

**Files of Melanne Verveer,
Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Box 34: Files**

Archived from OEOB 100 by Norma Jean Kelly on Dec. 22, 2000

Religion – TV

Religion – USCC

Refugees

Religion

Religion/Church States

Religious Freedom Restoration Act

Religious Right

Response to Right Wing Alliance

Resumes

Resumes – MV

Rights of Children

Rohatyn

Romania

Roosevlet

Mark Rosenman

RU-486

- Domestic Women's Issues

ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS

20050

NAPA 17254

What Can We Do?

Individually

As individuals, we can examine our personal commitment to "putting children and families first" in our homes, parishes, and communities. We can make a real effort to spend more time with our families, praying, playing and working together. We can contribute our time and money to programs that serve children and families in our communities. And we can use our voices and votes to help shape a society that allocates resources and enacts policies that support children and families.

In Our Dioceses

Across the Country, dioceses are launching creative local initiatives. They are:

- convening parish and diocesan leaders to coordinate efforts;
- writing local statements on the needs of children and families;
- developing special events and convocations that focus on meeting the needs of children and families;
- starting new programs to serve children and families, including parenting skills training, health care programs, etc.;
- producing media efforts and producing public service announcement to call attention to the needs of children and families;
- launching public policy campaigns to enact local legislation to support children and families;
- as well as many other exciting initiatives.

In Our Parishes

No institution in Catholic life is more important to the Campaign for Children and Families than the parish. Children and families are at the heart of parish life and the parish plays a vital role in supporting families and nurturing children.

In General: We can

- include a quote from *Putting Children and Families First*, in the bulletin;
- plan a Sunday with worship focused on

children and families, education on forces which undermine families, and service and advocacy for children and families;

- use the video, *I Am Only a Child* at parish gatherings.

In Worship: We can

- reflect our concern for children and families within the liturgy through prayers of petition, appropriate homilies, a regular or occasional family Mass, etc.
- identify feasts and liturgical seasons that lend them selves to a focus on children and families (e.g. Advent, Christmas, Epiphany).
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In Education: We can

- incorporate our concern for children and families into religious education programs and school curricula;
- encourage students to learn about and offer service to poor children and families as part of their religious education program;
- sponsor special projects such as poster contests, essay contests, field trips to local agencies serving needy children, etc.;
- offer adult education on parenting or public issues.

In Social Ministry: We can

- strengthen or start a service program for the parish as a whole, such as providing a regular meal for a soup kitchen
- publicize service opportunities for individuals or families such as "sponsoring" a child from a developing country, or volunteering for a literacy program;
- educate parishioners about public policies that work against children and families.
- involve parishioners in child and family advocacy through a diocesan or state legislative network, a community organization or a letter writing or telephone campaign.

Resources

The best sources of help and ideas for participation in the Catholic Campaign for Children and Families will be your diocesan offices of social action, education, pro-life, family life, liturgy, and others, as well as your diocesan social service agency.

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Putting Children and Families First



In November, 1991, the bishops of the United States issued a statement that called for renewed attention to children and families in our homes, our parishes, our communities, our nation, and our world. *Putting Children and Families First: A Challenge for Our Church, Nation, and World* challenges Catholics and others to engage in "a spiritual and social reawakening to the moral and human cost of neglecting our children." This initiative brings together social justice, family life, human service, pro-life, education and other agendas within our church in a common campaign for children and families.

PUTTING CHILDREN AND FAMILIES FIRST

While many children lead happy, secure, safe lives, too many others in our country and throughout the world do not. Every year, 1.6 million innocent children's lives are destroyed by legalized abortion in the U.S. alone. One in four children in this country lives in poverty. Every day throughout the world, 44,000 children die from poverty, hunger and related problems.

The Catholic community brings to this moral challenge three key assets: the values of the Scriptures where children are seen as blessings, the message of Catholic teaching which calls us to measure society by how children and families fare, and our experience in serving children and their families. We support their spiritual life in our parishes, we educate them in our schools, we care for them in our hospitals, and we provide a wide range of supportive services through our charitable and outreach programs.

While the bishops recognize that our homes, neighborhoods, parishes, and communities are where the most important work to support children occurs, they also recognize the role public policy can play in strengthening or undermining families.

"No government can love a child and no policy can substitute for a family's care, but clearly families can be helped or hurt in their irreplaceable roles. Government can either support or undermine families as they cope with the moral, social, and economic stresses of caring for children."

Further, the bishops decry an unnecessary and unreal polarization about how to help families, which has pitted those who promote more personal responsibility against those who support "family friendly" policies.

"The undeniable fact is that our children's future is shaped both by the values of their parents and the policies of our nation...We believe parental responsibility and broader social responsibility, changed behavior and changed policies are complementary requirements to help families."

CRITERIA FOR NATIONAL POLICY

The bishops suggest seven criteria for pro-family public policies:

- Put children and families first in the allocation of resources and the focus of public life.
- Help; don't hurt. Support policies that strengthen rather than undermine families.
- Those with the greatest need require the greatest response.
- Empower families. Help families meet their responsibilities to their children.
- Fight economic and social forces which threaten children and family life.
- Build on the strengths of families; reward responsibility and sacrifice for children.
- Recognize that foreign policy is increasingly children's policy.

THE CALL TO ACTION

Pointing to the many helpless and hopeless children who haunt our world, the bishops call on all of us to turn our values into action on behalf of children and families.

"We hope the Catholic community will become a persistent, informed and committed voice for children and families, urging all American institutions from neighborhood associations to the federal government to put our children first."

DIRECTIONS FOR PUBLIC POLICY

NATIONAL POLICY DIRECTIONS

1. Protect the lives of children by opposing abortion and government funding of abortion.
2. Protect family members from abuse by prohibiting pornography, reforming family services, and increasing support for adoption and foster care.
3. Promote decent jobs at decent wages, and support adequate job training.
4. Reform the tax laws to help families cope with the high cost of raising children -- e.g. a children's tax credit.
5. Provide for poor children through adequate welfare benefits and policies that promote family stability, not separation.
6. Promote family-friendly workplace policies such as family and medical leave protection.
7. Promote equal opportunity in education, affirmative action in employment and nondiscrimination in housing.
8. Promote quality education by offering programs like HeadStart, and vouchers or tax credits that allow school choice.
9. Support basic nutrition programs like food stamps and the Women, Infant and Children (WIC) program.
10. Extend quality health care to all, beginning with our children and their mothers.
11. Support housing, planning, and zoning policies that promote affordable housing.
12. Provide appropriate medical, educational, rehabilitative and social services for persons with disabilities, and ensure full implementation of the Americans with Disabilities Act.
13. Embrace a "children first" principle in cases of divorce, and strengthen child support enforcement policies.

INTERNATIONAL POLICY DIRECTIONS

1. Meet the basic needs of children throughout the world, including shelter, food, health care, education, and the elimination of child labor, children in military service, and other exploitative practices.
2. Shape U.S. economic policies that include:
 - an international trading system that discourages the exploitation of children by ensuring that poor countries receive fair prices for their exports;
 - a foreign aid program that places emphasis on the needs of children and families rather than security and military interests;
 - a global financial system that recognizes the economic and social costs to families of developing countries' massive external debt, and pursues ways to relieve it equitably and realistically.
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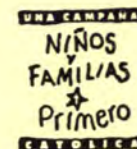
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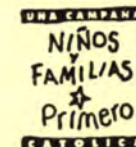
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Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

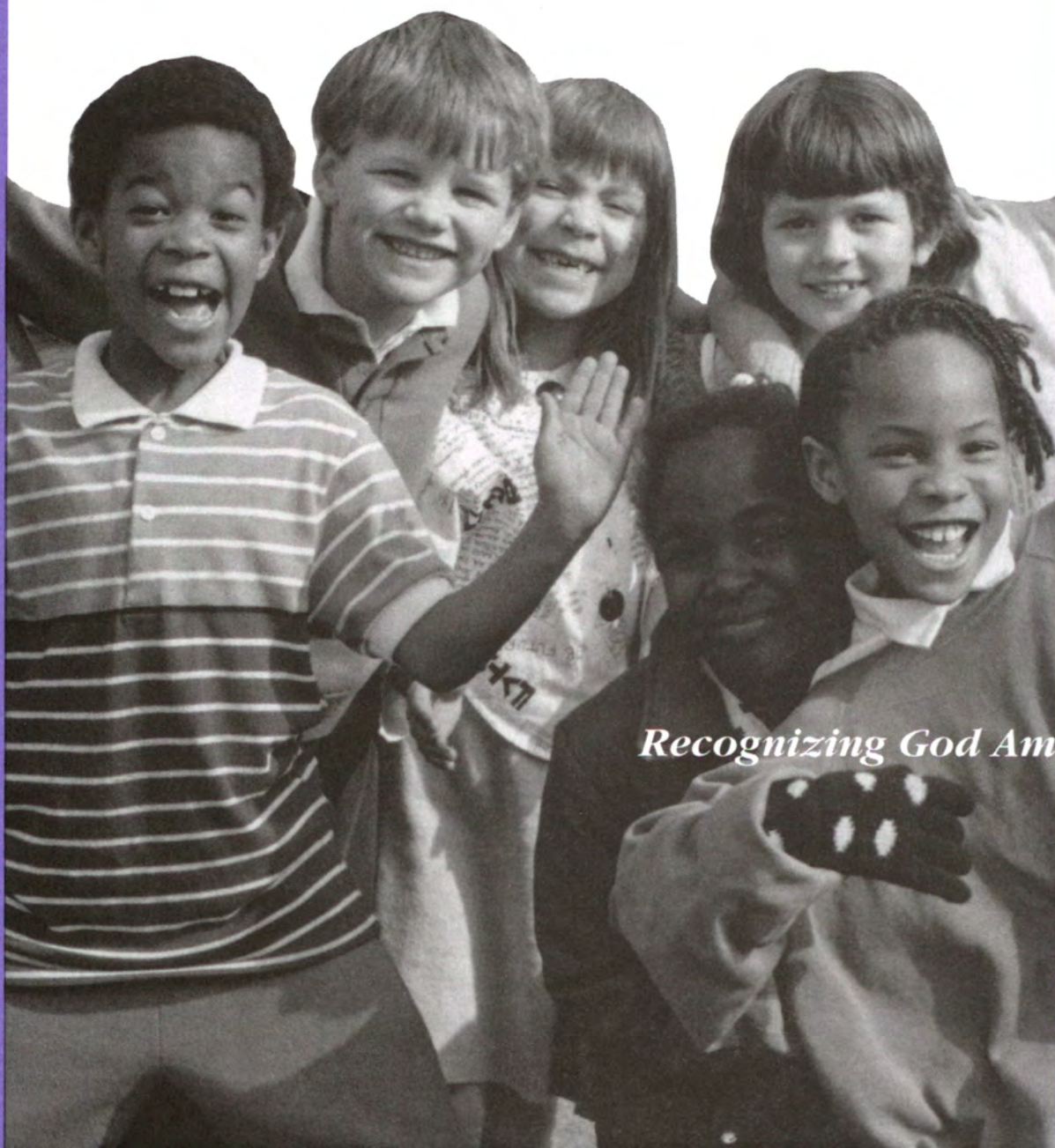
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ADVENT 1992

Celebrate Christ's Coming



Recognizing God Among Us



Campaign for
Human
Development

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A CATHOLIC
CHILDREN
AND
FAMILIES

first
CAMPAIGN

Parish Resource Manual



United States Catholic Conference
Washington, D.C.

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- use the video, *I Am Only a Child* at parish gatherings.

In Worship: We can

- reflect our concern for children and families within the liturgy through prayers of petition, appropriate homilies, a regular or occasional family Mass, etc.
- identify feasts and liturgical seasons that lend them selves to a focus on children and families (e.g. Advent, Christmas, Epiphany).
- turn special collections (e.g. Campaign for Human Development, American Bishops' Overseas Appeal, etc.) into opportunities to educate, preach and respond to the needs of poor children and families.

In Education: We can

- incorporate our concern for children and families into religious education programs and school curricula;
- encourage students to learn about and offer service to poor children and families as part of their religious education program;
- sponsor special projects such as poster contests, essay contests, field trips to local agencies serving needy children, etc.;
- offer adult education on parenting or public issues.

In Social Ministry: We can

- strengthen or start a service program for the parish as a whole, such as providing a regular meal for a soup kitchen
- publicize service opportunities for individuals or families such as "sponsoring" a child from a developing country, or volunteering for a literacy program;
- educate parishioners about public policies that work against children and families.
- involve parishioners in child and family advocacy through a diocesan or state legislative network, a community organization or a letter writing or telephone campaign.

Resources

The best sources of help and ideas for participation in the Catholic Campaign for Children and Families will be your diocesan offices of social action, education, pro-life, family life, liturgy, and others, as well as your diocesan social service agency.

- *Putting Children and Families First: A Challenge for Our Church, Nation, and World.* The statement of the United States Catholic Conference that forms the basis of the Catholic Campaign for Children and Families. Available from the Office for Publishing and Promotion, USCC, 800-235-USCC. (Pub. No. 469-4).
- *The Parish Manual for the Catholic Campaign for Children and Families.* A compilation of resources including the text of the bishops' statement; liturgical aids; bulletin inserts and clip art; and suggestions for integrating this initiative into parish education, social ministry and family support efforts. Available in English (Pub. No. 525-9) and in Spanish (Pub. No. 534-8) from USCC/OPPS (see above).
- *I Am Only a Child.* A compelling introduction to the bishops' statement, this 14-minute videocassette reflects on the state of the world's children. The tape is available in English or Spanish (\$24.95 prepaid) from Lumen Catechetical Consultants, Inc., P.O. Box 1761, Silver Spring, MD 20915.

For more information contact the Department of Social Development and World Peace (202/541-3195) or any of the other national offices and organizations involved in the Catholic Campaign for Children and Families.



"Our nation is failing many of our children. Our world is a hostile and dangerous place for millions of children. As pastors in a community deeply committed to serving children and their families, and as teachers of a faith that celebrates the gift of children, we seek to call attention to this crisis and to fashion a response that builds on the values of our faith, the experience of our community, and the love and compassion of our people."

U.S. Catholic Bishops
Putting Children and Families First



In November, 1991, the bishops of the United States issued a statement that called for renewed attention to children and families in our homes, our parishes, our communities, our nation, and our world. *Putting Children and Families First: A Challenge for Our Church, Nation, and World* challenges Catholics and others to engage in "a spiritual and social reawakening to the moral and human cost of neglecting our children." This initiative brings together social justice, family life, human service, pro-life, education and other agendas within our church in a common campaign for children and families.

PUTTING CHILDREN AND FAMILIES FIRST

While many children lead happy, secure, safe lives, too many others in our country and throughout the world do not. Every year, 1.6 million innocent children's lives are destroyed by legalized abortion in the U.S. alone. One in four children in this country lives in poverty. Every day throughout the world, 44,000 children die from poverty, hunger and related problems.

The Catholic community brings to this moral challenge three key assets: the values of the Scriptures where children are seen as blessings, the message of Catholic teaching which calls us to measure society by how children and families fare, and our experience in serving children and their families. We support their spiritual life in our parishes, we educate them in our schools, we care for them in our hospitals, and we provide a wide range of supportive services through our charitable and outreach programs.

While the bishops recognize that our homes, neighborhoods, parishes, and communities are where the most important work to support children occurs, they also recognize the role public policy can play in strengthening or undermining families.

"No government can love a child and no policy can substitute for a family's care, but clearly families can be helped or hurt in their irreplaceable roles. Government can either support or undermine families as they cope with the moral, social, and economic stresses of caring for children."

Further, the bishops decry an unnecessary and unreal polarization about how to help families, which has pitted those who promote more personal responsibility against those who support "family friendly" policies.

"The undeniable fact is that our children's future is shaped both by the values of their parents and the policies of our nation...We believe parental responsibility and broader social responsibility, changed behavior and changed policies are complementary requirements to help families."

CRITERIA FOR NATIONAL POLICY

The bishops suggest seven criteria for pro-family public policies:

- Put children and families first in the allocation of resources and the focus of public life.
- Help; don't hurt. Support policies that strengthen rather than undermine families.
- Those with the greatest need require the greatest response.
- Empower families. Help families meet their responsibilities to their children.
- Fight economic and social forces which threaten children and family life.
- Build on the strengths of families; reward responsibility and sacrifice for children.
- Recognize that foreign policy is increasingly children's policy.

THE CALL TO ACTION

Pointing to the many helpless and hopeless children who haunt our world, the bishops call on all of us to turn our values into action on behalf of children and families.

"We hope the Catholic community will become a persistent, informed and committed voice for children and families, urging all American institutions from neighborhood associations to the federal government to put our children first."

DIRECTIONS FOR PUBLIC POLICY

NATIONAL POLICY DIRECTIONS

1. Protect the lives of children by opposing abortion and government funding of abortion.
2. Protect family members from abuse by prohibiting pornography, reforming family services, and increasing support for adoption and foster care.
3. Promote decent jobs at decent wages, and support adequate job training.
4. Reform the tax laws to help families cope with the high cost of raising children -- e.g. a children's tax credit.
5. Provide for poor children through adequate welfare benefits and policies that promote family stability, not separation.
6. Promote family-friendly workplace policies such as family and medical leave protection.
7. Promote equal opportunity in education, affirmative action in employment and nondiscrimination in housing.
8. Promote quality education by offering programs like HeadStart, and vouchers or tax credits that allow school choice.
9. Support basic nutrition programs like food stamps and the Women, Infant and Children (WIC) program.
10. Extend quality health care to all, beginning with our children and their mothers.
11. Support housing, planning, and zoning policies that promote affordable housing.
12. Provide appropriate medical, educational, rehabilitative and social services for persons with disabilities, and ensure full implementation of the Americans with Disabilities Act.
13. Embrace a "children first" principle in cases of divorce, and strengthen child support enforcement policies.

INTERNATIONAL POLICY DIRECTIONS

1. Meet the basic needs of children throughout the world, including shelter, food, health care, education, and the elimination of child labor, children in military service, and other exploitative practices.
2. Shape U.S. economic policies that include:
 - an international trading system that discourages the exploitation of children by ensuring that poor countries receive fair prices for their exports;
 - a foreign aid program that places emphasis on the needs of children and families rather than security and military interests;
 - a global financial system that recognizes the economic and social costs to families of developing countries' massive external debt, and pursues ways to relieve it equitably and realistically.
3. Oppose coercive population and abortion policies and discrimination against women.

JAMES M DUNN

August 25, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President,

We understand that there is an intense lobbying effort for you to visit with officers of the Southern Baptist Convention, President Ed Young and the President of the Executive Committee Morris Chapman. Mr. President, because I campaigned vigorously for you, stand resolutely behind you, and support the thrusts of your Presidency, including your economic reforms, health care, fairness for homosexuals, and the right of a woman to choose her own destiny I hope you will not be used and abused by the fundamentalist, New Right, leaders of the SBC.

The desperation of these men to see you reflects their need for the credibility they would gain with such a visit. I, with you, do not believe the office of the president should be so used.

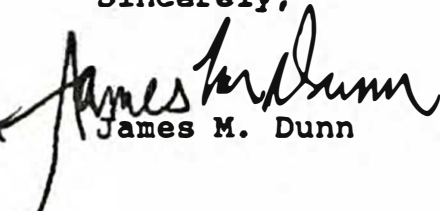
Because I know these men and their track record we can predict with absolute certainty that should you visit with them they would leave your office and either distort what you said or use for their own purposes what they "told the President."

This sort of visit with religious right leaders brought great pain and embarrassment to President Carter. Jerry Falwell misrepresented the President's position on homosexuality. Adrian Rogers, reported on how he had "witnessed" to the president and asked him to turn from his secular humanism.

Mr. President I've known the present leaders of the SBC for forty years and I can assure you that nothing good can possibly come from them.

It's a joy to work with you and your people. We pray for you and are eager to help in any way possible.

Sincerely,


James M. Dunn

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CNS

THOMAS N. LORSUNG
Director and editor in chief

Catholic News Service

August 6, 1993

FAX COVER SHEET

ATTENTION: Melanne Verveer

ORGANIZATION: White House

FAX NUMBER: 456-6244

FROM: Pat Zapor

Catholic News Service

PHONES: Personal -- (202) 541-3269

FAX -- (202) 541-3255

NOTICE: The material that follows is under copyright of Catholic News Service and is intended solely for the information of the recipient. It is not to be published by any other individuals or organizations that do not subscribe to CNS.

This FAX consists of ¹²~~20~~ pages, including this cover sheet.

MELANNE: I'm sending both a copy of the story only and a combined package of story and transcript.

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Friday, August 6, 1993

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CLINTON-INTERVIEW Oct. 26, 1992 (1,460 words) With photos sent Oct. 21 and today. CLINTON SAYS LAWS ON PARENTAL NOTICE FOR ABORTION WOULD BE OK

By Patricia Zapor

Catholic News Service

FREELAND, Mich. (CNS) -- States should have the freedom to require parental notification for abortion, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton said Oct. 25 in a 25-minute interview with Catholic News Service.

Clinton, who says he opposes abortion but believes it should be legal, also said he doesn't think federal law should prohibit a state's right to establish a 24-hour waiting period before an abortion may be performed, although he believes such waiting periods pose an unnecessary burden for some women.

The Arkansas governor, a Southern Baptist who graduated from Jesuit-run Georgetown University, also credited his six years of Catholic education with ingraining in him a sense of moral obligation to try to live out religious convictions that affects his daily life.

In a wide-ranging interview at Tri-City Airport in Freeland, Mich., near Saginaw, Clinton discussed:

- His college years at Georgetown and two years in a Catholic grade school.
- His opposition to a school choice voucher funding system that includes parochial schools.
- Standards he would apply in nominating Supreme Court justices.
- His support for the death penalty.
- His support for would-be refugees to the United States from Haiti.
- Proposals to help the nation's poor children.

Clinton has said he would support the Freedom of Choice Act, a bill which, as introduced in the last session of Congress, would have prohibited states from passing any laws restricting abortion. But Clinton noted that various proposed amendments to the bill would have given states some regulatory leeway.

Acknowledging that as governor of Arkansas he supported a law requiring minors to notify their parents before having abortions, Clinton noted, "The final form of that act (in Congress) is not yet clear. Before the people who support it decided not to push it in this Congress, there were all kinds of negotiations about what the states should still be free to do."

"I think states should absolutely have the freedom to have parental notice," he said. While he believes a 24-hour waiting period "philosophically, sounds like a totally reasonable thing," it can impose an unfair burden on women who must travel long distances in some areas of the country where there

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are few abortion clinics.

"I don't know that federal law needs to regulate it away, but as a practical matter, in the real world it is a significant burden," Clinton said. "In the real world there are very few people who do that who haven't thought about it for 24 hours."

Clinton also said he wants pro-life Democrats to remain in the party and that he regrets the decision to refuse Pennsylvania Gov. Robert Casey's request to address the Democratic National Convention in July.

Casey, a popular Catholic governor in a key Democratic state, has urged the party to moderate its platform, which strongly opposes any regulation of abortion. Clinton was criticized at the time for keeping Casey off the speaker's platform as part of an effort to present a united front favoring abortion rights.

According to Clinton, Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, based his decision to turn down Casey's request on the fact that Casey had not yet endorsed the Clinton-Gore ticket.

"It was very frustrating to me because I like Bob Casey a lot," said Clinton. "I mean I've known him for years and worked with him. And I attempted to visit with him about it. I personally had no problems with him talking."

Other Democrats who oppose abortion, such as Boston Mayor Ray Flynn, had time at the microphone and made pro-life statements, Clinton said. "But he had endorsed our ticket."

Clinton said he would like Democrats who disagree about abortion to feel they can work within the party to make abortions less necessary.

"I want pro-life Democrats in our party and I've relied extremely heavily on Mayor Flynn in this campaign for all kinds of advice on a number of issues," Clinton said.

"I don't want to run anybody out of the party that agrees with us on more issues than they disagree with us on," he said.

Catholics in particular should feel at home in the Democratic party, even if they disagree about abortion, believes Clinton.

"The Democratic Party's platforms and historic commitments are much more consistent with the Catholic Church's social mission than the Republican platform's," he said. "So I think we should talk about things on which we do agree."

He urged finding ways for people who disagree on abortion to work together to reduce their number. Adoption, in particular, should be more widely encouraged, he said.

Clinton said as president he would nominate Supreme Court justices who agree with him that the constitutional right to privacy guarantees freedom to have abortions.

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"I wouldn't give them a laundry list of issues that they would have to agree with me on," Clinton said of judicial nominees. But "if I got a chance to make an appointment to the court, I'll appoint somebody who is pro-choice."

Clinton also disagrees with the Bush administration over priorities in education.

Although he attended a Catholic grade school for two years and thinks highly of Catholic schools, he believes the federal government should have no part in funding them, even under a voucher system that lets parents choose among private and public schools.

He supports Arkansas programs that allow state funds to be used for child care at church-run schools and at religious colleges and universities.

He said he found it rewarding to join in religious instruction as a second and third grader at St. John's Catholic School in Hot Springs, Ark.

"But, I think that part of the mission of the Catholic schools is to communicate the values of the Catholic Church to children and I don't think the Constitution of our country permits taxpayers to subsidize that," he said.

Children's interests also need to be better supervised by government entities that are charged with protecting them, Clinton said.

Aside from approving full funding for Head Start, a pre-school preparation program for poor children, Clinton said he wants to pay greater attention to the medical and foster care systems for children.

"The (foster care) systems are breaking down in most states in America as more and more kids grow up in difficult family circumstances and more and more families fall into poverty and tensions build up," he said.

Clinton also opposes Bush's policy to turn back Haitians fleeing their country before they reach the United States, vowing to change it if elected.

"I don't think we ought to be shipping those people back until we know we have done everything we can to restore democracy in Haiti, with (deposed President Father Jean-Bertrand) Aristide, or a coalition government or in some other fashion, a democratic government that observes human rights and freedoms," Clinton said. He agrees with the use of capital punishment, but said he doesn't think there's much to be gained by extending capital punishment to more federal crimes.

Clinton supported a crime bill that never made it out of Congress this session that included imposing the death penalty for several additional federal crimes. He said he thought those provisions were secondary.

"I supported it largely because it contained more funds to put police officers on the street and because it contained the Brady Bill, which would have a waiting period before people could buy

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Discussing his religious beliefs, Clinton said his years at Georgetown left their mark. Paired with his Southern Baptist beliefs, Clinton said, his years of studying under the Jesuits have shaped his sense of public duty.

While his religious heritage established his belief that the basis of religious freedom lies in church-state separation, Catholic influences have underscored his sense of obligation to others.

He's learned "we are morally obliged to try to live out our religious convictions in the world," he said. Baptists believe that salvation is a matter of the personal relationship between an individual and God, Clinton noted.

Jesuits also taught him "a real respect for the obligation to develop one's mind," Clinton said.

