we have the talent, resources, and commitment to produce a national summit that will be an important focal point in the early days of the new administration and that will make a real difference in the course of children's policy over the coming several years.

I will be in touch with you by phone in the next week to follow up. In the meantime, I hope you will give this invitation serious consideration.

With all best personal regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John", with a stylized flourish extending from the end.

John D. Rockefeller IV
Chairman

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
105 West Capitol Street
Suite 400
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

PROSPECTUS:

NATIONAL SUMMIT ON CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

On April 1-2, 1993, the National Commission on Children plans to convene a National Summit on Children and Families. This event, which will be held in Washington, DC, will bring together children's "leaders" from many domains to showcase the plans and initiatives of individuals and organizations, within and outside of government, that will continue to work to put children and families at the top of the nation's agenda and to mark the end of the Commission's tenure.

The National Summit on Children and Families will be a "drumbeat event" to refocus national attention on the needs of America's children and families and to revive a spirit of shared commitment by all parts of society to meet them. With Governor Clinton's victory in the November Presidential election, the summit has also become a special opportunity to launch and celebrate a new era of cooperation between the President, the Congress and the many organizations outside the federal government that are dedicated to improving children's lives and future prospects.

As the first national forum on these issues since the White House Conference on Children in 1970 and the regional White House Conferences on Families in 1980, the summit will highlight and help link the efforts of many disparate public and private sector groups. The previous White House conferences were intended to get delegates to agree on prescribed statements of policy and program goals. In contrast, the National Summit will focus public attention on the action plans of governmental and non-governmental groups who play a role in shaping public and private sector policies and programs, against the backdrop of the National Commission on Children's broad framework for a comprehensive national policy for children and families. It will also involve parents and children, enabling national leaders to communicate directly with them about the salient issues and the future policy agenda.

Background on the National Commission on Children

The bipartisan National Commission on Children is a joint creation of Congress and the President. It was established under the provisions of P.L. 100-203 to serve "as a forum on behalf of the children of the Nation." The Commission's 34 members were appointed in equal numbers by the President, the President pro tempore of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House. They include a diverse group of elected and appointed officials, experts in child health and development, representatives of key advocacy and professional organizations, corporate and labor leaders, philanthropists, and community volunteers.

In June 1991, after two and a half years of intensive investigation and deliberation, the Commission unanimously approved the bold blueprint for a national policy for children and families. It presented its recommendations to the President, the Congress, and the American people in a report entitled, **Beyond Rhetoric: A New American Agenda for Children and Families**. To ensure that children have an

opportunity to become healthy, literate, and productive adults, the Commission urged the nation's public and private sector leaders to take decisive steps to ensure families' income security, improve children's health and educational achievement, strengthen and support families, protect vulnerable children, and create a culture of individual and collective responsibility for the well-being of the America's youngest citizens. In every area but one, the commissioners reached consensus. Nine of the 34 commissioners disagreed with the majority recommendations for addressing the health needs of pregnant women and children.

Since the release of its final report, the Commission has been involved in an ambitious series of dissemination and public education activities aimed at 1) heightening awareness of issues affecting the health and well-being of America's children and families, 2) identifying steps toward the implementation of its proposals for policy and program development, and 3) building the necessary base of support to get the job done.

The National Commission on Children will conclude its work in the spring of 1993. The National Summit on Children and Families is planned as the culminating event.

Purpose of the Summit

The National Summit on Children and Families will be a major national forum that brings together leaders from many walks of life to focus public attention on issues affecting the health and well-being of children and families and to launch a new phase of creative activism to solve them. The summit has several purposes:

- Revive a sense of urgency and a shared commitment. Over the past decade, the plight of many of America's children and families has become more imperiled. The National Commission on Children called on all parts of society to take leadership and work together to improve children's lives and give them a brighter future. The summit provides an opportunity to take stock of the status of the nation's children and families and mobilize public leaders, professionals, and private citizens to support mutual efforts to make things better.
- Highlight new federal leadership on children's issues. The election of Governor Clinton will usher in a new period of national leadership on children's issues and a productive partnership between the White House, the Congress, and groups outside the federal government. The summit provides a platform for the new President and the leaders in Congress to announce their plans and priorities and to marshal broad support for moving their agendas forward.
- Demonstrate widespread concern and involvement across all sectors of society. At the national, state and local level, among public officials, advocates, professional groups, and the philanthropic community, activities are being planned or are already underway to translate awareness of the needs of children and families into meaningful, sustained solutions. The summit provides an

opportunity to showcase these efforts and highlight a sense of common purpose and direction among disparate public and private sector groups.

- Bring the outsiders in. For more than a decade children's advocates, professionals who serve children and families, and others who work on these issues have received little attention or recognition from our national leaders. Yet they are important players in the policymaking process at all levels. The summit represents an important opportunity to bring them on board and constructively channel their energy to help the new President and the leaders in Congress advance their children's agendas.
- Engage children and families directly in a dialogue with national leaders. The national summit will not just be about children and families, it will involve them directly. This event provides an arena for the President and other national leaders to reach out to parents and young people, to communicate directly with them about the future policy agenda, to give them a voice and make them a significant force in the policymaking process.

If there is a single message we would like to come out of the summit, it would be that America is committed to addressing the needs of its children and families, and all parts of society are working together to make it happen.

Summit Participants

The summit will bring together "leaders" from many parts of society who will continue to play a role in shaping public and private sector policies and programs for children and families:

- the President and senior officials in the new administration
- Congressional leaders and members of their staffs
- Governors, state legislators, and other key state-level officials (e.g., health and human services executives)
- Mayors, city council members, and community leaders
- Child advocates and representatives of relevant professional religious, and civic organizations
- Foundation executives and other representatives of the philanthropic community
- Labor leaders
- Corporate leaders

- Representatives of the entertainment and communications industries
- Parents and children

Form and Content for the Summit

The summit should have a serious, substantive focus on the critical issues facing the nation's children and families, directions for future policy and program development, and the action agendas of the new Clinton administration, the Congress, and other public and private sector groups outside the federal government. In order to successfully spark the national imagination and mobilize a broad-based children's campaign the event should be structured and orchestrated to take full advantage of its intrinsic media value. It should combine compelling presentations in plenary and break-out sessions with powerful visual images and exchanges among summit participants that will capture the attention and interest of a broad audience. To achieve this the Commission will seek advice and assistance from a skilled and experienced events producer.

Regardless of how the agenda for the summit is structured, however, it will incorporate four major components:

- A strong beginning that sets the context and tone. The summit should open with a general session that conveys a sense of urgency about the problems facing the nation's children and families and a sense of hope, opportunity, and forward movement for solving them. The focus should be on the challenge ahead, not just rehashing how bad things are. The Commission presented the nation a bold framework for action and a sense of direction for addressing income security, health, education, and family support needs, while leaving plenty of room for others to hammer out the specifics of national policy and programs as well as community responses. Therefore, the message from the opening session should be: We know what the problems are, and we know what to do about them. We are entering a new era when there will be real national leadership on domestic social policy. It is time for all parts of society to come together, face up to the challenge, and get going. The subtext is that the National Commission on Children has fulfilled its mandate by providing a long-term strategic plan, and now we applaud the efforts of others who will carry on and make it happen.
- A plenary session that provides the President a platform for announcing his plans and priorities. Coming in the first 100 days after the inauguration, the summit presents a significant opportunity for the President to demonstrate his commitment to address children's issues, launch his agenda, and publicly join hands with all or many of the relevant governmental and nongovernmental groups that will continue to play a role in shaping children's policies and programs. Because the Commission is a neutral, bipartisan body, the summit will offer an authoritative platform, an eager friendly audience, and extensive media coverage for a major policy address.

- A plenary session that provides Congressional leaders an opportunity to publicly announce their legislative goals. The summit can also provide leaders in Congress an opportunity to present their legislative goals and plans and to link them to the President's children's agenda. Bringing the President and key congressional leaders together on the same platform (presumably at different times) would make a powerful statement about putting an end to partisan gridlock and forging a new partnership between the White House and Congress on children's issues.
- A series of break-out sessions that showcase the plans and initiatives of groups or coalitions of groups outside the federal government. One of the Commission's important messages was that the federal government needs to provide leadership, a policy framework, and some support, but it cannot and should not be expected to do the job alone. The summit will highlight the role and action plans of many other players in the process. It will give key groups or coalitions of groups an opportunity to announce new initiatives or call attention to activities they already have underway in a visible and prestigious forum. It will validate and hopefully add momentum to these individual efforts, which are critical elements of a renewed nationwide movement on behalf of children.

Other Related Activities

Many people have encouraged the Commission to think about the summit not just as a single event, but as a constellation of events designed to reinvigorate those involved in policy making and those who work directly with children and families, as well as to capture the spirit and imagination of the broader American public. Adjunct activities should contribute to the general tone of hope and optimism, and they should symbolize America's coming together to meet the needs of its children and families. Among the ideas that have surfaced:

- Televised Town Meeting. Preliminary conversations with commercial and cable network producers suggest there may be strong interest in holding a televised town meeting with children (or parents and children) as an element of the summit agenda or as an adjunct activity on the evening of the summit's final day. In such a setting, children would have an opportunity to ask questions or offer comments to several high profile national leaders (e.g., the President and/or Mrs. Clinton, Senator Rockefeller). A high profile moderator (e.g., Peter Jennings, Jane Pauley) would help direct the discussion and serve as host and moderator. During the recent campaign, events like this enabled citizens to engage the candidates on the issues, and are now being credited with reviving the nation's democratic spirit and contributing to the large voter turnout. Whether or not this is true, such events offer regular people, including young people, an opportunity to communicate face-to-face with national leaders in ways that are likely to foster a positive sense of connection to them and to their agendas.

- Children's Gala. As a prelude to the summit, there is interest in staging a "Children's Gala" on the evening before the formal meetings begin. Such an event, perhaps at the Kennedy Center or the recently renovated Warner Theatre, would combine performances by child artists (e.g., Harlem Boys Choir) and well-known artists who have a longstanding interest in children's issues (e.g., Paul Simon) with a series of awards to individuals who would be recognized for their efforts on behalf of children and families. If the project attracts sufficient interest from a top producer and performers with marquis value it could be televised on PBS or a commercial network, greatly extending the audience for the summit.
- Photo Exhibit. As a part of its work, the National Commission on Children commissioned Eric Futran to prepare an extensive portfolio of photographs of children and families across the country. Many of these extraordinary images appear in *Beyond Rhetoric* and the Commission's other publications. To make them available to a broader audience, the Commission may assemble an exhibition and unveil it in conjunction with the summit. If a children's gala is held at the Kennedy Center, for example, the exhibition could be set up there with an opening reception before the performance. Alternatively, if the gala is not held or the gala location does not lend itself to an exhibition, space may be available in the Capitol or the Library of Congress or the National Capitol Children's Museum.
- Community-Based Summits. To extend the sense of involvement and build a strong base of support for addressing the needs of children and families in their communities, there may be an opportunity to replicate the national summit in several local communities across the country (either simultaneously or soon after the Washington event). Convened in partnership with a coalition of children's advocates, relevant professional organizations with large grass roots memberships, labor unions, elected officials, and the community foundations, these community-based summits would bring together local "leaders" in the same way that the national summit will bring together national leaders and representatives of many relevant non-governmental groups. These events would present opportunities for local leaders to take stock of the needs of children in their communities, confront their values, identify available resources, and clarify their commitment to work together to translate their concern into real and sustained solutions.

Media

It is likely that the summit and many of the candidate related activities will stir great interest among the broadcast and print media. Strategic media planning will seek to take full advantage of the public relations value of the events. The Commission in conjunction with the Communications Consortium will work to expand the reach of the media strategy by forming a child and family policy media strategies group involving public information officers from many of the relevant professional and advocacy organizations, as well as selected press secretaries for members of Congress. This group will work closely with the summit organizers and the organizers of community-based

summits to begin briefing child and family policy reporters and editorial writers as early as January, continuing through and beyond the summit.

In addition, the Commission will orchestrate a major media operation for the summit and other related activities that are convened in conjunction with the summit. This will include a media center at the summit; a "news service" for major markets and those of community-based summits; satellite and audio feeds; advance placement on public affairs talk shows; editorial boards; and placement of opinion pieces and signed articles.

Children's National Medical Center

Community Outreach Activities

Advocacy Programs and Services

Fiscal Year 1992

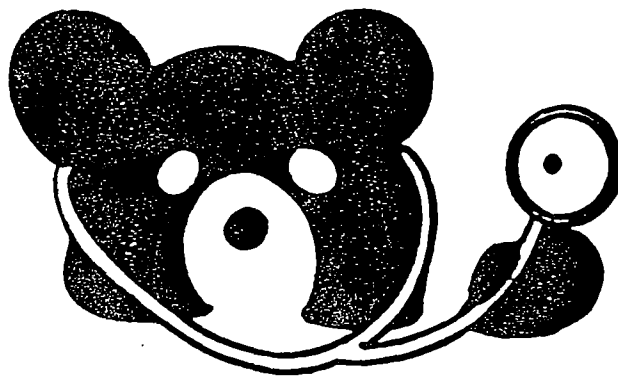


TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

Advocacy Initiatives

- Adolescent Employment Readiness Center (AERC)
- Adolescent and Young Adult Medicine/Burgess Clinic
- Annual Food and Gift Giving Drive
- Burn Unit
- Cardiology
- Child Life
- Child Protection
- Community Pediatric Health Center (CPHC)
- Dentistry
- Emergency Trauma Services
- General Pediatric Ambulatory Care (GPAC)
- Great Kids Program
- Healthy Children 2000
- Hearing and Speech
- Home Health Care Services
- Human Resources
- Immunization Initiative
- Neonatology(PEEP)
- Nursing Education Staff Development and Training
- Nursing Research and Development
- Patient Registration and Scheduling (Car Seat Loaner Program)
- Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation
- Project CHAMP - Children's HIV/AIDS Model Program
- Research
- Respiratory Care Services
- SAFE KIDS Campaign (Local Coalitions)
- Social Work
- Special Immunology
- Speak Out Lecture Program
- Washington Child Welfare Coalition
- Ongoing Local Community Projects

Introduction

Children's Hospital, like similar institutions across the country, finds itself operating in an extremely difficult environment. Escalating uncompensated care, diminished reimbursements and unnecessary limitations on the provision of care have severely compromised our ability to meet the needs of all the children and families who look to us for their care.

In spite of the difficult environment in which we operate, Children's remains committed to its mission of advocacy. Through a combination of programs geared toward clinical intervention, community awareness, education and political empowerment, the entire hospital family works diligently to address the myriad of challenges confronting children and families in our community.

As advocates for children, many of our departments have found small windows of opportunity to stretch the bounds of limited resources. The result has been the provision of many unique services that reach beyond the four walls of the institution to provide much needed services and programs to vulnerable children and their families. With the generous donation of time, public and private sector support, and institutional commitment, Children's National Medical Center's advocacy programs remain on the leading edge of quality, creativity and effectiveness. This document highlights just a few of the advocacy and community outreach initiatives undertaken by Children's Hospital staff and faculty.

ADVOCACY INITIATIVES

Adolescent Employment Readiness Center (AERC)

The AERC is a national model for pre-vocational services developed at Children's Hospital through a grant from the Maternal and Child Health Bureau and the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation. The AERC provides comprehensive pre-vocational services for teens with chronic illness and physical disabilities, including career assessment and counseling, academic guidance, and early work experiences. Since 1988, this outreach program has served 2,500 children.

Adolescent and Young Adult Medicine/Burgess Clinic

The number of youth at risk for HIV infection has increased dramatically over the last few years. To address this growing trend, the Adolescent and Young Adult Medicine Department and the Burgess Clinic, in the spring of 1991, established a unique program which targets teens to serve as peer educators in their communities. The program, funded in part by the Child Health Center Board, provides training to teens on the provision of HIV/AIDS health information and referrals.

The Burgess Clinic is the only comprehensive health care clinic specializing in HIV infection for adolescents in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area.

Annual Food and Gift Giving Drive

The Children's Hospital family continues to demonstrate its commitment to sharing and giving to patients and families in need through their strong support for CNMC's Annual Holiday Food and Gift Giving Drive. In 1991, contribution of food, clothes, toys and gifts met the needs of over 100 needy children and their families. Last year, the food and gift giving drive incorporated a new "adopt-a-family for the holidays" project. This initiative was spearheaded by the staff of the Evoked Response Clinic. Over 30 hospital departments participated in this effort, serving nearly 50 patient families.

