

By **TRUDE B. FELDMAN**
Special to the IJN

WASHINGTON, DC — It is now one year since the opening in Madrid of the Middle East peace talks, one of President Bush's major foreign policy achievements.

Bill Clinton has said that when he succeeds George Bush in the Oval Office, he will work to make sure the momentum of the negotiations is maintained.

Clinton also says that an Arab move to end the economic boycott against Israel would speed the way to an agreement.

Since Madrid, there have been seven rounds of bilateral negotiations in Washington, DC. While no breakthroughs on the key issues have yet taken place, the pace of the historic encounters has accelerated since the Rabin government came into office in Israel.

Launched by the US and the former Soviet Union, the unprecedented negotiations mark the first time in the 44-year history of the Arab-Israeli conflict that the Israelis are formally talking face-to-face with their Arab neighbors (besides Egypt), and the Palestinians. Moreover, the parties are discussing with each other the core issues of land, peace, and security.

During an exclusive interview, Clinton, who has been thoroughly briefed on the negotiations, displayed an impressive knowledge of recent developments in the peace process as well as the overall situation in the Middle East:

We are now marking the first-year anniversary of the convening of the Middle East peace talks in Madrid. In your view, how has the regional landscape changed in the past 12 months?

The most noticeable change is the election in Israel of Prime Minister (Yitzhak) Rabin, who has wasted no time in breathing new life into the negotiations. Israel has reaffirmed its recognition of those UN resolutions that are the foundations of the peace process, and has specifically applied

have that kind of dramatic effect. For example, at least one of the Arab countries should break the ice and end the boycott against Israel. That would be the best thing they could do. If several Arab countries decided to do that, in response to some of the moves Israel has made, then I think we'd be well on our way to negotiating an agreement consistent with the United Nations Resolution 242 and the Camp David Accords.

Do you foresee another Camp David Conference?

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What role should the US now play in the peace process?

Our role is to serve as an honest broker and, at times, as a catalyst. The Bush administration deserves credit for bringing Israelis and Arabs to the negotiating table. But I can't think of a way that the US could ever impose its own will, and

ations by maintaining the ground rules.

Syria's President Assad is calling for a "peace of the brave" and Prime Minister Rabin speaks favorably about reaching an historic agreement with Syria. What will you do to boost the chances between Syria and Israel for a complete peace? Also, how will you respond to a request like one from Syria for US intervention in the peace talks?

I believe the US role in the talks is primarily to serve as an honest broker. I don't think the US should



Correspondent Trude Feldman interviews Governor Bill Clinton shortly before the election.

That's possible, at some point. Right now, it would be premature. But I think the framework agreed upon at Camp David, in many ways, is shaping what is now being discussed. It's still a pretty good framework.

As president, what American policies in the Mideast will you change?

I will act more vigorously to stop the spread of dangerous missiles in the Mideast, and insist on a strong international effort to keep weapons of mass destruction out of the hands of nations like Iran, Iraq, Syria and Libya. Our policy must include not only an effort to reduce this spread, but a reaffirmation of our strong commitment to maintaining Israel's

wind up with a durable peace settlement. We need to support the current process, but we must also maintain our special commitment to our democratic partner, Israel, and its overall security.

How will you win the trust of the Arabs, as well as the Israelis, so that in the Clinton administration there will be no loss of momentum in the peace process?

As president, I will give a continuing high priority to ensuring that the process is maintained and that progress is made toward a peace that secures Israel and meets the legitimate requirements of the Arabs.

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pressure one side or the other to make unilateral concessions, because it is up to Israel, Syria, the other Arab nations and the Palestinians to make lasting peace with one another.

In your view, how does Lebanon fit into the new Mideast equation?

Lebanon is a complicated problem because different factions within Lebanon are influenced by other Mideast governments that obviously have used Lebanon as a battleground for their ideas and politics. While some progress has occurred, I believe that the problems in Lebanon will only be solved as part of a total Mideast peace settlement. I also believe, however, that we can and

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There is no easy answer to the problem, but I believe it essential to do everything possible to keep an ongoing dialogue. And the US must play a supportive role. So I think we're now pursuing the best strategy with the current negotiations. They are the best chance for peace in a decade.

Do you support the creation of an independent Palestinian state?

No, I oppose that. But the precise political arrangements under which Palestinian rights should be exercised is an issue on which the US should not take a position during the negotiations.

What should be done that hasn't yet been done by the US to end the Arab boycott?

The Arab boycott is economic warfare and the US should make it clear that we will no longer turn a blind eye to this practice. That's why I support Senator Al Gore's initiative to prohibit Defense Department contracts with companies which participate in the Arab League's boycott against Israel. Beyond that, I am determined to do everything I can to see that the Arab states end this boycott.

Do Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza still present an obstacle to peace?

Yes, they do. But so does the Arab boycott, the widespread Arab non-recognition of Israel and Arab military build-ups. The Rabin government has reversed course on Israel's settlement policy, and this issue should now be left to the parties themselves to negotiate.

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Clinton on the Middle East

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One-on-one interview

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THE INTERMOUNTAIN



JEWISH NEWS

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A Clinton priority: Maintaining the momentum of peace talks

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Special to the Exponent

WASHINGTON — It is a year since the opening in Madrid of the Middle East peace talks, one of President Bush's major foreign policy achievements.

During the interview, Clinton, who has been thoroughly briefed on the negotiations, displayed a wide-ranging knowledge of recent developments in the peace process, as well as the overall situation in the Middle East:

In your view, how has the regional landscape changed in the past 12 months?

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The Rabin government has also curbed settlements and taken other measures to build confidence in relations with the Palestinians and other Arab parties. I think it's time now for the Arabs to make more moves toward Israel.

You mean a move like Egypt's President [Anwar] Sadat made 15 years ago when he journeyed to Jerusalem?

Or something else that would have that kind of dramatic effect. For example, at least one of the Arab countries should break the ice and end the boycott against Israel. That would be the best thing they could do. If several Arab countries decided to do that, in response to some of the moves Israel has made, then I think we'd be well on our way to negotiating an agreement consistent with United Nations Resolution 242 and the Camp David accords.

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ing Israel's qualitative military edge over its potential adversaries.

Also, the Clinton administration will treat the Arab-Israeli conflict as one in which the survival of Israel is at stake. Like America, it is a strong democracy, a symbol of freedom and an oasis of liberty. But Israel is surrounded by nations in pursuit of weapons of mass destruction, and is still at risk of Scud attacks by Saddam Hussein, while also facing the threat of new, more advanced Scuds in Syria.

And along with the economic hardships of the Arab boycott, Israel is still waiting for a credible offer of peace from most of her Arab neighbors.

What role should the United States now play in the peace process?

Our role is to serve as an honest broker and, at times, as a catalyst. The Bush administration deserves credit for bringing Israelis and Arabs to the negotiating table. But I can't think of a way that the U.S. could ever impose its own will, and wind up with a durable peace settlement. We need to support the current process, but we must also maintain our special commitment to our democratic partner, Israel, and its overall security.

Syria's President [Hafez] Assad is calling for a "peace of the brave," and Prime Minister Rabin speaks favorably about reaching a historic agreement with Syria. What will you do to boost the chances between Syria and Israel for a complete peace?

I don't think the U.S. should pressure one side or the other to make unilateral concessions, because it is up to Israel, Syria, the other Arab nations and the Palestinians to make lasting peace with one another.

In your view, how does Lebanon fit into the new Mideast equation?

Lebanon is a complicated problem because different factions within Lebanon are influenced by other Mideast governments that obviously have used Lebanon as a battleground for their ideas and politics. While some progress has occurred, I believe that the problems in Lebanon will only be solved as part of a total Mideast peace settlement.

I also believe, however, that we can and must work with others to build a free and more democratic Lebanon.

Upon reflection, what do you think is the real key to peace in the Mideast?

I am convinced that the key for a lasting peace is to create the conditions in which all parties believe it is in their interest to make peace — conditions

under which they can trust each other enough to make agreements, and to have some assurance that the agreements will be kept.

I think that peace between Arabs and Israelis should be more solid than a hostile truce. Genuine peace can only be achieved on the foundation of trust among former enemies.

Lasting peace has to include an end to the illegal Arab boycott of Israel, the establishment of normal economic and trade relations between Israel and its neighbors, and the creation of multilateral agreements to protect the area's environment and ensure that every nation has an adequate supply of water.

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should not have been necessary. The Bush administration appeased Saddam Hussein too long when it shared intelligence with him, awarded him credits, and opposed sanctions against him — right up to the eve of his invasion of Kuwait.

Now that we know Iraq was close to getting nuclear weapons, do you think the Israeli strike on the Baghdad reactor in 1981 was justified?

Let me put it this way — at that time, if Israel had not conducted a surgical strike on Iraq's nuclear reactor, our forces might well have confronted a Saddam with nuclear weapons 10 years later — in 1991. Now, what we need to do is make every effort to ensure that countries like Iraq and Iran are denied the means to produce nuclear weapons.

How will you deal more effectively with international terrorism?

In our diplomacy, the U.S. must not ignore any country's human-rights ab-

New Jersey

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

Bill Clinton pledges to maintain the momentum

Trude B. Feldman

WASHINGTON

It is now one year since the opening in Madrid of the Middle East peace talks, a major foreign policy achievement of the Bush administration.

Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Clinton says that if he succeeds George Bush in the Oval Office, he will work to make sure that the momentum of the negotiations is maintained.

The Arkansas governor also says that an Arab move to end the economic boycott against Israel would speed the way to an agreement.

Since Madrid, there have been seven rounds of bilateral negotiations in Washington, D.C. While no breakthroughs have yet taken place, the pace of the historic encounters has accelerated since the Rabin government took office in Israel.

Launched by the United States and the former Soviet Union, the unprecedented negotiations mark the first time in the 44-year history of the Arab-Israeli conflict that the Israelis are formally talking face to face with their Arab neighbors (besides Egypt) and the Palestinians. Moreover, the parties are discussing the core issues of land, peace, and security.

Excerpts from an exclusive interview with Gov. Clinton, focusing on the peace process and other issues concerning Israel, follow:

Q: We are now marking the first anniversary of the convening of the Middle East peace talks in Madrid. In your view, how has the regional landscape changed in the past 12 months?

A: The most noticeable change is the election in Israel of Prime Minister [Yitzhak] Rabin, who has wasted no time in breathing new life into the negotiations. Israel has reaffirmed its recognition of those U.N. resolutions that are the foundation of the peace process, and has specifically applied them to the negotiations with Syria.

The Rabin government has also curbed settlements and taken other measures to build confidence in relations with the Palestinians and other Arab parties. Now I think it's time for the Arabs to make more moves toward Israel.

Q: You mean a move like Egypt's President Anwar el-Sadat made in 1977 when he journeyed to Jerusalem?

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Q: If you win the presidency, what American policy in the Mideast would you change?

A: I would act more vigorously to stop the spread of dangerous missiles in the Mideast, and insist on a strong international effort to keep weapons of mass destruction out of the hands of nations like Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Libya. Our policy must include not only an effort to reduce this spread, but a reaffirmation of our strong commitment to maintaining Israel's qualitative military edge over its potential adversaries.

A Clinton administration will treat the Arab-Israeli conflict as one in which the survival of Israel is at stake. Like America, it is a strong democracy, a symbol of freedom, and an oasis of liberty. But Israel is surrounded by nations in pursuit of weapons of mass destruction, and is still at risk of Scud attacks by Saddam Hussein, while also facing the threat of new, more advanced Scuds in Syria. And along with the economic hardships of the Arab boycott, Israel is still waiting for a credible offer of peace from most of her Arab neighbors.

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Photo by Bob McNeely

Trude Feldman interviews presidential candidate Bill Clinton at Washington's Grand Hyatt Hotel.

we must also maintain our special commitment to our democratic partner, Israel, and its overall security.

Q: How can you win the trust of the Arabs, as well as the Israelis, so that in a Clinton administration there will be no loss of momentum in the peace process?

A: As president, I would give a continuing high priority to ensuring that the process is maintained and that progress is made toward a peace that secures land and meets the legitimate requirements of the Arabs.

No side should be expected to make unilateral concessions. The Palestinians ought to have the right to determine their own future within the guidelines set out in the Camp David accords. On the other hand, they should not have the right to determine Israel's future.

We need to give this process a chance to work. We have to nourish it and maintain its continuity. Any future course has to be charted within the context of the present negotiations by maintaining the ground rules.

Q: Syria's President Hafez al-Assad is calling for a "peace of the brave" and Prime Minister Rabin speaks favorably about reaching a historic agreement with Syria. What would you do to boost the chances between Syria and Israel for a complete peace?

Also, how would you respond to a request like one from Syria for U.S. intervention in the peace talks?

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NEW JERSEY

OCTOBER 30, 1992 THE JEWISH STANDARD

Contents

Election '92

As The Jewish Standard takes a stand in the upcoming presidential election, it also offers a one-on-one interview with Bill Clinton. Also featured are stories on the possible loss of congressional friends of Israel; the support by Jewish PACS of some incumbents over their more liberal challengers; the choice presented to Jews in the New York Senate race; the opposition by Jewish groups to an Oregon referendum that could restrict gay rights; and support by Israeli for Clinton. On the op-ed page are an opinion column touting Ross Perot, and a bipartisan piece

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NEW PLEASANTDALE SELF SERVICE

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Message from Israelis: Give us Clinton

Aaron S. Ross

While Americans are getting ready to cast their ballots, and as the campaign enters its final stages, interest in the election is peaking sharply across the Atlantic Ocean in Israel.

A sampling of roughly 50 yeshiva students in Yeshivat Har Etzion here revealed what most Americans already know: The Israelis want Bill Clinton, and the sooner they get him the better. Unlike Americans, the Israelis do not worry about who will raise taxes or who cares most about family values. Their only concern is who will be best for Israel and who will invigorate the warring U.S.-Israel alliance.

Dismissing Ross Perot with a laugh, people here are focused on the two mainstream candidates. George Bush is viewed as virtually an enemy of the state, and the general consensus is that, while little is actually known here about Clinton, and even less about Al Gore, anyone is better than the man whose administration has seen a severe worsening of U.S.-Israeli relations.

When presented with the facts that Bush has now granted the long-sought loan guarantees to Israel and that he was responsible for bringing Israelis and Arabs together at peace talks, most Israelis dismiss the former as a campaign ploy and the latter as not so much a ploy as a stalled process that has yet to bear fruit.

Yet there is a second side to this coin. Some Israelis, while a very small minority, favor George Bush for one reason: He is more likely than Clinton, they believe, to wage war on Saddam Hussein, thus ultimately increasing peace in the region. But most Israelis would rather see a president who is a friend of Israel instead of one who is an enemy of Iraq.

Aaron S. Ross is a Teaneck resident studying for a Ph.D. in Har Etzion in Israel.

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Q: Did you support the Gulf war?

A: Yes, I did. But as Sen. Gore articulated in a recent speech, the Gulf war should not have been necessary. The Bush administration appeased Saddam Hussein too long when it shared intelligence with him, awarded him credits, and opposed sanctions against him — right up to the eve of his invasion of Kuwait.

A Clinton administration will not forge such strategic relationships with dangerous despotic regimes. The Bush administration still has not learned from that appeasement of Saddam, and continues to ignore the link between democracy and stability.

Q: Now that we know Iraq was close to getting nuclear weapons, do you think the Israeli strike on the Baghdad reactor in 1981 was justified?

A: Let me put it this way.... If Israel had not conducted a surgical strike [at that time] on Iraq's nuclear reactor, our forces might well have confronted a Saddam with nuclear weapons 10 years later — in 1991. Now what we need to do is make every effort to ensure that countries like Iraq and Iran are denied the means to produce nuclear weapons.

Q: What's your reaction to the Bush administration's approach to strategic cooperation with Israel?

A: I concur that we need a strong strategic relationship and I support the recent White House statement about U.S. readiness to strengthen it. Unfortunately, however, excessive arms sales to certain Arab states have weakened Israel's overall security. Such sales force Israel to divert more resources to its defensive needs.

Q: Do you concur with the agreement on the "set aside" amount that Israel must pay to obtain the loan guarantees?

A: I oppose the Bush administration's putting conditions on loan guarantees to Israel, especially while it granted over \$12 billion in loan guarantees to Arab nations, including Iraq — without one single condition. Now that President Bush has made the decision to finally grant Israel's request for the loan guarantees, I support the agreement reached.

Q: Under what circumstances, if any, would you consider moving the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem?

A: I do recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, and Jerusalem ought to remain an undivided city. But I think that timing is the real issue. Moving our embassy there while negotiations are in progress could disrupt the peace process in a way that could undermine the very objective we seek.

Q: What signal does the F-15 sale to Saudi Arabia and the F-16 sale to Taiwan send to other countries about fighting arms proliferation?

A: We do need a more aggressive effort among the major arms-sellers of the world to try to reduce arms sales in volatile regions like the Mideast. Since the Gulf war, the Mideast has been an arms merchant's bonanza. Many nations realize that if they don't sell the weapons, others will. And when our steady allies ask for such weapons systems, they have a legitimate need to replenish their armed services. But we ought to ensure that such sales are not destabilizing. I would make every effort to limit the sale of arms and of

dual-use technologies to unstable or to potentially hostile regimes in the area, as well as stress the need to preserve Israel's qualitative military edge.

Q: What specific conditions should be placed on the F-15 sale in order to preserve that "qualitative military edge"?

A: I believe we can, and should, provide for the adequate defenses of our coalition partners in the region in a way that doesn't threaten Israel's security. I support the sale of the F-15s to Saudi Arabia, but there may have to be some limitations on the technology of those F-15s, because our commitment to Israel is not to do anything that alters the qualitative military balance in the Mideast.

We need to enhance our military and technical cooperation with Israel so that it can better meet the growing threat from unconventional weapons as well as sophisticated conventional weapons. In this context, I have always supported funding for the development of Israel's Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile.

Q: Have you ever visited Israel?

A: Eleven years ago I went to Israel on a religious pilgrimage. My wife, Hillary, accompanied me. While there, we identified with the small state that relies on agriculture but also strives to develop technologies for the 21st century. We saw how Israel welcomes and assimilates people from all continents. We saw a society with an intense commitment, rooted in the traditions of the 'people of the book' to provide its youth with the best education and a good start in life.

A few years after our visit, Hillary represented me in Florida at a Southern Governors Conference, where she learned about a special program developed in Israel — the Home Instruction Program for Pre-School Youngsters (HIPPY).

It is a significant program in that it gives parents the opportunity to be their children's first teachers.

With the help of Dr. Dovenia Lombard of Israel, Arkansas now has a national training center for HIPPY workers at the Arkansas Children's Hospital, and outside of Israel, it is the largest program of its kind in the world.

Q: Finally, what steps would you take, as president, to help reverse the trend of racism, bigotry, hatred, and divisiveness in our society?

A: I will support hate crimes legislation to enhance the penalty for such acts. Above all, I will select a staff and a cabinet, and appoint persons to the Supreme Court and other key positions, who reflect our nation's racial, religious, and ethnic diversity. My administration will be committed to the highest standards of excellence and will strive to bridge party lines in order to achieve a government of national unity that will fully reflect the richness our history of tolerance provides.

You know, when people feel insecure, racial and ethnic tensions rise. The American way is that the president should properly use the bully pulpit to encourage people to communicate with each other across the lines of religion and race and income. Such interaction can dramatically ease existing tensions.

We need to feel each other's pain and understand each other's hopes and aspirations. As president, I would want to challenge all Americans to lift one another's spirits.

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ST. LOUIS

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Continued from page 1

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There is no easy answer to the problem, but I believe it is essential to do everything possible to keep an ongoing dialogue. And the United States must play a supportive role. So I think we're now pursuing the best strategy with the current negotiations. They are the best chance for peace in a decade.

Q: Do you support the creation of an independent Palestinian state?

A: No, I oppose that. But the precise political arrangements under which Palestinian rights should be exercised is an issue on which the United States should not take a position during the negotiations.

Q: What should be done that hasn't yet been done by the United States to end the

the core issues of land, peace and security.

Launched by the United States and the former Soviet Union, the unprecedented negotiations mark the first time in the 44-year history of the Arab-Israeli conflict that the Israelis are formally talking face-to-face with their Arab neighbors (besides Egypt) and the Palestinians. Moreover, the parties are discussing with each other



By TRUDE B. FELDMAN
(White House Correspondent)

ASHINGTON, D.C. — It is now one year since the opening (session) in Madrid of the Middle East peace talks, one of President Bush's major foreign policy achievements. Bill Clinton says that when he succeeds George Bush in the Oval Office, he will work to make sure the momentum of the negotiations is maintained, to make sure the momentum of the negotiations is maintained, to make sure the momentum of the negotiations is maintained.

During an exclusive interview, Bill Clinton, who has been thoroughly briefed on the negotiations, displayed an impressive knowledge of recent developments in the peace process as well as the overall situation in the Middle East.

Excerpts of the one-on-one interview in Washington's Grand Hyatt Hotel:

FELDMAN: We are now marking the first-year anniversary of the convening of the Middle East peace talks in Madrid. In your view, how has the regional landscape changed in the past 12 months?

CLINTON: The most noticeable change is the election in Israel of Prime Minister (Yitzhak) Rabin, who has wasted no time in breathing new life into the negotiations. Israel has reaffirmed its recognition of those U.N. resolutions that are the foundations of the peace process and has specifically applied them to the negotiations with Syria.

The Rabin government has also curbed settlements and taken other measures to build confidence in relations with the Palestinians and other Arab parties. Now I think it's time for the Arabs to make more moves toward Israel.

Q: You mean a move like Egypt's President Sadat made 15 years ago when he journeyed to Jerusalem?

(See CLINTON, page 7)

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

St. Louis Jewish Light

A: The Arab boycott is economic warfare and the United States should make it clear that we will no longer turn a blind eye to this practice. That's why I support Sen. Al Gore's initiative to prohibit Defense Dept. contracts with companies which participate in the Arab League's boycott against Israel. Beyond that, I am determined to do everything I can to see that the Arab states end this boycott.

Q: Do Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza still present an obstacle to peace?

A: Yes, they do. But so does the Arab boycott, the widespread Arab non-recognition of Israel and Arab military build-ups. The Rabin government has reversed course on Israel's settlement policy, and this issue should now be left to the parties themselves to negotiate.

Q: Did you support the Gulf War?

A: Yes, I did. But as Sen. Gore articulated in a recent speech, the Gulf War should not have been necessary. The Bush

Administration appeased Saddam Hussein too long when it shared intelligence with him, awarded him credits and opposed sanctions against him — right up to the eve of his invasion of Kuwait.

A Clinton Administration will not forge such strategic relationships with dangerous despotic regimes.

Q: Now that we know Iraq was close to getting nuclear weapons, do you think the Israeli strike on the Baghdad reactor in 1981 was justified?

A: Let me put it this way — at that time, if Israel had not conducted a surgical strike on Iraq's nuclear reactor, our forces might well have confronted Saddam with nuclear weapons 10 years later — in 1991. Now, what we need to do is make every effort to ensure that countries like Iraq and Iran are denied the means to produce nuclear weapons.

Q: How will you deal more effectively with international terrorism?

A: In our diplomacy, the United States must not ignore any country's human rights abuses or its support for terrorism. We also need strong special operations forces in our military to deal with terrorist threats, and we need better intelligence. Our intelligence agencies should be shifted from military bean-counting to a more sophisticated understanding of political, economic and cultural conditions.

In addition, we need to work with our allies to enhance intelligence and anti-terrorism cooperation.

Q: Do you come with the Bush Administration's approach to strategic cooperation with Israel?

A: I concur that we need a strong strategic relationship and I support the recent White House statement about U.S. readiness to strengthen it. Unfortunately, however, excessive arms sales to certain Arab states have weakened Israel's overall security. Such sales force Israel to divert more resources to its defensive needs.

Q: Do you concur with the agreement on the "set aside" amount which Israel must pay to obtain the loan guarantees?

A: I opposed the Bush Administration's putting conditions on loan guarantees to Israel, especially while it granted over \$12 billion in loan guarantees to Arab nations, including Iraq — without one single condition. Now that President Bush has made the decision to finally grant Israel's request for the loan guarantees, I support the agreement reached.

Q: Under what circumstances, if any, would you consider moving the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem?

A: I do recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, and Jerusalem ought to remain an undivided city. But I think that timing is the real issue. Moving our embassy there while negotiations are in progress could disrupt the peace process in a way which could undermine the very objective we seek.

Q: What signal does the F-15 sale to Saudi Arabia and the F-16 sale to Taiwan send to other countries about fighting arms proliferation?

A: We do need a more aggressive effort among the major arms sellers of the world to try to reduce arms sales in volatile regions like the Middle East. Since the Gulf War, the Middle East has been an arms merchant's bonanza. Many nations realize that if they don't sell the weapons, others will. And when our steady allies ask for such weapons systems, they have a legitimate need to replenish their armed services. But we ought to ensure that such sales are not destabilizing. I will make every effort to limit the sale of

"Our role (in the peace process) is to serve as an honest broker...we need to support the current process but maintain our special commitment to our democratic partner, Israel."



Bill Clinton, during an exclusive interview with Trude B. Feldman at Washington's Grand Hyatt Hotel, displays an impressive knowledge of the current Mideast peac talks.

(Bob McNeely Photo)

arms and of dual-use technologies to unstable, or to potentially hostile regimes in the area.

Q: What specific conditions should be placed on the F-15 sale in order to preserve that "qualitative military edge?"

A: I believe we can, and should, provide for the adequate defenses of our coalition partners in the region in a way that doesn't threaten Israel's security. I support the sale of the F-15s to Saudi Arabia, but there may have to be some limitations on the technology of those F-15s, because our commitment to Israel is not to do anything which alters the qualitative military balance in the Mideast.

We need to enhance our military and technical cooperation with Israel so that it can better meet the growing threat from unconventional weapons as well as sophisticated conventional weapons. In this context, I have always supported funding for the development of Israel's Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile.

Q: Have you ever visited Israel?

A: Eleven years ago I went to Israel on a religious pilgrimage. My wife, Hillary, accompanied

me. While there, we identified with the small state which relies on agriculture but also strives to develop technologies for the 21st century. We saw how Israel welcomes and assimilates people from all continents. We saw a society with an intense commitment, rooted in the traditions of the 'people of the book' to provide its youth with the best education and a good start in life.

A few years after our visit, Hillary represented me in Florida at a Southern Governors Conference where she learned about a special program developed in Israel — The Home Instruction Program for Pre-School Youngsters (HIPSY).

It is a significant program in that it gives parents the opportunity to be their children's first teachers.

With the help of Dr. Doreen Lombard of Israel, Arkansas now has a national training center for HIPSY workers at the Arkansas Children's Hospital, and outside of Israel, it is the largest program of its kind in the world. It has served as a unique link between Israel and Arkansas, and has made a real difference in the lives of many of our parents and their children.

Q: Finally, what steps will you take, from the Oval

office to help reverse the trend of racism, bigotry, hatred and divisiveness in our society?

A: I will support hate crime legislation to enhance the penalty for such acts. Above all, I will select a staff and a cabinet and appoint persons to the Supreme Court and other key positions who reflect our nation's racial, religious and ethnic diversity. My administration will be committed to the highest standards of excellence and will strive to bridge party lines in order to achieve a government of national unity that will fully reflect the richness our history of tolerance provides.

You know, when people feel insecure, racial and ethnic tensions rise. The American way is that the president should properly use the bully pulpit to encourage people to communicate with each other across the lines of religion and race and income. Such interaction can dramatically ease existing tensions.