"Religious convictions involve more than emotions, there is an intellectual vigor. If you have a mind, you have an obligation to develop it to learn to think ... and then to act on those things more powerfully because you know more."

A favorite scriptural passage is Gal 6:9, he said. "Let us not grow weary while doing good, for in due season we shall reap, but do not lose heart."

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♦ ♦ ♦

TEXT CLINTON Oct. 26, 1992 (4,000 words).

FRIELAND, Mich. (CNS) Here is the transcript of a Catholic News Service interview with Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton. The interview was conducted by CNS federal reporter Patricia Zapor at the Tri-City Airport in Freeland Oct. 25 while Clinton was campaigning in the Saginaw area.

CNS: A little bit of old history, but it's still of interest to our readers, who are, the majority, Catholic newspapers in this country. Why wasn't Gov. Casey given a forum at the Democratic convention?

Clinton: Well, the people who were running the convention, and I must say this issue was not brought directly to me, if it had been I might've made a different decision. But I wanted -- Ray Pynn spoke, who is very strongly pro-life and made some pro-life statements. But he had endorsed our ticket. Jesse Jackson spoke from a different perspective, and you know we'd been sort of estranged, but he had endorsed our ticket.

At the time the convention occurred, Gov. Casey had not yet endorsed the ticket. So, the chairman of the party decided that he shouldn't make a position for him. It was very frustrating to me 'cause I like Bob Casey a lot. I mean, I've known him for years and worked with him. And I attempted

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to, you know, visit with him about it. And I personally had no problem with him talking. I want pro-life Democrats in our party and I think I've relied extremely heavily on Mayor Hynes in this campaign for all kinds of advice on a number of issues. And I've done my best to make that clear. I also in a related way was really moved by the article that Gov. Cuomo wrote in The New York Times not very long ago. I don't know if you saw it, basically arguing for a common effort by Americans who are pro-life and pro-choice to reduce the number of abortions in America.

So I regret what happened. I still, you know, in terms of Gov. Casey, 'cause I really like him and I'd like to have, you know.

CNS: Have you settled it between you? Have you spoken about it? Do you feel like you've come to an agreement of some sort with each other?

Clinton: Well, he said publicly, you know, he's going to support the ticket, but I think, you know, I don't know how he feels about the national party not offering him a forum. But I think, that's the policy that Ron Brown thought we ought to follow and in that case, no one really brought the issue to me. But I had supported the policy when it was developed.

But I really like Casey, and I respect his convictions and I hope we can find ways to work together.

CNS: Partly because of that incident and various other things, a couple people have said that it's getting real hard to cast a vote for a Democrat without also by implication casting a vote for pro-choice. Obviously from what you say you don't necessarily think that's the way the Democratic Party should be, it should not be quite so restrictive.

Clinton: I don't want to run anybody out of the party that agrees with us on more issues than they disagree with us on. And I think the -- as I said, Ray Hynes spoke and made a very impassioned pro-life comment, through his remarks. And I would -- I think the decision was solely based on whether we could break the precedent of letting someone speak at the convention who had not yet committed to support the ticket. And I hope it's all resolved.

CNS: What else would you do then to try to dissuade that notion that there isn't room in the Democratic Party for people who disagree about abortion?

Clinton: I think the best thing that we could do is -- I think there are only two responses, frankly. One is talk about all the issues on which we do agree. I mean, the Democratic Party's platforms and historic commitments are much more consistent with the Catholic Church's social mission than the Republican platform. And so I think we should talk about those things on which we do agree. And the second thing, I think that we should do what Mario Cuomo suggested and try to find ways that people who disagree over what the law should be on abortion can work together to reduce the number of abortions. You know, in most of the years that I have been governor, the number of abortions have gone down over the previous year. There was a chart just printed in the Arkansas Democrat, about, oh, I don't know, a couple months ago, which documented that I think there were only two of the last eight years that the number of abortions increased over the previous year. And I think that you do that by promoting adoption and doing what you can to reduce unwanted pregnancies. I think that we ought to have a concerted effort on that.

I remember, and this incident has been quoted elsewhere, but I want to repeat about it. I had an amazing encounter with a woman in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in front of Quaker Oats at this rally, and there were a lot of pro-life demonstrators at the back of the crowd and she was in front of the crowd and she had a pro-choice sticker on. But she was holding this baby of another race -- she was white and the kid was African-American, this little girl had AIDS and she had adopted this child out of another state. And she talked about her commitment to trying to get -- to adopt problem children because she had done this and that she wished she could be part of a common effort to try to promote the notion of adoption, to let people know that there were people like her who want to adopt these children and she thought that might reduce the number of abortions, which I thought was an interesting thing. She basically looked back longingly at the pro-life demonstrators all the way on the other side of the crowd and she said that's something I wish I was involved with them in doing. I really think that's what we ought to do. Those are the two things that I would say to pro-life Democrats about why they shouldn't necessarily leave the Democratic Party.

CNS: As governor, you supported a parental notification bill.

Clinton: I did support that.

CNS: But you also support the Freedom of Choice Act, which even the ACLU says would make it impossible to have such laws as parental notification.

Clinton: Well, what the final form of that act will be is not yet clear. I mean, before the people who supported it decided not to push it in

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this Congress, there were all kinds of negotiations about what the states should still be free to do, including that. I think states should absolutely have the freedom to have parental notice.

CNS: What about some other restrictions -- 24-hour waiting period, things like that.

Clinton: The thing that bothers me about the 24-hour waiting period is philosophically, it sounds like a totally reasonable thing. But as a practical matter, people don't, I don't think there are very many people who ever go through an abortion who haven't thought about it for 24 hours, No. 1. And No. 2, since only 17 percent of the country today, according to the Time or Newsweek study on abortion --

CNS: There aren't many clinics --

Clinton: Yeah, there aren't many clinics anymore doing it. For people who have limited means and who come in from a long way away, who by definition have been thinking about it however long it took them to get from where they live to where they go, it can impose a significant burden on their ability to have access to what other people could, maybe just because they live down the street from a clinic. So that's my only problem with that. I don't know that federal law needs to regulate it away, but I just think that as a practical matter, in the real world it is a significant burden. In the real world there are very few people who do that who haven't thought about it for 24 hours.

I do think that we should do more to promote adoption services as an alternative. I think people need to know in this country that there are caring, loving people out there who don't have children who would love to have children, who will adopt children. I don't know that any place has done as good a job with that as they should. But I think that is a more constructive thing to do than to focus on the waiting period, given the practical circumstances of most people's conditions in America.

CNS: Would your nominations to federal courts or the Supreme Court -- would you require that the nominees agree with you on political issues like abortion?

Clinton: I wouldn't give them a laundry list of procedures that they would agree with me on. But I have said that I think that given the fact that there are four justices on the court who have ridiculed the ruling in *Roe vs. Wade*, and that we now have a Republican platform which calls for an outright ban on all abortions, and they've run on four different platforms now committing them to appoint only judges to all benches who are committed to repeal *Roe vs. Wade*, then I thought if I got a chance to make an appointment to the court I ought to appoint somebody who was pro-choice. Not someone I gave 10 questions to answer about "How do you feel about every last issue," but at least someone who believed that there was a constitutional right to privacy -- which a lot of people don't believe that there is one, that encompasses a right to choose -- and I do. So I would do my best without giving somebody a 20-question interview to appoint someone who had expressed the belief that the right to privacy is in the Constitution.

CNS: But if a nominee disagreed with you on that area and you were basically in line on others, that wouldn't necessarily be a requirement that would keep somebody on or off the court?

Clinton: Well, I would have a difficult time appointing someone to the Supreme Court that didn't believe in the constitutional right to privacy. Because I believe in that. I think every president throughout history without exception has had some so-called litmus test, even though I don't think it's ever a good idea for a president to sit down and interview a prospective judge and ask them, "Well, what would you do in this case, that case and the other thing?" I would never do that.

But, I mean, for example, I can't imagine a president after 1960, for example, appointing a justice to the Supreme Court who didn't believe in the 14th Amendment, that is, requiring the integration of public schools. Just for an example. So, that's an important thing to me. But I'm not going to sit around and give anybody a test on the Pennsylvania law, for example, on how they feel about this restriction or that one. I wouldn't do that.

CNS: A quick change of subject. There are a couple things we can breeze through quickly. You support capital punishment, yet you're certainly aware that it's inequitably imposed on poor non-whites much more than for any other racial or income groups. What would you do to change how capital punishment is applied in the U.S.?

Clinton: I think that we ought to make sure that people who are charged with crimes for which they can be executed have better lawyers at the trial level and at the appeals level. You know, retired Justice Powell headed a commission to look at the appellate process in criminal capital cases, because the average capital punishment case takes almost eight years to work its way through the courts. And Powell argued that that was too long, but

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that part of the reason that it took so long and that we had so many appeals was the uneasy feeling that the judicial system has that so many people who get sentenced to death don't have the same shot at the courts as those who beat the death penalty because their upbringing (unintelligible) better lawyers. So his argument was that we should accelerate somewhat the criminal appeals process, but in return for that every state would have to demonstrate that it had imposed a higher standard for what kind of legal assistance someone who could be executed got.

CNS: Would your policies encourage more widespread application of the death penalty for federal crimes?

Clinton: Oh, I'm not all hung up on that. I supported this federal crime bill that was introduced to death. But I supported it largely because it contained more funds to put police officers on the street and because it contained the Brady Bill, which would have a waiting period before people could buy handguns so we could check their criminal and mental health history and age. But I think capital punishment decisions by and large should be left to the states and that the capital punishment provisions in the federal crime bill will have a marginal effect, at most, on the crime problem in the United States. I don't think that's one of the most important parts of that bill. And I'm not hung up on that. I do think the money that was in that bill for local police officers and the Brady Bill and the provisions for speeding up the criminal's appeals process in a fair way were good ones. I'd like to see that stuff enacted. I don't have any particular problem with the capital punishment provisions of that bill, but if you read them, while there are a whole bunch of them, they would have very limited application to the problems that most Americans face in terms of their safety and security. So I think that frankly that has been way overemphasized at the federal level. By and large, the capital punishment issue as it affects most people in their lives is one that's going to be resolved at the state level.

CNS: There's been a lot of talk in your campaign about improving children's lives. What's the flip side of your hit single, "full funding for Head Start"?

Clinton: You mean, what else would we do?

CNS: Right.

Clinton: Let's talk about two or three other things. I think that as we move toward a universal health care system -- that is, one in which everybody gets some coverage -- I think we need to focus on young mothers and their children first. I think that if we can improve the primary and preventive health care system in this country, we can lower infant mortality, lower the low birth weight rate, which is quite high in this country and improve the mental and physical development of children as they start school. I think that is very, very important.

The other thing I think we need to do is to take a hard look nationally at something that I've grappled with in my state, with mixed results, and that is the whole system we have for dealing with abused and neglected children, you know, the foster care system, working with kids when they stay in the homes. The systems are breaking down in most states in America as more and more kids grow up in difficult family circumstances and more and more families fall into poverty and tensions build up. And the way that the federal government works now with regard to that aspect of children's needs is that essentially the federal contribution to programs that deal with abused and neglected children is more limited than the federal contribution to deal with children's health needs through Medicaid, for example, or they're more limited than federal contributions to the Head Start program. So that there is this real uneven pattern which has gotten aggravated by the state budgetary problems in most states because most states have had to take more and more money away from preschool education and more and more away from those things that deal with the Medicaid problems, 'cause of the explosion in the health care rolls in America for poor people.

Another thing I'd really like to look at is to see what we can do to strengthen the foster care systems in America, strengthen the adoption systems and to help the states get in a position where they're making better judgments about when they keep children in families and when they should be removed from families. Those are the toughest calls you have to make.

If you interview most children, most children would rather stay with their family even in an abusive situation than be extracted. This young child that filed a lawsuit to stay with his adopted family, that's basically the exception rather than the rule and that kid had been jacked around something terrible in his life. I was very sympathetic with him, but in our experience that's the exception not the rule. And I must tell you, I think that of all the decisions made by governments in this country that those are the toughest calls. I mean, when you see these kids, you see parents that are in trouble, should they be left in the home? Should they be taken out of the home? If they're left in the home, what kind of support can you give the home to make sure the kids are not abused and neglected? Those are the tough things I'd really like to see us make some progress on as a country.

CNS: Along the lines of children and education, you oppose President Bush's education voucher plan, where it includes the non-public schools. How do you feel about tax credits for parents with children in non-public schools?

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Clinton: I think it's about the same thing. The tax credits are about the same as his idea of giving everybody a certain amount of money and letting them take it to --

Let me explain where I'm coming from on this. I'd like to talk about this a little bit, especially to your readers.

I believe in Catholic education. I went to a Catholic school. I was at Springfield, Mo., the other night at my rally. They had a terrific rally in Springfield. And the nun who taught me in the second and third grade came up to me at the rally. I had not seen her since, in 38 years.

Her name is Sister Mary Amata and she lives with an order in Springfield, Mo. And it was wonderful. She had sent me a letter when I got nominated with a picture of her when she was teaching me and a picture of her today. So I got to sort of see her and in my mind I got ready to see her. She was a terrific teacher. I loved her. Of course I went to Georgetown, as you know. But I went to a Catholic grade school for two years and it was one of the most rewarding experiences of my life.

I have the following concerns about the tuition tax credits or the Bush proposal, which is different, by the way, from what happened in Milwaukee. In Milwaukee, the state made a judgment about a particular school system, the Milwaukee school system, that it was seriously deficient. And the Catholic schools in Milwaukee had vacated all these buildings and moved out to the suburbs, basically. And there were private but non-sectarian schools in Milwaukee where a limited number of poor kids were able to go rather than the public schools. But the Milwaukee thing is not what Bush is proposing.

The two problems I have with it are these: No. 1, as opposed to the voucher system for child care, which, in Arkansas, I have a voucher system at home that I put in. We were the first state in the country, I think, to put one in for child care. We let working people take their vouchers and take their kids to church child care centers. Our state program in Arkansas, which I strongly supported, gives out state scholarships for people to go to college to private or public schools, including church-related universities.

CNS: So what's so different about elementary schools?

Clinton: There are two things different about elementary and secondary schools, particularly elementary schools. One is, I went to a Catholic school and I know this -- I liked it and I participated willingly in the religious instruction and I was very much rewarded for it even though I wasn't a Catholic. But I think that a part of the mission of the Catholic schools is to communicate the values of the church to the children and I don't think the Constitution of our country permits taxpayers to subsidize that. I think there is a real difference between little children going to a child care center where they're too young to get religious instruction, or kids going to a Catholic university. For example, when I went to Georgetown, there were alternatives to the theology requirement for non-Catholic students. There's a difference in that, in people going to public schools where they as a part of their instruction get religious instruction.

The second issue is a practical problem for me, purely practical. The United States is spending, contrary to myth, less of its income on public education, that is on K through 12 education, than nine other countries already. Unlike those nine countries that are spending a higher percentage of their income, we have more poor kids and greater diversity and more difficulties. I simply don't think we have the money. And we also have drastic inequalities, you know, in funding of public education. I simply don't think we have the money to divert many resources away from our obligation to improve the public education system. And I believe with public school choice, with dramatic restructuring of the schools --

By the way, I think we have a lot to learn from the Catholic school systems. You look at the Catholic school system in Chicago, for example, which is the biggest one in the country, I think. The administrative costs of operating that school system are roughly 5 percent of the cost of administering the public schools. Part of that is the public schools have to deal with the federal grants and deal with the -- but basically that shows you what we could do. We have a lot to learn from the private school systems and from the Catholic school systems. But I don't think that we can as a practical matter -- given the fact that we know we could fix the public schools with certain reform strategies that are proven -- I don't think we can afford to be diverting public funds to private purposes. For those two reasons, I oppose the Bush plan and the tax credits.

CNS: You're a Southern Baptist who was educated by Jesuits at Georgetown. How do those two influences affect your outlook on life and your administration? Will these come into play in your day-to-day administration?

Clinton: Yes. You know, when I showed up at Georgetown, they thought I had a screw loose. They said, here you are, you've never had a foreign language, you're at the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, you're a Southern Baptist who's hardly been out of Arkansas. I told them, I said -- But I had those four years of Latin which qualified me to go to a Catholic university.

From my Southern Baptist heritage, I have a deep belief that the First Amendment separation between church and state is what guarantees the religious freedom of all people. That's something that's really deeply ingrained in the history of the Baptist Church in America, going back to its founding.

But the Catholic influence on me, frankly, I think, is manifested in two ways. First of all, a real sense that we are morally obliged to try to live out our religious convictions in the world, that our obligation to social mission is connected to religious life. And I believe that. That I got out of

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my Catholic training more than from the Baptist Church, which is much more rooted in the notion that salvation is a matter of personal relationship between an individual and God and carries with it no necessary burden to go out into the world and do things.

And the other thing I got out of my Catholic tradition is real respect for the obligation to develop one's mind, that religious convictions involve more than emotions, that there is an intellectual rigor, that if you have a mind you have an obligation to develop it, to learn to think and to know things and then to act on those things more powerfully because you know more and because you can think better. That's something the Jesuits did for me as much as anything else.

I loved Georgetown. I love the Jesuits. You know one of my good friends to this day is a Jesuit priest who I went to Boy's Nation with in 1963, he didn't go to Georgetown, but we went to Yale Law School with me.

CNS: Fred Kammer?

Clinton: Uh huh. You know him?

CNS: I've spoken with him on the phone.

Clinton: He's a wonderful man. One of the best letters I ever got in my life was a letter Fred Kammer wrote to his friends when he was 40 years old, on his 40th birthday, explaining how proud he was that he had kept all of his vows as a priest and what each of them had meant to him over the course of his life. It was the most overwhelming letter. Hillary and I read it and just wept.

CNS: Do you have a favorite Scriptural passage? Something that means a lot to you?

Clinton: A lot of them. Galatians 6:9. "Let us not grow weary while doing good for in due season we shall reap, but do not lose heart." It's a wonderful Scripture.

CNS: Thank you very much, Gov. Clinton

Clinton: I must say that one of the things I've really appreciated as I've dealt with different groups of pro-life people around the country, is that of all the people that I've dealt with, the Catholics and the Pentecostals have been the most consistent, from my point of view, in dealing with the position of their cause. And really, anytime I have pro-life demonstrators in my crowds, I always try to treat them with great respect because I have so much respect for their position. But the Catholics and the Pentecostals have been the most consistent because they have put themselves on the line for adoption. So that it's much more than politics with the Catholic Church but it also is with the Pentecostals. That's really impressed me. And I think that's important.

CNS: One question I didn't get to is about Haitian refugee policy.

Clinton: I want to answer that. I am opposed to the Bush administration policy and I don't think we ought to be shipping those people back until we know we have done everything we can to restore democracy in Haiti, either with Aristide and the coalition government or in some other fashion, a democratic government that observes human rights and freedoms. I have opposed it from day one and I strongly oppose it and if I'm elected on Nov. 3 I'm going to change it.

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Letter from Washington
By Sidney Blumenthal

Every side of the Richmond Coliseum--east and west, north and south--is plastered with signs reading "North." Fifteen thousand delegates to the Virginia Republican Party convention, the largest deliberative body in American politics, from the floor to the rafters, are coiled in anticipation. Suddenly, the eager humming of the crowd is stilled as the thunderous chords of "Eye of the Tiger," the theme song from "Rocky II," crashes through the loudspeakers. The hall is thrown into darkness. On a thirty foot tall television screen, just behind the platform and flanked by trumpeting elephants, appears a huge black-and-white picture of Jane Fonda. BOOO! The fight song rumbles on, louder and louder. Jesse Jackson's face appears. BOOO! Then, racheting up the decibel level and the scale of demonology, comes Dan Rather. BOOO! Even more terrifying: Sam Donaldson. BOOO! Finally, Mephisto himself: Bill Clinton. Block letters fill the screen: WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU ON?

Just as abruptly as the hatred of enemies has escalated, the love of the hero is solicited. In tender tones, his friends and comrades, his wife and mother, testify to his bravery, resolve and fidelity. The hero himself, a modern Cincinnatus in jeans, with his farm as a backdrop, strides toward the camera to explain that "family values" has become his "battlecry." He must give up the plow for the sword. The music pumps way up. Spotlights sweep the arena. Having seen the leader on film, the crowd cries for him in the flesh. His name is chanted over and over again. The spinning spotlights converge in a pinpoint. As though he were a wish come true, Oliver North, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, materializes on stage. OLLIE! OLLIE!

Even many longtime Republicans observing the hero and the adoring crowd thought this ecstatic scene was an apparition that would dissolve when they left the arena to rub their eyes in the glaring daylight. One of the scribes on the Wall Street Journal's editorial page, the Pravda of the right, confidently assured those around him that North's opponent, the soothing conservative Jim

Miller, whom the Journal endorsed, almost had the nomination within his grasp: In short, the spectacle before us was not really happening. Other observers reflected aptly on the strange circumstances within the Democratic Party that had made North's candidacy seem viable: the vulnerability of Senator Charles Robb, Lyndon Johnson's son-in-law and former governor, brought on by his sexual peccadilloes and his embittered personal conflict with former Governor Douglas Wilder, the first black governor since Reconstruction, whose volunteers sat outside the Coliseum collecting signatures from the Republican delegates to put him on the ballot as an independent candidate. Indeed, North's rise from the shame of the Iran-contra scandal to the respectability of the podium in Richmond may appear as a hallucinogenic turn in a bizarre Virginia reel. But his nomination is neither a flashback, nor a provincial sideshow.

The transformation of Ollie North the witness facing a phalanx of senators into Ollie North the candidate for Senate has required a profound political transformation, not so much in him as in the Republican Party. The former Ollie was a National Security Council staffer acting out what he claimed was a "fall guy" scenario for President Reagan in the arms-for-hostages fiasco: the patriot as designated victim. That Ollie was the homunculus for the latest incarnation, who not only heads the ticket of the GOP in the Old Dominion, but has emerged as the most renowned figure of the most vital and aggressive movement within the national party: the nominee as Christian soldier.

The Virginia Republican convention is the most clarifying political event since the 1992 presidential election. By itself it may have seemed a sensational singularity. But it was not a weird hologram that spun in midair only to vanish an instant later. Virginia was followed a week later by Texas and, a week after that, by Minnesota. In Texas, the minions of the religious right took control of the state party, enthusiastically electing one of their own as chairman and voting down a resolution proposed by a benighted moderate reading: "The Republican Party is not a church...A Republican should never be put in the position of having to defend or explain his faith in order to participate in the party process." In

Minnesota, the religious right overwhelmingly dominated the state convention, pledging its support for governor to antiabortion and creationist activist Allen Quist (who, when his six-months pregnant first wife was killed in a car accident, had the fetus displayed in an open coffin, and made a one-man raid on a gay book store) against incumbent Republican Governor Arne Carlson, an infidel moderate. (The Minnesotan rightists call themselves "Quistians.") These conventions themselves are hardly freakish incidents. From South Carolina to Oregon, the state parties are falling under the sway of the religious right: the flag and cross are one.

Virginia and Texas and Minnesota are no more aberrations than was the seemingly startling upsurge of the religious right at the National Republican Party Convention of 1992 at Houston. Nineteen ninety-two was an internally realigning year for the GOP, whose shifts are beginning to be more fully revealed. In the last presidential election, evangelical Protestants became the single largest constituency within the Republican Party, without which it would not have a minimally credible base within the Electoral College. Consequently, within the party, a cultural and religious war is being waged--finally flaring into open combat--between the declining mainline Protestants, who used to define Republicanism, and the ascendant evangelicals, whose claim on party structures is depicted as takeovers. Since 1992, the conservative movement has steadily folded itself into its one concentrated point of energy--the religious right. There may be another Republican Party, but it exists only in the irretrievable past. For now, the GOP is gathering in a permanent Houston convention.

"They're culturally stunned by what they see," Ralph Reed, the executive director of the Christian Coalition, the most influential group on the religious right, remarked to me about the outside observers at the Virginia convention, to which he was a delegate. "I think the party they think exists today is the party of the Reagan landslide of 1980. But the collection of organizations that came together in the Reagan triumph in '80 are no longer the potent force they once were. This is not the party of the Reagan era. This is a party of the post-Reagan era. Every new political era has institutions

that reflect a different activism and style. Today there's been a shift in the activist and voter base away from the Goldwater and Reagan activist to a new breed, who tend to be emerging out of the religious community. This is the base of the party."

The Richmond convention was a far less diluted and mediated event than the one in Houston. Republican politics nationally and particularly in Virginia have advanced so swiftly toward the right in two years that North's nomination was almost inevitable. His victory is a direct rebuke to virtually the entire Republican establishment of the Reagan era, including Ronald Reagan, who excoriated North. ("I am getting pretty steamed about the statements coming from Oliver North," Reagan wrote in a letter released during the primary campaign.) North's detractors were not the predictable moderates, but the order of battle of Reagan's conservatives: Meese and Weinberger and Laxalt and Bork. Even Reader's Digest, a reliably Republican-oriented publication, weighed in with a story cataloging North's falsehoods. Senator John Warner of Virginia, the foremost Republican in the state, announced that he would never endorse a man who had lied to the Senate and that, furthermore, he would do all in his powers to defeat him. "Warner and Miller: The conspiracy to defeat Oliver North...The people who have attacked Ollie read like a 'Who's Who' of Washington Insiders," said a flyer handed out by the North campaign at the convention. The outsiders of 1980 are now flayed as impotent party hacks.

The hope of stopping North's drive rested on James Miller III, a libertarian economist who served as one of the most obscure but enduring figures of the Reagan era. During Reagan's first term he was chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, where he sought to relieve business of the burden of regulation. In the second term, he was the budget director, urging a constitutional balanced budget amendment, while presiding over inflating deficits he naturally deplored. His senatorial campaign consisted largely of gestures demonstrating that he was not Ollie North but acceptable to the right. Miller employed two strategems. The first was to prove his bonafides as an authentic conservative. Thus he assembled testimonials from

conservative leaders of the 1980s. At the same time, the group he headed, Citizens for a Sound Economy, forged an alliance with the Christian Coalition to oppose President Clinton's health care plan. Miller's literature took a militant tone. A leaflet his campaign handed out at the convention began: "Liberal Chuck Robb has become a rubber stamp for the anti-family, left-wing agenda of Hillary and Bill Clinton." His slogan: "Elect A Conservative Who Can Win." If Miller were not running against North, he would have been rightfully considered a right-wing champion.

His overreaching came in his attempt to paint North as a lunatic. More than his politics, Miller implied, were over the edge. In fact, North once ran naked down the street brandishing a gun and spent several weeks in a mental hospital. Miller, clearly, did not want to be indelicately direct. So, flourishing his own medical records, he demanded that North release his. Unfortunately, upon reporters' prodding, he divulged that he had consulted a psychiatrist for depression, which, he revealed, runs in his family, and abruptly ended the press conference. With that, craziness, at least as an issue, was removed from the campaign. North was nearly home free.

