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PARENTAL LEAVE

POLICY PRINCIPLES

1. Ensure responsiveness, while enhance flexibility in the workplace to critical family needs.
2. Reject one-size-fits all federal response; no one federal mandate.

POLICY PROPOSAL

Work with the Congress to pursue new legislation embodying a new approach to family leave -- having flexibility and choice as essential hallmarks.

This legislation could have employers choose, within 2 years of enactment, a means of delivery of minimal family (or parental) leave benefits to their workforce. The choices could include some combination of the options discussed below:

(a) a modification of the Stenholm/Hatch "preferred rehire" legislation; or

[Stenholm/Hatch is taken from the Veterans Reemployment Rights law, but Stenholm/Hatch is not as generous to employees. It is supported by Family Research Council and will not be opposed by many in the business community, including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. It provides eligible employees of all employers -- no small business threshold -- the opportunity to leave employment for up to 6 years to care for a newborn or newly adopted child, or up to 2 years to care for a sick child, parent or spouse. Instead of the job guarantee in the Dodd/Clay bill, the employee would only be eligible for the position if such a position is available when the employee returns. If the position is not available, the leave-taking employee would be guaranteed to be rehired for the next identical or equivalent position that opens up. There are exemptions and conditions for reemployment set out in the bill.]

Possible modifications include:

- o employers and many allies on the Hill consider the time period of 6 years to be excessive
- o employees and their advocates view the exemptions as too generous for employers

(b) a modification of the Dodd/Clay legislation for a minimal amount of unpaid, job-protected leave for legitimate family purposes; or

[Modifications could be made to the Democrat bill, reducing

the amount of leave to 4 or 6 weeks, and making many of the pro-employer modifications, i.e. employee notification of intent to take or return from leave, enforcement provisions, vesting requirements or changes to the continuation of health benefits, made by legislation introduced by Rep. LaFalce or Rep. Penny -- important allies to the Administration on this issue.]

(c) a cafeteria style benefit plan in which one option is family leave; or

[These employee fringe benefit plans allow employees to choose their own benefits from a smorgasbord of fringe benefits, i.e. older employees choosing extra health benefits, younger employees choosing health club memberships, etc... Unfortunately, these plans are complex and difficult to administer and only a fraction of employers offer them. Oregon's parental leave law exempts companies who offer cafeteria plans with an option being family leave as an incentive for companies to provide them.]

(d) a collective bargaining agreement where family leave is provided; or

[Unions advise the Department that their collective bargaining agreements contain minimal family and medical leave provisions and, in fact, are more generous than the legislation. To include this option would be a signal of Administration recognition and support for seeking to address this issue within the context of labor management negotiations.]

(e) the ability to use existing paid sick or annual leave for purposes of family leave.

[Each company can now establish their own policy on how sick leave, which is voluntarily provided, can be used by employees -- whether it would include leave to care for someone other than the employee. This legislative option would permit an employer who is providing paid leave that can be used for family purposes a means to meet the federal minimum standard in a manner that is not very intrusive or burdensome.]

Some **exemptions** could be established for companies facing dire economic circumstances, national security or public safety exemptions, employee waiver, among other exemptions.

Coverage of congressional employees should be pursued.