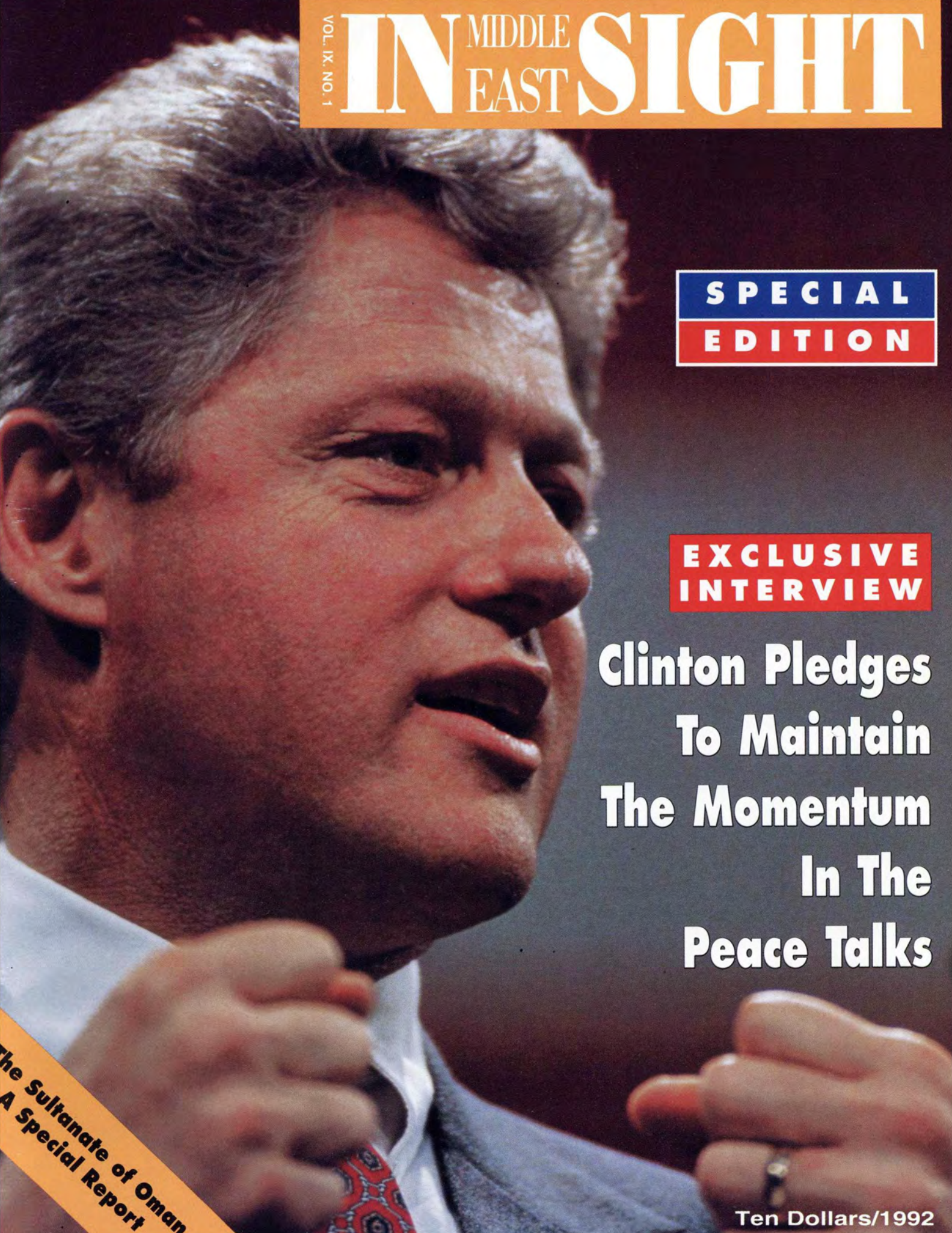
We need to feel each other's pain and understand each other's hopes and aspirations. As president, I want to challenge all Americans to lift one another's spirits.

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VOL. IX, NO. 1

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The Sultanate of Oman
A Special Report

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Lisa Caputo

I enclose copy of letter I gave you at Hay Adams.. I just re read and I still cannot believe that you continued to IGNORE all I said herein plus what I told you on the phone.

It is so disheartening. Yet you use that defense that I am 'harassing' you and you cannot understand why I tell you this. SO THE GAME WILL NEVER END.

AND THAT IS TOO BAD BECAUSE I had counted on you.

I now hear that it was indeed YOU plus ~~the phone to her~~ hers and my mutual "friend" who added to the year old ~~grief~~ grief.

I told you I'd send more articles...but I do not know which ones you already have. ~~I think~~ I THINK she was given many,many of my articles BEFORE you came on the scene. But you mentioned she would read my letter to you...and my quick note to her, AND WHEN YOU SAID I COULD NOT TALK WITH HER ON THE PHONE EVEN THOUGH IT HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH PRESS...that's when I realized NOTHING WILL CHANGE..no matter how many times she or ~~he~~ he or you say it will.

I enclose McCall's of Jan 1977 FOR HER
Woman's Day on R. Carter
How We Entertain in White House... July 1976
GoodHousekeeping on Susan and her Dad Nov 1974
Doro and Dad for Father's Day 1989
Bar and George Bush 1988

The Reagans 35th wedding anniversary McCall's 1988

~~King's magazine~~ 1988
The New First Lady Mc Call's Oct 1974
Pres Bush's mother at 90

various clips on Eleanor Roosevelt with my covering her after she left White House in Mideast 1962

Pat Nixon --before she moved into the white house

IF I sent any of these before, please just mail them back. It takes hours to look for them and zerox and mail.

Ladies Home Journal and all others DID NOT HAVE TO PROVE THEMSELVES OR BE SCREENED AS MUCH AS I did or do... and Mrs.C. well knows that I know some of her closest aides for longer --even than she does...

SO HOW MUCH MORE GRIEF MUST I GO THROUGH?

~~You~~ You said YOU WOULD NOT ASK OTHER ADMINISTRATIONS HOW TO HANDLE PEOPLE IN THE WHITE HOUSE. Yet you and your associates have done so. I am told to what degree.... They are not even loyal to the Bushes or Reagans... SO BADMOUTHING SOME OF US TO GET ON THEIR GOOD SIDE. They are the ones who trashed the Clintons.. YET YOU AND OTHERS KEEP ASKING THEIR ADVICE. THAT'S THE KEY TO FAILURE more than anything else.

If I wrote all these and thousands more --some even before you were born.. can you imagine how much I COULD HAVE HELPED HER with positive stories during the campaign? It is heartbreaking to hear that she and others close to her LISTENED to Mrs.Bush and Mrs.Reagan's staffs....

Would you KINDLY tell Dee Dee that I NEED TO BE ABLE TO COVER HIS FIRST DAY AT THE WHITE HOUSE...and cannot ever get her on the phone ~~to get her permission~~. TO TELL HER SO.. PLEASE AND THANKS IN ADVANCE.

Here's Japanese magazine with
the Clinton article

Lisa Caputo

Thanks for calling. As per conversation, I spent hours AGAIN finding some of the numerous clips--enclosed--and the magazine.

While I appreciate your trying to communicate, I am really upset about being told that last night's event was "closed to press"---especially by the person you mentioned.

As per enclosed NY TIMES op ed, I will NOT BE QUIET ANYMORE....as I can see the pattern in both the East and West sides of the White House. You have no idea what hostility and discrimination can do --directly from HERE....and many of us have decided it is worth going public--- The Anita Hill story, which instigated enclosed...has opened the doors for those of us who ALWAYS WANTED POSITIVE COVERAGE but were discriminated against.

I enclose three separate articles from that one interview...yet I'm still "paying the price" consequence wise. The person who finally set it up--after a nine-month ordeal--has been "punished" and our relations are strained and the POISONING OF OTHERS HAS BEGUN.

I will not "burden" Mrs. Clinton with the problem because she does not comprehend what people do to each other BEFOREHAND...and how they poison one another and damage careers and lives...I have been caught in a terrible crossfire because of my honesty and integrity. But I too have a breaking point.

As I told you on the phone, I didn't complain about not seeing her beforehand, BECAUSE I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO FIRST HAVE HIM WICTED....But even after I got these articles out, the problem was compounded--not that I did it--after MUCH SCRUTINY... But those who tried to help the governor have wound up hurt themselves. THIS IS EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE OF WHAT A CHANGE MEANS: THE COUNTRY MEANS A CHANGE IN ATTITUDE AND AN ERASURE OF HOSTILITY AND DISCRIMINATION.... some of what the Governor says in this first of series....~~marked~~ marked in red.

I'm sorry but I need to be truthful with you. It's now ONE YEAR since I tried to do something...I returned from D.C. one year today--and started "working" on the Clintons--to no avail.

Please call and give me your address & I can send you the family-type stuff I did in the past. ..even though I sent some of them long ago. But I do not know IF SHE EVER GOT anything I sent. (Just like I ~~you~~ only learned last night that the Governor did not receive any letters or any clippings...and I was led to believe THAT HE DID. the same with Mrs. Clinton.

I'm afraid your boss will drown before she has the chance to swim...because you will probably ask former staffers HOW they handle decent people like me....

I would plead with you TO LEARN FROM PAST MISTAKES AND FROM PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN AROUND AND ARE VICTIMS OF STAFF ABUSE. Sex harassment is nothing compared to STAFF harassment..

Forgive me for telling you the truth BEFORE it is too late.

202 638 ~~3048~~ 638 3048--White House, till ten pm and weekends.

659 9841 home 10:30 p.m. till 3 a.m.

ROSALYNN CARTER

After nineteen months of hard campaigning, Rosalynn Carter might be expected to relax into the role of gracious White House hostess. But she has other plans—ones that could make her an effective force for human betterment

Interview by TRUDE B. FELDMAN

If Jimmy Carter's successful bid for the presidency can be attributed in large part to a personal commitment to the traditional American belief that hard work, a positive outlook and genuine belief in God are sure to make you reach your goal, then no less can be said of Mrs. Jimmy Carter. In belief, principle and outlook our new First Lady is a true partner of her husband.

The remarkable thing about Rosalynn Carter is not that she possesses all these attributes of character—and more—but that you don't dislike her for them. Most of us know paragons of female virtue and achievement who manage to make the rest of us uncomfortable in their presence. Their homes are sparkling and neat while ours have too much clutter and need a painting. They make their own clothes while we lack the skill or time. They are in harmony with their children while we scream at ours.

Instead of feeling resentful of Rosalynn Carter's unique gift for organizing her life, I found myself liking her and concluding that she will make an extraordinary First Lady—extremely active, very effective and about as close as one can get to being an unofficial Vice-President.

This possibility began to emerge out of the various conversations I had during the early days of the presidential election campaign with people who know Rosalynn Carter well—members of her family, people with whom she had worked closely when Jimmy Carter was governor of Georgia and several mutual friends of long standing. It was the foremost

impression I gathered during my first private visit with her one day last summer at the Carters' red-brick ranch-style house in Plains, Georgia.

Surrounded by a grove of shady trees, the four-bedroom house, built in 1961, sits on solid, claylike ground, as unpretentious as the style of the family it shelters. When I rang the front doorbell at 11:30 A.M., Rosalynn Carter herself answered it. She smiled and extended her hand.

"Come in," she said. "You're right on time."

Seating herself on a light-blue sofa, she invited me to sit in a nearby chair. "How do you like it down here in Plains?" she began. "I saw you at our church service on Sunday, so you must have been here a few days."

One is struck by the candid way Rosalynn Carter meets your eye. Unlike a lot of politicians and their wives, she looks at you when she is talking to you. She is attentive to what you say and she is with you, considering her responses and giving her answers straightforwardly in a delightful southern drawl.

Although I had come to interview her, it was she who asked the first question: "What is it like to cover the White House?"

After a few moments' discussion of some of the historically interesting aspects, I commented that each First Lady imbues the Executive Mansion with her own personality.

"Oh, I hope I won't have to be



U.P.I.

compared with other First Ladies," she said reflectively, "but I'll surely put the Rosalynn Carter mark there."

She made it clear she will do things her way and that she plans to be a career First Lady. "I will help Jimmy wherever he needs me," she said. "I want to be as active as I can—traveling with him, keeping my eyes and ears open and giving him whatever suggestions or advice he asks for."

Rosalynn was among the first Jimmy Carter turned to for advice in choosing his running mate. "He asked my opinion, and we both came to the conclusion that Walter Mondale would be best for the campaign and best for the country," she told me. "I was particularly

(continued on page 102)

Above: With nomination assured, three generations of Carter women—Amy, "Miss Lillian" and Rosalynn—join in family caucus at Democratic National Convention. Opposite: At home in Plains, Georgia, Rosalynn recalls days of early marriage during interview. Inset: A confident and happy Rosalynn and Jimmy at Fourth of July festivities in Plains.

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A LITTLE MORE THAN A SNACK.**



ROSALYNN CARTER

continued from page 72

interested in meeting the wives of the men whom Jimmy was considering because I'd like to have the Vice-President's wife work with me on various projects. I think Joan Mondale will be a big help. I was satisfied with Jimmy's choice, but he didn't tell me his final decision until he made the public announcement. He meant it when he said no one else knew until then."

Like Lady Bird Johnson, Rosalynn Carter may keep a diary of her White House years. Like Mrs. Johnson, Pat Nixon and Betty Ford, she intends to travel not only with her husband but on her own trips around the country and abroad.

Her husband's enthusiastic approval of this intention was expressed when he said he would indeed send her as his representative on diplomatic missions anywhere in the world. "She's as qualified as anyone," he told me.

Although she is an independent political thinker with her own ideas about issues, Rosalynn Carter is her husband's biggest booster and most devoted fan. "Jimmy will be good for the country," she stressed. "He has the background and the experience, he identifies with people and he cares about each one. He has managed a government. He took his family business when it was very small and built it up into a successful operation."

"We worked and scrimped and saved to make our business a success. That's why Jimmy is so disturbed about government inefficiency and waste. It is really unbelievable, the millions of dollars lost through poor management."

Our new First Lady has some strong opinions on matters other than wasteful

spending—abortion, for example. It was an issue in the election campaign, and she thinks it should not have been.

"Even though I oppose abortion," she explained, "I'm not for a constitutional amendment. I know what happened in Georgia when it was illegal—it didn't prevent abortions. I think we should minimize abortions as much as possible within the confines of the Constitution."

Rosalynn Carter is a staunch supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment for women, as is her husband. "Jimmy is strong on treating women equally," she said. "One thing I'm especially proud of is what he did in Georgia—such as appointing women to positions in government never before held by women."

Equality and sharing are very much a part of the Carters' personal lives. Throughout their marriage, Jimmy has helped with household chores. He doesn't hesitate to make breakfast—eggs and grits—do the dishes or make the beds. He has always done his share of the family shopping. During his hectic political campaign for the presidency, which lasted almost two years, he would pitch in and start making dinner if he arrived home before Rosalynn.

"He really doesn't mind cooking," she confided with a warm smile. "In fact he enjoys it. When he was in the Navy he learned to make steak teriyaki in Hawaii. He makes it with a special soy sauce that includes sherry. He made it just last night, and it was delicious."

I asked whether she had any regrets that she had married so young—just a month shy of nineteen—and whether she might have wanted to pursue a career of her own. Her smile broadened, her hazel eyes danced and a hint of a blush glowed on her clear, youthful complexion.

"No," she responded to both ques-

tions. "Jimmy was the right man at the time, and I'm still glad about the decision I made."

At one time she had thought of becoming a certified public accountant. "I like numbers and working on our company's books," she noted, "and I still take care of the family checkbooks."

She had also toyed with the idea of becoming an interior decorator but never really pursued it. She took her first job at age thirteen, when her father, a mechanic, died of leukemia. In order to help support the family, which included her two younger brothers and sister, she worked in a beauty parlor and assisted her mother as a dressmaker.

Later, as a wife and mother, Rosalynn used her sewing skills to make most of her own clothes, as well as her children's. Even when Jimmy was governor, she had her own sewing room in the Mansion in Atlanta. As a Christmas gift, she bought her daughter, Amy, now nine, a child's portable sewing machine and taught her how to use it.

Amy is fourteen years younger than her youngest brother and is the delight of her family. Asked what kind of school Amy will attend when the family moves to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Rosalynn Carter's reply reflected the democratic ideals she shares with her husband: "Amy has attended only public schools in Plains, and she'll continue in public school in Washington, unless there is a security problem that makes it impossible to do so."

Amy was a kindergarten pupil when they lived in the Governor's Mansion and is used to public attention, so the family doubts if the White House will spoil her. As soon as she was aware of the election results Amy cried: "I don't want to move to Washington and leave my friends here in Plains."

The Carters' three sons are married. John William (Jack), thirty, is a lawyer; James Earl III (Chip), twenty-six, works in the family business; and Donnell Jeffrey (Jeff), twenty-four, is an urban-geography major at Georgia State. "They were each instilled with a strong sense of values from an early age," Rosalynn Carter says with motherly pride.

"Our sons know that you have to work for whatever money you have. They worked in the family business after school from the time they were ten or eleven, and they helped earn their own way through college."

While Jimmy was in the Navy, the Carters were not only a happily married husband-and-wife team but extremely close friends who enjoyed each other's company.

"We liked to study together," she recalled. "We once tried to memorize some works from Shakespeare. Jimmy also encouraged me to read as much as he did. He talked about the book *War and Peace* so often that I had to read it too, to keep up with him."

Although she is determined and persuasive, Rosalynn Carter admits to being a shy person. "It's my husband who has encouraged me and made me believe I can do so much more than I ever thought I could," she says.

She is basically a "night person," who prefers to work late into the night and sleep later in the morning. During her grueling nineteen months of campaigning, however, she often arose at 4 A.M. to meet with factory workers or to catch a plane.

A dedicated campaigner, she would not hesitate to take off her shoes and climb up on a chair in order to address a crowd. (continued on page 104)

continued

Once when suffering from a cold, she refused to cancel any engagements and soothed her throat with hard candy. "I don't take vitamins," she said. "The best thing for a cold is to eat a substantial breakfast and get lots of sleep."

As evidence of her reluctance to indulge in unnecessary spending, friends in Plains recall that during the Carter campaign for governor, Rosalynn would go out of her way to make long-distance phone calls on the unlimited WATS line in the office of the commercial worm farm operated by Hugh Carter, the President-elect's cousin.

Asked if she had what used to be known as a philosophy of life, she said: "I guess it's just thinking positively. I try not to say I can't do something that has to be done, because I believe that we all can do what we set out to do and really want to do—if we work hard enough."

Those who really know her say that Rosalynn Carter cares about humanity as a whole. She has a sincere and abiding concern for the misfortunes of others. The work she does for the mentally retarded has taken much of her time over the past six years, and she plans to continue that work on a wider scale while in the White House. One plan she will explore is the possibility of community centers for the retarded. "I've seen so many family members tied down because there was no one else to care for a mentally retarded person in the house. If only there were someplace they could go outside the home and associate with others for at least part of the day. That would be a beautiful thing for them and an enormous help to their families."

"I became very aware of the problem when Jimmy was running for governor," she explained. "So many people approached me to tell me about it—in the street, everywhere."

As Georgia's First Lady, Rosalynn toured public and private mental hospitals and served as a volunteer at the Georgia Regional Hospital in Atlanta. For five years she was honorary chairman for the Georgia Special Olympics for Retarded Children, and she accompanied the state team to California in 1972. In addition, she served on the Governor's Commission to Improve Services for the Mentally and Emotionally Handicapped.

As First Lady, what will she do to alleviate the problem?

"I have asked Jimmy to establish a President's commission consisting of volunteers and professionals to determine the needs and establish goals for assisting the mentally and emotionally afflicted," she told me. "We haven't had a President's commission on mental health for fifteen years."

Another of her priorities will be improving the lot of senior citizens. "I want to do things to help older persons," she said. "Everywhere I go, I see the elderly. I've become so involved with them—and I understand them, because both Jimmy and I have mothers in their seventies. Inflation is particularly hard on older people. They tell me they can't afford their grocery bills. Their rent keeps going up, and they don't know how to cope with the cost of living. I think it's terrible that people with so much experience in life, so many things to offer, should be ignored in their later years. Surely our country can benefit from all they have learned and done."

"Maybe . . ." she said thoughtfully, "maybe we can use older folks to help

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staff the community centers for mentally retarded persons. Say, that's an idea."

Her face flushed with excitement and broke into a winning smile. "You just gave me a wonderful idea!"

Of course I hadn't given her the idea at all. She had thought of it herself. But because Rosalynn Carter is a sharing person, she instinctively gave me credit for a thought she herself had hit upon, just because I happened to be talking to her about the subject.

Shifting slightly on the sofa, she smoothed her plaid cotton skirt. A pert and striking woman, Rosalynn Smith Carter was forty-nine last August 18. She is a trim 5 feet 5½ inches tall and weighs about 119 pounds. She can wear a size five, six, seven or eight, depending on the cut of the garment. Her legs are well shaped. She is light on her feet and moves gracefully. In high school she played on the basketball team and was active in other sports, as well—tennis, Ping-Pong and softball.

During the presidential campaign her sports activities were limited to taking long walks in the woods or going fishing with Jimmy. Before he was governor, they belonged to a square-dance club in nearby Dawson.

"Tomorrow afternoon, we're going to fish for a while," she told me. "We often catch bass or bream, and Jimmy fries them with bread crumbs. But it's fun even if we don't catch anything. The best part is being alone with Jimmy."

Life with Jimmy Carter is demanding as well as rewarding. He is, she admits, impatient about people being late and being late himself. "So I make it my business to be on time if I'm going with him, and I try to see that he's on time with other people."

She recalled that during the Oregon primary last June, his plane had arrived too late for a speech he was scheduled to make: "Since I arrived earlier, I was asked to pinch-hit for him. Jimmy was terribly upset over missing that date, but after he heard that I had filled in for him he felt better."

By her own admission, Rosalynn Carter doesn't hesitate to raise her voice to her husband if the occasion requires. "Jimmy and I do disagree on some things, and sometimes on political issues," she said. "But we don't argue,

and we wait until we're alone to air our differences."

It's hard to imagine the soft-spoken Rosalynn raising her voice. When she does, "Jimmy keeps quiet," she says. "But I know he is listening, and I know he is thinking about what I say. I get across to him all right."

From all indications, Mrs. Carter will be a working First Lady who will bring her own individual quality to the White House.

"Rosalynn has traveled around the country more than any other candidate's wife in history," her brother Murray Smith pointed out. "She knows people's problems and is sensitive to them. She has seen so much firsthand that when she's in the White House, she won't just sit back and watch. She'll be in close on the action and on the decisions."

Bob Lipshutz, longtime family friend, agrees. "She'll help Jimmy with his programs, and she'll have programs and projects of her own," Lipshutz told me. "I expect her to be working full time, with a minimum of social life and a maximum of constructive work."

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During a recent rushed lunch at the New York Hilton, I asked Rosalynn Carter if she planned to refurbish the White House. "If we're comfortable there as it is, I won't refurbish at all," she said. "I'd rather the government funds be used for other purposes."

Mrs. Carter's sister, Allethea Wall, doesn't think the White House will change Rosalynn in any significant way. "The Governor's Mansion didn't change her," she reasons. "Rosalynn was the same person when she left as when she moved to the Mansion. So, aside from being busier, it won't change her. It's not her nature to change."

The first Christmas in the Governor's Mansion she established the Carter mark by hanging a unique wreath—made of peanuts—on the front door. She opened the Mansion to organizations that wanted to use it for meetings or luncheons. "Even though it wasn't her duty, she'd always try to greet people and find out their needs," says Kathy Brooks, who worked as a tour guide during the Carters' residency. "It was really unusual for a governor's mansion,

but women's groups were able to hold meetings or luncheons in the grand ballroom. Rosalynn would often come in and join them.

"Once, when a group of women were touring the Mansion, she came downstairs to pick up Amy and happened to bump into the group, which was looking at paintings. Mrs. Carter had her hair up in rollers and was wearing slacks and a blouse and tennis shoes. She could easily have scooted out an exit and avoided the women, but she stopped and chatted with them instead. She apologized for the rollers, and was as hospitable as any housewife caught in the same predicament by a group of close friends.

"She and Jimmy never behaved as though they owned the Mansion. They made us feel we were all part of making it comfortable and lovely for the public. There was an open atmosphere. We all felt good about her, and about working for her."

Although the Carters like to entertain and be entertained, they will try to adhere to a casual and informal lifestyle

and pour cream. The beverage, served in giant mugs, was Glogg, a red wine punch with almonds."

The guests didn't go home empty-handed. Each of the guides received a gift scarf, with Jimmy Carter's signature and a peanut design.

Asked what kind of First Lady Rosalynn Carter will be, Kathy Brooks replied, "She'll be the kind you'd want to visit. She's not partisan to anyone—she's a real person. If something displeases her about something or someone, she just keeps quiet. She doesn't hurt anyone's feelings.

"She gets her point across without becoming domineering. She doesn't need to put anyone down in order to feel important herself. She knows who she is.

"I'm thirty-nine years old today and I can honestly say that I've never met a woman I'd like to emulate—until I met Rosalynn Carter and observed her firsthand. She is rare in that she has a sincere interest in other people and in what her husband does—yet she has her own identity. That's exactly the kind of person I'd like to be."

During their second year in the Governor's Mansion, Mrs. Carter arranged to have a greenhouse built on the grounds. It provided fresh flowers and fine specimens of houseplants the year round and became a favorite visiting place of Atlanta's 150 garden clubs.

She also initiated an open-house reception on the Sunday before Christmas to encourage more people to visit the Mansion. On these occasions she and Jimmy would stand at the front door and greet each visitor personally. The annual open house has since become a tradition.

While the Georgia State Legislature was in session, Mrs. Carter would entertain its members in shifts, inviting about 250 guests for dinner each night for three nights. Sometimes she'd serve a five- or six-course dinner. The menu would include roast beef and fried, broiled or boiled chicken.

Some of the Mansion staff—cooks, butlers, maids and gardeners—were prisoners from the Georgia state penitentiary, who were brought in each morning by bus and returned at night. There was a cook for small dinners, but for large

whom I spoke could remember being served liquor at the Carters' dinner parties. But the atmosphere was always convivial.

Rudy Hayes, managing editor of *Americus Times-Recorder*, recalls being at one large formal dinner when "Jimmy was so busy talking with the guests that he never really ate with the company—Rosalynn gave him his dinner afterward."

"Rosalynn is a very adaptable hostess," says Mrs. Hugh Carter. "I remember the time a famous clergyman was staying overnight at the Mansion after delivering a speech. 'Do you know what I'd like now?' he asked Rosalynn. 'What?' she inquired. 'A bowl of corn flakes,' he told her. 'Good, who else would like some?' she said, and began setting out cereal bowls and spoons."

Two days after the November election, the Carters invited the presidential transition team to lunch and the Walter Mondales to dinner. Rosalynn served simple sandwiches for lunch but had dinner sent in from a nearby restaurant because she wanted to sit in on the strategy talks rather than cook.

Mrs. Hugh Carter said Rosalynn will make a "fantastic" First Lady because she is a "down-to-earth" person: "There is no put-on about her. She is genuinely friendly and caring. Foreign visitors will be especially impressed with her and this is important for our foreign relations.

"She'll do whatever Jimmy expects of her in the White House, but she'd prefer to be informal and casual.

"One thing I know, she won't be idle. Her favorite project is people, and she'll do whatever she can to promote their welfare."

Nancy K. Jordan, wife of campaign director Hamilton Jordan and a close friend who worked part time for Rosalynn in Atlanta, said she'll make a "splendid" First Lady because she was a splendid First Lady of Georgia. "Rosalynn is not kidding about working long hours," Mrs. Jordan says. "She is sincere and anxious to really produce. She is extremely smart and understands people. It never ceases to amaze me how tireless she is."

Like other married couples, the Carters may have their personal differences and family problems, but in-law trouble isn't one of them. At one time Rosalynn thought both his and her families might pose an intrusive threat to their marriage, and she was reluctant to return home to Plains when Jimmy decided to leave the Navy after his father died. "Rosalynn put up a tough fight," he recalls. "But she has never been sorry that we moved back to run the family business."

One thing that apparently troubled her was the prospect of living in a town of 684 inhabitants, where everyone knew everyone else's business and where there was no way to get out from under one's relatives.

Mrs. Hugh Carter confirmed that Rosalynn had been worried about the "relatives problem" when she and Jimmy returned to Plains with their three sons. "But all Rosalynn's fears were for naught," Mrs. Carter told me. "The kids were so cute, and Rosalynn was so sweet and smart that we all just fell in love with her. We all get along well and have a good family relationship."

That Rosalynn and Jimmy Carter are still deeply in love is more than evident to anyone who spends some time observing them. Tens of millions of Americans saw her kiss (continued on page 106)

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whenever and wherever State Department protocol permits.

During the four years they lived in the Governor's Mansion, the Carters often entertained—formally and informally. At one time, when they were reorganizing the state government, they had as many as 250 people to dinner, three nights a week. They invited environmentalists, county commissioners, consumer organizations, the press and other concerned groups, so that they could hear their views.

Kathy Brooks described a Christmas party the Carters gave for the Mansion's volunteer tour guides and their husbands: "It was their first year there and the Carters invited us for dinner. We weren't expecting anything—it was just supposed to be a Christmas party. The atmosphere was warm, and we were made to feel very special. After both Rosalynn and the Governor expressed personal appreciation to each of us for showing people the Mansion, they brought out the entertainment—a guitarist who sang folk songs.

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ROSALYNN CARTER

continued

Jimmy unabashedly after the three television debates with Gerald Ford. They often hold hands, no matter who is around. And Jimmy makes no bones about his affection for her. "I love her more today than when I married her," he proudly admits.

Has her experience in the rough-and-tumble of the presidential campaign done anything to prepare Rosalynn Carter for the role of First Lady?

"Yes," she answered. "I learned that people—Jimmy and me included—are very much alike in our needs and hopes for ourselves, our families and our country."

"I also learned—after much appre-

hension and hesitation—that I could make a speech. In the beginning I was really scared. My heart skipped, my hands perspired and my knees sort of shook. But I got over it sooner than I expected, and I began to like appearing before audiences and giving my reasons why Jimmy should be elected President. When I realized I was doing an adequate job and that people actually listened to what I had to say, I started to gain confidence.

"Above all, I learned that if I did things to the best of my ability, people didn't expect much more. They responded as long as they saw I respected them enough to give them the best I could."

"Give the best—that's what Jimmy will do as President, and that's what I hope to do as First Lady."

The End

CATS AND ESP

continued from page 2

a cat does it) and the even more remarkable anecdotes of cats' finding their families in new territories, as though they were part bloodhound instead of all cat. This ability, called psi trailing, has been investigated in some detail by Dr. J. B. Rhine, former director of Duke University's Parapsychology Laboratory.