Burn Unit

A child who has suffered the effects of a traumatic burn injury often faces the very difficult task of re-entering the world that he or she left behind. This trauma can also be difficult for family members and friends. In an effort to

help ease the entry or re-entry of burn victims into the school environment, the Children's Hospital Burn Unit nursing staff developed an off-site puppet show targeted to the classmates of burn patients. This unique show which utilizes puppets to depict scenarios about the physical and emotional impact of burns, provides answers to questions about burns, and includes a session on fire safety. Since 1985, the program has been conducted at schools throughout the local metropolitan area and has been presented to nearly 500 children.

Cardiology

A major advocacy goal of the Cardiology department is to promote access to care for children living in underserved areas. For example, cardiology staff make bi-weekly visits to Waldorf, Maryland to examine patients who have problems with access to care. Approximately 250 children receive this service annually. In addition, professional staff also make visits to Milford, Delaware, and Salisbury, Maryland to provide services to children who would not otherwise have access to much needed services in their own communities. The department estimates that approximately 700 children are served annually by this initiative.

Additionally departmental staff seek to enrich the the diagnostic capabilities at local hospitals by providing training to local pediatricians.

Child Life

Child Life Workers conduct health fairs geared toward first and second graders from Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia. This hands-on program provides knowledge about medical equipment and services in an effort to ease childrens tensions about going to visit the doctor/hospital, and to increase the interest of young children in the field of medical science.

In addition, staff members participate in the burn unit school re-entry program and provide assistance to the Community Pediatric Health Centers in Shaw and Adams Morgan. The department also offers a peer education program geared to adolescents in the community. High risk youth are trained to educate their peers about appropriate sexual behavior.

Child Protection

The 23-member team of pediatricians, nurses, psychologists, social workers, attorney and administrative staff that comprise the Division of Child Protection provide medical and mental health services to approximately 1800

children and their families, as well as advocate for families at both the local and national level.

The Division's multi-disciplinary and culturally sensitive approach -- both in services and in staffing -- has required a strong advocacy component as integral to the other three prongs of its mission (clinical services, education and research). A current research endeavor, for 1992, is the issue of HIV in sexually abused children.

The main outreach project, sponsored by the Division of Child Protection, is project REACH. This seven year old program, located in far southeast Washington (Ward 7), provides mental health services, which include both treatment and prevention of child abuse and neglect, and seeks to improve parenting skills of at-risk women in the surrounding community. The program serves residents of the District, Maryland and Virginia.

In addition to project REACH, there are several other outreach advocacy programs in which the the department is involved. They include: parenting and counseling for women and children residing at the House of Ruth, a battered women's shelter; providing parenting and counseling for incarcerated women and their children at the Lorton Women's Prison; providing educational sessions on child abuse and prevention in Maryland, Virginia and D.C. schools, including sessions for professional teaching staff, school employees and PTA groups; and providing counseling and supervision to runaway youth at the Sasha Bruce shelter.

This year, the Division hosted the eighth biennial National Symposium on Child Victimization in Washington, D.C. Under this year's theme "Shattered Dreams: Childhood Recaptured," this multi-disciplinary conference, for those who serve a diversity of children and their families, attracted more than 1,500 social workers, lawyers, pediatricians, psychologists, educators and advocates from around the country. The keynote speaker was Alex Kotlowitz, author of "There Are No Children Here."

Community Pediatric Health Center (CPHC)

This program has been part of the community since 1967, providing primary health care needs to indigent families and children in the Shaw and Adams Morgan neighborhoods of Washington, DC. In July, 1991, the Comprehensive Health Care Program (COMP) changed its name to the Community Pediatric Health Center (CPHC) to better reflect its services to the communities of Adams-Morgan and Shaw. Last year, approximately 13,000 children were served at these community-based pediatric health care centers.

The facilities are equipped with 24-hour on-call access to doctors, appointment and walk in services, bilingual staff, convenient neighborhood locations, and on-site services that provide assistance to parents who want to apply for Medicaid and/or the Financial Assistance Program of Children's Hospital. Some of the services available are primary preventive health care, routine screenings, diagnosis and treatment of illness, specialty referrals, on-site blood drawing, and counseling. In addition, both clinic sites serve as the distribution point for the DC SAFE KIDS Coalition safety packets. In 1992, the Community Pediatric Health Care Program will celebrate 25 years of service and commitment to children and families of the District of Columbia.

CPHC recently initiated a program to provide monthly health and parenting classes at both clinic sites. Funding for the program was provided by the Child Health Center Board (CHCB). In addition to working with the CHCB, the CPHC has recently become the beneficiary of attention by the Children's Hospital Youth Perspectives Council (CHYPS). In 1991, CHYPS hosted a holiday party for CPHC children and their families and recently held a fund raising event to benefit CPHC.

CPHC continues its participation in community health fairs, and in networking with community-based agencies in health presentations, support groups and health education classes.

Dentistry

The Department of Dentistry provides dental care to children with special needs at the Edward Mazique Parent Child Center and offers free dental screenings to children at health fairs and elementary schools. Dentistry staff provide their time on a volunteer basis to ensure that approximately 850 children can benefit from these services. Over the last five years, staff have participated in career fairs at local high schools, and career days are conducted for younger children. In addition, medical staff visit schools, day camps, and children's centers to teach the importance of good dental hygiene and to distribute toothbrushes and toothpaste to between four and five thousand students throughout Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia. All supplies, educational material, and toothpaste are solicited from, and donated by, corporations.

Emergency Trauma Services

The Emergency Medical Trauma Service is involved in numerous advocacy/education programs including the Pediatric Advanced Life Support (PALS), the Pediatric Emergency Nursing Education (PENEP), and the Pediatric Emergency Medical Services Training Program (PEMSTP). The

purpose of these programs is to provide health care providers with information and education about pediatric emergencies and how to best respond to them. Training is provided regionally to care-givers in Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia, and nationally. PENEPP was developed in 1990 and is the newest of the three programs. PALS was developed and implemented in 1989, and PEMSTP began in 1986. All three programs are self supporting.

In addition to providing training to health care professionals, EMTS staff are also involved in community education. Staff routinely visit schools and day care environments teaching children from 3 to 14 years of age lessons of safety and injury prevention. Components of the department's "safety first" program include: bike riding and helmet safety; seat belt compliance; poison control; fire safety; pedestrian and street safety; swimming safety; awareness of animal and stranger dangers; bites & stings, and safety in the home, including how to access and use 911. Last year, four area schools benefitted from this training.

General Pediatric Ambulatory Care (GPAC)

As the institution's largest provider of primary health care services, the General Pediatric Ambulatory Care center has as one of its major outreach goals the promotion of immunization rates among young children, and lead poisoning prevention. Many of the department's efforts in this regard extend beyond the walls of the institution. GPAC health care professionals also participate in the community Head Start initiative; the LEAD Poisoning Prevention Program; and the Fitness Club for overweight children, eight to twelve years of age. The GPAC medical staff provide camp physicals for underprivileged children, volunteer to provide health education to the Oberlin community National Parochial School, and facilitate a support group for grandmothers.

Great Kids Program

The Great Kids Program is a working parents seminar designed to teach step-by-step solutions to parenting problems and seeks to provide parents with the necessary skills to raise well adjusted children. Since 1986, the program has made a positive difference in the lives of hundreds of parents and children in the Washington Metropolitan region. The program is self-supporting.

In 1991, the program received partial funding from the Child Health Center Board and the Board of Lady Visitors to develop a new brochure. The brochure has been completed and efforts are currently underway to market the Great Kids Program to other children's hospitals.

Healthy Children 2000

In 1991, through the Healthy Children 2000 Campaign, NACHRI launched a year-long immunization initiative with a publication entitled "Healthy Kids: Give It A Shot!" which encouraged hospitals to undertake ambitious immunization activities. The 1992 initiative is prevention of unintentional injury.

The Government and Community Affairs Department serves as CNMC's liaison with NACHRI for this initiative and in July, 1992, hosted the Healthy Children 2000 Campaign Coordinators Conference. During the conference, which was attended by 50 coordinators from NACHRI member hospitals, resolutions were presented to the Deputy Surgeon General, Julia Plotnick, expressing member hospital's concerns regarding the need to make children's health issues a national priority.

Hearing and Speech

Advocacy initiatives include community and parent awareness and education on communication disorders among the multi-cultural population in the District of Columbia, and ensuring access to hearing and speech services at the Scottish Rite Center, regardless of financial circumstances. Throughout the month of May, Better Hearing and Speech Month, the department conducted free speech-language and hearing screenings at three CNMC satellite locations.

The department has an on-going contract with the District of Columbia Government to sponsor the Scottish Rite and Adams Morgan programs which provide diagnostic services to District children, including children with multi-cultural backgrounds.

Hearing and Speech staff are also involved in a program that enrolls 45 students between the ages of two and-a-half to three years and follows them until they are ready to enter kindergarten or the first grade. The program involves both the children and the parents for the three year period and twenty-nine children have successfully entered into the school system. The success rate is determined by the number of children who are able to enter, adapt, and thrive in a normal classroom setting.

Ongoing participation by staff on community-wide Boards and/or commissions representing the interests of children with special needs continue to be a major component of the Hearing and Speech advocacy mission. Recently, a staff member, while serving as the Chair of Mayor Kelly's Developmental Disabilities Council, was active in the establishment of a toy lending library for children with special needs. In addition, as a

member of the Interagency Coordinating Council of the D.C. Early Intervention Program, this staff member was also instrumental in the establishment of the Home Ownership Program for Families with Members with Disabilities.

Home Health Care Services

Home Health Care Services serves as the District of Columbia's provider of the Perinatal Outreach Program (POP). Under the leadership of the CNMC Home Health Care Services department, the POP program has been instrumental in helping to minimize the District of Columbia's infant mortality rate, serving hundreds of women and children. The POP program targets women at-risk for complications in pregnancy due to substance abuse, lack of prenatal care and/or other socioeconomic indicators.

Home Care staff also participate in the training of school nurses on the provision of specialized care to disabled children in Montgomery County, Prince Georges County and the District of Columbia. In addition, the Home Care team provides practice setting and administration training to graduate and undergraduate nurses in five area colleges.

Human Resources

Human Resource staff conducted numerous presentations to local high schools, junior high schools and elementary schools to discuss careers in health care. Forums for these presentations include health fairs and career fairs. In addition, as a part of a District of Columbia Hospital Association initiative, this Department hosted guidance counselors from the District of Columbia school system and provided them with information on various health care career opportunities, the educational requirements for these careers, expected salary ranges, and existing CNMC job opportunities available for students. Over 1000 children have benefitted from these programs.

In an effort to provide the District of Columbia youth with a solid foundation for succeeding in the professional business world and to expose youth to a variety of health care careers, the Human Resources Department, in conjunction with the District of Columbia's Summerworks '92 Program, and the Washington Urban League Summer Jobs Program, employed over 33 District of Columbia residents, ages 14 to 22, for 22 weeks. Students were placed in various departments throughout the hospital. In addition to the student's work-site experience, each student attended a weekly four-hour training program, coordinated by Human Resources staff, on a variety of topics such as, Careers in Health Care; Career Planning and Assessment; Resume Writing and Interviewing Skills; Effective Communication Skills a

Work, and Educational Opportunities and Financial Aid Planning. It is anticipated that as cut backs in the District's budget for summer youth programs increase, this program can expect to have an increased number of students in need of summer jobs.

In addition to the program described above, the Department also provided job internship experiences for individuals with disabilities through the Life Experiences Activities Program (LEAP). Many of these internships have lead to both paid and volunteer jobs within CNMC, and with other businesses located in the District of Columbia.

The Department also received funding from the Board of Lady Visitors to develop a "Careers in Health Care" brochure listing all types of health care careers available at Children's Hospital, the level of education required for each, the schools that offer programs in those disciplines and a listing of financial aid programs. This brochure is available to employees and the community.

Immunization Initiative

Children's Hospital played a major role in planning a City-Wide Immunization Campaign spearheaded by the D.C. Commission of Public Health, the Carter/Bumpers Campaign for Early Immunization, and the DC Medical Society. The campaign consisted of a ward-by-ward initiative to increase the immunization rates of all District children, especially those birth to two years of age. Currently the rate of compliance in the District for this age group is 43%.

The campaign began with Ward 8, which was selected as the first target area because over 5,000 children residing in that Ward are under the age of two. Immunization sites, strategically located at local neighborhood public schools, churches and recreation centers, were made available to the public on selected Saturdays from April through September, 1992. In addition, mobile vans were located in grocery store parking lots and on street corners. All sites included a follow-up and referral station to encourage parents to enroll their children in a comprehensive primary care program. Other services such as lead testing, and WIC and Medicaid information stations were also available at each site.

In addition, Children's participated in writing a comprehensive, city-wide plan that was submitted to the Centers For Disease Control.

Neonatology/Perinatal Education Exchange Program (P.E.E.P.)

This program was implemented in 1980, under the auspices of the Department of Neonatology, in an effort to improve the quality of perinatal health care in the metropolitan Washington area. The program provides high quality continuing education to health care professionals in a format that is economical, and readily available. A target audience for the program are hospitals that lack the financial means to obtain additional continuing education for their health care professionals, particularly in neonatology. There are currently 20 to 25 institutions being served regularly by the PEEP program. Participants include: D.C. General; Prince George's Hospital; Shady Grove; Laurel Community; Holy Cross, and Greater Southeast. In addition to the educational classes geared toward health professionals, the department conducts perinatal education classes for women participating in the Healthy Babies Project located in Ward 5. Ward 5 is listed as having one of the District's highest infant mortality rates.

Nursing Education Staff Development and Training

Nursing Education staff co-lead a parenting support group that discusses topics such as childhood growth and development, safety, nutrition, and health pertaining to children. There are also sessions geared toward drug prevention and discipline. The service is provided in the Arlington Temporary Housing Shelter in Arlington, Virginia.

Nursing Research & Development

Research associates study populations in the community regarding issues centered on immunizations, vaccines, HIV/AIDS, hematology/oncology and provide advice to local school systems on how they can become involved. One study in particular is studying the health care needs of Hispanic children. Staff also provide volunteers to local community immunization initiatives and technical advice to parents whose children are on apnea monitors. In addition, staff provide support for continuing education and consultation to the Center for AIDS Research, and are currently working on a study of the health care needs funding for the Community Pediatric Health Clinics.

Patient Registration & Scheduling (Car seat Loaner Program)

Children's Hospital is a designated District of Columbia car seat loaner site. The car-seat loaner program is housed in the Patient Registration and Scheduling Department. Staff distribute infant and toddler car seats to

residents of the District of Columbia, Monday through Friday from 8:00 a.m. until 4:30 p.m. An average of 80 car seats are distributed annually. In addition, the department provides appropriate information to Maryland and Virginia parents regarding car-seat loaner programs in their states.

Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation

Children's National Medical Center has the only program for medically related, physically disabled children in the tri-state area. Two thirds of the medically related, physically disabled children are seen at CNMC. One outreach goal of this department is to provide information to the community, and to provide and facilitate parent support groups. This year, plans are being developed to create a support group for physically disabled adolescents.

In addition, the Department is involved in writing educational pamphlets for educators and parents, and in providing visits to community clinics and schools for physical and occupational therapy, and special education. Faculty and staff provide instructors for continuing medical education seminars, held monthly, that instruct educators about the different physical handicaps affecting children, and lead seminars at the Brittle Babies Clinic at NIH.

Project CHAMP (Children's HIV & AIDS Model Program)

Project CHAMP started in 1989 with grant support from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation under its AIDS Service and Prevention Programs initiative. This purpose of the initiative is to develop a comprehensive HIV education and community outreach program for care givers beyond the hospital-based staff and to prepare community-based caregivers to provide competent care with sensitivity and compassion. Consequently, enabling care givers to enhance the level and quality of services offered to HIV-affected children and their families. Project CHAMP includes the following components:

Education Outreach Program: Four comprehensive training guides have been developed as part of the Hugs Invited Series:

- "Access to Primary Care for Children with HIV." This training guide helps community physicians, nurses and social workers to prepare their practices to care for HIV-affected children. Its recommendations for care, counseling, education, support and advocacy correspond with protocols, tables, references and resources.

- "Caring at Home: A Guide For Families" A guide written with and for families of newly-diagnosed children affected with HIV, addresses daily care and psycho-social issues in simple, easy-to-read language.
- "Caring in the Community for Children with HIV", a training guide that enables care providers to recognize how their own fears and biases create obstacles to care giving.
- "Youth & HIV: It's Up To You and Me", a guide for service providers in residential settings will be published in late 1992.