On Friday, June 3rd, I ran into Miller on the floor of the Coliseum as he was buttonholing delegates. He is bald, tall and slightly stocky, with the genial, concerned manner of a sitcom father from the early 1960s, talking earnestly about "reason and emotion." He ticked off numbers to demonstrate that he will be nominated; after all, he was the budget director. "It's a little bit fluid. We're about three percent ahead in delegates," he assured me. "I've had North people say, 'I really like Ollie but I'm beginning to have doubts he can win.' Ollie, bless his heart, is polarizing in a way no other candidate today is. In Virginia, there are two people who dislike him for every one who likes him."

Patrick McSweeney, the state party chairman, relaxing near the foot of the podium before the main event, reflected on the drift of Republican politics. "A lot of people in politics don't like to confront," he remarked casually. "Every time we've returned to a conservative position we've won. Ford muddled it, Bush did too. Reagan returned to it. You have to have a principled opposition to the Democrats or

you're not going to win. What's going on in this state is the states' rights argument without the racial tinge." Virginia, of course, had been the leader of "massive resistance" in the South against integration. Now, suggested McSweeney, its conservatism is all-American neo-Confederate.

Wherever Oliver North marched in Richmond, he was greeted with waves and cheers. He was constantly grinning his gap-toothed grin, his face filled with wide-eyed pleasure. He wore a red, white and blue tie and a red, white and blue handkerchief in his breast pocket. His followers handed out flyers: "Tune into Radio 1540 AM. Radio Free Ollie. All Ollie...all the Time...This time the liberals don't control the media--Ollie North does!"

The corridors of the Coliseum and the Richmond Centre across the street were ringed with vendors' booth, a bazaar of ideological aids intended to help the delegates more fully express themselves. There were numerous venues promoting North, each with its own particular selling point. One sold North's books: *Under Fire: An American Story* and *One More Mission: Ollie North Returns to Vietnam*. Another was manned by the Law Enforcement Coalition for Ollie North. "We expect 80,000 members," James Jones, its director, told me. "I've never seen a person be so endorsed by a group. We even got people from the CIA and the Capitol Hill police...No doubt in my mind what happened in Iran-contra. The man put himself out as a sacrificial lamb." Still another booth sought recruits to the Ollie North "prayer network," a group that prays daily for him and "includes everyone from nuns in Texas to Ollie himself." According to the instruction sheet handed out to any potential "Prayer Warrior" "prayer and submission to the Father's will and His guidance are the key to victory for Ollie." The "program" involves reading from Psalm 84:

*O God, behold our shield,
and look upon the face of your anointed.*

Conservative groups hawked their wares at every turn. Citizens United, specializing in Whitewater conspiracy stories, sold tapes of Gennifer Flowers and Paula Corbin Jones. The headline on its newsletter blared: "Homosexuals Pressure Clinton." A gigantic

photograph of the founder of Citizens United, Floyd Brown, graced the display, along with a quote from George Stephanopoulos: "Floyd Brown is a slimy thing."

Accuracy In Media, a media watchdog, sold t-shirts featuring a movie still of Ronald Reagan from an old western with a rope around his neck: "Stop the liberal/media lynch mob--tell the truth about the Reagan legacy."

The Christian Coalition, from its stand, handed out free copies of its newspaper, The Christian American, and recruited for its activist training school. "Think Like Jesus. Lead Like Moses. Fight Like David. Run Like Lincoln," read the cover of the brochure. Inside, it begged the question: "Can You Spare 12 Hours To Save Christians From Destruction?" "You have no right to complain," it admonished readers. "About homoerotic 'art' bankrolled by your taxes. About TV depicting you as a mindless dupe and your clergyman as a con artist. About pro-abortion candidates surging into office on the shoulders of Hollywood starlets and comedians." The seminar promises to teach "How to elect candidates with Christians values....Believe it or not, the Lord may even want you to run for office. Your availability is more critical than your lack of political ability." Those who sign up will receive a manual, a subscription to The Christian American, and lectures on audio cassettes, and "a best-selling book by Pat Robertson."

Most booths did a brisk business in buttons, which expressed just a few simple themes. Some buttons enabled the wearer to exhibit disbelief that a Republican is not president:

The Joke's Over--Bring Back Reagan

Remember When America Had a Real President?

Other buttons assailed liberals as the source of all that is wrong:

There are Americans...And there are liberals

AIDS Abortion Euthanasia--Don't Liberals Just Kill Ya

Even more buttons ridiculed gays or identified them as the downfall of civilization:

God Created Adam and Eve--Not Adam and Steve

Sodom and Gommorah Had Gays in the Military

Another Male Lesbian for Rush '96

But by far the majority of buttons were about the Clintons. Of all the issues that incites the right, none is more incendiary than the occupants of the White House themselves. The most common feeling emblazoned on the buttons was sheer hatred:

Clinton Doesn't Inhale--He Sucks

Impeach Slick Willie. Now! Now!

Toilet paper with Clinton's picture on it was sold. But there were only a few scatological items. Almost all the myriad of buttons about Bill and Hillary Clinton were about their sexual images. They are deeply confusing figures, both seductive and threatening. How can they be the highest authorities when they flout authority? Their illegitimacy as President and First Lady is linked to their refusal to fit traditional gender roles:

Real Men are not called Hillary

If the Clintons Divorce, who gets the House?

Can't Blame Bill, I'd Cheat On Hillary Too

Now Showing...Fornigate Part II Starring "Slick Willie" & "Al Gore" Directed by Hillary Rodham Foster Warning!!! Rated XXX Not Suitable for Families!

President Clinton: "You Can Play With the Dog, But Leave My Pussy Alone!"

And then there were buttons that wished the president castrated or dead:

Clinton Needs Lorena Bobbitt for Surgeon General

Dr. Jack Kevorkian for White House Physician

Where is Lee Harvey Oswald When America Really Needs Him?

A t-shirt reading *Justice For Clinton* featured a picture of an aborted fetus.

That evening more than one thousand delegates attended a fundraising dinner in the Richmond Centre addressed by William Bennett. Under Reagan, Bennett was the director of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Secretary of Education. To gain his first position, his neoconservative allies waged a fierce factional campaign against a rival for the post who belonged to the

old right. Now Bennett's neoconservative position--his identity as a liberal Democrat turned Reaganite--has lost its context and cachet. He has transformed himself in the post-Bush period into a regular on the Republican circuit, in particular the toastmaster of the religious right. He is the GOP'S favorite preacher on morals, an eastern intellectual urging alignment with the Christian Coalition. His claim as an authority on values comes recently from his editorship of a volume of uplifting stories and poems, *The Book of Virtues*, that is a best-seller and his compilation of a slender pamphlet, *The Index of Leading Cultural Indicators*, showing with numbers the fall of virtue.

Bennett explained to his audience that he had once headed "the National Endowment for the Humanities, not the Arts." His appeal to anti-intellectualism by means of condescension was met with warm applause. He established comfort quickly. "They're the ones with the pictures," he went on. "The Humanities is the one with the books. Sometimes what's in the books is as offensive. But you have to be a professor to understand it." The crowd laughed at his ingratiating efforts. His big theme was the undermining of traditional values by liberalism. He spoke of giving a speech at Stanford University "to defend Western civilization. There was no one on the faculty who would do it." Social rot, he warned, is spreading. "Welfare is bad for people, whether they're poor, middle class or wealthy," he said. Moral fiber is weakening. He gave many illustrations of antisocial behavior caused by liberalism. The last best hope, he concluded, is "the party of Lincoln." After his speech, he was escorted by Ralph Reed to the Christian Coalition's reception at the Marriott. When he entered, there were excited cries: "Bennett in '96! Bennett in '96!"

The next day was the balloting for the nomination. Like a series of warm-up acts, Republican challengers for the House of Representatives mounted the platform to speak for a couple of minutes apiece. "Mr. Clinton, don't take our guns from us!" said the first. "Bill Clinton has declared war on you!" said the next. "He will send your son or daughter in the armed forces to places where there is no national interest. Clinton has declared war on us. Isn't it time we fought back?" Another: "Congress is the bad guys." Yet another:

"I'm going to tell you what Bill Clinton told Paula Jones: I won't keep you very long." Finally: "Republicans understand the value of families. Democrats don't." "Weren't those great candidates?" asked chairman McSweeney.

Then Mike Farris stepped up to speak. It was his second speech to the convention. His prominence came from his martyrdom. Last year, when the entire Republican ticket was elected to statewide offices in a sweep, only Farris, the candidate for lieutenant governor, was defeated. (He carried forty-five percent of the vote.) Not only was he the sole loser, but a number of Republican leaders refused to support him, though he was backed by Christian Coalition activists. His backers believed that his loss was attributable to betrayal.

Farris has drifted across the country and through a host of organizations of the religious right to wind up as one of its tribunes in Virginia. In the early 1980s, he was the founder and executive director of the Moral Majority chapter in Washington State. Then he became the counsel of Concerned Women for America, a group whose founders are dedicated to a crusade against "secular humanism." In the mid-1980s, Farris litigated for the CWA a suit of fundamentalist parents in Tennessee against the use of certain books and ideas in school, claiming religious liberty was thereby violated. The case became notorious as the "Scopes II" trial. His clients objected to The Wizard of Oz because it depicted a "good witch"; The Diary of Anne Frank because it suggested "the Buddhist philosophy that there are many roads to God"; stories that mentioned Catholicism without explaining it as a false faith; Renaissance art because "it is an elevation of man"; evolution; and stories by Hans Christian Andersen because they include magic. After he lost his case, Farris became the treasurer for the Committee to Draft Pat Robertson for President. He went on to found the Home School Legal Defense Association. He argues that public schools are "unconstitutional," objects to the separation of church and state, favors discrimination against gays, and has urged prayer to enjoin women not to work outside the home. "We will not be bribed by Bill and Hillary Clinton and all their efforts," he said defiantly. With that, he introduced to the convention the distinguished keynoter.

Richard Cheney, who has been Bush's Secretary of Defense, the House Minority Whip and Ford's White House chief of staff, is an unannounced candidate for president. His self-designated task here was to act as a great unifier, in effect consolidating support for North. By the way, he was scoring points for his own future candidacy. "I know there are great things in Mike's future," said Cheney. He used the failure of some Republicans to support Farris' candidacy as an object lesson in what must be avoided. "I want to make certain that what happened last year won't be repeated this year. Whoever wins," Cheney declared, "will have my wholehearted, enthusiastic support."

North's name was now placed in nomination by Donald Hoffman, the former state party chairman. "The political establishment was trying to bring down the Reagan presidency as they did the Nixon presidency," he said. But, in his account, Reagan was saved from disgrace by Ollie North. "The Democrats didn't reckon on the iron will of this young marine...They fear him because he stands for the end of the rule of liberalism in America." Steve Martin, a state senator, seconded the nomination: "Let's send a senator to Washington who wages war!"

When the tumult died down, North, in the spotlight, spoke. His eyes glistened, his voice had a tremulous catch in it. North summoned the Republicans to a new battlefield. "Fifty years ago at this very minute, 3500 Virginians--the "Stonewall Brigade"--of the 29th Infantry Division were preparing to spearhead one of the most audacious operations in history. Their mission: to lead the way across Omaha Beach at dawn, on D-Day...Now, in this last decade of the 20th century, Virginians are again being called upon to lead in another great test of resolve. This time the beachhead we need to seize is not on some distant shore. It is across the Potomac--in Washington."

War, for North, is an all-consuming metaphor. When he testified at the Iran-contra hearings in July 1987, he propounded a stab-in-the-back theory about Vietnam to justify his actions: "We won all the battles and then lost the war. We didn't lose the war in Vietnam. We lost the war right here in this city." North is the avenging angel of the Vietnam War. He is also a true Prayer Warrior,

a charismatic evangelical, who has diligently made the rounds of all the religious right groups, from the Christian Coalition to Concerned Women for America. At a meeting in 1991 he explained:

"Government has replaced God as a place we turn. Government couldn't help me. It wasn't even able to pay me my retirement. I had to turn to God." Now, for him, all politics is war. In his blood-and-iron speech to the convention, a ring of death is pressing in on us:

"Children are killing children. Predators roam our streets, threatening our families, our homes, our very survival." We have been betrayed by an enemy within: "The sons and daughters of Virginia shed blood to protect liberties that are now being stripped from us by our own government." North is one man against the storm: "I've never been afraid to fight despots or dictators anywhere on this globe...To those who look to their hearts in this battle...I...am...your...man!"

Perhaps the most telling sign of his self-image lies in the backdrop of the video portion of his performance. There one sees his farm, which he has given the arcane name of Narnia. Some politicians keep Robert's Rules of Order by their bedstand. Others favor Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Many look to biographies of great leaders for guidance. Ollie North apparently turns to a children's book, part christology, part Celtic myth, written by an Oxford don. In *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, by C.S. Lewis, three English children enter the kingdom of Narnia through the rear of a wardrobe. They discover a land where it is always winter but never Christmas, in the grip of the White Witch, an ice queen. One of the children is bewitched by her. Out of nowhere comes a lion named Aslan possessed with mysterious powers. He offers himself as a sacrifice in place of the child and is killed, but is resurrected by the good emperor from beyond. In the final battle, Aslan triumphs over the White Witch. Is Aslan North's secret identity? Is he the lionhearted Christ figure who is crucified willingly on behalf of others (the "fall guy"), yet lives again to redeem the kingdom in a holy war?

When the delegates' vote were tallied, North easily bested Miller. As the theme from *Rocky* blasted, the nominee strode to the platform to issue a declaration of war: "This is our government. They stole it. And we're coming to take it back!"

Senator Minority Leader Robert Dole, taking a cue from his colleague, Senator Warner, North's antagonist, instantly distanced himself from the Virginia candidate. His nomination, said Dole, "makes it very difficult for some in the party." North might have the nomination of his state party, but he would not get the endorsement of the leading figure of the national party. Then Dole dithered. After three days, he announced that he was not only endorsing North, with whom he met for an hour, but was sending him \$5000. Dole's attachments to the institutional sanctity of the Senate, Warner's stand for integrity and a certain conception of the Republican Party were disposed. North was welcome to the party, after all. Undoubtedly, Dole's presidential ambitions helped propel him into his pirouette. He is running for president until he is definitively not doing so. In supporting North he is bowing to the political reality buoying North's candidacy.

After the conviction of Jim Bakker, the sobbing confession of Jimmy Swaggart and the electoral rebuke of Pat Robertson in the late 1980s, it was generally assumed that the conservative evangelicals had retreated into privatism, just as they did after the humiliating Scopes trial in 1925. In 1992, however, as the water level precipitously dropped around Republicanism across the country, its irreducible base was exposed. George Bush, whose every inflection reeked of an upbringing in Greenwich, held onto only two voting blocs: those making more than \$100,000 a year and white born-again. Sixty-one percent of them voted for Bush: indeed, twenty-nine percent of all Bush voters were evangelicals. There was no other group that matched their size in the Republican column. They are more consistently Republican and conservative than any other group of voters, more self-motivated, their support for Bush growing through 1992 while others deserted. Running against an unprecedented Democratic ticket of two Southern Baptists, Bush nonetheless received a greater percentage of the evangelical vote than he did running against Michael Dukakis in 1988. No matter who he or his opponents happened to be, his base was immovable. According to the Christian Coalition, forty-two percent of the

delegates at the Republican convention were evangelicals. In the two largest states that went Republican--Florida and Texas--sixty and seventy-two percent respectively of Bush voters were evangelicals. Bush's only states without them were the most sparsely populated western ones.

The transformation of the Republicans is a process of displacement. In 1960, sixty-nine percent of mainline Protestants, comprising about two-fifths of the total population, voted Republican. In all ways, whether Wall Street or Main Street, they *were* the Republican Party. In 1992, only thirty-nine percent of mainline Protestants, who had declined to about one-fifth of the population, voted Republican. For the first time in the history of the GOP, they were no longer the largest plurality in the party. The so-called "takeovers" of the state apparatus by the religious right merely reflect the trend. This is the start of a shock to the system.

Inside the Richmond Coliseum, savoring North's win, were two political operatives who encapsulate much of the recent history of the religious right: Morton Blackwell and Ralph Reed.

"There's more than ten years of work here," Blackwell, North's convention floor manager, told me. In the post-civil rights era, the enlistment of religion in the cause of politics began with efforts to split off Southern Baptists from their allegiance to the Democratic Party on the basis of social issues. The intent was to gain a marginal vote. Religion was not part of the equation, except in a residual anti-Catholicism. A number of the Southern ministers who attacked John F. Kennedy's candidacy in 1960 because of his Catholicism later emerged as grey eminences in the religious right. The roots of the religious right are quite long, stretching back at least to the Know-Nothing Party of nativists of the 1850s. Lou Sheldon, the chairman of the Traditional Values Coalition, expressed the distilled nativist sentiment perfectly in 1993: "We were here first. You don't take our shared common values and say they are biased and bigoted...We are the keepers of what is right and what is wrong."

In 1978, the Internal Revenue Service ruled against tax-exempt status for Christian academies (whose origins were as "seg"

academies, enabling whites to escape school integration). The reaction galvanized an element of the clergy with connections to the conservative movement to organize against the Democrats. "It began in the 1970s when conservative movement activists made a conscious effort to involve theological leaders in politics," said Blackwell. "Most of the conservative ones were of the opinion that public affairs were not part of their calling." Jerry Falwell was recruited in this period by conservative operatives to head an organization they called the Moral Majority. In 1980, right-wing activists organized conservative evangelical preachers into a group called the Religious Roundtable, which was assembled to be addressed by candidate Reagan: "I know you can't endorse me, but I only brought that up because I want you to know that I endorse you and what you are doing."

President Reagan's strategy was to keep the religious right in motion without ever resolving polarizing issues on their side. To do so on the question of abortion, for example, would have alienated substantial numbers of voters. Despite his rhetoric, the legislation always conveniently managed to get tabled. He was careful never to appear in person at the annual anti-abortion rallies in Lafayette Park across from the White House, phoning in his support instead.

The decisive moment in the realignment of evangelical voters occurred in the summer of 1984, at the coronation of Reagan's morning again in America. For the first time, preachers of the religious right, such as Falwell and Robertson, appeared on the podium at a Republican convention. In a speech to the National Association of Evangelicals, the successor to the Religious Roundtable, Reagan attacked "modern-day secularism," and, in Dallas, during the convention, he defended the religious right as crusaders against those "secularizing our nation."

Within the Reagan White House, Morton Blackwell served as the liaison to the religious right, helping, among other things, to coordinate the conservative forces that gained control of the Southern Baptist Convention, which altered the formal Baptist position on abortion to stark opposition.

"In terms of affecting elections at the grassroots, there was one technique: comparing church membership rolls with voters rolls,"

Blackwell said. "They discovered church members weren't registered and registered them."

By its very nature, the religious right, rooted in evangelical Protestantism, is sectarian and schismatic, tending to create controversies and divisions over doctrinal issues. Throughout the late 1980s, the movement itself suffered numerous fissures and seemed to fade after Pat Robertson's presidential campaign ended dismally. His support was isolated among charismatics and Pentacostals, and he was opposed in the GOP primaries by hardshell Baptist fundamentalists.

"The watershed moment was the Robertson campaign," Ralph Reed told me, sketching his outline of contemporary American political history. "There have been three significant presidential campaigns that reoriented the political landscape: the Goldwater campaign that transferred control from the eastern establishment wing of the Republican Party to the Southern and western grassroots wing; the McGovern campaign that transferred the Democratic Party from the old guard to the new left, where it remains today; and the third campaign is the Robertson campaign. It gave activists an advanced degree in hardball politics. We took a beating, dusted ourselves off and got up for another round. The campaign was a midwife. It took a social protest movement and made it a savvy movement of political veterans, enmeshed in the machinery of party politics."

After the failure of Robertson's campaign, he turned his mailing list of 1.8 million names and organizational contacts into the Christian Coalition. Ralph Reed, the former executive director of the College Republicans and a campaign staffer for Newt Gingrich, Jesse Helms and Jack Kemp, was hired as its director. The Christian Coalition was not the obvious campaign tool of a politician. "It's issue centered, not personality centered," Reed said. "Unlike United We Stand, it's not designed to advance a personality. Whereas, when Perot takes a beating, the whole organization suffers, as long as issues are being advanced, the Christian Coalition advances." After 1988, Robertson receded into the background, presiding more openly over his expanding commercial empire. Even so, he surfaces at Christian

Coalition meetings and makes frequent political pronouncements. In 1993, for example, he said about the separation of church and state: "There is no such thing in the Constitution. It's a lie of the left, and we're not going to take it anymore."

The Christian Coalition, unlike the religious right groups of the 1980s, is not devoted mainly to spreading its message through television and radio shows. Rather it has established training schools for political cadres, who are taught the rudiments of taking control of local Republican organizations from the bottom up. (Morton Blackwell participated as an occasional lecturer.) During the early 1990s the Christian Coalition operated quietly, even, as Reed advised, with "stealth." The Pennsylvania Christian Coalition "County Action Plan" instructed: "You should never mention the name Christian Coalition in Republican circles." By the Republican convention of 1992, it had gained dominance or significant leverage in about twenty state parties and numerous counties. (The Christian Coalition got elected as chairman of the Harris County, Texas party, Dr. Steven Hotze, who favors the death penalty for gays. The Oregon Citizens Alliance, which gained control of the Oregon GOP with Christian Coalition support, proposed an initiative that would have classified gays as "abnormal and perverse." In Washington State, the Republican Party, under the sway of the religious right, officially took a stand against witchcraft and yoga.) "We could not save George Bush from himself," Reed said after the campaign.

Bush's defeat was hardly a defeat for the Christian Coalition. Its object in every campaign is to build an infrastructure for the long-run. Even if a candidate loses, the organization grows. According to Reed, the Christian Coalition has 1.2 million members and supporters, with 600,000 contributing \$15 a year. "We've organized them into precinct captains, providing a full menu of activities for them beyond giving money," he told me. He claims, at the moment, 872 chapters, with at least one in every state, with full-time field staff, who raise their own salaries, operating in nineteen. This year the budget for the national organization is \$20 million.

The Christian Coalition is one part of a large alternative culture, including schools, institutes, media, and thousands of politically

mobilized churches--a culture that religious right leaders consciously see as a counterweight to a coherent liberal establishment and its institutions, which are animated by the relativist religion of secular humanism. "The centers of power in our culture--government, education, media, business, and philanthropy are firmly in the hands of secular humanists who are exerting every effort to debase and eliminate Bible-based Christianity from our society," says Robertson. For the activists of the religious right, politics is a post-millennialist battle of these two societies for ultimate dominion over America. Their notion of the enemy is fundamentally a distorted projection of their own methods of operation.

The end of the Cold War, with the dissolution of the evil empire, has not marginalized the religious right. Politically, the effect has been to create a vacuum on the right. Since the advent of the Cold War, the disparate elements of the right-wing were tied together by the thread of anti-communism. William F. Buckley, Jr.'s concept of "fusionism," which enabled the isolated conservative "remnant" to combine in the 1950s, was the predicate for the triumph of Reaganism three decades later. What began with squabbling sects of ideologues became a movement with national power. George Bush in 1992 presided over the implosion of conservatism as we have known it. But it was not simply his political maladroitness or an economic downturn that unraveled it. The change occurred at "a more seismic level," as Ralph Reed told me. "They were united by Communism and now they're not." With the Cold War's conclusion, there has been no compelling idea to hold conservatism together. Pat Buchanan's primary challenge to Bush was less a vindictive act exhibiting personal contempt than an indication of the centrifugal force on the right. In America, as in Europe, the removal of the bipolarity of the Cold War unleashed ethnic and religious tensions that had been mostly submerged for nearly half a century. Buchanan's clarion call at the Republican convention for "cultural warfare" was precisely such a post-Cold War atavism.

"The truth is," said Reed, "the end of wars brings the most divisive politics recorded in American history. The old dichotomies of

liberal-conservative, internationalist-isolationist, dove-hawk are breaking apart. There are some ideological categories being formed that don't have any history in the politics of the Cold War. The end of wars don't bring stability. They bring chaos and recriminations. Post-war eras are periods of an enormous realigning of political lines."

The Christian Coalition and its allies are on a long march through the Republican Party. "We have a field of dreams strategy: build it and they will come," said Reed. "The priority has always been to organize, to build a permanent infrastructure. We're looking twenty years ahead, not two years. If we build our movement only against Bill Clinton, once Clinton is gone, in either two or six years, then what will we say?" "You can put together a winning coalition two or three times in a century," Blackwell told me. "We did it in 1980. We're not going to do it anytime soon."

Each election cycle provides a chance for building. In Kentucky, in May, a congressional seat held in seeming perpetuity by the Democrats was won in a special election by a Republican, Ron Lewis, a Baptist minister and Christian bookstore owner. The Christian Coalition was heavily involved, dropping 90,000 pieces of literature in the district. Religious right groups and the national Republican Party worked in tandem to pump hundreds of thousands of dollars and operatives into the campaign. In the mid-term elections, from the state to the national level, the religious right is involved in hundreds of races. In California alone, its activists are working on dozens of legislative campaigns. (In 1992, a group of California millionaires associated with the religious right, gave more than \$3 million to local candidates and initiatives, becoming the most generous political angels in the state, exceeding any political action committee.)

The strategy of the leadership of the religious right is to forge alliances wherever possible with Republican candidates who do not necessarily share their entire agenda, in order to get practical experience for their troops and a share of the spoils. In Iowa, for example, the incumbent Republican governor, Terry Branstad, rebuffed a primary challenge in June from moderate Representative Fred Grandy with the support of the religious right. But the leaders,

willing to indulge in pragmatism to further their aims, are not always able to discipline the activists. At the Texas state convention a proposal to honor the preeminent Republican politicians--senators Phil Gramm and Kay Bailey Hutchison and gubernatorial candidate George W. Bush, Jr.--was emphatically defeated because these conservatives, one way or another, were believed to have committed political heresies.

With the Virginia convention, all possibility of the religious right's maintaining a "stealth" strategy in any important campaign is foreclosed. For the religious right, the danger is that their religion may be seen as a form of political partisanship limited to one faction of one party. For other Republicans, its presence may pose an uncomfortable political quandry, because they may have to define themselves in relation to the burgeoning movement. In Texas, a small group of moderates has formed an organization called Take It Back. But almost all Republicans have followed the accomodating tack of Bob Dole, who has got the fear of God in him. The hope that the Old Guard will reclaim its patrimony seems distant. The stiffening of the already intense rejectionism of the congressional Republicans in the wake of the Virginia convention to Clinton's program, especially health care, is partly a reaction to internal dynamics. When Phil Gramm is humiliated at his own state convention, who is safe? For Republicans generally, the central question before them is the identity of their party. Nixon is interred, Reagan retired, Bush erased. Who, now, are they?