Homing stories are touching examples of both extrasensory perception and loyalty. Take Snowy of Ross, England, who disappeared from his owners' summer-holiday house and three months later found his way home seventy-five miles away by some sort of tracking device in his catty brain. Wahoo, who lived in Seattle, was en route to Alaska with his owner. He escaped in British Columbia and eleven months later, his long hair dirty and matted, turned up in Seattle purring with happiness. Tom of Kokomo, Indiana, was shipped by train to Augusta, Georgia, when one branch of his family moved there. Tom gave Augusta three weeks before striking out for home. Twenty-one days later he turned up in Kokomo, having averaged a fast trot of more than thirty miles per day.

All this is astonishing enough, but what about psi trailing? What possible explanation is there for Pooh of Wellford, South Carolina, for instance, who walked over two hundred miles to rejoin his family in their new home after he had been given to a friend in Newman, Georgia? It took him over a year, but he made it. In Poughkeepsie, New York, a cat named Sparky was left behind when his family moved to California. Nine months later a cat arrived at the new home in Livermore, a place he had never visited, across more than three thousand miles of unknown territory. The family recognized the cat immediately. He was skinny and had a sore on his back, but he was unmistakably Sparky, even to the crook in his tail.

A famous case of Dr. Rhine's was a cat named Clementine. Left behind in Dunkirk, New York, she took off for Denver one day in search of her family, who had left her with neighbors because she was expecting kittens—a reasonable excuse, you might say. Clementine didn't think so. As soon as the kittens were weaned, Clementine pointed west. A little over three months later an exhausted cat dragged herself to her family's Denver doorstep. There was no doubt at all that it was Clementine, for this incredible animal had seven toes on each front paw, two white spots on her tummy and a scar on her left shoulder from an old burn. Surely there couldn't be two cats with those distinctive markings. That she survived a journey over mountains and plains was unbelievable enough, but how did she find the one city, street and house she was aiming for? No one really knows for sure.

Psychokinesis (mind over matter) is another branch of ESP in which animals have made their own history. In Los Gatos ("the cats") near San Jose, California, electronics engineer Ira Spector has perfected a machine to measure psychokinesis (PK) in people and animals. He hooked his cat, Funky, up to his PK meter and the meter to a heating pad on which Funky liked to lie on cold days. The meter was set to a random off-and-on rate, which meant that if only chance were operating, the pad would turn on 50 percent of the time, or 750 times out of 1,500. Because Funky was thin and liked heat, she learned how to turn that pad on 820 times, or 70 times more than chance, just by "willing" it. The odds against this being accidental are 2,000 to 1.

The End

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IT'S ALL IN A WOMAN'S DAY
continued

a day—in *Freaky Friday*, a new farce-fantasy to be released this month by Walt Disney Productions. The film stars Barbara



Barbara Harris and Jodie Foster share an upsetting experience in new Disney farce.

Harris as the mother and Jodie Foster as the daughter, both of whom struggle valiantly and hilariously to cope with the unforeseen difficulties that come with trading places. It's a movie for every woman who has ever wanted to be "young again" and every young girl who ever wished for instant adulthood.

the Scenes

FIRST LADIES have been a major professional interest of Trude B. Feldman since 1962, when she was assigned to cover Eleanor Roosevelt's tour of Israel for the Women's News Service. It was the former First Lady's last trip abroad, and Trude's five-part feature story won such favorable attention that Pierre Salinger, then President Kennedy's press secretary, suggested



Rosalynn Carter chats with writer Trude B. Feldman about White House plans.

that she come to Washington and join the White House press corps. The White House has been Trude's news beat ever since, and she was the first to publish magazine interviews with incoming First Ladies Pat Nixon and Betty Ford. "Each President's wife I have known has been a fascinating individual in her own right," Trude told us when she stopped by to deliver the typescript of her interview with Rosalynn Carter, which begins on page 72. "They are all strong and personable women, and the same holds true for our new First Lady. I've seldom met anyone, in or out of the White House, who has quite the same ability to establish an immediate and sincere rapport with so many different kinds of people." In our brief interview with Trude we learned that she was born and raised in Los Angeles, California, where she was all-city Ping-Pong champion while in high school. Despite her diminutive height (4 feet 10½ inches), Trude was—and still is—a strong softball player. "I played second base in Plains last summer, when the



THE NEW FIRST LADY

BY TRUDE B. FELDMAN

Betty Ford talks about her family, her own life and interests—and the 26-year marriage that has been "a beautiful experience in every way"

On August ninth, immediately after taking the oath of office as the 38th President of the United States, Gerald Rudolph Ford turned and kissed his wife twice. Then, in a brief speech, the nation's first unelected President pointed out that he came to office with none of the promises or obligations usually associated with a political campaign. "I am indebted," he said, "to no man and to only one woman, my dear wife."

Elizabeth Bloomer Ford, the President's "dear wife," is a new kind of First Lady. A year ago she was preparing to celebrate the 25th anniversary of her marriage to a congressman who had never run for national or even state office and whose highest ambition was someday to become Speaker of the House of Representatives. Unlike Presidents' wives who have preceded her for almost two centuries, she has become First Lady without years of planning, striving and preparing for the day she would move into the White House. Even after her husband became Vice-President she told me: "I wouldn't want to be First Lady.

If I had only myself to consider, my answer would be a definite 'no.' It's for a personal, selfish reason—for a few years I want Jerry to myself."

But history has decided otherwise, and the question now is: What kind of First Lady will Betty Ford be? A strikingly handsome woman of 56, a former fashion coordinator and a dance student of Martha Graham's, Betty Ford is, by unanimous consent of all who know her, conscientious almost to a fault. "My mother taught me," she explains, "that if you're going to do something, do it right or don't do it at all."

In over a quarter of a century as a political wife, that credo has made Betty Ford, in her husband's words, "a great helpmate." The President told me: "In my first campaign for Congress Betty was a tremendous asset and has continued to be so all along, even when the children were young and it was extremely difficult. In some cases she did legwork and she was particularly helpful to me in the areas of music and the arts, where I didn't have much knowledge." / turn to page 132



President Ford and his daughter, Susan, 17, often team up to buy clothes for the First Lady. "My mother and I wear the same size," Susan says, "and we like the same kind of clothes. Anything we pick out for her I wouldn't mind wearing."

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MCCALL'S WORLD

JILL KREMENTZ



William Blatty

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The Gerald Fords and Trude Feldman

KENNETH CLARE



Rolaine Hochstein

Since the phenomenal success of *The Exorcist*, the name of its author, William Peter Blatty, has become almost a household word. As the story in this month's McCall's makes clear, Blatty's feelings about the supernatural extend into his own personal life as well, and in a very poignant way. "Someday somebody gonna write book about me," William Blatty's mother used to say. Her prediction came true—she played a prominent role in one of his first books, *Which Way to Mecca, Jack?*, and she served as the basis for the character of Father Karras' mother in *The Exorcist*. And now, in a current book, *I'll Tell Them I Remember You*, Blatty has written about the great influence his mother had on him during her life—and after her death. His story, both touching and startling, begins on page 93.

Marjorie Kellogg, the author of "Elizabeth Addison Goes Home," which begins on page 106, has gained fame from her acclaimed novels *Like the Lion's Tooth* and *Tell Me That You Love Me, Junie Moon*. She has also been working for over 20 years as a social worker. Why, after such success as a writer, did she continue her job at a New York medical center? "I had to keep working because it kept me honest," she says. "Writing can be so isolating. I think writers write less and less as they become less and less involved in life. And social work offers me things to write about." Miss Kellogg is currently working on the screenplay of a movie version of Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar*, as well as a screenplay for *Like the Lion's Tooth*.

Rolaine Hochstein has written a multitude of stories—both general articles and fiction—for a multitude of magazines and newspapers. Besides her own busy career, she also manages to coexist with a husband who is a television writer, three teenage children, two cats and "proliferating fish." Her hobby, she says, is "schlepping—to museums, ballets, ice-skating, theater," and if all that weren't enough, she claims to be the inventor of matzoh lasagne. Her first published short story was cited among the Martha Foley *Distinctive Short Stories of 1966*, and a recent story was chosen for inclusion in *The O. Henry Prize Stories 1977*. Perhaps her next prizewinner will be "The New Boy," page 96.

It was actually several days before Gerald Ford was nominated to be Vice-President that Trude Feldman began working on her article about the Ford family that begins on page 94. A White House correspondent who has known the Fords for the past ten years, Miss Feldman had a hunch that the popular congressman from Michigan would be President Nixon's choice, and so she arranged for a long luncheon interview with Mrs. Ford at the Mayflower Hotel early in the week that the announcement was actually made. Other interviews followed, not only with Mrs. Ford but with the Vice-President himself, his children and others close to the family. Miss Feldman's most recent piece for McCall's—on Julie Nixon Eisenhower in February—was quoted on the front page of the New York Times as well as other newspapers around the world.



HOW WE ENTERTAIN IN THE WHITE HOUSE

BY BETTY FORD
AS TOLD TO TRUDE B. FELDMAN

The First Lady describes her efforts to re-create the warmth of family gatherings at a beach cottage on Lake Michigan in making kings and prime ministers feel at home when they come to dinner at the President's house

"How did you know I can't resist chocolate?" the Chancellor of Austria, Bruno Kreisky, asked after a State Dinner we had given in his honor.

I didn't tell him that one of the advantages of entertaining in the White House is the wonderful help I am lucky enough to have. There are two chefs, a pastry chef, three cooks, six butlers, a marvelous maître d'hôtel—John Ficklin—and the kind of information from the State Department that will tell me everything I should know about the guest of honor, including his favorite dessert.

But even with a large staff and the inherent grandeur of the White House, my first concern is exactly what it was when we entertained over the years in our homes in Grand Rapids or Alexandria, Virginia—to please our guests and make them comfortable. It took some effort to accomplish that even for a small group of friends in our own home. With large numbers of distinguished guests in the rather overwhelming atmosphere of the White House, it takes even more planning to make people feel at ease.

For example, when a woman comes to a White House dinner or dance without an escort, I try to make sure that someone comes after her. And when a man asks me to dance, I subconsciously hope Jerry will ask the man's wife or date to dance, too. I particularly am concerned with shy people.

At a recent dinner for the Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, everyone joined in when the band played the "Hora," a kind of Israeli community dance. When the music changed, one of our guests asked me to do a fox trot with him. As we danced, I asked where his wife was, and when he pointed her out to me, I winked at one of my aides to alert the President and suggest he ask her to dance with him. Later, when she realized I had put Jerry up to it, she thanked me, and we had a good laugh about the whole thing. It's just one way of putting people at their ease.

To begin with, we try to make our guests feel welcome with a personal greeting and handshake in the receiving line. I want each one to sense—with the handshake itself—how I feel about his accepting our invitation. It's the inflection in your voice that counts. I don't like to give people an automatic greeting or a mechanical smile.

Several days before a State Dinner, I go to the first floor and check with my social staff who have set up a sample table, with the tablecloth, color scheme and floral arrange-

ments planned around the centerpieces. Beforehand we have checked preferences of food and beverages with the State Department or particular embassy to make sure the visitor and his entourage will be happy with our choice.

I have tried to make official dinners less formal. When I was the wife of a congressman and visited the White House, I was struck by the formality and similarity of every State Dinner. I decided to use small round tables, seating ten, rather than a large banquet-style arrangement. We cover the tables with colorful print cloths and try to arrange distinctive centerpieces. Since many of the people at each table are strangers to one another, the centerpieces can help start conversation going.

On St. Patrick's evening, we entertained the Prime Minister of Ireland. Because Mr. Cosgrave is an avid lover of horses, I chose centerpieces depicting the Winner's Circle at the Kentucky Derby. Bronze sculptures of Kentucky Derby winners (borrowed from various museums) were placed on beds of natural bark covered with moss and hedged with flowers. Many of the guests that night have stables of their own, and they particularly seemed to like the bronze on the President's table, sculptured to represent Secretariat crossing the finish line when he won the Kentucky Derby.

For another dinner I chose a colonial American theme. Antique metalware used in American homes during the 18th and early 19th centuries was displayed with fruits, vegetables, breads, nuts and spices. The historic uses of the housewares were linked with the decorations: Pewter wine and ale measures were surrounded by grapes and berries; a copper teapot was trimmed with tea, oranges, cloves and cinnamon sticks; a flat iron was accented by cotton thistles.

I have also tried to make official dinners less formal by cutting down on the amount of food served. On many occasions we have eliminated serving two appetizers. My predecessors often included both soup and fish courses, but I usually omit one or the other. Of course we try to serve the finest food possible, but I select fresh vegetables in season, usually those readily available in abundance, and meats or fowl that are the best buys of the week. Like other wives, I am concerned about rising costs and nutritional values of food.

While a memorable meal is important, perhaps even more crucial to whether or not our guests will have a good time is the after-dinner entertainment and socializing. Here again we let ourselves be guided by the preferences /turn to page 150

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of our guest of honor. For a State Dinner honoring the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Walter Scheel, last year, we invited Tennessee Ernie Ford and the Opryland Singers to entertain in the East Room after dinner. President Scheel may be the only chief of state to have made a hit record. In 1973, for charity, he sang an old German folk song, "High Up on the Yellow Wagon." The record sold over 400,000 copies. He hummed the song for reporters after dinner, to the delight of everyone.

Because I think actor-singer-dancer Ben Vereen is one of the most versatile entertainers on the American scene today, I invited him to perform in honor of the Cosgraves. But even for the White House it wasn't easy to get him. He had an engagement at the Plaza Hotel's Persian Room. He convinced hotel managing director Joseph Mogush to free him so that he could perform on St. Patrick's evening for our predominantly Irish audience.

We invited Metropolitan Opera star Roberta Peters, who was celebrating a milestone in her career—25 years at the Met—to sing for the President of Colombia, Alfonso López Michelsen. Miss Peters was seated at my table during dinner. When I sensed her nervousness before her performance, I tried to put her at ease by talking about something other than the after-dinner program. I knew that she had a teenage son, Paul—the same age as my daughter, Susan. So I began to tell her about Susan's recent prom at the White House and engaged her in conversation about our children. Later I asked the orchestra to play tunes that would be comfortable for her to dance to. To show his appreciation for her magnificent performance, the President danced several times with Roberta.

Her thank-you note was most rewarding. Let me share part of it: "Both you and the President really did your homework. He introduced me beautifully—as if he knew me for years. And you helped me forget the awesome atmosphere of the White House by showing your interest in me—the mother and wife, rather than the artist."

At the end of a dinner the President and I don't hurry upstairs. We make a practice of mixing with the guests, and we try to set the pace by having fun ourselves. Both Jerry and I love to dance, and when we begin, others join us. While at times we are criticized for dancing too much, we feel it's part of our hospitality.

Despite our best preparations, there has been an occasional ticklish moment. For example, one thing we hadn't discovered in advance about President Sadat of Egypt is that he doesn't dance and apparently doesn't approve of dancing. We found that out at our dinner for him when one of our guests, Pearl Bailey, began to coax him to dance. But we didn't think it

because he seemed willing enough. He rose, took a few steps and then sat down. Some in Mr. Sadat's entourage thought he had been offended, but there was a beaming expression on his face that told me he was enjoying the experience.

Our first State Dinner at the White House was for King Hussein of Jordan. I had very little time to prepare for that one because Jerry became President only five days before the King was due to arrive. We hadn't even moved into the White House yet. So I depended upon friends to help me and just used my best judgment about planning the evening. Imagine how happy I felt when someone told me the King had been heard to say that it was the most enjoyable party he had ever been to at the White House. During that evening Eric Sevareid was coerced into dancing, and as he got up to do the Mexican hat dance he remarked, "I've never seen so much joy in the White House."

When we have guests informally in the family quarters of the White House, I usually fall back on the way we used to entertain when we lived in Alexandria, when Jerry was a congressman and then Vice-President—buffet style. It's a carry-over from our days in Grand Rapids. Back there, entertaining was on a much smaller scale and was relatively simple. Our space was limited: a living room, dining room, breakfast room, kitchen, two bedrooms and a bath. We lived downstairs in our own duplex, and we rented the upstairs portion. This was home mainly in the summer when Jerry went back to campaign for Congress.

In Grand Rapids I used some antique silver that had belonged to both my mother and Jerry's mother. Mother Ford gave us antique knives with pearl handles and an antique silver coffee urn, which I also used in Alexandria. They came in handy when I served buffet style.

We spent part of our summers at Ottawa Beach in a cottage on Lake Michigan, 45 miles from Grand Rapids. It was jointly owned by the four Ford brothers—Jerry, Tom, Dick and Jim. There we enjoyed parties and picnics on the beach with friends and relatives. At the cottage we served a menu generally consisting of casseroles or potato salad with cooked ham or a leg of lamb or hamburgers. Desserts were ice cream, pies and cakes from the local bakery or fresh blueberries, which were locally grown.

As a congressman's wife in Washington, I continued to entertain diplomats, press and congressional couples in this informal style. My guests seemed to enjoy getting away from the black-tie circuit.

Since we had a small house in Alexandria, I entertained more often during the fall and spring so that I could use the patio and pool area as well as the house. The buffet was set up in the family room with service directly from the kitchen. A typical buffet included

salad and dessert, followed by coffee. I sometimes cut a watermelon in half, scooped it out, then filled each half with fresh blueberries, strawberries and melon chunks. A delicious angel-food cake with a chocolate mousse between the layers is one dessert that could be prepared ahead of time. I often made desserts in advance and kept them in the freezer a day or two before they were to be used.

One day last summer I reverted to this outdoor approach by holding a "brown bag" lunch on the lawn of the White House for members of the Republican Congressional Wives Club. I invited the wives to "brown bag" it in keeping with the President's economy program. The event turned out to be fun for everyone.

The 110 guests sat at picnic tables under a cluster of trees on the South Lawn. The temperature was 93 degrees. Each guest brought her own lunch in a paper bag, and I provided beverages and dessert, served by waiters from a small nearby tent. Beverages included coffee and iced tea with a sprig of mint. For dessert there were cookies and pistachio ice cream with chocolate shavings. The desserts were served from a garden cart, which featured small clay flowerpots with the ice cream into which a plastic straw was embedded. A flower stuck in each straw created the look of blooming plants.

Many of the wives brought sandwiches, but I had to be prepared for those who forgot. One was in such a rush that all she had time to put in her bag was two slices of bread, spread with mayonnaise. On the other hand, another guest carried caviar in her brown bag and still another brought an elaborate lunch that included artichokes, complete with dip. Someone asked for lessons on how to cook artichokes properly. Instead, I gave a demonstration on how to eat them.

My own brown bag was filled with roast beef on whole-wheat bread; carrot and celery sticks; potato chips; and assorted fruits in a plastic cup (sliced oranges, grapefruit, cantaloupe and apples).

There was no head table. It was a "sit where you like" arrangement that seemed to please everyone. There were eight at my table. The tables were draped with bandana-pattern sheets, some in red, others in blue. The centerpieces were arrangements of red geraniums, white feverfew and blue bachelor's buttons placed in a brown paper bag tied with red and blue ribbons. Everyone seemed to have a wonderful time.

I really enjoy entertaining. From black tie to brown bag, it seems to me that the principles of American hospitality are always the same: consideration for your guests' tastes and preferences, a little imagination in preparing a congenial setting and—of course, most of all—communicating your genuine warmth and pleasure in being with them.

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**Sew this
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page 142**



"My Daddy, Mr. President"

Gerald Ford's 17-year-old daughter, Susan, holds a special place in his affections—and he in hers. Here are her delightfully candid views about her father

BY TRUDE B. FELDMAN

What a difference a year can make. It was last October 12, a Friday, that the whole thing started. Her father was seated at the dinner table. Her mother was upstairs on the private phone talking to her brother, Mike, a divinity student in Massachusetts. Susan was at the kitchen stove, halfway through cooking the family dinner. When the phone rang she hurriedly picked it up. The phones were always ringing in their house, the Alexandria, Va., house of Congressman Gerald R. Ford, and especially at dinnertime. But this call was different. A man's voice said, "The President would like to speak to Jerry Ford."

Susan knew instantly why the President was calling. She held her breath in awe as her father spoke first to General Haig and then to President Nixon. (Because the then President wanted Mrs. Ford to hear the conversation, her husband had to ask him to call back, on the line that had an extension—and in the meantime quickly break up the conversation between mother and son.)

After the call, Betty Ford came

downstairs and she and her husband put their arms around each other. Susan had just won her bet.

Susan Elizabeth Ford, then 16, the only daughter and youngest of the four Ford children, had felt from the moment of Spiro Agnew's resignation last fall that her father would be the next Vice President. Her mother was not at all convinced. Surely, Betty Ford reasoned, the President would choose a Senator or a Governor rather than a Congressman. But now the suspense was over. Susan was richer by \$5—the amount of her bet. As for the meal she had been preparing, by the time she remembered it was hardly fit to eat. But no one noticed it on that momentous night.

Susan Ford's exciting days and nights have escalated since then—President Nixon's resignation this past August; her father's swearing in, the same day, as 38th President of the United States; her family's move the next week from the comfortable, beloved, brick and frame house in suburban Alexandria that had been her only home since birth to the ele-

gant vastness of the White House.

Susan is the kind of girl who would follow her father to the ends of the earth. But she never really wanted to live in the White House. "It's so huge, with all those enormous rooms and long hallways." But there she is now in the bedroom that was once Julie and David Eisenhowers' (the "Blue Classical Room"), redone in Susan's favorite yellow. Her Siamese cat, Shan, has the run of the White House corridors. But best of all, her father now is home more than at any time she can remember. And for a girl who admires and respects her father as Susan does, that's possibly the best part of being the President's daughter.

The Ford family, as we all know by now, is the American dream of family life come true: the hard-working, ambitious father; the pretty, accomplished mother; the three stalwart sons—one studying for the ministry, one a forester, one ready for college; the appealing daughter, now 17. They all work purposefully, play hard, laugh a lot, admire each other and

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The Ford family, minus two sons who were away, pose in their Alexandria, Va., home on the eve of their departure for the White House. With the President and his wife are their younger children, Steve, 18, and Susan, the Fords' only daughter.

continued

are developing their individual differences under an umbrella of love and concern. All the Fords have those blue-blue eyes and the same blond hair that starts as corn silk and darkens very little.

"There is an unusually close relationship between Susan and her father," says her Aunt Janet. "When she was a tiny girl of five or six, he used to call her with a little jingle: 'Susan, Matusan, you're the girl of my choosin'!' Susan is the apple of his eye."

And Susan's feelings? "Daddy is the perfect father," she told me, her blue eyes alight. "I can't find anything wrong with him. He is always siding with me. He used to stand up for me against my brothers."

"Daddy also lets me in on family secrets, especially on surprises for Mother, like what he's going to give her for Mother's Day or her birthday."

"I help him shop for clothes for her . . . we both wear the same size, an 8 or a 10, according to the outfit. So I try things on, so Dad can see what they'll look like on her."

Gerald Ford was a strict but frequently absent parent during the years when his children were growing up. The youngsters had to eat right, mind their manners (Yes, ma'am; No, sir), watch their language, do their homework, go to church and Sunday school (when their father was home, though, it was he who took them), and stick up for each other.

Susan was asked what one thing sticks in her mind about her father's role in her upbringing.

"Mainly, he lets me go my own way," she responded. "He guides me to an extent, but wants me to find out for myself what life is all about, and he warns me that I must learn from my mistakes. For instance, when I make a mistake and realize it at the last minute and want to get out of it, I can't. I have to learn my lesson from the mistake—that's the way he taught me how to behave."

"He tells me never to try and put on a 'face,' but just to be myself."

Betty Ford, a dancer by training, a disciplinarian because she had to be, enforced the rules and punished the infractions. It wasn't always easy as the children grew up, assertive of their independence. But she had one unbeatable asset: Her husband backed her every time.

and with us," Susan agrees. "When we were little and did something wrong, he didn't spank us. I never remember his laying a hand on me. We went to our room to think it over, and when we were ready to talk things over, we came out and talked."

Susan confides that it's hard for her father to say no to things she asks him for. Sometimes she doesn't even have to ask.

"Once, at a school dance in Charlottesville, I had to pay for the hotel room," Susan recalls. "But Dad didn't say, 'You have your own money.' Instead, he asked how much I needed. He always looks after me. When I don't feel well and he's away, he'll call often to check on how I feel—if I'm getting enough rest or whatever."

Consideration for others is another of her father's attributes that Susan admires. She specifically remembers

one summer vacation in Vail, Colo.

"I wanted to play golf. After taking a few lessons from a pro, I was finally ready to play nine holes. So my father and I and two friends, who were also learning, got up one day at 7 A.M. and went to the golf course. We played the back nine instead of the front where everyone else was because we knew we'd play slow."

"We asked Dad if we could keep score, but he didn't answer us just then. So one friend started off and barely hit the ball. Dad said, 'Take it easy and be patient.' He played along, gave us hints and also some confidence, even though what he would do in two strokes—he's a good golfer—it would take us six or seven to do. After awhile he said, 'Don't keep score, girls, it's not worth it.' I just couldn't believe how patient he was."

Gerald Ford taught all his children sports he himself played, and taught

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Gerald Ford, who gets up early, often cooks his own breakfast. He also used to share the household chores—at least to the extent of stacking the dishwasher!



continued

them to be competitive. He believes that sports are not only healthful for the body but are the best thing to keep one's mind alert. "As soon as I was able to walk, Daddy put me on skis," Susan says. "And he taught me to swim when I was five."

Susan tells, with a smile, a story about her father and a Ping-Pong game in China, where he had gone, as House Minority Leader, soon after the visit of President Nixon.

"When Daddy was in China, he visited a school and watched some kids play Ping-Pong. A little boy about eight years old challenged him to a game. Now, Dad is a pretty good player, so he figured he'd have to hold back and go easy with a little kid. But as it happened, he was just completely humiliated. He was beaten so badly. He says you can't believe the way those Chinese children play Ping-Pong!"

Despite the emphasis on sports in the Ford family, Susan has not turned into a tomboy. Born July 6, she's a moonchild. According to astrology, that means she's a natural homemaker, and she does love household things.

She sews, made most of the needlepoint cushions in the Fords' Alexandria house and has turned out to be a better cook than her mother. She especially loves to cook for her father. When he became Vice Presi-

Navy stewards took over their kitchen. She nurses sick plants back to health, spends hours studying ballet and modern dance and wears pretty clothes well. The same size as her mother, she doesn't mind hand-me-downs, usually nicer and more expensive than what she would buy herself. But she loves to wear blue jeans—even at the White House.

In some ways, Susan was better prepared for the role of President's daughter than she had envisioned. She became familiar with the imposing executive mansion in the summer of 1973 when she sold souvenir guidebooks to tourists at the White House. "My dad taught me to work during the summer, and encouraged me to save money. I got the White House job on my own. You should have seen Daddy's face when I came home and teased him that I didn't need him to get me a job there!"

In addition, many times recently and especially during the Vice Presidency, Susan accompanied her father to official functions. As a result, she has learned to handle formal receiving lines like a veteran, gained skill in making small talk with dignitaries, and come to take it for granted that VIPs are simply ordinary human beings who have acquired fancy titles.

Susan has a disarming way of speaking about her relationship with

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White House photo

Susan Ford was one of her father's partners at a recent State Dinner. The President chuckled as the orchestra swung into "If You Knew Susie Like I Know Susie."

continued

her father. "We care about each other and we understand each other. He lets me express myself, and doesn't always expect me to agree with him." She also jokes easily with him, and likes to kid him about his frequent remark that "When I was young, that's not the way we did things."

"What do you expect, Dad," Susan will say, "in those olden days!"

Their affection for each other was evident on the night of the Fords' first State Dinner in the White House for King Hussein of Jordan. It was a festive occasion, and in the dancing that followed, one of the President's

ing enchantingly happy in a green-and-white polka-dot gown. "I'm having a great time," she told me as they whirled past. "Just marvelous."

Susan doesn't think the Presidency will change Gerald Ford. "I really didn't want him to be President, but I know he'll be a good one, a great one for the country. He's really down to earth and too humble a person to change. He even wants his old friends to continue to call him 'Jerry.' And he's no different to me and the rest of the family."

"Before we got the Navy stewards —when Daddy became Vice President —he was always helping with the

But one thing he can't do is help Mom get ready to go out. Dad is just not made to hook up dresses, so I'm always helping her do that."

Susan Ford does not yet know what she wants to do with her life. When she was 12 she was sure she was going to be a figure skater, an international star of the ice rinks. A few years later she intended to be a ballerina, in the footsteps of her mother, who trained with Martha Graham but later renounced career for marriage. Now Susan has no definite plans. She'd like to go to college next year, preferably to a small Southern campus. Her parents hope she'll choose a school near the Washington area.

A White House wedding? She shrugs. That would be in the future. Rumors began when she took Gardner Britt, her latest boy friend, to her father's swearing-in and grew when he was her date at the first White House State Dinner and then, the next night, she and her parents had dinner at his folks home. (Amusingly enough, Gardner's father is a Ford dealer.) But one thing Susan is certain of: "I'll never marry a politician," she told a TV interviewer, "not after the life my mother has led."

Meantime there is plenty to keep her busy: school (she's a senior at Holton-Arms in nearby Bethesda, Md.), sports, friends, dates, dance practice, needlework and showing the White House chef exactly how her father likes his pot roast with all the trimmings. And she'll continue her babysitting. She used to sit for the two young children of Louise and Peter Abbruzese who lived across the street in Alexandria. In August, Louise was expecting her third child.