The Buddy Program: This program has trained over 100 volunteers to provide care to HIV-affected children both in the hospital and at home. Volunteers bring much needed support to medical staff with routine care and an extra set of hands with complex procedures. This has reduced the number of hours required of professional staff per patient. In addition, these volunteers provide support and respite care to families on the home front. As a result more children have been allowed to return home where previously they would have remained in the hospital beyond the medically appropriate time. The implementation of the "Buddy Program" has greatly reduced the cost of inpatient care services for HIV/AIDS infected patients.

The Train-the-Trainers Program: CHAMP staff developed the "Train-the-Trainer" program, with support from the U.S. Maternal and Child Health Bureau, to provide training to health care providers in six cities having a high incidence of pediatric HIV disease. In 1992, programs will have been conducted in the following cities: Saint Petersburg, FL; Norfolk, VA; Buffalo, NY; Boston, MA; Chicago, IL; Oakland, CA. This demonstration project was developed in collaboration with CNMC and the Child Welfare League of America.

Research

For twenty years, this Department has been involved in outreach to the community through voluntary participation in parenting classes scheduled by the Montgomery County Public Schools, Adult Education Division. Several times a year, the Director serves as a co-teacher, or guest lecturer at county sponsored parenting classes called "A Day with Dad" The Director interacts with parents and responds to questions about general pediatric problems, and interprets matters of general and specialty health care. Parents with outstanding issues and concerns are referred to their private pediatrician's for additional assistance and follow up. Approximately 10,000 Montgomery County families have benefited from this program, and through

it, they have become aware of Children's National Medical Center and the services it provides.

Respiratory Care Services

Staff lecture at area high schools and community programs in Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia, about Respiratory Care career opportunities. Nearly 200 students have been reached through this program.

SAFE KIDS (Local Coalitions)

The National SAFE KIDS Campaign has 125 Coalitions representing 42 states and the District of Columbia. In the Washington Metropolitan Area, there are now six SAFE KIDS coalitions: D.C., Maryland, Virginia, Fairfax County, Montgomery County, and Prince William County. These coalitions recently collaborated to conduct child safety activities at the annual White House Easter Egg Roll, where this year's theme was childhood injury prevention. In addition, art work for the program was adapted from children in the CNMC New Horizons program, and a large mural, painted for the event by a local artist has been donated to the Hospital by the White House.

On June 30, 1992, the Washington area SAFE KIDS Coalitions held a joint press conference at CNMC to announce changes in the child passenger safety laws in all three metropolitan area jurisdictions. The news conference was sponsored by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.

On October 3, 1992 the coalition will present the "SAFE KIDS Family Fun Day" in conjunction with the D.C. Government, community health organization's and radio station, WKYS. Free immunizations and lead screenings will be provided along with information on safety and injury prevention. Over 2,000 children are expected to participate.

Social Work

Social work staff are involved in local chapters of national disability groups, education programs, boards of directors, and information distribution. One such educational program is the school adaptation and/or re-entry program. In an effort to help children integrate their hospital experience and illness into their school life, social workers routinely visit local schools and arrange school/family conferences to facilitate special accommodations and support. The different departments involved in this program include the Burn Unit, Special Immunology, Nephrology, Physical Medicine & Rehabilitation,

Rheumatology, and Spina Bifida. The goal of this program is to ensure success of the child's educational experience.

Most recently, social workers became involved with Government & Community Affairs in an information session geared toward educating the public about changes in the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) requirements for disability payments. As a part of this effort, they have joined with other CNMC departments and outside agencies to plan a campaign to obtain SSI benefits and medical coverage for every eligible child in the District of Columbia. CNMC social workers currently reach potentially eligible SSI participants through active distribution of flyers, newsletters, and community canvassing.

Special Immunology

The Special Immunology Department has been actively involved in advocacy activities since it opened its doors in 1985. In an effort to educate medical staff, families, and children with HIV, this department has been involved with the D.C. AIDS Education and Training Center (DCAETC) since June 1992, and the Family and Children's Care Panel since February 1992. DCAETC is only offered to children who reside in the District of Columbia and who test positive for HIV/AIDS. In addition, a number of the nurses on staff have organized a training class that teaches area nurses how to deal with children infected with HIV/AIDS.

Although these programs are geared predominantly toward the educating health professionals, they affect nearly 500 children and their families. It is projected that by 1995 these programs will benefit approximately 650 children.

Speak Out Lecture Program

In response to requests from the community, Public Affairs staff has coordinated 60 speaking engagements by clinical and administrative staff. In addition, 29 Speak Out Lecture series have been conducted by hospital staff at area satellite clinics and other locations in the surrounding communities.

Washington Child Welfare Coalition

The Department of Government & Community Affairs continues to play a lead role in the direction and administration of this diverse Child Advocacy Coalition. On September 27, 1991, the coalition hosted a seminar entitled "Translating Rhetoric Into Action: A Community Campaign for Kids", successfully bringing over 100 members from seven of the leading advocacy

coalitions in the city together to develop a children's agenda through coordination and collaboration of resources and expertise. In addition, the coalition has been investigating the feasibility of replicating San Francisco's successful ballot box referendum, Proposition J, in the District of Columbia. Proposition J requires that 2.5 percent of the City of San Francisco's annual property tax revenue be dedicated to a special children's fund.

In the Spring of 1992, the Washington Child Welfare Coalition agreed to take on the responsibilities of the Coalition for America's Children and the "Who's for Kids and Who's Just Kidding" campaign.

On-going Local Community Outreach Projects

Government and Community Affairs staff continues to focus its local community outreach efforts through well established ongoing programs such as the Pre-School Visitation Program, the Adopt-a-School partnership with Parkview Elementary, Hospital tours, School Health and Career Fairs, and the Car Seat Loaner Program.

GCA/09/30/92 (Revised 6)

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Book Reviews

All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure. By Kenneth Kenniston and the Carnegie Council on Children. New York: Harcourt Brace Janovich, 1977. 255 pp. \$10.95.

Reviewed by Hillary Rodham, attorney with Rose, Nash, Williamson, Carroll, Clay, and Giroir of Little Rock, Arkansas, and member of the Board of Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families.

Readers looking for an unbiased review of this important new book will not find it here. The Carnegie Council on Children, a varied group of experts and interested citizens, spent five years under the leadership of M.I.T. professor Kenneth Kenniston studying the ways America regards and raises its children. The result is a thorough, and thoroughly valuable, analysis of the social pressure cooker in which the family and the children it is responsible for rearing find themselves. The analysis supports specific public policy recommendations for the next ten years—it draws a broad vision of the future we should all work toward.

The book's central argument avers that the family cannot be seen as an atomistic element in the larger society, moving or stagnating solely as an effect of its own efforts. Rather, solutions to the so-called "crisis of the family" require that we see the family as one of many social institutions, and one influenced by cultural, economic, and political events as certainly as by the fortunes of its individual members. Thus, the council urges that attention be turned to the impact on families of external factors such as income distribution, accessibility to health care, educational services, legal rights, and runaway technology. Its conclusion—that many families face problems over which they have little or no control—will come as no surprise to persons in the social welfare field, but it is a significant finding for public policy that will affect all families.

A belief in families runs through the book, which in some circles today is a quite old-fashioned idea but one the council embraces enthusiastically, holding that there is still no better way to care for children. This attitude permeates the council's exorcism of certain myths that serve only to inhibit the development of a realistic family policy in this country. The myth of the housewife whose life centers only on her home is effectively dispelled by statistics demonstrating that the average school child now has a working mother. The myth, or perhaps more accurately, the prejudice, that each family should be self-sufficient is challenged in a compelling chapter on the "stacked deck" faced by the poor, minority, or handicapped children who are born into a situation of inequality and, most of them, kept there for the rest of their lives.

One of the freshest contributions the book makes is to the understanding of technology's impact on the family. Americans in the rich, poor, or any other category, are surrounded and victimized by technology: television, nuclear plants, automobiles, drugs. American families that hope to achieve complete control over their children's upbringing find themselves competing with powerful influences. Collective action is needed on the community, state, and federal level to wrest from machines and those who profit from their use the extraordinary power they hold over us all, but particularly over our children.

Lest you think the book's analysis and recommendations were preordained, let me share with you my experience as a staff member and consultant with the council. The council and staff faced with considerable trepidation the awesome charge by the Carnegie Foundation to study the American child. The issue of child-rearing is a controversial one, and it seemed to us that the changing role of the family and the increasing pressures it

faced—to achieve or just to survive—required a thoughtful, unhurried examination. The individuals involved came to their tasks from different experiences and perspectives. They shared an openness toward their responsibilities and a willingness to test preconceptions and unorthodox ideas; they sought out persons from all walks of life and from all over the country; they tested ideas on each other and critical third persons; they struggled to capture in writing the tone of vigorous debate; they rewrote and edited again and again.

Every subject the council examined seemed to raise the same questions: How does a parent, even a well-meaning, committed one, provide for children in our increasingly fragmented society? How does he or she cope on an inadequate income, unable to purchase the services needed by children? How does society assist families in a manner that promotes, rather than discourages, individual responsibility and dignity? Does not every family, at some time, need help—and, if so, what delivery systems are required? If one believes, as the council does, that it is the family's and not the state's responsibility to raise children, then it follows that the family needs strengthening in order to have a chance to survive and overcome the ravages of poverty and its handmaidens of disease, ignorance, hunger, and hopelessness.

But if we are going to require responsibility, then we must offer the opportunity for it to be accepted. Consequently the council proposes a new formula for measuring poverty, to help redress economic inequality. It offers suggestions in other areas: employment, health, and law. Underlying all its recommendations is the need for advocacy on behalf of children, particularly by their parents. Children cannot speak for themselves; they do not vote or contribute to special interest lobbies. Yet, their futures are inextricably bound up with politi-

cal decisions about the allocation of resources. Adults must represent the interests of children that are implicit in such issues as full and fair employment and flexible working schedules for working parents. They must urge the passage of a national health insurance plan that will provide preventive care for the many treatable conditions afflicting thousands of children. They must write and pass the laws that will protect our children against environmental pollution. They will have to reorganize our existing service network and implement necessary new programs so that people, not bureaucracies, are made stronger.

Whether or not one agrees with the council's work, *All Our Children* does fuel the debate over the future of public policy on children and their families—and in that sense is almost required reading for social welfare professionals and policymakers alike.

The Future of Social Security. By Alicia H. Munnell. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1977. 190 pp. \$9.95; \$3.95 paper.

Reviewed by Gary Hendricks, M.A., senior research associate, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.

When a program touches as many people's lives as does Social Security's old age survivors and disability insurance, a book that scrutinizes the principles of individual equity embedded in the program's rules, examines its adequacy in fulfilling specified social goals, and considers the soundness of the financing base for future program obligations, needs little justification. However, Alicia Munnell's book deserves close attention.

It appears at a time when substantial program changes are being proposed in the midst of public controversy over its long-run viability. It also has the very special virtue that those who are not long-time students of Social Security can read it and come away with an understanding of the program's problems and the difficulty of solving them.

Currently, the Social Security

program covers more than 90 percent of the labor force; each year it pays out more than \$83 billion in benefits to over 30 million aged and disabled and their dependents and survivors. Promises of future benefits already exceed \$4 trillion. Initially implemented at a modest level with the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935, the program was inevitably designed without prophetic insights into future social and economic changes and the resultant growth of the system itself.

Among the many changes that have occurred since 1935 and that

must be addressed to even begin to update the system are—

1. the increased numbers of women in the labor force, which has led to a majority of families being two-worker rather than one-worker units;

2. the substantial decline in fertility rates, which threatens the system's future pay-as-you-go method of funding;

3. a substantial increase in the divorce rate and the fluidity of the family, which causes substantial gaps in the benefits for many female homemakers;

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CHILDREN IN CRISIS

*File
Children*

The Tragedy of Underfunded Schools and the Students They Serve

BY SANDRA FELDMAN

NOT TOO long ago, one of our high schools in Brooklyn, N.Y., made national headlines when two students were shot dead in a hallway. Just three months earlier at that same high school, another student had been killed and a teacher shot. Fifty students from that school have died on the streets of Brooklyn during the past five years. The school has "grieving rooms," where students can go to express and share their grief, along with teachers, aides, administrators, and counselors. That's how much violence, tragedy, and death there is in these young people's lives.

I spent a good deal of time at that school, which is located in the midst of a poverty-stricken neighborhood, filled with vast, dreary public housing projects, boarded-up buildings, and empty lots. Yet, I can assure you, amidst so much desolation, the school is an oasis of hope. The faculty is outstanding and the principal is dedicated and caring. The great majority of the students are hungry for an education and dream the typical dreams of young people who want to better their lives. Although many of them don't make it to graduation, of those who do, about 80 percent apply to college.

In the past two years of budget cuts, the school lost approximately 10 percent of its staff. There is no doubt that with more resources—from teachers to textbooks to laboratory equipment—that high school could succeed. Yet right now it is struggling just to maintain a safe and secure environment.

Jefferson High School's tragic story is representative of both the promise and the problems of education in much of America today, from impoverished inner cities to factory towns hard hit by the recession to rural communities facing a less-publicized but equally painful poverty. All across America, young people are bringing more problems with them to school each day. Yet, at a time when the schools need to do more than ever before to help our young people survive and succeed, they're being denied the resources they need because of recession-hit tax revenues and shortsighted budget



Sandra Feldman is president of the United Federation of Teachers in New York City and a vice president of the American Federation of Teachers.



Changing classes in an overcrowded high school, Queens, New York.

PHOTO: JONATHAN SMITH

cuts at all levels. For ten years, the federal government has slashed programs and services for poor children while also cutting aid to states and localities. Left in the wake is a generation mired in poverty: one in five children nationwide, double that in my own city. That's 24 million nationally.

Ironically, while our schools, our students, and our society's future are being shortchanged, the Bush administration and the nation's governors have committed themselves to six "national education goals" for the year 2000, including the following.

- *Readiness for School:* By the year 2000, all children will start school ready to learn.
- *High School Completion:* By the year 2000, the high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.
- *First in the World:* By the year 2000, U.S. students will be the first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.
- *Disciplined and Drug-Free Schools:* By the year 2000, every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

These goals seem like a mockery to many American teachers striving to do the best they can for their students in schools that are overcrowded, under-equipped, and, all too frequently, unsafe as well. Often the school is the only stable institution in many students' lives, and teachers feel that the burden of society's unsolved problems has been placed on their shoulders. The stresses and strains of trying to cope with the nation's most severe problems, without the tools they need to do their jobs, explain why a health newsletter recently ranked "inner-city teacher" as America's most stressful job. And of all the tensions in the teacher's life, the worst may be the terrible sense that we're watching helplessly while beautiful kids are being shortchanged and enormous potential lost.

TWO YEARS ago, the AFT created a Task Force on Children in Crisis to study and suggest solutions for the problems of young people who need so much more from our schools at the very time our schools are being forced

to make do with less. To begin to cope with these problems, the AFT has called upon President Bush to declare a state of emergency for children in crisis and has urged Congress to take immediate legislative action. Specifically, we're proposing that \$10.5 billion of what this nation used to spend on defense be spent on ten basic education, health care, and school facility repair programs. Most of this money would be used to expand existing, proven, successful—but never fully funded—programs, such as Chapter 1 and Head Start (see sidebar, page 16).

As chairperson of that AFT task force, I've spoken with teachers all across the country and heard first-hand accounts of how America is abandoning many of its children and neglecting most of them, at an untold cost to its future.

Those anecdotes have been given broad national validity by the steady drumbeat of recent reports documenting the deteriorating condition of America's children. One of the most comprehensive and perceptive of these is a book by Sylvia Ann Hewlett entitled *When the Bough Breaks: The Cost of Neglecting Our Children* (Basic Books, June 1991).

Hewlett's book looks at children's entire lives, not just their education, and concludes that our government has just about given up on the younger generation, period. Citing everything from inadequate prenatal care to cutbacks in child health programs and early education to a crying lack of decent, affordable housing for families, Hewlett shows how our children are at much greater risk than children elsewhere in the industrial world. Although the U.S. ranks number two in per-capita income, we don't even make it into the top ten on any significant indicator of child welfare.

"Each day in the United States, sixty-seven newborn babies die," writes Hewlett. "Had they been born in Japan, only thirty-seven would have died. Over the course of a single year, approximately 40,000 American babies die before their first birthday. The U.S. international ranking in infant mortality worsened from sixth in the mid-1950s to twentieth in 1987. Japan, on the other hand, went from seventeenth to first place over the same span of time. . . . A black baby born in the shadow of the White House is now more likely to die in the first year of life than a baby born in Jamaica or Trinidad."

