

# When Women Are the Enemy

Afghanistan's Taliban fighters have taken the war between the sexes to a new extreme

BY CARLA POWER

**T**HE AFGHAN CAPITAL of Kabul bristles with Taliban: young, bearded men in black turbans, high on the Koran and battle. Squads from the Ministry for the Propagation of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice roar around in red Toyota pickup trucks. Public beatings are banned, but some Talibs carry whips of leather or cable, ready to be used on anything they deem "un-Islamic"—a man's shaved cheek, a woman's bare ankle. When Kabul's citizens spot a Talib, women hunch in their burkas—the body-length veil the law requires them to wear—and men pluck on their beards, which must be at least fist length. In 1996, when the Taliban conquered southern Afghanistan, they were heralded as gentle young scholars ("Talib" means student) bringing peace to a war-weary population. Nearly two years after taking Kabul, they seem less a government than an occupying force.

I lived in Kabul as a child, before the Russians invaded in 1979, and recently returned with photographer Nina Berman at the invitation of the United Nations World Food Programme. I remember a city where parakeets sang in the bazaars and kids flew kites from the khaki hills. Today there's a black market in singing birds. They're banned, as are kites. The Taliban are fighting wars on two fronts. The first is in the north of Afghanistan, against rival militias. The second battle, equally fierce, rages against what they see as urban godlessness. One fight feeds the other: Talibs rule the city with a ferocity imported from the front lines. Paint your nails, blow a flute, clap to a beat, invite

a foreigner to tea, and you've broken the law. In turn, the Islamization drive, say Taliban leaders, bolsters troops' morale.

Women suffer the most from Taliban edicts, which ban them from working, except in medical professions. Girls over 8 can't attend formal schools. Taliban leaders say such laws merely reflect rural, conservative mores. And it's true that Afghanistan was never an equal-opportunity society. Before the Soviet invasion, just 1 percent of Afghan girls graduated from high school, and only about 150,000 women in a country of 20 million had jobs. By closing girls' schools, the Taliban say, they've stopped the rot of Soviet-era secular educations. Many Afghans think women working in offices

with men is a nasty Western import that will destroy society. Indeed, protecting women's honor is perhaps the most important plank in the militia's platform. "Our whole national Army and police are volunteers from conservative areas, where they believe sending girls to school is shameful," says Abdul Hakeem Mujahid, Afghanistan's ambassador to Pakistan. "How can we go against them?"

The whims of these young volunteers turn everyday life into drama. One May morning, according to women who were present, four Talibs burst into a Kabul midwifery class, convinced that there were men hiding somewhere. Having searched the cupboards, they ordered the students to



**Veil of tears:** A woman dares the Taliban by showing her face at a 'widows' bakery' in Kabul

take off their burkas. Then one woman spoke: "If there is a man in this room, you can take us all and hang us the way you hung President Najibullah"—the communist leader whom the Taliban killed in a Kabul square when they conquered the city. The students stripped off their burkas. No men. "The Taliban apologized—twice," recalls a student. "I will never, ever forget that day."

For all their fanaticism, the Taliban have brought order. In the civil war after the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, any thug with a tank or kalashnikov could rule a town or neighborhood. "For two decades there was complete anarchy," says Mujahid. "At least we have provided a normal life for the common

people." The rockets that killed about 50,000 Kabulis no longer fall as often. The rapes and banditry—commonplace during Najibullah's time—have stopped.

In their place has come a cultural struggle, marked by small, defiant acts of rebellion against the Taliban. Under their burkas, women wear banned lipstick, fish-net stockings and sandals strappy enough for Manhattan nightclubs. Edict No. 15 rules that tailors found measuring women or displaying catalogs will be imprisoned. But the owner of the Gina bridal shop shows me his designs for ruffled party dresses. His sketches are headless: the Taliban, in keeping with Islamic law, have banned drawings or photos of living things. Jamila and Ali (not their real names), a brother and sister, proudly show off the banned boombox they keep veiled in a sheet. "We can dream," says Jamila, swaying to the beat of Hindi movie music in their living room. Six days a week Jamila breaks another law. She works, sneaking into her office by the back door and counting on her burka to keep her anonymous. "We creep around like thieves," she says. Informal schools have sprung up in living rooms and at aid agencies.

The agencies themselves have had troubles with the Taliban. Three weeks ago all foreign-aid groups were ordered to move "for their security" to a derelict compound outside Kabul. When the agencies refused, all but the United Nations and the Red Cross were expelled. And last month the Taliban closed 10 home schools for girls, fearing that they were a front for communists or Christians. But there's nothing consistent about Taliban policy: earlier in the spring they had signed an agreement to work with the United Nations to open 11 girls' schools and allow more women to work in aid programs. Some foreign observers look on the bright side. "[The Taliban] truly want to improve relations," says Daniel Toole, who's on the U.N. team that's been negotiating with the Taliban on gender issues. "But they have a long way to go."

The new regime's moderates are eager to get started. The Foreign Ministry's deputy director of U.N. affairs waxes on the glories of Las Vegas—"an amazing place," he says, "but I lost \$10 in the machines at Caesars Palace." A portly civil servant with a Berkeley degree hopes that "perhaps we can meet again soon, when we can all breathe." Meanwhile, Afghan women don their burkas, and wait. ■

Rolling Stone Magazine  
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## THE EAGLE AND THE PRESIDENT

### DON HENLEY'S WALDEN WOODS INAUGURAL

"It's not every day that the president of the United States makes a funding pitch for you," jokes Don Henley, who was fortunate enough to have both Bill and Hillary Clinton on hand for the June 5th opening of the Thoreau Institute, in Massachusetts.

The institute, dedicated to the study of the nineteenth-century writer and philosopher Henry David Thoreau, is the latest milestone in Henley's crusade to save Thoreau's Walden Woods. "When Bill and Hillary first arrived," says Henley, "we went for a walk in



the woods and he asked me, 'What remains to be done here?' I said, 'Well, Mr. President, we need about \$15 million.' " Clinton did what he could. "They need more money here," he said in his speech. "Send a check. You'll be proud you did." —MATT ASHARE

## CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

### Special See No Evil Edition

The CW is getting really, really fired of the Monica investigation—even Lucianne Goldberg must be ready to move on to another topic. Take us out to the ballgame.

| Players     |   | Conventional Wisdom                                                                       |
|-------------|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hillary     | ↑ | Boffo magical-history tour, coolly deflects Shriver cot quip. U.S. senator in 2002?       |
| Secret Svc. | ↔ | Old: In the line of fire. New: Could I have some privacy, guys? But public on their side. |
| Marv        | ↑ | Back so soon? Toupeed panty-wearing "yes" man will offer biting commentary on cable.      |
| Sharpton    | ↓ | Old: Race-baiting demagogue. New: Maturing black statesman. Newest: See "Old."            |
| Romanovs    | ↑ | Old: Die like dogs, royal scum! New: We will bury you—royally.                            |
| Ataturk     | ↔ | Turkey's founder dissed by Banderas. But great press for new Gallipoli peace park.        |

# Women Blaze Trail in Business in Muslim Mauritania

By ELIZABETH FULLERTON  
Reuters

NOUAKCHOTT, Mauritania—In the capital of Muslim Mauritania, the sight of Arab women totting pocket computers and riding in expensive chauffeur-driven jeeps is no mirage.

A new generation of local businesswomen is blazing a trail in commerce in the poverty-stricken West African country, which is still struggling to eradicate the traditions of child brides and female circumcision.

Some 80 percent of small businesses are controlled by women and the government is eager to support them as part of its recently launched drive to accelerate growth and reduce poverty in the arid former French colony.

"There is a real political will to integrate women in the development of the country," said Aisha mint Ghaddour, head of promotion of women in the women's secretariat that has been set up to promote their rights and education. "The labor code stipulates that there is no difference between men and women."

But the path to real equality is still a thorny one.

"Promoting women is now a priority in all government programs, but the political will is not borne out in the application of the law," said Cheikhould Abdullah, a World Bank economist in Mauritania, voicing his personal view.

Women, who make up more than half of the country's 2.3 million population, have only recently started to have a political voice in

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—Aisha mint Ghaddour,  
official at Mauritania's women's secretariat

its fledgling democracy. Women were first elected to the national assembly in 1996. Three women are cabinet ministers.

"If women are less prominent in government administration and public enterprise, it's due in a large part to the fact that many had no access to education back in the

1960s and 1970s," Abdullah said.

In a culture where *sharia*—Islamic law—prevails, some 61 percent of women are illiterate. About 80 percent of boys compared with 67 percent of girls are in primary school, according to 1996 statistics.

"Many women are victims of injustice, often because they don't know their rights or because they are illiterate," Abdullah said. But things are changing slowly.

In an effort to expand women's role in society, the government has been campaigning avidly to encourage more girls to go to school instead of marrying early. A law is about to be introduced making 18 the legal minimum marriage age in Mauritania, which became independent in 1960.

"Women have made significant progress in the last few years," Abdullah said. "Although a lot remains to be done, they are now participating in economic life here."

A landmark in the quest by Mauritanian women for commercial independence was the 1993 creation of a union of 240 female entrepreneurs and traders to further working women's rights. Union President Lematt mint Megueya set it up after she was approached for help by a group of illiterate female traders being exploited by unscrupulous male proprietors.

The union decided to buy its own property, an unprecedented move in the patriarchal nation, and build a shopping center run entirely by women.

"My goal was to defend the material and moral interest of women running businesses and to eman-

cipate women traders," Megueya said.

Banks initially refused to lend the women the \$3.5 million they needed for the project. Only when they had scraped together more than half the money by selling jewelry and other valuables did they get a loan.

The Women's Market, which opened in January, stands as a testimony to their perseverance. The immaculately tiled mall, where shops display imported goods in an atmosphere of neon-lit calm, con-

trasts sharply with the run-down Central Market down the road where traders jostle for business, squeezed into overflowing stalls.

"I think the center has significantly changed attitudes toward women," said Megueya. The union's next goal is to set up a bank to provide loans to women.

Women have always been a force to be reckoned with in Mauritania, a country where Arab and black Africa meet. The divorce rate at 40 percent is high, but unlike neighboring Morocco and other Arab

countries there is no stigma attached to being divorced and many women remarry several times.

Mauritanian women wear colorful, flamboyant veils rather than the long chadors worn by many Muslim counterparts.

Ghaddour attributes this female strength to life in the desert. "In the tent everyone lived together and ate from the same plate and when men went away with the caravans to trade, women were left running things."

The difference now is that wom-

en are starting to play a small but expanding role in the decision-making of the country. But prejudices still exist in the economic domain, and critics say bitter rivalries among women's groups threaten to undermine their effectiveness as a political force.

"There are two main clans and the women are very jealous and won't work together," said one professional woman who did not wish to be identified. "The previous secretary of state for women only lasted two months because she took sides."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1998

## On 150th anniversary of convention, Celebrate '98 builds on the past.

By Jane Lampman  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

SENECA FALLS, N. Y.

**O**NE hundred fifty years ago today, 300 women and men gathered in a chapel in upstate New York and debated the rights of women.

By the close of this first women's rights convention, 68 women and 32 men had signed a Declaration of Sentiments that has since led to a transformation of American society.

At a time when women did not speak in public, much less vote, the document called for giving them the "elective franchise," overthrowing the "monopoly of the pulpit," and securing for women equal participation in the workplace.

Today, that declaration is now serving as a rallying call for the women who want to finish what the pioneers of 1848 began and take that message worldwide in a global effort to achieve equal rights for women. During the past four days, some 15,000 Americans — mainly women but some men — traveled here to celebrate what has been accomplished since 1848 and to recommit themselves to completing the task in the next millennium.

"We've come to honor the past and to imagine the future," said first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who roused an enthusiastic crowd at the sunbaked opening ceremonies of Celebrate '98 Thursday. "Our work is never finished, as long as there are gaps between our ideals and reality."



Among those who made it to Seneca Falls were many young women for whom even the women's rights movement of the 1970s is something out of their history books.

"I've been planning to come here for over a year," said Mindy Lais, a senior at Ithaca College. She came here to the sign the new Declaration of Sentiments for 1998 — a document forged by more than 50 women leaders from organizations representing millions of women. "This affects women in every aspect of our lives."

Ms. Lais, who was joined by her mother, Connie, a teacher in Johnstown, N.Y., is president of a campus group called Students Against Violence Against Women, an issue mentioned in both the 1848 and 1998 declarations.

Among other things, the document envisions:

- Equal participation of women in politics, corporations, and other institutions.
- Equal pay for work of equal value.
- Environments free of violence and sexual harassment.
- Global recognition of women's rights as human rights.
- Help for women in mastering emerging technologies.
- An adequate safety net for those unable to work.
- Policies that make accommodations for caregivers.

### The equal pay issue

Pay equity and quality child care served as rallying points for leaders and audience members alike. Betty Friedan, mother of

## 'Woman's Hour'

**T**he first women's rights convention opened July 19, 1848, in Seneca Falls, N.Y. To mark this important anniversary, the Monitor is running a five-part series on the status of women.

The Monitor owes its existence to a women's rights pioneer. At a time when women in the US lacked property and voting rights, Mary Baker Eddy started a church and launched this newspaper.

Her view of the issue: "In natural law and in religion the right of woman to fill the highest measure of enlightened understanding and the highest places in government, is inalienable.... This is woman's hour, with all its sweet amenities and its moral and religious reforms."

# Women Set New Agenda for the 21st Century

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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**LIGHTING THE WAY:** Women participate in a candlelight procession at Celebrate '98 in Seneca Falls, N.Y. The event honors the 150th anniversary of the first women's rights convention, held here in 1848.

the women's movement of the 1960s and '70s, said in a Friday speech. "We can celebrate and declare victory," but "what's needed now is a national child-care program. We are one of the few industrialized nations without one." She said disparity in earnings would disappear once child care was readily available.

Ms. Friedan charmed the crowd with her reminiscences of "what fun it was" to carry on the struggle in the early years. "Our daughters and granddaughters are missing the fun of being part of a movement," she chided gently. "too busy being the doctors and lawyers ... and having no time to go to meetings" and plan for the future.

Still, some teenagers journeyed all the way to Seneca Falls to be sure girls' voices were heard. Girls International Forum of Duluth, Minn., brought 16 girls from 13 US states to write a Girls' Declaration of Sentiments for the 21st century.

After discussing the views gathered in surveys of girls in their communities, they described conditions girls face in areas such as jobs, sports, and education. And they recommended solutions. (Starting July 22, their declaration can be found at [www.newmoon.org](http://www.newmoon.org).)

Women clergy and religious leaders from the US, Canada,

and Britain held several sessions here to consider the challenges women face following the influx of their numbers into the clergy beginning in the 1970s.

About two-thirds of Christian churches ordain women, while 3 of 4 Jewish movements ordain rabbis. The Roman Catholic and Mormon Churches remain

ginia Harris, chairman of the board of directors of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, said traditional stereotypes are breaking down. People are more aware of the motherhood qualities of God, and this contributes to healing in church services, she said.

#### **Difficulties remain**

The discussion, however, also revealed that women clergy have run into difficulties — resistance and discrimination, harassment, long delays in appointments, placements in remote parishes.

"Stories I hear feature the price women are paying rather than the difference they are making," says Melanie May, dean of the Program in the Study of Women and Gender in Church and Society at Colgate-Rochester Divinity School in New York.

Women have paid a price from the beginning. The reformers at the first women's rights convention in 1848 drew ridicule on many fronts. Their demands, one newspaper said at the time, would bring "a monstrous injury to all mankind."

Today their voices have become part of an effort to revitalize the women's movement and to link women around the world who are developing stronger voices in pursuit of freedoms in their own countries.



**HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON:** The first lady at Celebrate '98.

closed, and the Southern Baptists are divided. While meeting here, the International Association of Women Ministers sent a letter to the pope asking that he reconsider the ordination stand.

Women in religious leadership are also making a difference. In the discussion on the topic, Vir-

**Q** *Washington*  
UESTION: Where would Thomas Edison, inventor of the phonograph, the movie camera and the light bulb, set up shop if the founder of General Electric were brought back to life?

According to Jack Welch, the corporation's CEO: "He'd be in Silicon Valley, hanging around the Internet."

To her credit, Hillary Rodham Clinton spent last week bringing the national media spotlight to Edison's workshop in Orange, N.J.

Her four-day bus tour featured this and other treasures of American history, from the tattered Star-Spangled Banner at the Smithsonian to the site of the

*Christopher Matthews, chief of The Examiner's Washington bureau, is host of "Hardball" on MSNBC and CNBC cable channels.*

first suffragist rally at Seneca Falls in upstate New York.

The trip had a Reaganesque quality not seen since the Gipper's glory days of the 1980s. Whatever its impact on historical preservation, it was a masterful bit of politics.

It helped the country. It helped her.

The visit to Fort McHenry, whose defense in the War of 1812 inspired the national anthem, displayed a reverence for history so grossly absent in 1995 and 1996, years in which the Clintons abused their White House stewardship by converting the Executive Mansion into a catering

house and the Lincoln Bedroom into a Motel Six for cash-fat campaign contributors.

Her focus on the overlooked task of historic preservation showed an awareness of her own position as first lady that was missing in action from her commander-in-chief role in the health care debacle of 1993 and 1994.

Can anyone argue with a late 20th century project to repair and restore the Star Spangled Banner? To preserve Gen. George Washing-

ton's Revolutionary War headquarters? Or the workshop once used by that prolific genius, Thomas Alva Edison?

"What we wanted to do was to give Americans a chance to both honor the past and imagine the future," Clinton explained about her tour. "And the best way I know of to honor the past is to really seek out places that are important to American history . . . saving what has made us the great country that we are today."



CHRISTOPHER MATTHEWS

CHRISTOPHER MATTHEWS

## Hillary Clinton, docent to history

She is displaying, too, the tricky craft of meeting a high public trust that also carries constitutional limits.

The spouse of an American president holds, ironically, a position similar to that of a member of the British Royal Family. She can educate, celebrate, admonish. She can point to what is going well and not going well in the country. But she cannot set policy. She cannot set up grand national programs, such as health care.

Hillary Rodham Clinton learned this the hard way, just as her husband discovered too late the public's reverence toward the Lincoln Bedroom and, perhaps, the White House itself.

But Hillary Clinton has benefited more. Had she succeeded with her health scheme in 1994, the HMOs of the country would now carry her brand name. All the passions arrayed in this November election against the HMOs would have been blamed on her.

San Francisco Examiner  
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## National Perspective

## CULTURE

## Benefactors Are Now Paying the Price for Historic Preservation

The private sector is taking a greater role in deciding what pieces of Americana will remain tangible over time.

By GERALDINE BAUM  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—In America, what comes next has always seemed more important than the past, perhaps not surprising in a people who came here to escape their history. But in the last half of the century, the country has come up with a vastly democratic list of physical emblems of American history that it wants to preserve.

The problem, as no less than First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton raised last week, is that somebody has to pay. And though historic preservation is popular—in fact, a grass-roots movement across the nation—the cause still lacks financial wherewithal.

Year after year, Congress pares down the budgets that support historic preservation, even as the list of projects grows exponentially. The National Park Service alone has a list of \$1 billion in work it needs to do to preserve or improve the sites it controls. And then there are the 80,000 entries, including 2,025 in California, on the National Register of Historic Places that may have plaques honoring their importance but little financial heft to keep them going.

As a result, preservationists have come to rely on the largess of such corporate benefactors as designer Ralph Lauren (\$13 million to repair the Star-Spangled Banner that inspired Francis Scott Key) and discount merchandiser Target (\$6 million to refurbish the Washington Monument and historic U.S. sculptures). Thus, foundations and corporations with an impulse to do good and an instinct for good marketing are taking a large role in determining what pieces of American history will remain tangible over time.

But still there is not enough money to go around.

UCLA professor Thomas Hines, an expert on historic preservation, was shocked recently to find a woefully out-of-date orientation film at Jamestown, Va., site of the first permanent colonial settlement in North America. When he contacted a park ranger to complain, she explained that for years park budgeteers have begged unsuccessfully for funds to

redo the film.

"I'm not always insistent on political correctness," Hines said, "but this was so embarrassing. It was racist. It was as if there were no women in Jamestown."

Hines was so excited when he saw the first lady on television last week discussing the importance of saving American treasures in an effort to drum up private support that he wrote her a note, commending her effort and offering help in California.

"There's not enough attention to defining history," Hines said. "Yes, people want to save an old home or church in their neighborhood. Or the flag. . . . But people in general don't think about it."

Or they don't seem to think about paying for it. In fact, it is now all the rage to reclaim everything old, from the silenced stories of early Americans and marginal rural structures to the not-so-old buildings of the 1960s and 1970s such as Los Angeles' cement Cinerama Dome.

"Often California or Southern California gets overlooked by those who are concerned with preservation nationally because of the way history is defined, usually with a 50-year cutoff," said Ken Bernstein of the Los Angeles Conservancy.

"But here we're not talking about Civil War battlegrounds or grand old homes of the 18th century. Here in California, history can be defined by what is unique and important for our architectural and cultural heritage."

And that can be as new as an original McDonald's in Downey or a crumbling synagogue in Boyle Heights.

Mrs. Clinton decided last year that, as part of the millennium celebrations, she would use her bully pulpit to highlight the need to save an array of remnants of America's heritage. Last week, she visited several East Coast sites—including Thomas Edison's laboratory in New Jersey that is filled with rotting papers—where she announced a \$5-million restoration grant from the General Electric Co.

She is planning on making at least one similar trip each summer, according to her aides.

To illustrate the range of needs for the White House, this spring the National Trust for Historic Preservation put together a list of 101 places, artifacts and documents at risk unless somebody, somewhere comes up with as much as



Associated Press

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton visits Harriet Tubman House in Auburn, N.Y., as part of her campaign to raise awareness and funds for national treasures.

\$408 million to save them from deterioration or destruction.

On that hot list from Los Angeles are St. Vibiana's Cathedral, the oldest building in the city, and the Frank Lloyd Wright house in the Hollywood Hills, once owned by a prominent arts family and now owned by USC. The trust and the Park Service are planning to narrow the list to 20 or 30 priorities in the next few weeks and then bring them to the attention of potential funders.

"In a perfect world maybe you wouldn't need private support, but this is not a perfect world," said Richard Moe, president of the trust. "But our best and maybe our only hope is to get communities and private donors involved."

President Clinton has announced that he will ask Congress for a "millennium fund" of \$50 million in both the 1999 and 2000 fiscal budgets to address these and other Park Service needs. But clearly \$100 million, which may or may not be cleared by Congress, is a drop in the proverbial bucket.

"We do not have the preservation ethic in America that older countries have that

value their heritage," said Moe, co-chairman of "Save America's Treasures" project with Mrs. Clinton.

"But," he added, "we're getting a whole lot better."

Over the last century, France has become the global model of a state committed to saving its treasures and being 100% financially responsible for the effort, said Michael Kammen, a Cornell University professor of American culture and history who is one of Mrs. Clinton's preservationist advisors. (Early on, the French government was so devoted to preservation that every year it sent emissaries to buy artists' work—even before the Impressionists were popular—for provincial museums so Paris would not be the country's only cultural center.)

In England, a national historic trust was created in 1895. It became the prototype for America's trust, founded in 1949 with the imprimatur of government but little power or money. The limited federal funds that the trust was receiving have been slashed by Congress—in 1995 the trust lost half its roughly \$7-million budget—during the recent cultural

wars—to the point that Moe negotiated to wean the trust from government funds altogether as of this year.

"Occasionally, the [19th century] ladies mobilized some public support, like the women of South Carolina to save George Washington's home at Mt. Vernon, but rarely has government given more than rhetorical support" to historical preservation, Kammen said.

The thinking on what should be saved has evolved since the great immigrant influx at the turn of this century, he explained, but the spectrum broadened after World War II when Americans became manic collectors of everything American from piggy banks to beer cans. (Kammen notes that a new "history" museum of some kind opens almost weekly in the United States, bringing such a bonanza of tourist dollars to communities that six cities bid recently for a new tow truck museum. It opened in April 1997 in Chattanooga, Tenn.)

The struggle to differentiate between what is simply old or kitsch or historic has become increasingly evident in the 1,500 new entries that every year get the stamp of approval from the National Register. The register has broadened its criteria since it was created as part of the Interior Department by the 1966 Historic Preservation Act.

"We're just now starting to look at 1950s suburbs to join the register, and that was such a big boom time that the listing is sure to grow from that influence in the coming years," said Paul Lusignan, a National Register historian.

So between suburbs on the East Coast and rock formations on the Mexican border, mile markers in Pasadena and a strip of 1920s movie houses in downtown Los Angeles—to name a few California examples—there seems to be no end to what Americans value in their history.

If Mrs. Clinton encounters opposition to her campaign to find support for this collection of Americana, it could come from traditional historians, developers or property-rights advocates, according to the experts. But surely she is more likely to find cheerleaders in her American-as-apple-pie quest.

"By starting the ball rolling and finding seed money in corporate entities, Mrs. Clinton is going to run into a whole lot of Americans interested—and thrilled—with her project," said Lusignan. "At least let's hope so."

# I, Publius

## Hillary's the one

By Alan S. Chartock  
Special to The Eagle

So why did Hillary come to the Berkshires? It could be her commitment to preserving America's cultural jewels. That is good enough for me. But in politics, a lot of planning and thinking goes into even the most trivial of activities of a president or his first lady. Let's try to put ourselves inside the heads of the junior geniuses in the basement dungeons of the White House, who thought all of this through. Remember, in politics, winning is "everything."

First, there is the obvious. Republicans have a huge gender gap and the Democrats know it. Everyone from Sen. Al D'Amato to Trent Lott is trying to equal things out. Among women, and many men like me, Hillary Clinton now holds heroine status. Her reception around the country is extraordinary.

It wasn't always so. There was a time when she was painted by her critics as an assertive woman grasping for power who should have been at home baking cookies. When she and Ira Magaziner concocted a complicated and convoluted health care program, people were infuriated. She had, of course, taken on the sacrosanct medical establishment. When Hillary went to The Mount, the former estate of Edith Wharton who was the first woman to win the Pulitzer Prize for literature, the point was made.

Americans have undergone a sea change about Hillary Clinton. The person who created this change, of course, is the artful dodger, Kenneth Starr, the special prosecutor — or is that special persecutor? Ask yourself whether you could have acquitted yourself the way Hillary has. Can you imagine the trauma of that politically motivated, right-wing Republican pulling you before a grand jury several times to endure innuendo and unsubstantiated rumors? Can you imagine walking out of the hearing room and showing yourself to be uncomplaining and centered? Can you imagine having the guts to go on the "Today Show" before all of America and being the first one to denounce Starr for what he is, a partisan Republican, part of right-wing plot to bring this president down?

Then, too, there is the relationship with the president that has, to put it mildly, its own unique elements. Many would have long ago folded their tents and run into the forest to hide. Not Hillary. She has been quiet, determined and has stood her ground. She has not allowed anyone else to determine the parameters of her marriage and, in so doing, she has sent a lesson for all Americans. For every snoop who would tell tales about any of us and our mates she has said, by example, "Face them down, be true to yourself, don't let anyone shame you or your children or your husband."