"When the baby comes," Susan told Mrs. Abbruzese before the Fords moved out of the neighborhood, "don't worry. Just drop the other kids off at the White House. I'll keep an eye on them." ♦

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Betty Ford Calmly Copes With New Role

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN
Daily Journal

WASHINGTON — It's one thing to have your husband unexpectedly catapulted into the vice presidency of the United States. It's quite another to live in the shadow of the White House with your whole life changed. But within a relatively short period, Betty Ford has had to cope with all the details and duties resulting from this dramatic change.

For 25 years — prior to last October, — her husband, Gerald R. Ford, was a

congressman from the Fifth District of Michigan, and, while life was never dull, it was at least predictable and rather free from the glare of publicity which has enveloped the office of the Vice Presidency more than ever.

From talking with Betty Ford on numerous occasions, — at home, over a four-hour luncheon in the Carvery Room of the Mayflower Hotel, and from following her as she goes about her new duties, one cannot escape the realization that the vice president's wife is successfully handling a role she never dreamed she'd have.

Attractively dressed in skirt and sweater and relaxed in a wing armchair in her living room, Mrs. Ford offered a rare glimpse of herself and family. She talked about the changes in her life wrought by her husband's sudden ascension to the vice presidency and what she's doing to keep their family life on an even keel, especially as it affects the four Ford children — Michael, 23, Jack, 21, Steven, 17, and Susan, 16.

They were raised with the same ideals and principles as their grandparents instilled in

both Betty and Jerry Ford. Mrs. Ford believes that strong discipline is a necessity as a child grows up. "It's to the child's advantage," she explains, "because it teaches him how to take charge of himself when he becomes an adult."

The pressures and responsibilities that fall to the nation's Second Family have not changed Betty Ford. The calmness and poise with which she goes through each day's arduous schedule come from her long training in the discipline of modern dance, which was imbued in her as a

member of the famed Martha Graham troupe in her early years, as well as the time she spent as a fashion model.

The one development in her new role that pleases her most is that she sees more of her husband now than she did when he was a congressman and a commuter to his home district in Michigan.

"We go more places together as a team now," she says. "I take a greater interest in his speeches and day-to-day activities than when he was minority leader of the House. We also tell

Continued on Page 7



MRS. BETTY FORD
Vice president's wife believes in family discipline.

She Keeps Ford Family On Even Keel

Continued from Page 1.

each other what we could have, or should have, done better or differently. As my mother taught me, 'Don't do anything unless you strive to do it right.' I always try to live by that advice."

Mrs. Ford hasn't yet become heavily involved in the meeting, greeting and ward-giving activities as is First Lady Pat Nixon. Gradually, however, she is working herself into the duties of the Second Lady of the land.

She said she expects to do volunteer work in the coming months. "There are many excellent causes, and I'll try to divide my time to help as many as I can."

One of her first activities was to visit the antique show and sale of Goodwill Industries, a cause which has

more opulent quarters that might be offered to the vice president's family.

The Fords' two-story home consists of four bedrooms, four and a half baths, a recreation room, a den, a living room and kitchen. It's a typical colonial modern house in an upper-middle-class suburb, 25 minutes from the White House. Although Mrs. Ford says she has some extra help now, she often does the family laundry, some of the marketing and shares the cooking chores with daughter Susan.

"This is a very livable, comfortable home," she says. "We're all content to stay here. This fits our needs."

Mrs. Ford indicated that, since coming to Washington 25 years ago, she has sacrificed an important part of herself to

helpmate to me, still a very loving mother with our children, although a pretty stern taskmaster with them, and very firm in her convictions.

Mrs. Ford is convinced that no possible political development will change her husband's essential character. "He is a very humble person. None of this will go to his head. I know him too well. He's a strong person with a strong will and strong convictions."

"He's the finest husband anyone could hope to have. Our marriage has been a beautiful experience in every way. He has enhanced my life so that I can't imagine it without him."

Though previously active as a dancer and in many sports,

Betty Ford has had to ease up her pace in recent years. A troublesome pinched nerve in her neck has curtailed some of her activities. Gardening and swimming are her main diversions these days. She likes to dig and plant in the yard.

"I like to work with my hands in the soil," Mrs. Ford said as she showed the various plants in her garden. "I guess I'm a peasant at heart. I try to keep something in bloom all year around in the garden."

Mrs. Ford is like a sister to daughter Susan in many ways and, because mother and daughter wear about the same size dress — an 8 or 10 — Susan goes with her Dad and tries on dresses for size when he wants to surprise Mom

with a new outfit. As for her taste in clothes, probably the ultimate compliment comes from Susan, who says, "We like the same type of dress. I wouldn't mind wearing what Mom wears."

Although his wife teases that he's not handy around the house, she admits that Jerry Ford has one outstanding domestic talent. "He's the best dishwasher in the world," Mrs. Ford says with a sheepish smile. "He earned his way through college washing dishes and he has never forgotten how. In fact, he enjoys it. But when it comes to cooking, he can't fry an egg. I don't mind that because he's not one of those men who won't help in the kitchen."

However, she discloses that

today, even as vice president, he arises before 7 a.m. and makes his own breakfast. "He puts on the tea kettle and toasts an English muffin. Then he's off with the Secret Service on a round of official duties."

There have been evenings at home when Mrs. Ford has gotten somewhat annoyed when the vice president would bury his head in a newspaper or a document and failed to hear her talking to him.

At such times, she says, "I'd just go over to him, tap him on the shoulder and say, 'Hey remember me?' He doesn't get angry — he looks up and grins. I've never seen him really angry."

Whatever fate has in store for the Ford family — even the White House itself — Betty Ford thinks that nothing will top the day when President Nixon nominated her husband to be vice president. After that historic moment in the East Room of

the White House, the whole family came together in tender and touching emotion.

"When the fanfare died down, Jerry and I just hugged each other, and I started

crying." Mrs. Ford thinks his eyes were The children had with a bottle of was a moment cherish."

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President's mother, Dorothy Wa

By Trude B. Feldman
New York Times Features

A woman of valor ... who can find? Her worth is far above rubies. The heart of her husband trusts in her, and nothing shall he lack. She renders him good, and not harm, all the days of her life. A god-revering woman is much to be praised. (Proverbs 31).

KENNEBUNKPORT — Dorothy Walker Bush marks her 90th birthday Monday, and her children — including the president — will celebrate the milestone with a small party Monday night in the house on Walker's Point in which she has summered since 1922.

Her four sons and daughters-in-law, Prescott and Beth; Jonathan and Jody; William (Bucky) and Patty; and her daughter, Nancy will be on hand in addition to George and Barbara and their five children and their spouses.

Also in attendance will be a number of Dorothy Bush's 16 grandchildren and 22 great-grandchildren, who call her "Ganny."

In an interview, George Herbert Walker Bush, who was named for his mother's father, disclosed that he will surprise his mother with a silver-framed photograph — taken this year in Maine — of her and her five children.

The president also related: "As mother reaches her 90th birthday, I want to tell you how much I and her children love and respect her. I try to telephone her

regularly, and I love to talk to my children and grandchildren about her. She is still the moral leader of our family, and all of us — members of whatever generation — know that. She is their idol."

What has the president learned from his mother that is helpful to him as the leader of the free world?

"I often think of her advice on the fundamentals — being tolerant, turning the other cheek, caring about people, standing against discrimination and for fair play," he replies. "As president, mother hasn't given me advice, but I've always had the feeling that she is in my corner supporting me no matter what the decision."

What has his mother meant to him?

"She has meant everything," the president says. "She has enhanced my life by being an example of everything that is good, everything that is for our family the Christian ethic."

"Mother would discipline us and then love us, put her arms around us. She set examples. She tried to teach us to be unselfish

and care about the other person. She did not want us to talk about ourselves, whether it was in sports, or in life generally."

The president recalls that even when his mother would have chosen a different path for her children, she respected their decisions. "For example," he said, "mother would have been delighted if I had not gone into the Navy on my 18th birthday, preferring that I go to college. But she supported me 100 percent once the decision was made."

The day after Dorothy Bush's son was inaugurated as the 41st president, she visited him in the Oval Office, and described that as the "most wonderful day" of her life.

"Seeing George sitting at his desk in that grand oval room made me proud," she remembers. "But I felt sad that his father wasn't there, too. How I wished he could have lived to see George become president."

George's father, Prescott Sheldon Bush, a U.S. senator from Connecticut from 1953 to 1962, died of lung cancer Oct. 8, 1972, at age 77. He and Dorothy Walker were married for 51 years.

In her eulogy of him she wrote, in part: "My husband gave me the most joyous life that any woman could experience. ... His greatest comfort and joy in life was in his family, all of them. ... The whole Kingdom of Heaven is richer because he passed through the world."

Mrs. Bush, small-boned and slim, still has a crown of wavy

gray hair with more than a touch of her own natural blond color. Her blue eyes twinkle when she smiles, which is often. She loves to laugh.

Her 90th birthday finds her quite resilient despite a recent bout with pneumonia which had weakened her. She uses a cane and a walker for support, but prefers to be on the arm of one of her children or grandchildren.

If Dorothy Bush could live her life over, she doesn't think she would do anything differently. "I've been very lucky and blessed with good health and a loving family," she says. "What more could anyone ask?"

Does the matriarch of the Bush-Walker families have any special thoughts on reaching age 90?

She laughs. "No. I'm there." Mrs. Bush says she feels an "inner peace and much pride" in seeing her children lead happy and successful lives. She has a "close relationship with each one, and no favorites."

What values and ideals did she instill in her son, George, that might have motivated him to aspire to the presidency?



Dorothy Walker Bush talks with her son, George, on

"I don't think it was my doing at all," she says. "Perhaps it was his father. He always talked with our sons about politics and serving others."

Did he show leadership traits early in life?

"Oh, yes," Dorothy Bush remarks. "At school (Andover), he showed he could lead. But I couldn't imagine then how far he'd go. That was a long time ago."

Was she surprised when he decided to run for the presidency?

"Oh, mercy, yes. I think it is one of the hardest jobs in the world," she says. "But at the time I said if that's what he wants, I certainly would do what I could to help him."

The White House hasn't changed her son, she says. "At least, he is the same to me. I feel that his life is being fulfilled and that's a blessing for me."

Dorothy Bush adds that his presidency has also not changed her life, but that it "feels very nice to have my son in the White

House. I have lots of in him."

The second of six children, Dorothy was born to and George Herbert July 1, 1901, in Kennebec. She grew up in St. Louis. She met Prescott Bush her senior. She married him when she was 20 years old.

For a wedding present they built for them a "low" on Walker's Point. They spent the winters in Hobe Sound, Fla., and the rest of the year in Greenwich, Conn.

As the Walkers grew up, athletic was a good part of their lives. Dorothy was a dynamo in sports, particularly tennis. Her husband, was a captain of a Cup tennis team, and established the Walker tennis match — the amateur tennis match between the United States and Britain.

To this day, she loves the family tennis match. Dorothy also loves

Maine

It's mother, Dorothy Walker Bush

and care about the other person. She did not want us to talk about ourselves, whether it was in sports, or in life generally."

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What values and ideals did she instill in her son, George, that might have motivated him to aspire to the presidency?



Dorothy Walker Bush talks with her son, George, on the morning after he was inaugurated

"I don't think it was my doing at all," she says. "Perhaps it was his father. He always talked with our sons about politics and serving others."

Did he show leadership traits early in life?

"Oh, yes," Dorothy Bush remarks. "At school (Andover), he showed he could lead. But I couldn't imagine then how far he'd go. That was a long time ago."

Was she surprised when he decided to run for the presidency?

"Oh, mercy, yes. I think it is one of the hardest jobs in the world," she says. "But at the time I said if that's what he wants, I certainly would do what I could to help him."

The White House hasn't changed her son, she says. "At least, he is the same to me. I feel that his life is being fulfilled and that's a blessing for me."

Dorothy Bush adds that his presidency has also not changed her life, but that it "feels very nice to have my son in the White

House. I have lots of confidence in him."

The second of six children, Dorothy was born to Lulie Wear and George Herbert Walker on July 1, 1901, in Kennebunkport. She grew up in St. Louis, where she met Prescott Bush, six years her senior. She married him when she was 20 years old.

For a wedding present, her father built for them "The Bungalow" on Walker's Point. She now winters in Hobe Sound, Fla., and spends the rest of the year in her Greenwich, Conn., home.

As the Walker children were growing up, athletics were a good part of their lives. Dorothy was a dynamo in sports, particularly tennis. Her uncle, Joe Wear, was a captain of the Davis Cup tennis team, and her father established the Walker Cup match — the amateur golf competition between the United States and Britain.

To this day, she loves watching the family tennis matches.

Dorothy also loved to play

baseball, which she often played with the boys. Once, playing while she was months pregnant, she began having contractions. The morning, she gave birth to first son, 10-pound Prescott.

That was 69 years ago. To Prescott looks back with nostalgia as he describes his mother. "She is one in a billion," he says. "She was always there when we needed her, but she kept us tied to her. Her wonderful imagination encouraged us to be imaginative, too, and she has a good sense of humor."

"Mother was, and still is, a fabulous, beautiful woman, who was a role model for her sons in everything for the women we want to marry."

Prescott's wife, Beth, describes her mother-in-law: "Mum never gives advice though I'm sure she must have given it a million times. She never keeps from doing it. She never criticizes. If she wants to get her point across, she has a way

Mother, Dorothy Walker Bush, turns



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quoting others in She is great full enthusiasm."

Dorothy Bush Bible every day brought up her strong family ties and religious values. Her mother had been recalling how she was near her bed, morning prayers.

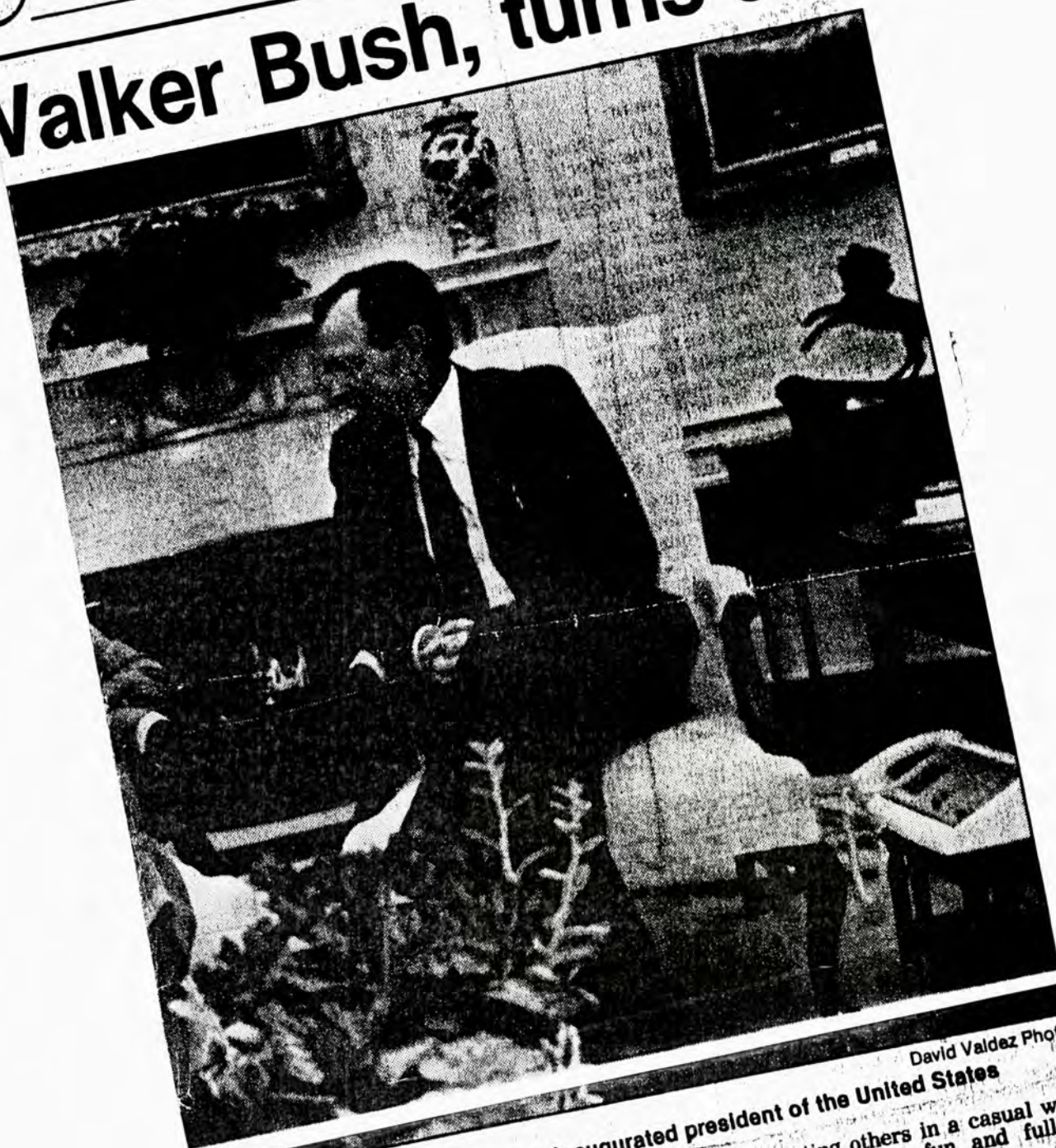
Mrs. Bush was close to her brother, Dr. er, a surgeon, who His son, John Jr., is in New York City, has been a strong their lives. "She is and she leads by the personality," he said still takes pleasure loving all of our a

Dorothy Bush's ways has been in family around her. Maine, the family that joy as they gather to celebrate birthday.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Monday, July 1, 1991

Walker Bush, turns 90



David Valdez Photo

orge, on the morning after he was inaugurated president of the United States

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She is great fun and full of
enthusiasm."

Dorothy Bush still reads the
Bible every day and says she
brought up her children with
strong family ties, faith in God
and religious values — just as
her mother had brought her up,
recalling how she "would gather
us near her bedside" for daily
morning prayers.

Mrs. Bush was extremely close
to her brother, Dr. John M. Walk-
er, a surgeon, who recently died.
His son, John Jr., a federal judge
in New York City, says his aunt
has been a strong presence in
their lives. "She is full of love,
and she leads by the force of her
personality," he says. "Also, she
still takes pleasure in closely fol-
lowing all of our activities."

Dorothy Bush's greatest joy al-
ways has been in having her fa-
mily around her. Tonight, in
Maine, the family will bask in
that joy as they gather around
her to celebrate her 90th
birthday.

“WE NEVER FACE ANYTHING ALONE”

BY
TRUDE B.
FELDMAN

Ronald and Nancy Reagan wave greetings from the South Lawn of the White House. Below, the President talks candidly to reporter Trude Feldman.

The President and his “leading lady” talk about their bouts with illness, her mother’s death, the assassination attempt—and the romance that has made every one of their 36 years together “golden”

In one week last October the stock market crashed, the Iranians attacked a United States-flagged tanker in the Persian Gulf, the Bork nomination to the Supreme Court was defeated and the anticipated Reagan-Gorbachev summit appeared to have been derailed. At the same time, concern about two personal crises gripped America’s First Family—the President’s wife underwent surgery for



cancer and, four days after Nancy Reagan’s return from the hospital, her mother died.

Earlier, on October 5, her physician had informed Mrs. Reagan of a suspicious lesion detected in her left breast following an annual mammogram. Although the news stunned her, her first reaction was a realistic, “What do we do now?”

She listened to doctors explain the nature of such (please turn to page 61)

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL EVANS, THE WHITE HOUSE

"WE NEVER FACE ANYTHING ALONE"

continued from page 59

lesions and the necessary procedures for remedy. They told her that the finding would require a biopsy and that, if the tissue proved malignant, a definitive surgical procedure should be performed to ensure removal of all diseased tissue. Alternative therapies were discussed, such as lumpectomy, radiation and/or chemotherapy, depending on the diagnosis and the stage of the disease process discovered.

"During Mrs. Reagan's ordeal she was brave, methodical and in total possession of her judgment," her doctor said. "She didn't hesitate with her decision, electing to undergo a modified radical mastectomy—removal of all the breast tissue and accompanying lymph nodes in the left axilla."

Mrs. Reagan later told me that doctors recommended that procedure to afford the best chance of removing all cancerous tissue and to avoid the need for radiation.

While both the President and Mrs. Reagan were psychologically prepared for her operation, nothing in the 36 years of their marriage had affected the President so deeply. "Even when something is bothering him, he usually puts on a cheerful face," said one close associate. "But it was obvious that Nancy's illness was really troubling him."

It was Mrs. Reagan's first serious medical problem. The last time she was hospitalized was for childbirth, almost 30 years ago. But she didn't alter her immediate schedule. On the morning of her hospitalization, she flew to New Hampshire to participate in its Foster Grandparents Conference.

The President wanted to be with Nancy before her operation. He was scheduled to take the short helicopter ride from the White House to Bethesda Naval Hospital, but foggy weather forced him to go by car, which would have made him late. He called doctors with a plea: "Please don't start before I see Nancy." When he arrived, he found her on the gurney ready to be wheeled into the operating room, and they were able to share four minutes together.

She was hospitalized for six nights and five days, and the President visited her daily. The day before she was released, he noted to reporters that the stock market had closed up 186 and some fraction, and some 450 million shares had been traded. "But," he added, "today's news—equally important to me personally—is that tomorrow I'll bring Nancy home from the hospital." The next night he opened his first White

House press conference in seven months—not with a reference to the stock-market crash or to the war in the Persian Gulf, or even the Gorbachev summit, but by announcing: "It sure is good news to have Nancy back home."

Dealing with cancer is not a new experience for the Reagans. Upon learning of her own affliction, Nancy said, "I guess it's my turn," referring to the President's repeated bouts with the disease—he has been operated on for skin and colon cancer four times in the last three years. Through all his hospitalizations and recuperations, Nancy had nursed him with "T.L.C."—tender loving care. Now it was the President's turn to take care of her, and he gave her an abundance of that T.L.C.

Asked how he had helped her cope during her surgery and mourning for her mother, the President told me: "I did everything I could to reassure her when she was ill and to assuage her grief at the loss of her mother. I felt I was the one who had to tell her, and it was difficult to

"Without my husband's presence," Mrs. Reagan says, "those days would have been impossible"

find the right words. I told her that her mother would never really be gone from us. She had thought of me as a son. In fact, after I got to know her, I couldn't tell a mother-in-law joke."

He said that, while he and Nancy were able to take in stride her medical problem, her mother's death was "something that tried our souls because we loved her so much."

Mrs. Reagan described her surgery and her mother's death as "a double whammy" and said, "Without my husband's presence, those days would have been impossible. His comforting arms, his warmth and encouragement were a tremendous help."

While Mrs. Reagan was in the hospital, a concert featuring the music of Jerome Kern was held at the White House. After the President thanked the artists and apologized for Nancy's absence, he added, "She would have loved this romantic music." [Her favorite love song is Gershwin's "Our Love Is Here to Stay," and one of the President's is "Sweetheart."]

At the recent State Dinner for Israeli president Chaim Herzog, Metropolitan Opera diva Roberta Peters dedicated "Sweetheart" to Nancy—for her enduring courage. "As I sang to Mrs. Reagan

from the stage, I saw the President grasp her hand, and they looked adoringly at each other," Miss Peters said.

Another dinner guest was actress June Allyson, a close friend of the Reagans, who said "it was a delight to listen to Ronnie . . . It reminded me of the old days in Hollywood when we used to sit around and chat. I couldn't help thinking how Richard [her late husband, Dick Powell] had once predicted Ronald Reagan would someday be President of the United States."

In an interview at Washington's Park Hyatt Hotel, Allyson, now married to Dr. David Ashrow, described the Reagans as "the warmest people I know, who in all the years haven't changed—even in the White House." She recalled the times when she and Dick Powell double-dated with Nancy Davis and Ronald Reagan: "I remember telling Nancy, 'You have to marry Ronnie because he is just as wonderful as Richard.' She answered, 'I agree, but I think it's polite to wait until I'm asked.' From her sheepish smile, I suspect that she already knew he might ask her."

He did ask Nancy, after 11 months of courtship, and they were married on March 4, 1952.

Asked how their love manifests itself, she says, "To me, love means sharing and wanting to give of yourself and your life to another person. I knew I was in love when I became more concerned about Ronnie than about myself."

The President says: "Nancy has enhanced my life just by being a part of it. Philip Barry wrote a play, *You and I*. A character in the play spoke those words in explaining marriage, and said, 'You and I and the you comes first every time.' That's true for Nancy and me."

Their mutual devotion has never been so severely tested as during the Iran-contra affair that has engulfed the White House and damaged the Reagan presidency. When I asked the President how Nancy is helping him cope with this international crisis, he said, "She has made it so natural for us to be as one that we never face anything alone. It's always *our* problem—to be dealt with as something affecting the two of us. Nancy sees this problem as something that happened to us together."

Neither one will ever forget the traumatic day seven years ago when the President was shot. On his way to the operating room, he had the presence to quip to Nancy, "Honey, I forgot to duck." Since then, every time he leaves the White House without her, she watches his departure and return from the balcony of the South Portico. "Whenever Ronnie leaves," she says, "my heart seems to stop until he returns."

Despite the seriousness of his injury—a bullet through his left chest and

continued

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"WE NEVER FACE ANYTHING ALONE"

continued

lung—both the corrective surgery and his recovery were rapid. Yet, in Bob Woodward's book *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA—1981-1987*, it is purported that the President's recovery was less than optimal and that, after he was released from the hospital, he had periods of incoherence and weakness and required oxygen to sustain his life.

Mrs. Reagan told me: "My husband was never disoriented, he never collapsed in the Yellow Oval Room and he never required oxygen once he left the hospital—twelve days after he was wounded. In a letter to *Newsweek*, Dr. Daniel Ruge [the President's former physician] corrected that false report when it surfaced, and my husband's excellent recovery is on record at the hospital."

In the past 36 years, countless people the world over have been in and out of Ronald Reagan's life, but Nancy has been the one constant—his anchor, his compass and his sail, and he is the first to salute her. "She moved into my heart and replaced an emptiness I had been trying to ignore for a long time," the

President told me. "She turned away from a promising career in films because she believed that being a wife was a full-time career." (At the time of her marriage, Nancy Davis had eight films to her credit. After marriage, she made three more—one of them, *Hellcats of the Navy*, with her husband in 1956.)

He recalled that he hadn't met her before their first date. "It was a kind of blind date," he said. "In case things didn't click, I told her on the phone that I had an early call on the set the next morning, so that evening's date would have to be short. She told me the same about herself."

As the evening wore on, he said, they forgot about the early calls and stayed out late listening to Sophie Tucker in a nightclub. "And since that date, thirty-seven years ago, Nancy has been the leading lady of my heart," he said. Mrs. Reagan puts it this way: "Since then, each year has been a golden one."

Ronald Reagan's welfare has always been his wife's top priority. No matter what the issue, her concern is how it will affect him personally and politically. They engage in a daily exercise regimen in a well-equipped gym in the Residence. The President dutifully completes an exercise routine involving all his major muscle groups and walks strenuously on

a treadmill to elevate his pulse rate for a prescribed period of time. Mrs. Reagan—to compensate for the immobility following her surgery—continues to accentuate the range of motion and strength-gaining exercises for both shoulders.

"These exercises are helping," she says. "They are also a good emotional release from the daily pressures."

Last year controversy swirled around Mrs. Reagan for allegedly interfering with presidential personnel matters and scheduling. Critics argued about how much influence she or any first lady should exert in a president's life.

Defending her role in an address at the Newspaper Publishers convention, she said: "I'm a woman who loves her husband, and I make no apologies for looking out for his personal and political welfare. We have a genuine, sharing marriage. I go to his aid, he comes to mine. I have opinions; he has opinions. We don't always agree. But neither marriage nor politics denies a spouse the right to hold an opinion or to express it. And if you have anything less, it's not marriage."

Reflecting on his life with Nancy, the President told me: "Whatever I like doing I like better if Nancy is a part of it. All the jokes about a husband trying to get out of the house to go bowling or whatever else go right over my head. Nancy is my partner, my friend, my wife—everything a woman should be in a man's life."

"I hope I haven't made her sound like a non-person awaiting my beck and call, because she is a person with individual interests and activities."

And she pursues those interests with vigor. The President involves her in his activities and she has engaged him in hers. She was the catalyst to make drug-and-alcohol abuse one of his priorities, and she herself has traveled the world over to engender awareness of the dangers of that abuse.

On the White House tennis courts, she hosts an annual "Nancy Reagan Tennis Benefit," where corporate sponsors and members of the "Just Say No" clubs are invited to watch celebrities play tennis with public officials. From the past three benefits she has raised over \$1½ million.

In each Gallup Poll for the past seven years, the public has voted Nancy Reagan one of the "Ten Most Admired Women" in the world. Perhaps even more meaningful to her is the sentiment her husband expressed in response to my question: Is there anything about your wife of 36 years that you'd like to change?

"Well, Nancy worries when she thinks something might upset me or might go wrong," the President concluded, with a smile. "If she would only realize that nothing important can go wrong as long as I have her." ■

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MAKE A
DIFFERENCE"**



GERALD AND BETTY FORD: "IT'S NOT THE END OF THE WORLD"

Losing a close election was heart-breaking, but on a personal level Betty and Gerald Ford have few regrets about the end of the 29 months in the White House that neither of them had ever expected.