FAMILY LEAVE LEGISLATION

3/13/91

Bill:	HR. 2	S. 5	HR. 1270	S. 418
Introduced:	January 3, 1991	January 14, 1991	March 5, 1991	February 7, 1991
Sponsor:	Clay (D-MO)	Dodd (D-CT)	Stenholm (D-TX)	Hatch (R-UT)
Short Title:	Family and Medical Leave Act 1991	Family and Medical Leave Act 1991	Protection for Individuals Who Leave Work for a Family Purpose.	American Family Protection Act 1991
Cosponsors:	19 Republicans <u>151 Democrat</u> 170 Total	4 Republicans <u>34 Democrat</u> 38 Total	2 Republicans <u>1 Democrat</u> 3 Total	0 Republicans <u>0 Democrat</u> 0 Total
Referrals:	House Education & Labor House Administration House Post Office & Civil Service	Senate Labor & Human Resources	House Education & Labor House Administration	Senate Labor & Human Resources
Schedule:	3/12 - House Post Office 3/13 - House Post Office 3/19 - House Education & Labor	Currently none	Currently none	Currently none
Companion:	S. 5	HR. 2	S. 418	HR. 1270
Provisions:	Employers with 50 or more employees must provide eligible employees (worked 1 year or 1000 hours) with up to 12 weeks of leave within any 12 month period for the birth or adoption of a child, sickness of a child, a spouse, or a parent, or for personal medical conditions. The leave-taking employee would be able to return to the same or similar job and would be eligible for continued health insurance benefits. Also, would establish a commission to review the small business exemption.	Same as HR. 2	Provides eligible employees (14 months or 2000 hours) the opportunity to leave for up to 6 years to care for a newborn or newly adopted child or up to 2 years to care for a sick child, parent or spouse. All employees (no small business exception) would be required to provide a first right refusal to employees for purposes of reemployment at the same or similar position.	Same as HR. 1270 with two exemptions: 1) where circumstances have changed to make it unreasonable for the employer to rehire the employee on leave, or 2) where disciplinary action against the employee has been commenced.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 15, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

FROM: ANDY MITRUSI

SUBJECT: George Bush Campaign Remark on Parental Leave

Shown on June 15, Nightline

Vice-President George Bush, September 9, 1988:

"We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their job back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness. This is what I mean when I talk about a gentler nation."

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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September 21, 1988, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: OPINION EDITORIAL; PAGE A18

LENGTH: 484 words

HEADLINE: Mr. Bush on Family Leave

BODY:

GEORGE BUSH has deftly revived the mainly Democratic legislation he opposes to require businesses above a certain size to provide unpaid parental leave. Both House and Senate committees had approved such legislation, which then stalled. In the House, even many Democrats -- reluctant to offend business by voting for a "labor" bill that wasn't going anywhere -- wanted the Senate to act first, which the Senate seemed unlikely to do.

But two weeks ago, Mr. Bush, as part of a shift in positions that also saw him endorse an increase in the minimum wage, said: "We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness. . . . We've got to do something about that."

The purring Democrats propose to give him a chance. If not a bill, they'd be happy with a Republican vote against. Moderate Republicans in both houses, having successfully eased the terms of the bills, have joined in sponsoring them. With so many women in the work force, they no more than Mr. Bush's advisers want the party to be the naysayer on this issue.

The bills would require employers to allow parents (not just mothers, women's groups insisted) up to 10 weeks of leave every two years to care for children when born, adopted or seriously ill. The employer would be required to keep up any health insurance payments previously made and to guarantee the employee the same or a comparable job on her or his return. The House bill would also require leave to care for a sick parent, and both would require leave if the employee became ill.

The bills would cover only employees who had worked for a company for a year, and the Senate bill only companies with more than 20 employees, exempting nearly 90 percent of all businesses and more than half of all workers. The House would exempt even more. Many larger businesses already provide some family leave. Thus the cost of the legislation would be modest; not all women could even afford all the unpaid leave it would provide. The opponents mainly fear what might follow. They see it as part of a broader effort by Congress to require business to provide benefits the government cannot afford. A higher minimum wage would be one such; mandatory health insurance another; paid family leave someday a possible third.

The Republican platform thus called for steps to "encourage employers . . . to voluntarily address their employees' child care needs," and the Bush campaign is exploring tax incentives. But these would again cost money the government doesn't have. The problem of paid benefits can be left for later. Unpaid maternity leave is a modest requirement in a society as dependent as this on women's work. Small business is amply not to say excessively protected. The

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pending legislation may not be what Mr. Bush had in mind, but Congress should thank him and pass it anyway.