The prospective presidential candidates of 1996 are early circuit riders. Dole, by endorsing North, has tried to make a separate peace. William Bennett, with a heavy schedule of speeches, won a straw poll of Texas delegates conducted by the Christian Coalition. "Cheney's really been making the rounds. It's easy to see him in the picture," Mike Russell, the communications director of the Christian Coalition, told me. Former Vice President Dan Quayle, whose recently published political memoir, *Standing Firm*, is filled with professions of evangelical faith, is also out on the hustings. In January, he spoke at a training conference of religious right activists--"Reclaiming America"--held under the auspices of the Coral Ridge Ministries in

Fort Lauderdale, Florida. The group's leader is the Reverend D. James Kennedy, a television evangelist, who has labeled the separation of church and state a "myth." Before the event began, Quayle stood at attention as the crowd of more than two thousand rose, faced a flag with a cross on it and, with hands on hearts, recited in unison:

I pledge allegiance to the Christian flag, and to the Savior, for whose Kingdom it stands, One Savior, crucified, risen, and coming again, with life and liberty for all who believe.

June 30, 1994
THE WHITE HOUSE

Dear Mr. Chairman -

You were right in 1944 and
you're right today. If the
Cause is right, people will follow.
Thank you for leading the way!
Hillary

THE WHITE HOUSE
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CNS

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MELANNE: I'm sending both a copy of the story only and a combined package of story and transcript.

CNS - Catholic News Service

Friday, August 6, 1993

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CLINTON-INTERVIEW Oct. 26, 1992 (1,460 words) With photos sent Oct. 21 and today.

CLINTON SAYS LAWS ON PARENTAL NOTICE FOR ABORTION WOULD BE OK

By Patricia Zapor

Catholic News Service

FREELAND, Mich. (CNS) -- States should have the freedom to require parental notification for abortion, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton said Oct. 25 in a 25-minute interview with Catholic News Service.

Clinton, who says he opposes abortion but believes it should be legal, also said he doesn't think federal law should prohibit a state's right to establish a 24-hour waiting period before an abortion may be performed, although he believes such waiting periods pose an unnecessary burden for some women.

The Arkansas governor, a Southern Baptist who graduated from Jesuit-run Georgetown University, also credited his six years of Catholic education with ingraining in him a sense of moral obligation to try to live out religious convictions that affects his daily life.

In a wide-ranging interview at Tri-City Airport in Freeland, Mich., near Saginaw, Clinton discussed:

- His college years at Georgetown and two years in a Catholic grade school.
- His opposition to a school choice voucher funding system that includes parochial schools.
- Standards he would apply in nominating Supreme Court justices.
- His support for the death penalty.
- His support for would-be refugees to the United States from Haiti.
- Proposals to help the nation's poor children.

Clinton has said he would support the Freedom of Choice Act, a bill which, as introduced in the last session of Congress, would have prohibited states from passing any laws restricting abortion. But Clinton noted that various proposed amendments to the bill would have given states some regulatory leeway.

Acknowledging that as governor of Arkansas he supported a law requiring minors to notify their parents before having abortions, Clinton noted, "The final form of that act (in Congress) is not yet clear. Before the people who support it decided not to push it in this Congress, there were all kinds of negotiations about what the states should still be free to do."

"I think states should absolutely have the freedom to have parental notice," he said. While he believes a 24-hour waiting period "philosophically, sounds like a totally reasonable thing," it can impose an unfair burden on women who must travel long distances in some areas of the country where there

(CNS - Catholic News Service)

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are few abortion clinics.

"I don't know that federal law needs to regulate it away, but as a practical matter, in the real world it is a significant burden," Clinton said. "In the real world there are very few people who do that who haven't thought about it for 24 hours."

Clinton also said he wants pro-life Democrats to remain in the party and that he regrets the decision to refuse Pennsylvania Gov. Robert Casey's request to address the Democratic National Convention in July.

Casey, a popular Catholic governor in a key Democratic state, has urged the party to moderate its platform, which strongly opposes any regulation of abortion. Clinton was criticized at the time for keeping Casey off the speaker's platform as part of an effort to present a united front favoring abortion rights.

According to Clinton, Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, based his decision to turn down Casey's request on the fact that Casey had not yet endorsed the Clinton-Gore ticket.

"It was very frustrating to me because I like Bob Casey a lot," said Clinton. "I mean I've known him for years and worked with him. And I attempted to visit with him about it. I personally had no problems with him talking."

Other Democrats who oppose abortion, such as Boston Mayor Ray Flynn, had time at the microphone and made pro-life statements, Clinton said. "But he had endorsed our ticket."

Clinton said he would like Democrats who disagree about abortion to feel they can work within the party to make abortions less necessary.

"I want pro-life Democrats in our party and I've relied extremely heavily on Mayor Flynn in this campaign for all kinds of advice on a number of issues," Clinton said.

"I don't want to run anybody out of the party that agrees with us on more issues than they disagree with us on," he said.

Catholics in particular should feel at home in the Democratic party, even if they disagree about abortion, believes Clinton.

"The Democratic Party's platforms and historic commitments are much more consistent with the Catholic Church's social mission than the Republican platform's," he said. "So I think we should talk about things on which we do agree."

He urged finding ways for people who disagree on abortion to work together to reduce their number. Adoption, in particular, should be more widely encouraged, he said.

Clinton said as president he would nominate Supreme Court justices who agree with him that the constitutional right to privacy guarantees freedom to have abortions.

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"I wouldn't give them a laundry list of issues that they would have to agree with me on," Clinton said of judicial nominees. But "if I got a chance to make an appointment to the court, I'll appoint somebody who is pro-choice."

Clinton also disagrees with the Bush administration over priorities in education.

Although he attended a Catholic grade school for two years and thinks highly of Catholic schools, he believes the federal government should have no part in funding them, even under a voucher system that lets parents choose among private and public schools.

He supports Arkansas programs that allow state funds to be used for child care at church-run schools and at religious colleges and universities.

He said he found it rewarding to join in religious instruction as a second and third grader at St. John's Catholic School in Hot Springs, Ark.

"But, I think that part of the mission of the Catholic schools is to communicate the values of the Catholic Church to children and I don't think the Constitution of our country permits taxpayers to subsidize that," he said.

Children's interests also need to be better supervised by government entities that are charged with protecting them, Clinton said.

Aside from approving full funding for Head Start, a pre-school preparation program for poor children, Clinton said he wants to pay greater attention to the medical and foster care systems for children.

"The (foster care) systems are breaking down in most states in America as more and more kids grow up in difficult family circumstances and more and more families fall into poverty and tensions build up," he said.

Clinton also opposes Bush's policy to turn back Haitians fleeing their country before they reach the United States, vowing to change it if elected.

"I don't think we ought to be shipping those people back until we know we have done everything we can to restore democracy in Haiti, with (deposed President Father Jean-Bertrand) Aristide, or a coalition government or in some other fashion, a democratic government that observes human rights and freedoms," Clinton said. He agrees with the use of capital punishment, but said he doesn't think there's much to be gained by extending capital punishment to more federal crimes.

Clinton supported a crime bill that never made it out of Congress this session that included imposing the death penalty for several additional federal crimes. He said he thought those provisions were secondary.

"I supported it largely because it contained more funds to put police officers on the street and because it contained the Brady Bill, which would have a waiting period before people could buy

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handguns so we could check their criminal and mental health history and age," he said.

Discussing his religious beliefs, Clinton said his years at Georgetown left their mark. Paired with his Southern Baptist beliefs, Clinton said, his years of studying under the Jesuits have shaped his sense of public duty.

While his religious heritage established his belief that the basis of religious freedom lies in church-state separation, Catholic influences have underscored his sense of obligation to others.

He's learned "we are morally obliged to try to live out our religious convictions in the world," he said. Baptists believe that salvation is a matter of the personal relationship between an individual and God, Clinton noted.

Jesuits also taught him "a real respect for the obligation to develop one's mind," Clinton said.

"Religious convictions involve more than emotions, there is an intellectual vigor. If you have a mind, you have an obligation to develop it to learn to think ... and then to act on those things more powerfully because you know more."

A favorite scriptural passage is Gal 6:9, he said. "Let us not grow weary while doing good, for in due season we shall reap, but do not lose heart."

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CLINTON-INTERVIEW Oct. 26, 1992 (1460 words) With photos sent Oct. 21 and today
CLINTON SAYS LAWS ON PARENTAL NOTICE FOR ABORTION WOULD BE OK

By Patricia Zapor

Catholic News Service

FREELAND, Mich. (CNS) -- States should have the freedom to require parental notification for abortion, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton said Oct. 25 in a 25-minute interview with Catholic News Service.

Clinton, who says he opposes abortion but believes it should be legal, also said he doesn't think federal law should prohibit a state's right to establish a 24-hour waiting period before an abortion may be performed, although he believes such waiting periods pose an unnecessary burden for some women.

The Arkansas governor, a Southern Baptist who graduated from Jesuit-run Georgetown University, also credited his six years of Catholic education with ingraining in him a sense of moral obligation to try to live out religious convictions that affects his daily life.

In a wide-ranging interview at Tri-City Airport in Freeland, Mich., near Saginaw, Clinton discussed:

- His college years at Georgetown and two years in a Catholic grade school
- His opposition to a school choice voucher funding system that includes parochial schools.
- Standards he would apply in nominating Supreme Court justices
- His support for the death penalty.
- His support for would-be refugees to the United States from Haiti.
- Proposals to help the nation's poor children

Clinton has said he would support the Freedom of Choice Act, a bill which, as introduced in the last session of Congress, would have prohibited states from passing any laws restricting abortion. But Clinton noted that various proposed amendments to the bill would have given states some regulatory leeway.

Acknowledging that as governor of Arkansas he supported a law requiring minors to notify their parents before having abortions, Clinton noted, "The final form of that act (in Congress) is not yet clear. Before the people who support it decided not to push it in this Congress, there were all kinds of negotiations about what the states should still be free to do."

"I think states should absolutely have the freedom to have parental notice," he said. While he believes a 24-hour waiting period "philosophically, sounds like a totally reasonable thing," it can impose an unfair burden on women who must travel long distances in some areas of the country where there are few abortion clinics.

"I don't know that federal law needs to regulate it away, but as a practical matter, in the real world it is a significant burden," Clinton said. "In the real world there are very few people who do that who haven't thought about it for 24 hours."

Clinton also said he wants pro-life Democrats to remain in the party and that he regrets the decision to refuse Pennsylvania Gov. Robert Casey's request to address the Democratic National Convention in July.

Casey, a popular Catholic governor in a key Democratic state, has urged the party to moderate its platform, which strongly opposes any regulation of abortion. Clinton was criticized at the time for keeping Casey off the speaker's platform as part of an effort to present a united front favoring abortion rights.

According to Clinton, Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, based his decision to turn down Casey's request on the fact that Casey had not yet endorsed the Clinton-Gore ticket.

"It was very frustrating to me because I like Bob Casey a lot," said Clinton. "I mean I've known him for years and worked with him. And I attempted to visit with him about it. I personally had no problems with him talking."

Other Democrats who oppose abortion, such as Boston Mayor Ray Flynn, had time at the microphone and made pro-life statements, Clinton said. "But he had endorsed our ticket."

Clinton said he would like Democrats who disagree about abortion to feel they can work within the party to make abortions less necessary.

"I want pro-life Democrats in our party and I've relied extremely heavily on Mayor Flynn in this campaign for all kinds of advice on a number of issues," Clinton said.

"I don't want to run anybody out of the party that agrees with us on more issues than they disagree with us on," he said.

Catholics in particular should feel at home in the Democratic party, even if they disagree about abortion, believes Clinton.

"The Democratic Party's platform and historic commitments are much more consistent with the Catholic Church's social mission than the Republican platform's," he said. "So I think we should talk about things on which we do agree."

He urged finding ways for people who disagree on abortion to work together to reduce their number. Adoption, in particular, should be more widely encouraged, he said.

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Clinton said as president he would nominate Supreme Court justices who agree with him that the constitutional right to privacy guarantees freedom to have abortions.

"I wouldn't give them a laundry list of issues that they would have to agree with me on," Clinton said of judicial nominees. But "if I got a chance to make an appointment to the court, I'll appoint somebody who is pro-choice."

Clinton also disagrees with the Bush administration over priorities in education.

Although he attended a Catholic grade school for two years and thinks highly of Catholic schools, he believes the federal government should have no part in funding them, even under a voucher system that lets parents choose among private and public schools.

He supports Arkansas programs that allow state funds to be used for child care at church-run schools and at religious colleges and universities.

He said he found it rewarding to join in religious instruction as a second and third grader at St. John's Catholic School in Hot Springs, Ark.

"But, I think that part of the mission of the Catholic schools is to communicate the values of the Catholic Church to children and I don't think the Constitution of our country permits taxpayers to subsidize that," he said.

Children's interests also need to be better supervised by government entities that are charged with protecting them, Clinton said.

Aside from approving full funding for Head Start, a pre-school preparation program for poor children, Clinton said he wants to pay greater attention to the medical and foster care systems for children.

"The (foster care) systems are breaking down in most states in America as more and more kids grow up in difficult family circumstances and more and more families fall into poverty and tensions build up," he said.

Clinton also opposes Bush's policy to turn back Haitians fleeing their country before they reach the United States, vowing to change it if elected.

"I don't think we ought to be shipping those people back until we know we have done everything we can to restore democracy in Haiti, with (deposed President Father Jean) Aristide, or a coalition government or in some other fashion, a democratic government that observes human rights and freedoms," Clinton said. He agrees with the use of capital punishment, but said he doesn't think there's much to be gained by extending capital punishment to more federal crimes.

Clinton supported a crime bill that never made it out of Congress this session that included imposing the death penalty for several additional federal crimes. He said he thought those provisions were secondary.

"I supported it largely because it contained more funds to put police officers on the street and because it contained the Brady Bill, which would have a waiting period before people could buy handguns so we could check their criminal and mental health history and age," he said.

Discussing his religious beliefs, Clinton said his years at Georgetown left their mark. Paired with his Southern Baptist beliefs, Clinton said, his years of studying under the Jesuits have shaped his sense of public duty.

While his religious heritage established his belief that the basis of religious freedom lies in church-state separation, Catholic influences have underscored his sense of obligation to others.

He's learned "we are morally obliged to try to live out our religious convictions in the world," he said. Baptists believe that salvation is a matter of the personal relationship between an individual and God, Clinton noted.

Jesuits also taught him "a real respect for the obligation to develop one's mind," Clinton said.

"Religious convictions involve more than emotions, there is an intellectual vigor. If you have a mind, you have an obligation to develop it to learn to think ... and then to act on those things more powerfully because you know more."

A favorite scriptural passage is Gal 6:9, he said. "Let us not grow weary while doing good, for in due season we shall reap, but do not lose heart."

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TEXT CLINTON Oct. 26, 1992 (4,000 words).

FRIELAND, Mich. (CNS) Here is the transcript of a Catholic News Service interview with Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton. The interview was conducted by CNS federal reporter Patricia Zapor at the Tin-City Airport in Freeland Oct. 25 while Clinton was campaigning in the Saginaw area.

CNS: A little bit of old history, but it's still of interest to our readers, who are, the majority, Catholic newspapers in this country. Why wasn't Gov. Casey given a forum at the Democratic convention?

Clinton: Well, the people who were running the convention, and I must say this issue was not brought directly to me, if it had been I might've made a different decision. But I wanted -- Ray Pynn spoke, who is very strongly pro-life and made some pro-life statements. But he had endorsed our ticket. Jesse Jackson spoke from a different perspective, and you know we'd been sort of estranged, but he had endorsed our ticket.

At the time the convention occurred, Gov. Casey had not yet endorsed the ticket. So, the chairman of the party decided that he shouldn't make a position for him. It was very frustrating to me 'cause I like Bob Casey a lot. I mean, I've known him for years and worked with him. And I attempted

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to, you know, visit with him about it. And I personally had no problem with him talking. I want pro-life Democrats in our party and I think I've relied extremely heavily on Mayor Hynes in this campaign for all kinds of advice on a number of issues. And I've done my best to make that clear. I also in a related way was really moved by the article that Gov. Cuomo wrote in The New York Times not very long ago. I don't know if you saw it, basically arguing for a common effort by Americans who are pro-life and pro-choice to reduce the number of abortions in America.

So I regret what happened. I still, you know, in terms of Gov. Casey, 'cause I really like him and I'd like to have, you know.

CNS: Have you settled it between you? Have you spoken about it? Do you feel like you've come to an agreement of some sort with each other?

Clinton: Well, he said publicly, you know, he's going to support the ticket, but I think, you know, I don't know how he feels about the national party not offering him a forum. But I think, that's the policy that Ron Brown thought we ought to follow and in that case, no one really brought the issue to me. But I had supported the policy when it was developed.

But I really like Casey, and I respect his convictions and I hope we can find ways to work together.

CNS: Partly because of that incident and various other things, a couple people have said that it's getting real hard to cast a vote for a Democrat without also by implication casting a vote for pro-choice. Obviously from what you say you don't necessarily think that's the way the Democratic Party should be, it should not be quite so restrictive.

Clinton: I don't want to run anybody out of the party that agrees with us on more issues than they disagree with us on. And I think the -- as I said Ray Hynes spoke and made a very impassioned pro-life comment, through his remarks. And I would -- I think the decision was solely based on whether we could break the precedent of letting someone speak at the convention who had not yet committed to support the ticket. And I hope it's all resolved.

CNS: What else would you do then to try to dissuade that notion that there isn't room in the Democratic Party for people who disagree about abortion?

Clinton: I think the best thing that we could do is -- I think there are only two responses, frankly. One is talk about all the issues on which we do agree. I mean, the Democratic Party's platforms and historic commitments are much more consistent with the Catholic Church's social mission than the Republican platform. And so I think we should talk about those things on which we do agree. And the second thing, I think that we should do what Mario Cuomo suggested and try to find ways that people who disagree over what the law should be on abortion can work together to reduce the number of abortions. You know, in most of the years that I have been governor, the number of abortions have gone down over the previous year. There was a chart just printed in the Arkansas Democrat, about, oh, I don't know, a couple months ago, which documented that I think there were only two of the last eight years that the number of abortions increased over the previous year. And I think that you do that by promoting adoption and doing what you can to reduce unwanted pregnancies. I think that we ought to have a concerted effort on that.

I remember, and this incident has been quoted elsewhere, but I want to repeat about it. I had an amazing encounter with a woman in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in front of Quaker Oats at this rally, and there were a lot of pro-life demonstrators at the back of the crowd and she was in front of the crowd and she had a pro-choice sticker on. But she was holding this baby of another race -- she was white and the kid was African-American, this little girl had AIDS and she had adopted this child out of another state. And she talked about her commitment to trying to get -- to adopt problem children because she had done this and that she wished she could be part of a common effort to try to promote the notion of adoption, to let people know that there were people like her who want to adopt these children and she thought that might reduce the number of abortions, which I thought was an interesting thing. She basically looked back longingly at the pro-life demonstrators all the way on the other side of the crowd and she said that's something I wish I was involved with them in doing. I really think that's what we ought to do. Those are the two things that I would say to pro-life Democrats about why they shouldn't necessarily leave the Democratic Party.

CNS: As governor, you supported a parental notification bill.

Clinton: I did support that.

CNS: But you also support the Freedom of Choice Act, which even the ACLU says would make it impossible to have such laws as parental notification.

Clinton: Well, what the final form of that act will be is not yet clear. I mean, before the people who supported it decided not to push it in

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this Congress, there were all kinds of negotiations about what the states should still be free to do, including that. I think states should absolutely have the freedom to have parental notice.

CNS: What about some other restrictions -- 24-hour waiting period, things like that.

Clinton: The thing that bothers me about the 24-hour waiting period is philosophically, it sounds like a totally reasonable thing. But as a practical matter, people don't, I don't think there are very many people who ever go through an abortion who haven't thought about it for 24 hours, No. 1. And No. 2, since only 17 percent of the countries today, according to the Time or Newsweek study on abortion --

CNS: There aren't many clinics --

Clinton: Yeah, there aren't many clinics anymore doing it. For people who have limited means and who come in from a long way away, who by definition have been thinking about it however long it took them to get from where they live to where they go, it can impose a significant burden on their ability to have access to what other people could, maybe just because they live down the street from a clinic. So that's my only problem with that. I don't know that federal law needs to regulate it away, but I just think that as a practical matter, in the real world it is a significant burden. In the real world there are very few people who do that who haven't thought about it for 24 hours.

I do think that we should do more to promote adoption services as an alternative. I think people need to know in this country that there are caring, loving people out there who don't have children who would love to have children, who will adopt children. I don't know that any place has done as good a job with that as they should. But I think that is a most constructive thing to do than to focus on the waiting period, given the practical circumstances of most people's conditions in America.

CNS: Would your nominations to federal courts or the Supreme Court -- would you require that the nominees agree with you on political issues like abortion?

Clinton: I wouldn't give them a laundry list of procedures that they would agree with me on. But I have said that I think that given the fact that there are four justices on the court who have ridiculed the ruling in *Roe vs. Wade*, and that we now have a Republican platform which calls for an outright ban on all abortions, and they've run on four different platforms now committing them to appoint only judges to all benches who are committed to repeal *Roe vs. Wade*, then I thought if I got a chance to make an appointment to the court I ought to appoint somebody who was pro-choice. Not someone I gave 10 questions to answer about "How do you feel about every last issue," but at least someone who believed that there was a constitutional right to privacy -- which a lot of people don't believe that there is one, that encompasses a right to choose -- and I do. So I would do my best without giving somebody a 20-question interview to appoint someone who had expressed the belief that the right to privacy is in the Constitution.

CNS: But if a nominee disagreed with you on that area and you were basically in line on others, that wouldn't necessarily be a requirement that would keep somebody on or off the court?

Clinton: Well, I would have a difficult time appointing someone to the Supreme Court that didn't believe in the constitutional right to privacy. Because I believe in that. I think every president throughout history without exception has had some so-called litmus test, even though I don't think it's ever a good idea for a president to sit down and interview a prospective judge and ask them, "Well, what would you do in this case, that case and the other thing?" I would never do that.

But, I mean, for example, I can't imagine a president after 1960, for example, appointing a justice to the Supreme Court who didn't believe in the 14th Amendment, that is, requiring the integration of public schools. Just for an example. So, that's an important thing to me. But I'm not going to sit around and give anybody a test on the Pennsylvania law, for example, on how they feel about this restriction or that one. I wouldn't do that.

CNS: A quick change of subject. There are a couple things we can breeze through quickly. You support capital punishment, yet you're certainly aware that it's inequitably imposed on poor non-whites much more than for any other racial or income groups. What would you do to change how capital punishment is applied in the U.S.?

Clinton: I think that we ought to make sure that people who are charged with crimes for which they can be executed have better lawyers at the trial level and at the appeals level. You know, retired Justice Powell headed a commission to look at the appellate process in criminal capital cases, because the average capital punishment case takes almost eight years to work its way through the courts. And Powell argued that that was too long, but

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that part of the reason that it took so long and that we had so many appeals was the uneasy feeling that the judicial system has that so many people who get sentenced to death don't have the same shot at the courts as those who beat the death penalty because their upbringing (unintelligible) better lawyers. So his argument was that we should accelerate somewhat the criminal appeals process, but in return for that every state would have to demonstrate that it had imposed a higher standard for what kind of legal assistance someone who could be executed got.

CNS: Would your policies encourage more widespread application of the death penalty for federal crimes?

Clinton: Oh, I'm not all hung up on that. I supported this federal crime bill that was filibustered to death. But I supported it largely because it contained more funds to put police officers on the street and because it contained the Brady Bill, which would have a waiting period before people could buy handguns so we could check their criminal and mental health history and age. But I think capital punishment decisions by and large should be left to the states and that the capital punishment provisions in the federal crime bill will have a marginal effect, at most, on the crime problem in the United States. I don't think that's one of the most important parts of that bill. And I'm not hung up on that. I do think the money that was in that bill for local police officers and the Brady Bill and the provisions for speeding up the criminal's appeals process in a fair way were good ones. I'd like to see that stuff enacted. I don't have any particular problem with the capital punishment provisions of that bill, but if you read them, while there are a whole bunch of them, they would have very limited application to the problems that most Americans face in terms of their safety and security. So I think that frankly that has been way overemphasized at the federal level. By and large, the capital punishment issue as it affects most people in their lives is one that's going to be resolved at the state level.

CNS: There's been a lot of talk in your campaign about improving children's lives. What's the flip side of your lit single, "full funding for Head Start"?

Clinton: You mean, what else would we do?

CNS: Right.

Clinton: Let's talk about two or three other things. I think that as we move toward a universal health care system -- that is, one in which everybody gets some coverage -- I think we need to focus on young mothers and their children first. I think that if we can improve the primary and preventive health care system in this country, we can lower infant mortality, lower the low birth weight rate, which is quite high in this country and improve the mental and physical development of children as they start school. I think that is very, very important.

The other thing I think we need to do is to take a hard look nationally at something that I've grappled with in my state, with mixed results, and that is the whole system we have for dealing with abused and neglected children, you know, the foster care system, working with kids when they stay in the homes. The systems are breaking down in most states in America as more and more kids grow up in difficult family circumstances and more and more families fall into poverty and tensions build up. And the way that the federal government works now with regard to that aspect of children's needs is that essentially the federal contribution to programs that deal with abused and neglected children is more limited than the federal contribution to deal with children's health needs through Medicaid, for example, or they're more limited than federal contributions to the Head Start program. So that there is this real uneven pattern which has gotten aggravated by the state budgetary problems in most states because most states have had to take more and more money away from preschool education and more and more away from those things that deal with the Medicaid problems, 'cause of the explosion in the health care rolls in America for poor people.

Another thing I'd really like to look at is to see what we can do to strengthen the foster care systems in America, strengthen the adoption systems and to help the states get in a position where they're making better judgments about when they keep children in families and when they should be removed from families. Those are the toughest calls you have to make.

If you interview most children, most children would rather stay with their family even in an abusive situation than be extracted. This young child that filed a lawsuit to stay with his adopted family, that's basically the exception rather than the rule and that kid had been jacked around something terrible in his life. I was very sympathetic with him, but in our experience that's the exception not the rule. And I must tell you, I think that of all the decisions made by governments in this country that those are the toughest calls. I mean, when you see these kids, you see parents that are in trouble, should they be left in the home? Should they be taken out of the home? If they're left in the home, what kind of support can you give the home to make sure the kids are not abused and neglected? Those are the tough things I'd really like to see us make some progress on as a country.

CNS: Along the lines of children and education, you oppose President Bush's education voucher plan, where it includes the non-public schools. How do you feel about tax credits for parents with children in non-public schools?

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Clinton: I think it's about the same thing. The tax credits are about the same as his idea of giving everybody a certain amount of money and letting them take it to --

Let me explain where I'm coming from on this. I'd like to talk about this a little bit, especially to your readers.