For many of those children who do make it beyond their first year, the author paints a picture of life that is a continuous battle to survive. "The problems of our youth range from elemental issues of health and safety to more complicated issues of motivation and performance. . . . Nationwide, the incidence of child abuse has quadrupled since 1975. . . . A child is safer in Northern Ireland than in America. . . . Millions of American children are failing to receive immunizations against polio, measles, and mumps." And on and on go the grim statistics.

Other reports—notably those prepared by the Children's Defense Fund and by KIDS COUNT, a project of the Center for the Study of Social Policy—echo Hewlett's findings: During the decade of the eighties, the percentage of children living below the government's poverty line increased, from 16 percent to 19.5 percent; the rate of violent deaths among teenagers increased by 12 percent from 1984 through 1988 alone; births to unmarried teenagers climbed from 7.5 percent to 8.6 percent of all



births; the juvenile incarceration rate jumped by 41 percent from 1979 through 1987; and the percentage of children living in families with only one parent went from 21 percent to about 24 percent of all children.

Hewlett shows how these problems have all been exacerbated by the squeeze on public funds for programs that affect children: "Federal expenditure on all child-oriented programs—AFDC, Head Start, food stamps, child nutrition, child health, and federal aid to education"—fell from \$51 billion in 1978 to \$48.3 billion in 1987. When it comes to education spending, she writes, "the United States ties for twelfth place among sixteen industrialized nations. To bring our primary and secondary schools up to the average level found in the other fifteen countries, we would need to increase spending by over \$20 billion annually."

Hewlett isn't blind to the fact that the breakdown in family and social structure over the years has also contributed to the problems. She notes, for example, that about 50 percent of today's teenagers are products of divorced families and that 42 percent of all divorced fathers fail to see their children after the divorce. But her key point is that at this time of social breakdown, we live in a country that hasn't developed a policy to protect its children.

If no action is taken, the future looms worse. By the year 2000, the very year President Bush predicts we'll reach educational nirvana, more than 23 percent of America's children will likely live in poverty. That means nearly one in every four children will be living in families earning less than \$10,857 a year for a family of three.

WHILE POOR children are suffering the most, all of our young people—the children of middle America and upper America, as well as the children of the poor—are having a harder time growing up healthy in mind, body, and spirit. With fathers and mothers working longer hours just to hold onto their piece of the Amer-



PHOTO: JONATHAN SMITH

Above and below: In many school districts across the country, closets, cloakrooms, halls, bathrooms, and lunchrooms have been pressed into service as classrooms. "There's no air in the closet and the children get listless," reports the New York teacher pictured above.



PHOTO: COURTESY OF CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION

ican dream, the time that families spend together is becoming shorter and more stressful.

Thus, Sylvia Hewlett cites the findings of University of Maryland sociologist Joan Robinson, who reports that "total contact time"—the time parents spend with children doing things other than the most basic activities like feeding and dressing them—has dropped 40 percent during the past quarter-century. Children who spend so much less time with their parents suffer an incalculable cost in emotional security and self-esteem. Part of that price may be reflected in the increase over the past thirty years in obesity, behavioral disorders, and even suicide among American children, as reported in a recent edition of *Science* magazine. Even among the children of the wealthy, whose parents often lavish them with everything but time and attention, there is an increase in feelings of aimlessness and alienation that Children's Defense Fund President Marian Wright Edelman calls "affluenza"—a condition portrayed on Fox television's popular show "Beverly Hills 90210."

Given the tremendous strains on American families, and in the virtual absence of any other institutions to shelter and nurture and guide young people, the public schools find themselves with an awesome responsibility for the next generation of Americans. Public education is the universal service. If family problems are not being addressed in health clinics or by caseworkers, they are finding their way to school. Yet far from receiving the resources they need, our schools—and especially those in the neediest urban and rural communities—are forced to make do with less.

During a national economic recession that is now well into its second year, schools have suffered from often severe reductions in state aid and shortfalls in local property taxes. State and local governments are in no condition to make up for what the federal government is no longer sending. According to the National Governors' Assn., thirty-seven states are in dire fiscal condition.

To make things worse—much worse—this financial strain comes on top of the fundamental inequity in how we pay for our children's education: With substantial, and, in some states, most funding coming from local property taxes, wealthy communities can afford to pay much more than poor communities where the needs are greatest. Rather than correcting for this inequity, some state aid formulas actually add to it. In New York City, for example, each child receives \$350 less aid than students elsewhere in the state, despite their greater needs. These problems are presented in vivid—and appalling—detail in a book that paints a devastating picture of the education offered to poor children in this country: *Savage Inequalities* by Jonathan Kozol (Crown Publishers).

Studying school systems throughout the country, Kozol finds that students from poor communities have to put up with the worst, while young people from communities with greater wealth (and more political clout) get better schools. From personal experience, I know that Kozol is right on target in his observations about conditions in New York City and its suburbs. For instance, in a visit to a school district in the Bronx that spans the gamut of middle class to poor schools, Kozol observed one elementary school serving a low-income population—a school housed in a former skating rink.

It's a school I know well from several visits.

Here is some of what he saw: Classes "as large as 37"; "Textbooks are scarce, and children have to share their social studies books"; "A ratio of 930 children to one counselor"; "To make up for the building's lack of windows and the crowded feeling that results, the staff puts plants and fish tanks in the corridors."

Kozol writes: "The library is a tiny, windowless and

claustrophobic room. Seeing no reference books, I ask a teacher if encyclopedias and other reference books are kept in classrooms. 'We don't have encyclopedias in classrooms,' she replies. 'That is for the suburbs.'"

I am constantly reminded of our system's "savage inequalities" by the schools I visit during my work week. And recently a revealing incident occurred during a family outing. As it so happens, my niece goes to the same

RURAL AREAS HARDPRESSED, TOO

Lack of equipment makes mockery of Science 2000 goal

BY DAVID KUSNET

A TROUBLED youngster doesn't get the counseling she needs. A science lesson is taught with a lecture, instead of laboratory work. And almost one out of five students drop out before finishing high school.

These are some of the human costs of the lack of funds for the public schools in Logan County, as business, jobs, and people continue to flee the coal country of southern West Virginia.

Over the past ten years, Logan County's population has declined by more than six thousand, and school enrollment has dropped by more than three thousand during the past five years alone. The unemployment rate is close to 10 percent, among the worst in the state and the nation.

With state aid linked to declining student enrollment figures and an additional 1 percent cut imposed on education funding throughout West Virginia, Logan County schools have lost at least \$250,000 this year. On top of that, local property tax revenues have also declined during the recession, particularly after the bankruptcy of Columbia Gas, the biggest natural gas distributor in the state. And these cuts in school funding hit especially hard at a school system that has always been hard-pressed for resources, with aging buildings and outmoded equipment.

Meanwhile, students are coming to class with more problems and some aren't showing up at all. The percentage of students eligible for free or reduced-cost school lunch has climbed to forty-five.

Attendance officer Charles Gore often gets a first-hand look at the problems. "There's a cycle of pover-



PHOTO: JACKIE MCNEELY

ty in these hills," Gore says, referring specifically to the more poverty-stricken rural areas, particularly those in the "hollows" between the mountains. "The environment is not conducive to learning, not conducive to getting up in the morning and going to school.

"Sometimes, when I visit a home where a child isn't going to school, I walk into the house and almost fall through the floor," Gore recalls. "The porches are falling off the house. The steps are falling down. And, sometimes, the adult at home is just sprawled out on the couch, watching TV, like he or she has given up."

With many of the more ambitious young people leaving the state to look for jobs, often leaving their children behind, an increasing number of school-aged youngsters are growing up in single-parent homes or with their grandparents, who often are retired or disabled miners. Except for working or retired miners or government workers, many families lack health insurance—a problem that's poignantly brought to the attention of their teachers.

"We have a new policy on absenteeism—students who miss five

consecutive days of school need a doctor's excuse," explains Moss Burgess, a science teacher at Logan High School and president of the Logan County Federation of Teachers. "We get notes back from their parents saying they can't get a doctor's note because their family doesn't have medical coverage." Sometimes, students are legally adopted by their grandparents in order that they can be covered under their health insurance.

Students' needs and schools' resources seem to be moving in opposite directions. In a community where regular medical checkups are luxuries many families can't afford, the entire Logan County school system has only two nurses serving more than nine thousand students in thirty-one schools. Nurses try to visit each school for a half-hour to an hour each week—nowhere near enough time to examine students who often bring health problems that hinder their learning to school. "We should have one nurse per thousand kids—seven more nurses," says Jack Garrett, assistant superintendent of schools.

Nurses aren't the only personnel in short supply; so are counselors.

public school I attended in Brooklyn. There are thirty-seven kids in her class. I overheard my niece swapping stories with a young friend, the same age, who lives and goes to school in Scarsdale, a wealthy suburb of New York. There are eighteen children in her class. The contrast was a grim reminder that school spending per student is about \$2,500 higher in the suburbs around New York City.

IN COMMUNITIES across the country, cuts in school funding are having devastating effects. In my own city of New York, we have suffered budget cuts reaching a mind-numbing three-quarters of a billion dollars in the last two years. The situation is dire. When I asked members of New York City's United Federation of Teachers to send in reports about the impact of budget cuts at their schools, more than 8,000 responded with stories of

Logan Grade School, with 365 students, tries to make do by having a teacher squeeze in an hour or so of counseling between her other duties each day. Principal Norma McCloud says that often she has to do counseling herself—a fact that was verified during a recent visit to her office, where one child had just left and a line of others were waiting to meet with her.

"You see a need, and you do it for kids," McCloud said. "I see a kid in crisis every day. We can't alleviate the home problems, but we can make the children more comfortable with themselves and get them in the frame of mind to go back into the classroom." She recently spent a half-day counseling a troubled girl. "What do you do? You can't walk away from that kind of alienation."

FOR ALL THE dedication of the staff, sometimes the schools don't have the resources to bring out the best in the students. The lack is particularly painful in science classes, which usually don't have laboratory equipment in the junior highs and which frequently have antiquated equipment at best in the high schools.

Logan High School science teacher Moss Burgess says that, in his chemistry class, "The faucets finally just rotted away—they were replaced eventually—but the gas line wasn't replaced for most of the bunsen burners." Now, Burgess explains, "Kids have to double up, and we have a hard time doing experiments."

Ticking off an inventory of antiquated equipment, Burgess mentions "a barometer made in Germany before World War II" and "a distiller bought twenty years ago—it's a matter of time before it goes, and then it'll cost \$1,500 to replace. I don't know where the money will come from. It's kind of hard, with these conditions, to read in the papers that President Bush has

announced that the U.S. is going to be first in science by the year 2000."

At Logan Junior High School, science teacher Anthony Grando's class also suffers from a lack of basic equipment. A few years ago, when the pipes froze, they were never replaced. And the classroom doesn't have an exhaust fan, so, when something is burned, the smoke stays in the room, even if the windows are open, discomforting everyone and causing special problems for students with asthma. The lack of equipment makes it difficult for a teacher to do demonstrations, much less for students to conduct experiments of their own.

Inevitably, the result is a style of teaching where "you tell but don't show—and that's book science," warns Burgess. "Real science is learning for yourself. The tragedy is that the kids' Nintendo games at home are more modern than most of the lab equipment they use at school."

Science isn't the only subject that suffers from the lack of equipment. At Ralph R. Willis County Vocational School, the newest car they have to work on is eight or nine years old, says Cosma Crites, county superintendent of schools. "Many engine components are now computer controlled," she explains. "But our auto mechanics students don't have the computer equipment to learn on. You can't fix things with just a screwdriver and a wrench anymore."

Problems with physical facilities also put a crimp on the schools. Crites says that many buildings have leaky roofs. "The roofs leak so badly, it gets into the asbestos, then the ceiling tiles begin to fall. We have to shut the place down while the asbestos is removed, which is more money we don't have."

Logan Junior High School presents a different problem. It is built into a hillside, where most houses have no septic tanks. Raw sewage runs downhill in a creek alongside

the school, and, as principal Robert Adkins explains, "At noon, when the kids hit the bathrooms, you can smell the sewage." Because of a lack of usable classrooms, a special education class meets in the service room of the library where materials such as encyclopedias are stored.

Meanwhile, Logan Grade School doesn't even have a library. "I just finished ordering a set of encyclopedias and dictionaries, but where am I going to put them?" asks principal Norma McCloud.

Dealing with these difficulties, teachers often dip into their own pockets to provide resources for their students, from chemistry samples for experiments to books and videotapes. Science teacher Moss Burgess, for instance, spent his own money to buy paint, nails, and other materials to repaint and repair the cabinets in his chemistry room. "I don't know of any teachers who don't spend their own money to make things a little better," says superintendent of schools Cosma Crites.

Many Logan County teachers were born and raised here, went away to college to receive their teaching degree, and then returned to teach new generations. "This is our home," said one teacher. "If we don't give up, maybe these children won't either."

But, despite their best efforts, teachers and administrators are haunted by the living evidence that the schools aren't doing everything possible for young people discouraged from achieving their full potential.

"When students drop out, they hang around for a while and get jobs at Wendy's and McDonald's when they can," Burgess explains. "Sometimes they end up on welfare."

"So many kids get out of high school and I see them two or three years later, just hanging out trying to find a job," Crites concludes. □

human tragedy.

Class sizes are increasing to as many as forty students because we have 2,500 fewer teaching positions at the same time that school enrollments have increased by 20,000 over last year. The school population is rapidly approaching its peak of 1971, yet we have 3,500 fewer classrooms and 100 fewer schools than we had then. Curricula have been cut back, from advanced-placement classes to electives and foreign languages, music, and art. Counselors, psychologists, and social workers have seen their caseloads skyrocket because of reductions in staff and growing numbers of students with severe problems. Because schools lack the funds to buy new textbooks and workbooks, many students are "doubling up" on them. While laboratory work has been curtailed, students are

spending more time warehoused in "study halls." Meanwhile, bathrooms, halls, closets, and lunchrooms all have been pressed into service as classrooms.

Reading many of the teachers' responses was truly heartbreaking:

- A junior high school teacher wrote: "My blackboard broke last year. There's no money to replace it, so I have a gaping four-foot space in front of my room. I have to write around it."

- A special education science teacher from Brooklyn described the shortage of books and supplies: "Our school doesn't have enough textbooks for students to take home. I can't even give them handouts because we're out of paper for the copy machine. The science department can't afford any science supplies. Our cur-

LOS ANGELES: THE NEW 'ELLIS ISLAND'

LOS ANGELES has been called "America's new Ellis Island." Like New York City at the turn of the twentieth century, Los Angeles, at the turn of the twenty-first century, has become the home for immigrants from every continent on earth, seeking freedom and opportunity in the United States.

The children of many of these immigrants—and the children of many older residents as well—bring to Los Angeles' public schools not only the rich diversity of their cultures but the many problems of poverty.

Eighty-four different languages are spoken in Los Angeles' schools. And in 413 of these schools, at least half the students are not fluent in English.

Fully 50 percent of the children in Los Angeles schools were born into poverty. One of every four babies in the city is born to a young and unwed mother. And over 20 percent of the city's adult population is illiterate.

While the needs of the city's children have been growing, the resources of its schools have been dwindling. The average kindergarten class size is now thirty-five, while high school academic classes have forty or more students.

A recent story in the *Los Angeles Times Magazine* described what has been happening:

"Squeezed between rising costs and shrinking state funding, the Los Angeles Unified School District has had to cut its spending by 15 per-

cent, or more than \$630 million, in the last three years. During that time, enrollment has mushroomed by more than forty-five thousand new students. More than 75 percent of the \$3.9 billion the district spends annually comes from the state, but last year the state had to grapple with its own \$14.9 billion deficit, so education spending was pared down and across-the-board cost-of-living increases virtually eliminated.

"The school board had already reduced administrative spending, borrowed from its construction accounts, cut custodial services and dipped into its insurance reserves to narrow the budget gap, before it voted last summer on more cuts. . . . Ultimately, almost 2,000 teachers were laid off, hundreds of courses were eliminated and the remaining classes were crammed with additional students, and spending on such basic supplies as textbooks, pencils and paper was curtailed."

As Helen Bernstein, president of the United Teachers of Los Angeles, explains: "The image of Los Angeles is one of opulence, Hollywood, and world-class wealth. Teachers see the other—the real—L.A. We work and promote learning under the most adverse conditions. 'Our' Los Angeles is one of sweatshops, factories and hotels, where the parents of many of our students spend their workdays."

America's greatness has always been its ability to bring such young people into the mainstream of our society. In the passage that follows, a junior high school teacher from Los Angeles discusses how one of the largest and fastest-growing school systems in urban America is

meeting that test, particularly in the aftermath of state and local budget cuts. Bruce Williams has taught social studies for nine years at John Muir Junior High School and is a site representative for the United Teachers of Los Angeles.