TYPE:
EDITORIAL

SUBJECT:
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES; BIRTH; FRINGE BENEFITS; MINIMUM WAGE; U.S. CONGRESS

NAMED-PERSONS:
GEORGE BUSH

Why Wait a Week to Kill?

The gun lobby overwhelms an attempt to restrict handguns

"Guns don't kill; people do." The simple logic of that refrain from the National Rifle Association would suggest that the nation's 2.8 million-member gun lobby would support any move to keep the wrong people from acquiring deadly weapons. Not so. The N.R.A. invariably goes to war against any attempt to limit the avalanche of handguns that are used to kill 21,000 Americans annually. Last week the gun lobby triumphed in its latest campaign, a \$4 million effort against a sensible congressional proposal to strengthen existing federal restrictions on the sale of handguns. The legislation would have required gun dealers to wait seven days before completing a sale, giving police time to determine whether a buyer is a convicted felon, an illegal alien, a drug abuser or a mental patient. Last week the House meekly bowed to N.R.A. pressure and killed the proposed waiting period by a vote of 228 to 182.

The legislation was inspired in part by Sarah Brady, wife of White House Press Secretary James Brady, who remains an invalid seven years after being hit by one of John Hinckley's bullets during the attempt to assassinate President Reagan. She has led a series of fights for tighter gun laws. The Brady amendment enjoyed broad support from gun-control opponents, including an unusual coalition of eleven national police organizations. Even the President praised the idea of a waiting period, citing how well it has worked in California. But with elections only six weeks away, many Congressmen who favored the proposal could not ignore the powerful N.R.A..

Florida Republican Congressman Bill McCollum Jr. offered a way out of the quandary. He proposed replacing the waiting-period requirement with a provision to give all 275,000 federally licensed gun dealers in the U.S. instant access to a nationwide list of convicted felons. Prospective gun buyers could be fingerprinted and the samples sent electronically to Washington for an instantaneous check against the FBI's millions of prints.

But there is no master list of convicted felons, no way to make such data quickly and widely available, and no speedy means of sending and matching fingerprints. A network to provide such information could take years to create and cost up to \$500 million; making it available to gun dealers could violate civil liberties. Beyond that, McCollum's system would not prevent gun sales to illegal aliens and the mentally ill.

Still, a majority of House members reached for this fig leaf. They voted to kill



Sarah Brady viewing confiscated weapons
The House eagerly grabbed a fig leaf.

the Brady amendment and replace it with McCollum's phantom plan. Even leading Democrats from states where the N.R.A. is strong, like House Majority Leader Tom Foley of Washington and House Whip Tony Coelho of California, supported the gun lobby. They contended, as has George Bush, who boasts that he is a life member of the N.R.A., that such restrictive legislation should be left to the states. But only 22 states require waiting periods. A gun buyer in a hurry need only cross a state line to speed his purchase.

That disparity caused Illinois Republican Henry Hyde, one of the House's most conservative legislators, to abandon his normal states' rights stance. "These guns are ambulatory," Hyde argued. "This is a national problem. If we made it a little more difficult for someone who is angry and wants to kill, maybe we would save some lives." Demonstrating how the issue cuts across both ideology and geography, Speaker Jim Wright of Texas joined Hyde in opposing the McCollum proposal, despite his home state's animus to gun control.

Their logic did not prevail against the N.R.A.'s cold cash. Collectively, the Congressmen who voted to doom the waiting period have received \$1,167,908 from the gun lobby in the past five years. The 70% of Americans who support tighter gun controls are rarely as passionate, vocal or generous.

—By Ed Magnuson.
Reported by Hays Gorey/Washington

Taking Time For Children

With Bush's blessing, workers may win parental leave

George Bush has discovered women: that they work (hence his proposal in July for a \$2.2 billion child-care tax credit) and, now, that they have children. Attempting to close what remains of his once cavernous gender gap, Bush last week came out in favor of unpaid leave for parents on the job. Parting company with the Reagan Administration and his running mate, Dan Quayle, Bush surprised a gathering of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women, saying, "We need to ensure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness."