For once, Americans haven't bought into the big lie. The Republicans are beside themselves. They can't figure out what to do. Long ago, they thought they had Bill and Hillary Clinton, first in Whitewater and now in their cheap attempt to make the unique attributes of two people's private business into a legal affair. Trent Lott, the Republican Senate Majority Leader, is even stooping to the lowest partisan level by implying that Clinton is a traitor who turns American secrets over to the Chinese, even though he knows that Republicans have been initiating similar deals with China for years.

This nonsense hasn't worked up to now and it isn't going to. The bad guys have cooked their own geese and the game is over. They are just making things worse for themselves. All we feel is revulsion and anger toward the bullies and admiration for people like Hillary Rodham Clinton who can stand up to them. After all, when she stands up to them for herself, she is standing up on behalf of all of us.

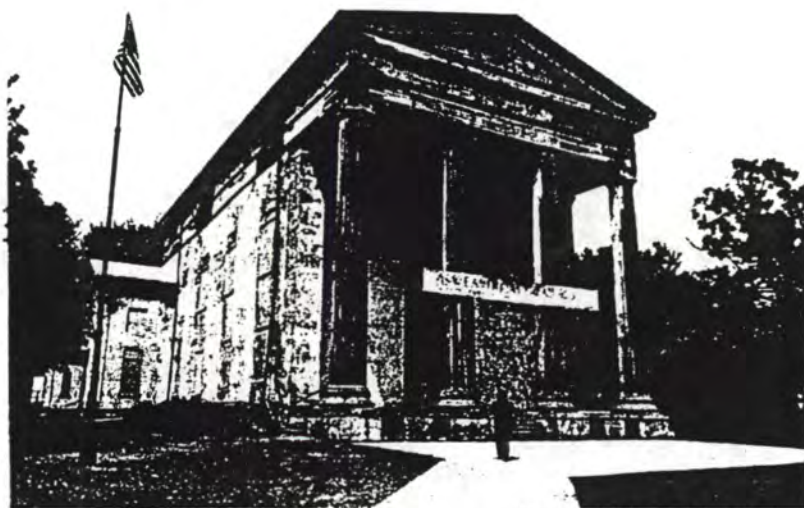
It really isn't all that surprising that there was a lot of pent-up energy and admiration for this gutsy and tough first lady. The more the right wing beats up on Hillary, the more they will exacerbate the gender imbalance so well deserved. They always foul up, even in their own party. Consider the nutsy crowd who beat up on Jane Swift for daring to be pregnant and run for political office at the same time. Hello-ooooooooo?!?! Welcome to the new millennium, folks. That's why so many people were out there cheering for Hillary the other day and that's why I'm cheering for her now. Go girl, go!

Alan Chartock is chairman and executive director of WAMC public radio in Albany, N.Y., and a SUNY professor of political science and communications, but makes his home in Great Barrington.

The Berkshire Eagle  
July 17, 1998

# What Price Preservation?

DESIGN NOTEBOOK



Philip Greenberg for The New York Times

**GOD IN THE DETAILS** Who will save the Dutch Reformed Church?

## Partners In Saving A Legacy

By PATRICIA LEIGH BROWN

NEWBURGH, N.Y.  
**T**HERE were no suntanned, silver-haired corporate angels on hand on July 14, when Hillary Rodham Clinton visited the Dutch Reformed Church here to talk about historic preservation. Her backdrop was the derelict Greek revival temple by Alexander Jackson Davis, completed in 1835, once an uplifting symbol of the city's material progress and now an evocative, camera-ready testament to urban decay.

"What does it mean to save a building?" Mrs. Clinton mused before a large crowd assembled in the sweltering heat. "When a town like Newburgh is able to revitalize its history, you become a beacon of economic development and tourism."

By saving landmarks and living with them daily, "you begin to tell yourselves and your children the story of Newburgh," she observed.

"That makes America more real."

The day before, the President and the First Lady shared the dais at the National Museum of American History with Ralph Lauren, announcing with much hoopla the designer's \$10 million rescue of the flag that inspired "The Star-Spangled Banner," (presumably this flag is off-limits for Mr. Lauren as a style phenomenon).

The dueling images — Mr. Lauren as patriotic savior and a vacant city church without a patron — underscored the paradox of Mrs. Clinton's "Save America's Treasures" tour: For every million-dollar pledge by a Ralph Lauren or G.E. to rescue a

—  
**America is built of  
the stones of places  
like Newburgh.**  
—

star, there were humbler places like the Dutch Reformed Church or the Colonial Theater in Pittsfield, Mass., waiting for deliverance. Who should pay to preserve them?

The First Lady made a pledge herself, donating royalties from a coming book of letters to the First Pets to the National Park Founda-

*Continued on Page 9*

NE C1  
THURSDAY, JULY 23, 1998

# House&Home

The New York Times

# Partners in Saving A Legacy in Stone

Continued From Page 1, This Section

son. (The nonprofit foundation announced this week that the Coca-Cola Foundation was donating \$1.5 million to pay for hands-on discovery centers at nine national parks.)

In an interview, Mrs. Clinton said that government — Federal, state and local — should bear a large part of the financial burden for historical preservation, supplemented by public-private partnerships. "Government has the primary obligation," she said. "But there are also many people with resources who might not have thought about the contribution they could make."

Although state and local governments made forays into preservation at least as early as 1816, when Independence Hall in Philadelphia was purchased and restored, ever since the Mount Vernon Ladies Association rescued George Washington's mansion and grounds, preservation in the United States has relied on contributions and philanthropy.

The most notable Federal exception, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, created the National Register of Historic Places, which now has nearly 80,000 entries, and a program of matching grants for their preservation.

But practically from the beginning, preservationists have had to be skillful quilters, piecing together funds from public and private sources. The private role in public monuments was perhaps most strikingly illustrated by Lee Iacocca's successful campaign to restore the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island, which raised more than \$400 million.

A leader in public preservation has been the National Trust for Historic Preservation, which has received money from Congress since 1966, but will lose its financing next year. Three years ago, after Congress threatened to pull the plug, the National Trust negotiated a three-year, \$7 million phase-out and has since been building a war chest to privatize itself. "We're comfortable with it," its president, Richard Moe, said. "The funding fight became a pre-occupying thing that distracted us from the issues. We want to be more effective and entrepreneurial."

At the national parks, the repair backlog for historic buildings is more than \$1 billion. Three years ago, an experimental program began

that returned park entrance fees to the parks; it will generate about \$400 million in the next several years, said Edward Norton, vice president for law and public policy for the preservation trust.

The House Appropriations Committee is considering a bill to increase funds for rehabilitating historic buildings in the national parks and to stabilize the deteriorating south side of Ellis Island.

"We're definitely making progress," Mr. Norton said.

But in places like Newburgh, when the tour bus pulls out and the bunting is folded, financing will probably depend, as it always has, on the grit of a determined few. "Preservation is the most underrated catalyst for urban rebirth nationwide," said Roberta Brandes Gratz, author of "Cities Back From the Edge: New Life for Downtown" (John Wiley & Sons, 1998). "The most desirable neighborhoods from Atlanta to Seattle are historic districts. But preservation hasn't gained the star status that big stadium and casino projects have because it happens in small increments."

The Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, for example, a model of creative financing, has spent three and a half decades cobbling together reinvestment in formerly low-income, redlined historic districts, neighborhoods that Jane Jacobs once compared to "a working man's Georgetown."

The Pittsburgh foundation, said its president, Arthur P. Ziegler Jr., has set up a partnership with 11 local banks to provide low-interest loans to community-development corporations for low- and moderate-income housing and small businesses in the historic district. The foundation also provides architectural assistance. It set up a \$25 million endowment by developing (and then selling) Station Square, a historic railroad station, now housing a hotel, restaurants and other businesses. The project, developed over 20 years, began with seed money from the Allegheny Foundation, heirs to the Mellon fortune.

On a smaller scale, Newburgh is beginning to use the same financing



Philip Greenberg for The New York Times

**OLD IS NEW** In Newburgh, abandoned 1850's row houses will live again

tools. On Lander Street, a block long plagued by drugs and abandonment and which Mrs. Clinton visited, Arnold Moss, a New York developer, is rebuilding 33 vacated 1850's row houses. Working with the Enterprise Foundation and Rural Opportunities, a nonprofit organization that manages affordable housing, he is knitting together private financing (about 80 percent of the \$9.5 million needed), state, city and Federal funds and Federal tax credits for low-income housing and historic buildings.

The row houses are being designed as two-family duplexes, which will rent for \$500 to \$750 a month. The sight of old buildings beginning to look new gladdens Margie Peacock, who has lived on the block for 15 years. "It's not a bad place to live," she said, sitting on her porch, where a sign that says SANTA IS ALWAYS WELCOME HERE hangs on her door-knob. "I love to see it kept up."

**T**HE monumental Dutch Reformed Church, modeled on an Acropolis temple and considered one of the finest Greek revival churches in America, may have a tougher go. Davis, the 19th-century architect, wrote that the design, with its giant Ionic columns and 30-foot-high entrance door, was meant to be "indicative of the refined taste, discrimination and sense of classical beauty of the inhabitants of Newburgh." But the church lost its congregation in 1964 and has been vacant since. "It is one of the noblest buildings in the city," said J. Winthrop Aldrich, New York's Deputy Commissioner for historic preservation. "But it looks so derelict today, it's hard to imagine

what it was or might be."

The preservation of religious properties is "one of the most difficult issues we face," said Peg Breer, president of the New York Landmarks Conservancy, a nonprofit organization based in Manhattan which has provided grants and loans to about 500 religious properties statewide. "Cities seldom know what to do with them or how to raise money for them," she added. "Churches don't just affect the people who go there. They are the true sense of landmarks: they mark the land, anchor the community."

Right now, the church, which is owned by the city, is in limbo, Mayor Audrey Carey said. Volunteers from the Newburgh Center for the Arts have replaced the roof and tend the grounds. "We'd like to see it become an arts center, or something compatible with community use," Mayor Carey said.

While this church awaits salvation, Target Stores recently bought a six-page insert in Time magazine proudly hailing its role in helping restore the Washington Monument (Target gave \$2.5 million.) Some preservationists worry about the possible next step: corporate ads at the Olympics, and logos flying from national landmarks.

On this potentially slippery slope, "it's a question of maintaining a balance," said Tony Wood, a New York City preservationist and founder of the New York Preservation Archives, a nonprofit group. "Our goal is to keep what's been here for 100 years standing," he said. "If you have to choose between corporate sponsorship and losing history, you be a fool not to take the check."

## Worth Preserving

THE first lady's recent tour of East Coast historical sites highlighted the wealth of such sites, and the problems of protecting them.

Mrs. Clinton spent some time at the Edison National Historic Site in West Orange, N.J. It houses prototype inventions, lab notes, and early recordings made by America's preeminent technological genius. Thomas Edison's work changed everyone's life, but the working record of his life, stashed in boxes and corners, has never received the care it deserves.

Not that the National Park Service, which administers the site, wouldn't like to do the job right. But its backlog of needed repairs to historical sites and other buildings is \$1.2 billion. Its prospective budget allows \$50 million for historic preservation.

At Mrs. Clinton's urging, General Electric, appropriately, is donating \$5

million to restore one building and protect the papers at the Edison labs.

Other corporations and individuals might consider what they can do to safeguard the country's historical legacy. This includes those of humbler means, too. The first lady made a point of noting that local people, even children with their pennies, can help preserve monuments in towns and cities. Many grandparents remember how their pennies helped restore the frigate "Old Ironsides," a historic treasure threatened with destruction in the early 1930s until saved by a national fund-raising drive.

Why preserve artifacts of the past? Two reasons come to mind: (1) to remind us where we've been and the progress that's been made and (2) to remind us that fundamental issues and aspirations, from liberty to invention, are constants.

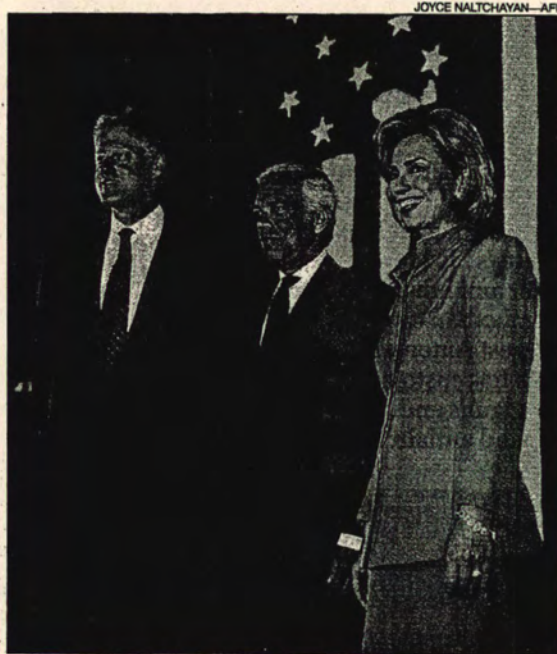


## HISTORY

### Old glory

**O**ne hundred and fifty years ago, Elizabeth Cady Stanton led early feminists to Seneca Falls, N.Y., for the first Woman's Rights Convention. Hillary Rodham Clinton journeyed there last week, stopping at imperiled historic sites along the way. The first lady's 12-site, four-state tour launched a joint campaign of the White House and the National Trust for Historic Preservation to "honor the past and imagine the future," she says.

Corporate sponsors are joining the cause. Ralph Lauren's Polo, which makes apparel sporting Old Glory, donated \$13 million to preserve the star-spangled banner that inspired Francis Scott Key's national anthem. The flag is housed at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History. And GE, the descendant of Thomas Edison's Electric Light Co., also chipped in \$5 million to renovate the



Star-spangled: the president, Lauren, and first lady

inventor's New Jersey laboratory.

The first lady wrapped up her trip at the Seneca Falls fete commemorating great advances for American women.

—Stacy Atlas

# Arts & Leisure



Stephen Kroninger

Sunday, July 26, 1998

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

**O**N most nights when opera is the attraction at the Kennedy Center, the Presidential box is either empty or filled by low-level staff members or their friends. The faces everyone recognizes turn out mainly for musicals.

Not many senators or representatives show up, either, for Washington's choice concerts and recitals or at big exhibitions at the National Gallery, the Phillips Collection and the Corcoran Gallery, or even at most plays at the city's award-winning Arena Stage. High culture is about as popular a diversion in official Washington as stock-car racing in the Ivy League.

On the other hand, successive owners of the Washington Redskins — George Preston Marshall, Edward

Bennett Williams, Jack Kent Cooke and now his son, John Kent Cooke — have never had any trouble filling their box on autumn Sunday afternoons with politicians, high-voltage lawyers and media luminaries.

During working hours, some of the pols plot ways to cut Federal spending on the arts and to keep the remaining dollars — pathetically few by the standards of most advanced countries — out of the hands of artists whose work is deemed offensive to “general standards of decency and respect for the diverse trends and values of the American public,” to quote the legislative formulation whose constitutionality was upheld by the Supreme Court last month.

The artists, understandably, feel beleaguered. When William Bolcom's new Sixth Symphony, with a movement aggressively titled “Marche II Contre les Philistins,” was given its premiere in Washington earlier this year by the National Symphony Orchestra, the composer said in a program note that it was a protest against “the increasingly hostile climate for the arts in our current society.”

There are exceptions, of course. Senator Daniel

## Philistines aren't at the gates of Washington; they're inside them, in charge. Why is that?

Patrick Moynihan of New York and Representative Sidney Yates of Illinois champion the arts even in today's chilly climate. In the not yet distant past, Justice Abe Fortas of the Supreme Court was a devotee of classical music, not only as a listener but as a performer. A violinist, he played chamber music for guests at home.

But not since 1968, when Eugene J. McCarthy flew to Chicago for the doomed Democratic National Convention with the poet Robert Lowell and the novelist William Styron on his private plane, has a high-profile

American politician, at least in my memory, so publicly associated himself with symbols of Art.

It is a Republican-controlled Congress that has most visibly and most recently been trying “to drive a stake into the heart of Federal funding for the arts,” as the departing chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, Jane Alexander, complained when she left the capital recently to return to acting.

But today as yesterday and the day before, with Republicans as well as Democrats in control of the White House, with Democratic as well as Republican majorities on Capitol Hill, the arts and intellectual activity in general are often bashed and seldom boosted by political Washington, left or right.

Bill Clinton, though no worse than the run of American Presidents, is not much better, and Presidents set the tone in this as in so many other aspects of American public life. Hillary Rodham Clinton, unlike Jacqueline Kennedy, appears disinclined to compensate for her husband in this area. During their triumphal tour of China, neither uttered a word of protest in public (or, so

Continued on Page 26

R. W. Apple Jr. is a former Washington bureau chief of The New York Times and now its chief correspondent.

far as is known, in private) about the Shanghai Bureau of Culture's refusal to allow a production of "The Peony Pavilion," a classic Chinese opera, to appear at this year's Lincoln Center Festival.

The Clintons' tastes run to rock-and-roll, television sitcoms and Hollywood yard goods, if their guest lists are any guide. Harry Thomason and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, the creators of chunks of television bubble gum, were the first people invited by the Clintons to spend the night in the Lincoln Bedroom. True, they are longtime Arkansas friends. But Barbra Streisand, who slept there too, is not, and at the big White House bash last winter for the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, the featured entertainers were Elton John and Stevie Wonder, neither of whom has any links to the First Family or to Arkansas. Setting the cultural table for the press that evening, the actor James Brolin said of Mr. Clinton: "He's the most fun President we've ever had. I think we can all agree about that."

### A Philistine Tradition

So why is it that most American politicians care so little about the arts or intellectual life in general? Why do many who do hide it? Why do others go out of their way to pillory culture? Is a philistine climate in Washington, often reflected in statehouses, an accident or a historical inevitability?

I think we set ourselves on the road to a philistine political tradition long ago, when we resolutely turned our backs on the old aristocratic cultures of Europe, setting up what Tocqueville identified as a lasting tension between elitism and egalitarianism — tension very likely to be resolved in favor of the egalitarians, he said, given "the ever-increasing despotism of the majority."

At first, New England brahmins and Virginia planters like Adams and Jefferson and Madison gave the young United States something approaching an aristocratic tradition in politics. All of them were cultivated men. But in 1828 the nation took a fateful turn against the Eastern elite with the election of Andrew Jackson, the quintessential backwoodsman, who became the first American President without a trace of the aristocrat in his lineage.

Having established the primacy of the frontier in American politics, his supporters crowded into the White House to celebrate, leaving muddy footprints on the chairs and carpets.

Eight years later, William Henry Harrison beat Martin Van Buren, campaigning as the "log cabin and cider" candidate and ridiculing Van Buren as an Easterner so effete that he actually had a bathtub in the White House.

### Highborn pols may try to disguise their origins: F.D.R. served hot dogs and Bush ate pork rinds.

Harrison's victory provided a corollary precedent to Jackson's: if you aren't a man of the people, pretend to be. Like his running mate, John Tyler, he was a Virginia aristocrat, but he ignored that and ran instead on his exploits in the western wars: "Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too," said the campaign handbills.

Ever since, the great mass of American politicians have shied away from identification with things artistic and intellectual. "Elite" is one of the dirtiest words in the

lexicon of American politics, and those who are suspected of having a mansion instead of a log cabin lurking in their backgrounds feel the need to hide it with ostentatious symbols of the common touch. Franklin D. Roosevelt, a Hudson River squire, served hot dogs to the King and Queen of England, and George Bush, an upper-crust Connecticut Yankee, made a show of nibbling pork rinds. Talking about the tables down at Mory's would have projected the wrong image.

The frontier style in American politics, as it might be called, is related to the scarcely concealed notion that there is something mainly about the arts; John Wayne didn't talk about Rembrandt or listen to Callas. Traditionally, American men have admired (and aspired to be) tough guys, denizens of bars and smokers of cigars. The more genteel side of life, in this stereotype, is left to the women, twittering away at card parties. Arts-loving men have often been derided as homosexual or at least limp. For politicians, it is safer not to run the risk.

In this as in other things, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York is an exception, an opera lover since childhood who turns up not only in the audience at the Met but onstage, to make some sort of presentation or other. Then, he is the Mayor of a city where high culture is a multimillion-dollar business, and business, unlike the arts, has long been seen as a proper preoccupation of politicians.

F.D.R. wrote one of the noble chapters in governmental financing of the arts with the Works Progress Administration's support of artists who painted murals and frescoes on public buildings and writers who created a series of historical guides to the then 48 states. No one objected very much; artists were on the bread lines just as much as assembly-line workers and haberdashers.

Influenced by his arts-loving, saxophone-playing legal aide, Leonard Garment, Richard Nixon financed the National Endowment more generously than any of his successors, although he himself had no particular artistic leanings.

And John F. Kennedy and his culture-vulture wife, Jacqueline, created Camelot, disdained today by the revisionists but astonishing at the time. Not only were the intellectually lively like Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. and John Kenneth Galbraith recruited for key places in the Administration (Hannah Arendt said that Kennedy had "emptied the Harvard faculty"), but the artistically distinguished were invited to state occasions, from Robert Lowell and Robert Frost to Pablo Casals.

Like President Nixon, President Kennedy may have had pedestrian tastes; indeed, Richard Reeves says in his book about the Kennedy Presidency that J.F.K. cracked jokes behind his wife's back about the soirees she arranged. But Kennedy had keen enough political antennae to know that high style sold well for the two of them — our own version of royalty — however much an exception that represented from the usual rules of American public life.

Most politicians have dreaded seeming out of touch with the mainstream of American culture, especially its more populist elements. They take it as a given that refined sensibilities play badly "out there." Cowed by polls, fearful of retribution at the ballot box by voters whose instincts they habitually underestimate, they attend prayer breakfasts even if not very religious and surround themselves with movie and television stars.

They have turned the nation's political culture into a Sahara of the Bozart, where eggheads are punished unless they keep their heads down, as Adlai E. Stevenson and Eugene McCarthy both learned; where the yahoos thrive and where few voices are raised in celebration of the arts.

If American politicians have little interest in traditional arts — or seem actually scared of them — one can imagine their lack of interest in defending truly controversial art. If they would just as soon stay away from Mozart and Renoir and Shakespeare, shock art makes them squirm. And especially in the last century and a half, much of avant-garde painting, music and literature has been adversarial and difficult to access by the uninitiated. The homoerotic photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano's cross submerged in urine not only offended members of the religious right but

## Elected Bodies With Hardly a Cultured Bone

doubtless upset many in the mainstream as well.

In recent years, this kind of work has ignited a political bonfire that came close to consuming the whole idea of Federal arts subsidies. While such art is part of a long tradition of esthetic radicalism, it also marks a departure, not only shocking the artistic sensibilities of some of those who experience them but also offending the religious beliefs of millions at a time when religion and politics are unusually closely linked in this country.

"At the moment," Senator Moynihan commented, "it seems to me that there is an unusually assertive desire to shock. Maybe that's because artists feel that they live on

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## **In Europe, monarchs and popes, nobles and aristocrats, took it upon themselves to support the arts.**

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the margins of a materialistic culture, or maybe it's just my age. At any rate, when you get shocked audiences, you're going to get shocked people in Congress too, because Congress as a whole — the Senate, at least — has a range of dispositions, talents and tastes not very different from the country's."

For every Pat Moynihan who reflects the values of the faculty lounge, in other words, there are a lot more Jesse Helmses who reflect those of the Bible Belt, where the crabbed spirit of the Puritans still shines. And artists, as Mr. Mencken observed, "are never Puritan and seldom even ordinarily respectable."

Mr. Yates, who has been fighting these battles for decades, said that few Presidents, in his view, had put their hearts into the arts, settling instead for "fine-sounding words of support for worthy ideals." Presidents operate within limits, he suggested, "and some artists always go beyond the limits — they operate out on the edge, and that is what they are supposed to do."

### **The European Way.**

A big part of the difference between Europe and America is history.

For centuries, European monarchs, including popes, took it upon themselves to support the arts, as did nobles and aristocrats. Popes hired Michelangelo and Raphael, the Esterhazys employed Haydn, and Frederick the Great, a composer of repute himself, brought Voltaire to Potsdam for philosophical discourses.

As the power of the absolutists waned, the obligations of cultural patrons passed to democratically elected politicians, along with the remaining aristocrats. A deference to cultural elites persisted. I once asked Herbert von Karajan in the days when he dominated the Salzburg Festival what he did when a production ran over budget. He looked at me as if I had yet to learn the facts of life and answered, "I call Vienna, and the ministry sends money" — an exaggeration, no doubt, but an accurate depiction of lavish Austrian spending on music.

Many British and French and other European politicians are patrons of the arts in both senses, not only regularly voting for large subventions but regularly attending plays and concerts. Some are cultural figures themselves, whether full-time politicians with artistic avocations (like Denis Healey, the former British foreign secretary, a music lover who writes serious books and takes photographs good enough to merit exhibitions) or full-time artists with political avocations (like André Malraux, a minister under de Gaulle, or Vaclav Havel, the presi-

dent of the Czech Republic, or Kurt Masur, a leader of the Leipzig revolt against the old East German regime). The most successful French Ambassador to Washington since World War II, Emmanuel de Margerie, had previously headed France's most distinguished art museums.

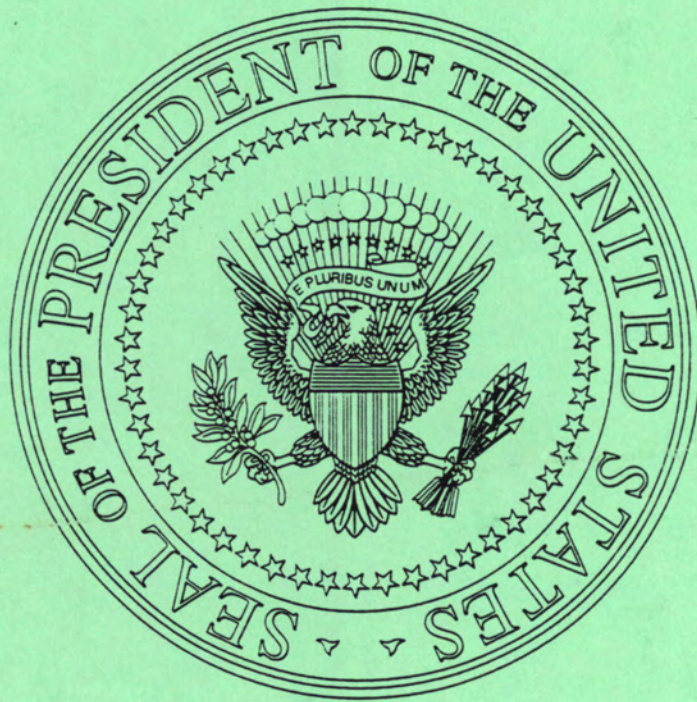
Since London, Paris and Helsinki are their countries' cultural as well as political capitals, the political classes there may be more naturally friendly to the arts than in our country, where the economic and cultural capital, New York, is an hour's flight away from the halls of Congress. The political capitals of the largest American states, which control arts budgets of their own, are also distant from their cultural and intellectual capitals. Those who control the government money bags are in Albany, Austin, Springfield and Sacramento, not New York, Houston, Chicago and Los Angeles.