I believe in Catholic education. I went to a Catholic school. I was at Springfield, Mo., the other night at my rally. They had a terrific rally in Springfield. And the nun who taught me in the second and third grade came up to me at the rally. I had not seen her since, in 38 years.

Her name is Sister Mary Amata and she lives with an order in Springfield, Mo. And it was wonderful. She had sent me a letter when I got nominated with a picture of her when she was teaching me and a picture of her today. So I got to sort of see her and in my mind I got ready to see her. She was a terrific teacher. I loved her. Of course I went to Georgetown, as you know. But I went to a Catholic grade school for two years and it was one of the most rewarding experiences of my life.

I have the following concerns about the tuition tax credits or the Bush proposal, which is different, by the way, from what happened in Milwaukee. In Milwaukee, the state made a judgment about a particular school system, the Milwaukee school system, that it was seriously deficient. And the Catholic schools in Milwaukee had vacated all these buildings and moved out to the suburbs, basically. And there were private but non-sectarian schools in Milwaukee where a limited number of poor kids were able to go rather than the public schools. But the Milwaukee thing is not what Bush is proposing.

The two problems I have with it are these: No. 1, as opposed to the voucher system for child care, which, in Arkansas, I have a voucher system at home that I put in. We were the first state in the country, I think, to put one in for child care. We let working people take their vouchers and take their kids to church child care centers. Our state program in Arkansas, which I strongly supported, gives out state scholarships for people to go to college to private or public schools, including church-related universities.

CNS: So what's so different about elementary schools?

Clinton: There are two things different about elementary and secondary schools, particularly elementary schools. One is, I went to a Catholic school and I know this -- I liked it and I participated willingly in the religious instruction and I was very much rewarded for it even though I wasn't a Catholic. But I think that a part of the mission of the Catholic schools is to communicate the values of the church to the children and I don't think the Constitution of our country permits taxpayers to subsidize that. I think there is a real difference between little children going to a child care center where they're too young to get religious instruction, or kids going to a Catholic university. For example, when I went to Georgetown, there were alternatives to the theology requirement for non-Catholic students. There's a difference in that, in people going to public schools where they as a part of their instruction get religious instruction.

The second issue is a practical problem for me, purely practical. The United States is spending, contrary to myth, less of its income on public education, that is on K through 12 education, than nine other countries already. Unlike those nine countries that are spending a higher percentage of their income, we have more poor kids and greater diversity and more difficulties. I simply don't think we have the money. And we also have drastic inequalities, you know, in funding of public education. I simply don't think we have the money to divert many resources away from our obligation to improve the public education system. And I believe with public school choice, with dramatic restructuring of the schools --

By the way, I think we have a lot to learn from the Catholic school systems. You look at the Catholic school system in Chicago, for example, which is the biggest one in the country, I think. The administrative costs of operating that school system are roughly 5 percent of the cost of administering the public schools. Part of that is the public schools have to deal with the federal grants and deal with the -- but basically that shows you what we could do. We have a lot to learn from the private school systems and from the Catholic school systems. But I don't think that we can as a practical matter -- given the fact that we know we could fix the public schools with certain reform strategies that are proven -- I don't think we can afford to be diverting public funds to private purposes. For those two reasons, I oppose the Bush plan and the tax credits.

CNS: You're a Southern Baptist who was educated by Jesuits at Georgetown. How do those two influences affect your outlook on life and your administration? Will these come into play in your day-to-day administration?

Clinton: Yes. You know, when I showed up at Georgetown, they thought I had a screw loose. They said, here you are, you've never had a foreign language, you're at the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, you're a Southern Baptist who's hardly been out of Arkansas. I told them, I said -- But I had those four years of Latin which qualified me to go to a Catholic university.

From my Southern Baptist heritage, I have a deep belief that the First Amendment separation between church and state is what guarantees the religious freedom of all people. That's something that's really deeply ingrained in the history of the Baptist Church in America, going back to its founding.

But the Catholic influence on me, frankly, I think, is manifested in two ways. First of all, a real sense that we are morally obliged to try to live out our religious convictions in the world, that our obligation to social mission is connected to religious life. And I believe that. That I got out of

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my Catholic training more than from the Baptist Church, which is much more rooted in the notion that salvation is a matter of personal relationship between an individual and God and carries with it no necessary burden to go out into the world and do things.

And the other thing I got out of my Catholic tradition is real respect for the obligation to develop one's mind, that religious convictions involve more than emotions, that there is an intellectual rigor, that if you have a mind you have an obligation to develop it, to learn to think and to know things and then to act on those things more powerfully because you know more and because you can think better. That's something the Jesuits did for me as much as anything else.

I loved Georgetown. I love the Jesuits. You know one of my good friends to this day is a Jesuit priest who I went to Boy's Nation with in 1963, he didn't go to Georgetown, but we went to Yale Law School with me.

CNS: Fred Kammer?

Clinton: Uh huh. You know him?

CNS: I've spoken with him on the phone.

Clinton: He's a wonderful man. One of the best letters I ever got in my life was a letter Fred Kammer wrote to his friends when he was 40 years old, on his 40th birthday, explaining how proud he was that he had kept all of his vows as a priest and what each of them had meant to him over the course of his life. It was the most overwhelming letter. Hillary and I read it and just wept.

CNS: Do you have a favorite Scriptural passage? Something that means a lot to you?

Clinton: A lot of them. Galatians 6:9 "Let us not grow weary while doing good for in due season we shall reap, but do not lose heart." It's a wonderful Scripture.

CNS: Thank you very much, Gov. Clinton

Clinton: I must say that one of the things I've really appreciated as I've dealt with different groups of pro-life people around the country, is that of all the people that I've dealt with, the Catholics and the Pentecostals have been the most consistent, from my point of view, in dealing with the position of their cause. And really, anytime I have pro-life demonstrators in my crowds, I always try to treat them with great respect because I have so much respect for their position. But the Catholics and the Pentecostals have been the most consistent because they have put themselves on the line for adoption. So that it's much more than politics with the Catholic Church, but it also is with the Pentecostals. That's really impressed me. And I think that's important.

CNS: One question I didn't get to is about Haitian refugee policy.

Clinton: I want to answer that. I am opposed to the Bush administration policy and I don't think we ought to be shipping those people back until we know we have done everything we can to restore democracy in Haiti, either with Aristide and the coalition government or in some other fashion, a democratic government that observes human rights and freedoms. I have opposed it from day one and I strongly oppose it and if I'm elected on Nov. 3 I'm going to change it.

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CNS

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FAX COVER SHEET

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This FAX consists of ¹²~~20~~ pages, including this cover sheet.

MELANNE: I'm sending both a copy of the story only and a combined package of story and transcript.

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Friday, August 6, 1993

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CLINTON-INTERVIEW Oct. 26, 1992 (1,460 words) With photos sent Oct. 21 and today.

CLINTON SAYS LAWS ON PARENTAL NOTICE FOR ABORTION WOULD BE OK

By Patricia Zapor

Catholic News Service

FREELAND, Mich. (CNS) -- States should have the freedom to require parental notification for abortion, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton said Oct. 25 in a 25-minute interview with Catholic News Service.

Clinton, who says he opposes abortion but believes it should be legal, also said he doesn't think federal law should prohibit a state's right to establish a 24-hour waiting period before an abortion may be performed, although he believes such waiting periods pose an unnecessary burden for some women.

The Arkansas governor, a Southern Baptist who graduated from Jesuit-run Georgetown University, also credited his six years of Catholic education with ingraining in him a sense of moral obligation to try to live out religious convictions that affects his daily life.

In a wide-ranging interview at Tri-City Airport in Freeland, Mich., near Saginaw, Clinton discussed:

- His college years at Georgetown and two years in a Catholic grade school.
- His opposition to a school choice voucher funding system that includes parochial schools.
- Standards he would apply in nominating Supreme Court justices.
- His support for the death penalty.
- His support for would-be refugees to the United States from Haiti.
- Proposals to help the nation's poor children.

Clinton has said he would support the Freedom of Choice Act, a bill which, as introduced in the last session of Congress, would have prohibited states from passing any laws restricting abortion. But Clinton noted that various proposed amendments to the bill would have given states some regulatory leeway.

Acknowledging that as governor of Arkansas he supported a law requiring minors to notify their parents before having abortions, Clinton noted, "The final form of that act (in Congress) is not yet clear. Before the people who support it decided not to push it in this Congress, there were all kinds of negotiations about what the states should still be free to do."

"I think states should absolutely have the freedom to have parental notice," he said. While he believes a 24-hour waiting period "philosophically, sounds like a totally reasonable thing," it can impose an unfair burden on women who must travel long distances in some areas of the country where there

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are few abortion clinics.

"I don't know that federal law needs to regulate it away, but as a practical matter, in the real world it is a significant burden," Clinton said. "In the real world there are very few people who do that who haven't thought about it for 24 hours."

Clinton also said he wants pro-life Democrats to remain in the party and that he regrets the decision to refuse Pennsylvania Gov. Robert Casey's request to address the Democratic National Convention in July.

Casey, a popular Catholic governor in a key Democratic state, has urged the party to moderate its platform, which strongly opposes any regulation of abortion. Clinton was criticized at the time for keeping Casey off the speaker's platform as part of an effort to present a united front favoring abortion rights.

According to Clinton, Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, based his decision to turn down Casey's request on the fact that Casey had not yet endorsed the Clinton-Gore ticket.

"It was very frustrating to me because I like Bob Casey a lot," said Clinton. "I mean I've known him for years and worked with him. And I attempted to visit with him about it. I personally had no problems with him talking."

Other Democrats who oppose abortion, such as Boston Mayor Ray Flynn, had time at the microphone and made pro-life statements, Clinton said. "But he had endorsed our ticket."

Clinton said he would like Democrats who disagree about abortion to feel they can work within the party to make abortions less necessary.

"I want pro-life Democrats in our party and I've relied extremely heavily on Mayor Flynn in this campaign for all kinds of advice on a number of issues," Clinton said.

"I don't want to run anybody out of the party that agrees with us on more issues than they disagree with us on," he said.

Catholics in particular should feel at home in the Democratic party, even if they disagree about abortion, believes Clinton.

"The Democratic Party's platforms and historic commitments are much more consistent with the Catholic Church's social mission than the Republican platform's," he said. "So I think we should talk about things on which we do agree."

He urged finding ways for people who disagree on abortion to work together to reduce their number. Adoption, in particular, should be more widely encouraged, he said.

Clinton said as president he would nominate Supreme Court justices who agree with him that the constitutional right to privacy guarantees freedom to have abortions.

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"I wouldn't give them a laundry list of issues that they would have to agree with me on," Clinton said of judicial nominees. But "if I got a chance to make an appointment to the court, I'll appoint somebody who is pro-choice."

Clinton also disagrees with the Bush administration over priorities in education.

Although he attended a Catholic grade school for two years and thinks highly of Catholic schools, he believes the federal government should have no part in funding them, even under a voucher system that lets parents choose among private and public schools.

He supports Arkansas programs that allow state funds to be used for child care at church-run schools and at religious colleges and universities.

He said he found it rewarding to join in religious instruction as a second and third grader at St. John's Catholic School in Hot Springs, Ark.

"But, I think that part of the mission of the Catholic schools is to communicate the values of the Catholic Church to children and I don't think the Constitution of our country permits taxpayers to subsidize that," he said.

Children's interests also need to be better supervised by government entities that are charged with protecting them, Clinton said.

Aside from approving full funding for Head Start, a pre-school preparation program for poor children, Clinton said he wants to pay greater attention to the medical and foster care systems for children.

"The (foster care) systems are breaking down in most states in America as more and more kids grow up in difficult family circumstances and more and more families fall into poverty and tensions build up," he said.

Clinton also opposes Bush's policy to turn back Haitians fleeing their country before they reach the United States, vowing to change it if elected.

"I don't think we ought to be shipping those people back until we know we have done everything we can to restore democracy in Haiti, with (deposed President Father Jean-Bertrand) Aristide, or a coalition government or in some other fashion, a democratic government that observes human rights and freedoms," Clinton said. He agrees with the use of capital punishment, but said he doesn't think there's much to be gained by extending capital punishment to more federal crimes.

Clinton supported a crime bill that never made it out of Congress this session that included imposing the death penalty for several additional federal crimes. He said he thought those provisions were secondary.

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Discussing his religious beliefs, Clinton said his years at Georgetown left their mark. Paired with his Southern Baptist beliefs, Clinton said, his years of studying under the Jesuits have shaped his sense of public duty.

While his religious heritage established his belief that the basis of religious freedom lies in church-state separation, Catholic influences have underscored his sense of obligation to others.

He's learned "we are morally obliged to try to live out our religious convictions in the world," he said. Baptists believe that salvation is a matter of the personal relationship between an individual and God, Clinton noted.

Jesuits also taught him "a real respect for the obligation to develop one's mind," Clinton said.

"Religious convictions involve more than emotions, there is an intellectual vigor. If you have a mind, you have an obligation to develop it to learn to think ... and then to act on those things more powerfully because you know more."

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TEXT CLINTON Oct. 20, 1992 (4,000 words).

FRIELAND, Mich. (CNS) — Here is the transcript of a Catholic News Service interview with Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton. The interview was conducted by CNS federal reporter Patricia Zapor at the Tri-City Airport in Freeland Oct. 25 while Clinton was campaigning in the Saginaw area.

CNS: A little bit of old history, but it's still of interest to our readers, who are the majority, Catholic newspapers in this country. Why wasn't Gov. Casey given a forum at the Democratic convention?

Clinton: Well, the people who were running the convention, and I must say this issue was not brought directly to me, if it had been I might've made a different decision. But I wanted -- Ray Pynn spoke, who is very strongly pro-life and made some pro-life statements. But he had endorsed our ticket. Jesse Jackson spoke from a different perspective, and you know we'd been sort of estranged, but he had endorsed our ticket.

At the time the convention occurred, Gov. Casey had not yet endorsed the ticket. So, the chairman of the party decided that he shouldn't make a position for him. It was very frustrating to me 'cause I like Bob Casey a lot. I mean I've known him for years and worked with him. And I attempted

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to, you know, visit with him about it. And I personally had no problem with him talking. I want pro-life Democrats in our party and I think I've relied extremely heavily on Mayor Flynn in this campaign for all kinds of advice on a number of issues. And I've done my best to make that clear. I also in a related way was really moved by the article that Gov. Cuomo wrote in The New York Times not very long ago. I don't know if you saw it, basically arguing for a common effort by Americans who are pro-life and pro-choice to reduce the number of abortions in America.

So I regret what happened. I still, you know, in terms of Gov. Casey, 'cause I really like him and I'd like to have, you know.

CNS: Have you settled it between you? Have you spoken about it? Do you feel like you've come to an agreement of some sort with each other?

Clinton: Well, he said publicly, you know, he's going to support the ticket, but I think, you know, I don't know how he feels about the national party not offering him a forum. But I think, that's the policy that Ron Brown thought we ought to follow and in that case, no one really brought the issue to me. But I had supported the policy when it was developed.

But I really like Casey, and I respect his convictions and I hope we can find ways to work together.

CNS: Partly because of that incident and various other things, a couple people have said that it's getting real hard to cast a vote for a Democrat without also by implication casting a vote for pro-choice. Obviously from what you say you don't necessarily think that's the way the Democratic Party should be, it should not be quite so restrictive.

Clinton: I don't want to run anybody out of the party that agrees with us on more issues than they disagree with us on. And I think the -- as I said, Ray Flynn spoke and made a very impassioned pro-life comment, through his remarks. And I would -- I think the decision was solely based on whether we could break the precedent of letting someone speak at the convention who had not yet committed to support the ticket. And I hope it's all resolved.

CNS: What else would you do then to try to dissuade that notion that there isn't room in the Democratic Party for people who disagree about abortion?

Clinton: I think the best thing that we could do is -- I think there are only two responses, frankly. One is talk about all the issues on which we do agree. I mean, the Democratic Party's platform and historic commitments are much more consistent with the Catholic Church's social mission than the Republican platform. And so I think we should talk about those things on which we do agree. And the second thing, I think that we should do what Mario Cuomo suggested and try to find ways that people who disagree over what the law should be on abortion can work together to reduce the number of abortions. You know, in most of the years that I have been governor, the number of abortions have gone down over the previous year. There was a chart just printed in the Arkansas Democrat, about, oh, I don't know, a couple months ago, which documented that I think there were only two of the last eight years that the number of abortions increased over the previous year. And I think that you do that by promoting adoption and doing what you can to reduce unwanted pregnancies. I think that we ought to have a concerted effort on that.

I remember, and this incident has been quoted elsewhere, but I want to repeat about it. I had an amazing encounter with a woman in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in front of Quaker Oaks at this rally, and there were a lot of pro-life demonstrators at the back of the crowd and she was in front of the crowd and she had a pro-choice sticker on. But she was holding this baby of another race -- she was white and the kid was African-American, this little girl had AIDS and she had adopted this child out of another state. And she talked about her commitment to trying to get -- to adopt problem children because she had done this and that she wished she could be part of a common effort to try to promote the notion of adoption, to let people know that there were people like her who want to adopt these children and she thought that might reduce the number of abortions, which I thought was an interesting thing. She basically looked back longingly at the pro-life demonstrators all the way on the other side of the crowd and she said that's something I wish I was involved with them in doing. I really think that's what we ought to do. Those are the two things that I would say to pro-life Democrats about why they shouldn't necessarily leave the Democratic Party.

CNS: As governor, you supported a parental notification bill.

Clinton: I did support that.

CNS: But you also support the Freedom of Choice Act, which even the ACLU says would make it impossible to have such laws as parental notification.

Clinton: Well, what the final form of that act will be is not yet clear. I mean, before the people who supported it decided not to push it in

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this Congress, there were all kinds of negotiations about what the states should still be free to do, including that. I think states should absolutely have the freedom to have parental notice.

CNS: What about some other restrictions -- 24-hour waiting period, things like that.

Clinton: The thing that bothers me about the 24-hour waiting period is philosophically, it sounds like a totally reasonable thing. But as a practical matter, people don't, I don't think there are very many people who ever go through an abortion who haven't thought about it for 24 hours, No. 1. And No. 2, since only 17 percent of the countries today, according to the Time or Newsweek study on abortion --

CNS: There aren't many clinics --

Clinton: Yeah, there aren't many clinics anymore doing it. For people who have limited means and who come in from a long way away, who by definition have been thinking about it however long it took them to get from where they live to where they go, it can impose a significant burden on their ability to have access to what other people could, maybe just because they live down the street from a clinic. So that's my only problem with that. I don't know that federal law needs to regulate it away, but I just think that as a practical matter, in the real world it is a significant burden. In the real world there are very few people who do that who haven't thought about it for 24 hours.

I do think that we should do more to promote adoption services as an alternative. I think people need to know in this country that there are caring, loving people out there who don't have children who would love to have children, who will adopt children. I don't know that any place has done as good a job with that as they should. But I think that is a more constructive thing to do than to focus on the waiting period, given the practical circumstances of most people's conditions in America.

CNS: Would your nominations to federal courts on the Supreme Court -- would you require that the nominees agree with you on political issues like abortion?

Clinton: I wouldn't give them a laundry list of procedures that they would agree with me on. But I have said that I think that given the fact that there are four justices on the court who have ridiculed the ruling in Roe vs. Wade, and that we now have a Republican platform which calls for an outright ban on all abortions, and they've run on four different platforms now committing them to appoint only judges to all benches who are committed to repeal Roe vs. Wade, then I thought if I got a chance to make an appointment to the court I ought to appoint somebody who was pro-choice. Not someone I gave 10 questions to answer about "How do you feel about every last issue," but at least someone who believed that there was a constitutional right to privacy -- which a lot of people don't believe that there is one, that encompasses a right to choose -- and I do. So I would do my best without giving somebody a 20-question interview to appoint someone who had expressed the belief that the right to privacy is in the Constitution.

CNS: But if a nominee disagreed with you on that area and you were basically in line on others, that wouldn't necessarily be a requirement that would keep somebody on or off the court?

Clinton: Well, I would have a difficult time appointing someone to the Supreme Court that didn't believe in the constitutional right to privacy. Because I believe in that. I think every president throughout history without exception has had some so-called litmus test, even though I don't think it's ever a good idea for a president to sit down and interview a prospective judge and ask them, "Well, what would you do in this case, that case and the other thing?" I would never do that.

But, I mean, for example, I can't imagine a president after 1960, for example, appointing a justice to the Supreme Court who didn't believe in the 14th Amendment, that is, requiring the integration of public schools. Just for an example. So, that's an important thing to me. But I'm not going to sit around and give anybody a test on the Pennsylvania law, for example, on how they feel about this restriction or that one. I wouldn't do that.

CNS: A quick change of subject. There are a couple things we can breeze through quickly. You support capital punishment, yet you're certainly aware that it's inequitably imposed on poor non-whites much more than for any other racial or income groups. What would you do to change how capital punishment is applied in the U.S.?

Clinton: I think that we ought to make sure that people who are charged with crimes for which they can be executed have better lawyers at the trial level and at the appeals level. You know, retired Justice Powell headed a commission to look at the appellate process in criminal capital cases, because the average capital punishment case takes almost eight years to work its way through the courts. And Powell argued that that was too long, but

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that part of the reason that it took so long and that we had so many appeals was the uneasy feeling that the judicial system has that so many people who get sentenced to death don't have the same shot at the courts as those who beat the death penalty because their upbringing (unintelligible) better lawyers. So his argument was that we should accelerate somewhat the criminal appeals process, but in return for that every state would have to demonstrate that it had imposed a higher standard for what kind of legal assistance someone who could be executed got.

CNS: Would your policies encourage more widespread application of the death penalty for federal crimes?

Clinton: Oh, I'm not all hung up on that. I supported this federal crime bill that was introduced to death. But I supported it largely because it contained more funds to put police officers on the street and because it contained the Brady Bill, which would have a waiting period before people could buy handguns so we could check their criminal and mental health history and age. But I think capital punishment decisions by and large should be left to the states and that the capital punishment provisions in the federal crime bill will have a marginal effect, at most, on the crime problem in the United States. I don't think that's one of the most important parts of that bill. And I'm not hung up on that. I do think the money that was in that bill for local police officers and the Brady Bill and the provisions for speeding up the criminal's appeals process in a fair way were good ones. I'd like to see that stuff enacted. I don't have any particular problem with the capital punishment provisions of that bill, but if you read them, while there are a whole bunch of them, they would have very limited application to the problems that most Americans face in terms of their safety and security. So I think that frankly that has been way overemphasized at the federal level. By and large, the capital punishment issue as it affects most people in their lives is one that's going to be resolved at the state level.

CNS: There's been a lot of talk in your campaign about improving children's lives. What's the flip side of your hit single, "full funding for Head Start"?

Clinton: You mean, what else would we do?

CNS: Right.

Clinton: Let's talk about two or three other things. I think that as we move toward a universal health care system -- that is, one in which everybody gets some coverage -- I think we need to focus on young mothers and their children first. I think that if we can improve the primary and preventive health care system in this country, we can lower infant mortality, lower the low birth weight rate, which is quite high in this country and improve the mental and physical development of children as they start school. I think that is very, very important.

The other thing I think we need to do is to take a hard look nationally at something that I've grappled with in my state, with mixed results, and that is the whole system we have for dealing with abused and neglected children, you know, the foster care system, working with kids when they stay in the homes. The systems are breaking down in most states in America as more and more kids grow up in difficult family circumstances and more and more families fall into poverty and tensions build up. And the way that the federal government works now with regard to that aspect of children's needs is that essentially the federal contribution to programs that deal with abused and neglected children is more limited than the federal contribution to deal with children's health needs through Medicaid, for example, or they're more limited than federal contributions to the Head Start program. So that there is this real uneven pattern which has gotten aggravated by the state budgetary problems in most states because most states have had to take more and more money away from preschool education and more and more away from those things that deal with the Medicaid problems, 'cause of the explosion in the health care rolls in America for poor people.

Another thing I'd really like to look at is to see what we can do to strengthen the foster care systems in America, strengthen the adoption systems and to help the states get in a position where they're making better judgments about when they keep children in families and when they should be removed from families. Those are the toughest calls you have to make.

If you interview most children, most children would rather stay with their family even in an abusive situation than be extracted. This young child that filed a lawsuit to stay with his adopted family, that's basically the exception rather than the rule and that kid had been jacked around something terrible in his life. I was very sympathetic with him, but in our experience that's the exception not the rule. And I must tell you, I think that of all the decisions made by governments in this country that those are the toughest calls. I mean, when you see these kids, you see parents that are in trouble, should they be left in the home? Should they be taken out of the home? If they're left in the home, what kind of support can you give the home to make sure the kids are not abused and neglected? Those are the tough things I'd really like to see us make some progress on as a country.

CNS: Along the lines of children and education, you oppose President Bush's education voucher plan, where it includes the non-public schools. How do you feel about tax credits for parents with children in non-public schools?

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Clinton: I think it's about the same thing. The tax credits are about the same as his idea of giving everybody a certain amount of money and letting them take it to --

Let me explain where I'm coming from on this. I'd like to talk about this a little bit, especially to your readers.

I believe in Catholic education. I went to a Catholic school. I was at Springfield, Mo., the other night at my rally. They had a terrific rally in Springfield. And the nun who taught me in the second and third grade came up to me at the rally. I had not seen her since, in 34 years.

Her name is Sister Mary Anata and she lives with an order in Springfield, Mo. And it was wonderful. She had sent me a letter when I got nominated with a picture of her when she was teaching me and a picture of her today. So I got to sort of see her and in my mind I got ready to see her. She was a terrific teacher. I loved her. Of course I went to Georgetown, as you know. But I went to a Catholic grade school for two years and it was one of the most rewarding experiences of my life.

I have the following concerns about the tuition tax credits or the Bush proposal, which is different, by the way, from what happened in Milwaukee. In Milwaukee, the state made a judgment about a particular school system, the Milwaukee school system, that it was seriously deficient. And the Catholic schools in Milwaukee had vacated all these buildings and moved out to the suburbs, basically. And there were private but non-sectarian schools in Milwaukee where a limited number of poor kids were able to go rather than the public schools. But the Milwaukee thing is not what Bush is proposing.

The two problems I have with it are these: No. 1, as opposed to the voucher system for child care, which, in Arkansas, I have a voucher system at home that I put in. We were the first state in the country, I think, to put one in for child care. We let working people take their vouchers and take their kids to church child care centers. Our state program in Arkansas, which I strongly supported, gives out state scholarships for people to go to college to private or public schools, including church-related universities.

CNS: So what's so different about elementary schools?

Clinton: There are two things different about elementary and secondary schools, particularly elementary schools. One is, I went to a Catholic school and I know this -- I liked it and I participated willingly in the religious instruction and I was very much rewarded for it even though I wasn't a Catholic. But I think that a part of the mission of the Catholic schools is to communicate the values of the church to the children and I don't think the Constitution of our country permits taxpayers to subsidize that. I think there is a real difference between little children going to a child care center where they're too young to get religious instruction, or kids going to a Catholic university. For example, when I went to Georgetown, there were alternatives to the theology requirement for non-Catholic students. There's a difference in that, in people going to public schools where they as a part of their instruction get religious instruction.