Suddenly, parental-leave legislation that House Democrats were afraid to schedule because it was sure to fail was put on the calendar. The bill, first introduced by Democratic Congresswoman Pat Schroeder in 1986, would require employers of more than 50 people to allow men or women up to ten weeks of leave to care for a newborn, a seriously ill child or an ailing parent. When House Majority Whip Tony Coelho took a head count this week, he found so much new support among moderates that he has decided to schedule a vote as soon as possible.

Bush's endorsement came a week after a coalition of women's groups urged Michael Dukakis to put more effort into passing the bill. They also demanded that Bush drop his opposition to it. The Vice President is no doubt aware that 10 million more women than men will vote on Nov. 8. As National Women's Political Caucus Chair Irene Natividad warns, "No one can get elected without us, not to the Senate, not to the House and certainly not to the presidency."

Opponents of the bill, especially small-business owners, fear that temporary replacements would be costly and less productive. Says Texas Republican Congressman Dick Arme: "Parental leave is really nothing but a form of yuppie welfare financed by other American workers." In a letter to his colleagues, Arme describes the slippery benefits slope that might follow, warning that parents would soon be demanding paid parental leave, then health benefits, then mandated day-care services. "I shudder to think what would come beyond that," he writes. Sweden, perhaps.

If Congress gets to the measure this month, as planned, parental leave may become a reality. With the outlook for a Democratic \$2 billion-plus day-care plan increasingly bleak, the bill may be the only solid legislation women get this year for their 10 million-vote differential.

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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September 10, 1988, Saturday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 794 words

HEADLINE: Bush Hints at New Policies to Win Over Women, Conservative Democrats

BYLINE: By TERENCE HUNT, AP White House Correspondent

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD:
Bush's Week

BODY:

Following a political road map to battleground states, Republican George Bush is zigzagging across America on a made-for-television tour hinting at new policies to win support from women and conservative Democrats.

He concentrated last week on pivotal states _ California, Texas, Illinois and Pennsylvania _ in his quest for the 270 electoral votes needed to capture the White House, and made passes through Washington, Oregon and Kentucky.

After a weekend resting in Washington, Bush returns to the campaign trail Monday after announcing a national security advisory task force that will include former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and Brent Scowcroft, former White House national security adviser.

A surprise name on the list, according to campaign sources, will be Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was President Carter's national security adviser.

From Washington, Bush will head for some major industrial states on an itinerary that includes New Jersey, Illinois, Missouri, California and Ohio before he returns home by Friday.

"I mean to win this election," a newly energized Bush repeatedly declared against highly telegenic backgrounds. At each event, campaign aides carefully checked camera angles to give photographers and television cameramen the best shots.

With public opinion surveys showing him edging ahead of Democrat Michael Dukakis, Bush seemed more confident and at ease on the stump. He rejected charges that he was waging a negative campaign.

His campaign message was tailored to fit the place and the audience.

wooing conservative Democrats in East Texas, Bush was a hardliner on abortion, the death penalty, gun control and prison furloughs. He pounced on

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The Associated Press, September 10, 1988

Dukakis again for vetoing a bill aimed at requiring public school teachers to lead students in reciting the Pledge of Allegiance.

Attacking Dukakis as "a card-carrying member of the ACLU" and "a progressive, liberal Democrat," Bush said, "It's time to have a Texan in the White House, one who shares your values."

It was a different message that Bush brought to Rockford, Ill., for an address Friday before 200 members of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women.

Observing that women earn an average 70 cents for every dollar earned by men, Bush said, "There's only one amount that a woman should earn for every dollar earned by a man _ and that is one dollar."

In an apparent departure from the Reagan administration's policy of opposing parental job leaves, Bush declared, "We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness." He did not specify what he had in mind.