But even if the worlds of government and the arts lived in close proximity to each other, the antagonism might persist, unless the politicians could stop worrying about looking like elitists in their constituents' suspicious eyes. Cultural capitals are almost by definition elitist places.

A more serious drawback in the United States must be the lack of a core cultural tradition, accepted by all, which the politicians can foster with tax dollars. In a country as heterogeneous as this, it is hard to imagine the almost universal love of serious music that possesses Italy, for example. I remember hailing a cab in Milan on the night of a Sviatoslav Richter concert many years ago and learning that the driver was going, too.

Here, the multicultural, egalitarian tradition weighs heavy. Politicians and the rest of us are encouraged to believe that all artistic traditions have equal merit. The result is a fragmented view of the arts, a world where the politicians pander rather than lead, resting content with their philistinism instead of championing art — any art — at the risk of their political necks. □

# HRC Clips



Thursday, July 16, 1998-  
Monday, August 3, 1998



BY RUTH FREEMAN—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Actress Kim Basinger gives Hillary Rodham Clinton a hug during a star-studded fund-raiser.



BY MICHAEL WALKER—REUTERS

After a weekend at the Hamptons home of film director Steven Spielberg, the president and first lady say goodbye to Spielberg, his wife, Kate Capshaw, and their two children.

## The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1998

# The President's Weekend Power Trip

The Hamptons, where lobster salad goes for \$10 a pound at gourmet shops and the initiation fee at the Atlantic Golf Club is \$250,000, has been the Clinton's last week. They schmoozed with stars and raised plenty of political cash. Some highlights of the visit:



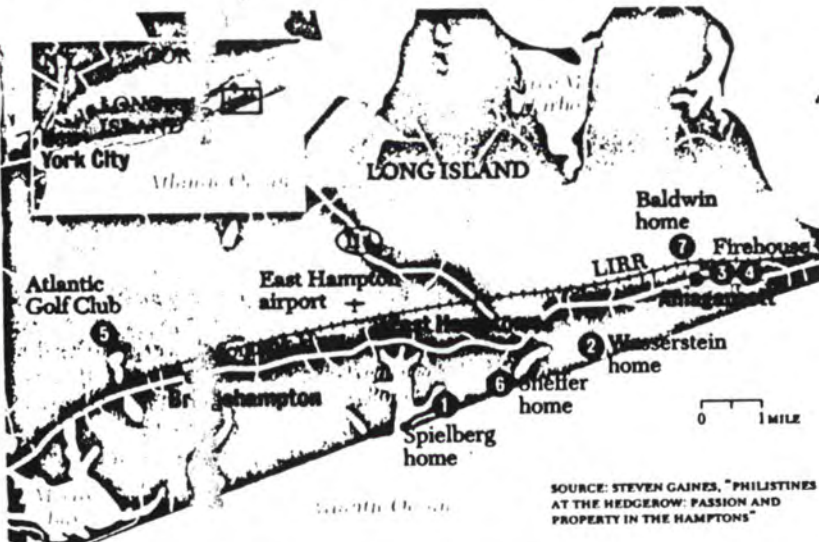
1 From the airport the Clintons traveled to the Spielbergs' home



2 Later they dined with mogul Bruce Wasserstein and his wife, Claude



3 Clinton gave his radio address at the Amagansett Fire Department



4 Taking time out from the glitz, the First Lady chatted with local kids



5 The president played a round at the Atlantic Golf Club in Bridgehampton



6 Jonathan Sheffer hosted a cocktail party for the Clintons



7 Kim and Alec Baldwin held a fund-raiser at their Amagansett home

## A sampling of the Hamptons' rich and famous:

Chevy Chase  
Sean (Puffy) Combs  
Nora Ephron  
Robert D.L. Gardiner  
Carl Icahn  
Bianca Jagger  
Billy Joel  
Calvin Klein  
Henry Kravis  
Peter Matthiessen  
Lorne Michaels  
Ronald Perelman  
George Plimpton  
Lee Radziwill  
George Soros  
Martha Stewart  
Jann Wenner  
Kurt Vonnegut

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: RICK MAIMAN—SYGMA; GORDON GRANT—IPOL; DAVID ALLEN, GORDON GRANT—IPOL; RUTH FREMSON—AP (6); JOAN JEDELL—SYGMA; DAVID ALLEN—CORBIS

USA Today  
August 3, 1998

Newsweek  
August 10, 1998



By Rick Wilking, Reuters

## Talking It Over

By Hillary Rodham Clinton



# Breast cancer stamp can help beat disease

We are facing a critical juncture in the war on cancer — a time when our nation's investment in research is beginning to pay off and cancer rates are beginning to decline.

With further investment, we can even anticipate the day that our children won't live in fear of this dreaded disease.

Dr. Richard Klausner, director of the National Cancer Institute, says there's a "palpable optimism" within the cancer community.

"The 1990s," he predicts, "will be remembered as the decade when we measurably turned the tide against cancer."

It is not only the doctors and scientists who have brought us to this point, but also thousands of advocates and volunteers whose dedication and passion have helped to raise awareness and increase funding for ongoing research.

Two such advocates are Dr. Ernie Bodai and Betsy Mullen. They fought for the creation of a postage stamp to raise funds for the fight against breast cancer — a stamp that I was honored to unveil at the White House, and which goes on sale around the country today.

The release of the Breast Cancer Research Stamp marks the first time the U.S. Postal Service has issued a stamp that costs more than its face value — 40 cents in this case, eight cents more than a typical first-class stamp.

The net proceeds will be used to fund breast cancer research.

Legislation authorizing the issuance of this historic stamp builds on my husband's long record of support for research and prevention in order to conquer breast cancer, a horrible disease that claims an American woman's life every 12 minutes and costs this country \$10 billion a year to treat.

In 1993, in response to the 2.6 million signatures collected by the National Breast Cancer Coalition, this administration crafted the National Action Plan on Breast Cancer — a strategy designed to eradicate the disease.

The president also fought for the expansion of Medicare coverage to help fund annual mammogram screenings for beneficiaries over age 40.

And he secured increases in breast cancer research funding from \$276 million in 1993 to more than \$500 million today.

Recent research has contributed to dramatic breakthroughs, such as the discovery of two breast cancer genes and the trial of tamoxifen, a drug with the potential to prevent breast cancer.

Understanding that the pace of medical discovery is no longer limited by science or imagination, but only by financial resources, my husband has requested budget increases that would see funding for NIH's cancer research grow by 65 percent over the next five years.

We know that victory over cancer will be brought about by a

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*The release of the Breast Cancer Research Stamp marks the first time the U.S. Postal Service has issued a stamp that costs more than its face value — 40 cents in this case.*

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dedicated partnership of scientists and advocates.

Over the course of the next few months, the president and I will welcome a number of these advocates to the White House. Many of them have fought cancer themselves or watched loved ones suffer without hope of a cure.

Katie Couric of NBC's "Today" — whose husband, Jay Monahan, died of colon cancer in January — and Good Housekeeping magazine will help launch a campaign to promote prevention and awareness of colon cancer, the second leading cause of cancer-related death in this country.

I'm also working with Liz Tilberis, the editor of Harper's Bazaar magazine, to plan events designed to inform women about ovarian cancer.

Liz has been diagnosed with ovarian cancer, which is expected to kill 14,500 American women this year, and causes more deaths than any other cancer of the female reproductive system.

Financier and prostate cancer survivor Michael Milken is one of the sponsors of a march on Washington this September aimed at focusing national attention on the magnitude of the cancer problem in our country.

The march, called "Coming Together to Conquer Cancer," has been endorsed by more than 250 organizations, including the National Coalition for Cancer Survivorship and the American Cancer Society. General Norman Schwartzkopf, also a survivor of prostate cancer, is the honorary chairman.

Ernie Bodai, Betsy Mullen, Liz Tilberis, Michael Milken and Norman Schwartzkopf and Miss Couric, along with thousands of other men and women, have dedicated their talent and resources to the cause. Now it's time for all of us to join them.

We can buy stamps, attend marches and learn about prevention. We can regularly undergo the diagnostic tests that catch cancer in its early stages. We can take better charge of our own health by improving our diets and giving up smoking. And we can support the increased research and funding that will lead us to a time when America's children will never again live in fear of this awful killer.

## A First for Research



BY ROBERT A. REEDER—THE WASHINGTON POST

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton embraces breast cancer survivor Betsy Mullen of Los Angeles at a White House ceremony marking the release of a postage stamp that will raise money for breast cancer research. Eight cents from each of the 40-cent stamps will be used for research. It is the first time a stamp has been issued to raise money for a cause. If all 200 million stamps are sold, researchers should receive \$16 million.

**The Washington Post**  
THURSDAY, JULY 30, 1998



AP

### Stamp of approval

Hillary Rodham Clinton and Sen. Dianne Feinstein look at a 40-cent stamp that will raise funds for breast-cancer research. It will be used for 32-cent postage, with 70 percent of the net proceeds going to the National Institutes of Health.

**The Washington Times**

*FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1998*

# Sacramento Bee

## July 30, 1998

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 954 words

HEADLINE: OPERATION A SUCCESS

BYLINE: Dorsey Griffith, Bee Staff Writer

BODY:

It was a most unusual victory. But then again, it was the result of a most unusual doctor.

After more than two years of fanatic -- many said foolhardy -- lobbying, Sacramento surgeon Dr. Balazs "Ernie" Bodai on Wednesday watched as first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton unveiled his brainchild: a postage stamp to benefit breast cancer research.

For Bodai and many other tireless advocates, it was a time to celebrate something very few thought they could do and that others bitterly opposed.

"It blows me away," Bodai said before the White House ceremony. "This is a victory for women and their families."

The 40-cent stamp, which goes on sale today, is the first U.S. "semi-postal" stamp, with a purchase price above that of a regular first-class stamp to benefit a special cause. The extra 8 cents per stamp is expected to raise millions for research into potential new treatments for breast cancer, a disease that kills 50,000 women in the United States every year.

"I am proud to build on the president's long-standing commitment to breast cancer prevention and research," Hillary Clinton told the group assembled in the White House East Room. "This historic stamp will be invaluable in our efforts to increase research funding and save lives."

Bodai, who fled Budapest, Hungary, with his family in 1956, has always bubbled over with big ideas. Now 47 and chief of surgery at Kaiser Permanente's Morse Avenue hospital, he is known as an excellent surgeon and compassionate doctor who always returns patient calls personally, despite a 12-hour workday.

His idea for the stamp "came out of the frustration dealing with so many women who had breast cancer and seeing that we had made so few advances," he said.

However pure his motives, Bodai got scant encouragement.

"I thought he was nuts," said his wife, Carol. "But when he sets his mind to something, he will accomplish it."

The U.S. postmaster general swiftly rejected his first proposal, for a 1-cent-extra breast cancer stamp, made in a letter in January 1996. "He wrote

back and said, "We'll never do it. You're wasting your time," Bodai said.

Undeterred, Bodai then sent letters to every female member of Congress. None responded.

Bodai did hear, however, from a Kaiser lobbyist in Washington who was asked to talk with the surgeon because he had used Permanente Medical Group letterhead to enlist congressional support without the group's blessing.

"Ernie is a terrific guy, and sometimes terrific guys with great ideas have tunnel vision," said Dr. Don Parsons, associate executive director for health policy for the Permanente Federation.

But as Parsons found out, it was hard to scold a guy with infectious energy and childlike determination. Although Parsons at the time told him the project "probably wouldn't go anywhere," Kaiser officials and doctors eventually signed on, even paid for a chunk of his lobbying efforts.

Convinced that he needed to visit the lawmakers in person, Bodai began his frequent trips to Washington, a junior-high civics book in his briefcase. Joining him was Betsy Mullen, a breast cancer survivor and the founder of Women's Information Network Against Breast Cancer.

Eventually, Rep. Vic Fazio, D-West Sacramento, agreed to sponsor a bill. While plenty of supporters emerged and thousands of petitions favoring the bill poured in, the idea picked up early opposition.

"It took a while to get everybody in focus and begin to understand what we were up against," said Fazio.

"We just didn't think it was a good idea," said Don Smeraldi, Postal Service spokesman. Other countries had tried and failed to garner popular support for charity stamps, he said.

Postal Service opposition meant Fazio couldn't persuade the chairman of the subcommittee over Postal Service operations to hold a hearing on the bill, nearly essential to get it to the House floor. Stamp collectors, who spend millions buying stamps every year, also joined the opposition.

Even some breast cancer groups attacked the proposal. The director of the National Breast Cancer Coalition, for instance, tried to persuade Fazio to drop the bill, convinced that if lawmakers approved the stamp, they'd reduce other federal funding for the cause in the future.

Carol Bodai one dreary February night received a call from her husband in Washington. "He said, 'I don't know what I am doing here. Nobody wants to listen to me. I am so depressed.'"

She urged him to stick with it, and he did.

The bill didn't pass before the close of the 104th Congress and its supporters had to reintroduce it in January 1997. This time, Fazio enlisted the co-sponsorship of then-Rep. Susan Molinari, a Republican from New York. Sen. Dianne Feinstein introduced a similar measure in the Senate, and a year ago, the Act to Stamp Out Breast Cancer sailed through the House and Senate. The bill allows the special stamps to be sold at up to 8 cents above the normal first-class rate; the Postal Service set the price of 40 cents earlier this year. The proceeds, after administrative costs, will be earmarked for government breast cancer research.

Bodai, meanwhile, isn't planning a restful return to Sacramento. While promoting sales of the stamp, he is preparing to launch his next big project: a state-of-the-art breast health center for Kaiser's Sacramento patients.

#### Facts on the stamp

The "Fund the Fight, Find a Cure" stamp goes on sale today:

Cost: 40 cents -- 8 cents extra

Beneficiaries of the extra funds: 70 percent to the National Institutes of Health; 30 percent to the Pentagon's Medical Research Program

Issue: 200 million stamps; available at post offices nationwide

Estimated net proceeds: \$ 16 million

GRAPHIC: Bee photographs / Penny De Los Santos

Dr. Ernie Bodai, chief of surgery at Kaiser's Morse Avenue hospital, rests between operations last week. Wednesday, he was at the White House unveiling of the breast-cancer research stamp he has campaigned for since 1996.

Dr. Bodai, who fled Hungary in 1956, is known as a compassionate surgeon who always returns patient calls personally.

Associated Press photograph

In the White House East Room on Wednesday, Hillary Rodham Clinton officially issues the first U.S. "semi-postal" stamp.

# San Francisco Chronicle

## Breast-Cancer Stamp Goes on Sale Today

Thursday, July 30, 1998

Marc Sandalow, Chronicle Washington Bureau

In a first for the U.S. Postal Service, a premium first-class stamp will be sold today with proceeds going to fund breast cancer research.

The 32-cent stamp will sell for 40 cents, with the extra 8 cents divided between the National Institutes of Health and the Medical Research Program of the Department of Defense.

The innovative program is the brainstorm of Sacramento surgeon Ernie Bodai, who has performed more than 1,200 mastectomies or lumpectomies and witnessed first-hand the destructive effects of the disease that will affect 1 in 9 American women.

Bodai enlisted the help of Representative Vic Fazio, D-Sacramento, and Senator Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif., who wrote the legislation that authorized the fund-raising stamp.

"To break precedent in Washington isn't an easy thing to do," Feinstein said. "Many people said that a stamp to raise money for breast cancer could not be done. But you should never underestimate California ingenuity."

An estimated 2 million U.S. women have breast cancer, but half have yet to be diagnosed. For years, the Bay Area had among the highest breast cancer rates in the nation, although in recent years those rates have dropped and now more closely mirror the national average.

Hillary Rodham Clinton showed off the colorful stamp at a White House ceremony yesterday, urging the public to spend the extra money and "help stamp out breast cancer once and for all."

"Most of us are not surgeons," she said, and are not in a position to do much about the epidemic that claims a life approximately every 12 minutes. "But each of us can buy this stamp."

The Postal Service has printed 200 million breast cancer stamps, which will be on sale for the next two years. If they are all sold, \$16 million will go to cancer research.

The stamp was designed by a Maryland woman who is a breast cancer survivor.

The design features the mythological Roman goddess Diana, pulling an arrow out of a quiver. Her right arm is raised behind her head in a position recommended by health care professionals for breast self-examination. Encircling her right breast are the words "Fund the fight. Find a cure."

The money-raising effort is a first for the U.S. Postal Service -- a technique it calls "semi-postal," meaning part postal and part charity. The same method has been tried with mixed success in other countries -- including Great Britain, Switzerland and Canada -- according to Postal Service spokesman Don Smeraldi.

Smeraldi said a portion of the additional 8 cents paid by customers will be tax-deductible. Seventy percent of the proceeds will go to the NIH, and 30 percent to the Department of Defense.

The legislation had an easy time passing in Congress, where Republican Senators Alfonse D'Amato of New York and Lauch Faircloth of North Carolina, and former Republican Representative Susan Molinari of New York joined the California authors.

They were aided in a persistent lobbying effort by Bodai as well as David Goodman, a San Francisco man who lost his wife of 38 years to breast cancer, and Betsy Mullen of WIN Against Breast Cancer in Los Angeles, a breast cancer survivor. All three were on hand at yesterday's White House ceremony.

"When I first heard the words, 'Mrs. Mullen, you have breast cancer,' I felt like I had been hit by a freight train," Mullen told a crowd of more than 100 politicians, health care providers, breast cancer survivors and reporters gathered in the East Room. "This is a novel opportunity to involve all of us in a fight to find a cure."

The first stamps were sold at Washington, D.C., post offices yesterday afternoon, and they will go on sale across the country today.

## **40-cent postage stamp will help fund breast cancer research**

### **Pacific Beach woman helped in its creation**

**By Dana Wilkie**

COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

**July 30, 1998**

WASHINGTON -- A Pacific Beach woman, who began fighting for more breast-cancer research after her own battle with the disease, joined first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Sen. Dianne Feinstein here yesterday to unveil a new stamp that will help raise money to find a cure.

The 40-cent stamp will function like a regular 32-cent, first-class stamp, but the extra 8 cents from each will go toward breast cancer research performed by the National Institutes of Health and the Defense Department.

It is the first time the U.S. Postal Service has earmarked a share of a stamp's proceeds for research.

The nation's post offices will begin selling the stamps today.

In 1997, 180,200 women were newly diagnosed with the disease, according to the American Cancer Society.

Feinstein, a Democrat from California, said fewer than 30 percent of breast-cancer research programs seeking federal money ever get it.

"It is a terrifying and very, very difficult problem," said Feinstein, who wrote legislation creating the stamp and who spoke during a ceremony in the East Room of the White House.

Betsy Mullen of Pacific Beach was a 33-year-old market analyst in San Diego hoping to start a family when her doctor told her she had breast cancer. The disease took one of her breasts, while chemotherapy treatments brought on early menopause and robbed her of the ability to have children.

Vowing "to turn the tables" on the disease, Mullen created the Los Angeles-based Women's Information Network Against Breast Cancer, which has offices in San Diego and provides information and support for those with the disease.

Mullen teamed up with Sacramento surgeon Ernie Bodai to prowl the halls of Congress for someone who would support their dream for a breast cancer stamp.

"One stamp at a time and pennies at a time, the American people can realistically raise millions of dollars a year to fund cutting-edge research to end this rampant disease that has become a blight on our nation," said Mullen, who is now 39 and cancer-free.

The Postal Service has printed 200 million of the stamps, which will be available during a two-year test run. If all are sold, the proceeds would contribute \$16 million to breast-cancer research.

At the ceremony, Hillary Clinton reminded about 200 spectators that the president's mother died of breast cancer. And she said one of her own friends was undergoing a mastectomy as she spoke.

"Most of us will not be surgeons who will assist (cancer victims) . . . or nurses . . . researchers or scientists," Clinton said. "But each of us can buy this stamp. Each of us, when we send our letters or pay our bills, can put this stamp of hope on our envelope."

The Cincinnati Enquirer  
July, 28, 1998

bc-breastcanc

bc-BREASTCANCER-STAMP

First lady unveils new breast cancer stamp Wednesday

BY SUE MacDONALD

The Cincinnati Enquirer

Hillary Clinton helps unveil the new breast cancer stamp Wednesday at the White House the nation's first ``semipostal'' stamp.

It will sell for 40 cents 8 cents more than a first-class letter stamp and the extra money will be divided on a 70-30 basis between the National Institutes of Health and the Pentagon's Medical Research Program for breast cancer research.

In the stamp-collecting community, ``semipostal'' is a first-class stamp with added cost. The Stamp Out Breast Cancer Act, passed by Congress a year ago, stipulates the cost of the stamp cannot exceed 25 percent of the first-class rate.

Cancer survivor Ethel Kessler of Bethesda, Md., designed the stamp, which features a drawing of a woman and overlapping colors of green, blue, yellow and orange.

``Fund the Fight, Find a Cure'' is the slogan that swirls in type where the figure's right breast would be. It was illustrated by Whitney Sherman of Baltimore.

The Postal Service will issue 200 million of the stamps, and it will be available at post offices nationwide beginning Thursday.

\*\*\*\* filed by:GN-F(-- ) on 07/28/98 at 17:52EDT \*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\* printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/29/98 at 08:40EDT \*\*\*\*

(adv weekend Aug 1-2 or thereafter)

Backstairs at the White House

By HELEN THOMAS= UPI White House Reporter=

WASHINGTON Presidential press secretary Mike McCurry probably would like to move up his departure and to get off the hot seat at the White House, where he daily fends off questions over new developments in the investigation of allegations that the president had an affair with former intern Monica Lewinsky.

McCurry so far has been able to protect himself under a shield of ignorance. This is an option he chose when he realized it would be impossible to field questions concerning the Starr investigation and at the same time focus on the president's official agenda.

As a result, he has tried to shunt the hot potato questions off to Clinton's lawyer, David Kendall, who is mostly unavailable and to Jim Kennedy, the designated spokesman for Clinton in the Lewinsky matter but who also is often kept in the dark.

The backstage problem at the White House is how to protect the president's constitutional standing and at the same time be responsive to legal demands. These problems fall in the bailliwick of his lawyers, but other problems such as his popularity in the public opinion polls and his support in his own party are the concerns of his political advisers.

McCurry plans to leave his post when Congress winds up around mid-October. Until then, he is walking that tight rope with little to say.

With all the renewed controversy facing the White House, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton seemed to be bearing up well the other day when she hosted the official unveiling of the new breast cancer research stamp. Sporting a new shorter hairdo, she led the East Room ceremony in seeming good cheer although she told the audience later there was a sadder, personal side to the effort to raise research funds through sales of a special 40-cent stamp. Not only did she reveal that an unidentified friend of hers was that day undergoing a mastectomy, she referred to President Clinton's mother, Virginia Kelley, who died of the disease in his first term.

"She never ever wanted anyone to feel sorry for her when she was battling breast cancer," the first lady said. "And as with every other adversity she faced in her life, she'd get up at the crack of dawn, put on her lipstick and false eyelashes and go out and celebrate life."

"She was a great inspiration to all of us who knew and loved her and I remember the sampler that she kept on her nightstand that read, 'Lord help me to remember that nothing is going to happen to me today that you and I can't handle.'"

When the president visits a foreign country, it is often pointed out that things aren't always as happy and pretty as they look. Locals sometimes plant new flowers or put a new coat of paint on buildings along the president's travel route. In more authoritarian nations such as Russia or China, the police even round up the less-desirable elements of society to keep them out of view.

But could it be the same thing even happens in the president's backyard? The answer is yes, according to the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette.

When President Clinton returned home last September to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the intergration of Little Rock's Central High School, the neighborhood shone from a clean-up effort by local businesses that included boarding up 12 vacant buildings, demolishing two condemned houses, repairing three others, and cutting and cleaning 57 vacant and weedy lots.

Residents told the newspaper they were assured the work was not just a temporary show for the president's visit, but would continue long afterward as a public-private partnership. But virtually no such follow-up has occurred at any of the houses.

Nearby resident Mary Lee Williams told the Democrat-Gazette her house

still sits without paint, having been scraped clean by volunteers just prior to Clinton's visit, but left untouched for the 10 months since then.

She told the newspaper: "I didn't ask them to paint the house. They asked me."

Little Rock Director Joan Adcock, who initiated the renovations, explained that additional work requires the city's help, and that the government moves slowly. Adcock told the Democrat-Gazette: "When company comes, what do you do? You try to clean house, try to look your best. Is it for show? Maybe that, but I think more than that it is that deep feeling that we want others to see us at our best."

The Secret Service tries to keep track of persons who threaten the president or his family. But Russell Eugene Weston Jr. was a name that slipped through the cracks, although he was on file.

Secret Service officials say that they do try to keep an eye out for those who either verbally or in letters have threatened the president. Furthermore, they say that many times, they are helped by the families of persons making such threats. They say families have called when they know a member has a real grudge and is headed for Washington. Oftentimes the Secret Service will be given the flight number of the plane the potential assailant is flying and they are on hand to meet it.

While her husband juggles the demands of preparing to testify before Ken Starr's grand jury and a busy vacation and travel schedule, a spokeswoman says the first lady is also looking at a jam-packed fall. Three foreign trips are under consideration before the November elections, said Marsha Berry. Mrs. Clinton will not only accompany her husband to Russia and Ireland in early September, but will attend an international hemispheric conference on women in Santiago, Chile. Plans are also in the works for a trip through Eastern Europe, although specific stops are still under discussion.

Berry said the first lady has been busy and wholeheartedly welcomes the respite offered by a vacation in Martha's Vineyard, where the president and family are scheduled to take a break after the president's grand jury testimony is videotaped Aug. 17. Mrs. Clinton will go ahead of her husband with their daughter Chelsea.

On the president's flight to a weekend of fund-raising in Colorado, reporters in the press cabin of Air Force One took advantage of one of the options for movie-viewing: "Primary Colors." It follows a fictional character named Jack Stanton whose successful bid for the presidency is loosely based on the story of Clinton's 1992 campaign and accompanying allegations of sexual escapades.

A White House official who walked into the cabin acknowledged the movie with a smile, then promptly walked out, explaining it was one film he would have to postpone viewing until he concludes his service to Clinton.

During another week in which the White House was protesting the president's honesty, he was celebrating his capacity for a little brotherly deception.

## THE RELIABLE SOURCE

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*By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer*

■ When the going gets tough, the tough eat out. **Hillary Rodham Clinton** surprised a full house at Zed's Ethiopian restaurant Tuesday night when she brought a party of eight in to dine. Eschewing knives and forks, Clinton's party, which included daughter **Chelsea** and several of her friends, dined on traditional fare and ate it the traditional way—by scooping up the food with bits of bread.

**The Washington Post**  
THURSDAY, JULY 30, 1998



# President wants to see Patients' Bill of Rights

**L**et me share three stories with you — stories my husband heard at a recent roundtable on health care. They help explain why he wants Congress to pass the Patients' Bill of Rights.