"My experience confirms the fact that teaching is a job that breaks your heart every day. Most of my colleagues love teaching, but we have trouble liking our jobs. You try to start each day with optimism, but within the hour, you're confronted with so many things that make teaching difficult.

"First, let me tell you about our school. Its demographics are roughly 58 percent Latino and 42 percent African-American. It's right in the heart of South Central Los Angeles. It's on territory that's disputed between the gangs.

"Out of 1,604 students, we have about three hundred who speak little, if any, English. They are identified as Limited English Proficiency (LEP). We have another five hundred who are less than fluent in English. They are identified as English as a Second Language (ESL).

"About two-thirds of our students come from families that are on Aid to Families with Dependent Children. And, another grim fact, approximately 75 percent of our children score below the twenty-fifth percentile on standardized tests.

"We are exactly the kind of school where resources, money, staff, small

rent situation is beyond hopeless."

- A third-grade teacher in upper Manhattan talked about the crowding: "The classroom is so small (12 feet by 18 feet), no additional desks will fit. Children have to crawl under desks to get in and out of the room."

- A teacher from Queens described the effect on special ed students: "The classes are so large, we cannot mainstream the special ed students when they are ready. This has set special education back five years!"

- "How can I teach pipe welding without any pipes?" asked a Manhattan vocational high school teacher.

- And an elementary school teacher from the Bronx summed it all up: "No gym, no music, no nurse, no guidance counselor, no trips, no art supplies. What's left?"

Similar tragedies are unfolding across the country. AFT

leaders described the situations in their cities at a news conference held in Washington this past winter. The cross-section of cities represented made it clear that poverty does not discriminate; it destroys urban and rural children, white, African-American, Latino, and Asian children alike.

- In Los Angeles, where half the students come from poor families and many have limited proficiency in English, the average kindergarten class size is thirty-five, while high school academic classes have forty or more students. Meanwhile, enrollment in the Los Angeles Unified School District is expected to grow by 15,000 to 20,000 every year for the next twenty years. Helen Bernstein, president of the United Teachers of Los Angeles, explained: "The linguistic, psychological, and economic

classes, individual attention are urgently needed. Unfortunately, we're not receiving them.

"For example, as a result of some of the budget cuts, my department, the Social Studies Department, has decreased from ten teachers to eight, and class sizes have increased. In the five seventh-grade classes that I teach, my smallest class has twenty-nine students and my largest has thirty-three. So the amount of time that I can spend with any individual student is minimal, if it exists at all.

"Our maintenance staff was down to the bones to begin with, but, in January, we lost three more positions. Now, they're so hard-pressed, they can barely do more than empty the trashcans every night. My classroom hasn't been swept in two weeks. That used to be something you could count on. And with one hundred fifty kids coming in and out of this room each day, you can envision how much it is needed. I'm not blaming the staff; there's just fewer of them, and they can only do so much. Every morning, the students in my homeroom class help me out, and we straighten up the room and pick up the floor. Half my Venetian blinds are broken—and have been for two years—and the wall clock doesn't work. Supplies for the school's bathrooms are not regular, and we have water fountains that are broken and windows that are boarded up.

"We used to have a school nurse each day, but now we have one only three or four days a week. We used to have two music teachers; now

we have one. We used to have two art teachers; now we have one. In the elementary schools in L.A., by the way, art and music positions have been totally eliminated.

"Another example of the impact of the cuts is that the Board of Education has frozen our instructional materials account, and it's only a matter of time before we run out of paper for duplicating teaching materials. To make matters worse, not every student has a textbook. I have a class set, so everyone has a book during class, but not everyone has one to take home at night. That means I can't use textbook-based homework assignments, so I often need to reproduce material to give to the children for homework. And that means paper, which, as I said, is in short supply.

"Looking at the needs of the students who aren't fluent in English or for whom English is a second language, we do have a shortage of bilingual teachers. In my school right now, out of a total of sixty-three classroom teachers, we have only seven fully credentialed bilingual teachers, that is, teachers fluent in both English and Spanish. That's a money problem, too, because we need to pay a differential to attract teachers with the bilingual language skills we need. What's even worse is that class-size limits are the same in the LEP and English as a Second Language classes as in other academic classes although, when we're teaching students who are not proficient in English, the class size needs to be smaller.

"Meanwhile, in the midst of all

the problems we face, a lot of our time is taken up with bureaucratic paperwork, when really every minute is needed for teaching students or preparing for classes. For example, the governor of our state has proposed that we take and report formal attendance four times a day instead of just the first period of the day. The reason is that state aid is based in part on average daily attendance, and the state saves money if attendance declines during the school day. Think about that for a minute—we would be taking time that could be used for teaching and spending it instead to compile statistics that could be used to further cut our resources.

"What pains me most is the students I'm afraid we're losing, and, worse yet, the students I'm afraid we've lost.

"I think about a seventh grader who lives in a group foster home. Every day, he comes to school with myriad problems, most of them relating to self-esteem. Unfortunately, he's in my largest class—with thirty-two other students—and it's difficult for me to give him the individual attention he needs. When I try to work with him, I envision a circle—a wall circled around him—and everywhere I turn, I just keep seeing barriers. He responds to personal attention, but, unfortunately, we don't have the time and the staff it takes to give him the attention he really needs.

"The tragedy is: we could do more for him. And for so many others who never had a fair chance." □

CHILDREN IN CRISIS: AFT PROPOSALS

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Parts of this program are moving in different bills in the Congress. However, success of the overall package still rests with having someone friendly in the White House. AFT members who agree that this program is a very high priority item should write to their members of the House and Senate urging them to take action on behalf of schools and children in crisis.

Program	Proposed Increases	Purpose
Chapter 1 (compensatory funding)	\$1 billion (current authorization \$6.1 billion)	To serve an additional 1 million educationally disadvantaged students, with 50 percent going toward concentration grants and the other 50 percent used for regular distribution.
Chapter 1 (other funding)	\$1 billion (current authorization \$1.98 billion)	This money should be earmarked for full-day early childhood education for four- and five-year-olds.
Education for All Handicapped Children Act	\$800 million	Funding is used to improve the education of children with physical and/or mental disabilities.
Medicaid	Entitlement	To provide elementary school counselors and clinicians in the schools to help children facing temporary health and emotional problems and to prevent inappropriate placement of children into special education programs.
Head Start	\$1.75 billion (current authorization \$2.2 billion)	Head Start is an example of how early childhood education can put a student on the right path to quality education. The \$1.75 billion should be used to increase enrollment by at least 50 percent and to expand the number of children who are eligible.
Health clinics at or near schools	\$2.5 billion	Inadequate health care and poor educational performance are closely related. These funds would help provide primary and preventative care for 15 million children.
Five-year public works program to rebuild schools	\$500 million*	This program would solve the infrastructure problems of our schools and help bring the country out of the recession by putting people to work. It should be funded at \$500 million for the first year and increased to a total of between \$8 billion and \$10 billion over five years.
Other special-needs programs	\$100 million (current funding for similar programs: \$250 million)	These funds should be targeted to programs like the Education of Homeless Children and Youth and Emergency Immigration Education, including bilingual education and English as a Second Language.
Child care, prenatal care, and preventive health care	\$2.5 billion	These funds should be used to: ■ expand child care and development block grants ■ fund community health centers ■ expand maternal and child health services grants ■ increase funding for nutrition for women, infants and children ■ assist public and community health clinics to administer child immunization vaccines
Expand programs targeted to math and science	\$100 million (current authorization \$240 million)	To provide additional training for elementary and secondary school math and science teachers through programs like the Dwight D. Eisenhower Math and Science Education Act.

*first-year costs



PHOTO: MILLER PHOTOGRAPHY

Above: It's hard to move, let alone teach or learn, in this class of forty-four in New York City.

Below: Coats in the classroom aren't the exception, they're the rule for these Chicago students, who wage a seasonal battle against cold indoor temperatures.



PHOTO: COURTESY OF CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION

needs of these children are at once more critical and more daunting than any one of us has ever known."

- In Peoria, Illinois, the shutdown of the city's largest employer, Caterpillar, as well as the closing of the Pabst brewery and the Hiram Walker distillery, mean that 47.9 percent of the students are now classified as low-income families. As Judy Fuson, president of the Peoria Federation of Teachers, observed, "The recession, rising poverty, lack of health insurance, and single-parent homes are not just big-city problems."

- Baltimore Teachers Union co-president Lorretta Johnson reported that teachers and paraprofessionals in the city's schools are stretched to the limit. "We consider ourselves lucky at the elementary school level if we have specialists for art, music, and physical education," she said. "And although problems of weapons, violence, and gangs have migrated down to the elementary level, we consider it a luxury to have a school nurse, guidance counselor, or security officer in a Baltimore elementary school."

- Responding to a survey by the United Teachers of New Orleans, where many of the schools were built at the turn of the century, 19 percent of teachers said the roofs of their schools leaked, and a significant number reported sewers backing up into the school building. Twenty-nine percent of the student sinks were reported to be not working, and 33 percent of all water fountains were broken. As union president Nat LaCour observed, "If a hurricane swept across the Gulf and devastated New Orleans, we would qualify for federal disaster relief. I don't think we should wait for a strong wind; let's declare a state of emergency for the children of New Orleans and other American children today."

Despite the disgraceful conditions exemplified in these accounts from around the country, many, many schools that serve poor children are performing heroically. Last year, in my own city of New York, with 65 percent of our children living at or below the poverty line, our high school students won about \$110 million worth of college scholarships. And in this year's prestigious Westinghouse Science Talent Search, seventy-nine

(Continued on page 46)

CHILDREN IN CRISIS

(Continued from page 17)

of the three hundred nationwide semi-finalists came from New York City public high schools.

Throughout this nation, hundreds of thousands of children are saved from falling off the edge of the world by their connection to school, the one stable institution in their lives. The teachers and other school personnel working with them do it on sheer grit and dedication and with very little support. They do it under extremely difficult circumstances and with great generosity of spirit. They will not give up on these children.

Yes, we are losing too many of our students. But we're saving enough of them to know that, if only we could make an adequate investment in programs that work, it would be possible to save almost all of our young people.

Money *does* make a difference. For instance, in New York City, state and local education funding increased throughout the late 80s, and per-pupil expenditure grew by more than \$1,500 in the last half of the decade. The money was targeted to a few well-defined objectives, and it worked. Attendance is at its highest level in twenty-four years, and the dropout rate has been edging steadily downward. A special math initiative raised math scores five percentage points, the largest one-year gain in twenty years. And perhaps most gratifying, reading achievement for those with the least skills soared ten percentage points.

But it took money. Now there's no money. Because the federal well has dried up, we at the local level cannot make the president's America 2000 program work. No one can ask teachers to shoulder the burden of improving education alone in underfunded schools serving children whose basic needs haven't been met. If the president is willing to put resources and political will behind the national goals, teachers will take responsibility and be held accountable for improved education. But we must have the tools, conditions, and resources to do our job. We must be allowed to focus on what we do best: teach. And we must be assured of a real partnership with school management and with the government.

When I think of what our schools could do, I think about a night high school in our city, where a regular high school program is restructured into a 5:30 P.M. to 11:00 P.M., plus Sunday, week, so that students—many of whom might otherwise be homeless—can work during the day to pay their rent.

At their graduation last June, the valedictorian, a lovely young woman who had won a scholarship—on academic merit—to a prestigious private university, spoke eloquently of her own struggle out of a life on the streets and in shelters. She talked about a support network that included a social worker in the shelter and a counselor in the school system who brought her to this special high school. At one point, she broke down in tears. Her classmates—all of whom have heartbreaking stories—rose instantaneously and gave her a prolonged standing ovation.

Thinking about her story, I am reminded of all the other stories we could tell. And even more, of all the new stories we could help create—if only we had the resources we need to do the job. □

IT TAKES TWO TO TANGO

(Continued from page 23)

bination of vague general knowledge and inspired guesswork."

In the last ten years, I have been amazed to see the kinds of kids colleges are accepting. Affluent white kids who have been kicked out of several private schools before landing in my class, who barely had a C average, and who have been addicted to alcohol and other drugs have been getting into what I once thought were respectable schools. Minority kids who are barely literate have been waltzing into higher education. Even many of the brightest kids who get into the super-selective schools are doing as little as possible as they build the resumes that the Ivies and other competitive schools are looking for. And the point is, the kids know it. They see their do-nothing older buddies getting in, and they realize they don't have to work.

Columnist Robert Samuelson put the problem in perspective in a *Washington Post* essay last year: "College leaders see themselves as the victims of poor high schools. This rationalization is at least half backward. Lax high school and college academic standards feed on each other. In our society, the badge of successfully completing high school is not just the degree but the ability to go to college—and almost anyone can go to college."

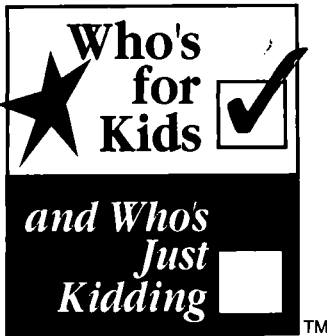
Samuelson suggests taking some of the fault-free quality out of education. He suggests that states could "shut down 10 percent to 20 percent of their colleges and universities, so schools wouldn't have to continually scrounge for students. States could also sharply raise their tuition and couple the increases with big boosts in scholarships. But to keep scholarships, students would have to maintain a C average."

Likewise, Shanker favors paying the full costs for students who meet rigorous standards but could not otherwise afford college. And, he adds, "it's not a now-or-never proposition. America has always been the land of second and third chances. There should be multiple opportunities to meet the standards and lots of help to do so. But no one should be admitted to college without being able to do college-level work."

Samuelson is right on the mark when he says that establishing *real* college admission standards "would instantly improve high schools." Students do respond to challenge when they see it is in their best interests to do so. But instead of offering challenges and clearly defined goals that kids can work toward, we let them slide by for fear that not all of them will choose to—or be able to—attain those goals. As Samuelson puts it, "We prefer to maintain poor schools—high schools and colleges—that everyone can attend rather than have good schools that might benefit most students. We prefer to complain about 'underinvestment' in education rather than face the harder question of why our massive investment in education produces such poor results. . . . No matter how worthy, reforms can't succeed unless students work harder."

Samuelson and Shanker are right. Several decades ago, if a child didn't learn, we blamed the child. That was wrong. Now if the child doesn't learn, we blame the adults or the system. That, too, is wrong. It's time we insisted on both halves of the learning equation. □

Coalition for America's Children



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A project of the M. B. Fund

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National Satellite Summit on Children's Issues

Coalition for America's Children

September 24, 1992

Supported by: Benton Foundation
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On Sept. 24, 1992 the Coalition for America's Children delivered the first domestic policy debate of the 1992 presidential campaign in a National Satellite Summit on Children's Issues. The 90-minute teleconference linking 7,500 community leaders in 48 cities featured video messages outlining the Clinton and Bush platforms on children's issues, and a live studio debate between Wade Horn, commissioner of the HHS Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, for the Bush campaign, and Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) for the Clinton campaign. What follows are the transcripts of the platform statements by Governor Bill Clinton and by HHS Secretary Louis Sullivan on behalf of President Bush, and extended excerpts from the debate between Schroeder and Horn, moderated by journalist Maureen Bunyan and Coalition spokesperson Bob Keeshan (Captain Kangaroo).

The coalition, using the theme "Who's for kids and who's just kidding," is a nonpartisan alliance of 200 national, state, and community-based nonprofit organizations working to raise concerns for children to the top of the public policy agenda.

Earlier this year, the coalition released the results of its State of the Child report, a national public opinion survey that showed that 70 percent of American voters think the situation for children has gotten worse over the last five years; 85 percent believe our political leaders are not doing enough to help solve the problems children face; three in five voters say it is very important to them that candidates for public office have a children's platform; and two-thirds say they would be more likely to vote for a candidate who supported increased spending for children's programs even if it meant an increase in their taxes.

The coalition has encouraged the development of community coalitions to conduct voter education, candidate education, and debate and general public awareness about children's issues.

Armed with thousands of "Questions for Candidates" brochures, "Block Walks for Kids" packs, and a massive army of community leaders and citizen groups, children's advocates are vowing to keep up their voter education effort long past November. One Wisconsin coalition is preparing ads for the day after the election that read, "Now that they're in office, what are they going to do for the children?"

Introduction

Bob Keeshan: Today the condition of America's children can only be described as a nightmare.

We're here today because the people who need the most attention from the candidates, America's 64 million children, can't vote. We can. It's that simple.