He reiterated in an interview that he opposes abortion except in cases of rape, incest or when the mother's life is threatened. Significantly, however, he said his opposition to abortion is "not a litmus test that everybody has to agree with." Most polls show a majority of Americans are pro-choice.

In another important election-year shift aimed at winning blue-collar votes, Bush also signaled he is ready to endorse an increase in the minimum wage, which has been frozen at \$3.35 an hour for seven years.

The Democrats already are moving an increase through Congress. A Senate bill proposes an increase to \$4.55 by 1991, while a House bill proposes \$5.05 by 1992.

"I'm talking to some of our experts and I'm going to do what's fair," Bush said. He said he would insist on some minimum-wage differential, perhaps a training wage or a sub-minimum wage for teen-agers.

Trying to duplicate President Reagan's success at gaining coverage on the TV evening news shows, Bush went to great lengths to appear in colorful settings for the cameras.

He stained his tie filleting a white sea bass at a wholesale fish company in San Diego, paraded with Mickey Mouse at Disneyland, Calif., confronted a jeering union crowd at a Portland, Ore., shipyard, watched the fiery destruction of nuclear-missile engines in Texas and appeared at the Marigold Festival at Pekin, Ill.

To keep the focus on themes of his choosing, Bush did not hold any news conferences with the campaign press corps last week. He ignored a reporter who used a traffic cone as a megaphone to shout questions.

Not everything went Bush's way, though.

In Louisville, Ky., Bush flubbed by telling an American Legion convention that Sept. 7 _ instead of Dec. 7 _ was the anniversary of the Japanese attack

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The Associated Press, September 10, 1988

on Pearl Harbor.

Another embarrassment was the disclosure that Jerome Brentar, co-chairman of the Bush '88 Coalition of American Nationalities, was a defender of former Ohio autoworker John Demjanjuk, who was convicted in Israel as a Nazi war criminal. Brentar resigned under fire.

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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September 13, 1988, Tuesday, PM cycle

SECTION: Business News

LENGTH: 558 words

HEADLINE: House Democrats Urge Bush to Support Family Leave Bill

BYLINE: By JILL LAWRENCE, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD:
Family Leave

BODY:

Political jockeying over family issues is taking a new turn in the wake of Republican presidential nominee George Bush's remark that women with newborns should not face loss of their jobs if they take a few weeks off.

House Democrats jumped on Bush's comment Monday and urged the vice president to support a family leave bill that both chambers are expected to vote on this month.

"We would welcome your support for and participation in the consideration of the bill so that it may be enacted into law this year," five legislators, backed by Democratic leaders, told Bush in a letter.

The Family and Medical Leave Act would require employers of more than 50 to grant unpaid, job-protected leaves to parents of newborn, newly adopted or seriously ill children; seriously ill employees; and workers who must care for sick parents.

Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis, a longtime supporter of the measure, reiterated his view in a letter Monday to Rep. Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., and Sen. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn., two of the bill's chief sponsors.

The Massachusetts governor said the bill would "bring us one step closer to a more humane workplace for all Americans."

In the letter to Bush, Schroeder and four other House members said the Reagan administration has opposed the family leave act since its introduction in 1985 by Schroeder and Rep. William Clay, D-Mo.

"However, the press has reported a willingness on your part to reverse this historically held position and endorse family and medical leave legislation," the lawmakers said.

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The Associated Press, September 13, 1988

Last Friday before a GOP women's group, Bush departed from his text and also from the administration's hard-line opposition to government-mandated family leaves.

"Look, we also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness," he told the Illinois Federation of Republican Women in Rockford, Ill.

Bush did not elaborate on the remark at the time, but his campaign is developing a more detailed proposal.

The letter to Bush was signed by Clay, Schroeder and Reps. Pat Williams, D-Mont.; Norman Mineta, D-Calif.; and Augustus Hawkins, D-Calif. Mineta is chairman of a leadership task force on the bill and Hawkins is chairman of the Education and Labor Committee.