Mary Kuhl described the night she and her husband, Buddy, celebrated their 25th wedding anniversary — the same night Buddy suffered a massive heart attack. His doctor diagnosed ventricular tachycardia but assured the Kuhls that surgery could correct the problem.

Buddy's doctor recommended immediate surgery, but his HMO canceled the procedure, demanding a second opinion. The second doctor concurred with the first and immediately called the HMO with his opinion.

But by the time Buddy checked in for surgery, his condition had deteriorated to the point where the doctors could no longer perform the procedure. Buddy died waiting for a heart transplant. He was 45.

Barbara Garvey's husband, David, remembered the call he received from Hawaii, where his wife was vacationing. She had noticed some unusual bleeding and, after undergoing blood work at a local clinic, doctors discovered aplastic anemia and recommended a bone marrow transplant.

Unfortunately, her HMO demanded that she return to Chicago for the procedure, even though her doctors argued that she was in no condition to fly. En route, she suffered a stroke and died nine days later. The mother of seven children, Barbara was 55.

Shortly after giving birth at age 38, Rhonda Bast discovered a lump in her breast. Her brother, Mick, explained that, after a mastectomy and chemotherapy, the cancer had spread to her lungs. Doctors recommended a bone marrow transplant, but her insurance carrier said it did not cover this kind of treatment.

After doggedly pursuing the issue, Rhonda's family discovered that her policy did cover bone marrow transplants. By then, tragically, Rhonda's cancer had spread to her brain, and she was no longer a suitable candidate. She died 10 months later.

It is not easy for family members to tell these stories or for us to hear them. But they help explain why 60 percent of all Americans say they are worried that if they become sick, their health plan will be more concerned with saving money than with giving them the best care.

In this country, 160 million people are covered by managed care health plans, an increase of 75 percent since 1990. Managed care plans can make health insurance more affordable and more accessible. But there is something wrong with a system in which a doctor can spend countless hours on the phone arguing for a life-saving procedure, can spend more time with bookkeepers than with patients and can spend more time filling out forms than mak-

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*There is something wrong with a system where a clerk with a checklist makes decisions about what medical treatment a patient will receive.*

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ing rounds. And there is something wrong with a system where a clerk with a checklist makes decisions about what medical treatment a patient will receive.

Imagine how Carol Anderson feels. She works as the billing manager in an oncologist's office and says the hardest part of her job is "facing a patient and telling them your insurance plan has told us that you're denied coverage. . . . Just like that. If you don't have cash, we can't treat you."

This is why, for the last nine months, the president has been urging Congress to pass legislation that would protect the relationship between Americans and their doctors. And, this is why the American Medical Association has made the Patients' Bill of Rights its top priority.

The Patients' Bill of Rights would guarantee access to needed health care specialists and emergency room services. It would

promise continuity of care, a timely and independent appeals process and limits on financial incentives that encourage doctors to limit care. It would ensure full disclosure of treatment options, direct access for women to OB-GYNs and an enforcement mechanism that would hold a health plan accountable if a patient is maimed or dies as a result of its actions.

Now, with fewer than 40 days left in this congressional session, Republicans have outlined their own "Bill of Rights." Unfortunately, their plan would not guarantee access to specialists, such as oncologists and cardiologists, require disclosure of financial incentives to doctors who limit treatment or adequately compensate those who suffer serious harm. And, the Senate Republican plan leaves out 100 million Americans who need these protections.

The health of our citizens should not be a partisan issue. Whether it's traditional care or managed care, Americans deserve quality care. Buddy Kuhl deserved quality care. Barbara Garvey deserved quality care. And, Rhonda Bast deserved quality care.

This country is capable of providing the highest-quality health care in the world. Congress should put politics aside and pass a strong, enforceable and bipartisan Patients' Bill of Rights to give all Americans confidence in their health care system and patients the protections they deserve.

# The New York Times

## *First Lady Highlights Education as Hispanic Issue*

PHILADELPHIA, July 21 (AP) — Future demand for high-tech skills should compel Hispanic students to push for greater educational achievement, Hillary Rodham Clinton, the First Lady, told the nation's largest Hispanic civil rights group.

"The 21st century will be ruthless," Mrs. Clinton said in a speech to the National Council of La Raza at its annual conference here on Monday.

Citing statistics that nearly one-third of all Hispanic students drop out of high school, Mrs. Clinton said those numbers must improve if the nation's swiftly growing Hispanic community is to share fully in the

American dream.

"Education is so critical to fulfill that future," Mrs. Clinton said. "It is the gateway to opportunity."

A study by the Census Bureau that was released last week found that the nation's largest population of minority children is no longer black but Hispanic, and the Hispanic community will become the nation's largest minority group within seven years.

Mrs. Clinton said those figures presented "challenges and opportunities" for Hispanic people and the nation as it struggles to improve schools.

"This is an investment in the fu-

ture," she said.

Mrs. Clinton recently completed a bus tour of several historic sites in the Northeast to focus attention on preserving them.

In her 45-minute talk to a friendly audience of several thousand, she said that she would insure "the efforts and accomplishments of Hispanic Americans" would also be highlighted "front and center."

La Raza, which celebrates its 30th anniversary this year, was expected to attract more than 12,000 community, business and government leaders for the four-day conference.

## POLITICS

## Hispanics Hear First Lady Praise White House Policy

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday touted the Clinton administration's commitment to racial diversity, telling a meeting of the nation's largest Hispanic advocacy group that the administration has worked hard to include Hispanics in high-level jobs, business loan programs and educational initiatives.

The first lady's appearance at the National Council of La Raza's annual convention here underscores the growing influence of the Hispanic vote. Hispanics now make up almost 11 percent of the nation's population, and their ranks have increased nearly 30 percent since 1990. By the middle of the next decade, Latinos are projected to overtake African Americans as the nation's largest minority group.

Moreover, Latinos are showing signs of coalescing into a potent political force. Jolted by what activists called a wave of "immigrant bashing," the Hispanic electorate grew by 29 percent between 1992 and 1996, with 72 percent of Latino voters supporting Clinton in

the 1996 presidential election.

In a luncheon speech before more than 1,500 people, Clinton said administration proposals—blocked by congressional Republicans—to hire 100,000 teachers and spend billions renovating schools would disproportionately benefit Latinos, who lag behind other groups in educational achievement. "African American students are now graduating from high school at the same rate as Caucasian Americans," she said. "But Latino children are still dropping out."

Clinton also criticized Republicans for refusing to approve many of President Clinton's judicial appointments, which she said is preventing several Hispanics from ascending to the federal bench.

## DNC to Return \$100,000

The Democratic National Committee this week plans to return more than \$100,000 in 1996 contributions from Duangnet "Georgie" Kronenberg in the wake of last week's federal indictment charging that Kronenberg and her sister-in-law, Thai businesswoman Pauline Kanchanalak, steered hundreds of thousands of

dollars in illegal contributions to various Democratic Party organizations and candidates.

The DNC already had returned \$253,000 raised by Kanchanalak after questions were raised about the funds' source. But until last week's indictment, which alleged that Kanchanalak used her sister-in-law's status as a legal permanent resident to funnel money to Democrats, the party had kept the donations.

DNC spokesman Rick Hess described the decision to return the money as timely and routine, although the Capitol Hill newspaper Roll Call quoted GOP staff members on the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee criticizing the move as belated.

"There was no hint that the money was someone else's. With the indictment, there is, so we are returning the money," Hess said. The contributions were reviewed in a process that included interviews with the donor and a background check on databases, he said, all of which affirmed that "she is of substantial means and she said the money was her own."

Overall, the DNC has returned \$3 million in questionable contributions.

—Michael A. Fletcher and Thomas B. Edsall

# The Philadelphia Inquirer

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## Hillary Clinton well received at Latino summit

By Ambre S. Brown  
INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

Addressing more than 3,000 people at the National Council of La Raza's annual convention yesterday, Hillary Rodham Clinton promised more aid to help Latinos make gains in education.

"The 21st century will be so ruthless that all of us must do what we can to compete in the global economy," she told the audience at the Convention Center ballroom.

"This is not a matter that can be left to the marketplace. . . . We need to make sure public schools work — no matter where they are."

To that end, she said, the Clinton administration has proposed the hiring of 100,000 new teachers na-

See **CLINTON** on B3

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# Hillary Clinton welcomed by Latinos

**CLINTON** from B1  
onwide and is backing bilingual  
ducation.

"We want every child to be able to speak English," she said. "Does that mean we want them to neglect their primary languages? Of course not. It does mean we must have an effective education plan for every child. We cannot cut off bilingual-education plans and the extensive opportunities they provide for our children."

The crowd responded enthusiastically, giving her a standing ovation. Clinton was on a swing through the area that also saw her make stops at a fund-raising event in Montgomery County for Democratic congressional hopeful Joseph M. Hoeffel 3d and read to children at the Village School House child-care center in Upper Dublin.

Clinton said the theme of La Raza's conference, "Honoring Our Past, Forging Our Future," was appropriate because partnerships between such organizations as La Raza must be formed to ensure that all children in America receive a quality education.

She cited new statistics that show African American students graduating at close to the same rate as white students but that also show that "Latino children are still dropping out." She said it was important that parents do "whatever it takes" to ensure that their children understand the value of an education.

"I know not everyone makes it," she said, "but we must stand behind our children. You cannot forge the future in today's world without education."

Clinton also spoke of changing the content of what is taught in our nation's public schools.

"I want to make sure American history includes every American," she said. "Our history is in the lives and accomplishments of Hispanic

Americans."

Later, she visited the Gladwyne estate of management consultant Iris Martin for a fund-raiser to benefit the campaign of candidate Hoeffel, who lost to U.S. Rep. Jon D. Fox by only 84 votes two years ago.

Organizers billed the event, which drew 500 people, as the largest Democratic fund-raiser in Montgomery County in recent memory. The participants, each of whom paid either \$125 to stand beneath a giant tent pitched on the lawn of the three-story mansion or \$1,000 to attend a private reception, contributed more than \$150,000, Montgomery County Democratic Party chairman Marcel Groen said.

That means the total raised by Hoeffel so far this year has topped \$700,000, Groen said, equal to the amount raised and spent during Hoeffel's entire 1996 campaign.

"It's a hot day for a hot campaign," Hoeffel, a Montgomery County commissioner, said. "It will be another close fight to the finish. If you help me, we will win."

The loudest and longest cheers, however, were reserved for Clinton.

"We need people in Congress who are smart and who are dedicated," she said. "What we have here is a chance to vote for somebody who can fulfill those requirements."

Preserving public education, protecting health care, and keeping the crime rate low are all issues that Montgomery County voters can depend on Hoeffel to work toward, she said while urging local Democrats to work against voter apathy in the midterm election.

"[Hoeffel's] defeat last time was [by a very, very small margin]," Clinton said. "We must get people to the polls — to vote not only for Joe but for themselves."



The Philadelphia Inquirer / TOM GRALISH

**First Lady** Hillary Rodham Clinton reacts to her audience. At left is Aida Alvarez, administrator of the Small Business Administration.

# First lady visits Philadelphia



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton (right) stands with Aida Alvarez, administrator of the Small Business Administration, at the National Council of La Raza convention in Philadelphia

By Den Loh, Associated Press

Monday. Clinton told the nation's largest Hispanic civil rights group that it must push for greater educational achievement in order for Hispanics to achieve more. Page 1B

# First lady emphasizes education in Phila. speech

By JENNIFER GONZALEZ  
Courier-Post Staff

PHILADELPHIA — Future demand for high-tech skills should compel Hispanics to push for greater educational achievement, Hillary Rodham Clinton told the nation's largest Hispanic civil rights group Monday.

Citing the statistic that nearly a third of all Hispanic students drop out of high school, Clinton said those numbers have to improve for the nation's rapidly growing Latino community to share fully in the American dream.

Fittingly, the National Council of La Raza also held its first-ever diversity job fair Monday as part of its four-day annual conference here. Dozens of companies from around the country set up booths to recruit employees to help them serve the growing Latino market.

## National Council of La Raza Hispanic Conference

"The 21st century will be ruthless," Clinton told NCLR members. "Education is so critical to fulfill that future. It is the gateway to opportunity."

"Hispanics are the largest minority group and that is very exciting news," said Clinton, who was dressed in a flattering, two-piece, pink suit. "But never before has education been so crucial to fulfilling the future of Hispanics."

A Census Bureau study released last week said Hispanic children have overtaken black youths as the nation's largest minority child population and

that Hispanics will become the nation's largest minority group overall within seven years.

Clinton said those figures present "challenges and opportunities" for Hispanics and the nation as a whole as it struggles to improve schools.

"I'm so glad she spoke about education during a time that we are struggling with the dropout rate," said Angel Fuentes, Camden City council member. "Now it's up to Hispanic communities like Camden to take her message back to our grassroots organizations and start working on the issues."

NCLR plans to release a report on the status of Hispanic education in America during a press conference Wednesday.

During her 45-minute talk to an enthusiastic audience of sever-

Please see LA RAZA, Page 2B

COURIER-POST, T

## La Raza/ Education emphasized

Continued from Page 1B

al-thousand Clinton drew the most applause when she noted that President Clinton has appointed more Hispanics to federal judgeships since 1992 than the Reagan and Bush administrations did during a combined 12 years in the White House.

"The first lady informed the audience of the millions of dollars the Clinton administration is pouring into the Hispanic Education Plan to help Hispanic youngsters get the education they need."

That same afternoon, many Hispanics attended the NCLR Diversity Job Fair at the Philadelphia Marriott Hotel, where representatives of about 60 companies gathered.

According to the NCLR, Hispanic representation in the labor force is expected to increase by 44 percent by 2005. This is the fastest growth projected for any group in the United States, driven by the overall population growth of the community, the young median age of Hispanics and the projected increase in labor force participation by Hispanic women.

Cendant Mortgage, a mortgage banking company based in Mount Laurel, knows the value of a diverse workplace. It is slowly integrating Hispanics and other minorities into its business. Hispanics make up approximately 5 percent of its employees.

"We have a lot of customers that call us from all over the country, especially in the West," said Colleen Aichholzer, a Cendant Mortgage recruiter. "We need bilingual candidates that can deal with our Spanish-speaking customers."

For Ivia Pacheco, the Diversity Job Fair is exactly the place she needed to be Monday. Pacheco, who grew up in North Jersey and now lives in Philadelphia, is looking for a job while she continues her medical studies at Thomas Jefferson University Hospital in Philadelphia.

"I have a lot of experience doing research and I'm looking for a job that would allow me to do that type of work," said Pacheco, who came to the job fair with her boyfriend, Jose Elias.

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1998 Newspaper Publishing PLC  
The Independent (London)

July 21, 1998, Tuesday

SECTION: NEWS; Page 13

LENGTH: 859 words

HEADLINE: US Politicians rush to court Hispanic vote

BYLINE: Mary Dejevsky in Philadelphia

BODY:

IT IS a cultural encounter that foreshadows the future of the United States - but white America is so far taking precious little notice. In its gleaming new convention centre, that sits right across from the restored Amish market, this quintessentially WASP city of William Penn is hosting upwards of 15,000 representatives of the National Council of La Raza, the country's biggest organisation of Hispanics.

The Hispanic delegates are conspicuous in a city centre that normally bustles with white and black. In the long corridors of the convention centre, there is a subdued air of Latin festivity and the quiet buzz of Spanish. From the mainstream US media, however, you would hardly know the Hispanics were around - a point that rankles with their leaders.

"Hispanics have been quietly advancing and earning a place in this country in a way that is not always understood in many of the cities of the nation. And Philadelphia, we are afraid, may well be one of them," said a bilingual editorial in *Al Dia*, one of the region's clutch of Spanish-language newspapers.

An article in Hispanic magazine put it more emotively: "We are, whether we like it or not, in the midst of the Hispanisation of America."

Hispanics are the USA's fastest-growing ethnic minority. Currently numbering around 30 million (11 per cent), they are expected to overtake the number of blacks within seven years. By the year 2050, and probably before, Hispanics will comprise more than 25 per cent of the US population. Their growth will be the main reason why, by then, white Americans will find themselves just another minority in the country they have regarded for more than two centuries as theirs.

The vast implications of this demographic shift have hardly begun to be addressed, though they lie at the heart of President Clinton's year-old initiative on race relations. Where the population at large fears to tread, however, business and politics are starting to venture.

The exhibition hall in the Philadelphia convention centre is crowded with exhibitors, more than 500 in all, from department store chains to car manufacturers, from community action groups to housing watchdogs, all courting the burgeoning Hispanic market. The keynote speaker at lunch yesterday was the first lady, Hillary Clinton - or rather, Hillary Rodham Clinton, as she was introduced in the programme. Her brother is standing for political office in Florida, one of seven states where the Hispanic minority has electoral clout,

so name recognition is a factor.

Another speaker is the mayor of New York City, Rudolph Giuliani, in what is billed his "first major address to a national Latino audience". Mayor Giuliani does not need their votes (he was re-elected by a landslide last year); the Republicans, on the other hand, do, as they look to autumn's mid-term congressional elections and the presidential race in the year 2000. Their standing has been severely harmed by California's anti-immigration measures, which led, according to a Republican consultant's report, to "the utter collapse of the Hispanic vote" in 1996.

In fact, both parties must consider one salient fact. As early as the next presidential election, the Hispanic constituency will be crucial. Texas and California, with 86 electoral college votes between them, are already 25 per cent Hispanic. Florida, Arizona, New Mexico, Illinois, New Jersey and New York also all have significant Hispanic minorities.

This explains why there is now a rush by both parties to have Hispanic representation on their presidential ticket in the year 2000. In recent elections, the question has been when or whether it would be politically decisive to have a black or a woman on the ticket. Now, there is speculation that Bill Richardson, a former Senator from New Mexico who is about to be made Energy Secretary, is being considered as a possible running mate for Al Gore in 2000. Richardson's mother is Mexican, and he is popular with Hispanic voters. George W Bush, son of the former president, now Governor of Texas and a likely Republican candidate, has benefited from having a Mexican sister-in-law.

Those who object that Hispanics cannot be treated as a homogenous ethnic minority, or even as a solid voting block, have a point. Those in California and Texas are mainly recent immigrants from Mexico and their families; their opposition to tougher restrictions on immigration and benefits has pushed them into the arms of the Democrats. In Florida, where the bias is towards Cuban exiles with strong anti-Castro sentiments, the vote has been Republican.

At the La Raza convention this week, Hispanics are going out of their way to present themselves as responsible and successful Americans, as a minority that has the highest male employment rate and some of the best health indicators of any in the US.

But the effect on the monolingual mainstream of a large minority that speaks a different language has yet to be gauged. In California and Texas, it has already caused a lot of tension; and the ethnic mix in those states today is that of America in 50 years' time.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 21, 1998

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**Yahoo! News**

**AP Headlines**

Monday July 20 5:25 PM EDT

## Mrs. Clinton Promoted Education

PAUL SHEPARD *Associated Press Writer*

PHILADELPHIA (AP) - Future demand for high-tech skills should compel Hispanics to push for greater educational achievement, Hillary Rodham Clinton told the nation's largest Hispanic civil rights group Monday.

"The 21st century will be ruthless," Mrs. Clinton said to the National Council of La Raza at its annual conference.

Citing statistics that nearly a third of all Hispanic students drop out of high school, Mrs. Clinton said those numbers have to improve for the nation's swiftly growing Latino community to share fully in the American dream.

"Education is so critical to fulfill that future," she said. "It is the gateway to opportunity."

A Census Bureau study released last week said Hispanic children have overtaken black youth as the nation's largest minority child population and that Hispanics will become the nation's largest minority group overall within seven years.

Mrs. Clinton said those figures presented "challenges and opportunities" for Hispanics and the nation as a whole as it struggles to improve schools.

"This is an investment in the future," she said.

Mrs. Clinton recently completed a bus tour of several historic sites in the Northeast to focus attention on preserving them. She added that she would ensure "the efforts and accomplishments of Hispanic Americans" would also be highlighted "front and center."

During a 45-minute talk to a friendly audience of several thousand, Mrs. Clinton drew applause when she noted President Clinton has appointed more Hispanics to federal judgeships since 1992 than the Reagan and Bush Administrations did during their combined 12 years in the White House.

La Raza, which celebrates its 30th anniversary this year, will attract more than 12,000 community, business and government leaders for the four-day conference.

This year's theme, Honoring Our Past, Forging Our Future, honors Hispanic contributions to American history and culture.

Conference workshops include issues faced by the Hispanic community including immigration, welfare reform, health and youth leadership.

During the convention, the group will release a report on the status of Hispanic education in America.

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1998 The Dallas Morning News  
The Dallas Morning News

July 21, 1998, Tuesday HOME FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4A; AROUND THE U.S.

LENGTH: 438 words

HEADLINE: AROUND THE U.S.

Hillary Clinton tells Hispanics to emphasize education

PHILADELPHIA- Future demand for high-tech skills should compel Hispanics to push for greater educational achievement, Hillary Rodham Clinton told the nation's largest Hispanic civil rights group Monday. "The 21st century will be ruthless," Mrs. Clinton said to the National Council of La Raza at its annual conference. Citing statistics that nearly a third of all Hispanic students drop out of high school, Mrs. Clinton said those numbers have to improve for the nation's swiftly growing Latino population to share fully in the American dream.

PM-PA--Mrs. Clinton-Fundraiser,450

First lady stumps for Hoeffel, raising \$150,000

GLADWYNE, Pa. (AP) First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton helped congressional candidate Joe Hoeffel raise about \$150,000 at a reception for his campaign to unseat Rep. Jon D. Fox in the fall election.

"Joe will represent your interests and be smart about what we need to do to solve our problems in the future," Mrs. Clinton told about 400 Hoeffel supporters Monday.

"Vote for and tell your friends to vote for Joe Hoeffel," she said.

Before Mrs. Clinton took the stage, Montgomery County Democratic Chairman Marcel Groen announced that the day's fundraising total put the Hoeffel campaign over \$700,000 more than Hoeffel raised in the entire 1996 campaign, when he lost to Fox, R-Pa., by 84 votes.

As contributors stood under a tent fanning themselves on a 90-degree day, Groen said, "If you think this is hot, can you imagine the heat Jon Fox is feeling right now?"

Tickets for lawn party were \$125. A smaller group paid \$1,000 apiece to join the First Lady at a special reception inside the home of Iris Martin, Pennsylvania chairwoman of the Democratic National Committee's Women's Leadership Forum.

Appearing with Mrs. Clinton were Philadelphia Mayor Edward G. Rendell, Democratic gubernatorial candidate Ivan Itkin, Hoeffel and Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky, the former congresswoman who lost to Fox in 1994. She is now running for lieutenant governor.

"It's a hot day for a hot campaign," Hoeffel said. The Montgomery County commissioner and former state representative gave a speech that focused on women's issues.

"For 20 years," he said, "I have fought to protect women's legal and reproductive rights."

"It is the women who made this event successful. And it is the women of Montgomery County," he said, "that are going to elect me to Congress."

Hoeffel also said he would work to reform education by fighting for smaller class sizes and higher standards.

Mrs. Clinton also praised Ms. Mezvinsky for casting a controversial vote in Congress for the president's budget, which included what Republicans called the largest tax hike in history, back in 1993.

She said Ms. Mezvinsky knew the vote could cost her the election in 1994, and it did. But by helping to pass the plan, the first lady said, Ms. Mezvinsky turned the economy around because the president's package led to lower interest rates and a balanced budget.

Fox outspent Hoeffel in the last election, \$1.6 million to \$750,000. So far, he has raised about the same amount of money as Hoeffel but he spent a lot of it defending himself against challengers in the Republican primary.

\*\*\*\* filed by:APE-(PA) on 07/21/98 at 04:55EDT \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/21/98 at 08:20EDT \*\*\*\*

PM-PA--La Raza,500

Nation's largest Latino advocacy organization meets in Phila.

phqpdnes1

PHILADELPHIA (AP) The National Council of La Raza is holding its annual convention in a Northeastern city for the first time, as the nation's largest Latino advocacy organization seeks to expand its coalition.

``There are commonalities of issues across the country. This convention gives people an opportunity to meet with others who face the same thing they do,'' said Lisa Navarrete, a spokeswoman for the convention.

In the past, La Raza has drawn a predominantly Mexican American membership.

The conference opened Sunday and runs through Wednesday. It is expected to draw more than 10,000 people.

Today's events feature a keynote address by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and remarks by Gov. Tom Ridge.

The nearly 40 workshops at the four-day convention focus on ``any issue that could possibly affect the Latino community,'' said Ms. Navarrete. Besides broad-based issues, she said, the convention will offer workshops on practical matters such as the homebuying process.

Another hot topic at Sunday's sessions was the status of Puerto Rico.

Fernando Martin Garcia, vice president of Puerto Rico's Independent Party, argued that statehood is not an option for people who believe they are a separate nation.

``The fact is that Puerto Rico is a colony, one of the last remaining colonies in the world,'' said Martin.

``It is always better to rule yourself than to be ruled by others. And no country has ever been more ready to rule than Puerto Rico.``

Carlos Romero Barcelo, Puerto Rico's nonvoting representative in Congress, saw the decision as a simple choice -- whether to hold on to U.S. citizenship or to risk losing it.

``Millions of people throughout the world risk their lives, their families' lives, coming here in leaky boats to become citizens,'' he said.

Commonwealth status, Romero said, leaves Puerto Ricans on the island at a disadvantage. They are U.S. citizens but cannot vote. They receive less in federal assistance, such as Medicare and SSI. And they have no voice in Congress.

Other workshops Sunday included information on assimilation, cardiovascular health and youth leadership.

Meanwhile, visitors could browse at the conference's Latino Expo, which featured information booths, raffles and giveaways by more than 300 corporations, publications, government agencies and community organizations.

One of La Raza's broader themes this year is education. The council will release a report at the end of the convention on education based on census statistics and other research for its ``State of the Hispanic America'' series.

Navarrete said that Latinos now have a higher school-age population than African-Americans, but they do not have as strong a voice in policymaking. The issues raised by this disparity will be addressed in workshops on school equality and the Latino Civil Rights movement.

\*\*\*\* filed by:APE-(PA) on 07/20/98 at 07:53EDT \*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\* printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/20/98 at 16:02EDT \*\*\*\*

BC-PD-LA-RAZA

## National Council of La Raza Opens Convention in Philadelphia

By Jeremy Moore, Philadelphia Daily News  
Knight Ridder/Tribune Business News

Jul. 20--The National Council of La Raza (NCLR), a Washington, D.C.-based political lobbying organization, opened its convention yesterday hoping to bring awareness to the Latino community of Philadelphia.

"There are commonalities of issues across the country. This convention gives people an opportunity to meet with others who face the same thing they do," said Lisa Navarrete, spokeswoman for the convention.

The nearly 40 workshops at the four-day convention focus on "any issue that could possibly affect the Latino community," said Navarrete. She said that broad-based issues come to discussion, but they also offer workshops on practical matters such as the homebuying process workshop offered in Spanish yesterday at the Pennsylvania Convention Center.