If children had a voice in American politics, we would not see one young child in four living in poverty. We would not see five million children hungry in America. One child in three without adequate health insurance.

The people we elect this year . . . from county

commissioner to president . . . will be making thousands of decisions affecting children: the fate of Medicaid, Head Start, school financing, school breakfast, gun control, tax credits. These decisions can help or hurt American families and their children.

When the coalition began its campaign, we adopted a slogan: Who's for kids and who's just kidding?

Our basic question to all the candidates is a simple one: What are you going to do for children? What will you do to translate our concerns for kids into a mandate for government action?

Bush/Quayle Campaign

Message by Dr. Louis Sullivan

I cannot say enough in praise of the Coalition for America's Children for bringing together such a great number of public and private organizations, business leaders, educators, health care professionals, parents, and others on behalf of America's children. Efforts like this summit illustrate the widespread, intense national resolve Americans have to address the pressing health and social problems facing our children today.

President Bush shares that firm resolve. Like all of you, he believes strongly that America's children are our most precious resource. He has consistently backed that conviction with policies and programs that are bringing help and hope to millions of children and families in need. Since President Bush took office, funding for children's programs has nearly doubled. Major new initiatives have been launched that address the problems of infant mortality, child abuse and neglect, immunization, lead poisoning, alcohol and drug abuse, and tobacco use among children.

And last year, a major new agency was created that combines my department's wide array of programs for children and families under a single roof. With a staff of 2,000, and a proposed budget of \$28 billion for fiscal year 1993, this new agency, the Administration for Children and Families, is providing a strong unified base for initiatives that effectively meet the needs of children and families—initiatives like Head Start, for example. This early childhood development program for low-income children has witnessed the largest expansion in its 25 years history under the Bush Administration.

And in keeping with his number one national education goal to help every child in America start school ready to learn, the president has asked Congress for a \$600 million increase in funding for Head Start next year. If Congress approves that request, and I believe they will, it will be the largest increase in Head Start funding ever, bringing total Head Start funding to \$2.8 billion. This will enable nearly 780,000 children to benefit from the valuable medical, dental, educational, nutrition, and mental

health services it provides.

Another presidential initiative called "Healthy Start" is helping to improve the health and well-being of mothers and infants. Through this program, we hope to reduce infant mortality rates by 50 percent in targeted communities within 5 years. Tragically, of the nearly 40,000 infant deaths each year, at least 10,000 are preventable. The "Healthy Start" strategy to combat infant mortality will mean increasing prenatal care and nutrition services for low-income pregnant women, targeting services and programs in areas with very high infant mortality rates, and raising public awareness of infant mortality.

In May, the administration launched another important child health initiative—an unprecedented immunization program through which we hope to attain a 90 percent immunization level of the nation's two year olds by the year 2000. To make life-saving vaccines accessible and available to all children, we are trying a variety of innovative approaches. The president has requested \$349 million for the effort in fiscal year 1993. This more than doubles the \$141 million spent on immunization in 1989.

I could go on much longer than my allotted time about the many initiatives underway right now to helping bring help and hope to American children and families who are struggling. But the efforts are far too numerous to mention in these few minutes. I say that because this president has consistently backed his convictions with effective action on behalf of the most vulnerable citizens, children in need.

Early this year, the head of a national charity spoke of the vital importance of enlightened public policy in helping meet the needs of children and families. He said, "All the soup lines and shelters won't do as much for children as enlightened public policy." This administration is forging such enlightened public policy on behalf of children and families. And together with million of Americans like those of you watching today, we will break the cycle of poverty and despair that yet blights the future of so many of children and replace it with the cycle of health, hope, and new beginnings.

Clinton/Gore Campaign Message by Governor Bill Clinton

No issue in the campaign is more important to me and to my wife, Hillary, than our children and their future. For many years Hillary was the board chair of the Children's Defense Fund and several years ago founded an organization in our state called the Arkansas Advocates for Families and Children. She has said in every place in this country that she wants to be a voice for children in the White House, and I do, too. I spent more time and more effort working on the education of our children and providing better opportunities for them than any other cause in my tenure as governor.

More than just being the joy in our lives, children are our future. We have to value them and we have to support policies that value them as well. My economic plan, called "Putting People First," demonstrates the commitment that I have to our children. The plan emphasizes the importance of investing in our children now, as opposed to paying for their problems later. Unless we improve the economic conditions under which our children are currently living, all of us are going to suffer.

We all know that parents are spending less time with their kids because they're working more hours for less money. That puts strains on the family. We know the number of children living below the poverty line has increased 8 percent under Mr. Bush, and that now one in five American children is living in poverty. Just this month a new report showed that some 900,000 additional children became poor last year. That is intolerable. Like the overall number of poor people, the number of poor children last year was greater than in any other year in the past two decades. I want to work to reverse these catastrophic trends. We can do much better.

I will pledge to support education, economic and family policies, which will help our children and their families. Let me just give you some examples. First, I support a comprehensive reform

of the health care system beginning with sweeping guarantees for basic maternal and child health to get children into this world on time, in good shape, and to get them into school healthy and mentally and physically prepared to learn.

Secondly, I support full funding of the Head Start Program. Although Mr. Bush pledged that, presently only 36 percent of the eligible children are being served in the Head Start Program. And all children in this country who need a preschool program should have access to it.

Thirdly, I support restoring the federal government's contribution to public education to its 1980 level as a percentage of the national budget, with a special emphasis on smaller classes in the early grades and elementary counselors for those children who bring problems to school that can't be solved in their homes. I want high standards for our schools and real incentives to achieve, more choice for students in the public schools they attend, more access to modern technology and meaningful exams to tell us whether they're learning what they need to know as compared with the international standards to which they'll be held.

I want every high school graduate to be guaranteed access either to a two-year education and apprenticeship program or to a four-year college, which can be financed by borrowing from the National Service Trust Fund, the money to be paid back either as a percentage of the student's income after he or she goes to work, or—even better—by giving a couple years of service to our country here at home, as police officers or teachers, or working with children in trouble, or doing other needed public service work. These are the kinds of changes that will give our kids a better chance.

I also think we need to strengthen our families. And I would begin by signing the Family and Medical Leave Act that Mr. Bush has vetoed once and will veto again. Parents shouldn't be forced to choose between the jobs they need and the families they love. I'll sign the Family and Medical Leave Act. Over 70 countries have this kind of policy. Only the United States of all advanced countries has said we can't afford it. I believe we can. I also want to strengthen the welfare reform laws of the

country to support poor people in their efforts to earn more and to support their children better; invest more money in education and child care and medical coverage for children, then require people to work to move toward independence. For the working poor, I think the tax system should give them a refund, if necessary, so that everybody who works 40 hours a week with a child in the house could be lifted above poverty. We need better child-care facilities, and that means more tax credits for the working people under the Child Care Tax Credit Law.

And, finally, let me say, we need to do something special for the kids who are so much at risk of abuse and neglect in the home. There are so many homes today where abuse and neglect is a real threat. We need to pursue proven policies that keep those families together, that help people overcome their problems, and when necessary, facilitate good foster homes and good, quick, and substantial adoption services for the children who have to be taken out of the homes. These are the kinds of priorities I will pursue, to fulfill the commitment that I have to put children first in the Clinton Administration.

Debate Between Commissioner Horn and Representative Schroeder

Ms. Bunyan: We appreciate your being here to represent your candidates and their campaigns.

One of the children's programs in this country that both of your candidates agree has worked very well is Head Start. However, both of you have differences in the way you want to approach Head Start. For example, Secretary Sullivan cited in his videotape his request for \$600 million more for Head Start; but Governor Clinton asked why only 36 percent of eligible children are actually being served by Head Start.

We know it works. Why can't we get more children involved in this excellent program?

Mr. Horn: Well, first of all, it's not true that only 36 percent of the kids are being enrolled

in Head Start. In fact, if the \$600 million request is fully appropriated by Congress this year, by next year we'll be able to serve in excess of 80 percent of all the income-eligible kids for at least one year before they arrive at the elementary school.

Now, the \$600 million increase that we're requesting for 1993 is on top of an already \$1 billion in additional funds that we have requested and Congress has appropriated for the Head Start Program. So I think we have a record to be quite proud of in terms of Head Start. And, in fact, by the end of next year, and by the end of the first term of the Bush Administration, we will be able to ensure that every income-eligible child whose parents are interested in having them enrolled in Head Start will have a place in Head Start for at least one year.

Ms. Bunyan: Congresswoman Schroeder, Mr. Horn said that we don't have only 36 percent of children being served, that there are more children than that being served. Has Governor Clinton made a mistake in that figure?

Ms. Schroeder: No, he hasn't made a mistake. I think that the words you want to put in capital letters are "for one year."

When Head Start was originally conceived in the 60s, the idea was it would be more prescriptive for children, and some children would need two or three years. You could have three year olds, four year olds and five year olds who weren't in kindergarten eligible for Head Start. And there have been all sorts of new studies showing that the earlier you start, and the more intensive the intervention, the better the chance the child has to overcome whatever it is.

So, I think what we're seeing is the environment of poverty is much more severe than it was even in the 60s. So, young people need more than one year. And, I must say, I think, if we're going to deliver children to the public schools ready to learn, we're going to have to invest heavily in making sure they truly are ready to learn and on a level playing field when we deliver them to the public school house door. And that's what it's about. The debate is about those terms.

Ms. Bunyan: Mr. Horn, Secretary Sullivan

mentioned several programs as priorities for the president; but many of the programs don't reach all the children who are currently eligible. With all the budget pressures and the demand to cut back rather than expand, what's the outlook for expanding programs like Medicaid, WIC, and other programs in the next four years of the Bush Administration?

Mr. Horn: Well, first of all, it's not true that we haven't expanded those programs in the last four years. In fact, we have seen a 66 percent increase in total funding for children's programs over the last four years. In 1989, when George Bush was first elected president, the total expenditure for children's programs was about \$60 billion a year; in 1993 it will be in excess of \$100 billion a year. So, that's simply not true that we haven't expanded those programs. We have seen major expansions in Medicaid. We have seen the largest expansions in WIC and Head Start in their history. We've seen major expansions in immunization.

The Economy

Mr. Keeshan: Well, the issue that's overriding the campaign this year is the question of the economic concern for the nation. And, of course, that strikes at the heart of so many of our problems that we have with youth and children—the economic security of the American family.

What plans would your administration—either Bush or Clinton Administration—have for assuring the strengthening of the economic security of the American family?

Ms. Schroeder: First of all, the number of children falling into poverty is rising much faster than we've been increasing those amounts. I will agree with Wade that we've been increasing different amounts; but we still have many more children not being served.

Obviously, families need jobs. There's no question. And we've seen many jobs moving offshore. That's a whole problem. We don't have an industrial base to transfer our military base to, on the civilian side. We have to rebuild that industrial base. I think all of those are very essential issues that the Clinton/Gore team have been addressing

very effectively with their economic program. And if the family's income comes up, then I think you bring the child along with them, and that's very important.

Mr. Horn: Well, I think that you're absolutely correct, that there are far too many children today who are living and growing up in poverty, and that is something we do have to address. We need to make sure, particularly, that those people who are working—the working poor, keep more of the money that they earn in the family budget, rather than putting it into the federal budget.

Family and Medical Leave

Ms. Bunyan: One of the very hot issues has been the president's veto, for the second time, of the Family and Medical Leave Act. The president would like, instead, to offer an alternative of tax credits to businesses who grant leave to their employees to care for a sick child, after the birth of a baby, or to care for a relative who is sick or disabled.

Governor Clinton has said that he would sign the current legislation, and would do so if he becomes president.

Ms. Schroeder: It's terribly important for children, because we know that children and their parents don't bond in the delivery room, or don't bond in the reception room of an adoption agency. Every researcher in the world has shown how critical it is to get that family unit off to a very good start. And it's very hard to do that if you have to go right back to work or lose your job. We also know that many more parents have to be in the workplace because of the economy and where they are.

I must say, this is my legislation, so you've hit a real hot spot with me. For seven years we've had this legislation. Ever since President Bush was elected we've been trying to meet with him to negotiate on this legislation. We even offered to go to any foreign capital. We wanted to meet him, and he wouldn't show up.

The idea of a tax credit is fine, but it's complementary. What we want is job-protected, unpaid

leave, just like a jury duty or whatever, because we think getting your family off to a good start is as important as jury duty or national guard duty or some other thing.

Mr. Horn: Well, first of all, it is very important to recognize that the Bush Administration is fully in favor of family and medical leave policies in the workplace. As a child psychologist, I recognize how important it is for kids to spend time with their parents, not just for 12 weeks, but for 18 years. And the issue with that particular legislation is it's a yuppie bill. What it says is that we're going to allow people to take 12 weeks off without pay. Now, who can afford that? Can the single mother who is working at a \$15,000 a year job afford 12 weeks of loss of income? Absolutely not.

This bill is simply poorly targeted. It will benefit the upper middle-class and yuppie class, and it will do very little for the hard-working, middle Americans and low-income Americans in this country.

Health Reform

Mr. Keeshan: Let me jump in with a question that affects, I think, the yuppie class and just about everybody else in this country. You have to be a resident of the South Pole not to know that health care is a very hot issue in this campaign. And for us, as advocates of children, that's a particularly important question. Of the 35 million people without health insurance in this country, 16 million are children.

What would each of your administrations do for children for health reform? Who would they serve? When would they serve them?

Well, first of all, it's important to keep in mind that, back in 1988 when George Bush was campaigning for his first term, he pledged that he would oversee a major expansion in the Medicaid Program, to ensure that low-income children are covered. He did that in the very first year of his administration, he expanded Medicaid coverage to ensure that all pregnant women and children up to age six, living below 133 percent of the poverty line,

were covered by Medicaid. And it phases in, I think, up to shortly after the turn of the century, so that by about 2004 all children, under the age of 19, and living below the poverty line, will be covered by Medicaid. So, we have a record of commitment and understanding about the needs of health care and the fact that the government has a role to play to ensure that those who are most in need, and particularly the young, are covered by adequate health insurance.

Ms. Schroeder: My question is, if it's so terrific and so wonderful, why don't we do it now? Why are we waiting for the year 2000 or 2004 or whatever it is, which is what we're waiting for on everything? Again, we've been doing this stuff incrementally.

The thing I'm so distressed about is the country that doesn't care about its children doesn't care about its future. And no matter what you say, the children haven't been involved in the policies that have gotten the economy where it is on anything else, and they should be held harmless from this economy. And, therefore, we should be fully funding this stuff. To think that we're leaving them out there without immunizations, without Head Start, without feeding. . .

Ms. Bunyan: Where is the money going to come from? How would Bill Clinton pay for these programs?

Ms. Schroeder: Well, I tell you, I could find a lot of places you could pay for it. First of all, I would put in one form for everything—all means-tested programs have one federal form, and then you put it on a computer. And, let me tell you, my state tells me that would give them 30 percent more money to hand out in services. I do exactly the same with insurance—put Medicaid and Medicare, CHAMPUS, and all private things on one form. I would also give people lower rates, if they would agree to arbitrate their malpractice. I would give them lower rates if they had living wills on the different forms. I can find all sorts of ways—you can get a whole lot more services and a whole lot less paperwork in this area. But I think it hasn't been a priority of a president.

And I think Bill Clinton is going to come in

and he's going to change it.

Mr. Horn: Well, you don't have to look very far to find those ideas, because they're part of the president's package that's already been transmitted to the Hill. And it's sitting there languishing—a victim of partisan politics.

Ms. Bunyan: Thousands of people are watching us today, and they're gathered around the country. They have a lot of questions of their own. We want to give them a chance to talk with us and to ask the questions.

The first place we're going to go is Chicago.

Question: Hello, my name is Robert Banyon. I'm 14 years old and I'm from Chicago.

My question to each campaign is of all the problems facing children today, what do President Bush and Governor Clinton think is the single most important problem confronting kids?

Mr. Horn: I think we have to find a way in this country to strengthen the American family. The family is the most important vessel for bringing up children and bringing up children healthy. I think that the most critical challenge for us, as a nation, is finding a way to strengthen the American family.

Ms. Schroeder: I'm sure that Governor Clinton agrees totally that the most important thing is strengthening the family; and he's willing to do it. He's just not saying it. He's willing to do it by signing family leave, by helping us with child support enforcement, which is very important and has been neglected, and by helping us with streamlining programs and finding more funding and moving.

Education Spending

Question: My name is David Avrin and I'm with the Children's Hospital in Denver.

The use of property taxes to pay for school has created vast inequities in education resources in different communities. Many among us here in Denver are educators, and would like to know if your candidate believes the federal government should play a greater role in financing elementary and secondary education?