"No one likes to lose," the President told me in the heat of the campaign, "but losing isn't the end of the world. We would go back to living as a family again—without this fishbowl existence."

Betty Ford added: "Maybe it's selfish of me, but I'd like to have Jerry more to myself. All of our married life he has been in government. After twenty-eight years of marriage mixed with politics, it'll be good to live like a normal married couple."

But if the Fords were ready to accept defeat calmly, the President did not hide his potential disappointment. "I did the best I can," he said. "I put every ounce of energy into this job, and to find out that it wasn't good enough for the American people... well, that would hurt."

The President was in a pensive mood—looking past November to the months that followed, whether as the country's Chief Executive, elected in his own right, or as a lame duck waiting out the days to ride

The President and First Lady talk frankly about their years in the White House, the disappointments of the campaign and their hopes for the future

BY TRUDE B. FELDMAN

down Pennsylvania Avenue with his successor.

"After a taste of the Presidency, naturally I'd like to be elected in my own right," he said. "Four more years would give me a real chance to do what I want most in government—to expand individual freedom from mass government, mass industry, mass labor, mass education."

"But if I lose"—the President's eyes grew distant for a brief moment—"if I lose, I'll blame only myself. I'm the one in charge and I won't make excuses."

It was a confident President I was interviewing then—positive of keeping intact his record of never having lost an election, certain that he would overcome Jimmy Carter's lead in the polls.

If he did lose, however, the President said he might return to the practice of law or take a job teaching

political science in a university. And although Betty Ford did hint that serious discussion had taken place in the Ford family on the general subject of "after the White House days," the First Lady was far more interested in accentuating the positive—including what a "really good and strong President" he was. But Betty Ford was realistic enough to admit that he might lose. "We'll be disappointed if he loses, sure. But we won't be downcast or broken-hearted."

"Jerry was thrust into the job—he hadn't sought it. But when he took office, he worked as hard in the White House as he has in his whole career, and we've both learned that the Presidency of the United States is the toughest job in the world. I hadn't ever expected to be First Lady, but it turned out to be an exciting and gratifying experience. When Jerry took the oath of office, I felt I was taking it as much as he was." During the campaign Betty Ford was popular and effective, perhaps even more popular than her husband. Characteristically, she didn't hesitate to criticize some of her husband's advisers during the primaries. *The* turn to page 30

—continued

President took her advice and gives her much of the credit for the amazing comeback that nearly won him the election.

He took special delight in the campaign buttons that said, "Betty's Husband for President." At first Betty thought he might be "sensitive" to the buttons. "I hid the first one that was given me," she said. "But then Jerry himself brought one home and teased me about it, so I knew it was all right."

President Ford, looking back on his White House years, is confident of his place in history. "I don't regret any basic decision I've made," he told me. "Most or all of the decisions I've made I think I'd do pretty much again." He does wonder if he should have seen Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Russian Nobel laureate whom he failed to invite to the White House. "That's one bit of advice I wish I hadn't taken," he has told his aides. But as far as the rest of it goes, Gerald Ford thinks he did right—as he saw it. "I don't think any President worked harder," he told me.

Are there any ways in which he could have been a better President? "The time I put in the job couldn't have been expanded," he answered. "I honestly can't think of any way I should have done things differently in order to be a better President. That doesn't mean, however, that I have all the characteristics I wish I could have. I wish I were a better public speaker, for example, but I recognize that everyone has certain deficiencies."

One problem that Gerald Ford admitted not being able to solve was infighting among White House staff. Some observers believe it nearly cost him the Republican nomination and, because of that, was a major factor in giving Jimmy Carter such a huge lead at the outset of the campaign—a lead the President just missed overcoming. "The thing that frustrates me the most," President Ford said, "is bickering among some of the people who are supposed to be working for me and for the American people."

Yet he was loyal to his staff—too loyal, many Potomac watchers now say, and gave them his support and his friendship, even as he voiced concern that the abuse of power by White House staffers, which unseated his predecessor, might return to haunt him. "The temptation to exercise authority when one is too close to it is irresistible," the President said. "That makes it all the more important to find people of integrity to work with. But even the best are likely to stumble, so I try to keep a close watch and not let too much power accumulate in too few hands."

"Jerry learned a bitter lesson from his staff's mistakes and from his reluctance to fire anyone," one White House aide told me last fall. But in the final months of his Presidency, Gerald Ford began to face that problem. "I'm too easygoing with those who work for me," he said, "and my nature is to overlook it when they're not up to par. I guess I'm too tolerant. It's hard for me to fire anyone."

For example, aides say that his press

secretary had misled the President into appearing on NBC-TV's "Saturday Night," a program not widely noted for its good taste. Ford's participation in a show that included distasteful skits was seen by members of his family and staff as demeaning to the dignity of both the office and the man. The President was furious, but neither press nor public knew how he felt at the time.

Betty Ford had her own share of staff problems and also hesitated to make changes. Perhaps it was her precarious health that made her reluctant to "rock the boat"—as she put it. A Congressional wife who is a close friend observes, "Betty allowed her staff to control her movements to such a degree that she was told which invitations to accept and whom to talk with and, often, what to say. It got so bad at one point that Jerry actually said to her, 'Tell your staff they work for you. You don't work for them.'"

During the campaign, Mrs. Ford noted: "I've only recently become aware that some of my own staff, as well as some people in Jerry's, are doing things we don't approve of. Some aren't as qualified as we thought—or as they should have been."

The rough-and-tumble Presidential campaign took its toll in many ways. "Jerry always concentrated hard on every job he undertook, and it was rough trying to be President and run a campaign," Mrs. Ford has observed. "When he was busy running the country, he simply couldn't stay on top of the campaign as much as he should have. I always worried about people telling him everything was going smoothly when in fact it really wasn't."

If there was trouble with the staff, the family gathered closer than ever during the primary battles and in the election campaign itself. The pressure of the campaign and the tensions surrounding the televised debates served to rally Michael, Jack, Steven and Susan to their father's side. For Gerald Ford, the response of his wife and children was deeply gratifying, and he went out of his way to express such gratitude. "He'd thank us for every little thing," Betty said. "He never took us for granted."

The Ford children seemed to appreciate what their father stood for and what the pressures of the Presidency were. "That's why they pitched in the way they did—and I'll never forget it," President Ford told me.

The night after his election defeat by Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford had a quiet dinner in the White House with his wife, their four children and his oldest son's wife. "It meant a great deal to Betty and me that the kids weren't anxious to run off, that they stayed and talked things over," he told his brother Tom.

Jack Ford, 24, spent more time on the campaign trail than his brothers or his sister, Susan. He says he was especially pleased to have won his father's confidence. The President didn't hesitate to ask Jack's advice on a number of campaign issues.

Because some of his father's statements were "distorted in the press," Jack says he sympathized with Governor

Carter's difficulties over his *Playboy* interview, pointing out that crucial portions were taken "out of context." Jack cited a comparable example from his own experience: "My dad and Governor Reagan were both scheduled to attend the Iowa caucus before the convention. It was a crucial moment, and the delegate count was close. Suddenly the Lebanon crisis broke out and Dad had a choice—be a candidate or be a President. He decided to stay in the White House and manage the evacuation. The press said Dad didn't want to be humiliated by Reagan so he stayed home. That really annoyed us."

Last September Susan Ford, 19, moved out of the White House and rented an apartment in Alexandria, not far from the Ford family home, with three other girls. The family was away so often that she found the White House a "lonely" place, and her friends didn't like to have to get clearance every time they visited. "The White House is really confining," she says. "It's not like living in a home. It's a beautiful museum."

Susan will enter the University of Kansas in January, where she'll be able to attend classes, walk to her apartment and study her assignments without a Secret Service man standing by. "It'll be good to get back to normal," she says. "I wanted Dad to win the Presidency on his own, but personally I'd rather have him back in the family."

Looking back, Betty Ford feels that "Jerry has grown in the job of President. I knew he was a hard-working man when I married him. He used to go to the office on weekends, and I'd go along just to be with him. In fact, we celebrated our son Mike's first birthday in that office. And it's just like that today. After dinner, Jerry works in a room on the second floor that I made into a den: I sign mail, and we sit there and talk about so many things."

The day after the election, the President's brother Tom Ford told me: "Sure, Jerry is upset about losing—he's always had a competitive spirit. But he was raised during the Depression, and he learned during those formative years that you don't always get what you want. He was a very serious young man. He studied harder than others to make something of himself. He saw the strain on Dad, who worked so hard to help put us through school. Jerry had the stamina and stability to hold down one or two jobs and keep up his grades in school. That has helped him to adjust to any situation—and played a big part in building his character."

Another brother, Jim, said, "Jerry aged in the last two years sooner than he would have. But he's still young for his years, and now that he'll be relieved of those tremendous responsibilities, he'll have time to travel with Betty. Then I think he'll do anything that's a challenge to his thinking processes. He'd make a good professor because he'd have the students' interest."

The President says he will probably write about his life in Washington—including details about his appointment

continued on page 130

inued
combine pudding mix and gelatine.
stir in milk until smooth; add choco-
late.

2. Bring to boiling over medium
heat, stirring constantly. Cook, stir-
ing, until chocolate is melted and mix-
ture is thick and smooth—about 3
minutes.

3. Remove from heat; stir in vanil-
in. Pour into bowl. Refrigerate, cov-
ered, or set in ice water, until pudding
mixture is completely cold—about 1
hour.

4. In small bowl, beat 1 cup cream
until stiff. Beat in ¼ cup sugar until
thickened. Refrigerate.

5. Cut each chocolate roll crosswise
into six slices. Cover slices with damp
paper towels.

6. To assemble: With wire whisk or
rubber scraper, fold the whipped cream
into the chilled chocolate-pudding
mixture.

7. Pour 1½ cups chocolate-cream
mixture into a chilled 3-quart glass
serving bowl.

8. Line bowl, from chocolate-cream
mixture, with rows of chocolate-
roll slices.

9. Carefully spoon the remaining
chocolate-cream mixture into the
bowl.

10. Refrigerate, covered, until well
chilled—several hours or overnight.

11. Before serving, beat remaining
whipped cream with remaining sugar.
Decorate top with swirls of whipped
cream.

Makes 10 to 12 servings.

BAKED PEAR BREAD PUDDING

1 can (1 lb) pear halves, drained, cut into
1-inch cubes
¼ cup raisins
1 teaspoon cinnamon
5 slices white bread, crusts removed
¼ cup butter or margarine, softened
4 cups milk
½ cup granulated sugar, ¼ teaspoon salt
5 eggs
1 teaspoon vanilla extract
2 tablespoons currant jelly
Confectioners' sugar

1. Preheat oven to 350F. Lightly
butter an 8-by-8-by-2-inch baking dish.

2. Toss pears with raisins and cin-
namon. Spread in bottom of prepared
dish. Spread bread slices generously
with butter. Cut each slice in half di-
agonally. Arrange overlapping in dish,
buttered side up.

3. In saucepan, heat milk until bub-
bles form around edges of pan; remove
from heat. Add granulated sugar and
salt; stir to dissolve.

4. In large bowl, beat eggs. Gradu-
ally stir in hot milk mixture; stir in
vanilla extract. Pour the mixture over
bread.

5. Set dish in pan of hot water; bake
40 to 50 minutes, or until knife in-
serted comes out clean.

6. Remove pudding from water, and
cool at least 10 minutes before serving.
Decorate, as pictured, with jelly and
confectioners' sugar. Serve warm or
cold.

Makes 6 to 8 servings.

Mazola® NO STICK

GERALD AND BETTY FORD: "IT'S NOT THE END OF THE WORLD"

continued from page 30

as Vice-President, his accession to
the Presidency and the 1976 election
campaign. But he adds that he has no
plans to work on such a book in the near
future.

A relatively recent hazard of the Pres-
idency is the backstairs gossip often
written by White House aides—
personal or political—that is published
after a President has left office. Ford
regards the recent spate of books about
the intimate lives of some of his prede-
cessors as "unfortunate." But he is phi-
losophical about the possibility that he
may be subjected to the same treatment.
"You can't prevent this kind of thing
from happening," he said, adding:
"Anyway, I don't think they'll have
much to write about."

Betty Ford would like to be remem-
bered as the First Lady who warned
millions of women about early detection
of cancer when she was candid about her
own condition only weeks after she
moved into the White House. She had
hoped to convince her husband to ap-
point a woman to the Supreme Court—
something she thought might very well
happen had Gerald Ford been elected to
a full four-year term—and she also very
much wanted to be in the White House
to witness the signing of the Equal
Rights Amendment, an issue for which
she had personally lobbied with the
President.

At one point, Betty had also suggested
that her husband choose a woman, Anne
Armstrong, the U. S. Ambassador to
Great Britain, as his Vice-Presidential
running mate. "Jerry surprised me by
choosing Robert Dole," she told me. "I'd
have preferred Nelson Rockefeller."

She would also like to have been
instrumental in having the role of
homemaker accorded more dignity.
"Homemakers don't get proper respect
or appreciation for what they do. I've
had both—a career and marriage. I think
that actually it's harder to be a wife and

mother. Consequently, I think more re-
spect ought to be given to the home-
maker."

Betty Ford's good humor did not des-
ert her even during the most tense
moment of the campaign—the final
Presidential debate between Gerald
Ford and Jimmy Carter. She accompa-
nied her husband to the auditorium of
William and Mary College several hours
before the debate. While he was making
a sound test, Betty scribbled a note to his
opponent, Jimmy Carter, and left it on
his rostrum. It read: "Dear Mr. Carter,
may I wish you the best tonight. I'm sure
the best man will win. I happen to have a
favorite candidate, my husband, Presi-
dent Ford. Best wishes, Betty Ford."

Only days before, to ease the tension
and give him a light moment during the
heat of the campaign, Betty presented
her husband with a gift on their 28th
wedding anniversary—a nutcracker in

made with a touch of Mazola Corn Oil...



the shape of a wooden soldier. Before
giving it to the President, Betty mischiev-
ously inserted a fresh peanut, with
CARTER printed on the shell, and put it in
the soldier's mouth.

Beginning January 20th, Gerald Ford
will probably spend his time golfing,
skiing and doing some soul-searching
about what might have been. As for
Betty, she is a happy woman today. She
will have her husband all to herself,
she'll be able to go to her favorite res-
taurants for lunch or dinner, and she'll
probably dance and shop and speak her
mind without worrying about what the
political fallout might be. In fact, she
says whimsically that she might like to
return to the White House some day as
an employee. "It would be nice to be-
come the social secretary to another First
Lady," she told me. "There's so much
fun, excitement and merriment to plan-
ning White House functions.

"It was a great life."



I'm the luckiest woman in the world. I'm Barbara Bush, married to George Bush." That's how the Republican Presidential nominee's wife described herself at the conclusion of several interviews, during which she and her husband talked about their 43-year marriage, their five children and ten grandchildren, as well as their future activities.

Sitting in the official vice-president's residence, a Victorian house that is her 27th home in 43 years, the energetic Mrs. Bush also spoke of her mixed feelings about their next move—this one possibly to the White House.

"I want George to win because I love him and know that's

what he wants," Mrs. Bush told me. "But if he doesn't win, I'd still be content. I have no yearning to be first lady. Besides, a woman doesn't run for the position of first lady—that [idea] sort of offends me. Fortunately for America, it's not a beauty contest for wives."

If George Bush loses the election, will she be disappointed? "Of course I will, at first, because George will be extremely disappointed. We're a competitive family," she replied. "But there are other things we want to do together, most of which we could not do if he is President. We want to travel with our children and grandchildren, and we want to read much more." (An avid reader, Mrs. Bush always has a book with her.)

"And I love my garden [in Maine] and want to enjoy gardening while I'm still able to bend and stand up again. George and I love the outdoors, and I can't imagine living in a house where you can't casually walk outdoors or walk the dog. Living in the White House is confining; there is the fishbowl existence

and Barbara Bush: "A Sense of Sharing"

BY TRUDE B. FELDMAN



Still, she admits, there is the other side to that coin for her. As first lady, she would have a unique opportunity to further some of her projects, such as fighting illiteracy, and to use the position to help others.

Helping others has been a longtime theme for Barbara Bush. She serves on the national board of Reading Is Fundamental (RIF) and is a sponsor of Laubach Literacy International, a worldwide program committed to eradicating illiteracy. Project Head Start is another of her interests, as is the Chapter One Program, which assists children in deprived areas. She also serves as honorary chairwoman of the Leukemia Society of America. In addition, Mrs. Bush is particularly concerned with the problem of the homeless and the fact that one third of them now consists of families. She said that in Washington, D.C., alone, there are about 500 homeless families, with some 1,500 children.

"I share with George the information I gather about the

homeless," Mrs. Bush said. "In fact, he teases me when I take soap and shampoo from hotels to send to women's shelters. For instance, when we stay in a hotel, we are given five bars of soap. George and I share one, and I send the other four to the shelters so each woman can have her own soap."

Last May, when George Bush "went over the top" (won enough delegates for the nomination), the Bushes celebrated with a victory party at Washington's newest hotel, the Grand Hyatt. When the Hyatt's manager, Richard C. Nelson, learned about Barbara Bush's soap contributions, he informed Darryl Hartley-Leonard, president of Hyatt Hotels Corp. As a result, the Grand Hyatt has begun to give soap to various charities, including the homeless. *(please turn to page 84)*

George and Barbara Bush with their entire family—five children and their spouses and ten grandchildren—on the rocks near their house at Walker's Point, Maine, last August

George and Barbara Bush

continued from page 83

and Hartley-Leonard is considering directing all 90 Hyatt hotels to join in support of what Mrs. Bush calls "Operation Soap."

Barbara Bush grew up in Rye, New York, with two brothers and a sister. She said her late parents, Pauline and Marvin Pierce, taught her the importance of family unity. Yet the misconception that she comes from a wealthy home continues to annoy her. "I'm so sick of hearing about this great wealthy background I had," she said. "I was rich *only* in that I had wonderful parents and a happy homelife. Perhaps, compared to others, we were comfortable."

Her father's first job, after World War I, was as a clerk at the company that published *McCall's* magazine. In time, he worked his way up to chairman of the board of McCall Corporation.

"My father was a strong influence on me," Mrs. Bush said. "He used to say that children should be given lots of love and be shown good examples, in addition to being taught honesty and to follow the work ethic. I think George and I have followed that advice with our children."

She adds: "From my parents I also inherited an inner strength and a faith in God, a Supreme Being. Family love and

faith in God are intertwined.

"Each night, George and I pray aloud together before bedtime, and once a day we quietly read from either the Old or New Testament."

Both Barbara and George Bush were once Sunday school teachers and instilled in their children a religious foundation—the traditional and moral values that guide their own lives. Now, on most Sundays after church, the Bush family gathers at the vice-presidential home for lunch. They also play horseshoes or tennis, or walk. Mrs. Bush describes the get-togethers as "very pleasurable, with much give and take."

She genuinely enjoys her role as wife, mother and grandmother. Asked whether she regrets not having graduated from Smith College (she left after less than two years to marry George Bush) and pursuing a professional career, she put it this way: "Why, I have had my own career as a homemaker. I chose my life, and I have no regrets. I raised our children, and now George and I watch, with satisfaction, how they bring up their children."

The Bushes' eldest son, George W., 41, believes that people admire his mother's attitude. "Mom is comfortable with who she is and what she has done, and is not defensive or strident," he said. "She is a good advocate of her role. She has

been an excellent mother, a great mother-in-law and a wonderful grandmother."

The Bushes' only daughter, Dorothy LeBlond, said that now that she has her own children (Sam, three, and Ellie, one), "I often remember things Mother did with me, and I find myself bringing them up the way she brought me up."

Dorothy was born six years after her parents lost their daughter Robin to leukemia at age three years and 10 months.

"Barbara was our source of strength at that difficult time," George Bush recalls. "We were heartbroken, but we tried to find comfort in God—to accept and learn from our sorrow."

"You know, the death of a child can be a family maker or breaker. As we shared our loss, Barbara and I grew stronger together."

For a time after Robin's death, Mrs. Bush never let George W. or his baby brother, Jeb, out of her sight. "Mom was instinctively protective," George W. recalls. "When she realized she had to let us go, she did that gradually."

Today, Mrs. Bush says, she doesn't dwell morbidly on Robin's death. "I think of her now with much love and happiness," she noted.

Barbara Pierce was 16 years old when she met 17-year-old George Bush at a dance in Greenwich, Connecticut. They



Finally... equal treatment for hands

were married in January, 1945, when she was 19½.

"In the early days of our marriage, we moved often," George Bush said. "In the Navy, base to base; then to about seventeen different cities, but never a complaint, never a selfish word from Barbara."

Because of her husband's frequent absences from home, Mrs. Bush became the family disciplinarian. George W. remembers her as strong and steadfast and straightforward. "I learned from Mom that it is possible to express your opinions firmly and at the same time be gracious," he says. "She taught us to be tactful and polite and never to belittle anyone." He adds, "And Mom was unselfish with her time. I played a lot of Little League baseball, and I still have vivid memories of seeing her sitting at our games, keeping score. She bent over backward for me and my brothers, especially in our love of sports."

George W. also told me that his parents' devotion to one another enabled his dad to concentrate on his career. "Mom puts her relationship with her husband above her relationship with us," he said. "I understand that. In fact, it's a good example for all of us."

Mrs. Bush said she has never been possessive of her husband and has understood his need to travel on official

business. She stayed at home for the first 20 years of their marriage.

"I felt I should be home when George or the children returned from work or school," she said. "They always knew I was there for them."

She was 35 years old before she went to a foreign country. But since then, she has visited 67 foreign countries with her husband and has traveled alone to all 50 states.

I asked Mrs. Bush how her husband's love manifests itself.

"Mostly in the way he shares his life with me," she said. "He is thoughtful, he telephones me frequently and he asks me what I want to do or where I want to go. He never refuses me what I want or need. Of course, when we were just starting out and couldn't afford something, I didn't ask for it. But for forty-three years, he has taken the most wonderful care of me and the family."

The vice-president, who calls his wife "Bar," told me he could not cite any one thing he likes best about her. "It all comes together—her laugh, her beauty, her love, her being with me through thick and thin," he said, summing up what she has meant to him with a single word: "Everything."

Mrs. Bush adds: "If you ask George, he may tell you that I'm his best friend. He

is my best friend, and we like—as well as love—each other."

I did ask George Bush. "Yes," he responded, "she is my best friend. I can talk to her about what bothers me. We seldom argue, and when we do, it's over in a hurry."

Mrs. Bush concurs: "We are willing to compromise. We don't see each issue as a win-lose situation."

At age 63, Barbara Bush has hair that has whitened from the brunet of her youth. But she dismisses as trifling the whispers that her white hair makes her appear older than her husband.

"For four days every June, George and I are the same age, and that's miserable for me," she quipped. "But for the rest of the year, he is one year older." He was born on June 12, 1924; she was born on June 8, 1925.

"To some, I may look older because I choose not to dye my hair. I choose instead to share George's life. He likes to go fishing or boating or play tennis at a moment's notice. If I want to be with him, I can't worry about my hair. He never told me to dye it or not to dye it."

Nonetheless, there are times Mrs. Bush seems to be sensitive about the older-than-her-husband image. George W. recalls that about 18 months ago he jokingly needled her about the subject.

continued

and nails.

Introducing Vaseline® Intensive Care® Hand & Nail Formula Lotion. It softens rough, dry hands and helps strengthen nails. All at the same time. New Hand & Nail Formula has moisturizers for your hands and Keratin, the protein found in healthy nails. Gently massage new Hand & Nail Formula into your hands and each nail to give hands and nails the treatment they deserve.

For Smoother Hands And Stronger Nails.



At Last...

Clip-On
or Pierced
Earrings for
Sensitive Ears

by Janet Matthews

Two years ago I stopped wearing earrings—whether pierced or clip-ons. Every time I wore them, my earlobes swelled and got sore. Fashion wasn't worth the pain.

Then something happened.

I responded to a mail order advertisement for a free pair of earrings made especially for sensitive ears. To my surprise, these earrings really worked: all soreness, itching, and flaking disappeared.

Still skeptical, I did a little research. Here's what I learned.

The pain I'd felt is called *contact dermatitis*—an allergic reaction responsible for the symptoms that make most earrings so uncomfortable for about half of us who wear them. I was surprised to learn that it's triggered by the common alloys and solders used in every pair of earrings I owned—even the expensive 14K gold ones!

The solution, tested and proved in a recent medical study by noted dermatologist Alexander Fisher, M.D., is pure, 24-karat gold and surgical stainless steel combined in a unique plating process. The result is Simply Whispers pierced and clip-on earrings—irritation-free and guaranteed hypoallergenic.

I visited Roman Research and saw how modern medical standards were applied in making these earrings. I also saw *thousands* of letters of thanks to Ms. Stone from women all across America. Let me quote just two:

"Before Whispers came along, my ears would get seriously infected by even the most expensive earrings. I work for a doctor, and even he was amazed."

Here's another.

"I had my ears pierced about 15 years ago, and I have never been able to wear any kind of earrings, even clips, without getting a reaction... Now I can, and I really can't believe it!"

What I had experienced is a very common problem!

Ms. Stone said that because of the fantastic response to Simply Whispers (more than 300,000 women tried them last year), the company now offers a "Lifetime Guarantee Against Discomfort" on hundreds of beautiful earrings—classic styles, seasonal colors, and children's styles, priced from just \$5.98 in its new color catalog.

To prove it, Whispers gives a *free* pair of pierced or clip-on earrings (\$9.98 retail value) with every catalog request.

If you'd like to end earring discomfort forever, I urge you to write to Simply Whispers. I did, and now I can wear the styles my friends do *but with complete safety and comfort*.

For a color catalog and free trial earrings, you **must** specify pierced or clip-on style. Send your name and address (**ask for pierced or clip-on**) with \$1.00 for postage and handling to:

Simply Whispers
Roman Research Marketing, Dept. 2413
33 Riverside Drive
Pembroke, MA 02359-1938

George and Barbara Bush

continued

"I was surprised when she snapped back at me that my teasing hurt her," he said. "That was the last time I mentioned it. If I say or do something to Mom that hurts her, she'll tell me."

Mrs. Bush says that because the family is philosophical about unfavorable press, they are less irritated now by negative articles and cartoons. "We have gotten so that we consider a fair article a good one," Mrs. Bush says.

One occasion that did annoy the vice-president was the now-famous interview with CBS-TV anchor Dan Rather. "George was upset about that because he thought he was set up. It was ugly and a no-win for both men," she said. "We didn't sleep that night, mainly because it was such an unpleasant experience. Dan and his wife, Jean, are our longtime friends, and it hurts when friends do that. But I think Dan was probably upset about it too."

Whatever the truth about the incident, there is no doubt that George and Barbara both feel it keenly.

If there is any secret to their successful marriage, "it's that sense of sharing," Mrs. Bush says. "George includes me and makes me part of his life... and I like that very much. Over the years, he has become even better about that."

As vice-president, he has briefings on various subjects at the house and often invites Mrs. Bush. She quietly does her needlepoint and listens to exchanges on issues such as the homeless, housing, education or business ethics.

George Bush attributes their happy marriage to "give and take, respect for one another's opinions and giving each other elbow room in terms of not insisting on doing what you want. Barbara has her own array of interests," he said, "yet she never loses interest in the family or

how I'm feeling about things. If I am down, she cares a lot."

While their life together has been a congenial one, it has not been without challenges and crises. In addition to the death of their daughter, they have suffered business losses, and George Bush lost two elections for the Senate (in 1964 and 1970) and the 1980 Presidential nomination.

"Those losses made an enormous difference in our lives," Mrs. Bush told me. "But George's even-keeled disposition helped ease the pain and overcome some of the adversity. He is so easy to live with."

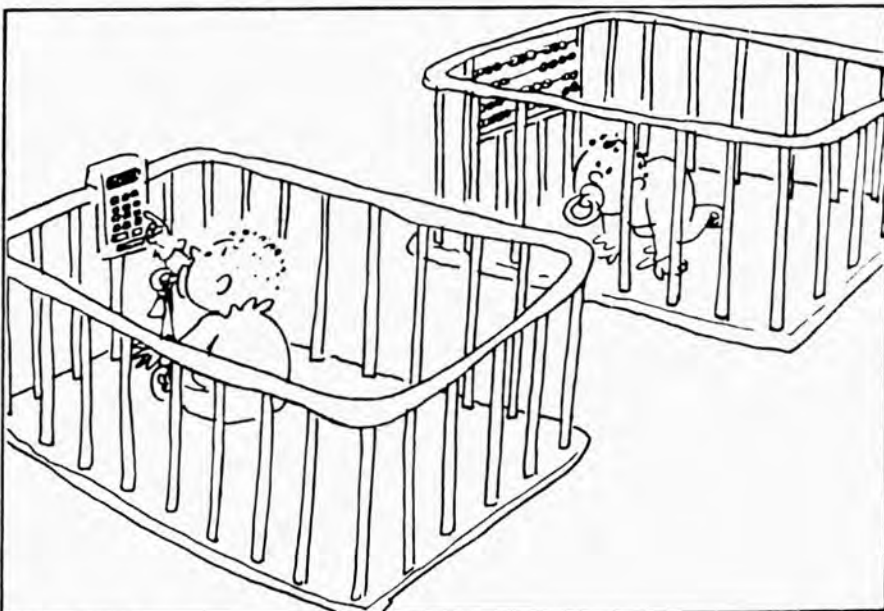
They are also mindful of each other's need for quiet time alone and have developed code signals to insure that they don't disturb each other.