One of NCLR's broader themes this year is education. As part of their practical application of the issue, NCLR will release a report at the end of the convention on education based on census statistics and other research for its "State of the Hispanic America" series.

Navarrete said that Latinos now have a higher school-age population than African-Americans, but they do not have as strong a voice in policymaking. The issues raised by this disparity will be addressed in workshops on school equality, and the Latino Civil Rights movement. She believes they require national attention.

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is known as a strong advocate of children's rights and an authority on educational issues, will address the convention luncheon today.

"We're looking forward to it," Navarrete said. "She's someone who is recognized as a dynamic speaker, and is very in touch with the issues we want to address."

NCLR conventioners are also celebrating two major historical anniversaries. This year is the 150th anniversary of the end of the Mexican-American war, and the 100th anniversary of the annexation of Puerto Rico.

"We want to take the time to acknowledge these dates, and then look forward to the future," said Navarrete.

A major issue regarding the future of Puerto Rico is possible statehood. A panel discussion yesterday focused on the island's current international condition.

Genaro Delvalle, a native Puerto Rican and now a North Philadelphia resident, called the convention a "wonderful opportunity."

"It brings people together and makes them aware of things that are happening that they might have been unaware of," he said.

Other workshops yesterday included information on assimilation, cardiovascular health and youth leadership. The convention opening saw 5,000 attendees.

"If this keeps up, we will break Chicago's record," said Navarrete, referring to last year's convention, which had a record overall attendance of 14,000.

Today's luncheon will be held at the Convention Center Ballroom, and is open to the public for a cost of \$75. Proceeds will go toward operating costs of the NCLR.

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END!A\$9?PD-LA-RAZA

\*\*\*\* filed by:---F(--) on 07/20/98 at 15:40EDT \*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\* printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/20/98 at 16:01EDT \*\*\*\*

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Copyright 1998 Telegraph-Herald  
Telegraph Herald

July 21, 1998, Tuesday

SECTION: National/World; Pg. a 2

LENGTH: 181 words

HEADLINE: Hillary Clinton: Educated youth is key to future

BYLINE: Associated Press

BODY:

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"This is an investment in the future," she said.

LOAD-DATE: July 21, 1998



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SMTWTFSS

July 21, 1998

North

La Raza applauds Hillary Clinton

*She urged parents to do "whatever it takes" to ensure their children get a solid education.*

By Ambre S. Brown

INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

Addressing more than 3,000 people at the National Council of La Raza's annual convention yesterday, Hillary Rodham Clinton promised more aid to help Latinos make gains in education.

"The 21st century will be so ruthless that all of us must do what we can to compete in the global economy," she told the audience at the Convention Center ballroom.

"This is not a matter that can be left to the marketplace. . . . We need to make sure public schools work -- no matter where they are."

To that end, she said, the Clinton administration has proposed the hiring of 100,000 new teachers nationwide and is backing bilingual education.

"We want every child to be able to speak English," she said. "Does that mean we want them to neglect their primary languages? Of course not. It does mean we must have an effective education plan for every child."

"We cannot cut off bilingual-education plans and the extensive opportunities they provide for our children."

The crowd responded enthusiastically, giving her a standing ovation.

Clinton was on a swing through the area that also saw her make stops at a fund-raising event in Montgomery County for Democratic congressional hopeful Joseph M. Hoeffel 3d and read to children at the Village School House child-care center in Upper Dublin.

Clinton said the theme of La Raza's conference, "Honoring Our Past, Forging Our Future," was appropriate because partnerships between such organizations as La Raza must be formed to ensure that all children in America receive a quality education.

She cited new statistics that show African American students graduating at close to the same rate as white students but that also show that "Latino children are still dropping out." She said it was important that parents do "whatever it takes" to ensure that their children understand the value of an education.

"I know not everyone makes it," she said, "but we must stand behind our children. You cannot forge the future in today's world without education."

Clinton also spoke of changing the content of what is taught in our nation's

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7/21/98 8:25 AM

public schools.

"I want to make sure American history includes every American," she said. "Our history is in the lives and accomplishments of Hispanic Americans."

Later, she visited the Gladwyne estate of management consultant Iris Martin for a fund-raiser to benefit the campaign of candidate Hoeffel, who lost to U.S. Rep. Jon D. Fox by only 84 votes two years ago.

Organizers billed the event, which drew 500 people, as the largest Democratic fund-raiser in Montgomery County in recent memory. The participants, each of whom paid either \$125 to stand beneath a giant tent pitched on the lawn of the three-story mansion or \$1,000 to attend a private reception, contributed more than \$150,000, Montgomery County Democratic Party chairman Marcel Groen said.

That means the total raised by Hoeffel so far this year has topped \$700,000, Groen said, equal to the amount raised and spent during Hoeffel's entire 1996 campaign.

"It's a hot day for a hot campaign," Hoeffel, a Montgomery County commissioner, said. "It will be another close fight to the finish. If you help me, we will win."

The loudest and longest cheers, however, were reserved for Clinton.

"We need people in Congress who are smart and who are dedicated," she said. "What we have here is a chance to vote for somebody who can fulfill those requirements."

Preserving public education, protecting health care, and keeping the crime rate low are all issues that Montgomery County voters can depend on Hoeffel to work toward, she said while urging local Democrats to work against voter apathy in the midterm election.

" [ Hoeffel's ] defeat last time was [ by a very, very small [ margin ] ," Clinton said. "We must get people to the polls -- to vote not only for Joe but for themselves."

## **Hispanic Group Cites Troubled Education Record**

**PHILADELPHIA** - The National Council of La Raza Education issued a report last week on how Hispanics fare in school. The analysis says that while Hispanics have made small gains in the past decade, education levels from preschool to higher education are insufficient to be competitive in today's economy. Among the report's findings: Only 60 percent of Hispanic students finish high school compared with nearly 90 percent of white and black students.

**by Elizabeth Ross White**

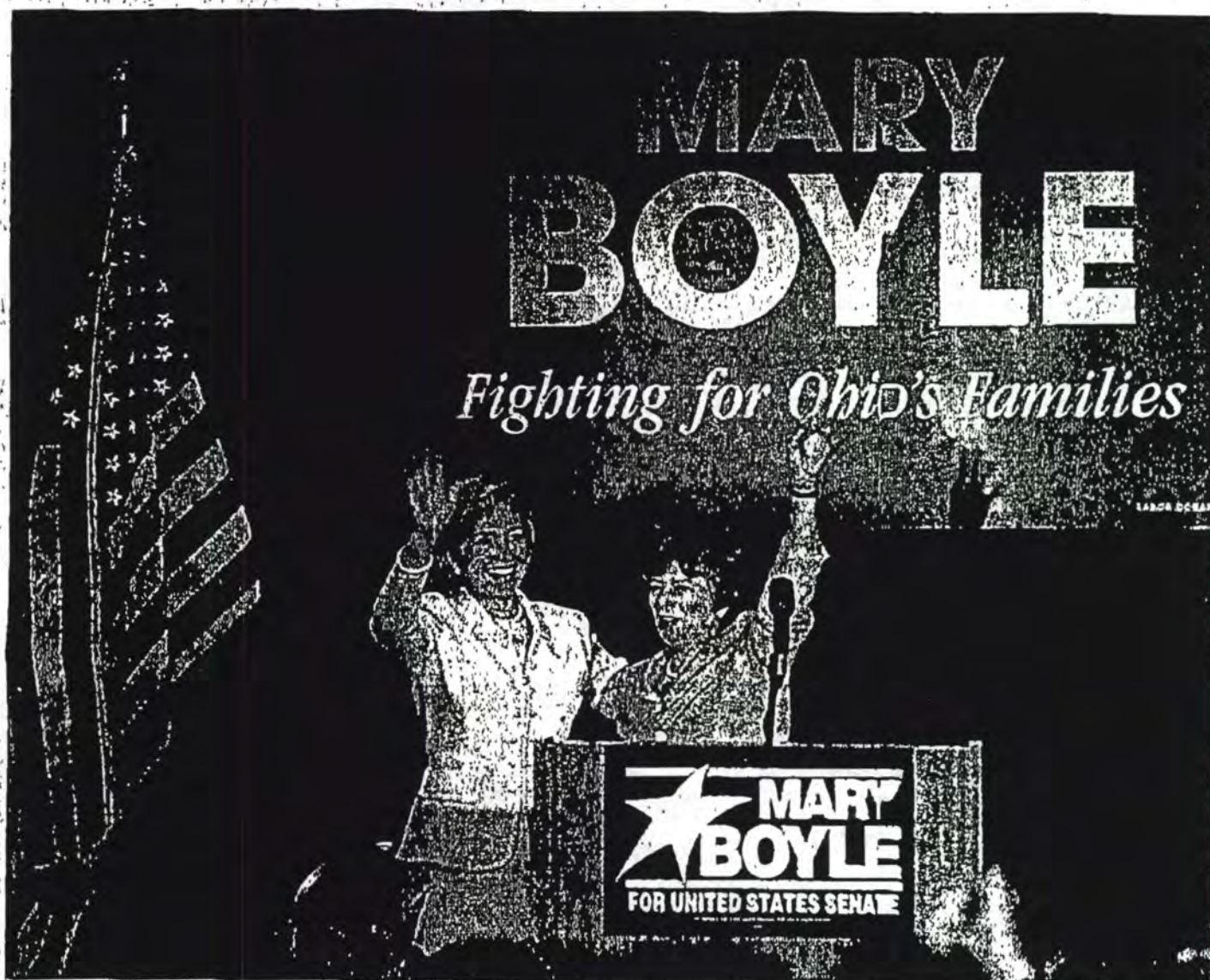
## Scaring up some laughs



By Tim Shaffer, Reuters

**In Dresher, Pa.:** First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton makes a monster face while reading to children at a day-care center Monday. Clinton was campaigning for Democratic congressional candidate Joe Hoeffel.

# FIRST LADY IN OHIO



MATT DETRICH/Akron Beacon Journal photo

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton greets the crowd with Senate candidate Mary Boyle during a visit yesterday to the Sheraton Cleveland City Centre. The fund-raising event attracted about 700 supporters and raised \$200,000 for Boyle, who is running against Republican George Voinovich to replace retiring U.S. Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio. **Story on Page B4**

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## First lady lends hand

• Hillary Clinton's Cleveland visit gives financial boost to Mary Boyle, but Senate hopeful still trails Voinovich

BY STEVE HOFFMAN  
Beacon Journal politics writer

CLEVELAND: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday helped U.S. Senate candidate Mary Boyle raise some \$200,000 for her campaign in an event that drew more than 700 supporters to the Sheraton Cleveland City Centre in downtown Cleveland.

The Boyle campaign needs the money, to be sure, but the first lady placed at least as much emphasis on grass-roots political support, urging Boyle's partisans to exercise good citizenship despite a climate of political disillusionment.

The candidates themselves can only do so much, Clinton said.

"They require the voices, the votes, the resources, the support of so many of us," she said.

Those who don't get involved, she said toward the end of her speech, "have forfeited the right to complain."

That's something Boyle clearly has not forfeited. She continued her sharp attacks on the administration of Gov. George Voinovich, her Republican opponent.

But to an audience that included heavy representation from women, Boyle also stressed the issues she has encountered in her travels around Ohio.

"It really comes down to family, one way or another," Boyle said. "I want to represent the families of Ohio," she said, noting issues such as health care, education and the environment.

It was the largest single fund-raiser ever for the Boyle campaign, said Steve Fought, spokesman for the former Cuyahoga County commissioner. Boyle is challenging Voinovich for the seat now held by Democrat John Glenn. Glenn, preoccupied by his upcoming space flight, is expected to endorse Boyle, but has so far played only a small role in her campaign.

Boyle, the first female nominee of a major political party in Ohio to run for the U.S. Senate, appears, however, to be banking heavily on support from women throughout the state.

"I think she follows through," said Carol Roe, a nurse and attorney

from Cleveland Heights who has known Boyle since Boyle was a state representative.

"She has an understanding of the issues that are of the most concern to the average citizen," Roe said.

Minimum ticket price at the event was \$100, but tickets to a private reception started at \$1,000. Some contributors gave indirectly to the Democrats' Senate campaign committee, which has promised \$1 million to the Boyle campaign.

Whether Boyle will have enough resources to make an impact remains to be seen, however. The fund-raiser will help her recover from a risky effort during the primary election in May, when the campaign spent about \$400,000 — virtually her entire treasury at the time — on television ads blasting Voinovich's support for a penny increase in the state sales tax for education and property tax relief for homeowners.

The tax issue failed badly and the Boyle campaign thinks the ads helped pierce an aura of invincibility that has surrounded Voinovich since his 1994 re-election victory.

Still, recent reports showed Voinovich with \$3.76 million in

campaign money, compared to Boyle's \$417,752, indicating she has had some difficulty refilling her coffers. Voinovich, a former Cleveland mayor, also has led in statewide political polls.

But Fought said yesterday the Boyle campaign expects to have about \$2 million to spend on television in the general election campaign, enough, he said, to get her message across.

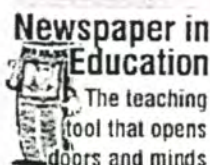
Earlier in the day, Boyle accompanied the first lady as she helped raise money for two Democratic U.S. House candidates.

A Cincinnati fund-raiser helped U.S. Rep. Ted Strickland, D-Lucasville, who faces a tough re-election battle against Lt. Gov. Nancy Hollister of Marietta, and Cincinnati Mayor Roxanne Qualls, who is trying to unseat U.S. Rep. Steve Chabot, R-Cincinnati.

The first lady was also on hand yesterday in Cincinnati to dedicate a new YWCA shelter for battered women.

All three races in Ohio have attracted national attention.

Should Voinovich win this fall, it would be the first time since 1974 that both U.S. Senate seats from Ohio would be in Republican hands.



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## First Lady woos Ohioans

July 28, 1998

BY FRITZ WENZEL  
BLADE POLITICAL WRITER

CLEVELAND - First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton delivered some hot campaign rhetoric and an elementary lesson in political science during fund-raising stops in Ohio yesterday.

She raised the flag on issues that Democratic Party candidates are touting nationwide during her speeches here and in Cincinnati.

In a rally here last night to benefit Democratic U.S. Senate candidate Mary Boyle, Mrs. Clinton told a crowd of about 700 people that Ms. Boyle "was one of the first people to come out for a [medical] patient's bill of rights, and that is why she would be a good person to represent you as a U.S. senator."

Mrs. Clinton has been linked to the issue of health care for years. She was deeply involved in President Clinton's failed 1993 effort to reform the national health-care system. Republicans claimed control of both houses of Congress soon after.

Her attack was leveled at health maintenance organizations, which have come under criticism for limited coverage of some medical procedures.

"We need to take control of our health-care system out of the hands of the insurance company bureaucrats and put it back into the hands of the health-care professionals," the First Lady said.

The U.S. House last week passed a Republican-backed package of health-care reforms that would restrict some practices of health maintenance organizations, but Mrs. Clinton said the GOP bill is useless.

"It has so many holes in it that, at the end of the day, it will do nothing" to protect the rights of patients, she told the Cincinnati crowd.

The Cleveland event raised about \$200,000 for Ms. Boyle's campaign against Republican Gov. George Voinovich. The Cincinnati event raised slightly more than \$100,000 and benefited U.S. Rep. Ted Strickland (D., O.) and Cincinnati Mayor Roxanne Qualls, who is running to unseat Steve Chabot in Ohio's 1st Congressional District.

Mr. Strickland is challenged by Lt. Gov. Nancy Hollister.

Mrs. Clinton urged the crowds to get involved with campaigns and to recruit friends and neighbors to counter "negative ads" that she predicted Republicans will use in campaigns this fall.

"They will put enough poison in the air ... that average people won't want to be a part of it," she said here, adding that people will stay away from polls on election day. That, in turn, will "leave the [political] ground clear for the most extreme elements in our society" to move in and set policy.

The First Lady issued a similar prediction to the Cincinnati crowd, referring to Mr. Chabot once.

Shannon Jones, Chabot campaign manager, countered that the congressman is looking forward to discussing issues with Mayor Qualls. "You name the issue, we'll be glad to debate it. We're looking forward to it," she said.

Voters may be subjected to plenty of political advertising, but there will be plenty of face-to-face political dialogue in the congressional races. Ms. Jones said that an agreement to hold four formal debates has been finalized between Mr. Chabot and Mayor Qualls. Mr. Strickland and Ms. Hollister have agreed to a schedule of 14 debates, one for each county in their congressional district.

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# Cleveland Post

## July 28, 1998

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SCOTT SHAW / PLAIN DEALER PHOTOGRAPHER

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Democratic Senate candidate Mary O. Boyle wave to supporters at a fund-raiser in downtown Cleveland last night. Clinton said Boyle's track record makes her "exactly what the people of Ohio want."

## First lady lends influence to Boyle's run for Senate

By JOE FROLIK  
NATIONAL CORRESPONDENT

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton last night exhorted Democrats to rally around U.S. Senate candidate Mary O. Boyle so the president's agenda can be enacted without having to run "a total obstacle course" in Congress.

Appearing at a fund-raiser for Boyle and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee at the Sheraton Cleveland City Centre hotel, Clinton urged about 500 party loyalists to make sure they get their friends and neighbors to vote this November when Boyle squares off against Republican Gov. George V. Voinovich. Incumbent Democratic Sen. John Glenn is retiring.

"Take the time and the trouble to talk to people about why this election's important," said the first lady, who earlier in the day helped raise money for Democratic House candidates in Cincinnati. "What's important? The future of Social Security. The future of Medicare. The future of public education. The future of your rights as a patient."

Boyle, in her remarks to the crowd, made it clear she plans to stress those issues in her uphill campaign against the vastly better-funded Voinovich.

"Ohioans want a voice for their families," said Boyle, a former Cuyahoga County commissioner and state legislator. "The good old boys know how to kill campaign finance reform, they know how to play ball with Big Tobacco and they certainly know how to play games with women's rights and human rights."

Boyle, as she has for months, skewered Voinovich as a governor of few accomplishments.

"Mrs. Clinton, here's my request," Boyle said, turning toward the first lady. "I think you ought to send that whole gang of special prosecutors right here to Ohio. Let's let them do something useful for a change. Let's see if they can find one shred of his [Voinovich's] promises to the working people of Ohio. He promised them he would be the education governor, the environmental governor, the ethical governor."

Such rhetoric drew whoops in the pep rally atmosphere. Earlier, the crowd had cheered the entire Democratic state ticket, headed by gubernatorial hopeful Lee I. Fisher.

But for Boyle to deliver her message, she needs money. Reports filed earlier this month with the Federal Election Commission showed her with about one-ninth the bankroll that Voinovich commands. Boyle's staffers said last night's event — for which tickets ranged from \$100 for entry to the ballroom to \$5,000 for a more intimate reception with the first lady — netted about \$200,000.

Campaign manager Marc Dann said much of that would remain in

Boyle's treasury. But contributions from individuals who have already given the legal maximum of \$1,000 to the fall campaign will go, the Democrats' national campaign fund, for use in races the party leadership deems most important — and most winnable.

"They're already spending money in our race and they'll continue to spend money in our race," said Dann. "So I'm hopeful it'll come back to us."

Last night's audience included four employees from the Mr. Coffee plant in Glenwillow. Sunbeam Corp. plans to close the factory in September, and the Teamsters union, which represents the workers, is trying to win a reprieve.

Boyle has said she will try to help, and the four workers brought a coffee-maker to the fund-raiser, hoping to give it to Clinton. The Secret Service vetoed that plan, but they did get to give the first lady a letter detailing their plight.

"She said she's concerned about what's happening with us and she would take a look at it," said Joylyn Billy, a plant steward and 24-year Mr. Coffee employee.

Cleveland Plain Dealer  
July 28, 1998

## First lady boosts Boyle, war chest



SCOTT SHAW / PLAIN DEALER PHOTOGRAPHER

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton tells Cleveland Democrats that they need to unite behind Senate hopeful Mary O. Boyle this November. She praised Boyle as someone who supports President Clinton's agenda and will "stick with it into the 21st century." Clinton helped Boyle and the national party raise about \$200,000 during an appearance here last night. Story, photo on 7-A

Cleveland Plain Dealer  
July 28, 1998

## SARAH



**Sarah Crump**

### Boyle gets to fly with first lady

Mary O. Boyle, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate, had her first ride in a presidential plane yesterday. Boyle flew from Cincinnati to Cleveland with **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, who spoke at Boyle's fund-raiser last night. "You should have heard

her talk about Lake Erie as we flew over it," Clinton told the audience at the Sheraton Cleveland City Centre. "I thought it was her fifth child!"

Boyle said later that she told Clinton that environmental preservation laws, some of which were passed when Boyle was a legislator, had cleaned up the lake.

"Then someone on the plane asked, 'What about the zebra mussels?'" Boyle said. "I told them that was our next battle."

#### FAMILY MATTERS . . .

Boyle's four children were in the audience, along with 3-week-old granddaughter **Kyle Anne**, daughter of son **John** and daughter-in-law **Renee**. Husband **Jack** was there too—the couple celebrate their 36th wedding anniversary today.

Things were a little topsy-

turvy at the Boyles' wedding, owing to the fact that the candidate's maiden name is O'Boyle.

"It was confusing as to who would sit on which side of the church," said Boyle's brother, **Mike O'Boyle**, who escorted their 87-year-old mother, **Catherine O'Boyle**, to the event.

#### THROWING AND CATCHING . . .

The St. Ignatius High School Circus Company performed while the audience was waiting for Clinton to speak. The juggling act has a slight connection to the campaign. Its equipment comes from **Todd Smith**, husband of **Cathy Boyle Smith**, Boyle's daughter and campaign finance director.

He owns **Todd Smith Productions**, a Cleveland company that manufactures juggling pins and balls.

Cleveland Plain Dealer  
July 28, 1998

# First lady will assist Boyle's bid for office

• Mrs. Clinton lends support to Democrats

BY STEVE HOFFMAN  
*Beacon Journal politics writer*

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will campaign Monday in Cleveland on behalf of U.S. Senate candidate Mary Boyle, Boyle's organization announced this week.

Democrat Boyle, a former Cuyahoga County commissioner, is running against Republican Gov. George Voinovich for the seat now held by Democrat John Glenn. Glenn isn't running for another term and Voinovich is barred by Ohio law from running for a third consecutive term as governor.

The first lady will appear for a Boyle campaign fund-raiser scheduled to begin at 5:30 p.m. at Bar Cleveland, 1204 Old River Road on the East Bank of the Flats.

Tickets to the fund-raiser are \$100. A private reception also will be held, with ticket prices beginning at \$1,000.

About 500 tickets are available for the fund-raising event and about 50 for the private reception, according to the Boyle campaign. For more information, call 216-431-1988.

Mrs. Clinton will be in Cincinnati earlier Monday to help raise money in two key congressional races. She will help raise money for Cincinnati Mayor Roxanne Qualls, the Democrats' candidate against Republican incumbent Steve Chabot in the 1st District, and for U.S. Rep. Ted Strickland, D-Lucasville, in the 8th District. Strickland is being challenged by Lt. Gov. Nancy Hollister, a former mayor of Marietta.

All three races have attracted national attention. Boyle is tentatively planning to accompany Mrs. Clinton in Cincinnati, traditionally a Republican bastion.

Boyle has campaigned aggressively, but is lagging badly in fund-raising, according to recent reports filed in Washington.

While Voinovich has \$3.8 million in the bank, Boyle has only \$417,752.

## Hillary Clinton tours local women's shelter

Home said among best in U.S.

Tuesday, July 28, 1998

BY B.G. GREGG  
The Cincinnati Enquirer

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was given more than a personal tour of a Cincinnati battered women's shelter Monday: She received a first-hand account of domestic violence.

"One year ago, a person who I trusted and loved physically and emotionally put me into near insanity," said Mary Leslie Bryant, who described herself as a battered woman and is a former resident at the YWCA's previous shelter, the Alice Paul House.



Hillary Rodham Clinton told the crowd she wished she didn't have to be at Cincinnati's new battered women's shelter. (Michael E. Keating photo)

| ZOOM |

"Safe havens such as this new shelter are necessary for women and children to get away from abuse and violence."

Mrs. Clinton, who was here on a fund-raising venture for local Democrats competing in congressional races, stopped by the new women's shelter for about an hour.

Ms. Bryant and Mrs. Clinton met before the first lady toured the new YWCA Battered Women's Shelter, which will replace the Alice Paul House and start serving up to 60 women next week.

### RELATED

First lady: GOP stifling turnout

The two women then toured the 11,300-square-foot shelter together, with Ms. Bryant explaining the daily routine of women who will stay there and pointing out why certain aspects of the facility are important. For example, one bedroom contained two beds on the floor and two bunk beds, each decorated with a colorful quilt.

"Parents who have kids with them -- you don't have to split them up," Ms. Bryant said, pointing to all of the beds. "You remain a unit while you are getting help. That's what I like about it." Mrs. Clinton seemed impressed with the stately former mansion that includes 10 bedrooms, indoor and outdoor play areas for children, counseling areas, an elevator, an industrial kitchen, a laundry area and a butterfly garden. Its location is kept secret.

"There is certainly no better shelter in our country," Mrs. Clinton said after her tour, which was led by Charlene Ventura, executive director of the YWCA, and included Mayor Roxanne Qualls, who is battling Republican Steve Chabot for his congressional seat.



# Shelter to host 1st lady

Mrs. Clinton  
to see center  
for women

BY B.G. GREGG  
The Cincinnati Enquirer

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will tour a shelter for abused women when she visits Cincinnati on Monday for a fund-raiser.

Mrs. Clinton will tour the YWCA's Battered Women's Shelter hours before its grand opening. The organization spent 1½ years renovating the \$1.6 million shelter so that it could serve more abused women.

"This will triple our capacity, from 21 to 60," said Charlene Ventura, executive director of the YWCA.

"For the last few months, we've had a waiting list of 60 to 70 people."

Mrs. Clinton is scheduled to attend a private reception and fund-raiser at Music Hall for Mayor Roxanne Qualls and U.S. Rep. Ted Strickland. Ms. Qualls is battling incumbent



Republican Steve Chabot for the 1st Congressional District seat, and Mr. Strickland is fighting Ohio Lt. Gov. Nancy Hollister for the 6th Congressional District seat he now holds.

Ms. Ventura said the YWCA shelter helps about 500 women a year. Abused women and their children can stay anywhere from one to 30 days, escaping domestic violence until they can stabilize their lives.

The 11,300-foot shelter contains a place for children to be home-schooled. It also includes play areas, an industrial kitchen and other amenities, Ms. Ventura said.

The YWCA received \$1 million in donations and collected the rest in federal, state and city grants.

It replaces the Alice Paul House, which was one of the first seven shelters for abused women in the nation when it opened in 1978.

## Hillary Clinton visits to boost Democrats

# Building For Women A Foundation of Trust



Battered Women's  
Shelter of  
Cincinnati



Battered Women's  
Shelter of  
YWCA Cincinnati

The Cincinnati Enquirer/Michael E. Keating

Hillary Rodham Clinton told the crowd she wished she didn't have to be at Cincinnati's new battered women's shelter. Mary Leslie Bryant, left, a resident of the YWCA's previous shelter, gave Mrs. Clinton a tour.