Dukakis, in his letter to Schroeder and Dodd, left no doubt he agrees that job-protected leave should be available to men as well as women and for personal illness as well as a child's medical crisis.

"A father who needs a few weeks to care for his sick son, a worker who has cancer, or a mother who brings home a new baby - they should not have to sacrifice their jobs," Dukakis wrote.

The House bill, which counts 16 Republicans among its 151 co-sponsors, would require employers to make 10-week leaves available to parents of newborn or newly adopted children. Medical leaves of up to 15 weeks would have to be available. Businesses employing fewer than 50 would be exempt for at least three years.

The small business community is fighting the family leave bill on the grounds that it would create hardships for their companies and that the government shouldn't dictate employee benefits.

The General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, has estimated the bill would cost businesses less than \$200 million.

But two weeks ago, Mr. Bush, as part of a shift in positions that also saw him endorse an increase in the minimum wage, said: "We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness. . . . We've got to do something about that."

09/21/88 WASHINGTON POST

Bush last week came out in favor of unpaid leave for parents on the job. Parting company with the Reagan Administration and his running mate, Dan Quayle, Bush surprised a gathering of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women, saying, "We need to ensure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a seriousness illness."

09/26/88 TIME

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1988

October 8, 1988, Saturday, BC cycle

SECTION: General News

LENGTH: 1475 words

HEADLINE: Campaign '88 -- The Issues Going for the critical middle -- values vs. 'squeeze'

BYLINE: By DAVID E. ANDERSON

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD:

Family

BODY:

In the fight for the critical middle of the American electorate, Republican George Bush and Democrat Michael Dukakis have adopted differing strategies. Bush is appealing to voters' values and Dukakis their wallets.

For both candidates the strategies carry risk but also the potential for great electoral pickings as nearly half the voting population earns between \$20,000 and \$50,000 a year and Americans increasingly define themselves as middle class rather than working class or blue collar.

Bush, in a campaign that has stressed values -- especially his hammering on the 'pledge issue' -- hopes to appeal to the potent patriotism of the electorate, while Dukakis, stressing the economic anxieties of the same voters, has put forward a series of 'family issue' plans aimed at relieving what he has called the 'squeeze' on middle Americans.

In both campaigns, the family and social issues arena is a sharply different one from four years ago, when President Reagan, campaigning for re-election, hit hard on such issues as abortion, prayer in the schools, pornography and federal aid to religious and private schools.

This year, however, such issues -- even the emotional debate over abortion -- have moved more to the margins, replaced by questions of the federal role in day care, parental leave, college tuition, the cost of housing and health insurance.

And the Pledge.

From the beginning -- with his appearance before the GOP platform writing committee in New Orleans in early August -- Bush made clear that the election was 'about ideology,' and he swept out of New Orleans and into the fall campaign challenging Dukakis for vetoing legislation that would require public school teachers to lead their children in the Pledge of Allegiance each morning and for being 'a card-carrying member of the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union).'

For a month, Bush hammered at the theme, calling Dukakis's 'out of the mainstream' of America and associated with 'far left' organizations like

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Proprietary to the United Press International, October 8, 1988

the ACLU, and criticizing the Massachusetts governor for his 1977 veto of the pledge bill.

"I believe that our schoolchildren should have the right to say the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag of the United States," Bush said in an August appearance in Houston. "I don't know what his (Dukakis's) problem is with the Pledge of Allegiance."

Dukakis's "problem," the Democratic nominee responded, was that -- according to an advisory opinion from the Supreme Judicial Court in Massachusetts and the state attorney general -- the law was unconstitutional. The Massachusetts legislature, however, overrode Dukakis's veto and the law remains, albeit unenforced, on the state's statute book.

"I encourage children to say the Pledge of Allegiance," he said. "I say the Pledge of Allegiance. That's not the issue and the Republicans know it."