"I'm sure I irritate George with small things," Mrs. Bush says. "For instance, if I interrupt him when he is reading, he doesn't say anything—it's just a glance and I get the message. When I'm reading, I'll say—with a twinkle, of course—'George, I am reading now. Please don't interrupt me.' That frankness with each other makes the difference." Still, they have some differing views on issues. "I don't agree with George on all political points," she says. "But we kid each other about our differences. I don't need to reveal which issues, since I'm not running for public office. When I'm asked an opinion, I respond with George's view because he is the candidate."

And the candidate describes his wife as "my best campaigner." Asked how she would be as first lady, he observed "Barbara has lots of ability and compassion, and I know she would help me realize my vision for America."

And if George Bush should lose the election?

"I don't intend to lose," he said. "But should that happen, Barbara will still be my first lady."



Hathers Day 1989

The father behind the president

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN

George Herbert Walker Bush is known the world over as the president of the United States and the leader of the free world.

His five children know him also as their loving, attentive father — a constant, guiding influence on their lives. In turn, they have proven themselves to be loving, attentive children who did their part to give Dad a lasting Father's Day gift — a place in history as the 41st president.

For more than two years the Bush children dedicated themselves to helping their father win the White House. And last August at the Republican National Convention they proudly cast their votes as delegates for their respective states: George W. Bush for Texas, Neil Bush for Colorado, Jeb Bush for Florida, Marvin Bush for Virginia and Dorothy Bush LeBlond for Maine.

Dorothy, the president's only daughter, and at 29 the youngest of his children, has been the apple of his eye and a continuing source of joy to him. She was born six years after her parents lost their daughter Robin to leukemia at age 3.

At the time of Dorothy's birth in Houston, her father was in the offshore oil drilling business. Since then, Bush has been a 10-term congressman from Texas, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, chairman of the Republican National Committee, chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in the People's Republic of China, director of the CIA and vice president of the United States.

RATHER THAN complain about the demands on her peripatetic father's time over the past 29 years, Dorothy expresses pride in his achievements and reflects on the positive factors in their relationship. She tells of how he enhances her life and gives her a strong sense of security.

Today is Bush's first Father's Day as president. But according to Dorothy — known as Doro to family and friends — he is not one to "make anything special" out of a day honoring him. "Dad has always directed the focus of attention to others," she said. "He is more comfortable that way. But being a father is an important part of his life. He has always been there when we needed him — to love us, to encourage us, even to discipline us."

While the world is becoming better acquainted with the "First Father" in the White House, Bush's daughter gives more intimate glimpses of the father behind the president.

Bright, poised and unpreten-



Dorothy Bush LeBlond runs with her famous dad

tious, Dorothy — now a mother of two herself — exudes a wholesome persona as she shares her sentiments in tribute to Dad. She makes it clear that Bush has instilled in her the same respect for patriotism and ethical values that motivate him.

IN ADDITION to her father having taught her to live by the Golden Rule and the Ten Commandments, she explained that she also has learned by his example.

"Dad shows me that it is important how we treat others everyday — not what we do on special days like birthdays or Mother's Day or Father's Day. And my dad's kindness extends beyond his family."

Has the presidency changed Bush as a father?

"I don't think so," Dorothy said. "Dad still has his gentle, personal touch and continues to care about what's happening in my life. He still writes me notes, sometimes even from Air Force One . . ."

"His sense of humor and optimistic outlook on life are the same. There is no question that he works hard, but he still takes time for family, friends and small kindnesses, which can really mean so much."

Reminiscing about what she

described as "our special father-daughter relationship," Dorothy added, "One highlight of my life and a time I'll never forget was when my father called me at (boarding) school in Connecticut and asked me to meet him in New York, where he was to give a speech at the Waldorf Astoria. After the speech he took me to the 21 Club. I was only 16 years old and it was really so exciting to stay at the Waldorf and go to the 21 Club — just my dad and me. I remember I was deep into my crepe suzettes when I could tell Dad was so very tired after a long evening. But he was patient and didn't spoil my fun."

"I'll never forget that time we had together. And there have been many other special times. I really cherish those memories more than any gift I could ever receive."

TODAY, DESPITE the monumental pressures of the Oval Office, Bush still is able to make his daughter feel loved and a part of his life. "If I need to talk to Dad, no matter how insignificant the reason may be, he calls me back the first opportunity he gets," she explained.

Dorothy, who is the "splitting image" of her father, was in first grade in Washington, D.C., when he was a freshman in Congress.

Those close to her agree that she embodies the sweet, compassionate and down-to-earth qualities required to build that "kinder, gentler" nation her father often espouses.

Energetic like him, she often runs with him. They also enjoy fishing and boating at the family compound in Kennebunkport, Maine.

For the last three months, Dorothy has been employed in the state of Maine's Division of Tourism as meetings and conference coordinator.

Coincidentally, in line with official duties last month her parents hosted French President and Mrs. Francois Mitterrand at their home in Maine. The Mitterrands were accompanied by an entourage of more than 150 people.

In honor of Mrs. Mitterrand, Dorothy helped arrange a festive luncheon and boat ride. Subsequently, she tossed out the idea to her father of a possible invitation to Maine for the Soviet Union's President Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife. "Dad assured me that he would soon begin to work on a Gorbachev visit to Maine," Dorothy added.

DOROTHY SAID she considered herself "lucky" to have traveled with her father during the final week of the presidential campaign. It was then, she recalled, that she was rewarded with a special compliment.

"A member of the senior staff told me that my dad is really so relaxed when I'm around him," she explained. "That comment meant a lot to me because in a funny way it showed me the love he has for me and the family — that in the heat of the most important days of his career he was able to unwind somewhat . . . and think about the importance of family as a priority in life . . . that he could maybe laugh a little rather than constantly worrying about every dreadful poll."

"And I think he has carried this balancing act with him into the White House."

Dorothy hadn't decided yet what to give him for this special day. In essence, however, George Bush's daughter already has given him the ideal Father's Day present — the satisfaction of knowing that he has her wholehearted affection, admiration and respect.

"By example," Dorothy concluded, "Dad also taught me that the gift of love is precious. And if you give love, you are often blessed with love in return."

Feldman, a syndicated feature writer, resides in Washington, D.C.



KITTY DUKAKIS:

**"If Michael Were
President . . ."**

What kind of first lady would she be? To find out, MCCALL'S talks to Kitty, her husband, their family and friends

BY TRUDE B. FELDMAN

At the annual governors' dinner in the White House last February, I was chatting with Kitty and Michael Dukakis when the Marine band struck up a waltz. The governor of Massachusetts said to his wife, "Come on, sweetie, let's dance."

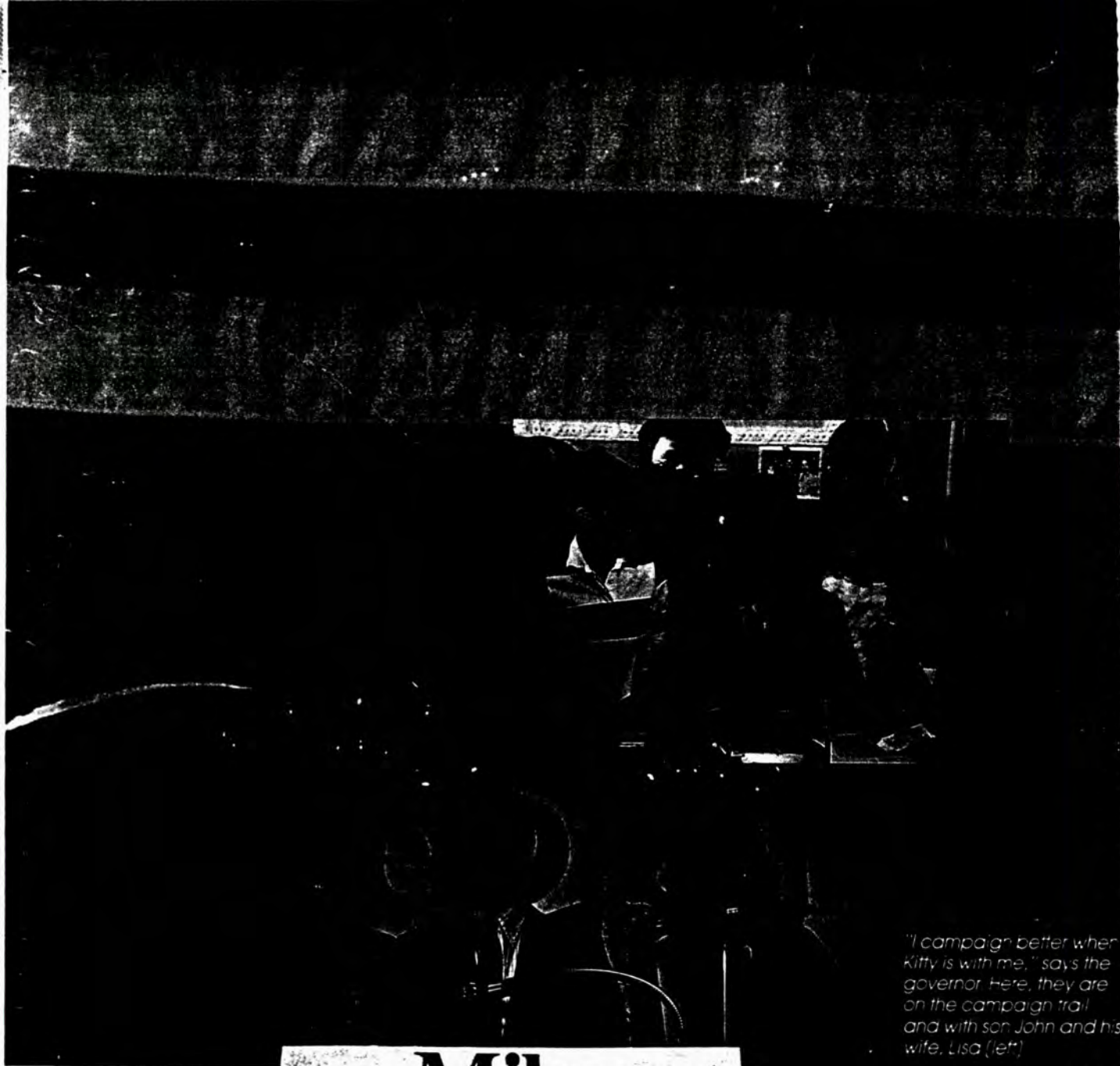
Reminded of that moment recently, Kitty flashed her infectious smile and said, "Oh yes, I'll never forget that dance. As Michael led me onto the floor, he whispered, 'Do you realize we may be hosting this event next year?'"

They won't really know until November 8, but there's no question they have come a long way toward that goal. "In February," Kitty says, "DUKAKIS was thought to be the bot-

tom line of an eye chart."

In the past year she has done a lot more than think about dancing in the White House. As first lady of Massachusetts, she has been active in a variety of projects: the plight of the homeless and the elderly, women prisoners, Asian refugees, the environment and drug abuse. Those are the issues on which she intends to focus if her husband is elected. "I know I can make a difference in people's lives," she told me.

Kitty uses her own experience with drugs to emphasize the enormity of the problem. "I love to eat, and I was obsessed with being thin," she says about her 26-year dependency on pre-



"I campaign better when Kitty is with me," says the governor. Here, they are on the campaign trail and with son John and his wife, Lisa (left)

PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEVE LISS/GAMMA LIAISON

scription diet pills. "I now caution others, 'Don't start.' Life is much better without pills."

Recalling the treatment she underwent six years ago for her addiction, she says, "Once you recover from the pain of dependency, you are more sensitive to others who suffer from addiction. I hope to build a program that will do more than 'say no' to drugs. We must 'say yes' to funding for education about drugs. We must 'say no' to cuts in funding for treatment and 'yes' to more research into the causes of the problem."

As cochairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee on the Homeless, Kitty has raised funds to allow thou-

sands of people to move from shelters into permanent housing. She also wants to assist the growing number of elderly devastated by increases in the cost of living.

Her concern for reuniting Cambodian refugees with their families was sparked when, as a member of President Carter's Holocaust Memorial Council, she visited the sites of the European death camps.

Last June Kitty testified before the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs about refugee problems. Fresh from surgery to remove two herniated disks and still wearing a neck brace, she told the committee about her (please turn to page 88)



PHOTOGRAPH BY IRA WYMAN/SYGMA

KITTY DUKAKIS

continued from page 87

two fact-finding tours of Cambodian refugee camps in Thailand. (Ten days earlier, at a party to celebrate the Dukakis' 25 years of marriage, each guest wore a neck collar—similar to Kitty's—in a show of affection and empathy.)

Affection and empathy also describe their marriage. Kitty and Michael seem to sense each other's needs and respond instinctively and unabashedly. "We have a beautiful marriage," the governor says. "I only regret that no one told me about Kitty sooner. We might have started our lives together earlier."

Actually, they did meet earlier. Kitty was at Brookline (Massachusetts) High School; she was 14 and he was 17. She remembers; he doesn't. They met again when a classmate introduced them while standing in line for symphony tickets. Then, years later, Michael's first girlfriend, Sandy Cohen (now Bakalar), arranged a blind date for him with Kitty, and that's when their love affair began. After an 18-month courtship, during which Kitty earned a degree in education at Lesley College while Michael sometimes baby-sat her son, John, they were married by a Unitarian minister in an ecumenical ceremony at her parents' home. (Kitty's first marriage had ended in divorce two years earlier.)

The governor's mother, Euterpe Boukakis Dukakis, believes marrying Kitty was the most important decision of her son's life and says, "He wouldn't have come this far without her."

Senator Bob Graham of Florida, the

governor's longtime friend, says, "Politics is a tough environment for marriage, but it can also be a strengthening atmosphere. It certainly had that effect on Kitty and Michael."

Maryland Senator Paul S. Sarbanes, who attended Harvard Law School with the governor, concurs. "Michael dotes on Kitty," he says. "They still behave like newlyweds; you can't be in their company without feeling their strong love."

not required."

They are together as much as possible. "We have a real partnership," he says. "Kitty is my secret weapon. I campaign better when she is with me. When we travel separately, something is missing. She has a perceptive mind and brings out the best in people. She is a strong woman and has given me some of that strength."

When he rode to the Omni in Atlanta

for his acceptance speech, he chose to have no one but Kitty in the car with him. "Those were precious moments," Kitty said later. "We wanted to be alone with our thoughts." After the speech, which electrified the crowd and surprised those who perceived him as unemotional, Michael whispered "I love you" to Kitty while the cameras rolled.

It was also an emotional time for cousin Olympia Dukakis, who had introduced the nominee with a film presentation. Later, over coffee at the Hyatt's Kafe Kobenhavn, Olympia said, "Everyone in our family speaks from the heart. Michael meant every word."

An Academy Award winner for her role in *Moonstruck*, Olympia had capped her own acceptance speech last April with the rallying cry, "Okay, Michael, let's go!"—a reference to his presidential campaign. Olympia's husband, actor Louis Zorich, said her words had "swept like wildfire" from New York's Omni

Park—Dukakis's headquarters—to the Omni in Atlanta.

But if Olympia is more vocal, Kitty is hardly shy and retiring. "Kitty was a leader even before she married Michael," her sister, Jinny, says. "She used to be shy," says her father, Harry Ellis Dickson, a former violinist with the Boston Symphony and now associate con-

continued

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That love was apparent when I talked with Kitty and Michael in their suite in Atlanta's Hyatt Regency Hotel during the Democratic National Convention. It was an hour before his nomination, and they were aglow with anticipation. The governor, who often refers to Kitty as "my bride" and "the love of my life," danced with her in their suite that night. "We'll dance anywhere," Kitty says. "Music is

KITTY DUKAKIS

continued

ductor with the Boston Pops. "Today she is outgoing and confident. She used to be known as my daughter. Now I'm known as her father."

Katharine Dickson was born on December 26, 1936, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and nicknamed Kitty for actress Kitty Carlisle, a family friend. "I grew up in a loving home with warmth and affection," she recalls. "Mother [who died in 1977] sometimes called me 'The Hurricane,' but she was strong and definitive. I accepted what she meted out."

Kitty inherited her love of music from her father and credits him with much influence on her life. "As a symphony brat," she says, "I thought string quartets were in everyone's living room." She taught and practiced modern dance for more than 25 years and six years ago earned a master's degree in broadcasting and film from Boston University.

"I'm thankful for Kitty," her father says. "I'm happy about the kind of person she is. I didn't advise her about her career or boyfriends, but we developed a close relationship, and I cherish that closeness."

He adds: "One tremendous concern was Kitty's divorce. That devastated me. With time, she eased my anxiety. She has always worried about my reaction to things affecting her. I remember standing at her bedside when she had her first miscarriage, and she said, 'Daddy, don't you cry. I'll be fine.'" (She has had three miscarriages, and gave birth to a daughter who lived 20 minutes.)

Kitty's unselfish nature is confirmed by her sister. "At age twelve I was short and fat and liked to climb trees," Jinny recalls. "Kitty, at thirteen, was attractive and already modeling clothing. She had a succession of boyfriends who often made fun of me. She'd say, 'You'll like my sister when you get to know her.'"

Jinny adds: "Kitty has been a wonderful sister, as well as my best friend. Ten years ago, when I was divorced, I couldn't have coped without her. I still turn to her when I have difficulties."

At five feet six inches, Kitty stands two inches shorter than her husband. Her captivating personality is accentuated by her striking brown eyes and brown hair. She describes herself as intense and excitable, impatient with incompetence and an outspoken activist.

Kitty attributes her positive attitude to her husband. "I had a tendency to look at things through dark glasses," she says. "He helped me gain a brighter outlook and even taught me how to

argue without losing my temper. We like to laugh and tease each other." Kitty kids him about his personal penny-pinching. "He suggests we reverse our Secret Service code names," she says. "Mine is Panda and his is Peso. He jokes that mine should be Peso—*muchos pesos*—because I'm the one who likes to spend money."

Kitty says they discuss all issues, private and public: "When I have a unique expertise on an issue, I am assertive. Yet he makes the ultimate decisions."

They respect each other's opinions, even when they disagree. However, they agree on most things. On abortion, they are pro choice. They favor Medicaid for low-income families. They believe the state shouldn't enforce school prayer. "That's a matter for the church and synagogue," she says. "We believe strongly in the separation of church and state."

Neither Kitty nor Michael is religiously observant, but they recognize the problems that accompany an interfaith



Kitty and Michael Dukakis with their three children, Andrea (left), John and Kara.

marriage. Kitty is of the Jewish faith; he is Greek Orthodox. Despite the differences in religious and ethnic backgrounds, the family is close-knit. Their children—John, 30; Andrea, 22; and Kara, 19—were raised "with love and respect" for both faiths. "We encouraged them to discuss problems and express themselves," Kitty says. "I think one reason they turned out so well is that we spent time with them. We listened to them as well as loved them."

John, whose wife, Lisa, is expecting the first Dukakis grandchild in January, adds: "Mother is a model of emotional strength, and she taught me to trust myself."

Michael Dukakis was also a strong influence. He never missed a PTA meeting, and even when he was governor he walked the children to school on his way to work. He read them bedtime stories and made it a point to have dinner with the family each evening. "The family unit is at the heart of everything," he says.

He still helps with the shopping, cook-

ing and cleaning, takes out the garbage, mows the lawn and enjoys cultivating the vegetable garden at their three-story, Victorian brick duplex in Brookline, which they share with neighbors Rose and Todd Jick. "I hope to be planting tomatoes on the White House lawn next year," quips Michael.

Rose Jick and Kitty are often in each other's kitchens. "Kitty is disarmingly warm," Rose says. "She gives me advice on motherhood for my six-month-old daughter. And her excitement over becoming a grandmother is reflected as she 'practices' with my baby."

This domestic picture is supported by Merna and Don Lipsitt, who met the Dukakis 25 years ago when their sons became friends in kindergarten. "Friendship means a lot to Kitty," Merna says. "We shared the ups and downs, the graduations, the Jewish and Greek holidays. Today, with all the demands on her, she hasn't lost the human touch."

Dr. Lipsitt recalls a time they went to a movie together: "We were standing in a long line for tickets when the theater manager recognized the governor and offered us entrance through a side door. Michael and Kitty refused, saying we'd wait with everyone else."

Such sensitivity is characteristic of the couple. As they crisscross the country with their campaign, Kitty says they find "a new appreciation" of the people. "While they have gotten to know Michael, we have grown and learned from them," she notes.

Kitty envisions a Dukakis White House and the opportunities and challenges it would offer. "I have a real sense of hope," she says. "If Michael were president, he'd be concerned about people in and out of the mainstream, and would provide economic and educational opportunities for everyone. He would bring to the White House able people committed to honesty and integrity."

She adds: "He has been consistently sensitive to issues that concern women. Look at what he did for working mothers in Massachusetts. Now that they have day care and medical benefits, fifty thousand are working productively."

What kind of first lady would Kitty Dukakis be?

"She is a tireless first lady of Massachusetts," says her father, "and she'd be the same in the White House. She is straightforward and effective and would serve the nation well."

Kitty's husband puts it this way: "She is the embodiment of grace, stamina, sensitivity and compassion, and she would devote herself to helping others."

No one knows yet whether the Dukakis will dance as hosts or as guests at the next governors' dinner in the White House.

What we can be sure of is that they will enjoy it together. ■



me behind E R at Boy's workshop



*me behind Eleanor Roosevelt
Maeast 1962*

Eleanor Roosevelt's last trip to

Twenty-one years ago today, Eleanor Roosevelt began a five-day visit to Israel, her last trip out of the United States. Trude B. Feldman, a White House correspondent, accompanied the former First Lady. The following article is based on Feldman's diary of the journey.

"I LOVE TO COME HERE. It's a good place to see vast changes, and the impact of immigration. Out of the sands, the people have carved a wonderful existence . . ."

These observations came from Eleanor Roosevelt during a visit to Israel in 1962, the last of many trips before her death later that year. She was impressed by the changes since her previous visit three years earlier, and she kept shaking her head in disbelief each time she was shown another hurdle the Israelis had managed to overcome.

I accompanied her on the intensive tour and at the close of each day she gave me her thoughts and comments on the people she met and the places she saw.

Although she had been out of the White House since her husband's death in 1945, Mrs. Roosevelt was accorded the highest formal honors. She was received by Prime Minister David Ben Gurion; by Israeli President and Mrs. Yitshak Ben Zvi; by Foreign Minister Golda Meir; by Minister of Education and Culture Abba Eban, Agriculture Minister Moshe Dayan, and other officials eager to show her their country's progress.

At the age of 78, Mrs. Roosevelt was indefatigable and persevering. Though this visit was her fourth, she seemed to sense that would be her last. She wanted to crowd in everything—every hospital, every school, every kibbutz.

Her favorite spots were Degania, Israel's first kibbutz, and the Eleanor Roosevelt National Forest, planted in her

Bar Ilan University, then 1,000 students in quonset huts, now a modern university.

In the pediatric ward of the Hadassah University Medical Center in Jerusalem, Mrs. Roosevelt sat at the bedside of a number of children and tried to cheer them. When we toured B'nai B'rith Children's Home — founded for the children of Holocaust victims, supervisor Chezi Cohen told her the home treats emotionally disturbed boys in an atmosphere of consistent love and attention.

At "Maskit", the handcraft center of Israel, Ruth Dayan, wife of Moshe Dayan, introduced Mrs. Roosevelt to new immigrants from the Arabian desert, including a woman who was weaving cotton place mats. "Maskit," a Biblical term for "beautiful objects" was founded in 1954 as a government company under the then minister of labor, Golda Meir. Today, a multimillion dollar business owned by the Israel Investors Corporation, Maskit has nine elegant shops in Israel.

Ruth Dayan recalls Mrs. Roosevelt's untiring energy. "She wanted details about everything and everyone. Her interest in "Maskit" was the human aspect — in that we gave jobs to immigrants with no skills."

At Bet Berl, a labor college, Mrs. Roosevelt selected as the subject of her address, "Humanism and Politics".

"Whether democracy works or not," she said, "depends on the interest people take in the workings of government. Education can serve democracy by urging young people to become interested in politics. I've seen totalitarianism at work in Russia and I don't like it." She repeated similar remarks to students in the lecture hall at Hebrew University named for Eleanor Roosevelt.

En route to Beersheba, in Israel's Negev Desert, we stopped in the ancient town of Ashkelon, where Samson courted Delilah. As we lunched on a terrace overlooking the sea, birds flew around our table, picking crumbs here and there. One bird landed near Mrs. Roosevelt. As a waiter started to chase it, the great lady

from the desert, the Roosevelt and took brew Immigrant met immigrants, leaders, including Sephardic Chief Ra Algeria. Mrs. Roosevelt French with them asked why he shook a departure from Hebrew, so as not rabbi replied: "She — she is royalty." Also in Hebrew

Trude B.
Feldman

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Israel; a first-hand recollection

Mayor greeted Mrs. Roosevelt to HIAS House (Hebrew Society), where we met the bearded, hatted rabbi and his wife from Beer-sheva, a pre-vocational training school geared to the needs of North African immigrant children. There, Mrs. Roosevelt received an overwhelming reception and flowers from the students. But the flowers seemed to fade by comparison when she saw the smiling faces and heard their "Shalom, Shalom".

She was greeted by



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

former Mayor Tuviyahu. Yet, even before his words were translated, she laughed at the appropriate time.

Especially dear to her was the Eleanor Roosevelt Youth Day Center, part of the Youth Aliyah organization in Beer-sheba, a pre-vocational training school geared to the needs of North African immigrant children. There, Mrs. Roosevelt received an overwhelming reception and flowers from the students. But the flowers seemed to fade by comparison when she saw the smiling faces and heard their "Shalom, Shalom".

During her tour of workshops, the youngsters who couldn't manage to get inside had pressed their noses against the windows to get a glimpse of her. She stopped, waved at them and remarked, "Children are children in any part of the world. Their faces are filled with beautiful expressions. They have the whole of our world to drink in..."

She paused to speak with one boy in a shop mechanics class. He understood no English, but from the excitement, he realized it was Mrs. Roosevelt who gave him the opportunity to learn a trade. Bowing in gentlemanly fashion, he shook her hand and bashfully said, "Shalom, shalom," and "Todah Rabah" (many thanks).

In the sewing class, Mrs. Roosevelt took one girl's hand in hers. It struck me as a kind of symbol, as if this gracious lady was imparting the experience and wisdom of her 78 years to the innocence of youth. As we departed, the youngsters put their hands to their lips to throw her a kiss — their only means of overcoming the language barrier.

Mrs. Roosevelt was enthusiastic about the tremendous growth of Beersheba, the city she had come to regard as her yardstick in Israel. "I can measure the many changes that take place each time I return," she told me. "Beersheba seems to me to be one of the miracles of Israel. All of Beersheba gives me the feeling of vigor, of being on the move..."

At Safed, touring the artists quarters, Mrs. Roosevelt viewed a number of paintings. Pausing in front of one, "The Jewish Tailor," — an old man, bent over,

warmth and is typical of the community." The painting was presented to her and she talked about it again that night while she packed it in her suitcase.

Another painting — by a witness at the Eichmann trial — was especially poignant. She knew that I had attended each of the 122 sessions of that trial in 1961, and commented, "It must have been quite an ordeal... You must tell me about some of the personal stories of the witnesses."

One evening, Mrs. Roosevelt told me of her visit to the Displaced Persons Camp in Germany after World War II where tens of thousands of Jews and survivors of Nazism were hoping and praying for the right to emigrate to Palestine.

"I'll never forget those children," she recalled. "In particular, there was one infant girl. I was sure she would die. Nine years later, however, on a visit to Israel, a woman approached me. It was that baby's mother. She had waded ashore at night from an illegal ship. With her now was a healthy girl, with pigtails. It was the child I thought would not live out that day."

At the close of the hectic five days together, I asked Mrs. Roosevelt if she ever got tired. "The different people and the various places were so interesting that there wasn't time to be tired," she responded. "And I feel younger, even better when I'm here. I love the enthusiasm and the drive in the people. They are really an inspiration. Visiting Israel and following its progress has been one of the most meaningful experiences of my life..."

Eight and a half months later, I attended Eleanor Roosevelt's funeral in Hyde Park. In contrast to the panoply that marked her life as a world humanitarian, her funeral was a simple and moving occasion. She was laid to rest not only as the widow of a popular president, but as a woman beloved by tens of millions who never saw her as she was seen by those Israeli children — immigrants from many countries — who sang for her and whose hands she clasped with her own.

Above the bittersweet notes of "Taps," I could still hear their voices shouting

Remembering her last visit:

Mrs. Roosevelt radiated love for all of Israel's people

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN
White House Correspondent

"Israel is a lesson in how one can develop a nation. I love to come here. It's a good place to see vast changes and the impact of immigration. Out of the sands, the people have carved a wonderful fruitful existence . . ."

So observed Eleanor Roosevelt during a five-day visit to Israel 21 years ago. It was her fourth trip there and her last. The former First Lady died eight months later.

I accompanied Mrs. Roosevelt during her eventful visit, Feb. 22 to 27, 1962, and recall her wonder at the "swift progress and enormous changes" made since she had last been there three years earlier.