## First lady tours local shelter



The Cincinnati Enquirer/Glenn Hartong

Mrs. Clinton and Mayor Roxanne Qualls chat at a Music Hall fund-raiser for Democrats.

She calls YWCA  
home among  
best in U.S.

BY B.G. GREGG  
The Cincinnati Enquirer

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"One year ago, a person who I trusted and loved physically and emotionally put me into near insanity," said Mary Leslie Bryant, who described

herself as a battered woman and is a former resident at the YWCA's previous shelter, the Alice Paul House.

"Safe havens such as this new shelter are necessary for women and children to get away from abuse and violence."

Mrs. Clinton, who was here supporting local Democrats in congressional races, stopped by the new women's shelter for about an hour after a fund-raiser at Music Hall.

The first lady was the featured attraction at an event for Cincinnati Mayor Roxanne

(Please see CLINTON,  
Page A4)

1/2

# Clinton: First lady visits local women's shelter

CONTINUED FROM PAGE A1

Qualls, a candidate in the 1st Congressional District; Ted Strickland, the Democratic incumbent in Ohio's 6th Congressional District; and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC).

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areas, an elevator, an industrial kitchen, a laundry area and a butterfly garden. Its location is kept secret.

"There is certainly no better shelter in our country," Mrs. Clinton said after her tour, which was led by Charlene Ventura, executive director of the YWCA, and included Ms. Qualls, who is battling Republican Steve Chabot for his congressional seat.

She told a crowd of about 50 people, most of whom had helped raise the \$1.6 million needed to rehabilitate the shelter, that domestic violence has been a priority during her husband's

administration. She released a U.S. Department of Justice report that showed the federal government spent more than \$411 million in the past three years to fight domestic violence.

The report examined the effect of the Services, Training, Officers, Prosecutors (STOP) grants to prevent and respond to violence against woman. The grants were established in the Violence Against Women Act of 1994.

The report, prepared by the Urban Institute for the National Institute of Justice, found that the money was being used to increase police training,

help domestic violence victims, improve communication among community agencies and many other services.

Sadly, Mrs. Clinton said, domestic violence has not yet been wiped out and there is still a need for shelters.

"I don't think there is a person here who does not wish we didn't have to be here," she said, adding that one day, "this shelter will be a relic of a past."

"Now that will take some time, but I hope I am around to see it."

# Hillary Clinton: Moneymaker times 3

If you had any doubts that the system of financing political campaigns in this country is reeling out of control like a stray asteroid, you might want to check out Hillary Rodham Clinton's visit to Cincinnati on Monday.

The first lady is coming to Music Hall to raise campaign money for 1st District congressional candidate Roxanne Qualls and 6th District incumbent Ted Strickland and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC),



HOWARD WILKINSON

## POLITICS

all at the same time.

Oh, yes, Mrs. Clinton will also be touring the YWCA's shelter for battered women, a

visit that was tacked on to the Cincinnati trip long after the fund-raiser was planned. It is, in this age of congressional inquiries into campaign finance abuses and horror stories of Buddhist nuns writing four-figure checks, considered unseemly for the president, vice president and/or their spouses to be bouncing from city to city for the sole purpose of grubbing for campaign money.

But, rest assured, this trip is about money. *Do-re-mi*. And lots of it.

It is, though, a bit more complicated than most political fund-raisers in that there are three entities lining up at the trough — the Qualls campaign, the Strickland campaign and the DCCC, which always seems to get its cut as a finder's fee.

Federal election laws limit the amount you can contribute to a campaign for federal office. If you, as an individual, write a check for \$1,000 for a candidate's primary campaign and another \$1,000 for the

general election, you are done as far as that candidate is concerned.

That is what is known as *hard money*, the kind that goes directly to candidates' campaigns and is subject to contribution limits and reporting laws.

Then there is what is known as *soft money*, which goes to political party organizations like the DCCC and its Republican counterparts and is not regulated. So you can give as much as you want, as often

as you want, and the money goes into what the political parties refer to as "party-building" activities.

Well, the Hillary Rodham Clinton fund-raiser in Cincinnati on Monday is going to be a mishmash of both.

The bean counters down at DCCC headquarters are going to go through several pairs of green eyeshades trying to figure out what is what once the

(Please see **POLITICS**,  
Page C8)

## Politics: First lady's got money on her mind

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

big pot of money from the fund-raiser rolls in.

The DCCC had to set up a separate fund called the Ohio New Majority Fund to handle the inflow of soft and hard money. The form that was sent to potential contributors to the Hillary Rodham Clinton event by the DCCC is complicated.

It uses the current *en vogue* euphemisms in political circles for "hard money" and "soft money." *Federal contributions* is what the politicos are calling "hard money" these days; *non-federal contributions* is the polite term for "soft money."

It explains that *federal contributions* will be split down the middle between the Qualls and Strickland committees, and any portion over the federal contribution limit will suddenly become "soft money" and go to the DCCC. All *non-federal contributions* (in other words, *great, big giant checks*) will go directly to the DCCC's *non-federal account*.

It costs a mere \$100 to get into the

main event, but corporate and political action committee donors are being asked to cough up \$5,000 for a private gathering, while individual "sponsors" are being dunned for \$2,000 checks, so you can be certain there will be plenty of soft money — excuse us, "non-federal" money — for the DCCC.

If you read the rules closely, you get the impression that what we really have here is a DCCC fund-raising event, while the Qualls and Strickland campaigns are just along for the ride, gathering up whatever falls off the table.

And, oh yes, if you are not a U.S. citizen, don't forget to check the box at the bottom of the Ohio New Majority Fund form inquiring about your citizenship.

We wouldn't want any Chinese military officers trying to crash the party.

Howard Wilkinson's politics column appears on Sundays. He can be reached at 768-8388; or by e-mail: hwwilkinson@enquirer.com

# House hopefuls to share fund-raiser

Hillary Clinton visit will employ creative math

BY HOWARD WILKINSON  
The Cincinnati Enquirer

When first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton comes to Cincinnati for a campaign fund-raiser Monday, some who are there to support Roxanne Qualls will find their money going to U.S. Rep. Ted Strickland instead.

And vice versa.

The first lady's appearance Monday at a fund-raising rally and private reception at Music Hall will be a joint fund-raiser for Ms. Qualls, the Democratic challenger in the 1st Congressional District, and Mr. Strickland, the Democratic incumbent from Ohio's 6th Congressional

District.

But, because of federal campaign contribution limits, the sponsor of the event, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC), has set up a special fund for money raised Monday called the Ohio Fund for a New Majority.

Ms. Qualls' campaign spokeswoman, Beth Davidson, said tickets for the general reception at Music Hall are \$100 each. A private reception with Mrs. Clinton will cost \$2,000 for individuals and \$5,000 for political action committees (PACs).

Under federal campaign finance laws, individuals are lim-



H.R. Clinton



R. Qualls



T. Strickland

ited to \$1,000 contributions to congressional candidates in the primary election and \$1,000 in the general election.

Ms. Davidson said that if a person who has already given the maximum amount to Ms. Qualls' campaign wants to contribute another \$1,000 for Monday's event, the money will go into the Ohio Fund for a New Majority and be split between Mr. Strickland's campaign and the DCCC.

And if a Strickland backer has already contributed the maximum, the money he or she gives Monday will be split between the Qualls campaign and the DCCC.

"After the event, the DCCC will sort out where the money goes," Ms. Davidson said. "Both campaigns will get their share."

The money, Ms. Davidson said, "is not so important as the enthusiasm having the first lady here will bring to the campaign."

As of July 1, the Qualls campaign had \$397,399 in the bank, compared with \$509,191 for her Republican opponent, incumbent Steve Chabot.

In the 6th District, which stretches across southern Ohio from Lebanon to Marietta, Mr. Strickland had almost three

times as much money as his opponent, Ohio Lt. Gov. Nancy Hollister. The Hollister camp had \$115,021 in the bank as of July 1, according to her federal campaign finance report.

Mrs. Clinton has done a number of fund-raising events for congressional candidates this spring.

After this event, she will travel to Cleveland, where she will help raise money for Democratic U.S. Senate candidate Mary Boyle, a former Cuyahoga County commissioner.

Campaign finance reports filed last week showed Ms. Boyle far behind her Republican opponent, Ohio Gov. George Voinovich, in fund raising. Mr. Voinovich had about \$3.8 million in the bank, compared with \$417,751 for Ms. Boyle.

The Cincinnati Enquirer  
July 22, 1998

# The Cincinnati Post

## July 26, 1998

### First lady gives Qualls a new boost

By Sharon Moloney, Post staff reporter

It doesn't get much better than this, from a politician's point of view.

Monday, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton comes to Cincinnati to campaign for Mayor Roxanne Qualls, who is running for the 1st District congressional seat.

About four months ago, her husband, President Clinton, came to Cincinnati on a private visit, but managed to campaign for Ms. Qualls as well. He raised about \$1 million at a private dinner at Cincinnati attorney Stan Chesley's home.

The nation's two top Democrats in four months isn't bad for a first-time candidate for a district congressional seat - one among more than 400 such candidates.

"It's not unusual in a race that's considered close and important," said political consultant Brewster Rhoads. "You'll find the president and vice president and the first lady and Tipper Gore coming through for most of the Democrats' targeted races."

Cincinnati's 1st District race between Ms. Qualls and Republican incumbent Rep. Steve Chabot is one of the 10 hottest in the country, according to Gene Beaupre, Xavier University political scientist.

"Everywhere you read nationally about the 10 hottest races in the country and every time the 1st district race is one of them," he said.

Interestingly, Beaupre says Mrs. Clinton's Monday visit is probably more important to Ms. Qualls than the presidential stop. He said if Ms. Qualls is to beat Chabot, she has to make inroads on his pool of strong supporters on the county's west side, and those inroads can be made among Republican women.

"Surveys show Hillary Clinton does pretty well among those women," Beaupre said, "and Roxanne has to be happy to be on the dais with her now."

"When you look at it, what is different between Roxanne and David Mann (former 1st District Democratic congressman defeated by Chabot)? They are both liberals and Democrats, both Cincinnati mayors. But she is a woman, and maybe in those Chabot strongholds in Green Township and Delhi Township that will have appeal."

Mrs. Clinton is scheduled to speak at a public reception and fund-raiser for Ms. Qualls and 6th District Democratic Congressman Ted Strickland at 12:30 p.m. Monday at Music Hall, Over-the-Rhine. There will be a private reception for major donors.

Ms. Qualls and Strickland will share the money, with a large chunk going as well to the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, the event's sponsor.

The Strickland 6th District race is only slightly less hot than the Qualls/Chabot race. Incumbent Strickland is in a tight race for reelection with the well-financed and popular Ohio Lt. Gov. Nancy Hollister, one-time mayor of Marietta.

Ms. Hollister has the backing, and the financial support, of all the major Republican powers in the state as well as office-holders from Gov. George Voinovich on down.

Both Republicans and Democrats think they have a chance at the 6th District seat, which has sea-sawed between the GOP and the Democrats for the past half dozen years. Strickland wrenched the seat from Republican Rep. Frank Cremeans two years ago; Cremeans had beaten out incumbent Strickland two years before that.

The Democrats want to hang onto the 6th district, and think they have a good chance to take Cincinnati's 1st District from incumbent Chabot. The two are among about 26 congressional races in the country the Democrats are targeting with an eye to taking back a majority in the House.

The Cincinnati Enquirer  
July 28, 1998

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## First lady: GOP stifling turnout

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Mrs. Clinton visits to help Qualls, Strickland

Tuesday, July 28, 1998

BY HOWARD WILKINSON  
The Cincinnati Enquirer

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, in Cincinnati on Monday to raise money for Democratic congressional candidates, said Republicans plan to "vilify" Democrats and convince voters to stay home this fall.

"We could find our politics held hostage by the most extreme elements in our society," Mrs. Clinton told a crowd in the foyer of Music Hall.

Mrs. Clinton, with 1st District congressional candidate Roxanne Qualls at her side, accused Republicans of trying to turn well-known Democrats into "aliens."

The first lady was the featured attraction at a fund-raiser for Ms. Qualls, the Cincinnati mayor; Ted Strickland, the Democratic incumbent in Ohio's 6th Congressional District; and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC).

The event was expected to bring in well over \$100,000.

Sources close to the DCCC and Qualls campaign say they expect President Clinton to campaign for Ms. Qualls here in late September or early October.

About 400 people, paying a minimum of \$100 each, attended the reception in Music Hall's foyer, while another 30 who had contributed between \$2,000 and \$5,000 went to a private reception with Mrs. Clinton in another part of the building.

The money will be split among the Qualls campaign, the DCCC and the campaign of Mr. Strickland, who is in a hotly contested race with Ohio Lt. Gov. Nancy Hollister.

Mrs. Clinton, in a 10-minute speech, accused the Republicans of a twofold strategy for trying to retain control of the U.S. House this fall.

The first part of the strategy, she said, is to attack Democratic candidates like Ms. Qualls.

The second, Mrs. Clinton said, "is that if, by throwing enough poison in the air, they will turn off voters to politics altogether. People will stay home, while the extreme elements of the community turn out."

Shannon Walker Jones, campaign manager for 1st District incumbent Steve Chabot, called Mrs. Clinton's view of GOP strategy "ridiculous." "Is she saying that everyone who votes for Steve Chabot is an extremist?" Ms. Jones said. "Is she saying that everyone who is



against higher taxes is an extremist? The people of the 1st District are too smart for that."

Mrs. Clinton blistered the House GOP plan to regulate the HMO industry, a bill that Mr. Chabot voted for. A more far-reaching plan proposed by the Clinton administration was voted down by the GOP-controlled House last week.

"It is fraudulent," Mrs. Clinton said of the Republican House bill.

Unlike the Clinton administration bill, the GOP plan does not allow "direct access to cancer and heart doctors that many people need" and gives no assurance that a consumer can continue a course of medical treatment if his or her employer changes HMO plans.

Ms. Qualls, the three-term mayor, hit on some of the same themes in her speech, declaring her support for the Clinton administration's Patient Bill of Rights.

"People's health should not be sacrificed on the altar of bureaucratic, faceless HMO companies," Ms. Qualls said.

After the Music Hall fund-raiser, Mrs. Clinton went to the dedication of a new YWCA shelter for battered women in Cincinnati. Then, she traveled to Cleveland, where she was the featured speaker at a fund-raising event for Democratic U.S. Senate candidate Mary Boyle.

AM-OH--Hillary Clinton Ohio, 1st Ld-Writethru,550

First lady says GOP champions extremist positions

Eds: SUBS 11th graf ``Mrs. Clinton then ...'' with three grafs to UPDATE with Cleveland appearance; Pickup last graf pvs: ``Before leaving ...''

AP Photos

By JOHN NOLAN= Associated Press Writer=

CINCINNATI (AP) Hillary Rodham Clinton, in a visit to help pump money into Ohio Democratic congressional campaigns, criticized the Republican Party on Monday for extremist positions.

Republicans sharply countered that it was the first lady who was off base.

Mrs. Clinton said the Republican Party plan is to turn campaigns into personal fights replete with negative advertising and to turn off moderate voters so that people with views outside the political mainstream can have their way on Election Day.

``That is really what the goal of the other political party is this year,'' Mrs. Clinton told a crowd at a Cincinnati rally to raise money for Democratic congressional candidates Roxanne Qualls and Ted Strickland. ``When Election Day rolls around, they don't want you to get out and vote, while the extremists make sure that they get out and vote.''

Unless moderate Democrats turn out, Mrs. Clinton said, ``We will find our politics held hostage by the most extreme elements of society.''

Ohio Republican Party spokesman Gary Abernathy said the candidate for governor, Bob Taft, has been vigorous as secretary of state in registering people to vote.

``We think we represent mainstream America, middle America,'' Abernathy said.

Rep. Steve Chabot, R-Ohio, who is being challenged by Ms. Qualls, wants to show voters that she is too liberal to represent them in Washington, Chabot spokeswoman Shannon Jones said. The congressman and Ms. Qualls, who is mayor of Cincinnati, agreed last week to a series of four debates that begin Sept. 27.

``The only people guilty of running negative ads are Democratic allies and the labor unions,'' Ms. Jones said.

Mrs. Clinton's visit raised at least \$105,000 to benefit the Qualls and Strickland campaigns and to help the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee pay for the fund-raising event, Qualls campaign press secretary Beth Davidson said.

Mrs. Clinton then accompanied U.S. Senate candidate Mary Boyle to Cleveland for a fund-raiser early Monday evening, where she called on about 500 supporters to tell neighbors and friends about the Boyle campaign, and not just contribute to it.

``Let me ask you to take the time and the trouble in the next week to talk about why this election's important,'' Mrs. Clinton said. ``What's at stake here? The future of Social Security, the future of Medicare, the future of public education.''

The event was expected raise about \$200,000 for the national Democratic Party and the campaign of Boyle, a former state and county lawmaker running against Republican Gov. George Voinovich.

Before leaving Cincinnati, Mrs. Clinton helped dedicate a new YWCA shelter for battered women. She released a Justice Department report which said funding provided since 1994 under the Violence Against Women Act has helped improve how law enforcement, prosecutors and victim-service agencies work together.

# White House puts sculpture in garden

BY CARL HARTMAN  
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

## WASHINGTON

President Clinton and his wife have turned the White House gardens into a museum for some of the latest — and most hip — sculpture that Americans have cast, carved, chiseled, molded, whittled or nailed together.

The changing exhibits are one of



**THE SPIRIT SOARS.** "Bird Effigy," by sculptor Truman Lowe, lies on the White House lawn.

the first things to greet the thousands of tourists and other visitors to the White House.

"Bill and I have always loved sculpture," Mrs. Clinton told reporters recently. "At our first date at the Yale art gallery ... we persuaded a groundkeeper to let us pick up garbage to be able to get in — because the workers were on strike so that the museum was closed — and we wanted to see ... a Henry Moore sculpture that was in the courtyard.

"So for me, starting the first rotating sculpture exhibit at the White House was a real joy," she said. "I go out and sit in the garden and ... enjoy it just for myself as well as seeing and being pleased that we've got a million and a half people going by and seeing sculpture they never would see otherwise."

Already, the Mall between the Capitol and the Washington Monument has a sculpture garden at the Hirshhorn Museum. Another is scheduled to open next spring at the National Gallery of Art.

The sculptures in the White House's Jacqueline Kennedy Garden are seen by thousands of tourists every day who look out the windows as they walk down a long corridor to reach the formal rooms.

"Some people slow down as they go by," said White House curator Betty C. Monkman in an interview.



THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

**"A REAL JOY."** First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks in the garden of the White House among sculptures from American artists.

The current show, the sixth since the Clintons began the series in 1994, is the first in Washington to display carving by American Indians, said Martin Sullivan, director of Heard Museum of Phoenix, which lent most of the work.

All of it was done by living artists except "Earth Song" by Allan Houser, a Chiricahua Apache, and a female nude in polished walnut, "Lady of Spring," by the late Willard Stone, a Cherokee. Houser was "widely regarded as the most influential Native American sculptor and art mentor of our time," Sullivan said. Before he died at 80 in 1994, he came to Washington to accept the National Medal of the Arts from Mrs. Clinton.

Two more exhibits are planned before the Clintons leave the White House in 2001. The Clintons are not the only White House residents to turn their attention to the gardens.

President Kennedy had the Rose Garden outside his West Wing office redesigned to his taste and for ceremonial purposes. Mrs. Kennedy began redoing the plots outside the East Wing, and Lady Bird Johnson dedicated them in her honor.

If the Clintons still like Britain's Henry Moore, they can see examples at the Hirshhorn and the National Gallery but not the White House — the sculpture there is limited to American artists.

# White House garden hosts sculpture exhibits

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Clinton and his wife have turned the White House gardens into a museum for some of the latest — and most hip — sculpture that Americans have cast, carved, chiseled, molded, whittled or nailed together.

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The Clintons are only the latest White House residents to turn their attention to the gardens.

President Kennedy had the Rose Garden outside his West Wing office redesigned to his taste and for ceremonial purposes. Mrs. Kennedy began redoing the plots outside the East Wing, and Lady Bird Johnson dedicated them in her honor.

And if the Clintons are still fans of the English sculptor Henry Moore, whose work they sought out that day at Yale, they can see examples at the Hirshhorn and the National Gallery.

But they won't see his work at the White House — the sculpture there is limited to American artists.



The sculpture "Bird Effigy" by Truman Lowe sits in the foreground as "Guardians & Sentinels," right rear, by Susie Berins Ericson/Qimniqsak and "Earth Messenger Totem" by Doug Coffin, stand in the background in the White House sculpture garden. Exhibits in the garden are rotated and limited to work by American artists.

The Citizen Auburn, N.Y.  
July 16, 1998

CANOE Toronto Sun Ottawa Sun Edmonton Sun London Free Press Financial Post

**Art**



Calgary SUN: Top Stories Business Trends / Showbiz Sports

July 26, 1998

## Works reflect courage

**Earth Song captures emotion of ancestors' music from the soul**

By **CINNAMON WEST** -- For the Calgary Sun



Allan Houser is a distinguished Chiricahua Apache American sculptor and Earth Song is a larger-than-life marble seated statue of an Apache singer tapping a drum.

The drummer is singing about Houser's ancestors -- Cochise, Mangas Coloradas, Victorio, Geronimo -- and the virtues of his people.

Apache songs were part of Houser's boyhood.

His father, Sam Haozous, followed Geronimo in the Indian Wars.

In 1886, Haozous went to a prisoner-of-war camp in Florida with Geronimo.

Then, he married Blossom Wratten and they left the prisoner-of-war camp in 1913 to set up a farm in Oklahoma.

Allan was born in 1914.

Allan fondly remembers Sam singing Apache songs, telling Apache tales and playing the bugle.

He once said he always felt six feet tall when his dad sang about Apache braves fighting for their land.

This pride of heritage is evident in all of Houser's paintings and sculptures.

Earth Song is part of an exhibition, entitled Twentieth Century American Sculpture -- Honoring Native America, in the Jacqueline Kennedy sculpture garden at the White House in Washington, D.C.



Earth Song is a 1978 marble statue carved by Allan Houser. It is on loan to the White House from the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Ariz.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, President Bill Clinton's wife, says she's always been fond of sculpture and "my husband and I spent our first date in the garden of an art gallery filled with American sculpture."

This was in the early '70s, when the Clinton's both attended Yale Law School.

Clinton goes on to say that she believes this exhibition reflects courage in art, courage in life and "the richness and diversity of sculpture being done by native American artists today."

The other artists represented in the White House exhibition are R.E. Bartow (Yurok), Doug Coffin (Potawatomi), Susie Bevins Ericson/Qimmiqsak (Inupiat), John Hoover (Aleut), Doug Hyde (NezPerce/Assiniboine/Chippewa), Truman Lowe (Winnebago), George Morrison (Ojibway), Nora Naranjo-Morse (Tewa), Willard Stone (Cherokee), Roxanne Swentzell (Santa Clara) and Bob Haozous (Apache/Navajo/English/Spanish).

Bob Haozous is Allan Houser's son.

He says his father created a new tradition of his own by using "old Apache traditions" as well as European art traditions.

And Houser once said, "I'm proud of who I am, and my heritage, but I'm always careful to keep the Indian aspect nurturing the art, rather than stifling or competing with it."

In 1992, two years before he died in Santa Fe, Houser received the highest art award in the U.S. -- the National Medal of Arts.

# The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 23, 1998

■ The man of the house is out of town on business, so what to do for dinner? Round up a bunch of women friends and go out, of course. While President Clinton was in Arkansas on Sunday, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Chelsea and two of Chelsea's chums hit the Bombay Club across Lafayette Square from the White House. Joining them were Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and two of her daughters.

A few patrons approached the table to say hello after the group had finished eating (an Albright offspring picked up the check). But none of the principals proceeded to work the room, as is the president's practice.

David S. Broder

# Patients' Rights: No Pain, No Gain . . .

It is not an accident that every other summer, regular as clockwork, just as Congress is winding up for its longest preelection break, a major fight breaks out over health care legislation.

In 1994 it was the Clintons' ambitious comprehensive health reform measure going down in flames. In 1996 it was the Kassebaum-Kennedy bipartisan bill to guarantee portability of health insurance that passed, only to prove, as many predicted, of limited practical value. Now it is the unresolved battle over a "bill of rights" for patients in managed care programs.

The main reason these health policy debates keep coming back is that the problems are real but the solutions are not. Few people in either politics or the press want to acknowledge the tough trade-offs involved. The result is that the rhetoric swings between ridiculous overpromises (as with Kassebaum-Kennedy) or scare stories (as in Clintoncare and now the patients' rights bills).

The key dimensions of a realistic discussion are three: cost, coverage and quality. All three are inextricably linked. But Washington has chosen to deal with them one at a time—and by doing so, it has almost guaranteed that realistic solutions will not be found.

Medical inflation in the 1980s scared Washington, and Medicare cost controls were imposed, but not quickly enough to halt the budget hemorrhage. But it got more action in corporate boardrooms, where runaway private health insurance costs were killing profit margins.

Employers insisted that the insurers and providers manage those costs better. Thus, managed care came about from the pressure of the people paying for health insurance; it was imposed on patients, not chosen by them. And for a while, it worked.

Then came Bill and Hillary Clinton, who focused on coverage—on the 35 million Americans then without health insurance. Ira Magaziner argued that you could insure those millions and still lower costs, but few believed him. The more insured patients, the higher the bill, employers and insurers said, and together they killed Clintoncare.

Now, the policymakers and the press have forgotten both costs and coverage and are worried exclusively about quality: Are the millions in managed care getting as good treatment as they wish—or as they should? The evidence that they are not is anecdotal but powerful, and politicians respond to powerful anecdotes, particularly when they

come from middle-class constituents who vote.

Requiring insurers and providers to do more inevitably means they will charge more. Under our bifurcated system, some of the people who pay the bills (employers) will decide that the happiness of those who receive the services (patients) has become too expensive a luxury and will stop insuring them. The number of uninsured—now more than 41 million—will continue to rise. But the politicians and the press prefer to obscure that fact.

They may be forgiven, because of the hypocrisy they have witnessed. Many of the same employer and insurer groups now warning—accurately—that costs will rise and the number of uninsured will grow if there is tighter regulation of managed care companies are the same groups that four years ago fought like demons to block bills to insure the uninsured—because it would cost them money.

If politics and journalism operated by rules of logic, we would recognize that the anecdotes of patient abuse in managed care—while nauseating—are exceptional. Surveys show reasonably high levels of satisfaction among managed care patients. We would seek a regulatory regime that would allow victims of outrageous conduct to vindicate their rights but not burden routine transactions between patients and caregivers with requirements that force doctors to practice defensive medicine and push up costs. And in return for that forbearance, we would ask employers and insurers to stop turning their backs on the growing and deeply troubling problems of those who have no medical coverage at all.