Dukakis went on to suggest that Bush was not committed to the rule of law.

"If the vice president is saying that if he were president and the United States Supreme Court said a law was unconstitutional and the attorney general said the law was unconstitutional, and he'd sign it anyway, then that raises very serious questions about what it means to take the oath of office," he said.

"The highest form of patriotism is a dedication and a commitment to the Constitution of the United States and the rule of law," he said.

As the pledge issue grew thin, Bush began a variation on the theme, this time pointing to Dukakis's membership in the ACLU, the 68-year-old civil liberties group that has defended people and groups ranging from Col. Oliver North and American Nazis who wanted to march in largely Jewish Skokie, Ill., to draft resisters during Vietnam and parents and children who on religious or conscience grounds oppose being forced to recite prayers in the public schools.

Bush's attacks appear to be playing well with the partisan crowds who attend his rallies but also have drawn some criticism of the GOP nominee for impugning Dukakis's patriotism and calling forth images of the smear tactics used by the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy, R-Wis., during his anti-communist crusade in the 1950s.

The heated debate over patriotism has tended to obscure some very real differences between the candidates in the bread-and-butter family issues.

Fueled in part by demographics and in part by economics, a range of family issues such as day care, parental leave, the cost of education, housing and health care have moved to near the top of voters economic concerns.

With the large Baby Boom generation -- those born between 1946 and 1960 -- now raising families, and with women making up a larger part of the electorate, both Dukakis and Bush are offering proposals to meet the demands of these voters.

Proprietary to the United Press International, October 8, 1988

One analysis of past voter participation, for example, noted that in the 1986 election, there were 6 million more women voters than men. Estimates for the 1988 turnout have predicted that 10 million to 11 million more women than men are likely to vote.

"No one can get elected without us, not to the Senate, not to the House and certainly not to the presidency," said Irene Natividad, chairwoman of the National Women's Political Caucus.

And surveys show that the family issues underscore differences between men and women voters.

Ethel Klein, in a "gender gap" survey for Business and Professional Women, found that while both men and women support the proposed \$2.5 billion child care program recently before Congress, the bill drew the support of 68 percent of the women and only 60 percent of the men.

Similarly, 66 percent of women but only 58 percent of men favor federal legislation that would require businesses to provide "family leave" -- periods of time away from work after the birth or adoption of a child or in the case of extended illness without loss of job rights.

Dukakis has tried to make these issues a central part of his appeal to the voters, stressing, in the face the budget deficit, "partnerships" between government and the private sector aimed at keeping down the cost of such programs.

"We need a president who cares when youngsters who have the energy and ambition and the skills to go to college are denied that opportunity because their parents are being victimized by Republican economic policies that leave the rich getting richer, the poor getting poorer and those in the middle -- and that means most of us -- being squeezed," Dukakis said in announcing a detailed plan to help families meet rising tuition costs.

Bush, for his part, recognizing such issues could be political trouble, has developed the theme of "a kinder, gentler America" and outlined a series of proposals generally making use of the tax codes - especially tax breaks -- as a means of paying for his versions of the same programs without huge additional outlays.

The difference between the two is exemplified in their approach to day care.

Dukakis has outlined a \$2.5 billion day care program, similar to the proposed Act for Better Child Care, in which federal funds would be used by the states to help parents pay for daycare outside the home, provide grants and loans to organizations to set up new centers and provide training funds for child-care providers.

Bush has proposed a \$2.2 billion a year "toddler tax credit" worth up to \$1,000 for each child under four in families with less than \$10,000 in income, with the income scale sliding upward to families with \$20,000 in income in the fourth year.

The proposal has been criticized by day care advocates such as the Children's Defense Fund as inadequate -- \$1,000 when childcare costs average about \$3,000

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a year -- failing to address the issue of quality and standards and the need for new centers.