She marveled every time she was shown another hurdle the Israelis had managed to surmount. She even enjoyed the occasional traffic jams that halted our car, saying: "Traffic snarls are a sure sign of progress. Everything is so vibrant."

Although she had been out of the White House since Franklin Delano Roosevelt died in 1945, Mrs. Roosevelt was received by Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion and by Israeli president and Mrs. Yitzhak Ben-Zvi. She met with Foreign Minister Golda Meir and Minister of Education and Culture Abba Eban as well as other officials eager to show her their country's progress.

Ben-Gurion, the 'youngster'

I remember how Mrs. Roosevelt marveled at Ben-Gurion's sturdy health at the age of 76. "I'm impressed by how he runs up the stairs," she remarked. "Stairs have been bothering me for quite some time even when I was Ben-Gurion's age. Maybe it's because he stands on his head every day."

At the age of 78, Mrs. Roosevelt was indefatigable. Perhaps she sensed this would be her final trip to Israel, and

Mrs. Roosevelt even enjoyed Israeli traffic jams because 'they're a sure sign of progress.'

she wanted to crowd everything in — to see every shining face, to touch every child's hand, to visit every school, hospital and center.

We began the tour at the Mingate Institute for Physical Education in Netanya, where she saw Israeli and African students training as teachers. Israel already had a program of aid to African countries and offered a number of scholarships to their students.

Then we saw the B'nai B'rith Women Children's Home which housed children of Holocaust victims treating emotionally disturbed boys in an atmosphere of "consistent love and attention," according to Director Chezi Cohen.

A special favorite was Maskit, the handicraft center of Israel which means "beautiful objects," where Mrs. Moshe Dayan introduced Mrs. Roosevelt to immigrants from the Arabian desert, including an elderly couple weaving cotton place mats.

Boundless energy

Ruth Dayan, who still helps develop handicraft projects in many parts of the world, recalls Mrs. Roosevelt's untiring energy. "She could go on and on and on," Mrs. Dayan said. "And she had so much curiosity. She really wanted to know details about everything she saw. I think she was interested in Maskit because of the human aspect — giving jobs to new immigrants and encouraging them to practice their ancient crafts."

At Bet Berl, a labor college, students were so thrilled by their luncheon guest that they barely ate. "Humanism and Politics" was the subject of Mrs. Roosevelt's address. She told the students: "Democracy is imperfect, but it is the only alternative to totalitarianism. I know of no other system, even for the technocratic age which we're now entering, that works quite as well."

She waited for the applause to die down and continued: "Whether democracy works or not depends on the interest people take in the workings of government. Education can serve democracy by urging young people to become inter-



Eleanor Roosevelt and Trude Feldman

ested in politics. I've seen totalitarianism at work in Russia, and I don't like it."

En route to the Negev, we stopped in the ancient town of Ashkelon — where Samson courted Delilah — and lunched on a terrace overlooking the sea as birds flew about table and picked crumbs from the floor. One landed near Mrs. Roosevelt. As a waiter started to chase it away, she motioned him to let it be.

"I love to watch birds," she mused. "What a wonderful idea — having lunch with these nice creatures."

She is 'royalty'

At Beersheba, Mayor Zarizi took us to the HIAS House where we met immigrants, soldiers and municipal leaders, including the bearded, hatted Sephardic chief rabbi from Algeria and his wife: Mrs. Roosevelt spoke with them in French, mostly about their 10 children. Later, the rabbi was asked why he shook hands with a woman contrary to Orthodox custom. In Hebrew, in order not to embarrass her, the rabbi replied: "She is no ordinary woman — she is royalty."

Especially dear to her was the Eleanor Roosevelt Youth Day Center, a prevocational training school geared to the needs of North African immigrant children. There she received an overwhelming reception and bouquets from the students. But the flowers seemed to fade into the background when she saw the smiling faces inside the center. During her tour of workshops, youngsters who couldn't squeeze in pressed their noses against the windows to glimpse her. She stopped, waved and remarked:

"Children are children in any part of the world. Their faces are filled with beautiful expressions. They have the whole of this world to drink in before them, and are always ready to accept."

Passing the torch to youth

In sewing class, Mrs. Roosevelt gently took one girl's hand in hers. It struck me as a symbol — this gracious

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RESERVATION

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RESERVATION

Co. R. 7 202
Wallaby in the sand







Author Trude Feldman and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mrs. Roosevelt's Last Trip: FIVE DAYS IN ISRAEL

She had planned another visit soon—"in order to keep up with the goings-on here"

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN

PART ONE

It was my first New York assignment—a B'nai B'rith dinner at the Waldorf Astoria. I was lost in the huge hotel, looking for the ballroom. As I stood alone near the elevator, a distinguished-looking elderly couple approached me, to ask if I could tell them where the dinner was being held.

When I replied that I was also going there, they followed me. The familiarity of their faces struck me, and suddenly I realized I was in the company of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Bernard Baruch. In the elevator, Mrs. Roosevelt asked where I was from. When I told her I hailed from California, the conversation turned to her son, James, a Congressman from that state.

I spoke to Mrs. Roosevelt on several subsequent occasions. At the start of 1960 I wrote her that I was planning a trip to Israel. She replied, suggesting some places I should include in my visit.

I stayed on in Israel longer than I had planned, because of the Eichmann trial. During its recess, I made a trip to Beersheba to visit the Youth Center to which Eleanor Roosevelt chose to lend her name. It is a vocational training school, geared to the needs of the non-European element in Israel—children whose parents come from Morocco and other backward Moslem areas.

Trude B. Feldman, who interviewed Eichmann's lawyer, Robert Servatius, for our February 1961 issue, and Judge Michael A. Musmanno for our June 1961 issue, is a native of Los Angeles, and a former Hebrew school teacher in Hollywood, Brooklyn, and Elizabeth, N. J. She is a columnist for the *Beverly Hills Reporter* and the *Jewish Press*, and a free-lance writer for magazines. This is the first of two installments on her experiences as Mrs. Roosevelt's companion on a five-day visit to Israel last February.—Editor.

I wrote an article about the Youth Center which came to Mrs. Roosevelt's attention, and she wrote to thank me and tell me that she would be in Israel herself the latter part of February, 1962.

She arrived in Israel on February 22. On this, her last trip abroad, I spent five full days with her. I wanted to see for myself what her famous whirlwind trips were like. She graciously consented.

It was on Washington's Birthday that I met Mrs. Roosevelt at Lod Airport. She was in unusually fine spirits, and allowed photographers to take as many photographs as they requested. After spending the night at the Dan Hotel in Tel Aviv, her first full day began with a visit to the Wingate Institute for Physical Education in Natanya, where Israeli and African students were being trained for positions as teachers. As we toured the grounds and saw a group of students playing volleyball, she leaned over and chuckled: "I imagine they must have heard of our President Kennedy's physical fitness program."

"Speaking of Kennedy," I whispered. "I have been here since his election. How is the new administration doing?" She looked down at me and replied: "I think the Kennedy Administration is doing very well—but after all, I am a Democrat."

And as we walked toward the car, she said:

"It makes me feel so good to see how these young people who will mold the minds of the children of tomorrow, work together, study together and play together."

A few hours later, she was the guest of the Jordan Valley District Council at Bet Gordon, in Degania Alef. The Council named a new wing of Bet Gordon School in her honor. She was a steady contributor to its fund. Her crowded schedule allowed us only a few moments' stay. But when the Foreign Ministry guide suggested we leave, she said graciously: "Please don't rush me. I want to get to know these people." And she continued speaking with one of the students a few more minutes before entering

the car and going on to another school—a Beit Shean School—which bears the name of her late husband.

Later we visited the ancient Roman Capital of Caesarea, to view the excavations which are turning it into one of the great tourist attractions of Israel.

We continued our journey to Safed. There I was especially curious about her reaction to the Chassidim. Mrs. Roosevelt smiled good-naturedly, and asked, "I am more curious to know how you—the American rabbi's daughter—feel about this community."

She listened attentively as we toured the artists' quarter at Safed and inspected some of the lovely paintings that hung on the bare walls. She paused in front of one, and said: "This has such warmth and is so typical of the community." It was a picture of an old man bent over sewing two pieces of cloth together.

Mrs. Roosevelt was presented with a picture of her choice, "The Jewish Tailor."

She was especially interested in re-visiting Kibbutz Degania, the oldest cooperative settlement in Israel. She com-



Mrs. Roosevelt talking with African students at the Wingate Institute for Physical Education, at Natanya.

SAMMY DAVIS, JR....

“A Jew and Proud of It”

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN
(Advocate Correspondent)

Sammy Davis, Jr. returned to the luxurious Concord Hotel last weekend and for two hours danced, sang and kit-buzzed to a capacity audience of 3500.

After his dynamic performance, hundreds of fans swarmed around him for his autograph. This correspondent got a “kick” out of watching her “pupil” sign his Hebrew name — Sh-mu-el — in Hebrew letters. (After he converted to Judaism ten years ago, I gave Sammy instruction in reading and writing the Hebrew language.)

The next day, following a round at the Concord's new 18-hole golf course, Sammy spoke to me in an informal, but exclusive talk about his adjustment to the Jewish faith. He is as sincere and as deeply interested in Judaism as when he originally was motivated to convert.

Despite the fact that he is now considered the world's greatest entertainer, Sammy said that he had then been troubled, both of mind and of spirit.

“I was confused and looking, but I didn't know for what. I wanted something morally tangible and I kept seeking,” he confided. “One day I realized it was religion. In this wacky, mixed-up world of show business, money and success, we can lose all contact and character and forget our obligations to our fellow man. Then, we suddenly wake up and say, ‘wait a minute, I gotta get hold of myself.’”

His enthusiasm for his new faith has remained unabated through the years and his desire to learn more and more still increases with time. He stated with assurance that he had found what he was seeking in Judaism — a way of life.

“Judaism is the answer to a life which had been filled with confusion and uncer-

tainty for me,” he told me. “But, I'd like to get the record straight. I became a Jew because it gave me inner strength. It was the answer to a problem that stalked me for years. It's a question I tried to answer a million times.

“I became a Jew,” Sammy continued, “because I was ready and willing to understand the plight of a people who fought for thousands of years for a homeland, giving their lives and finally gaining that homeland.

“I'd even say now that it was just about the greatest thrill of my life the day I walked from that Temple as a member of the Jewish faith.”

When we met again the following day at his suite at the Concord, I noticed a Mezzuzah on his table. Questioned about it, Sammy related:

“One day I called on Eddie Cantor in his dressing room and I saw this Mezzuzah on his make-up shelf. I expressed such great admiration for it that Eddie gave it to me.

“I was grateful to receive this beautiful religious item and told Eddie I would wear it at all times. Each time we met, I proudly showed Eddie the Mezzuzah, which I wear around my neck.”

Sammy went on to say that when Cantor visited him in the hospital after his tragic automobile accident, Eddie had asked if he was still wearing the Mezzuzah.

“I told him that I had worn it night and day since he had given it to me, but the first time I failed to wear it was on the night of the accident — merely because it was misplaced.”

Sammy, who declares his conversion was “good” for him, summed up his reasons for his desire to become a Jew: “(1) I wanted to become part of a 5,000-year history and hold on to something which would give me that inner strength to turn



LEARNING THE ALEPH BET—Sammy Davis, Jr. and his Hebrew teacher, Trude B. Feldman, Advocate correspondent.

the other cheek. As a Negro, I felt emotionally tied to Judaism. Certainly, the background of my people and their history cannot be compared to that of Judaism, but the same oppression and obstacles thrown in our way were overcome by this great Jewish force.

“(2) Because Judaism has an honesty and spiritual peace that was lacking in my personal make-up.

“(3) Because the customs of Judaism hold a meaningfulness and logic that no other philosophy can offer.

“(4) Because I wanted to share something with my fel-

low man who had been sharing with me. I have been lucky and appreciation is more than lip service.”

Sammy Davis, Jr. then revealed that he will spend his forty-first birthday — next Chanukah — entertaining the troops in Vietnam.

“I'll try to give our American boys over there the best Chanukah present I can,” he said.

His parting words were: “Yes, I'm a Jew and proud of it. I leave you with the word you taught me many years ago — ‘Shalom’ and may Shalom be unto you as it is with me.”

Jerusalem's Status as Capital

By ELIAHU SALPETER

Nobody is trumpeting it from the rooftops, but Israel's diplomatic “Battle of Jerusalem” is making slow, but steady progress. Jerusalem is Israel's capital; de facto all foreign countries maintaining diplomatic relations with

The Arab countries regularly try to revive the question of internationalization of Jerusalem. All, that is, except Jordan, which considers its sector of the city just as much part of its national territory as Israel considers her sector.

amost all the formal pomp and ceremony, at the presidential residence in Jerusalem. The foreign diplomats attend the festive openings of the Knesset in Jerusalem and, when they want to call on the Foreign Minister or top officials of the Ministry,

protested much more vigorously. Thus, also here, a kind of modus vivendi was achieved. In recent years the big military parade is held in some other city in Israel, while in Jerusalem there is a huge military night tattoo, at which only light arms are displayed — and foreign diplomats attend the show among

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October 11, 1992

Governor Bill Clinton: An Exclusive Interview

By Trude B. Feldman
Our White House Correspondent

Washington, DC—Bill Clinton reveals his Sunday debate strategy, reflects on the persistent draft issue and gives his vision of moving America forward—with him at the helm.

In an exclusive interview on the first anniversary of announcing his candidacy, the Democratic nominee for president explains why George Bush "is in such trouble today".

Clinton also discloses his criteria for selecting a white House staff and other officials; and he emphasizes his determination to "clean house" and prevent future scandals.

Excerpts of the one-on-one interview in Washington's Grand Hyatt Hotel:

Q: What are some of the specifics?

The trade mission to Japan was a disaster. We really do not have a good, coherent policy toward Japan that will lead us to open markets with the Japanese and give us enough respect in their country to be real partners in a movement for global economic growth.

We have to do much, much more with regard to China. I will tell Bush that he was too easy on the Chinese and too cozy with their leaders in the aftermath of Tiananmen Square. They now have a \$15 billion trade surplus with us, the second largest of any country.

We should use our leverage to promote democracy and freedom and human rights.

Q: How do you differ with Bush's approach to human rights abroad?

"We should use our leverage to promote democracy and freedom and human rights."

Q: On Sunday, when you debate President Bush, on which foreign policy issues will you challenge him?

A: I'll challenge his policy toward Iraq before and after the Gulf War. For instance, he made a basic mistake in being so friendly toward Saddam Hussein, extending agricultural credits that will never be paid, providing technology which Saddam used in his weapons program, and sending signals that must have given Saddam the impression that he had a good chance to be able to invade Kuwait and get away with it—because of the way we coddled him.

That was the mistake. Then, as soon as the war was over, out of fear that Iraq would break up, we let him attack the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South until the international press and our allies forced us to get back in and try to change it.

For the first year after the war, we were not nearly as insistent as we are now that the terms of the ceasefire resolution be observed.

Now, I think we're pretty much on the right course. But we ought to work even harder to achieve some sort of arms control in the whole area in conventional arms build-up, as well as weapons of mass destruction.

I'll also tell Bush that he has been more than a little one-sided in his repeated criticisms of Israel when the Shamir Government was pursuing a policy different from our own. Bush overdid that and could have provoked a backlash, derailing the whole peace process.

But my main problem with Bush's handling of Mideast policy is with his treatment of Iraq before and after the Gulf War, not with the war itself.

Q: Which other international issues will you include in the debate?

A: I strongly disagree with Bush on many foreign policy issues. Among those I intend to cite are Haiti, China, Japan, Asia and the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

I disagree with his whole conduct of international economic policy, and when we debate, I will be specific.

A: I think he has been more concerned with maintaining the status quo and his personal relationships with foreign leaders than with being a real force for democracy.

I will point out that Bush was slow to recognize the disintegration of the central authority within the Soviet Union; slow to recognize the independence of the Baltics and slow to recognize the movement for independence in the Ukraine.

Indeed, he condemned it.

We should have been and should be fighting for democracy and human rights. After all, the end of the bi-polar world that characterized the Cold War not only gives us freedom from fear of imminent nuclear annihilation, it also imposes on us responsibilities as the world's only super power to really try harder to promote human rights, human freedom and the alleviation of human suffering.

Q: On which three domestic issues will you debate?

A: On jobs, on health care and on George Bush's responsibility to use the power of the presidency to solve problems.

As for jobs, we have less employment today than 4 years ago when Bush took office.

My program will build the infrastructure and create new opportunities for increased employment. I would encourage the creation of small businesses, the largest creator of new jobs in our system. And unlike the Bush Administration, I will not encourage American business to transfer plants overseas.

On health care, I will tell Bush that our present system not only does not work, but is too expensive. It leaves some 60 million Americans without sufficient health insurance. It also bankrupts families, businesses and the federal budget.

An independent economic analysis of both our programs determined that my health programs would be more effective and less costly than Bush's.

Concerning the president's overwhelming power, I believe Bush has not used the Oval Office to help the American people. He has let his Administration as

Nation & World

New York Times Exclusive

if government creates problems instead of trying to resolve them.

He has ignored most of our problems, denied that they exist, and only, as the election neared, he started giving out money like it was going out of style, and saying whatever he thought it would take to get re-elected.

There never has been a constant, consistent passionate theme to Bush's presidency to guide us through these troubled, changing times and help us make the most of our opportunities in the aftermath of the cold war.

I think that's why today he is in such trouble.

Q: If you're elected president, what would be your immediate priorities?

A: I would begin with an immediate economic recovery package to get people back to work and to get incomes going up again. I would work for a comprehensive system of controlling health care costs and providing basic health care to all Americans. We must have a long term economic and educational program which includes a revitalization of our cities, a new energy policy, an environmental policy that helps to promote economic growth and responsible long-term sustainable environmental policies.

These are some of the things I want to accomplish after I am inaugurated, and, I believe I have a good chance.

There are now a number of members in Congress who would turn this country on a dime if given the opportunity.

In January, there will be new members who will have been elected on a pledge to make changes, and I'm committed to working with them to get my programs passed.

To implement these programs, I want a staff in the White House, a cabinet and

Photo: Hal Sloane



Governor Bill Clinton

I will do what I've done as governor for 12 Years, and there has never been a hint of scandal in my administration—knock on wood. I have prided myself on running a very clean government—one that people could be proud of.

In the White House, I will set a good example. I know how power can, and often does corrupt people, so I will select the best person for each position and keep avenues of communication open to me. We'll have the best system of checking on all matters, and should problems begin to develop, we can nip them in the bud.

Even with all my caution, I suppose, there may be pitfalls, but I surely hope not. I will be in charge of policy, and will choose a White House Chief of Staff to oversee all personnel and flow of

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Q: What type of people do you want for the White House, your cabinet and federal agencies?

A: People who are very smart, very energetic and who care about ordinary Americans. I want concerned people who are competent and have a very high sense of ethical and moral standards.

I want those who do not have personal agendas and who work to do the people's business and try to make America a better place in which to live.

I want team players, who do not engage in bureaucratic games, do not stab each other in the back, who do not jockey for positions in the White House, and do not leak stories to make themselves look good or someone else look bad.

Honesty and integrity are the most important traits, and I will not allow my staff to use a White House pass as a 'license' to be arrogant or overbearing and abusive.

Q: How would you prevent scandals such as 'Watergate', Iran-Contra, Iraq gate, Housing & Urban Development (HUD) and the Savings & Loan, which have cost billions of dollars to taxpayers?

work. I will insist that we all serve the people, not ourselves.

We all should have learned lessons from 'Watergate' and how it affected the world. I will be on guard to prevent similar scandals in my Administration.

Q: Why do you really want to be president?

A: Because I believe I can change the country for the better and unless we change the presidency we cannot change the country. I have a deep conviction not only that the country has to change, but that I know what kind of changes can and should be made.

We're in the grip of a failed economic idea—this trickle-down economics is not working for America.

Most people are working harder for less money. More people are unemployed or insecure in their jobs. At least 100,000 people a month are losing health insurance.

We're not competitive in education. We don't have any national economic strategy.

None of these things can be changed without real initiative and leadership from the president. As President Kennedy once said, the White House is the vital center of action. I believe that when I'm in the oval office, I can change the country in a meaningful way.

You know, at first I wanted to change the Democratic Party. I wanted it to face the realities of the world as it is... to be

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Bill Clinton

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come once again a party that was both pro-business and pro-labor, one that promoted economic growth and equal opportunity and one that understood that we had to impress upon people the need for more personal responsibility as well as the obligation of their government to create more individual opportunity.

I have now accomplished this, and that's why I'm getting so much Republican and independent support, even from former Ross Perot supporters.

Q: After a year on the campaign trail, what have you learned?

A: I've learned that the American people have much more in common than I thought they did, and more in common than they think they do, even across racial, regional and income lines. They think more alike.

Most people are prepared to make sacrifices to get this country on the right track.

Q: What two broad goals are you seeking to achieve during the campaign?

A: First, I'd like to inspire real hope in our youth about their future. I want to restore a sense of accomplishment to politics, not only for them, but for everyone. That is, I want people to believe that we can actually solve our problems instead of just being cynical about them.

Second, I'd like to re-establish in our country a sense of community, a sense that we're all in this together—to end the politics of division that has been practised by the Bush Administration—dividing people by race, by gender or by generation, by income or by region.

I do not think that I like to bring people together, and I like to get things done. That's what turns me on. That's why I want to be President of the United States.

Q: How has campaigning changed you?

A: I don't know if 'change' is the right

word. While I have met with some success in this campaign, I am humble, almost awed by the enormous responsibility I feel—not to let people down, to constantly do my best, and to make good on the mandate, if I do win.

Q: What sort of mandate do you want?

A: First, I want to win. You'll recall that President Kennedy only won by 110,000 votes, and as President, he still was able to command the support of a great many Americans. Obviously, if I could win by a greater margin—that would give me and the Democratic Party a stronger mandate to enact the changes to which I'm committed.

Q: Do you think you will win?

A: Yes, I think I'll win, but I am not sure—in the sense of being overconfident.

"...I believe I can change the country for the better and unless we change the presidency we cannot change the country."

I think I'll win because my campaign stands for something bigger than me as an individual. It stands for ideas that are basically on the side of history.

I have confidence in people to recognize the need for change, and my ability to bring this about.

Q: Why do you think there are so many misperceptions about you?

A: It takes a while for people to know me.

Those who don't want me to be victorious in this election have initiated and perpetuated mis-perceptions about me. Frankly, I've never been attacked in so many different ways at the same time. I've been in public life 18 years and in tough elections. But no one has ever made such a big deal on such flimsy grounds as during this campaign, nor have they questioned my personal integrity.

As a result, at first I was taken aback. Perhaps I contributed to some of the

misperceptions. Over time, I think people see through the phony charges. My hope is that by Election Day, enough people will know me.

Q: But what about the issue of your draft deferment? Are your motives now fully understood? Upon reflection, did religious considerations ever influence your decision?

A: I thought that our policy in Vietnam was morally flawed. I thought we were in a war we could not win, pursuing objectives that were unattainable at a cost to ourselves and to others that was unacceptable.

The more I knew about the war the more wrong I thought it was. My feelings were in part, a product of my own experience. I had access to information and to

knowledge which most people my age did not. While a student at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown, I was an employee at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I had to have security clearance to work there. I knew things about the war and the way it was being conducted and what was really happening there that most men my age did not know. This had a profound effect on me. I was raised in a very patriotic, pro-military environment, but I was convinced the Vietnam war was wrong.

I didn't want to do anything to dishonor my country or myself, but I didn't want to go. That's why when I was facing the draft I sought out the ROTC deferment. But then, I didn't feel right about that. That's why I went back into the draft. The facts are really simple. I was back in the draft, and then the lottery came in, and I was not called.

Q: Was conscientious objection a factor?

A: I sympathize with conscientious objectors, but the law on conscientious objection in our country is that you cannot be exempt from military service for opposition to a particular war. You have to be opposed to all wars and I am not.

If I had been of age in World War II or even in Korea, I'd have been there. If I had been in the regular service or the Reserves, or the National Guard at the time of Desert Storm, I'd have been happy to be called into service.

As another example, if I had been brought up in Israel, I'd be glad to defend it. So I just have to answer you that I never thought about being a conscientious objector.

Do you believe that the Vietnam draft issue reflects some divisions in our society?

A: Absolutely. That war tore this country apart. Those people who did not live through it—either in Vietnam or in America—or who weren't part of my generation cannot imagine how divisive it was.

Many people who were in the war now tell me they understand and support me on this issue, that they know what went on, and believe that this election should focus on the future. Even combat veterans from Vietnam concur, as did Admiral Crowe, who said it all when he endorsed me.

Q: Finally, now that you say you've set the record straight, why not ignore the draft issue?

A: I tried that. But frequently that's all the press and my opponents ask me. For instance, some of my political opponents back home have 'convenient' memories of events after 23 years. Most of what has been alleged on the issue involves absurd accusations.

My obligation, nevertheless, is to continue to state the facts as they were. And if I become Commander-in-Chief, I hope those who voted against me because of my views on Vietnam, will give me a chance to earn their respect through my efforts to provide good government.

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Sunday, October 11, 1992

In-Depth Analysis, Commentary And Opinion

The ITEM 9C

BILL CLINTON

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'I want people to believe that we can actually solve our problems instead of just being cynical about them.'

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN
Associated Press Writer

Q: Today, when you debate President Bush, on which foreign policy issues will you challenge him?

A: I'll challenge his policy toward Iraq before and after the Gulf War.

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See CLINTON, page 10C ►

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Q: How would you prevent scandals such as "Watergate," Iran-Contra, "Iraq-gate", Housing & Urban Development (HUD) and the savings & loan, which have cost billions of dollars to taxpayers?

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Obviously, if I could win by a greater margin – that would give me and the Democratic Party a stronger mandate to enact the changes to which I'm committed.

Q: Do you think you will win?

A: Yes, I think I'll win, but I am not sure – in the sense of not being overconfident.

I think I'll win because my campaign stands for something bigger than me as an individual. It stands for ideas that are basically on the side of history.

I have confidence in people to recognize the need for change, and my ability to bring this about.

Q: Why do you think there are so many misperceptions about you?

A: It takes awhile for people to know me. Those who don't want me to be victorious in this election have initiated and perpetrated misperceptions about me.

Frankly, I've never been attacked in so many different ways at the same time. I've been in public life 18 years and in tough elections.

But no one has ever made such a big deal on such flimsy grounds as during this campaign, nor have they questioned my personal integrity.

As a result, at first I was taken aback. Perhaps I contributed to some of the misperceptions.

Over time, I think people see through the phony charges. My hope is that by Election Day, enough people will know me.

Q: What about the issue of your draft deferment? Are your motives now fully understood? Upon reflection, did religious considerations ever influence your decision?

A: I thought that our policy in Vietnam was morally flawed. I thought we were in a war we could not win, pursuing objectives that were unattainable at a cost to ourselves and to others that was unacceptable.

The more I knew about the war the more wrong I thought it was.

My feelings were, in part, a product of my own experience. I had access to information and to knowledge which most people my age did not.

See CLINTON, page 10C ►

Clinton defends Vietnam stance, stresses U.S. sense of community

► FROM PAGE 9C

While a student at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown, I was also an employee at the Senate Foreign Relations committee. I had to have security clearance to work there.

I knew things about the war and the way it was being conducted and what was really happening there that most men my age did not know.

This had a profound effect on me. I was raised in a very patriotic, pro-military environment, but I was convinced the Vietnam war was wrong.

I didn't want to do anything to dishonor my country or myself. But I didn't want to go. That's why when I was facing the draft I sought out the ROTC deferment. But then, I didn't feel right about that. That's why I went back into the draft. The facts are really simple.

I was back in the draft, and then the lottery came in, and I was not called.

Q: Was conscientious objection a factor?

A: I sympathize with conscientious objectors. But the law on conscientious objection in our country is that you cannot be exempt from military service for opposition to a particular war.

You have to be opposed to all wars, and I am not. If I had been of age in World War II, or even in Korea, I'd have been there. If I had been in the regular service or the Reserves, or the National Guard at the time of Desert Storm, I'd have been happy to be called into service.

As another example, if I had been brought up in Israel, I'd be glad to defend it. So I just have to answer you that I never thought about being a conscientious objector.

Q: Do you believe that the Vietnam draft issue reflects some divisions in our society?

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Those people who did not live through it - either in Vietnam or in America - or who weren't part of my generation cannot imagine how divisive it was.

Many people who were in the war now tell me they understand and support me on this issue, that they know what went on, and believe that this election should focus on the future.

Even combat veterans from Vietnam concur, as did Admiral Crowe, who said it all when he endorsed me.

Q: Now that you say you've set the record straight, why not ignore the draft issue?

A: I tried that. But frequently that's all the press and my opponents ask me. For instance, some of my political opponents back home have 'convenient' memories of events after 23 years.

Most of what has been alleged on the issue involves absurd accusations.

My obligation, nevertheless, is to continue to state the facts as they were.

Q: Finally, if you do win (the election), what two broad goals would you seek to achieve?

A: Well, first I'd like to inspire real hope in our youth about their future. I want to restore a sense of accomplishment to politics, not only for them, but for everyone. That is, I want people to believe that we can actually solve our problems instead of just being cynical about them.

Second, I'd like to re-establish, in our country, a sense of community, a sense that we're all in this together - to end the politics of division that has been practiced by the Bush administration - dividing people by race, by gender or by generation, by income or by region.