But that is all too logical. Instead, the Democrats, who revel in polls showing the public trusts them more than Republicans to do what is right on health care, are insisting that the way to guarantee patients' rights is to let everyone sue the managed care companies and the employers who hire them.

Why? Because, they say, no one should make a medical decision except a medical professional. But if the cases go to court, the decisions will be made by judges and juries, laymen struggling with an inevitable welter of conflicting expert medical testimony.

That's the kind of absurdity you get because no one wants to acknowledge there are real trade-offs to be made.

*The Washington Post*

WEDNESDAY, JULY 29, 1998

# Larger Surplus Projected For D.C.

## \$231 Million Extra Expected; Senate Panel Adds More

By DAVID A. VISE  
Washington Post Staff Writer

**A1**

The District government's financial recovery is running hundreds of millions of dollars ahead of initial projections this year, a disclosure that comes even as Congress added more than \$100 million in federal funds yesterday to the city's budget for next year.

The District, which initially projected a \$41 million budget surplus for 1998, is now projecting a surplus of at least \$231 million, an increase attributable to more aggressive tax collections, better voluntary tax compliance, a surging stock market, an improved local economy and stringent spending controls, city officials said in interviews yesterday.

"Things look very good. I'm very happy," said Natwar M. Gandhi, the District's deputy chief financial officer for tax and revenue. "People now know there is a tax man out there."

Sen. Lauch Faircloth (R-N.C.), chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on the District, said the city's improved tax collections and active real estate market reflect better management and growing confidence in the District.

"The city has just made enormous progress," Faircloth said.

The Appropriations Committee yesterday unanimously approved the District's \$5.2 billion "consensus" budget for the 1999 fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1, and added more than \$100 million in federal funds that can be used to fix city streets, expand a Metro station at the proposed new convention center, construct four long-term residential homes for children and build a new park along the Potomac River north of the Georgetown waterfront.

The budget still must be voted on in the House. The legislation moving ahead in the Senate endorses the budget jointly crafted by Mayor Marion Barry, the D.C. Council and the D.C. financial control board.

"I am thrilled," said council

DISTRICT, From A1

Chairman Linda W. Cropp (D).

"Hooray. Splendid. This is what we were trying to achieve," said control board Chairman Andrew F. Brimmer.

The presidentially appointed control board, empowered by Congress to run the D.C. government and oversee its finances, will remain in charge until the District balances its budget for three more years and pays off a multi-year deficit accumulated through years of overspending. The rising surplus projection puts the city's elected leaders one step closer to getting power back, officials said.

In areas where federal legislators pushed for special projects that were not in the city's 1999 budget, funds were added to the Senate bill, rather than reallocating local money, as Congress often has done in the past.

For example, \$7.1 million was added for Boys Town USA at the request of Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) and Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb). The money would be used to build four new long-term residential homes for children and cover the capital and first-year operating expenses of the new initiative.

About \$1 million was added to the bill to support a nonprofit effort headed by retired Gen. Colin L. Powell and former Illinois senator Charles Percy to construct a new park on land north of the Georgetown waterfront. The \$1 million would be allocated to the park project provided that Powell and Percy raise a matching \$1 million in private contributions, congressional sources said.

A half-million dollars was added to the bill at the request of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and others to fund the design of a National Museum of American Music. The funds would be allocated to the District-based Federal City Council, a high-powered civic organization that has been at the forefront of many development projects in the city.

An additional \$500,000 in federal funds was inserted in the bill to study and design a city museum that could be located on the site of the existing

Carnegie Library downtown. The money would be allocated to the D.C. Historical Society.

In a blow to home rule, the Senate bill would repeal a new local law that requires all newly hired District government employees to live in the city. The change was made at the request of Rep. Thomas M. Davis III (R-Va.) and Rep. James P. Moran Jr. (D-Va.).

"That is wrong," Barry said, adding that Davis and other area legislators have a conflict of interest on the issue, since many city workers live in the suburbs.

Davis said he was "very pleased" with the repeal. Moran said the city needs to hire the best workers, regardless of where they live in the region.

The White House had sought to put \$50 million into a new locally controlled economic development

corporation that the D.C. Council recently created. Instead, the Senate—which had considered eliminating the new entity at the request of Sen. Sam Brownback (R-Kan.)—voted to give the control board \$500,000 to study the issue. D.C. Council member Charlene Drew Jarvis (D-Ward 4) said she was "disturbed" that the Senate allocated no funds for the venture but was pleased that it was not wiped out.

The Senate voted to give the control board \$75 million for improving streets and other infrastructure. Faircloth said a contract would be signed soon for the first repaving of Constitution Avenue NW in years.

The bill says the control board may allocate up to \$25 million of that \$75 million to expand the Metro station at the proposed convention center after justifying the expenditure in a report to Congress. The compromise over the \$25 million represented a major victory for convention center supporters, since an earlier draft of the Senate bill did not contain the funding. The Senate also approved an additional \$25 million in federal funds for the control board to use for high-priority management reforms during 1999.

The Senate bill includes language, sought by the control board, that gives the board the explicit authority to set the compensation for Camille C. Barnett, the city's chief management officer. A General Accounting Office study had challenged the control board's authority to establish her compensation package.

However, the bill also includes language that Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.), Barry and others fear could be used to expand Barnett's authority over city agencies—

including libraries and the Department of Parks and Recreation—now under control of the mayor.

"There is unfortunate language in the bill that appears to give the control board the power to delegate the supervision of additional departments and functions to the chief management officer," said Norton, who added that the "matter can be resolved."

Aides to Faircloth said the language was added to make it clear that Barnett would still control the Bureau of Motor Vehicle Services after it is spun off from the city's Department of Public Works. Faircloth said he was not directing the control board or the chief management officer to take charge of any new departments.

During the hearing, Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) praised Faircloth for his efforts to improve the District.

"In many instances," Byrd said, Faircloth has "swum upstream and gone against the grain."

Faircloth said that a few years ago, "there were people in the D.C. government who thought they could wrap a hippopotamus in a handkerchief." Now, he said, "Congress has confidence that money in the city will not be wasted."

See DISTRICT, A8, Col. 1

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1998

# The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1998

## THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Annie Groer and Ann Gerhart

### NOW YOU KNOW . . .



FILE PHOTO BY RAY SCOTTY MEMES—SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS  
Wilsey and Clinton at the ballet in January.

So what does Monica want as a gift? "She doesn't want a subpoena," said Smith; she craves "her freedom and her life back."

■ Hello, Matt . . . In January, Stanford freshman Chelsea Clinton went to the black-tie San Francisco Ballet opening with sophomore Matt Wilsey. Last spring, Chelsea took junior

■ Our little girl is growing up. Monica Lewinsky turns 25 today. She'll celebrate, if that is the operative verb given her current situation, in Los Angeles with her family: Mom Marcia Lewis, stepfather Peter Strauss, brother Michael, Dad Bernard Lewinsky and stepmother Barbara.

They'll go to "a quaint little restaurant in Brentwood," said family spokeswoman Judy Smith.

Matthew Pierce to the campus chapel and then to brunch with her parents. Now young Wilsey and his folks are installed at the White House for a few days, "just enjoying the very hot and humid weather," he told The Source yesterday.

On Tuesday night, Chelsea, the Wilseys and college pal Bridget Hinds dined at 701 Pennsylvania Avenue. Yesterday, she and Hinds toured the Holocaust Memorial Museum.

# 17-year-old meets first lady

By Heather Knight

STAFF WRITER

When asked to describe their first impressions of the White House, most people don't usually use the word "casual."

But for 17-year-old Setauket resident Nadine Gorelik, who spent yesterday chatting with Hillary Rodham Clinton, petting the first dog, Buddy, and posing for pictures in front of the president's limousine, the Clintons' home was rather laid-back.

"It was excellent," Nadine said. "I was surprised that it was as casual as it was."

As co-winner of an interviewing contest run by a high-school magazine, 21st Century, the June graduate of Ward Melville High School in East Setauket got what her mother calls "the chance of a teenage lifetime" yesterday when she spent 50 minutes interviewing the first lady and two-and-a-half hours getting a private tour of the White House — including her special request, seeing the first family's kitchen.

Although she didn't get a glimpse of the president or tour Chelsea's bedroom (not even the Secret Service officers can go in there), Nadine was thoroughly pleased with the experience. Donned in a gray pants suit, Nadine interviewed the aqua-clad first lady in a room with a large, wooden table, a couch, arm chairs and a fireplace.

"It wasn't regal to the max, but it was nice," Nadine said.

She and her fellow interviewer, a high-school senior from Rhode Island, Julia Cotton, were particularly impressed with Hillary Clinton's candid responses. Their aim was to get to know the real Hillary — not just the figurehead portrayed in the media, and they feel they did, Nadine said.

"Whatever we asked her, she gave long, flourishing, nice answers," Nadine said. "She smiled a lot and looked great. She was really nice. I wasn't even nervous."

Before jetting off to Washington yesterday, Nadine had already decided that some questions were off limits, though.

"We're not going there to interrogate her or make her defend herself," Nadine said. "I think the kind of stuff that we're going to ask her makes our interview different. I think she's been asked enough about the Monica [Lewinsky] thing. Not that I'm not curious . . . but I'd like to give her a break."

Though one of Nadine's top questions was whether Hillary Clinton would rather see Chelsea become president or first lady, Clinton refused to talk about her daughter, Nadine said.

However, Clinton discussed at length how she keeps going when facing negative public opinion. She said she relies on inner strength and the belief in her values. Nadine, who founded an anti-drug group at her high-school, said she could relate to this.

Though she did some Internet research on Hillary Clinton, Nadine didn't have strong impressions of the first lady before the interview.

"I don't know a whole lot about her," Nadine said. "I don't really follow politics. She seems strong. She seems real — at least on TV. I liked how they made an issue about raising Chelsea and that got them more into issues involving teenagers like smoking and dropping out."

Nadine won the magazine contest with an interview she wrote on her social studies teacher who had to retire after he was diagnosed with Parkinson's Disease. She will start Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pa., this fall and plans to major in psychology. She'd like to incorporate this with writing and become the next Mary Pipher, who is a therapist who writes popular psychology books. Nadine keeps herself busy by drawing, doing community service and, of course, writing.

She has had poetry, short stories and essays published in 21st Century, an essay published in Newsday and a play staged in Port Jefferson as part of the Young Playwrights' Contest. A transcript of her interview with Clinton will be published in 21st Century.



Newsday Photo / Alan Raja

Ward Melville student Nadine Gorelik, above, won a contest to meet and interview first lady Hillary Clinton, below. Gorelik toured the White House yesterday.



AP Photo

# Dateline, White House

Newsday

Wednesday, July 22, 1998

BC-RI--Interviewing Hillary,210

Young reporter wins interview with Hillary Rodham Clinton

patproj

EAST GREENWICH, R.I. (AP) For an editor of a high school paper, Julie Cotton has gotten more than her share of high-profile interviews.

Cotton recently interviewed Hillary Rodham Clinton at the White House.

"I listened to what she was saying," she told The Providence Journal, "but it was hard to concentrate."

The co-editor of the East Greenwich High School newspaper, The Spectrum, won the interview as part of a nationwide contest. Cotton won the interview after submitting an article on her conversation with presidential aspirant Steve Forbes.

The interview with Clinton will appear in The 21st Century, a newspaper distributed in schools across the country. The interview will appear in the September issue.

"All of a sudden, she came in," Cotton said of her interview. "It was so weird being in the same room with her."

Cotton says the first lady declined to answer questions about daughter Chelsea because of privacy concerns. Near the end of her one hour interview, Mrs. Clinton asked Cotton about her plans for the future.

When Cotton said she wanted to pursue journalism, the first lady urged her to be factual and report the truth.

**MADELEINE ALBRIGHT & HILLARY CLINTON**

# Powerful partnership<sup>AI</sup>

**First lady, secretary of State put focus on women**



By Natalie Benning, Reuters

**Pals:** First lady Hillary Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright confer at Beijing University last month. Their alliance was forged at a 1995 U.N. conference on women.

USA TODAY • THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1998

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# Friendship has produced highly effective alliance

By Susan Page  
USA TODAY

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WASHINGTON — Without much fanfare, they have become among the capital's closest strategic partners and political allies.

And chums.

Secretary of State Madeleine

Albright and Hillary Rodham

Clinton over the past three years have forged a quiet Foggy Bottom-White House partnership that has pushed concerns once sidelined as "women's issues" toward the mainstream of foreign policy.

Working in different arenas and different ways, they have forced a sometimes-resistant foreign policy establishment to put some issues higher on the agenda, among them combating international trafficking in women and girls, training women to be leaders in fledgling democracies and granting "micro-credit" loans to women in developing nations to start small businesses.

As a result, the United States has helped boost turnout by women voters in Bangladeshi elections, establish a program in Russia to combat domestic violence, target aid to women and children refugees in Afghanistan and train women leaders in Mongolia.

"If you ask the question, 'Does it make any difference that prominent women are involved at the highest levels of government?' this is clearly an example," says Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, who works with both of them.

Albright, 61, is the first woman ever to serve as secretary of State, the highest-ranking woman in the history of the U.S. government. Hillary Clinton, 50, is arguably the most powerful first lady in history and certainly the most well-traveled. She has represented the United States on

Continued from 1A

every continent except Antarctica.

The no-nonsense pair brook no criticism from traditionalists in the State Department or foreign ministries who may look askance at their alliance or complain that the issues they spotlight don't belong at the top of the agenda. In the past, that's been the province of such concerns as arms control and geo-strategic alliances — and the domain of men.

"It doesn't hurt to raise these issues as long as they don't supplant the proper attention to the first-tier

## COVER STORY

issues, which are issues that affect America's vital interests," says Thomas Moore, a foreign policy and defense analyst at the conservative Heritage Foundation.

Foreign policy experts in Congress and think tanks are divided on what priority should be given to issues relating to the status and treatment of women. But they generally don't criticize the Albright-Clinton partnership.

And if foreign officials have any objections, they're not likely to express them openly.

"Advancing the status of women is a goal that can never again be confined to the backwaters or side channels," Albright said Saturday in a speech at the National Women's Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls, N.Y. She was one of 21 new inductees. "It has become what it must always be: part of the mainstream of the foreign policy of the United States."

Hillary Clinton speaks in Seneca Falls today, marking the 150th anniversary of the conference that launched the women's rights movement in the United States.

In large part because of Albright and Hillary Clinton, this administration has devoted more rhetoric and a higher priority to addressing so-called women's issues in foreign policy than any previous one.

"The first lady for the last four or five years has focused a good deal of attention on women and family issues in a development and international context, before Madeleine was secretary," says White House national security adviser Sandy Berger. "Now Madeleine comes along, and here one plus one equals three."

### Built in China

They first met at a Children's Defense Fund event in the 1980s, but the two women didn't know each other particularly well before President Clinton appointed Albright United



Forging an allegiance: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright at an International Women's Day ceremony in March.

Nations ambassador in December 1992. Their partnership was forged when they worked together at the U.N. conference on women in Beijing in 1995, still the touchstone of their relationship. Now they have the easy familiarity of sisters.

They meet or talk regularly, perhaps every week; their top staffers confer almost every day. Every six weeks or so, the two try to get together for a private lunch or dinner, slipping out on a recent Friday night to sample the food and share desserts at the Vidalia restaurant. Their security agents sit a discreet distance away at a separate table.

Their conversations center not only on serious policy concerns but also on personal matters, friends say. They have a fair amount in common: Both Wellesley graduates, both the mothers of daughters, both women who have faced difficulties in their marriages, both strong-minded professionals who have succeeded in fields dominated by men.

On a bookcase behind Albright's desk is a picture of them conferring in a restroom in Prague during a 1996 trip while male aides cooled their heels outside. "To Madeleine, who leads fearlessly where others may fear to tread," Hillary Clinton signed it. "With great pride and affection from your friend in the 'girls' room.'"

Aboard Air Force One during one foreign trip, Albright and Hillary Clinton and their chiefs of staff, Elaine Shocas and Melanne Verveer, were immersed in lengthy consultations. The raucous bursts of laughter that punctuated their conversation drew questioning glances from those

nearby.

Their topic?

Failed exercise regimes.

"They're tough women with senses of humor," says Maureen Steinhilber, who succeeded Albright as president of the Center for National Policy, a Democratic think tank. "They're both really strong people, and I think they probably respect each other a lot for that."

The U.N. conference in Beijing was a formative experience. There was fierce criticism at home of the conference itself and of Hillary Clinton's attendance, given China's human-rights record. She was the honorary chair of the U.S. delegation, which Albright led.

"We developed a kind of fighting spirit amongst us — that we were going to make this work and we weren't going to back down and we weren't going to be apologetic," recalls Lynn Outler, a member of the delegation now on the president's staff.

"Our real close working relationship actually began in China" at the conference, Albright agreed in response to written questions submitted by USA TODAY. "After working together on that, we decided to work together on issues ranging from the rule of law to women's groups." (Clinton declined to answer written questions.)

The next year, Albright and Hillary Clinton traveled abroad together again, this time to the Czech Republic for meetings with President Václav Havel and a July 4 speech by Clinton from the new Radio Free Europe headquarters. Albright gave Clinton a tour of her native Prague, including the childhood home her

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youth summit in Switzerland. It prompted a scramble to disavow her remarks as personal opinion, not a new U.S. policy. But the protestations were questioned by some analysts who noted her role in articulating other policies around the world.

### Few parallels

Their alliance is virtually unprecedented, historians say. The closest parallel is the partnership between Eleanor Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins, the head of the Works Progress Administration, who worked together on Depression-era programs.

"First ladies often have projects like literacy or mental health or alcoholism, but those don't engage the interests of the top-level people," says historian Doris Kearns Goodwin, author of *No Ordinary Time*, a biography of the Roosevelts. In contrast, Eleanor Roosevelt and Hillary Clinton have forged working partnerships with senior officials on issues "that are of central concern to their husbands' presidencies."

Both Albright and Hillary Clinton argue that women's issues are central, not peripheral, to U.S. foreign policy interests. Priorities such as fostering democracy and freedom, encouraging entrepreneurship and bolstering stability can't be achieved without paying conscious attention to the role of women, they say. Some who agree complain that their rhetoric hasn't been matched by action.

"The visibility is higher," says Regan Ralph of Human Rights Watch, a liberal advocacy group. "But how much difference is that making on the ground in terms of promoting women's human rights? The evidence is negligible."

But administration officials insist real changes have been made, although it's not clear whether they have been institutionalized so they will continue after their tenures.

When Albright went to the Mideast in February to try to bolster the peace process, for instance, she also raised with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu another concern. Women from the former Soviet republics were being lured by Russian and Ukrainian traffickers to Israel with the promise of jobs as nannies or maids, only to find themselves virtually imprisoned in brothels.

Over the following two days, U.S. Ambassador Edward Walker held three top-level meetings on the problem with Israeli and Russian officials. A U.S.-Israeli working group was formed and police units in Tel Aviv and Haifa were opened to offer the women protection and help.

family had been forced to leave, to flee Nazis and then communists.

"We had a wonderful time," Albright recalls, comparing notes about Wellesley professors. "We walked together through the streets as she discovered and I rediscovered my hometown. It was a lot of fun."

After the trip, White House officials say Hillary Clinton was an important voice urging her husband to appoint Albright as Secretary of State Warren Christopher's successor. She was named in January 1997.

Albright has returned the favor. Although Hillary Clinton traveled abroad extensively during Christopher's tenure, State Department officials say that under Albright her trips have become more integrated into the agency's operation. The first lady's office and the State Department work together on where to visit and what to do, and they hold follow-up sessions afterward.

When the president travels to foreign countries with his wife, Albright makes a point of scheduling events not only with him but also with her.

Albright rejects the concerns of some advisers who worry that she risks weakening her image and note it wouldn't have occurred to her male predecessors to schedule events with a first lady. "People think this joint approach helps to maximize our efforts," Albright says. "I consider her to be America's best ambassador."

Aides say both women believe they have different roles that can reinforce policy commitments they share.

Albright is in a position to impose priorities on the State Department bureaucracy here and at U.S. embassies abroad. She raises issues with foreign leaders and foreign ministers. And, of course, she is a leading member of the president's inner circle on all foreign policy issues.

Hillary Clinton is the instantly recognizable figure who draws enthusiastic crowds in places like Mongolia and Uzbekistan. "She is a rock star," says Theresa Loar, the State Department's senior coordinator for international women's issues. Loar is also director of the President's Interagency Council on Women; Albright is the chair, Hillary Clinton the honorary chair.

An effort to treat rape and sexual mutilation as war crimes illustrates their different roles. The State Department allocated almost \$100,000 to train prosecutors and investigators at the Rwanda War Crimes Tribunal in how to pursue sexual abuse allegations. Hillary Clinton then spotlighted their efforts by visiting the program in Tanzania last year.

For Clinton, her engagement on foreign policy has been a happier experience than her central role in the failed health care overhaul during her husband's first two years in the White House. Her trips to out-of-the-way places, far from the drumbeat of scandal in Washington, have received much less coverage and generated much less controversy back home.

One exception: the furor that followed her comments in May in favor of Palestinian statehood when she spoke by satellite to an Arab-Israeli

# A Uganda Tribe Fights Genital Cutting

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

UNITED NATIONS, July 15 — For the Sabin people of eastern Uganda, 1998 is a circumcision year — as are all even years — when girls as well as boys would normally be expected to endure a painful rite of passage to young adulthood.

But not this time, said G. W. Cheborian, chairman of the Sabin Elders Association, a council of clan leaders. While young men of 14 to about 22 will still take part in elaborate circumcision ceremonies in December to mark their entry into manhood, for many if not most girls and young women, there will be no genital cutting.

In the last few years the Sabin (pronounced sa-BEAN) people have waged a campaign to abolish female genital mutilation and replace it with a symbolic ritual declaring the girl a woman without maiming her for life, Mr. Cheborian said in an interview.

Last week Mr. Cheborian received the 1998 United Nations Population Award for the work that the Sabin elders have done in their remote, mountainous Kapchorwa region of Uganda.

His association shares it with Dr. Hugh Hastings Wynter of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica, a leader in family planning in the Caribbean. The award is judged by an international panel.

The Sabin Elders — after first converting themselves from proponents to opponents of female genital cutting — attracted the attention of health and population experts by finding their own way to deal with a practice that is widely condemned by women's groups and passionately defended by traditionalists in Africa, where it is most prevalent.

The elders' campaign is being studied by other Africans as an example of how to deal with a culturally sensitive taboo within a traditional society.

Mr. Cheborian, who describes himself as "about 71," said that even among the Sabin — 130,000 people, according to Uganda's last census in 1991 — there were still those who clung to the tradition.

"But most of our children are educated now," he said. "The girls say, 'Father, this time I am not going to go along with your idea.'"

A decade ago the Sabin, a collection of rural clans engaged in small-scale farming, were committed

enough to the practice of genital cutting that they made it a requirement. That put them into conflict with the Ugandan Government, which discourages the practice. The tension only increased Sabin tenacity on the subject, Ugandans say.

Then in 1992, Sabin chiefs formed the Elders Association and began a systematic review of their traditions.

"The main reason was to identify those which are values for retaining, improve those which required improvement, so that they are consistent with modern life," Mr. Cheborian said, speaking in English. He said that those values that were no longer

place in even years, the same as for boys.

"What we have done is to tell parents about the harmful parts of circumcising females," Mr. Cheborian said. "This included the pain, the very serious bleeding and fainting because of the bleeding. Because of the open cuts, there is a risk of H.I.V.-AIDS affecting the person."

"We told them that when that part which is cut forms a scar, that reduces the opening of the passage, so later when a mother wants to deliver, she finds a lot of labor problems. Sometimes it calls for a doctor to operate. At times it delays a child to be delivered out, and they die. Some children are born with their heads in not quite good shape, and they remain very dull and cannot make improvement in learning."

Fathers and mothers alike "have come to understand that it is harmful," he said. "Fathers are now on our side."

The Sabin Elders Association has many other plans for enhancing their people's cultural traditions, Mr. Cheborian said.

"Other aims are to write the Sabin language so that schoolchildren could be taught in that language and people could read some issues in the local language," he said. The language still does not have a written form and is in danger of extinction. Another aim "is to try as much as possible to research the local herbs, the local medicine, to see if some can be more useful."

The association has introduced some welfare programs, agricultural improvement campaigns and drives to educate people about AIDS and H.I.V., the virus that causes it. The \$25,000 prize Mr. Cheborian took home will help these projects.

Before the award ceremony, he said he had some advice for others in Africa who have defended the tradition of female genital mutilation. "I think the message I should give them is that those societies which are having female circumcision — we now call it female genital cutting — should also know that female genital cutting is harmful," he said. "Those are the facts that cannot change. Doctors know that."

"Those societies which are still seeing circumcision should come forward and be faithful to their children, not endanger them, not put them into hardship. Cutting someone's body is a serious problem."



The New York Times

The Sabin group in Kapchorwa is abolishing genital mutilation.

acceptable were singled out to be "discarded or abandoned."

From the beginning, he said, the focus was on the genital cutting of girls. But the elders met resistance and did not have the necessary resources to wage an effective grassroots campaign. A few years ago the United Nations Population Fund stepped in with some support.

"We started in 1996, and we have been very active on the ground for about two years now," Mr. Cheborian said. By the end of that year, "it appeared that we had reduced the circumcision of girls by 36 percent," he added.

In 1997, a year that was studied because the practice was not always limited to even years on girls, there were no reported incidents. But most of the cases involving girls take

# When Women Are the Enemy

Afghanistan's Taliban fighters have taken the war between the sexes to a new extreme

BY CARLA POWER

**T**HE AFGHAN CAPITAL of Kabul bristles with Taliban: young, bearded men in black turbans, high on the Koran and battle. Squads from the Ministry for the Propagation of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice roar around in red Toyota pickup trucks. Public beatings are banned, but some Talibs carry whips of leather or cable, ready to be used on anything they deem "un-Islamic"—a man's shaved cheek, a woman's bare ankle. When Kabul's citizens spot a Talib, women hunch in their burkas—the body-length veil the law requires them to wear—and men pluck on their beards, which must be at least fist length. In 1996, when the Taliban conquered southern Afghanistan, they were heralded as gentle young scholars ("Talib" means student) bringing peace to a war-weary population. Nearly two years after taking Kabul, they seem less a government than an occupying force.