Mr. Horn: Well, certainly, we believe that we need to start to look at fundamental educational reform in this country. And that's why the president has proposed a GI Bill for children—the notion that we would start with a demonstration project to determine how effective a scholarship program is in allowing parents to choose the schools that they attend. It's based upon the GI Bill. After World War II when the returning veterans, those who sacrificed for their country, who served their country and sacrificed and saw many of their friends die, when they came back this country owed them something. And they gave them that—part of the repayment of that debt was giving them scholarships to attend the schools of their choice. It built the premiere college and university system in the world through the GI Bill. And we think we can do the same thing through our GI Bill for children.

Ms. Schroeder: Well, I think Governor Clinton would say something very different, and that is, we can't forget our commitment to public schools. Choice sounds wonderful; but the problem is the most you can come up with is a thousand or two thousand dollars a head, and there are very few places where you can get a full year's tuition for that. So, I think you're going to fall very short.

Secondly, where do you fund it? The best place you can fund it, I suppose, is right out of the money that is going into the public school systems, which leaves them even more strapped.

One of the disappointing things of the Bush Administration record has been that while they have increased a bit for Head Start, they've been cutting back in Chapter I (of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act). And Chapter I is one of the things the federal government does to try and balance out schools that come from poor neighborhoods, to give them the Head Start, and to follow-through with the Head Start progress.

I know Bill Clinton is very serious about Chapter I and would not do that.

Mr. Horn: I am not a professional politician, I'm simply a child psychologist. I maybe have this naive belief that we should tell the truth. The truth is that Chapter I funding has grown in

the last four years by 55 percent. It's gone up from \$4 billion in 1989 to \$6.2 billion in 1993.

Ms. Schroeder: We're talking about the Bush budget. Because I look at the budget. . .

Mr. Horn: It's just simply not true.

Ms. Schroeder: . . . that you guys send over. And you can't even get 30 votes on your side.

Question: Yes. This is Pam Myercord, President of the Dallas Council of PTA.

Like the rest of the country, the juvenile custody rate here in Texas is very high and it's not improving. Detention and correction centers are overflowing. I would like to know the president's and the governor's views on the federal role in dealing with juvenile crime—what local initiatives would they suggest as alternatives to incarceration?

Ms. Schroeder: Well, I think Governor Clinton has spoken very clearly on where some of the shortfalls have been. Because of shortfalls in federal funding, we have done two things that have really increased the number of juvenile delinquents. Number one, we've made poorer children second-class citizens in the schools. Because the funding cutbacks have shut them out of sports and shut them out of extracurricular activities that schools feel they now must charge for. So, if your parents don't have the money and you can't pay a thousand dollars to pay football, you're a second-class student at the high school that you go to, and that's tragic.

Then the second thing that's happened because of funding cutbacks is cities have had to close down the community centers and things where young people could go after school, unless you belong to that, you pay for a membership, and you pay every time you go. Again, people can't do it.

Ms. Bunyan: Congresswoman Schroeder, what is Governor Clinton going to do about this?

Ms. Schroeder: You have got to get back to increasing the help to schools, so those programs are open to all people of all incomes, and you can be a first-class participant, and also help cities keep their community centers open, free-of-charge, to the kids in the communities that need them.

Mr. Horn: I have two young daughters who are about to enter adolescence, and I know how

painful and difficult that transition can be. We have to, as a nation and as a society, struggle with making opportunities broader for our adolescents, and where they have hope for their future, as adults. We need to do that through an enhanced education system, and we need to do that by improving opportunities within their communities.

"Weed and Seed"

The major initiative of the Bush Administration has been something we call the weed and seed proposal. The idea is to go into the neighborhoods that are high crime and high drug neighborhoods, take out, weed out the criminals, if you will, and then seed in support programs for those kids, so that they can generate that sort of hope.

Ms. Bunyan: What kind of support programs?

Mr. Horn: Things like recreation programs, community centers, health centers, and a whole range of activities. In fact, in the 1993 budget request for the president that was submitted to Congress, there's about \$480 million worth of seed programs that would go with the \$500 million weed and seed initiative.

Ms. Schroeder: Most communities though basically got the weed and very little seed. At least that's what we found. And you need the seed, when you talk to the parents of the kids who are in trouble with the law.

Mr. Horn: Actually, the fact is that what happened is that you can't seed in communities until you take out the bad guys. And what's happened is this is a very new program. And what we have had to focus on initially, is getting out the bad guys, if you will, so we can put the seed money in. In fact, as I said, out of the \$500 million for weed and seed in the 93 budget, about \$480 million of that or so is for seed programs. That's hardly an imbalance.

Question: Hi. This is Jeralyn O'Neill. I'm calling from the Joe DiMaggio Children's Hospital in Hollywood, Florida. And my question is, in the continuing debate over welfare reform, some people have suggested punishing recipients if a parent

refuses to participate in job training. One sanction might be to deny AFDC payments. Does either candidate favor this approach? And, if so, what responsibilities should state and federal governments have to the children involved?

Welfare

Mr. Horn: Welfare can be a terrible situation in this country, particularly intergenerational welfare. And we have to discover ways to break that cycle, there's no question about that.

Now, there's two approaches one can take. One is to say we have the infinite wisdom here in Washington or perhaps in Arkansas, and that they will develop all of the notions about how to reform welfare. We take a different approach in the Bush Administration. What we have encouraged is states coming in for welfare waivers, in order to experiment with different types of programs that can break this sort of intergenerational welfare that we're seeing. And, tragically, it is really impacting negatively on far too many of our nation's children.

Ms. Schroeder: My favorite line in Bill Clinton's acceptance speech was we were also going to deal with child support enforcement—that this has been a country that has allowed fathers to walk.

Ms. Bunyan: What would Mr. Clinton do?

Ms. Schroeder: Well, there are all sorts of proposals. Number one is to start collecting child support enforcement federally, and to put in strong laws so that you don't run over the border and escape your payments. That's number one, and that brings a lot more dignity.

I know he's also very committed to allowing flexibility of different states to experiment with things and to try and do a better job in funding the Welfare Reform Act (Family Support Act of 1988) that we've put into effect, but many states have ducked because it's just so costly to put it into effect.

Question: I am Dr. Eileen Ouellette. I am the President of the Massachusetts Chapter of the American Academy of Pediatrics.

Pediatricians and others who care for children

are increasingly appalled at the escalating numbers of children physically and emotionally damaged by societal and family violence. What remedies has your candidate considered to decrease violence against children?

Ms. Schroeder: Well, I think Bill Clinton has spoken on this many times, as has Hillary (Clinton). She has a phenomenal record, and she's been pilloried for her record. But, clearly, states and government officials have to be able to do everything they can to preserve children, when we have any evidence that they are being abused, and we have to do a better job of a central recordkeeping, so you can trace abusers over the state lines.

We would also like to do what the Downey Bill does. And the Downey Bill allows (states) to use some of the money that now puts children in foster care to try and hold families together and to counsel them and to try and break that cycle of violence that is so incredible and continues to repeat itself.

Mr. Horn: We have a child welfare system that's in crisis in this country. In fact, Arkansas was sued just two years ago because of abuses in its child welfare system. We have to fundamentally reform a broken system in this country. It's not a matter of just pouring more money down a broken system; we have to fix it.

The Bush Administration has submitted legislation to do just that—to take the incentives away from placing kids in out-of-home care, and to take the incentives away from doing paperwork and endless sort of jumping through hoops to access administrative cost money, and rather to shift the incentives toward doing prevention work and family preservation work.

Violence

Mr. Keeshan: I'm sure our pediatrician in Boston sees a lot of violence as a result of guns. How would both administrations address the issue of guns as it affects children?

Mr. Horn: Well, as we talked about earlier, the weed and seed proposal that President Bush has in front of Congress now, would I think go a long

way toward trying to get out some of those violent offenders in those neighborhoods. It is just unconscionable that we have a society and a culture that accepts the fact that children go to sleep at night in bathtubs to avoid bullets from hitting them. It is just unacceptable.

Mr. Keeshan: But, it's not just the bad guys in the neighborhood, it's the guns that they have in their hands. Would the Clinton Administration address that in any way?

Ms. Schroeder: Absolutely. They've been very strong supporters of the Brady Bill. And I think they've made it very clear that, look we don't give children under 16 automobiles, it's amazing they've been given guns. And it's astounding. It's the first generation of children killing children. And I think that we, as a society, have to crack down very hard on that.

Question: My name is Gail Naut, and I'm the Executive Director of Citizens Committee for Children of New York, the voice for New York City's children.

Both Governor Clinton and President Bush have pledged to increase the percentage of high school graduates. Currently, about one student in four does not graduate. But, kids at risk to quit school are not all the same. The rate among Latino students in New York City is much higher than for other students. As educational reforms move forward, what initiatives would your candidates support to meet the special needs of Latino and other minority students?

Mr. Horn: Well, our educational system cannot afford to leave even one person behind. We have just extraordinary demands for an educated and well-skilled labor force, and that includes all of our nation's children. What we have right now is a system that favors the rich. We have choice in America today. The rich have choice. I can send my kids to a private school. I'm sure the Congresswoman can send her children to a private school. The problem is that low-income, and particularly low-income minority families don't have the access to the means to make the same choices that the more well-heeled among us do.

What our plan would do—our educational plan would do, is allow access to the same kinds of choices for low-income families that higher-income families have.

Ms. Schroeder: Are they going to give them \$25,000 a year? I want to know how they do that and how they fund it. But, let me say this is where I am very proud of Governor Clinton. He has made it very clear that every decision in his administration would be based on whether we're getting ready to compete with the industrialized world for the highly educated, highly skilled, highly paid jobs, or the developing world, for the unskilled, low-paid. We want to be on the other side. We want to be on [the first].

And to do that he's put together a very innovative program that says to every young person, you can go on to college. And he would do that, as he's pointed out over and over again, keep the Pell grants and add this new, innovative funding to go on. I think that keeps kids in school. A very high reason they drop out of high school is because they know they can't go on; they know the price tag is too high.

School Drop-outs

Ms. Bunyan: A lot of kids drop out of high school also because they have to go to work to help pay for family expenses or because they're not interested in school. It's fine that they might have the possibility to go to college, college is fascinating to a lot of kids; but if you can't keep the kids' fascination while they're in high school, how will they ever get to college or to alternative forms of education, like vocational education? How do we target minority children, in particular, to keep them in school?

Ms. Schroeder: Well, we know, number one, that young women lose their self-esteem at a much younger age, and so we have to have programs targeted toward the age of 10 and 11, that's very important. We know that if they think they can go on to college, it makes a big difference. We know the tutoring programs that have been put in

in schools have worked very well with the one-on-one, and seeing opportunities with role models in the area.

Mr. Horn: Well, clearly, what we think is that families should have the ability to make the choices about what are the best educational courses for them to take, and that would include the types of schools and the types of vocations that they may want to aspire to. Governor Clinton does not have a sterling record on this in Arkansas. Arkansas ranks 48th in the nation, in terms of the percentages of adults who have a high school diploma. And three out of four high school graduates in Arkansas when they go to college have to take remedial courses. That's twice the national average.

So, I'm not quite sure—I know you've taken a lot of pot shots at the George Bush record—Bill Clinton has a record that he has to defend as well, and that's not so wonderful a record.

Ms. Schroeder: That's one of the poorest states in the country. And, I must say, I visited some of the schools. They have worked very hard to get child care in, to get young women with babies back in. He has really put some innovative programs in.

"Jobs and Decent Wages"

Question: This is Dr. Jerome Paulson, a pediatrician from the George Washington University Medical Center.

Three out of four voters agree that alcohol advertising is a major contributor to underage drinking. Would the president or the governor do anything to stop alcohol advertisers from targeting children and teenagers?

Mr. Horn: Oh, I think we have a record of doing that. Both Dr. Sullivan and Dr. Novello have been very aggressive about making the alcohol industry more responsible in the messages it gives to our nation. And I think we have a record to be quite proud of in that regard.

Ms. Schroeder: Governor Clinton has very strong views on this. We all know that binge drinking among teens is terrible. And such things

as using Crazy Horse to target certain segments of our population and lure them in is really wrong. And I think he has spoken to that. And I think, clearly, we have to get responsibility cranked into this.

Question: Hello. This is Pat Wildman. And the Atlanta Teleconference today is sponsored by the Georgia Children's Campaign.

Amid all the talk about strengthening families, we tend to forget that parents need to have jobs with decent wages. In Georgia, for example, one out of every five children is living in poverty. A parent working full-time, year-round at minimum wage in a family of three, earns less than 76 percent of the poverty threshold.

I would like to ask Congresswoman Schroeder and Mr. Horn, what would your candidate do to ensure enough jobs and decent wages for those who need them?

Ms. Schroeder: Well, we're in a global marketplace that Bill Clinton has talked about a lot. And to be there, you've got to have highly educated, well-skilled people, and you've got to also be able to figure out how we convert our economy, from the military/industrial economy, to a civilian/industrial economy, and rebuild that manufacturing base, which has much higher-paid jobs than the unskilled burger-flipping jobs that people said, oh, isn't this great, we created so many of them? Yes. But you can't raise a family on them. And not only that, it undercuts national security. What do we do if we ever do have a war? Throw burgers at people?

Ms. Bunyan: Mr. Horn, how do we make sure that parents have jobs so that they can keep their children and themselves out of poverty?

Mr. Horn: Well, the president has released his economic plan for revitalizing America. There's no question that children do best when they're living in families where their parents have a decent job. And we need to do better about that.

You know, Governor Clinton, again, here doesn't have a sterling record. Arkansas ranks 47th in the country in the percent of children living in poverty—47th. This is after 12 years of Bill Clinton

being governor of Arkansas. It seems he can't do it in Arkansas. What makes us think he can do it for the United States?

Ms. Schroeder: Well, except you don't have such a good record here. We've brought more kids down to the poverty level than we've had in years.

Question: I am Dr. George Comerchi, a member of the Board of Directors of the American Academy of Pediatrics. We, here in Arizona, like caring people all over the country, are concerned about the growing problem of mental illness in this country and in Arizona. We are especially concerned about the problems being manifested in infants, toddlers, and preschoolers, who are the children of substance-abusing mothers.

What would each candidate do in the area of prevention and treatment, especially for the problems of mental health disorders in young children and adolescents?

Mr. Horn: Well, certainly the system of tax credits and tax deductions that the president has proposed for reforming health care and increasing access would allow for individuals to purchase insurance that would cover those kinds of services.

As a child psychologist, I could not agree with the caller more. I know how important it is for us to have good programs for at-risk children early on in infancy and in early childhood. That's one of the reasons this president has been so aggressive about expanding the Head Start Program.

And one of the things that we did in the last four years, is form a partnership with organizations like the American Psychological Association, the American Association of High School Counselors, and so forth, to provide mental health services through Head Start, not only for the kids enrolled in Head Start, but to all the family members. That's a partnership that I feel very proud of, and the Bush Administration feels very proud of.

Ms. Schroeder: One thing I can say about Governor Clinton is he's not afraid to say the words family planning. And I think you've got two pieces here. If you're talking about the high incidence of crack babies and fetal alcohol syndrome babies, one of the things that we have found that works very well, and we're not afraid to talk about,

is the fact that we're filling up all our hospitals with crack and fetal alcohol syndrome babies, and it's very critical. And one of the things we should be doing is saying to the moms who are drug-addicted or alcohol-addicted, that they'd be much better off to have a Norplant or whatever until they get their lives cleaned up, rather than having more children.

So, you've got a very critical thing, there's a way to solve it; but because of the obsession with the Bush Administration about family planning, we can't get there.

The second part is, of course then, for all sorts of other people, we need many more mental health services, and we need to make them relaxed, make them acceptable, make them user-friendly, start as young as possible. And I think that Governor Clinton has spoken very clearly that he would try to do that every way he could.

Ms. Bunyan: That's all the time that we have for questions. We've appreciated the intensity of the concern voiced by the questioners. I know the two of you felt that. It reflects what the polls have shown—Americans do place children among their top priorities for action by the government today. We thank you both, Mr. Horn, and Congresswoman Schroeder, for participating in today's National Satellite Summit on Children's Issues.

Conclusion

Bob Keeshan: Over the course of American political history, children have been often seen and seldom heard. Witness the window dressing at the latest conventions with their blatant use of the nominees' children as stage props and photo ops.

The message that we're here to convey to candidates at all levels is this: Don't kid us! The days of kiss the baby for the cameras and run from the real issues are finally over. In this election, kids are serious business.

From this day forward, public officials will ignore children at their own peril.