The second issue is a practical problem for me, purely practical. The United States is spending, contrary to myth, less of its income on public education, that is on K through 12 education, than nine other countries already. Unlike those nine countries that are spending a higher percentage of their income, we have more poor kids and greater diversity and more difficulties. I simply don't think we have the money. And we also have drastic inequalities, you know, in funding of public education. I simply don't think we have the money to divert many resources away from our obligation to improve the public education system. And I believe with public school choice, with dramatic restructuring of the schools --

By the way, I think we have a lot to learn from the Catholic school systems. You look at the Catholic school system in Chicago, for example, which is the biggest one in the country. I think. The administrative costs of operating that school system are roughly 5 percent of the cost of administering the public schools. Part of that is the public schools have to deal with the federal grants and deal with the -- but basically that shows you what we could do. We have a lot to learn from the private school systems and from the Catholic school systems. But I don't think that we can as a practical matter -- given the fact that we know we could fix the public schools with certain reform strategies that are proven -- I don't think we can afford to be diverting public funds to private purposes. For those two reasons, I oppose the Bush plan and the tax credits.

CNS: You're a Southern Baptist who was educated by Jesuits at Georgetown. How do those two influences affect your outlook on life and your administration? Will these come into play in your day-to-day administration?

Clinton: Yes. You know, when I showed up at Georgetown, they thought I had a screw loose. They said, here you are, you've never had a foreign language, you're at the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, you're a Southern Baptist who's hardly been out of Arkansas. I told them, I said -- But I had those four years of Latin which qualified me to go to a Catholic university.

From my Southern Baptist heritage, I have a deep belief that the First Amendment separation between church and state is what guarantees the religious freedom of all people. That's something that's really deeply ingrained in the history of the Baptist Church in America, going back to its founding.

But the Catholic influence on me, frankly, I think, is manifested in two ways. First of all, a real sense that we are morally obliged to try to live out our religious convictions in the world, that our obligation to social mission is connected to religious life. And I believe that. That I got out of

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my Catholic training more than from the Baptist Church, which is much more rooted in the notion that salvation is a matter of personal relationship between an individual and God and carries with it no necessary burden to go out into the world and do things.

And the other thing I got out of my Catholic tradition is real respect for the obligation to develop one's mind, that religious convictions involve more than emotions, that there is an intellectual rigor, that if you have a mind you have an obligation to develop it, to learn to think and to know things and then to act on those things more powerfully because you know more and because you can think better. That's something the Jesuits did for me as much as anything else.

I loved Georgetown. I love the Jesuits. You know one of my good friends to this day is a Jesuit priest who I went to Boy's Nation with in 1963, he didn't go to Georgetown, but we went to Yale Law School with me.

CNS: Fred Kammer?

Clinton: Uh huh. You know him?

CNS: I've spoken with him on the phone.

Clinton: He's a wonderful man. One of the best letters I ever got in my life was a letter Fred Kammer wrote to his friends when he was 40 years old, on his 40th birthday, explaining how proud he was that he had kept all of his vows as a priest and what each of them had meant to him over the course of his life. It was the most overwhelming letter. Hillary and I read it and just wept.

CNS: Do you have a favorite Scriptural passage? Something that means a lot to you?

Clinton: A lot of them. Galatians 6:9 "Let us not grow weary while doing good, for in due season we shall reap, but do not lose heart." It's a wonderful Scripture.

CNS: Thank you very much, Gov. Clinton.

Clinton: I must say that one of the things I've really appreciated as I've dealt with different groups of pro-life people around the country, is that of all the people that I've dealt with, the Catholics and the Pentecostals have been the most consistent, from my point of view, in dealing with the position of their cause. And really, anytime I have pro-life demonstrators in my crowds, I always try to treat them with great respect because I have so much respect for their position. But the Catholics and the Pentecostals have been the most consistent because they have put themselves on the line for adoption. So that it's much more than politics with the Catholic Church, but it also is with the Pentecostals. That's really impressed me. And I think that's important.

CNS: One question I didn't get to is about Haitian refugee policy.

Clinton: I want to answer that. I am opposed to the Bush administration policy and I don't think we ought to be shipping those people back until we know we have done everything we can to restore democracy in Haiti, either with Aristide and the coalition government or in some other fashion, a democratic government that observes human rights and freedoms. I have opposed it from day one and I strongly oppose it and if I'm elected on Nov. 3 I'm going to change it.

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CNS

THOMAS N. LORSUNG
Director and editor in chief

Catholic News Service

August 6, 1993

FAX COVER SHEET

ATTENTION: Melanne Verveer

ORGANIZATION: White House

FAX NUMBER: 456-6244

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Catholic News Service

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This FAX consists of ¹²~~20~~ pages, including this cover sheet.

MELANNE: I'm sending both a copy of the story only and a combined package of story and transcript.

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CLINTON-INTERVIEW Oct. 26, 1992 (1,460 words) With photos sent Oct. 21 and today.

CLINTON SAYS LAWS ON PARENTAL NOTICE FOR ABORTION WOULD BE OK

By Patricia Zapor

Catholic News Service

FREELAND, Mich. (CNS) -- States should have the freedom to require parental notification for abortion, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton said Oct. 25 in a 25-minute interview with Catholic News Service.

Clinton, who says he opposes abortion but believes it should be legal, also said he doesn't think federal law should prohibit a state's right to establish a 24-hour waiting period before an abortion may be performed, although he believes such waiting periods pose an unnecessary burden for some women.

The Arkansas governor, a Southern Baptist who graduated from Jesuit-run Georgetown University, also credited his six years of Catholic education with ingraining in him a sense of moral obligation to try to live out religious convictions that affects his daily life.

In a wide-ranging interview at Tri-City Airport in Freeland, Mich., near Saginaw, Clinton discussed:

- His college years at Georgetown and two years in a Catholic grade school.
- His opposition to a school choice voucher funding system that includes parochial schools.
- Standards he would apply in nominating Supreme Court justices.
- His support for the death penalty.
- His support for would-be refugees to the United States from Haiti.
- Proposals to help the nation's poor children.

Clinton has said he would support the Freedom of Choice Act, a bill which, as introduced in the last session of Congress, would have prohibited states from passing any laws restricting abortion. But Clinton noted that various proposed amendments to the bill would have given states some regulatory leeway.

Acknowledging that as governor of Arkansas he supported a law requiring minors to notify their parents before having abortions, Clinton noted, "The final form of that act (in Congress) is not yet clear. Before the people who support it decided not to push it in this Congress, there were all kinds of negotiations about what the states should still be free to do."

"I think states should absolutely have the freedom to have parental notice," he said. While he believes a 24-hour waiting period "philosophically, sounds like a totally reasonable thing," it can impose an unfair burden on women who must travel long distances in some areas of the country where there

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are few abortion clinics.

"I don't know that federal law needs to regulate it away, but as a practical matter, in the real world it is a significant burden," Clinton said. "In the real world there are very few people who do that who haven't thought about it for 24 hours."

Clinton also said he wants pro-life Democrats to remain in the party and that he regrets the decision to refuse Pennsylvania Gov. Robert Casey's request to address the Democratic National Convention in July.

Casey, a popular Catholic governor in a key Democratic state, has urged the party to moderate its platform, which strongly opposes any regulation of abortion. Clinton was criticized at the time for keeping Casey off the speaker's platform as part of an effort to present a united front favoring abortion rights.

According to Clinton, Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, based his decision to turn down Casey's request on the fact that Casey had not yet endorsed the Clinton-Gore ticket.

"It was very frustrating to me because I like Bob Casey a lot," said Clinton. "I mean I've known him for years and worked with him. And I attempted to visit with him about it. I personally had no problems with him talking."

Other Democrats who oppose abortion, such as Boston Mayor Ray Flynn, had time at the microphone and made pro-life statements, Clinton said. "But he had endorsed our ticket."

Clinton said he would like Democrats who disagree about abortion to feel they can work within the party to make abortions less necessary.

"I want pro-life Democrats in our party and I've relied extremely heavily on Mayor Flynn in this campaign for all kinds of advice on a number of issues," Clinton said.

"I don't want to run anybody out of the party that agrees with us on more issues than they disagree with us on," he said.

Catholics in particular should feel at home in the Democratic party, even if they disagree about abortion, believes Clinton.

"The Democratic Party's platforms and historic commitments are much more consistent with the Catholic Church's social mission than the Republican platform's," he said. "So I think we should talk about things on which we do agree."

He urged finding ways for people who disagree on abortion to work together to reduce their number. Adoption, in particular, should be more widely encouraged, he said.

Clinton said as president he would nominate Supreme Court justices who agree with him that the constitutional right to privacy guarantees freedom to have abortions.

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Clinton also disagrees with the Bush administration over priorities in education.

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Children's interests also need to be better supervised by government entities that are charged with protecting them, Clinton said.

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"The (foster care) systems are breaking down in most states in America as more and more kids grow up in difficult family circumstances and more and more families fall into poverty and tensions build up," he said.

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Clinton supported a crime bill that never made it out of Congress this session that included imposing the death penalty for several additional federal crimes. He said he thought those provisions were secondary.

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Discussing his religious beliefs, Clinton said his years at Georgetown left their mark. Paired with his Southern Baptist beliefs, Clinton said, his years of studying under the Jesuits have shaped his sense of public duty.

While his religious heritage established his belief that the basis of religious freedom lies in church-state separation, Catholic influences have underscored his sense of obligation to others.

He's learned "we are morally obliged to try to live out our religious convictions in the world," he said. Baptists believe that salvation is a matter of the personal relationship between an individual and God, Clinton noted.

Jesuits also taught him "a real respect for the obligation to develop one's mind," Clinton said.

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TEXT CLINTON Oct. 26, 1992 (4,000 words).

FRIELAND, Mich. (CNS) Here is the transcript of a Catholic News Service interview with Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton. The interview was conducted by CNS federal reporter Patricia Zapor at the Tin-City Airport in Freeland Oct. 25 while Clinton was campaigning in the Saginaw area.

CNS: A little bit of old history, but it's still of interest to our readers, who are, the majority, Catholic newspapers in this country. Why wasn't Gov. Casey given a forum at the Democratic convention?

Clinton: Well, the people who were running the convention, and I must say this issue was not brought directly to me, if it had been I might've made a different decision. But I wanted -- Ray Pynn spoke, who is very strongly pro-life and made some pro-life statements. But he had endorsed our ticket. Jesse Jackson spoke from a different perspective, and you know we'd been sort of estranged, but he had endorsed our ticket.

At the time the convention occurred, Gov. Casey had not yet endorsed the ticket. So, the chairman of the party decided that he shouldn't make a position for him. It was very frustrating to me 'cause I like Bob Casey a lot. I mean, I've known him for years and worked with him. And I attempted

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to, you know, visit with him about it. And I personally had no problem with him talking. I want pro-life Democrats in our party and I think I've relied extremely heavily on Mayor Flynn in this campaign for all kinds of advice on a number of issues. And I've done my best to make that clear. I also in a related way was really moved by the article that Gov. Cuomo wrote in The New York Times not very long ago. I don't know if you saw it, basically arguing for a common effort by Americans who are pro-life and pro-choice to reduce the number of abortions in America.

So I regret what happened. I still, you know, in terms of Gov. Casey, 'cause I really like him and I'd like to have, you know.

CNS: Have you settled it between you? Have you spoken about it? Do you feel like you've come to an agreement of some sort with each other?

Clinton: Well, he said publicly, you know, he's going to support the ticket, but I think, you know, I don't know how he feels about the national party not offering him a forum. But I think, that's the policy that Ron Brown thought we ought to follow and in that case, no one really brought the issue to me. But I had supported the policy when it was developed.

But I really like Casey, and I respect his convictions and I hope we can find ways to work together.

CNS: Partly because of that incident and various other things, a couple people have said that it's getting real hard to cast a vote for a Democrat without also by implication casting a vote for pro-choice. Obviously from what you say you don't necessarily think that's the way the Democratic Party should be, it should not be quite so restrictive.

Clinton: I don't want to run anybody out of the party that agrees with us on more issues than they disagree with us on. And I think the -- as I said, Ray Flynn spoke and made a very impassioned pro-life comment, through his remarks. And I would -- I think the decision was solely based on whether we could break the precedent of letting someone speak at the convention who had not yet committed to support the ticket. And I hope it's all resolved.

CNS: What else would you do then to try to dissuade that notion that there isn't room in the Democratic Party for people who disagree about abortion?

Clinton: I think the best thing that we could do is -- I think there are only two responses, frankly. One is talk about all the issues on which we do agree. I mean, the Democratic Party's platform and historic commitments are much more consistent with the Catholic Church's social mission than the Republican platform. And so I think we should talk about those things on which we do agree. And the second thing, I think that we should do what Mario Cuomo suggested and try to find ways that people who disagree over what the law should be on abortion can work together to reduce the number of abortions. You know, in most of the years that I have been governor, the number of abortions have gone down over the previous year. There was a chart just printed in the Arkansas Democrat, about, oh, I don't know, a couple months ago, which documented that I think there were only two of the last eight years that the number of abortions increased over the previous year. And I think that you do that by promoting adoption and doing what you can to reduce unwanted pregnancies. I think that we ought to have a concerted effort on that.

I remember, and this incident has been quoted elsewhere, but I want to repeat about it. I had an amazing encounter with a woman in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in front of Quaker Oats at this rally, and there were a lot of pro-life demonstrators at the back of the crowd and she was in front of the crowd and she had a pro-choice sticker on. But she was holding this baby of another race -- she was white and the kid was African-American, this little girl had AIDS and she had adopted this child out of another state. And she talked about her commitment to trying to get -- to adopt problem children because she had done this and that she wished she could be part of a common effort to try to promote the notion of adoption, to let people know that there were people like her who want to adopt these children and she thought that might reduce the number of abortions, which I thought was an interesting thing. She basically looked back longingly at the pro-life demonstrators all the way on the other side of the crowd and she said that's something I wish I was involved with them in doing. I really think that's what we ought to do. Those are the two things that I would say to pro-life Democrats about why they shouldn't necessarily leave the Democratic Party.

CNS: As governor, you supported a parental notification bill.

Clinton: I did support that.

CNS: But you also support the Freedom of Choice Act, which even the ACLU says would make it impossible to have such laws as parental notification.

Clinton: Well, what the final form of that act will be is not yet clear. I mean, before the people who supported it decided not to push it in

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this Congress, there were all kinds of negotiations about what the states should still be free to do, including that. I think states should absolutely have the freedom to have parental notice.

CNS: What about some other restrictions -- 24-hour waiting period, things like that.

Clinton: The thing that bothers me about the 24-hour waiting period is philosophically, it sounds like a totally reasonable thing. But as a practical matter, people don't, I don't think there are very many people who ever go through an abortion who haven't thought about it for 24 hours, No. 1. And No. 2, since only 17 percent of the counties today, according to the Time or Newsweek study on abortion --

CNS: There aren't many clinics --

Clinton: Yeah, there aren't many clinics anymore doing it. For people who have limited means and who come in from a long way away, who by definition have been thinking about it however long it took them to get from where they live to where they go, it can impose a significant burden on their ability to have access to what other people could, maybe just because they live down the street from a clinic. So that's my only problem with that. I don't know that federal law needs to regulate it away, but I just think that as a practical matter, in the real world it is a significant burden. In the real world there are very few people who do that who haven't thought about it for 24 hours.

I do think that we should do more to promote adoption services as an alternative. I think people need to know in this country that there are caring, loving people out there who don't have children who would love to have children, who will adopt children. I don't know that any place has done as good a job with that as they should. But I think that is a more constructive thing to do than to focus on the waiting period, given the practical circumstances of most people's conditions in America.

CNS: Would your nominations to federal courts on the Supreme Court -- would you require that the nominees agree with you on political issues like abortion?

Clinton: I wouldn't give them a laundry list of procedures that they would agree with me on. But I have said that I think that given the fact that there are four justices on the court who have ridiculed the ruling in *Roe vs. Wade*, and that we now have a Republican platform which calls for an outright ban on all abortions, and they've run on four different platforms now committing them to appoint only judges to all benches who are committed to repeal *Roe vs. Wade*, then I thought if I got a chance to make an appointment to the court I ought to appoint somebody who was pro-choice. Not someone I gave 10 questions to answer about "How do you feel about every last issue," but at least someone who believed that there was a constitutional right to privacy -- which a lot of people don't believe that there is one, that encompasses a right to choose -- and I do. So I would do my best without giving somebody a 20-question interview to appoint someone who had expressed the belief that the right to privacy is in the Constitution.

CNS: But if a nominee disagreed with you on that area and you were basically in line on others, that wouldn't necessarily be a requirement that would keep somebody on or off the court?

Clinton: Well, I would have a difficult time appointing someone to the Supreme Court that didn't believe in the constitutional right to privacy. Because I believe in that. I think every president throughout history without exception has had some so-called litmus test, even though I don't think it's ever a good idea for a president to sit down and interview a prospective judge and ask them, "Well, what would you do in this case, that case and the other thing?" I would never do that.

But, I mean, for example, I can't imagine a president after 1960, for example, appointing a justice to the Supreme Court who didn't believe in the 14th Amendment, that is, requiring the integration of public schools. Just for an example. So, that's an important thing to me. But I'm not going to sit around and give anybody a test on the Pennsylvania law, for example, on how they feel about this restriction or that one. I wouldn't do that.

CNS: A quick change of subject. There are a couple things we can breeze through quickly. You support capital punishment, yet you're certainly aware that it's inequitably imposed on poor non-whites much more than for any other racial or income groups. What would you do to change how capital punishment is applied in the U.S.?

Clinton: I think that we ought to make sure that people who are charged with crimes for which they can be executed have better lawyers at the trial level and at the appeals level. You know, retired Justice Powell headed a commission to look at the appellate process in criminal capital cases, because the average capital punishment case takes almost eight years to work its way through the courts. And Powell argued that that was too long, but

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that part of the reason that it took so long and that we had so many appeals was the uneasy feeling that the judicial system has that so many people who get sentenced to death don't have the same shot at the courts as those who beat the death penalty because their upbringing (unintelligible) better lawyers. So his argument was that we should accelerate somewhat the criminal appeals process, but in return for that every state would have to demonstrate that it had imposed a higher standard for what kind of legal assistance someone who could be executed got.

CNS: Would your policies encourage more widespread application of the death penalty for federal crimes?

Clinton: Oh, I'm not all hung up on that. I supported this federal crime bill that was filibustered to death. But I supported it largely because it contained more funds to put police officers on the street and because it contained the Brady Bill, which would have a waiting period before people could buy handguns so we could check their criminal and mental health history and age. But I think capital punishment decisions by and large should be left to the states and that the capital punishment provisions in the federal crime bill will have a marginal effect, at most, on the crime problem in the United States. I don't think that's one of the most important parts of that bill. And I'm not hung up on that. I do think the money that was in that bill for local police officers and the Brady Bill and the provisions for speeding up the criminal's appeals process in a fair way were good ones. I'd like to see that stuff enacted. I don't have any particular problem with the capital punishment provisions of that bill, but if you read them, while there are a whole bunch of them, they would have very limited application to the problems that most Americans face in terms of their safety and security. So I think that frankly that has been way overemphasized at the federal level. By and large, the capital punishment issue as it affects most people in their lives is one that's going to be resolved at the state level.

CNS: There's been a lot of talk in your campaign about improving children's lives. What's the flip side of your hit single, "Full funding for Head Start"?

Clinton: You mean, what else would we do?

CNS: Right.

Clinton: Let's talk about two or three other things. I think that as we move toward a universal health care system -- that is, one in which everybody gets some coverage -- I think we need to focus on young mothers and their children first. I think that if we can improve the primary and preventive health care system in this country, we can lower infant mortality, lower the low birth weight rate, which is quite high in this country and improve the mental and physical development of children as they start school. I think that is very, very important.

The other thing I think we need to do is to take a hard look nationally at something that I've grappled with in my state, with mixed results, and that is the whole system we have for dealing with abused and neglected children, you know, the foster care system, working with kids when they stay in the homes. The systems are breaking down in most states in America as more and more kids grow up in difficult family circumstances and more and more families fall into poverty and tensions build up. And the way that the federal government works now with regard to that aspect of children's needs is that essentially the federal contribution to programs that deal with abused and neglected children is more limited than the federal contribution to deal with children's health needs through Medicaid, for example, or they're more limited than federal contributions to the Head Start program. So that there is this real uneven pattern which has gotten aggravated by the state budgetary problems in most states because most states have had to take more and more money away from preschool education and more and more away from those things that deal with the Medicaid problems, 'cause of the explosion in the health care rolls in America for poor people.

Another thing I'd really like to look at is to see what we can do to strengthen the foster care systems in America, strengthen the adoption systems and to help the states get in a position where they're making better judgments about when they keep children in families and when they should be removed from families. Those are the toughest calls you have to make.

If you interview most children, most children would rather stay with their family even in an abusive situation than be extracted. This young child that filed a lawsuit to stay with his adopted family, that's basically the exception rather than the rule and that kid had been jacked around something terrible in his life. I was very sympathetic with him, but in our experience that's the exception not the rule. And I must tell you, I think that of all the decisions made by governments in this country that those are the toughest calls. I mean, when you see these kids, you see parents that are in trouble, should they be left in the home? Should they be taken out of the home? If they're left in the home, what kind of support can you give the home to make sure the kids are not abused and neglected? Those are the tough things I'd really like to see us make some progress on as a country.

CNS: Along the lines of children and education, you oppose President Bush's education voucher plan, where it includes the non-public schools. How do you feel about tax credits for parents with children in non-public schools?

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Clinton: I think it's about the same thing. The tax credits are about the same as his idea of giving everybody a certain amount of money and letting them take it to --

Let me explain where I'm coming from on this. I'd like to talk about this a little bit, especially to your readers.

I believe in Catholic education. I went to a Catholic school. I was at Springfield, Mo., the other night at my rally. They had a terrific rally in Springfield. And the nun who taught me in the second and third grade came up to me at the rally. I had not seen her since, in '78 years.

Her name is Sister Mary Amata and she lives with an order in Springfield, Mo. And it was wonderful. She had sent me a letter when I got nominated with a picture of her when she was teaching me and a picture of her today. So I got to sort of see her and in my mind I got ready to see her. She was a terrific teacher. I loved her. Of course I went to Georgetown, as you know. But I went to a Catholic grade school for two years and it was one of the most rewarding experiences of my life.

I have the following concerns about the tuition tax credits or the Bush proposal, which is different, by the way, from what happened in Milwaukee. In Milwaukee, the state made a judgment about a particular school system, the Milwaukee school system, that it was seriously deficient. And the Catholic schools in Milwaukee had vacated all these buildings and moved out to the suburbs, basically. And there were private but non-sectarian schools in Milwaukee where a limited number of poor kids were able to go rather than the public schools. But the Milwaukee thing is not what Bush is proposing.

The two problems I have with it are these: No. 1, as opposed to the voucher system for child care, which, in Arkansas, I have a voucher system at home that I put in. We were the first state in the country, I think, to put one in for child care. We let working people take their vouchers and take their kids to church child care centers. Our state program in Arkansas, which I strongly supported, gives out state scholarships for people to go to college to private or public schools, including church-related universities.

CNS: So what's so different about elementary schools?

Clinton: There are two things different about elementary and secondary schools, particularly elementary schools. One is, I went to a Catholic school and I know this -- I liked it and I participated willingly in the religious instruction and I was very much rewarded for it even though I wasn't a Catholic. But I think that a part of the mission of the Catholic schools is to communicate the values of the church to the children and I don't think the Constitution of our country permits taxpayers to subsidize that. I think there is a real difference between little children going to a child care center where they're too young to get religious instruction, or kids going to a Catholic university. For example, when I went to Georgetown, there were alternatives to the theology requirement for non-Catholic students. There's a difference in that, in people going to public schools where they as a part of their instruction get religious instruction.

The second issue is a practical problem for me, purely practical. The United States is spending, contrary to myth, less of its income on public education, that is on K through 12 education, than nine other countries already. Unlike those nine countries that are spending a higher percentage of their income, we have more poor kids and greater diversity and more difficulties. I simply don't think we have the money. And we also have drastic inequalities, you know, in funding of public education. I simply don't think we have the money to divert many resources away from our obligation to improve the public education system. And I believe with public school choice, with dramatic restructuring of the schools --

By the way, I think we have a lot to learn from the Catholic school systems. You look at the Catholic school system in Chicago, for example, which is the biggest one in the country, I think. The administrative costs of operating that school system are roughly 5 percent of the cost of administering the public schools. Part of that is the public schools have to deal with the federal grants and deal with the -- but basically that shows you what we could do. We have a lot to learn from the private school systems and from the Catholic school systems. But I don't think that we can as a practical matter -- given the fact that we know we could fix the public schools with certain reform strategies that are proven -- I don't think we can afford to be diverting public funds to private purposes. For those two reasons, I oppose the Bush plan and the tax credits.

CNS: You're a Southern Baptist who was educated by Jesuits at Georgetown. How do those two influences affect your outlook on life and your administration? Will these come into play in your day-to-day administration?

Clinton: Yes. You know, when I showed up at Georgetown, they thought I had a screw loose. They said, here you are, you've never had a foreign language, you're at the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, you're a Southern Baptist who's hardly been out of Arkansas. I told them, I said -- But I had those four years of Latin, which qualified me to go to a Catholic university.

From my Southern Baptist heritage, I have a deep belief that the First Amendment separation between church and state is what guarantees the religious freedom of all people. That's something that's really deeply ingrained in the history of the Baptist Church in America, going back to its founding.

But the Catholic influence on me, frankly, I think, is manifested in two ways. First of all, a real sense that we are morally obliged to try to live out our religious convictions in the world, that our obligation to social mission is connected to religious life. And I believe that. That I got out of

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my Catholic training more than from the Baptist Church, which is much more rooted in the notion that salvation is a matter of personal relationship between an individual and God and carries with it no necessary burden to go out into the world and do things.

And the other thing I got out of my Catholic tradition is real respect for the obligation to develop one's mind, that religious convictions involve more than emotions, that there is an intellectual vigor, that if you have a mind you have an obligation to develop it, to learn to think and to know things and then to act on those things more powerfully because you know more and because you can think better. That's something the Jesuits did for me as much as anything else.

I loved Georgetown. I love the Jesuits. You know one of my good friends to this day is a Jesuit priest who I went to Boy's Nation with in 1963, he didn't go to Georgetown, but we went to Yale Law School with me.

CNS: Fred Kammer?

Clinton: Uh huh. You know him?

CNS: I've spoken with him on the phone.