I do not like that. I like to bring people together, and I like to get things done. That's what turns me on. That's why I entered politics and that's why I want to be president of the United States.

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RESERVATION

In this exclusive interview with veteran correspondent Trude B. Feldman, candidate Bill Clinton reveals his reflections on the persistent draft issue and how he is moving America forward — with

Clinton: Economic reco

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN
Of The New York Times

Q: When you debate President Bush, on which foreign policy issues will you challenge him?

A: I'll challenge his policy toward Iraq before and after the Gulf War.

For instance, he made a basic mistake in being so friendly toward Saddam Hussein, extending agricultural credits that will never be paid, providing technology which Saddam used in his weapons program, and sending signals that must have given Saddam the impression that he had a good chance to be able to invade Kuwait and get away with it — because of the way we coddled him.

That was the mistake. Then, as soon as the war was over, out of fear that Iraq would break up, we let Saddam attack the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South until the international press and our allies forced us to get back in and try to change it.

For the first year after the war, we were not nearly as insistent as we are now that the terms of the ceasefire resolution be observed.

Now I think we're pretty much on the right course. But we ought to work even harder to achieve some sort of arms control in the whole area of conventional arms build-up, as well as weapons of mass destruction.

I'll also tell Bush that he has been more than a little one-sided in his repeated criticisms of Israel when the Shamir government was pursuing a policy different from our own. Bush overdid that and could have provoked a backlash, derailing the whole peace process.

But my main problem with Bush's handling of Middle East policy is with his treatment of Iraq before and after the Gulf war, not with the war itself.

Q: Which other international issues will you include in the debate?

A: I strongly disagree with Bush on many foreign policy issues. Among those I intend to cite are Haiti, China, Japan, Asia and the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

I disagree with his whole conduct of international economic policy, and when we debate, I will be specific.

Q: What are some of the specifics?

A: The trade mission to Japan was a disaster. We really do not have a good, coherent policy toward Japan that will lead us to open markets with the Japanese and give us enough respect in their country to be real partners in a movement for global economic growth.

We have to do much, much more with regard to China. I will tell Bush that he was too easy on the Chinese and too cozy with their leaders.



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humble, almost awed by the enormous responsibility I feel — not to let people down, to constantly do my best, and to make good on the mandate, if I do win.

■ **Q: What sort of mandate do you want?**

A: First, I want to win. You'll recall that President Kennedy only won by 110,000 votes, and as president, he still was able to command the support of a great many Americans.

Obviously, if I could win by a greater margin — that would give me and the Democratic Party a stronger mandate to enact the changes to which I'm committed.

■ **Q: Do you think you will win?**

A: Yes, I think I'll win, but I am not sure — in the sense of not being overconfident.

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They now have a \$15 billion trade surplus with us, the second largest of any country. We should use our leverage to promote democracy and freedom and human rights.

Q: How do you differ with Bush's approach to human rights abroad?

A: I think he has been more concerned with maintaining the status quo and his personal relationships with foreign leaders than with being a real force for democracy.

I will point out that Bush was slow to recognize the disintegration of the central authority within the Soviet Union, slow to recognize the independence of the Baltics and slow to recognize the movement for independence in the Ukraine.

Indeed, he condemned it.

We should have been and should be fighting for democracy and human rights.

After all, the end of the bipolar world that characterized the Cold War not only gives us freedom from fear of imminent nuclear annihilation, it also imposes on us responsibilities as the world's only superpower — to really try harder to promote human rights, human freedom and the alleviation of human suffering.

Q: On which three domestic issues will you devote?

A: On jobs, on health care and on George Bush's responsibility to use the power of the presidency to solve problems.

As for jobs, we have less employment today than 10 years ago when Bush took office. My program will build the infrastructure and create new opportunities for increased employment.

I would encourage the creation of small businesses, the largest creator of new jobs in our system. And under the Bush administration, I will not encourage American businesses to transfer plants overseas.

On health care, I will tell Bush that our present system not only doesn't work, but is too expensive. It costs some 80 million Americans without sufficient health insurance. It also bankrupts families, businesses and the federal budget.

An independent economic analysis of both our programs determined that my health programs would be more effective and less costly than is Bush's.

Concerning the president's overwhelming power, I believe Bush has not used the Oval Office to help the American people. He conducts his administration as if government creates problems instead of trying to solve them.

He has ignored most of our problems, denied that they exist, and only, as the election neared, he started spending money like it was going out of style, and doing whatever he thought it would take to get re-elected.

There has never been a constant, consistent, past theme to Bush's presidency to guide us through these troubled, changing times and help us use the most of our opportunities in the aftermath of the Cold War.

I think that's why today he is in such trouble.

Q: If you're elected president, what would be your immediate priorities?

A: I would begin with an immediate economic recovery package to get people back to work and to get industry going up again. I would work for a comprehensive system of controlling health-care costs providing basic health care to all Americans.

We must have a long-term economic and education program which includes a revitalization of our cities, a new energy policy, and environmental policy helps to promote economic growth and responsible long-term sustainable environmental policies.

These are some of the things I want to try to accomplish after I am inaugurated, and I believe I have a chance.

I have a deep conviction not only change, but that I know what kind be made. We're in the grip of a trickle-down economics is not working. People are working harder for less

There are now a number of members in Congress who would turn this country on a dime if given the opportunity.

In January, there will be new members who will have been elected on a pledge to make changes, and I'm committed to working with them to get my programs passed.

To implement these programs, I want a staff in the White House, a Cabinet and an administration which looks like America, feels like America, and encompasses our rich diversity.

I also want an administration which makes Americans feel good about the way their government is running, and the fact that their government cares about them and is trying to make progress for them.

Q: What type of people do you want for the White House, your Cabinet and federal agencies?

A: People who are very smart, very energetic and who care about ordinary Americans. I want concerned people who are competent and have a very high sense of ethical and moral standards.

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In the White House, I will set a good example. I know how power can, and often does, corrupt people, so I will select the best person for each position and keep avenues of communication open to me. We'll have the best system of checking on all matters, and should problems begin to develop, we can nip them in the bud.

Even with all my caution, I suppose, there may be pitfalls but I surely hope not. I will be in charge of

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News-Journal photo by Sam Cranston

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Bill Clinton

and will choose a White House chief of staff to
all personnel and flow of work. I will insist
all serve the people, not ourselves.
I should have learned lessons from Watergate
it affected the world. I will be on guard to
similar scandals in my administration.

Why do you really want to be president?
Because I believe I can change the country for
er, and unless we change the presidency, we
change the country.
I have a deep conviction not only that the country
needs, but that I know what kind of changes
should be made.
I'm out of the grip of a failed economic idea. This
economics is not working for America.
People are working harder for less money.
People are unemployed or insecure in their

100,000 people a month are losing health in-
surance. We're not competitive in education. We don't
have a national economic strategy.
These things can be changed without real
leadership from the president.
President Kennedy once said, the White House is
not a center of action. I believe that when I'm in
office, I can change the country in a meaningful way.

At first I wanted to change the Democrat-
ic Party. I wanted to face the realities of the world
and become once again the party that was
business and pro labor, one that promoted
growth and equal opportunity and one that
had the ability to impress upon people the
importance of personal responsibility as well as the
responsibility of government to create more individ-
ual freedom.

I've now accomplished this, and that's
why I'm so much Republican and independent
from former Ross Perot supporters.

What year on the campaign trail, what
year?

That the American people have much
more faith in me than I thought they did, and more in
the way they think they do, even across racial,
ethnic lines. They think more alike.
They're prepared to make sacrifices to get
the right track.

Has campaigning changed you?
I think "change" is the right word. While
I've had some success in this campaign, I am

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Most of what has been alleged on the issue involves
absurd accusations.

My obligation, nevertheless, is to continue to state
the facts as they were. And if I become commander in
chief, I hope those who voted against me because of
my views on Vietnam will give me a chance to earn
their respect through my efforts to provide good gov-
ernment.

**Q: Finally, if you do win (the election), what
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That's why I entered politics and that's why I want to
be president of the United States.

PHOTO COPY
PRESIDENT

On the First Anniversary of the Madrid Peace Talks Bill Clinton Pledges To Maintain the Momentum

By Trude B. Feldman
Our White House Correspondent

Washington, DC—It is now one year since the opening session in Madrid of the Middle East peace talks, one of President Bush's major foreign policy achievements.

Bill Clinton says that when he succeeds George Bush in the Oval Office, he will work to make sure the momentum of the negotiations is maintained.

Clinton also says that an Arab move to end the economic boycott against Israel would speed the way to an agreement.

Since Madrid, there have been seven rounds of bilateral negotiations in Washington, D.C. While no breakthroughs on the key issues have yet taken place, the pace of the historic encounters has accelerated since the Rabin government came into office in Israel.

Launched by the United States and the

at least one of the Arab countries should break the ice and end the boycott against Israel. That would be the best thing they could do. If several Arab countries decided to do that, in response to some of the moves Israel has made, then I think we'd be well on our way to negotiating an agreement consistent with United Nations Resolution 242 and the Camp David Accords.

Q: Do you foresee another Camp David Conference?

A: That's possible, at some point. Right now, it would be premature. But I think the framework agreed upon at Camp David, in many ways, is shaping what is now being discussed. It's still a pretty good framework.

Q: As president, what American policies in the Mideast will you change?

A: I will act more vigorously to stop the spread of dangerous missiles in the Mideast, and insist on a strong international effort to keep weapons of mass de-

"I will act more vigorously...and insist on a strong international effort to keep weapons of mass destruction out of the hands of nations like Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Libya."

former Soviet Union, the unprecedented negotiations mark the first time in the 44-year history of the Arab-Israeli conflict that the Israelis are formally talking face-to-face with their Arab neighbors (besides Egypt), and the Palestinians. Moreover, the parties are discussing with each other the core issues of land, peace, and security.

During an exclusive interview, Bill Clinton, who has been thoroughly briefed on the negotiations, displayed an impressive knowledge of recent developments in the peace process as well as the overall situation in the Middle East.

Excerpts of the one-on-one interview in Washington's Grand Hyatt Hotel:

FELDMAN: We are now marking the first-year anniversary of the convening of the Middle East peace talks in Madrid. In your view, how has the regional landscape changed in the past 12 months?

CLINTON: The most noticeable change is the election in Israel of Prime Minister (Yitzhak) Rabin, who has wasted no time in breathing new life into the negotiations. Israel has reaffirmed its recognition of those United Nations resolutions that are the foundations of the peace process, and has specifically applied them to the negotiations with Syria.

The Rabin government has also curbed settlements and taken other measures to build confidence in relations with the Palestinians and other Arab parties. Now I think it's time for the Arabs to make more moves toward Israel.

Q: You mean a move like Egypt's President Sadat made 15 years ago when he journeyed to Jerusalem?

A: Or something else that would have that kind of dramatic effect. For example,

struction out of the hands of nations like Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Libya. Our policy must include not only an effort to reduce this spread, but a reaffirmation of our strong commitment to maintaining Israel's qualitative military edge over its potential adversaries.

Also, a Clinton administration will treat the Arab-Israeli conflict as one in which the survival of Israel is at stake. Like America, it is a strong democracy, a symbol of freedom and an oasis of liberty. But Israel is surrounded by nations in pursuit of weapons of mass destruction, and is still at risk of Scud attacks by Saddam Hussein, while also facing the threat of new, more advanced scuds in Syria. And along with the economic hardships of the Arab boycott, Israel is still waiting for a credible offer of peace from most of her Arab neighbors.

Q: What role should the United States now play in the peace process?

A: Our role is to serve as an honest broker and, at times, as a catalyst. The Bush administration deserves credit for bringing Israelis and Arabs to the negotiating table. But I can't think of a way that the U. S. could ever impose its own will, and wind up with a durable peace settlement. We need to support the current process, but we must also maintain our special commitment to our democratic partner, Israel, and its overall security.

Q: How will you win the trust of the Arabs, as well as the Israelis, so that in a Clinton administration there will be no loss of momentum in the peace process?

A: As president, I will give a continuing high priority to ensuring that the process is maintained and that progress is made toward a peace that secures Israel and meets the legitimate requirements of

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Bill Clinton, during an exclusive interview with White House correspondent Trude B. Feldman at Washington's Grand Hyatt Hotel, displays an impressive knowledge of the current Mideast peace talks. Photo by Bob McNeely.

the Arabs.

No side should be expected to make unilateral concessions. The Palestinians ought to have the right to determine their own future within the guidelines set out in the Camp David Accords. On the other hand, they should not have the right to determine Israel's future.

We need to give this process a chance to work. We have to nourish it and maintain its continuity. Any future course has to be charted within the context of the present negotiations by maintaining the ground rules.

Q: Syria's President Assad is calling for a "peace of the brave" and Prime Minister Rabin speaks favorably about reaching an historic agreement with Syria. What will you do to boost the chances between Syria and Israel for a complete peace?

Q: Upon reflection, what do you think is the real key to peace in the Mideast?

A: I am convinced that the key for a lasting peace is to create the conditions in which all parties believe it is in their interest to make peace negotiations under which they can trust each other enough to make agreements, and to have some assurance that the agreements will be kept.

I think that peace between Arabs and Israelis should be more solid than a hostile truce.

Genuine peace can only be achieved on the foundation of trust among former enemies. Lasting peace has to include an end to the illegal Arab boycott of Israel, the establishment of normal economic and trade relations between Israel and its neighbors and the creation of multilateral agreements to protect the area's environ-

"The Arab boycott is economic warfare and the U.S. should make it clear that we will no longer turn a blind eye to this practice."

Also, how will you respond to a request like one from Syria for U.S. intervention in the peace talks?

A: As I just said, I believe the U.S. role in the talks is primarily to serve as an honest broker. I don't think the U.S. should pressure one side or the other to make unilateral concessions, because it is up to Israel, Syria, the other Arab nations and the Palestinians to make lasting peace with one another.

Q: In your view, how does Lebanon fit into the new Mideast equation?

A: Lebanon is a complicated problem because different factions within Lebanon are influenced by other Mideast governments that obviously have used Lebanon as a battleground for their ideas and politics. While some progress has occurred, I believe that the problems in Lebanon will only be solved as part of a total Mideast peace settlement. I also believe, however, that we can and must work with others to build a free and more democratic Lebanon.

ment and ensure that every nation has an adequate supply of water.

There is no easy answer to the problem, but I believe it essential to do everything possible to keep an ongoing dialogue. And the United States must play a supportive role. So I think we're now pursuing the best strategy with the current negotiations. They are the best chance for peace in a decade.

Q: Do you support the creation of an independent Palestinian state?

A: No, I oppose that. But the precise political arrangements under which Palestinian rights should be exercised is an issue on which the U.S. should not take a position during the negotiations.

Q: What should be done that hasn't yet been done by the United States to end the Arab boycott?

A: The Arab boycott is economic warfare and the U.S. should make it clear that we will no longer turn a blind eye

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Clinton

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to this practice. That's why I support Senator Al Gore's initiative to prohibit Defense Department contracts with companies which participate in the Arab League's boycott against Israel. Beyond that, I am determined to do everything I can to see that the Arab states end this boycott.

Q: Do Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza still present an obstacle to peace?

A: Yes, they do. But so does the Arab boycott, the widespread Arab non-recognition of Israel and Arab military build-ups. The Rabin government has reversed course on Israel's settlement policy, and this issue should now be left to the parties themselves to negotiate.

Q: Did you support the Gulf War?

A: Yes, I did. But as Senator Gore articulated in a recent speech, the Gulf War should not have been necessary. The Bush administration appeased Saddam Hussein too long when it shared intelligence with him, awarded him credits, and opposed sanctions against him—right up to the eve of his invasion of Kuwait.

A Clinton administration will not forge such strategic relationships with dangerous despotic regimes. The Bush administration still has not learned from that appeasement of Saddam, and continues to ignore the link between democracy and stability.

Q: Now that we know Iraq was close to getting nuclear weapons, do you think the Israeli strike on the Baghdad reactor in 1981 was justified?

A: Let me put it this way—at that time, if Israel had not conducted a surgical strike, on Iraq's nuclear reactor, our forces might well have confronted a Saddam with nuclear weapons ten years later—in 1991. Now, what we need to do is make every effort to ensure that countries like Iraq and Iran are denied the means to produce nuclear weapons.

Q: How will you deal more effectively with international terrorism?

A: In our diplomacy, the U.S. must not ignore any country's human rights abuses, or its support for terrorism. We also need strong special operations forces in our military to deal with terrorist threats, and we need better intelligence. Our intelligence agencies should be shifted from military beancounting to a more sophisticated understanding of political, economic, and cultural conditions.

In addition, we need to work with our allies to enhance intelligence and anti-terrorism cooperation.

A: I do recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, and Jerusalem ought to remain an undivided city. But I think that timing is the real issue. Moving our embassy there while negotiations are in progress could disrupt the peace process in a way which could undermine the very objective we seek.

Q: What signal does the F-15 sale to Saudi Arabia and the F-16 sale to Taiwan send to other countries about fighting arms proliferation?

A: We do need a more aggressive effort among the major arms sellers of the world to try to reduce arms sales in volatile

"We need to feel each other's pain and understand each other's hopes and aspirations. As president, I want to challenge all Americans to lift one another's spirits."

Q: Do you concur with the Bush administration's approach to strategic cooperation with Israel?

A: I concur that we need a strong strategic relationship and I support the recent White House statement about U.S. readiness to strengthen it. Unfortunately, however, excessive arms sales to certain Arab states have weakened Israel's overall security. Such sales force Israel to divert more resources to its defensive needs.

Q: Do you concur with the agreement on the "set aside" amount which Israel must pay to obtain the loan guarantees?

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Q: Under what circumstances, if any, would you consider moving the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem?

tile regions like the Mideast. Since the Gulf War, the Mideast has been an arms merchant's bonanza. Many nations realize that if they don't sell the weapons, others will. And when our steady allies ask for such weapons systems, they have a legitimate need to replenish their armed service. But we ought to ensure that such sales are not destabilizing. I will make every effort to limit the sale of arms and of dual-use technologies to unstable, or to potentially hostile, regimes in the area, as well as stress the need to preserve Israel's qualitative military edge.

Q: What specific conditions should be placed on the F-15 sale in order to preserve that "qualitative military edge"?

A: I believe we can, and should, provide for the adequate defenses of our coalition partners in the region in a way that doesn't threaten Israel's security. I support the sale of the F-15's to Saudi Arabia, but there may have to be some limitations on the technology of those F-15's, because our commitment to Israel is not to do anything which alters the qualitative

military balance in the Mideast.

We need to enhance our military and technical cooperation with Israel so that it can better meet the growing threat from unconventional weapons as well as sophisticated conventional weapons. In this context, I have always supported funding for the development of Israel's Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile.

Q: Have you ever visited Israel?

A: Eleven years ago I went to Israel on a religious pilgrimage. My wife, Hillary, accompanied me. While there, we identified with the small state which relies on agriculture but also strives to develop technologies for the 21st Century. We saw how Israel welcomes and assimilates people from all continents. We saw a society with an intense commitment, rooted in the traditions of the 'people of the book' to provide its youth with the best education and a good start in life.

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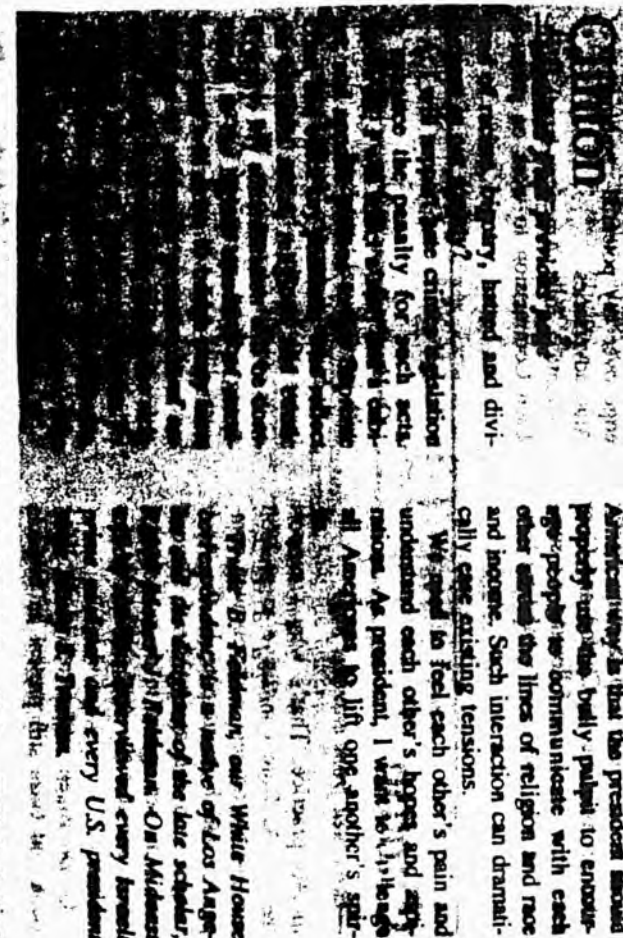
It is a significant program in that it gives parents the opportunity to be their children's first teachers.

With the help of Dr. Dovena Lombard of Israel, Arkansas now has a national training center for HIPPPY workers at the Arkansas Children's Hospital, and outside of Israel, it is the largest program of its kind in the world. It has served as a unique link between Israel and Arkansas, and has made a real difference in the lives of many of our parents and their children.

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Q: Finally, what steps will you take, from the Oval Office to help reverse the

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Highlights ■ *Los Angeles, Calif.*

An exclusive interview with Bill Clinton

Bill Clinton discusses the peace talks, the Arab boycott and the Mideast arms race

By Trude B. Feldman

It is now one year since the opening session of the Middle East peace talks in Madrid, one of President Bush's major foreign policy achievements.

Bill Clinton says that when he succeeds George Bush he will work to make sure the momentum of the negotiations is maintained.

Clinton also says that an Arab move to end the economic boycott against Israel would speed the way to an agreement.

Since Madrid, there have been seven rounds of bilateral negotiations in Washington, D.C. While no breakthroughs on the key issues have yet taken place, the pace of the historic encounters has accelerated since the Rabin Government came into office in Israel.

Launched by the United States and the former Soviet Union, the unprecedented negotiations mark the first time in the 44-year history of the Arab-Israeli conflict that the Israelis are formally talking, face-to-face, with their Arab neighbors (besides Egypt) and the Palestinians. Moreover, the parties are discussing with each other the core issues of land, peace and security.

During an exclusive interview, Bill Clinton, who has been thoroughly briefed on the negotiations, displayed an impressive knowledge of recent developments in the peace process as well as the overall situation in the Middle East.

Excerpts of the one-on-one interview in Washington's Grand Hyatt Hotel follow:

Feldman: We are now marking the first anniversary of the convening of the Middle East peace talks in

Trude B. Feldman, a correspondent originally from Los Angeles, covers the White House.



Trude Feldman poses a question to Bill Clinton

Madrid. In your view, how has the regional landscape changed in the past 12 months?

Clinton: The most noticeable change is the election in Israel of Prime Minister [Yitzhak] Rabin, who has wasted no time in breathing new life into the negotiations. Israel has reaffirmed its recognition of those United Nations resolutions that are the foundations of the peace process, and has specifically applied them to the negotiations in Syria.

The Rabin Government has also curbed settlements and taken other measures to build confidence in relations with the Palestinians and other Arab parties. I think it's time now for the Arabs to make more moves toward Israel.

Q: You mean a move like Egypt's President Sadat made 15 years ago when he journeyed to Jerusalem?

A: Or something else that would have that kind of dramatic effect. For example, at least one of the Arab countries should break the ice and end the boycott against Israel. That would be the best thing they could do. If several Arab countries decided to do that, in response to

some of the moves Israel has made, then I think we'd be well on our way to negotiating an agreement consistent with United Nations Resolution 242 and the Camp David accords.

I will give a continuing high priority to ensuring that the process is maintained and that progress is made toward a peace that secures Israel and meets the legitimate requirements of the Arabs.

Q: Do you foresee another Camp David conference?

A: That's possible, at some point. Right now, it would be premature. But I think the framework agreed upon at Camp David, in many ways, is shaping what is now being discussed. It's still a pretty good framework.

Q: As President, what American policies in the Mideast will you change?

A: I will act more vigorously to stop the spread of dangerous missiles in the Mideast, and insist on a strong international effort to keep

weapons of mass destruction out of the hands of nations like Iran, Iraq, Syria and Libya. Our policy must include not only an effort to reduce this spread, but a reaffirmation of our strong commitment to maintaining Israel's qualitative military edge over its potential adversaries.

Also, the Clinton administration will treat the Arab-Israeli conflict as one in which the survival of Israel is at stake. Like America, it is a strong democracy, a symbol of freedom and an oasis of liberty. But Israel is surrounded by nations in pursuit of weapons of mass destruction, and is still at risk of Scud attacks by Saddam Hussein, while also facing the threat of new, more advanced Scuds in Syria. And along with the economic hardships of the Arab boycott, Israel is still waiting for a credible offer for peace from most of her Arab neighbors.

Q: What role should the United States now play in the peace process?

A: Our role is to serve as an honest broker and, at times, as a catalyst. The Bush Administration deserves credit for bringing Israelis and Arabs to the negotiating table. But I can't think of a way that the U.S. could ever impose its own will, and wind up with a durable peace settlement. We need to support the

current process, but we must also maintain our special commitment to our democratic partner, Israel, and its overall security.

Q: How will you win the trust of the Arabs, as well as the Israelis, so that in the Clinton administration there will be no loss of momentum in the peace process?

A: As President, I will give a continuing high priority to ensuring that the process is maintained and that progress is made toward a peace that secures Israel and meets the legitimate requirements of the Arabs.

No side should be expected to make unilateral concessions. The Palestinians ought to have the right to determine their own future within the guidelines set out in the Camp David accords. On the other hand, they should not have the right to determine Israel's future.

We need to give this process a chance to work. We have to nourish it and maintain its continuity. Any future course has to be charted within the context of the present negotiations by maintaining the ground rules.

Q: Syria's President Assad is calling for a "peace of the brave" and Prime Minister Rabin speaks favorably about reaching a historic agreement with Syria. What will you do to boost the chances between Syria and Israel for a complete peace? Also, how will you respond to a request like one from Syria for U.S. intervention in the peace talks?

A: As I just said, I believe the U.S. role in the talks is primarily to serve as an honest broker. I don't think the U.S. should pressure one side or the other to make unilateral concessions, because it is up to Israel, Syria, the other Arab nations and the Palestinians to make lasting peace with one another.

Q: In your view, how does Lebanon fit into the new Mideast equation?

A: Lebanon is a complicated problem because different factions within Lebanon are influenced by other Mideast governments that obviously have used Lebanon as a battleground for their ideas and politics. While some progress has occurred, I believe that the problems in Lebanon will only be solved as part of a total Mideast peace settlement. I also believe, however, that we can and must work with others to build a free and more democratic Lebanon.

Q: Upon reflection, what do you think is the real key to peace in the Mideast?

A: I am convinced that the key for a lasting peace is to create the conditions in which all parties believe it is in their best interest to make peace — conditions under which they can trust each other enough to make agreements, and

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to have some assurance that the agreements will be kept.

I think that peace between Arabs and Israelis should be more solid than a hostile truce. Genuine peace can only be achieved on the foundation of trust among former enemies. Lasting peace has to include an end to the illegal Arab boycott of Israel, the establishment of normal economic and trade relations between Israel and its neighbors and the creation of multilateral agreements to protect the area's environment and ensure that every nation has an adequate supply of water.

There is no easy answer to the problem, but I believe it essential to do everything possible to keep an ongoing dialogue. And the United States must play a supportive role. So I think we're now pursuing the best strategy with the current negotiations. They are the best chance for peace in a decade.

Q: Do you support the creation of an independent Palestinian state?

A: No, I oppose that. But the precise arrangements under which Palestinian rights should be exercised is an issue on which the U.S. should not take a position during negotiations.

Q: What should be done that hasn't yet been done by the United States to end the Arab boycott?

A: The Arab boycott is economic warfare and the U.S. should make it clear that we will no longer turn a blind eye to this practice. That's why I support Senator Al Gore's initiative to prohibit defense contracts with companies which participate in the Arab League's boycott against Israel. Beyond that, I am determined to do everything I can to see that the Arab states end this boycott.

Q: Do Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza still present an obstacle to peace?

A: Yes, they do. But so does the Arab boycott, the widespread Arab

non-recognition of Israel and Arab military buildups. The Rabin government has reversed course on Israel's settlement policy, and this issue should now be left to the parties themselves to negotiate.

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Q: Finally, what steps would you take, as President, to help reverse the trend of racism, bigotry, hatred and divisiveness in our society?

A: I will support hate crimes legislation to enhance the penalty for such acts. Above all, I will select a staff and a Cabinet, and appoint persons to the Supreme Court and other key positions who reflect our nation's racial, religious and ethnic diversity. My administration will be committed to the highest standards

PHOTOGRAPH
OF PRESIDENT

of excellence and will strive to bridge party lines in order to achieve a government of national unity that will fully reflect the richness of our history of tolerance provides.

You know, when people feel insecure, racial and ethnic tensions rise. The American way is that the President should properly use the bully pulpit to encourage people to communicate with each other across the lines of religion and race and income. Such interaction can dramatically ease existing tensions.

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