A Child Can't See Through Campaign Promises. But You Can.

Our children deserve a higher priority on the agenda for America's future. This election year, we need to tell politicians: **Kissing babies is not enough. We need specific, realistic plans for the health, education, safety and security of all American children.**

**Join the
Coalition for
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Children
in asking
every
candidate
for public
office:**

Q. *What is your plan for ensuring that all American children have health care?*

Q. *How will you assure that all children enter school ready to succeed, and that college is within reach for all American families?*

Q. *How will you make our communities, homes and schools safe for children?*

Q. *How will you guarantee that every American child has food to eat and a place to sleep?*

Coalition for America's Children



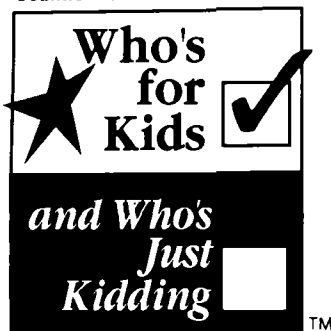
Who's for Kids



And Who's Just Kidding



TM



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Child Welfare League
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Elementary School Principals

National Association
of Secondary School Principals

National Black Child
Development Institute

National Education Association

Save the Children

What They're Saying on Kids' Issues

On Sept. 24, 1992 the Coalition for America's Children hosted the first-ever National Satellite Summit on Children's Issues, linking 48 cities for a debate on the children's platforms of President George Bush and Governor Bill Clinton. What follows, by topic, are excerpts from taped messages by Governor Clinton and HHS Secretary Louis Sullivan, and a debate between Bush representative Wade Horn, commissioner of the HHS Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, and Clinton representative Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.).

Family and Medical Leave

Clinton: I would sign the Family and Medical Leave Act which Mr. Bush has vetoed. Parents shouldn't be forced to choose between the jobs they need and the families they love.

Schroeder: Every researcher in the world has shown how critical it is to get that family unit off to a very good start. And it's very hard to do that if you have to go right back to work or lose your job. Ever since President Bush was elected we've been trying to meet with him to negotiate on this legislation. We even offered to go to any foreign capital. We wanted to meet him, and he wouldn't show up.

Horn: The Bush Administration is fully in favor of family and medical leave policies in the workplace. The issue with that particular legislation is it's a yuppie bill. What it says is that we're going to allow people to take 12 weeks off without pay. Now, who can afford that? Can the single mother who is working at a \$15,000 a year job afford 12 weeks of loss of income? Absolutely not. This bill is simply poorly-targeted. It will benefit the upper middle-class and yuppie class, and it will do very little for the hard-working, middle Americans and low-income Americans in this country.

Head Start

Sullivan: This early childhood development program for low income children has witnessed the largest expansion in its 25 year history under the Bush Administration. The president has asked Congress for a \$600 million increase in funding for Head Start next year. If Congress approves that request, and I believe they will, it will be the largest increase in Head Start funding ever, bringing total head start funding to \$2.8 billion. This will enable nearly 780,000 children to benefit from the valuable medical, dental, educational, nutrition, and mental health services it provides.

Clinton: I support full funding of the Head Start Program. Although presently only 36 percent of the eligible children are being served in the Head Start Program.

Horn: Well, first of all, it's not true that only 36 percent of the kids are being enrolled in Head Start. In fact, if the \$600 million request is fully appropriated by Congress this year, by next year we'll be able to serve in excess of 80 percent of all the income-eligible kids for at least one year before they arrive at the elementary school. So the 36 percent figure is just simply inaccurate.

Schroeder: The words you want to put in capital letters are "for one year." When Head Start was originally conceived in the '60s, the idea was it would be more prescriptive for children, and some children would need two or three years. And there have been all sorts of new studies showing that the earlier you start, and the more intensive the intervention, the better the chance the child has.

Funding for children's programs

Sullivan: Since President Bush took office, funding for children's programs has nearly doubled.

Horn: We have seen a 66 percent increase in total funding for children's programs over the last four years. In 1989, when George Bush was first elected President, the total expenditures for children's programs was about \$60 billion a year; in 1993 it will be in excess of \$100 billion a year. So, that's simply not true that we haven't expanded those programs. We have seen major expansions in Medicaid. We have seen the largest expansions in WIC and Head Start in their history. We've seen major expansions in immunization.

Schroeder: The number of children falling into poverty is rising much faster than those amounts.

Expanding Medicaid

Horn: In 1988 when George Bush was campaigning for his first term, he pledged that he would oversee a major expansion in the Medicaid program, to ensure that low-income children are covered. He did that in the very first year of his Administration -- he expanded Medicaid coverage to ensure that all pregnant women and children up to age six, living below 133 percent of the poverty line were covered by Medicaid. And it phases in, I think, up to shortly after the turn of the century, so that by about 2004 all children, under the age of 19, and living below the poverty line, will be covered by Medicaid.

Schroeder: If it's so terrific and so wonderful, why don't we do it now? Why are we waiting for the year 2000 or 2004 or whatever it is, which is what we're waiting for on everything?

Neighborhood Safety

Horn: The idea [of President Bush's "weed and seed" program] is to go into the neighborhoods which are high crime and high drug neighborhoods, weed out the criminals, if you will, and then seed in support programs for those kids, so that they can generate that sort of hope. Recreation programs, community centers, health centers, and a whole range of activities. In fact, in the 1993 budget request for the President that was submitted to Congress, there's about \$480 million worth of seed programs that would go with the \$500 million "weed and seed" initiative.

Schroeder: Most communities, though, basically got the weed and very little seed. At least that's what we found. And you need the seed, when you talk to the parents of the kids who are in trouble with the law.

Welfare reform

Clinton: I want to strengthen the welfare reform laws of the country to support poor people in their efforts to earn more and to support their children better; invest more money in education and child care and medical coverage for children, then require people to work to move toward independence.

Schroeder: My favorite line in Bill Clinton's acceptance speech was we were also going to deal with child support enforcement -- that this has been a country that has allowed fathers to walk. Number one is to start collecting child support enforcement Federally, and to put in strong laws so that you don't run over the border and escape your payments. I know he's also very committed to allowing flexibility of different states to experiment with things and to try and do a better job in funding the [Family Support Act] that we've put into effect, but many states have ducked because it's just so costly to put it into effect.

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Child welfare

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School funding and "choice"

Horn: What we have right now is a system that favors the rich. We have choice in America today. The rich have choice. I can send my kids to a private school. I'm sure the Congresswoman can send her children to a private school. The problem is that low-income, and particularly low-income minority families don't have the access to the means to make the same choices that the more well-heeled among us do. What our plan would do -- our educational plan would do, is allow access to the same kinds of choices for low-income families that higher-income families have.

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Jobs for American families

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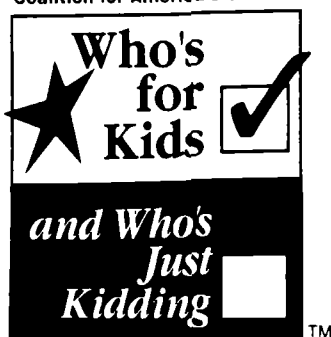
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For further information on where the candidates stand on children's issues, write or call:

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Little Rock, Arkansas 72203
(501) 372-1992

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**HOLD FOR RELEASE
3:30 p.m. Sept. 24, 1992**

**Contact: Lisa Tate 202/662-7460
Susan Bales 703/684-1355
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**Children's Advocates Press Candidates
on Issues**

National Summit Airs in 48 Cities

Washington D.C.--Sept. 24, 1992--Children's advocates in 48 cities today delivered the first major policy debate of the 1992 presidential campaign. Governor Bill Clinton and HHS Secretary Louis Sullivan presented the two campaign platforms before 7,500 community leaders in the first-ever National Satellite Summit on Children's Issues.

"This year there are millions of us creating a constituency for kids, and we're not just kidding," said Bob Keeshan (Captain Kangaroo) at the conclusion of the event that featured taped messages from Clinton and Sullivan, plus a studio debate between **Wade Horn**, commissioner of the Administration on Children, Youth, and Families for the Bush campaign, and **U.S. Rep. Patricia Schroeder (Colo.)** for Clinton/Gore.

"For the first time in the history of American politics both candidates for the highest office in the land have had to deliver a children's platform to the electorate. In the future every candidate for public office will be required to do so," said Keeshan, the Coalition's spokesperson, who hosted the broadcast with journalist Maureen Bunyan.

"This president has consistently backed his convictions with effective action on behalf of the most vulnerable citizens, children in need," said Secretary Sullivan who singled out the

Bush/Quayle record on Head Start, the infant mortality initiative known as Healthy Start, and immunization effort spearheaded by the administration. But, Sullivan cautioned in his video summary of President Bush's children's platform, "all the soup lines and shelters won't do as much for children as enlightened public policy...This administration is forging such policy on behalf of children and families."

In his Satellite Summit message Clinton said, "I support a comprehensive reform of the health care system with sweeping guarantees for basic maternal and child health to get children into this world on time and in good shape and to get them into school healthy and mentally and physically prepared to learn." He emphasized his welfare reform proposals and expanded funding for education and child care. He criticized Bush for his earlier veto of the Family and Medical Leave Act and said he supports the bill.

In response to a question posed by a 14-year-old in Chicago, both campaign representatives appearing on the program said their top priority for children is strengthening American families. Congresswoman Schroeder said Bill Clinton would sign the family leave bill. "Getting families off to a healthy start is just as important as jury duty or military leave," she said.

Commissioner Horn said Bush "is fully in favor of family leave policies in the workplace" but not as an employer mandate. He termed the legislation "a yuppie bill" catering to higher-earner parents and questioned whether "a single mother working at a \$15,000 a year job can afford 12 weeks of unpaid leave."

The Clinton and Bush representatives differed sharply on the administration's record on Head Start funding and urban initiatives and disagreed on school choice and its impact on public schools. They fielded questions from Keeshan and Bunyan, and from a dozen cities around the country. The questions ranged from violence against children to services for mental illness and those posing the questions ranged from teenagers to hospital administrators.

Broadcast from AARP studios in Washington, the program was downlinked to 48 cities across the country where local coalitions held rallies and panel discussions and highlighted upcoming local campaign activities. "Hollywood would be proud of the production we've put together on behalf of children," reported Helen Bernstein at the Los Angeles site. "We're registering new voters every day and we're ready to rock the vote for kids in LA."

"You can't land or take off from Houston without getting our message," Jim Mickelson reported from Texas. "We have both airports covered with huge advertisements using the coalition's 'kids can't see through campaign promises but you can.' "

The report from Seattle: "After this satellite summit we'll be going into a news conference here to challenge our candidates to make good on their promises," said Deborah Bowler. From the midwest: "Madison, Wisconsin, is really turning up the volume for children this year," said Anne Arneson. "The Satellite Summit is being carried live on our local cable station and we're also simulcasting into the local high schools."

And finally from Florida, "While Hurricane Andrew left all Floridians feeling numb and powerless, we're taking control of one aspect of our lives we can affect -- politics," reported Jack Levine. "More than 10,000 Children's Campaign volunteers are registering voters, canvassing neighborhoods, and meeting face-to-face with candidates to ask their specific plans to help children."

In closing the teleconference Keeshan said, "The message we're here to convey to candidates at all levels is this; don't kid us! The day of kiss the baby and run from the issues are finally over. In this election kids are serious business...our fight for the children has just begun. Let's roll up our sleeves and get to work."

Armed with thousands of "Questions for Candidates" brochures, block walks for kids packs, and a massive army of community leaders and citizen groups, children's advocates are vowing to keep up their voter education effort long past November. One Wisconsin coalition is preparing ads for the day after the election that read, "Now that they're in office, what are they going to do for the children?"

The Coalition, using the theme "Who's for kids and who's just kidding"--is a nonpartisan alliance of 200 national, state, and community-based nonprofit organizations working to raise concerns for children to the top of the public policy agenda. For the National Satellite Summit, the Aetna Corporation donated its national satellite network and corporate sites across the country. The Prudential Foundation, the Benton Foundation, Debate America, Washington International Teleport, and PBS stations also contributed to the program.

Hillary Clinton
State Capital
Little Rock Arkansas 72201

William J. Edmondson Sr.
1505 Park Avenue
Baltimore, Md. 21217

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

08/26/92

Posterior 1855 Josiah Warren said,

"Children are principally the creatures of example-whatever surrounding adult do, they will do. If we strike them, they will strike each other. If they see us attempting to govern each other they will imitate the same barbarism. If we habitually admit the right of sovereignty in each other and in them they will become equally respectful of our right and each other's. All these propositions are probably self-evident, yet not one of them is practicable under the present mixture of the interest and responsibilities between adults and between parents and children. To solve the problem of education, children must be equitably treated, and each and every one, parent or child, must be understood to be an individual, and must have his or her rights equitably respected".

That quotation of Warren speaks of ~~children having rights in education and rights between parents and children. Moreover, he states that children "must have his or her rights equitably respected"~~. That quote, brings me to you why I am writing you this letter, plus the article this morning from the Baltimore Sun's Paper this August 24, 1992, called, Children's Defense Fund by Hillary Rodham.

This letter is an honest attempt to reinforce your views and my approval of your writings from your book on Children's Defense Fund.

If I compare what you wrote in your book. It reveals that children have no constitutional rights against divorces from Dependency Relationships, Helotry, Indian Reservations, Institutional Centers operated by States and Federal Governments. Moreover, home of natural parents, adoption agencies, foster care, day care canthers and the poor children when abuses and violent attacks threaten their lives continuously. Therefore, you are stating that there are no know known legal laws, legal recourses, legal codes and disallowance rules governing regulations to partition the courts for separations and divorces from Dependency

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supportive

relationships, where violent afflictions are transversely repeatedly. Thus children's constitutional rights are violated. I join with acceptance of your writings that children should have the legal rights to sue or ask for a divorce from violent habitations. When a child or children lives through intercomparable nightmares of corporeal, psychological, choleric, cerebral and such violent behaviors. Such pernicious violences sustains for life in the inner sanctions of consternations within the Id. The commiseration of violent audacities at children is, it destroys their lives perpetually and in particular cases, some never recover from violent experiences nor can some conduct dependable or conventional life styles.

Again, if I follow your thinking from your book. Children that are in dependency relationships such as marriage, slavery, and the Indian reservation systems are deprived of legal rights from separations, divorces' rights from such dependencies when violent audacities accrues. Is this correct? Please advise me if I comprehend your book appropriately. I wish I could have had you in my childhood's days as my legal guardian. The public made calculate your views on children's rights is very extreme to the far right in this society. Obviously our society is inaccurate on this issue, when children have no divorce rights from violent families. Its only when people are caught in identical situations as you have endeavor to outlined, does one really get the messages from where you are coming from. Your message evidently goes against the elements that don't advocate your personal views nor your legal philosophies because, of valiant support of family-bonds and family-privacies. Moreover, your ideas does institutes a separation-bond between the parents and children to the disinclination from the opposition conservative wring of the Republican Party. Therefore, feminist conservatives who opposes your contemplations legalizing children's rights to endeavor a divorce from the violent families, are themselves, out of contiguity with realities from this unfortunate situation. So who prevails? and who abundances? The winners are the children who can sue for divorce from (Dependency Relationships). The looser are the children who are a chattel and remain silent to the oppressive violent's families without any authoritative protection under the laws of this Nation.

Mrs. Clinton, don't discontinue your public support, efforts and debates for children's rights if you reach the White House! At the White House you will be become the Nation's Incipient Lady and this is an asset both for your agenda for Children's rights and public consciousnesses of children's rights and issues.

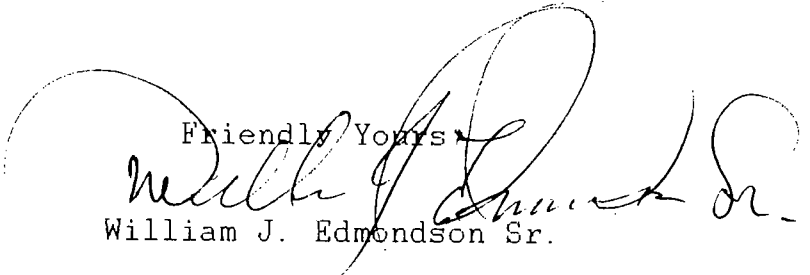
One of Mrs. Bush books, she spoke highly of you and your efforts to help helpless children. Why then didn't Mrs.

Bush speak of you and your efforts at the National Republican Convention? I know and so do you!

If you feel you would like to use this material in any manner that is comfortable for your purpose feel free to do so.

Thanks you for taking your kindest time and attention in the above matter. I am

Friendly Yours


William J. Edmondson Sr.