Clinton: He's a wonderful man. One of the best letters I ever got in my life was a letter Fred Kammer wrote to his friends when he was 40 years old, on his 40th birthday, explaining how proud he was that he had kept all of his vows as a priest and what each of them had meant to him over the course of his life. It was the most overwhelming letter. Hillary and I read it and just wept.

CNS: Do you have a favorite Scriptural passage? Something that means a lot to you?

Clinton: A lot of them. Galatians 6:9. "Let us not grow weary while doing good for in due season we shall reap, but do not lose heart." It's a wonderful Scripture.

CNS: Thank you very much, Gov. Clinton.

Clinton: I must say that one of the things I've really appreciated as I've dealt with different groups of pro-life people around the country, is that of all the people that I've dealt with, the Catholics and the Pentecostals have been the most consistent, from my point of view, in dealing with the position of their cause. And really, anytime I have pro-life demonstrators in my crowds, I always try to treat them with great respect because I have so much respect for their position. But the Catholics and the Pentecostals have been the most consistent because they have put themselves on the line for adoption. So that it's much more than politics with the Catholic Church, but it also is with the Pentecostals. That's really impressed me. And I think that's important.

CNS: One question I didn't get to is about Haitian refugee policy.

Clinton: I want to answer that. I am opposed to the Bush administration policy and I don't think we ought to be shipping those people back until we know we have done everything we can to restore democracy in Haiti, either with Aristide and the coalition government or in some other fashion, a democratic government that observes human rights and freedoms. I have opposed it from day one and I strongly oppose it and if I'm elected on Nov. 3 I'm going to change it.

♦ ♦ ♦



COPY

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Most Reverend William H. Keeler, D.D.

Archbishop of Baltimore

President

December 9, 1992

President-Elect Bill Clinton
The Governor's Mansion
1800 Center
Little Rock, AK 72206

Dear President-Elect Clinton:

On behalf of the nation's Roman Catholic Bishops, I write to offer our prayers and best wishes to you as you prepare to assume the Office of President of the United States. We hope that your stewardship of our nation's highest office will be years of peace and prosperity, justice and reconciliation.

As leaders of a faith community serving the spiritual, pastoral and human needs of millions of Americans, we pledge our best efforts to work with you, your Administration and the Congress to defend the life, dignity and rights of all, especially the poor and vulnerable.

As our enclosed statement on political responsibility outlines, our agenda is broad. It includes areas of both potential common ground and disagreement between our Conference and your administration. It includes legal protection for unborn children, a refundable children's tax credit and child support reform, parental leave and educational choice for all families, and new policies on immigration, health care, hunger and housing, among other priorities. We especially seek to help shape public policy to support America's families and meet the needs of our children.

Our Conference is also deeply involved in international affairs. While we acknowledge the understandable desire to turn inward to meet our pressing domestic needs, our nation must resist the temptation of isolationism in a still suffering and dangerous world. We strongly support creative and sustained U.S. leadership in the defense of human rights, the protection of refugees, the pursuit of peace and the commitment to global economic justice.

We share these reflections with our hopes and prayers that your Presidential service of our nation will be a time of growing achievement for our nation and progress for our world. We would welcome an opportunity to explore how our Bishop's Conference and your administration can work together to advance the common good and to enhance the life, dignity and rights of all God's children.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "William H. Keeler", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the left.

Most Reverend William H. Keeler
President, NCCB/USCC
Archbishop of Baltimore

I. Introduction: Children within a Family Perspective

Our nation is failing many of our children. Our world is a hostile and dangerous place for millions of children. As pastors in a community deeply committed to serving children and their families, and as teachers of a faith that celebrates the gift of children, we seek to call attention to this crisis and to fashion a response that builds on the values of our faith, the experience of our community, and the love and compassion of our people. We seek to shape a society—and a world—with a clear priority for families and children in need and to contribute to the development of policies that help families protect their children's lives and overcome the moral, social, and economic forces that threaten their future.

We focus on the situation of our children for several reasons:

- **Our children are a test of both our humanity and our faith.** As Pope John Paul II said in *Familiaris Consortio*, "In the Christian view, our treatment of children becomes a measure of our fidelity to the Lord himself."
- **Our children are hurting**, in the United States and around the world. They are among the most vulnerable members of the human family. The lives, dignity, rights, and hopes of literally millions of children are at risk.
- **Our children are our future**—they will be the leaders, the believers, the parents, the citizens of tomorrow. In responding to their needs today, we shape a better future for all.
- **Our children are our present.** Our children bring us special gifts, today, not just tomorrow. They are the sign of God's continual gift to the world. Thus, we need to respect them and place their rights as a priority in our society and our Church.
- **Parents need support and help** in meeting the challenges of raising children in the face of the cultural, economic, and moral pressures of our day.

No institution can substitute for the committed love, daily sacrifice, and hard work of parents in caring for their children. But every institution should support parents in their essential tasks. Our Church must be an ally and advocate for parents as they struggle to meet their children's needs at home and in an often hostile world where powerful economic and social forces can overwhelm the love and care of a family.

Our purpose is to share the facts of a society failing its children and a world neglecting children, and to explore the moral dimensions, human consequences, and religious meaning of these failures. We invite the Catholic community and the broader society to respond to this urgent moral challenge and to suggest some basic values and directions for our families, nation, and world in meeting it. We urge a reordering of priorities—personal, ecclesial, and societal—to focus more on the needs and potential of our children. This message is a call for conversion and action—a spiritual and social reawakening to the moral and human costs of neglecting our children and families.

In these reflections, we build on our past efforts especially our statements on family, human life, and social justice. We focus on children, not as unconnected

Children are the poorest members of our society—one out of five children grows up poor in the richest nation on earth.

individuals, but as members of families. Every family has a mission "to guard, reveal, and communicate love" and children are at the center of that mission. We address the needs of children from a family perspective.

If society seeks to help children, it has to support families, since children's lives are nurtured or neglected, enhanced or diminished by the quality of family life.

II. The Realities

Childhood should be a happy, secure, and safe time of growth and development. For many children, it is. We are learning more and more about the remarkable human, moral, and spiritual development of young people. They are resilient, adaptive, and resourceful. But for far too many of our children all over the world, childhood is an often dangerous and overwhelming struggle.

A. Children in the United States

We ask you to consider these sad facts of our national life:

- Every year 1.6 million of our children are destroyed by legalized abortion even before they are born. They are denied their most basic right, the right to life itself.
- Children are the poorest members of our society—one out of five children grows up poor in the richest nation on earth. Among our youngest children, a fourth are poor. Children are nearly twice as likely to be poor as any other group. Among children, the younger you are, the more likely you are to be poor in America. And poverty means chil-



...[C]ommon stereotypes are often misleading.... Most poor children are white; most are from working families; and the child poverty rate in rural America is higher than for the nation as a whole.

dren miss the basics — the food, housing, and health care they need to grow and develop. They are deprived in a way that hurts and distorts their lives.

- Forty thousand children born each year in the U.S. do not live to see their first birthday. Sixty-seven newborn babies die each day in our land. Our infant mortality rate puts us last among twenty western nations.
- The United States has the highest divorce rate, the highest teenage pregnancy rate, the highest child poverty rate, and the highest abortion rate in the Western world.
- An estimated 5.5 million U.S. children under twelve are hungry; another 6 million are underfed.
- The rate of teenage suicide has tripled in thirty years.
- More than 2.5 million children suffer physical, emotional, or sexual abuse or neglect in one year in the United States.
- More teenage boys die of gunshot wounds than from all natural causes combined.

- More than 25 percent of our teenagers drop out of school; SAT scores have declined 70 points since 1963.
- More than 8 million children are in families without health insurance.
- Mothers and children make up an increasing proportion of the homeless in our land.

Children need a secure and stable **family life**. However, families today are facing enormous pressures and significant change:

- Many parents, regardless of income, struggle to meet the emotional, spiritual, and physical needs of their children in the face of powerful moral, economic, and social pressures that make their task more difficult.
- Divorce has quadrupled in thirty years to touch almost half of all marriages. Half of all noncustodial parents do not see their children in the first year after divorce. Three-quarters of these parents have no contact with their children after ten years.
- Most families need two incomes to meet their economic needs. More than half of mothers with children under six are in the paid work force.
- Almost a fourth of our children are growing up in single-parent families, most of them headed by women who are more likely to live in poverty.
- More middle class families are experiencing greater difficulty affording a home, obtaining quality health care, and paying for their children's education, especially college.
- Families face diverse challenges in raising children: the reality of crime and violence, the allure of materialism and consumerism, continuing prejudice and intolerance, media that often belittle family values, and public policy and corporate practices that too often ignore the family responsibilities of parents.

These pressures are exacerbated by prejudice and discrimination. African American, Asian American, Hispanic, and Native American families have remarkable strengths often unappreciated by others. Against pervasive discrimination, the family in these communities has been both a refuge and a launching pad; however, minority children still face very significant obstacles. Forty-three percent of African American children grow up in poverty. A majority of these children are in single-parent families. The poverty rate for Hispanic children (32 percent) is growing more rapidly than for any other group. In addition, discrimination against women means that

III. The Moral and Religious Dimension

In the Catholic community, we draw on three basic resources to shape our response to this moral challenge: the Scriptures, Catholic teaching, and our experience in serving children and their families.

A. The Lessons of Scripture

In the Bible, children are both a blessing from God and a test of the community's values. The ancient Hebrews believed children were a sign of God's favor (Gn 15:1-6). Our fathers and mothers in faith prayed for children, and God answered their pleas (Gn 15:1-6; 1 Sm 1:9-21). But the Scriptures also record terrible sins against the young. Children were the victims of abuse (Ps 10:18; 94:6; Jb 22:9). Orphans were especially vulnerable and became objects of God's special care. God and his Covenant upheld the rights of abandoned children (Ps 68:5; Jer 49:11), provided for their support (Dt 24:19-22), and demanded their protection (Ex 22:22-24).

Holiness and justice are to be found in those who are ready to give wholehearted, generous support to the vulnerable children: "To the fatherless be as a father, and help their mother as a husband would..." (Sir 4:10). "Religion that is pure and undefiled before God... is this," the letter of James declares, "to care for orphans and widows in their affliction..." (Jas 1:27).

Under the covenant, care of orphans and widows, like that of aliens and the poor, was the responsibility of both families and the whole society. The prophets inveighed against the people for their failure to do justice "by advancing the claim of the fatherless" (Jer 5:28) and by exploiting widows and orphans (Ez 22:7). Indeed, God's continued presence among the people depended on doing justice to the oppressed:

Only if you thoroughly reform your ways and your deeds; if each of you deals justly with his neighbor, if you no longer oppress the resident alien, the orphan, and the widow; ...will I remain with you in this place, in the land which I gave your fathers long ago and forever (Jer 7:4-7).

In the New Testament we read how Jesus came into the world as a vulnerable and homeless child. We also hear of God's love for us and the frequent reference to children in the parables. For example, in explaining the goodness of God, Jesus says, "Which one of you would hand his son a stone when he asks for a loaf of bread, or a snake when he asks for a fish? If you then, who are wicked, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your heavenly Father give good things to those who ask him" (Mt 7:7-11).

Jesus welcomed and blessed children (Mt 19:12-15) and called his disciples to act as children in receiving the word of God. Jesus tells his disciples: "Whoever receives one child...in my name, receives me; and whoever receives me, receives not me but the One who sent me"

(Mk 9:36-37). This parallels the story of the last judgment, where we learn that in serving "the least among us," we serve the Lord; this parable insists that our judgment depends on our response to the hungry, the thirsty, the naked (Mt 25). In our day the "orphans and

No institution is more deeply involved in serving the needs of children than our community of faith. We bring not only deep conviction, but also vast experience to the challenge of meeting the needs of children.

widows" are poor children and single parents; the "least of these" are hungry and homeless children; unwanted, unborn children; crack babies; and children with AIDS.

The Scriptures call on believers to stand up for the poor and vulnerable. "Speak out for those who cannot speak for themselves, for the rights of the destitute, open your mouth, decree what is just, defend the needy and the poor" (Prv 31:8-9). And, the early Church was called in the first letter of John to put love of God into action, "...[W]e should love one another.... If someone who has worldly means sees a brother in need and refuses him compassion, how can the love of God remain in him? Children, let us love not in word or speech but in deed and truth." (1 Jn 3:11-17).

B. The Teaching of the Church

1. Traditional Social Teaching

The biblical call to speak for those who cannot speak for themselves and to make Christian love real and active has taken explicit shape over the last century in the traditional social teaching of our Church. This tradition and its key principles shape and guide our response to the moral challenge of our children. These principles include the life and dignity of the human person, human rights and responsibilities, the call to family and community, the dignity of work, the option for the poor and vulnerable, and the principle of solidarity. These principles take on increasing urgency and relevance as they are so clearly violated in the lives of so many children. Applying Catholic social teaching today requires a priority focus on children.

2. Teaching on Family

We also share a more specific ecclesial heritage of teaching on children and families. Through children, God shares with women and men a special participation in creation. If we are to protect and nurture this gift of children, we must have strong families.

The physical, psychological, moral, and spiritual health of children is intimately linked to the health of families. In Christian terms, the family is sacred and holy, a "community of life and love," which prepares, nourishes, and sustains the youngest members of the Church in their task of building up the kingdom of God. In social terms, families are the "first and vital cell of society," the building block of community.

Our family perspective demands that the rights of children are directly linked to the rights and responsibilities of families. These rights were outlined in the Holy See's *Charter of Family Rights*. They include the right to found a family, to a stable marriage, to bear and educate children in one's faith, to social and economic security, to decent housing, to protect children from harm, and to immigrate.

These rights are linked to the responsibilities of families, including four fundamental tasks:

- *Families form children in a loving community.* Each member of the family shares in the responsibility to build this unique community of love. Children contribute to this community through their gift of love, respect, and obedience toward their parents. Parents, in turn, nurture their children in self-giving love, mutual respect, and discipline. In these ways, families challenge the exaggerated individualism and selfishness that so distort our society.
- *Families serve the life and dignity of children.* Men and women joined in marriage share in God's love and power as Creator by their free and responsible cooperation in transmitting the gift of human life through the moral exercise of the gift of human sexuality. This participation in God's creative activity involves both bringing children into the world and taking part in their upbringing and education. Parents are the first and most important educators of their children. Responsible parenthood is a cornerstone of the Church's teaching on family and a healthy society.
- *Families bring children to participate in the development of society.* Parents help children grow in moral and spiritual maturity and also help to build a caring and just society. Through families, children should come to identify with the most needy in the community, especially poor and suffering children, and should develop a life-long commitment to respond through service of the poor and disadvantaged and through action for justice and peace in their own communities and the world.
- *Families enable children to share in the life and mission of the Church.* In the family, parents communicate the Gospel to their children, and children as well as parents learn to live it in their daily lives. Parents have a responsibility, through word and example, to help make prayer and the sacraments an integral part of their children's lives. The

Gospel of Jesus and the life of faith are enormous gifts to our children, offering meaning, direction, and discipline in a world that often lacks them. Parents instill in their children a commitment to loving service of others, helping them to discover in every person the image of God.

As believers and citizens, we need—each of us—to use our values, voices, and votes to hold our public officials accountable and to shape a society that puts our children first.

These tasks of families are shared with others, especially extended families, parishes, and other networks of family support. An African proverb suggests "It takes a whole village to raise a child." In our society it takes grandparents and godparents, friends and relatives, teachers and pastors, and many others. We recognize and support the diverse sources of strength and help for families.

3. Society: Protector and Promoter of Children and Families

Social institutions increasingly share many of the family's responsibilities toward children, but they can never take the place of families. Rather, social institutions—government at all levels, employers, religious institutions, schools, media, community organizations—should enter into creative partnerships with families so that families can fulfill their responsibilities toward children. As we said in *Economic Justice for All*, "Economic and social policies as well as the organization of work should be continually evaluated in light of their impact on the strength and stability of family life."

These themes are reinforced by the message of Pope John Paul II's encyclical, *Centesimus Annus*, which emphasizes the continuing value of Catholic social teaching. The pope calls the family "the sanctuary of life" and says:

In order to overcome today's widespread individualistic mentality, what is required is a *concrete commitment to solidarity and charity*, beginning in the family.... It is urgent therefore to promote not only family policies, but also those social policies which have the family as their principal object, policies which assist the family by providing adequate resources and efficient means of support, both for bringing up children and for looking after the elderly... (49).

The Holy Father also insists that the strengths and efficiency of a market economy like our own need to be harmonized with the needs and rights of families, especially the poor and workers, and he warns against overly bureaucratic responses to family needs.



Jim Whitmer

As family members and citizens we must measure our choices as individuals, as a nation, and as a global community for their impact on children and families.

C. The Experience of the Catholic Community

For decades, even centuries, the Catholic community has been deeply involved in meeting the human, pastoral, and educational needs of children and their families. In 1727 the Ursuline Sisters founded the first

Catholic home for abandoned children in New Orleans. Presently, millions of families are served by Catholic Charities, which offers help in meeting basic needs, providing foster care and adoption, family counseling and alternatives to abortion. Hungry and homeless children are assisted in our shelters, by our soup kitchens and our parish-based food pantries. Our elementary and secondary schools offer educational opportunities to millions of children. Through parish religious education and adult education programs, we provide ongoing programs of marriage preparation and enrichment, natural family planning, family ministry, youth ministry, and parenting skills.

Our national and state conferences of Catholic bishops, Catholic Charities, arch/diocesan ministerial offices, and other organizations are deeply involved in advocacy for children and families. We also provide ongoing programs of family ministry and marriage preparation and enrichment. The Campaign for Human Development helps to empower families in their search for justice. Around the world, missionaries, Catholic Relief Services, Holy Childhood Association, and our immigration and refugee programs offer hope and help to desperate children and families.

Because of our long and continued involvement with children and families, the concerns on which we now focus are neither new or abstract, but rather evidence of real, continuing, and perhaps worsening conditions for children. We bring not only our values to this concern, but also broad experience and expertise in caring for children and their families. No institution is more deeply involved in serving the needs of children than our community of faith. We bring not only deep conviction, but also vast experience to the challenge of meeting the needs of children.

IV. The Moral Challenge

Believers, as heirs of this religious tradition, cannot confront the tragic situation of so many children and turn away. As family members and citizens we must measure our choices as individuals, as a nation, and as a global community for their impact on children and families.

Within our *families*, we need to teach — by word and example, by our priorities and our lives — the values that help our children grow to be responsible, faithful, caring, and disciplined. Our love, our values, and our faith are passed on not only by what we say, but also by how we live. Parents, especially, show love for their children by providing for their emotional and spiritual needs, as well as their material needs. This occurs, for example, when parents spend time with their children, when they discipline and guide them, when they show affection, and when they teach their children to pray and grow in faith.

In our *churches* we need to help families in their essential roles, offering both support and challenge. This

requires liturgy and pastoral care responsive to children and families, first-rate religious education, schools, and other vital ministries. We can prepare people for marriage and help families learn the skills of parenting. We need to lift up the vocation of marriage and family life and offer to people the resources of our spiritual and sacramental heritage in effective and creative ways: through education, family life movements, family retreats, outreach to families in distress, support groups, youth programs, counseling, and the timeless spiritual resources of prayer, liturgy, and meditation.

As a *nation*, we need to make children and families our first priority; to invest in their future; to combat the forces — cultural, economic, and moral — which hurt children and destroy families; to manage our economy, shape our government, and direct our institutions to support and not undermine our families. In our society, we need to resist the trends toward excessive individualism, materi-

alism, and the quest for personal pleasure above all else. Real happiness and satisfaction come from who we are and how we care for one another rather than from what we have. Our news and entertainment media, despite some laudable efforts, too often attack family values, undermine moral principles, and expose children to violence and to sexual themes on a daily basis. Fundamental values of integrity, compassion, respect for others, and honesty must be encouraged and reinforced by the culture at large.

In an *interdependent world*, we need to see clearly how children pay the price for global poverty and indif-

ference, for official corruption, for far too much debt and not enough development, for a global economy dominated by the industrial countries which further impoverishes the poor. We need to understand and act on the links between the children we see dying on the nightly news and the economic and political structures that bring poverty and hunger to millions.

As believers and citizens, we need — each of us — to use our values, voices, and votes to hold our public officials accountable and to shape a society that puts our children first.

V. Criteria for National Policy

The most important work to help our children is done quietly — in our homes and neighborhoods, our parishes and community organizations. No government can love a child and no policy can substitute for a family's care, but clearly families can be helped or hurt in their irreplaceable roles. Government can either support or undermine families as they cope with the moral, social, and economic stresses of caring for children.

There has been an unfortunate, unnecessary, and unreal polarization in discussions of the best way to help families. Some emphasize the primary role of moral values and personal responsibility, the sacrifices to be made and the personal behaviors to be avoided, but they often ignore or de-emphasize the broader forces which

changed policies are complementary requirements to help families.

Our nation must move beyond partisan and ideological rhetoric to help shape a new consensus that supports families in their essential roles and insists that public policy support families, especially poor and vulnerable children. We will continue to advocate policies, programs, and priorities which meet these basic criteria:

1. *Put children and families first.* Analyze every policy and program — diocesan, parish, domestic, and international — for its impact on children and families; look at every proposal from a family perspective. Poor and vulnerable children have first claim on our common efforts.

2. *Help; don't hurt.* Insist that economic, tax, education, welfare, immigration and refugee, and human service policies support families rather than undermine families; that programs encourage self-help rather than promote dependency.

3. *Those with the greatest need require the greatest response.* This is the "option for the poor" in action. While every family needs support, poor families and families facing discrimination carry the greatest burdens and require the most help. With limited resources, we need to focus assistance on those with the greatest needs.

4. *Empower families. Help families meet their responsibilities to their children.* Families need to be empowered to make the choices that meet their diverse needs — in education, child care, health, work, and other areas. Tax, workplace, divorce, and welfare policies must help families stay together and care for their children.

5. *Fight economic and social forces which threaten children and family life.* Poverty; joblessness; lack of access to affordable health care, child care, and decent housing; and discrimination are among the greatest threats to families and children. Efforts to overcome poverty, provide decent jobs, and promote equal opportunity are pro-family priorities.

6. *Build on the strengths of families; reward responsibility and sacrifice for children.* Policy must recognize the resiliency and capacity for self-help of families and reward members of families who avoid destructive behavior.

...[A] terrible sign of national failure is the implicit suggestion to many women—especially poor women—that they must choose between life for their unborn child and a decent future for themselves and for their families.

hurt families, e.g., the impact of economics, discrimination, and antifamily policies. Others emphasize the social and economic forces that undermine families and the responsibility of government to meet human needs, but they often neglect the importance of basic values and personal responsibility.

The undeniable fact is that our children's future is shaped both by the values of their parents and the policies of our nation. Families are undermined by parental irresponsibility and discrimination and poverty. Children's lives are enriched by their parents' sacrifices and by economic policies that help mothers and fathers meet the demands of parenthood. It is time to move beyond rigid ideologies and political posturing to focus on the real needs of families. We believe parental responsibility and broader social responsibility, changed behavior and

7. *Recognize that foreign policy is increasingly children's policy.* Global poverty, armed conflict, and systematic injustice threaten the lives of millions of children and their families. Children will pay a terrible price for indifference toward international, economic policy and neglect of human rights.

These criteria have led our conference to support a wide variety of pro-family initiatives at both the national and international level:

- family and medical leave,
- pro-life legislation and alternatives to abortion,
- broad-based child care which allows for religious and cultural values,
- an increase in the minimum wage and Earned Income Tax Credit,
- pro-family welfare reform,
- proposals for choice in education,
- civil rights laws,
- laws prohibiting housing discrimination against families with children,
- family-based immigration,
- asylum and refugee policy,
- new federal budget priorities,
- increased access to health care and decent housing,
- support for substance abuse programs,
- broader proposals for economic justice and family support, and
- reform of U.S. foreign assistance programs.

VI. Directions for National Policy

In fashioning national policy, our society must recognize a serious problem both in our national and personal priorities. Our society neglects the needs of poor children. When our nation makes a commitment, it can make a difference. Decades ago poverty haunted large numbers of our elderly citizens. As a society we decided this was intolerable and put in place Social Security, Medicare, and other measures to protect the dignity of the elderly — with an impressive drop in poverty among their population. Now, our children are more likely to be poor, but our government spends less on children's needs. Cuts in federal expenditures have come disproportionately in programs serving children. Children don't vote; they don't contribute to political campaigns, and therefore, they are more likely to be ignored by governments and policy makers. Money alone will not solve the problems of poor families, but there is no substitute for wise and

indicate that parents spend 40 percent less time with their children today than they did just twenty years ago. The absence of many fathers is a particularly serious problem — not only economically but socially as well. Public policy ought to reward parents who take their responsibilities seriously and encourage more responsible behavior in those who do not. The policies of our nation should neither exaggerate nor ignore the changes in family life. They must recognize both the diversity of families and the fact that, in general, stable, loving two-parent families offer the best chance for children.

Traditional moral values are not relics of a bygone age. Rather, they are the best guides to a productive future for our children and health for our society. A case in point is the often confused discussion of the best way to confront the AIDS crisis and its growing impact on young people. We continue to insist that our response should combine both compassion for those who live with AIDS and responsibility in avoiding behaviors which put people at risk. Instead of promoting the illusion of *safe sex*, we need to warn our children and society of the dangers of sexual promiscuity and drug abuse. Our moral convictions about expressing human sexuality within marriage now represent not only appropriate moral guidance, but also wise health counsel. Responsibility, unselfishness, concern for others, fidelity in marriage, and commitment to children are the building blocks of a creative and satisfying life and a just and decent society. They ought to be recognized in our public policies, encouraged in our media, and supported by our community institutions. In our society, we need to develop incentives and rewards for policies and behaviors that serve the needs of children and disincentives for those actions and policies which threaten or hurt children.

There is growing consensus in this area. A series of studies, reports, and a bipartisan commission have docu-

Growing violent abuse and neglect of infants and children have led to families where children are not only rejected but also endangered and to the phenomenon of the "no parent" family.

thoughtful investment in meeting the needs of America's children. We need to invest now, because the children are suffering now; and if we do not invest now, we will all suffer later.

At the same time, national policy should reinforce basic moral values while recognizing the diversity of America's families. The problems of American families stem from the misplaced priorities of our federal government, of some parents, and of society at large. Studies

mented the needs of children and the failures of our society to meet those needs. And increasingly, experts and organizations including marriage and family counselors have shown signs of rethinking the positive values of stable marriage, the human costs of easy divorce laws, the social costs of excessive individualism, and the consequences of economic pressures on families.

We welcome and support renewed efforts of the helping professions to promote the reconciliation of spouse as a viable alternative to divorce. We acknowledge the significant changes in family life; we affirm the major contributions of women in the work force; and we support and applaud the often heroic efforts of single-parent families. We also emphasize the value of parents staying together and sacrificing to raise children. Children generally do best when they have the love and support—personal and material—of both their parents.