Dukakis supports legislation requiring employers to permit workers to take unpaid "family leave" while Bush wants "to encourage private efforts to establish flexible standards ... to follow through on important family-related work" but does not believe government should impose the requirement on employers.

Dukakis has also unveiled a program that would require most employers to provide a minimum level of health insurance to extend coverage to the 37 million Americans currently without protection.

Bush has not yet outlined a health plan but has said "we will continue to increase government services as conditions permit" and in his first debate with Dukakis said he would allow people to "buy into" Medicaid, the program that provides health services to the poor.

One of the sharpest differences between the two candidates is on the emotional social issue of abortion, although neither has made it central to their campaigns. Bush backs efforts to make abortion illegal again and Dukakis supports the 1973 Supreme Court decision that made most abortions legal.

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HEADLINE: Campaign '88 -- The Issues Bush vs. Dukakis on family and social issues

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD:
Family-Issues

BODY:

Here is a comparison between Democrat Michael Dukakis and Republican George Bush on a series of family and social issues:

The Pledge of Allegiance:

Dukakis: Vetoes a 1977 Massachusetts law requiring teachers to lead pupils in reciting the pledge after advisory opinions said the law was unconstitutional and violated a 1943 Supreme Court ruling. The state legislature overrode Dukakis's veto and the bill remains law, although not enforced.

Bush: Has said he would have signed the law.

Abortion:

Dukakis: Supports the 1973 Supreme Court decision making abortion legal and opposes current restrictions that deny Medicaid coverage to poor women for abortions.

Bush: Opposes the 1973 decision and favors a constitutional amendment that would again make abortion illegal except in cases of rape and incest. Supports current restrictions on Medicaid coverage of the poor and would impose criminal penalties on doctors -- but not the women -- who perform abortions.

Day Care:

Dukakis: Supports a \$2.5 billion proposal to help fund state programs subsidize child care for low and middle income families. The program would require centers to meet federal health and safety standards, staff qualifications and child-teacher ratios.

Bush: Has proposed a \$1,000 "toddler tax credit" to assist families with \$10,000 or less income to pay for child care.

Family Leave:

Dukakis: Supports legislation that would require employers to allow workers to take unpaid leave without the threat of losing their job at the time of the birth or adoption of a child or in the event of long-term serious illness of a

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family member.

Bush: Wants to encourage the private sector to be more flexible in meeting workers family requirements but opposes laws making family leave a requirement.

Health Care:

Dukakis: Has called for passage of a universal health care program under which most employers would be required to provide a certain minimum level of health insurance coverage to all their workers.

Bush: Bush says he would allow the 37 million Americans currently without health coverage to "buy into Medicaid," the federal health program for the poor.

Death Penalty:

Dukakis: Opposes the death penalty.

Bush: Supports the death penalty has argued that he would like to see it extended to what he calls "kingpin" drug dealers and drug-related murderers.

Housing and the Homeless:

Dukakis: Said he supports a federal commitment to new construction and rehabilitation of low and moderate income housing but has not spelled out the specific details or cost of a program.

Bush: Said he supports full funding of the McKinney Act, which provides federal money for shelters for the homeless and a voucher program for the poor to pay for housing in the private market.

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It was a different message that Bush brought to Rockford, Ill., for an address Friday before 200 members of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women.

Observing that women earn an average 70 cents for every dollar earned by men, Bush said, "There's only one amount that a woman should earn for every dollar earned by a man — and that is one dollar."

In an apparent departure from the Reagan administration's policy of opposing parental job leaves, Bush declared, "We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness." He did not specify what he had in mind.

09/10/88 ASSOCIATED PRESS

"Look, we also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness," he told the Illinois Federation of Republican Women in Rockford, Ill.

09/13/88 ASSOCIATED PRESS

But two weeks ago, Mr. Bush, as part of a shift in positions that also saw him endorse an increase in the minimum wage, said: "We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness. . . . We've got to do something about that."

09/21/88 WASHINGTON POST

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