Many single-parent families overcome huge economic and social obstacles, but others are overwhelmed by these forces. Government efforts need to help families stay together and overcome the many pressures that pull families apart. We owe special help to those parents—mothers or fathers—who face family life alone, knowing how discrimination and other forces make a difficult job even tougher. This is especially true when single parenthood is combined with poverty, as it often is.

A. Protecting the Lives of Children

1. Unborn Children

From conception, unborn children are most at risk from this nation's antilife policy of abortion on demand. The ultimate example of powerlessness is to be destroyed before birth. And a terrible sign of national failure is the implicit suggestion to many women—especially poor women—that they must choose between life for their unborn child and a decent future for themselves and for their families. We need to shape a society where economic and social forces do not leave women facing fundamental questions of life and death alone and isolated without the support of a caring community. We reiterate our strong opposition to abortion and government funding for abortion. We will continue through education to expose the realities of abortion, to promote life-giving alternatives to abortion, and to provide the loving choice of adoption and caring support for pregnant women and mothers and children, especially the poor.

Unborn children are also at risk from AIDS and substance abuse, both of which call for expanded national efforts at education and prevention, the provision of prenatal and other health care, and treatment and rehabilitation of abusers of alcohol and other drugs.

2. Abuse and Neglect

Children are hurt and killed by violence within families. Families are destroyed by verbal, physical, and sexual abuse. These brutal and tragic realities threaten the lives and welfare of millions of children and women.

They require education, treatment, and prevention. The family must be a place of safety, not of danger. And society must act to protect children and women from family violence and sexual abuse. Physical and sexual abuse of children constitutes a terrible betrayal of trust, a threat to their emotional and physical health, and a challenge for every institution that serves children. Child pornography represents a particularly terrible threat to children. They serve as subjects in the production of pornography and sex objects for those who make use of pornographic materials. This illegal and immoral use of children for sexual purposes and profit must be confronted and stopped. Pornography demeans women, degrades our society, and destroys the love at the center of human sexuality. We need effective, constitutional remedies which protect children, women, and all of society.

Growing violent abuse and neglect of infants and children have led to families where children are not only rejected but also endangered and to the phenomenon of the "no parent" family. These sad realities have created widespread strains on our child welfare system, including lack of adequate foster homes, inadequate support services, a shortage of trained personnel, inappropriate placements, and a serious absence of preventive services. System-wide reform is called for, including special attention to families where there is substance abuse and families in which children have serious emotional problems.

Parents should not have to worry about losing their jobs when they welcome a new child, nurse a sick spouse, or comfort a dying parent.

The primary goal of reform should be preserving families, wherever possible, through long-term, home-based services and programs designed to meet individual family needs before children's safety is jeopardized. We need far more coordination in the provision of family services, emphasizing prevention and replacing fragmented individual programs with concern for the whole family.

We also support policies which assist families who choose to adopt children or provide loving foster care for children at risk. Special efforts are needed to help minority and older children and children with disabilities find loving and supportive homes. Creative public policy and private action are needed to help every child find a home where his or her unique needs can be met.

B. Economic Help for Families

1. Poverty and Families

Poverty is not merely the lack of adequate financial resources. It often entails a more profound kind of deprivation; a denial of full participation in the economic,

social, and political life of society; and an inability to influence decisions that affect one's life. It means being powerless in a way that assaults not only one's pocket-book but also one's fundamental human dignity.

Many children are poor because they were born to young parents who are unmarried and are not equipped to support them, but many others are poor because their parents are casualties of economic forces beyond their control: recession, industrial restructuring, erosion of real wages, unemployment, and discrimination in hiring and promotion. Staggering increases in the costs of essentials such as rent and medical care have meant that even full time work is no guarantee against poverty. Moreover, the holes in the safety net have gotten larger, making it much harder for families to recover from a layoff or extensive medical bills.

2. Decent Jobs at Decent Wages

Despite the long uninterrupted period of economic expansion in the 1980s, child poverty increased significantly in this nation. Clearly, economic growth alone is not sufficient to solve the problem, and the recent recession has already cost 2 million Americans their jobs. As we wrote in our 1986 pastoral letter on the U.S. economy, targeted economic policies are necessary to create sufficient jobs at adequate wages to support families in dignity. Decent jobs at decent wages — what used to be called a “family wage” — are the most important economic assets for families. Periodic increases in the minimum wage to reflect inflation would be a useful step in this direction.

Too many of our young people come to adulthood without goals or the skills needed in the world of work. All too often some succumb to the allure of crime or to the despair of a life without direction or accomplishment. Greater public and private efforts are needed to introduce young people to the challenges and rewards of meaningful work. Communities, in partnership with the public sector, should offer the kinds of training, apprenticeships, and service opportunities that will prepare young people to use their talents and energy in positive ways. National policies should ensure that all those who can work in fact have the opportunity to contribute to the common good by their labor.

3. Changing Tax Policy to Help Families

The 1986 tax reform law and later expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit have lightened some of the federal tax burden of poverty-level families with children, but the tax code needs further reform to bring fairness to the treatment of families, especially to those raising children on modest incomes. The current tax code fails to reflect the real costs of raising children and offers inadequate help to families with children.

We welcome proposals to reform the tax code to help families cope with the high cost of raising children. These proposals, which have drawn bipartisan support, would allow middle income families with children to keep more of what they earn and would help lift low income families

out of poverty. Such proposals deserve serious consideration and general support in light of the current bias against children in our tax laws, especially those in low and moderate income families. As one commentator pointed out recently, taxpayers in America today can receive a bigger tax break for breeding racehorses than for raising children. We continue to support an expanded earned income tax credit to assist poor, working families. This pro-work, pro-family provision needs to be enhanced and supported as an important contribution to tax fairness.

4. Help for Poor Children

Children's lives are diminished every day in this nation because of the low level of welfare benefits. Misleading stereotypes of welfare families and misguided budget priorities are largely responsible for the failure of both federal and state governments to protect children from hunger, homelessness, and deprivation. We reiterate our call for a minimum national welfare benefit that will permit children and their parents to live in dignity. A decent society will not balance its budget on the backs of poor children. Sadly, the fiscal difficulties in many of our states has meant disproportionate cuts and unfair burdens for poor families.

Some aspects of welfare are antifamily. For example, in many states, unemployed fathers must leave the home so that the children can get welfare assistance beyond an initial six month period. We have frequently called for true welfare reform that would be both pro-family and pro-child. No family should have to separate as a condition of receiving assistance.

At a time when most mothers of young children are employed at least part time, our society sometimes loses sight of the value of parental care of young children. As preschoolers in day care becomes the norm, we fear the work of mothers in the home is becoming devalued, since it does not offer the economic rewards or recognition of other work.

Our conference strongly supports effective voluntary programs to equip parents with education and job skills. We oppose compulsory and poorly designed efforts to require them to hand over to others the daily care of their preschool children. The fact that children are poor and in need of government aid does not take away their basic human right to be cared for by their parents if that is their family's choice.

C. Helping Families at Work

1. Family-Friendly Policies

Families need workplace policies that promote responsive child-care arrangements; flexible employment terms and conditions for parents; and family and medical leave for parents of newborns, sick children, and aging parents. Increasing corporate efforts in this area are a major sign of hope for employees who are also members of families. Public policy should ensure and promote

these family-friendly workplace arrangements, adequate public funding of broad-based and inclusive child-care and other essential services needed by families, especially poor families. In our own structures and institutions, we need to move toward personnel policies that more fully reflect our commitment to family life.

For seven years our conference has called for a law to protect people who have to take time away from their jobs to handle serious family responsibilities. Parents should not have to worry about losing their jobs when they welcome a new child, nurse a sick spouse, or comfort a dying parent.

Passage of a family-leave bill would not only protect the jobs of parents whose employers might otherwise penalize them for taking time for family responsibilities, but it would also send a message that the nation sees children as a real priority for all of society.

2. Child Labor

Another aspect of children's vulnerability to economic exploitation is new signs of child labor abuse. This abuse accompanies changes in industrial and agricultural patterns, in increasing pools of immigrants, in the dramatic increase in families living below the poverty line, and in the disregard for this nation's long established laws designed to protect children. Improved child labor law enforcement must be combined with adequate family economic support so that families do not depend on exploitation of children for economic survival.

D. Families and Discrimination

1. Race

Racial and ethnic discrimination hurts many families, limiting the income and future of African American, Asian American, Hispanic, and Native American fami-

lies. Black children are twice as likely to be poor as white children. Minority children are also more likely to lack health care, to live in substandard housing, and to attend inadequate schools. Equal opportunity in education, affirmative action in employment, and nondiscrimination in housing are essential steps to ensure a productive and just future for children in minority families.

2. Gender

The lives of children are clearly bound with the lives and welfare of women in multiple ways. Discrimination against women continues to be a major contributor to children's poverty. Measures to combat economic discrimination against women—whether working in or outside the home—deserve strong support. Family decisions about parents' job choices should not be dictated by economic pressures which require both parents to work full time outside the home or should not be frustrated by discrimination which limits women's opportunity. Public policy and private action should encourage a range of possibilities, so that parents are able to work at home or are able to use job-sharing, flex time, and other means to better meet their obligations both as workers and as parents to their children.

Mothers who work outside the home to support their children often still struggle to balance work and family responsibilities and are confronted with continuing discrimination. As a group, women are still often relegated to jobs where low wages and few opportunities for advancement are common. Even in other occupations, some women experience continuing discrimination and sexual harassment, making it difficult to support their children with dignity. In *Economic Justice for All* we called for attention to proposals to correct the disparities in men's and women's wages, and we have supported legislation



Michael Hoy/Catholic Standard

Families must be given genuine choice in education—selecting the public, parochial, or private school that best serves their family's needs.

to protect women from discrimination in hiring and promotions. A society that discriminates against women impoverishes its children.

E. Meeting Children's Basic Needs

Children need the love, acceptance, and support of a family that cares for them. But families need to be able to meet basic physical and social needs to help their children grow and develop.

1. Education

Adequate preschool, primary, and secondary education is essential to full development of our children. Nevertheless, several factors combine to produce increasing numbers of school dropouts, unskilled citizens, and functionally illiterate adults. Inadequate education is one of the surest predictors of poverty, contributing strongly to intergenerational cycles of poverty. Programs that work—Head Start for preschoolers, education for children with disabilities, and vocational training—must be made available to every child who needs them.

Society at large is increasingly recognizing the effectiveness of Catholic schools in meeting the educational needs of children, including poor and minority children. Families must be given genuine choice in education—selecting the public, parochial, or private school that best serves their family's needs. Parents have the primary right and responsibility for the education of children. For this reason, our nation needs education policies that respect parental choice such as vouchers and tax credits. We also need creative policies that will improve poor quality schools, increase parental and family involvement, and encourage teacher excellence in education. All schools need to support and affirm parents in their roles as the primary educators of their children—reinforcing basic values, discipline, honesty, character, citizenship, and concern for others.

2. Food and Hunger

The continuing reality of hungry children in our midst is a dismayingly sign of failure. We see signs of this failure in our food pantries, soup kitchens, parishes, and schools. New investment and improvements are needed in basic nutritional programs, such as food stamps, to ensure that no child goes hungry in America. An urgent priority is the Women, Infant & Children (WIC) program, that still does not reach all expectant mothers, infants, and young children in need.

3. Health Care

The lack of basic health care—and factors tied directly to poverty—have been documented in the tragic reality that poor children are twice as likely as other children to have physical or mental disabilities or other chronic health conditions that impair daily activity. Our nation's continuing failure to guarantee access to quality health care for all people exacts its most painful toll in the preventable sickness, disability, and deaths of our infants and children. Beginning with our children and

their mothers, we must extend access to quality health care to all our people. Quality and accessible prenatal care is essential for healthy children. There can be no excuse for the failure to ensure adequate health care and nutrition for pregnant women. Nothing would make a greater contribution to reducing infant mortality than progress in this area.

4. Housing

Many families cannot find or afford decent housing, or must spend so much of their income for shelter that they forego other necessities, such as food and medicine. National policy has neglected the housing needs of families—with serious consequences for children who are growing up in shelters or in overcrowded or substandard housing. We support housing policies which seek to preserve and increase the supply of affordable housing and help families pay for it. We urge national and local

Let us insist that by the year 2000 we will finally eliminate poverty among children in this affluent society, and we will have a world where children will no longer die of hunger.

governments as well as community groups to work together in bringing about housing, planning, and zoning policies that reflect the needs for affordable housing for families. We also continue to call for efforts to eliminate housing discrimination, especially against families with children.

5. Families with Persons with Disabilities

Children with disabilities are fortunate indeed when they are born into or adopted by families that recognize that the spark of life is valuable, despite what impairments may accompany that gift. However, most disabled children are born into families who have no prior experience with such challenges.

Families with disabled children need and deserve extra support and encouragement from society, their communities, and the Church. Government at all levels must do more to ensure that children receive the medical, educational, rehabilitation, and social services they need to grow up to realize their full human potential. For example, the conference has pressed for several years for reform of the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) Program to make benefits available to the many disabled children whose requests for assistance had been denied. Recent court decisions and legislative action setting more reasonable criteria and requiring outreach should be implemented as soon as possible.

Parents with disabilities are sometimes prevented from providing adequately for their children. Job discrimination, physical barriers in public transportation



CNS/Jan Phillips

The facts are that family structure remains an important predictor of economic standing in society, and two-parent families generally are the most effective units for raising children.

and work sites, and lack of rehabilitative services all contribute to the isolation and segregation of disabled parents and their children. The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 has been called the most significant civil rights legislation since 1964. For the first time it was required that employment, transportation, public accommodations, and telecommunications be made fully accessible to disabled persons. All Americans need to work together to see the new law fully and properly implemented to benefit children and adults with disabling conditions.

F. Divorce and Child Support

It is also time for society to reconsider the consequences of permissive divorce, particularly in the case of couples with children. All of us have a stake in strong, stable families; yet, as a society, we do too little to help couples stay together and work things out during the inevitable times of stress and conflict. While many single parents struggle heroically to provide the love and care that normally require two parents, who can doubt that growing up in a secure environment with both parents generally gives children a head start?

In the United States today, one million children see their parents divorce each year. Another million children are born annually to single parents. Social and economic realities now confirm values which the churches have long taught—that the economic, emotional, and spiritual well-being of children is significantly diminished by divorce and out-of-wedlock birth, and that the negative consequences for children's futures, the lives of women, and for society at large are numerous and pervasive.

The facts are that family structure remains an important predictor of economic standing in society, and two-parent families generally are the most effective units for raising children. Public policy must be designed to help families stay together, to enhance their capacity for child-rearing and for passing on moral and social values to their children, and to reinforce parental responsibilities.

As a Church, we need to reinvigorate our pastoral ministry to families, being a companion to parents whose marriages are strained, offering hope and practical assistance to them in times of trouble, and helping them strengthen their marriage for their children, of course, but also for themselves.

While keeping families together is our goal, we recognize the widespread tragedy of divorce and the realities of violence and destructive behavior within some families. We are not advocating that people remain in relationships which seriously endanger or harm members of a family. We do advocate that laws recognize the frequently devastating consequences of divorce on children.

In the area of divorce law, society should

(1) embrace a "children first" principle that focuses on adequate property and income to meet the needs of the children and their custodial parent before resolving disposition of marital and individual property;

(2) take into account the impact of motherhood on a woman's earning capacity as well as the per capita expenses of the household with women and children; and

(3) introduce "braking" mechanisms that encourage, for example, resolution of matters involving a child's future before settling questions of property and maintenance.

Our nation also needs tough new rules for establishing and collecting child support from absent parents and for closing the gap between what can reasonably be collected and the actual costs of raising children. Effective means must be found to ensure that absent parents provide for their children's needs.

Among the possibilities that should be considered are

(1) establishment of minimum child-support awards based on the number of children and the absent parent's income;

(2) automatic wage withholding, not only on new cases as required by law, but on existing child-support orders;

(3) possible registration of social security numbers of both parents on birth certificates; and

(4) more vigorous efforts by state agencies to establish paternity of children born out-of-wedlock. Perhaps most important, states must invest more resources to locate and collect support from runaway parents who frequently move across state lines to escape their responsibilities.

While much is appropriately said about how the lives of women and children are bound so closely together, we wish to say a specific word about the importance of fathers. A crucial measure of a man is the manner in which he cares for his family—whether children see his love, respect, and care for their mother; and whether he is involved in their daily care, emotional support, spiritual growth, education, and development. For too many women, the care of children is a lonely commitment lacking the full and active participation of fathers. In these cases, children lose vital emotional support, and fathers miss one of the richest and most challenging human experiences. Parenting should be a partnership of love and mutual support—fully involving both mother and father.

G. Broader Cultural Forces

There are broader cultural and societal forces that contribute to the neglect of children. An ethic of excessive individualism, a culture of consumerism, and a preoccupation with material progress have contributed to a situation where sacrifice for others and concern for the common good are neglected virtues.

In our society children are too often considered a liability, rather than the sacred promise of the future. Sadly, some young couples are fearful or indifferent to the joys and responsibilities of bringing children into the world and could miss one of the most enriching and creative dimensions of human life. In many families—



Michael Hoyt/Catholic Standard

A crucial measure of a man is the manner in which he cares for his family—whether children see his love, respect, and care for their mother; and whether he is involved in their daily care, emotional support, spiritual growth, education, and development.

rich, poor, and in-between—children miss the emotional, intellectual, and spiritual support they desperately need to thrive.

A particularly influential force is the communications media. Too often this powerful cultural force seems less an ally and more an adversary in sharing basic values and helping shape healthy children. With notable exceptions, our children are often exposed to pervasive violence; casual sex; and racial, ethnic, and sexual stereotypes in music, film, and television. We hope media could increasingly reinforce basic values of honesty, compassion, respect for others, and fairness, rather than simply send messages that diminish and distort human life and love. Changed policies in our nation must be matched by changed values in our society at large.

VII. International Dimensions

Internationally, the needs are no less urgent and the problems are, if anything, more intractable. The cheap labor of children helps debt-ridden Third World countries pay their creditors. The intensification of local conflicts through the international arms trade and, until recently, the competing strategies of superpowers, displaces children and diverts public spending from meeting their basic needs. And adjustment programs conceived in macroeconomic terms by donor governments and international development institutions bring increased suffering to families and children who are already the victims of ill-conceived development policies.

But our actions for children abroad are likely to be less direct and our prescriptions less detailed. We do not—and should not—control the internal policies of Third World governments. Yet the United States, representing nearly one third of the world's economic powers,

cannot escape a heavy responsibility to those who do not benefit from the global economy, especially, in our view, its least responsible victims—the millions of desperate Third World children.

The fate of children, however, cannot be separated from the fate of their societies. As long as so many nations languish in poverty, the fate of many children will be grim. To overcome the legacy of neglect and mismanagement, indifference, and corruption will require new policies in our nation, in other affluent societies, and in the poor countries themselves.

The UN World Summit on Children and its Convention on the Rights of the Child outlined a constructive agenda for action. The promises made at that summit must be kept. The basic human rights of children must be respected and promoted, and their basic needs must be met. The agenda is long and comprehensive:

- shelter and relief for refugees and the homeless;
- food aid for disaster victims;
- medical treatment for the sick;
- maternal and child health programs;
- basic education and child care;
- improved nutrition; and
- the elimination of child labor, children in military service, and other exploitative practices.

But more fundamental reforms are necessary. Foreign policy, military policy, and international economic policy are also children's policies. Advocates for children need to be deeply involved in designing, implementing, and assessing international policy since the international economic system and the policies and practices that support and perpetuate it are taking the future of so many children hostage.

As recent papal encyclicals have pointed out, we need a new vision of solidarity in which poor children are seen not as remote issues or abstract problems, but as our sons and daughters, members of a global human family. We especially need to be their advocates here in the United States where global economic policy is so often made.

U.S. economic policy touches four key international economic relationships — trade, aid, finance, and investment.

- We need an *international trading system* that helps poor children by allocating the benefits of trade more equitably and ensures that poor countries receive fair prices for their exports. The exploitation of child labor for competitive advantage is essentially wrong; nor does it lead to authentic development. Unbridled competition is not an adequate or acceptable rationale for a trade policy; neither is selfish protectionism that simply restricts imports from the developing world.
- We need a *foreign aid program* that gives greater priority to the basic needs of families and children in the developing countries than to the national security or competitive advantage of the United States or the military appetites of Third World governments. Development must be understood and promoted in terms of helping poor people improve the quality of their lives and build for their future, rather than merely increasing the quantity of their possessions and their nation's military arsenal.
- We need a *global financial system* that looks at the human consequences of the massive external debt of the developing countries and realistically attempts to relieve it through a genuine sharing of responsibility among creditors and debtors. We cannot approach this problem as no more than a ques-

tion of exchange rates, inflation, and debt service. This results in policies in the debtor countries that further punish children and others by reducing housing, education, transportation, and other public services. It also often deprives them of food in order to increase the export of agricultural products that will earn the foreign exchange required to pay external debts.

- And we need an *increase in both foreign and domestic investment* in developing countries which neither creates dependency nor enriches investors at the expense of poor families. Business firms in the United States and elsewhere have demonstrated many times that there is no intrinsic contradiction between the pursuit of reasonable profit and the realization of social and economic justice. It is neither moral nor necessary to invest in enterprises that injure or exploit natural resources or people, especially children.

There are other important priorities. We are required to address the continuing danger for children that comes with the still unresolved conflicts in the Middle East, Central America, and other parts of the world. The anti-child and antifamily coercive population and abortion policies of some societies deserve our continued opposition. We cannot ignore the pervasive discrimination against women in some parts of the world which jeopardizes the lives of female infants and deprives girls of a promising future. Finally, the continuing human costs of the lethal international arms trade which robs children of opportunity and assistance require our active resistance as well. Our work for peace is a work for the children of the world since children pay a huge price for warfare. Catholic Relief Services and the UN report the terrible suffering of children in Iraq in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War. Our conference has joined with others



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in advocating the restructuring of economic sanctions to pursue regional security and effective arms control without putting at risk the vulnerable children of Iraq.

Environmental concerns touch our children. The United Nations' 1990 report on "Children and the Environment" puts this point very succinctly: What do we owe these children — our children and our grandchildren? We owe them a planet fit to live on and capable of sustaining the future."

We also need to recognize fully the family dimensions of refugee and immigration policies, seeking to keep families together and to respect the rights and dignity of families driven from their homes by violence, oppression, or injustice.

In the international arena, as in the national, we need policies and programs aimed not only at solving problems, but also even more at preventing them. Preventive medicine is almost always less costly than other treatment, but foresight is also harder and less clear than hindsight. But we now know more clearly from experience how debt burdens accumulate, what kinds of investments create or perpetuate dependency, what sorts of

development assistance programs work or do not work, and how trade practices harm working people and the poor here and abroad.

In our hearts, we know something is wrong as we watch children die on the nightly news. We need to link those heartbreaking pictures of hunger and desperation to the structures of debt and development, conflict and violence which contribute — directly or indirectly — to the death of those children. We can no longer remain indifferent. We need to respond not only with sadness and contributions, but with concrete commitment to seek change in the way the world treats children. Foreign policy is frequently children's policy and people who care for children need to be deeply involved in assessing the consequences of economic policy and military action for its impact on children. We need to see and hear more clearly the stories of our missionaries and Catholic Relief Services who share with us the terrible consequences of violence, poverty, debt, and injustice on the lives of children. We need to see Jesus in the hungry and helpless children who haunt our world.

VIII. A Call to Action

We are approaching the Third Millennium. Can we summon the will and the ways to make our families, our nation, and our world welcoming and decent places for our children? We hope the Catholic community will become a persistent, informed, and committed voice for children and families, urging all American institutions from neighborhood associations to the federal government to put our children first. Let us find life-giving and loving alternatives to the despair of abortion. Let us insist that by the year 2000 we will finally eliminate poverty among children in this affluent society, and we will have a world where children will no longer die of hunger. Let

us support all families in their struggle to offer their children the values, help, and hope they need. Let us seek to break the cycle of poverty and destructive behavior which leaves so many children imprisoned.

1992 is an election year. While others are campaigning for public office, let us campaign for children. Let us insist that the needs of our children, all children, but especially unborn children and poor children, take first place in the dialogue over the values and vision that ought to guide our nation. Let us also campaign within our Church to develop a genuine family perspective in our own policies and programs and in our ministries and



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services. As bishops we pledge to keep these concerns before our conference through our various committees and our offices so that we, too, move beyond rhetoric to action of behalf of our children.

We call on the institutions of Catholic life to join with us in continuing to reach out and support children and their parents. A great deal is already being done—in thousands of parishes and schools, in Catholic Charities, and diocesan programs. Let us build on this solid foundation to assess all our efforts from a family perspective and become even more effective sources of help and advocacy for children and families. In the months and years to come, let us with even greater urgency and commitment focus our pastoral care, direct our services, and lift our voices to enhance the life and dignity of all children, especially poor children.

It is not only poor children, however, who are vulnerable and in need of our concrete commitment, *all* children need our active concern. The children of affluence, too, can experience poverty, a spiritual and moral poverty according to Robert Coles, noted author and

psychiatrist, and others. These children—indeed, all children—need parents who care enough about them to give them time, one of the surest measures of human love. They also need appropriate discipline, i.e., loving limits in which they can grow into mature men and women, who themselves are full of care for the next generation. And when parents are unable to fully meet their children's needs, other adults must demonstrate that children belong to a larger, loving community, and society at large must act to protect the life, dignity, and rights of all God's children.

In closing, we would like to say a special word to parents—a word of appreciation, gratitude, and hope. We recognize the joy and hope and occasional sadness and hurt that come with the difficult and exhilarating responsibility of being a good mother or father. Children challenge, but they also educate. They can open our eyes to new depths of spiritual and religious insight. They test our patience, touch our hearts, and fill our lives. We appreciate the sacrifice, care, and hard work that make a parent the clearest example of God's love in our midst.

IX. Conclusion

For generations, the Catholic community has reached out to children—to welcome them into our faith, to teach them, to serve their spiritual growth, and to offer food, shelter, and help at times of need. We have defended their right to life itself and their right to live with dignity, to realize the bright promise and opportunity of childhood. Now we renew this commitment and build on it. We seek to bring new hope and concrete help to a generation of children at risk. We seek to measure our ministry, our nation, and our world for the manner in which we protect the lives, dignity, and rights of all God's children.

This is a work of faith: a commitment of a community that believes that we are judged by our response to

those most in need—poor and vulnerable children.

This is a work of hope: a commitment to the future, to the children who will shape the Church, the nation, and the world of tomorrow.

This is a work of love: a commitment to reach out and care for the children in our midst and around the world who desperately need our help.

Two thousand years ago, Jesus said, "Let the children come to me... (Lk 18:16)." Today, as his followers, we say let us put our children first; let us shape our families, churches, nation, and world to care for our most precious gift—our children.