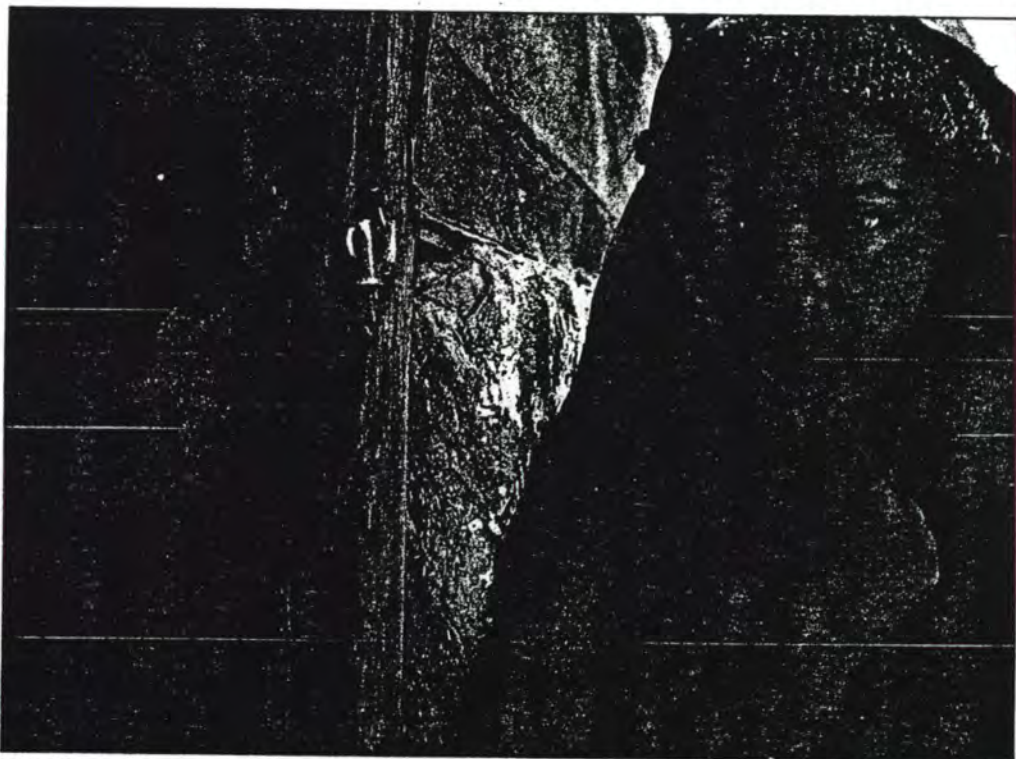
I lived in Kabul as a child, before the Russians invaded in 1979, and recently returned with photographer Nina Berman at the invitation of the United Nations World Food Programme. I remember a city where parakeets sang in the bazaars and kids flew kites from the khaki hills. Today there's a black market in singing birds. They're banned, as are kites. The Taliban are fighting wars on two fronts. The first is in the north of Afghanistan, against rival militias. The second battle, equally fierce, rages against what they see as urban godlessness. One fight feeds the other: Talibs rule the city with a ferocity imported from the front lines. Paint your nails, blow a flute, clap to a beat, invite

a foreigner to tea, and you've broken the law. In turn, the Islamization drive, say Taliban leaders, bolsters troops' morale.

Women suffer the most from Taliban edicts, which ban them from working, except in medical professions. Girls over 8 can't attend formal schools. Taliban leaders say such laws merely reflect rural, conservative mores. And it's true that Afghanistan was never an equal-opportunity society. Before the Soviet invasion, just 1 percent of Afghan girls graduated from high school, and only about 150,000 women in a country of 20 million had jobs. By closing girls' schools, the Taliban say, they've stopped the rot of Soviet-era secular educations. Many Afghans think women working in offices

with men is a nasty Western import that will destroy society. Indeed, protecting women's honor is perhaps the most important plank in the militia's platform. "Our whole national Army and police are volunteers from conservative areas, where they believe sending girls to school is shameful," says Abdul Hakeem Mujahid, Afghanistan's ambassador to Pakistan. "How can we go against them?"

The whims of these young volunteers turn everyday life into drama. One May morning, according to women who were present, four Talibs burst into a Kabul midwifery class, convinced that there were men hiding somewhere. Having searched the cupboards, they ordered the students to



**Veil of tears:** A woman dares the Taliban by showing her face at a 'widows' bakery' in Kabul

take off their burkas. Then one woman spoke: "If there is a man in this room, you can take us all and hang us the way you hung President Najibullah"—the communist leader whom the Taliban killed in a Kabul square when they conquered the city. The students stripped off their burkas. No men. "The Taliban apologized—twice," recalls a student. "I will never, ever forget that day."

For all their fanaticism, the Taliban have brought order. In the civil war after the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, any thug with a tank or kalashnikov could rule a town or neighborhood. "For two decades there was complete anarchy," says Mujahid. "At least we have provided a normal life for the common

people." The rockets that killed about 50,000 Kabulis no longer fall as often. The rapes and banditry—commonplace during Najibullah's time—have stopped.

In their place has come a cultural struggle, marked by small, defiant acts of rebellion against the Taliban. Under their burkas, women wear banned lipstick, fish-net stockings and sandals strappy enough for Manhattan nightclubs. Edict No. 15 rules that tailors found measuring women or displaying catalogs will be imprisoned. But the owner of the Gina bridal shop shows me his designs for ruffled party dresses. His sketches are headless: the Taliban, in keeping with Islamic law, have banned drawings or photos of living things. Jamila and Ali (not their real names), a brother and sister, proudly show off the banned boombox they keep veiled in a sheet. "We can dream," says Jamila, swaying to the beat of Hindi movie music in their living room. Six days a week Jamila breaks another law. She works, sneaking into her office by the back door and counting on her burka to keep her anonymous. "We creep around like thieves," she says. Informal schools have sprung up in living rooms and at aid agencies.

The agencies themselves have had troubles with the Taliban. Three weeks ago all foreign-aid groups were ordered to move "for their security" to a derelict compound outside Kabul. When the agencies refused, all but the United Nations and the Red Cross were expelled. And last month the Taliban closed 10 home schools for girls, fearing that they were a front for communists or Christians. But there's nothing consistent about Taliban policy: earlier in the spring they had signed an agreement to work with the United Nations to open 11 girls' schools and allow more women to work in aid programs. Some foreign observers look on the bright side. "[The Taliban] truly want to improve relations," says Daniel Toole, who's on the U.N. team that's been negotiating with the Taliban on gender issues. "But they have a long way to go."

The new regime's moderates are eager to get started. The Foreign Ministry's deputy director of U.N. affairs waxes on the glories of Las Vegas—"an amazing place," he says, "but I lost \$10 in the machines at Caesars Palace." A portly civil servant with a Berkeley degree hopes that "perhaps we can meet again soon, when we can all breathe." Meanwhile, Afghan women don their burkas, and wait. ■

Rolling Stone Magazine  
August 6, 1998

## THE EAGLE AND THE PRESIDENT

### DON HENLEY'S WALDEN WOODS INAUGURAL

"It's not every day that the president of the United States makes a funding pitch for you," jokes Don Henley, who was fortunate enough to have both Bill and Hillary Clinton on hand for the June 5th opening of the Thoreau Institute, in Massachusetts.

The institute, dedicated to the study of the nineteenth-century writer and philosopher Henry David Thoreau, is the latest milestone in Henley's crusade to save Thoreau's Walden Woods. "When Bill and Hillary first arrived," says Henley, "we went for a walk in



the woods and he asked me, 'What remains to be done here?' I said, 'Well, Mr. President, we need about \$15 million.' " Clinton did what he could. "They need more money here," he said in his speech. "Send a check. You'll be proud you did." —MATT ASHARE

## CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

### Special See No Evil Edition

The CW is getting really, really fired on the Monica investigation—even Lucianne Goldberg must be ready to move on to another topic. Take us out to the ballgame.

| Players     |   | Conventional Wisdom                                                                       |
|-------------|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hillary     | ↑ | Boffo magical-history tour, coolly defers Shriver cot-quip. U.S. senator in 2000?         |
| Secret Svc. | ↔ | Old: In the line of fire. New: Could I have some privacy, guys? But public on their side. |
| Mary        | ↑ | Back so soon? Toupeed, panty-wearing eyes man will offer biting commentary on cable.      |
| Sharpton    | ↓ | Old: Race-baiting demagogue. New: Maturing black statesman. Newer: See Old.               |
| Romanovs    | ↑ | Old: Die like dogs, royal scum! New: We will bury you—royally.                            |
| Ataturk     | ↔ | Turkey's founder dissed by historians. But great press on new Gallipoli peace park.       |

# Women Blaze Trail in Business in Muslim Mauritania

By ELIZABETH FULLERTON  
Reuters

**NOUAKCHOTT, Mauritania**—In the capital of Muslim Mauritania, the sight of Arab women totting pocket computers and riding in expensive chauffeur-driven jeeps is no mirage.

A new generation of local businesswomen is blazing a trail in commerce in the poverty-stricken West African country, which is still struggling to eradicate the traditions of child brides and female circumcision.

Some 80 percent of small businesses are controlled by women and the government is eager to support them as part of its recently launched drive to accelerate growth and reduce poverty in the arid former French colony.

"There is a real political will to integrate women in the development of the country," said Aisha mint Ghaddour, head of promotion of women in the women's secretariat that has been set up to promote their rights and education. "The labor code stipulates that there is no difference between men and women."

But the path to real equality is still a thorny one.

"Promoting women is now a priority in all government programs, but the political will is not borne out in the application of the law," said Cheikh oul Abdullah, a World Bank economist in Mauritania, voicing his personal view.

Women, who make up more than half of the country's 2.3 million population, have only recently started to have a political voice in

**"There is a real political will to integrate women in the development of the country."**

—Aisha mint Ghaddour,  
official at Mauritania's women's secretariat

its fledgling democracy. Women were first elected to the national assembly in 1996. Three women are now cabinet ministers.

"If women are less prominent in government administration and public enterprise, it's due in a large part to the fact that many had no access to education back in the

1960s and 1970s," Abdullah said.

In a culture where *sharia*—Islamic law—prevails, some 61 percent of women are illiterate. About 80 percent of boys compared with 67 percent of girls are in primary school, according to 1996 statistics.

"Many women are victims of injustice, often because they don't know their rights or because they are illiterate," Abdullah said. But things are changing slowly.

In an effort to expand women's role in society, the government has been campaigning avidly to encourage more girls to go to school instead of marrying early. A law is about to be introduced making 18 the legal minimum marriage age in Mauritania, which became independent in 1960.

"Women have made significant progress in the last few years," Abdullah said. "Although a lot remains to be done, they are now participating in economic life here."

A landmark in the quest by Mauritanian women for commercial independence was the 1993 creation of a union of 240 female entrepreneurs and traders to further working women's rights. Union President Lematt mint Megueya set it up after she was approached for help by a group of illiterate female traders being exploited by unscrupulous male proprietors.

The union decided to buy its own property, an unprecedented move in the patriarchal nation, and build a shopping center run entirely by women.

"My goal was to defend the material and moral interest of women running businesses and to eman-

cipate women traders," Megueya said.

Banks initially refused to lend the women the \$3.5 million they needed for the project. Only when they had scraped together more than half the money by selling jewelry and other valuables did they get a loan.

The Women's Market, which opened in January, stands as a testimony to their perseverance. The immaculately tiled mall, where shops display imported goods in an atmosphere of neon-lit calm, con-

trasts sharply with the run-down Central Market down the road where traders jostle for business, squeezed into overflowing stalls.

"I think the center has significantly changed attitudes toward women," said Megueya. The union's next goal is to set up a bank to provide loans to women.

Women have always been a force to be reckoned with in Mauritania, a country where Arab and black Africa meet. The divorce rate at 40 percent is high, but unlike neighboring Morocco and other Arab

countries there is no stigma attached to being divorced and many women remarry several times.

Mauritanian women wear colorful, flamboyant veils rather than the long chadors worn by many Muslim counterparts.

Ghaddour attributes this female strength to life in the desert. "In the tent everyone lived together and ate from the same plate and when men went away with the caravans to trade, women were left running things."

The difference now is that wom-

en are starting to play a small but expanding role in the decision-making of the country. But prejudices still exist in the economic domain, and critics say bitter rivalries among women's groups threaten to undermine their effectiveness as a political force.

"There are two main clans and the women are very jealous and won't work together," said one professional woman who did not wish to be identified. "The previous secretary of state for women only lasted two months because she took sides."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1998

## On 150th anniversary of convention, Celebrate '98 builds on the past.

By Jane Lampman  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

SENECA FALLS, N. Y.

**O**NE hundred fifty years ago today, 300 women and men gathered in a chapel in upstate New York and debated the rights of women.

By the close of this first women's rights convention, 68 women and 32 men had signed a Declaration of Sentiments that has since led to a transformation of American society.

At a time when women did not speak in public, much less vote, the document called for giving them the "elective franchise," overthrowing the "monopoly of the pulpit," and securing for women equal participation in the workplace.

Today, that declaration is now serving as a rallying call for the women who want to finish what the pioneers of 1848 began and take that message worldwide in a global effort to achieve equal rights for women. During the past four days, some 15,000 Americans — mainly women but some men — traveled here to celebrate what has been accomplished since 1848 and to recommit themselves to completing the task in the next millennium.

"We've come to honor the past and to imagine the future," said first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who roused an enthusiastic crowd at the sunbaked opening ceremonies of Celebrate '98 Thursday. "Our work is never finished, as long as there are gaps between our ideals and reality."



Among those who made it to Seneca Falls were many young women for whom even the women's rights movement of the 1970s is something out of their history books.

"I've been planning to come here for over a year," said Mindy Lais, a senior at Ithaca College. She came here to the sign the new Declaration of Sentiments for 1998 — a document forged by more than 50 women leaders from organizations representing millions of women. "This affects women in every aspect of our lives."

Ms. Lais, who was joined by her mother, Connie, a teacher in Johnstown, N.Y., is president of a campus group called Students Against Violence Against Women, an issue mentioned in both the 1848 and 1998 declarations.

Among other things, the document envisions:

- Equal participation of women in politics, corporations, and other institutions.
- Equal pay for work of equal value.
- Environments free of violence and sexual harassment.
- Global recognition of women's rights as human rights.
- Help for women in mastering emerging technologies.
- An adequate safety net for those unable to work.
- Policies that make accommodations for caregivers.

### The equal pay issue

Pay equity and quality child care served as rallying points for leaders and audience members alike. Betty Friedan, mother of

## 'Woman's Hour'

**T**he first women's rights convention opened July 19, 1848, in Seneca Falls, N.Y. To mark this important anniversary, the Monitor is running a five-part series on the status of women.

The Monitor owes its existence to a women's rights pioneer. At a time when women in the US lacked property and voting rights, Mary Baker Eddy started a church and launched this newspaper.

Her view of the issue: "In natural law and in religion the right of woman to fill the highest measure of enlightened understanding and the highest places in government, is inalienable.... This is woman's hour, with all its sweet amenities and its moral and religious reforms."

# Women Set New Agenda for the 21st Century

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, July 20, 1998

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**LIGHTING THE WAY:** Women participate in a candlelight procession at Celebrate '98 in Seneca Falls, N.Y. The event honors the 150th anniversary of the first women's rights convention, held here in 1848.

the women's movement of the 1960s and '70s, said in a Friday speech. "We can celebrate and declare victory," but "what's needed now is a national child-care program. We are one of the few industrialized nations without one." She said disparity in earnings would disappear once child care was readily available.

Ms. Friedan charmed the crowd with her reminiscences of "what fun it was" to carry on the struggle in the early years. "Our daughters and granddaughters are missing the fun of being part of a movement," she chided gently. "too busy being the doctors and lawyers ... and having no time to go to meetings" and plan for the future.

Still, some teenagers journeyed all the way to Seneca Falls to be sure girls' voices were heard. Girls International Forum of Duluth, Minn., brought 16 girls from 13 US states to write a Girls' Declaration of Sentiments for the 21st century.

After discussing the views gathered in surveys of girls in their communities, they described conditions girls face in areas such as jobs, sports, and education. And they recommended solutions. (Starting July 22, their declaration can be found at [www.newmoon.org](http://www.newmoon.org).)

Women clergy and religious leaders from the US, Canada,

and Britain held several sessions here to consider the challenges women face following the influx of their numbers into the clergy beginning in the 1970s.

About two-thirds of Christian churches ordain women, while 3 of 4 Jewish movements ordain rabbis. The Roman Catholic and Mormon Churches remain



**HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON:** The first lady at Celebrate '98.

closed, and the Southern Baptists are divided. While meeting here, the International Association of Women Ministers sent a letter to the pope asking that he reconsider the ordination stand.

Women in religious leadership are also making a difference. In the discussion on the topic, Vir-

ginia Harris, chairman of the board of directors of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, said traditional stereotypes are breaking down. People are more aware of the motherhood qualities of God, and this contributes to healing in church services, she said.

#### **Difficulties remain**

The discussion, however, also revealed that women clergy have run into difficulties - resistance and discrimination, harassment, long delays in appointments, placements in remote parishes.

"Stories I hear feature the price women are paying rather than the difference they are making," says Melanie May, dean of the Program in the Study of Women and Gender in Church and Society at Colgate-Rochester Divinity School in New York.

Women have paid a price from the beginning. The reformers at the first women's rights convention in 1848 drew ridicule on many fronts. Their demands, one newspaper said at the time, would bring "a monstrous injury to all mankind."

Today their voices have become part of an effort to revitalize the women's movement and to link women around the world who are developing stronger voices in pursuit of freedoms in their own countries.

**Q** *Washington*  
UESTION: Where would Thomas Edison, inventor of the phonograph, the movie camera and the light bulb, set up shop if the founder of General Electric were brought back to life?

According to Jack Welch, the corporation's CEO: "He'd be in Silicon Valley, hanging around the Internet."

To her credit, Hillary Rodham Clinton spent last week bringing the national media spotlight to Edison's workshop in Orange, N.J.

Her four-day bus tour featured this and other treasures of American history, from the tattered Star-Spangled Banner at the Smithsonian to the site of the

*Christopher Matthews, chief of The Examiner's Washington bureau, is host of "Hardball" on MSNBC and CNBC cable channels.*

first suffragist rally at Seneca Falls in upstate New York.

The trip had a Reaganesque quality not seen since the Gipper's glory days of the 1980s. Whatever its impact on historical preservation, it was a masterful bit of politics.

It helped the country. It helped her.

The visit to Fort McHenry, whose defense in the War of 1812 inspired the national anthem, displayed a reverence for history so grossly absent in 1995 and 1996, years in which the Clintons abused their White House stewardship by converting the Executive Mansion into a catering

house and the Lincoln Bedroom into a Motel Six for cash-fat campaign contributors.

Her focus on the overlooked task of historic preservation showed an awareness of her own position as first lady that was missing in action from her commander-in-chief role in the health care debacle of 1993 and 1994.

Can anyone argue with a late 20th century project to repair and restore the Star Spangled Banner? To preserve Gen. George Washing-

ton's Revolutionary War headquarters? Or the workshop once used by that prolific genius, Thomas Alva Edison?

"What we wanted to do was to give Americans a chance to both honor the past and imagine the future," Clinton explained about her tour. "And the best way I know of to honor the past is to really seek out places that are important to American history . . . saving what has made us the great country that we are today."



CHRISTOPHER MATTHEWS

CHRISTOPHER MATTHEWS

## Hillary Clinton, docent to history

She is displaying, too, the tricky craft of meeting a high public trust that also carries constitutional limits.

The spouse of an American president holds, ironically, a position similar to that of a member of the British Royal Family. She can educate, celebrate, admonish. She can point to what is going well and not going well in the country. But she cannot set policy. She cannot set up grand national programs, such as health care.

Hillary Rodham Clinton learned this the hard way, just as her husband discovered too late the public's reverence toward the Lincoln Bedroom and, perhaps, the White House itself.

But Hillary Clinton has benefited more. Had she succeeded with her health scheme in 1994, the HMOs of the country would now carry her brand name. All the passions arrayed in this November election against the HMOs would have been blamed on her.

San Francisco Examiner  
July 19, 1998

## National Perspective

## CULTURE

## Benefactors Are Now Paying the Price for Historic Preservation

The private sector is taking a greater role in deciding what pieces of Americana will remain tangible over time.

By GERALDINE BAUM  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—In America, what comes next has always seemed more important than the past, perhaps not surprising in a people who came here to escape their history. But in the last half of the century, the country has come up with a vastly democratic list of physical emblems of American history that it wants to preserve.

The problem, as no less than First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton raised last week, is that somebody has to pay. And though historic preservation is popular—in fact, a grass-roots movement across the nation—the cause still lacks financial wherewithal.

Year after year, Congress pares down the budgets that support historic preservation, even as the list of projects grows exponentially. The National Park Service alone has a list of \$1 billion in work it needs to do to preserve or improve the sites it controls. And then there are the 80,000 entries, including 2,025 in California, on the National Register of Historic Places that may have plaques honoring their importance but little financial heft to keep them going.

As a result, preservationists have come to rely on the largess of such corporate benefactors as designer Ralph Lauren (\$13 million to repair the Star-Spangled Banner that inspired Francis Scott Key) and discount merchandiser Target (\$6 million to refurbish the Washington Monument and historic U.S. sculptures). Thus, foundations and corporations with an impulse to do good and an instinct for good marketing are taking a large role in determining what pieces of American history will remain tangible over time.

But still there is not enough money to go around.

UCLA professor Thomas Hines, an expert on historic preservation, was shocked recently to find a woefully out-of-date orientation film at Jamestown, Va., site of the first permanent colonial settlement in America. When he complained, he was told that for years park budgeteers

redo the film.

"I'm not always insistent on political correctness," Hines said, "but this was so embarrassing. It was racist. It was as if there were no women in Jamestown."

Hines was so excited when he saw the first lady on television last week discussing the importance of saving American treasures in an effort to drum up private support that he wrote her a note, commending her effort and offering help in California.

"There's not enough attention to defining history," Hines said. "Yes, people want to save an old home or church in their neighborhood. Or the flag. . . . But people in general don't think about it."

Or they don't seem to think about paying for it. In fact, it is now all the rage to reclaim everything old, from the silenced stories of early Americans and marginal rural structures to the not-so-old buildings of the 1960s and 1970s such as Los Angeles' cement Cinerama Dome.

"Often California or Southern California gets overlooked by those who are concerned with preservation nationally because of the way history is defined, usually with a 50-year cutoff," said Ken Bernstein of the Los Angeles Conservancy.

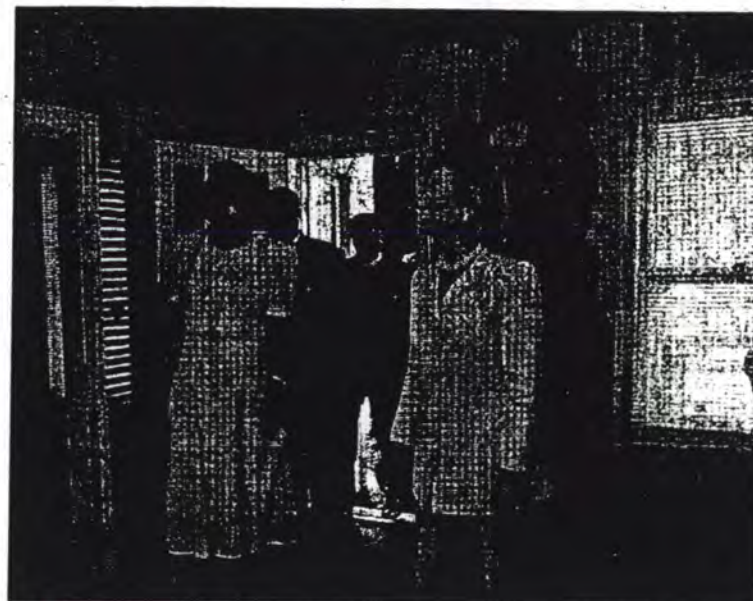
"But here we're not talking about Civil War battlegrounds or grand old homes of the 18th century. Here in California, history can be defined by what is unique and important for our architectural and cultural heritage."

And that can be as new as an original McDonald's in Downey or a crumbling synagogue in Boyle Heights.

Mrs. Clinton decided last year that, as part of the millennium celebrations, she would use her bully pulpit to highlight the need to save an array of remnants of America's heritage. Last week, she visited several East Coast sites—including Thomas Edison's laboratory in New Jersey that is filled with rotting papers—where she announced a \$5-million restoration grant from the General Electric Co.

She is planning on making at least one similar trip each summer, according to her aides.

To illustrate the range of needs for the White House, this spring the National Trust for Historic Preservation put together a list of 101 places, artifacts and documents at risk unless somebody



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton visits Harriet Tubman House in Auburn, N.Y., as part of her campaign to raise awareness and funds for national treasures.

\$408 million to save them from deterioration or destruction.

On that hot list from Los Angeles are St. Vibiana's Cathedral, the oldest building in the city, and the Frank Lloyd Wright house in the Hollywood Hills, once owned by a prominent arts family and now owned by USC. The trust and the Park Service are planning to narrow the list to 20 or 30 priorities in the next few weeks and then bring them to the attention of potential funders.

"In a perfect world maybe you wouldn't need private support, but this is not a perfect world," said Richard Moe, president of the trust. "But our best and maybe our only hope is to get communities and private donors involved."

President Clinton has announced that he will ask Congress for a "millennium fund" of \$50 million in both the 1999 and 2000 fiscal budgets to address these and other Park Service needs. But clearly \$100 million, which may or may not be cleared by Congress, is a drop in the proverbial bucket.

"We do not have the preservation ethic

value their heritage," said Moe, co-chairman of "Save America's Treasures" project with Mrs. Clinton.

"But," he added, "we're getting a whole lot better."

Over the last century, France has become the global model of a state committed to saving its treasures and being 100% financially responsible for the effort, said Michael Kammen, a Cornell University professor of American culture and history who is one of Mrs. Clinton's preservationist advisors. (Early on, the French government was so devoted to preservation that every year it sent emissaries to buy artists' work—even before the Impressionists were popular—for provincial museums so Paris would not be the country's only cultural center.)

In England, a national historic trust was created in 1895. It became the prototype for America's trust, founded in 1949 with the imprimatur of government but little power or money. The limited federal funds that the trust was receiving have been slashed by Congress—in 1995 the

wars—to the point that Moe negotiated to wean the trust from government funds altogether as of this year.

"Occasionally, the [19th century] ladies mobilized some public support, like the women of South Carolina to save George Washington's home at Mt. Vernon, but rarely has government given more than rhetorical support" to historical preservation, Kammen said.

The thinking on what should be saved has evolved since the great immigrant influx at the turn of this century, he explained, but the spectrum broadened after World War II when Americans became manic collectors of everything American from piggy banks to beer cans. (Kammen notes that a new "history" museum of some kind opens almost weekly in the United States, bringing such a bonanza of tourist dollars to communities that six cities bid recently for a new tow truck museum. It opened in April 1997 in Chattanooga, Tenn.)

The struggle to differentiate between what is simply old or kitsch or historic has become increasingly evident in the 1,500 new entries that every year get the stamp of approval from the National Register. The register has broadened its criteria since it was created as part of the Interior Department by the 1966 Historic Preservation Act.

"We're just now starting to look at 1950s suburbs to join the register, and that was such a big boom time that the listing is sure to grow from that influence in the coming years," said Paul Lusignan, a National Register historian.

So between suburbs on the East Coast and rock formations on the Mexican border, mile markers in Pasadena and a strip of 1920s movie houses in downtown Los Angeles—to name a few California examples—there seems to be no end to what Americans value in their history.

If Mrs. Clinton encounters opposition to her campaign to find support for this collection of Americana, it could come from traditional historians, developers or property-rights advocates, according to the experts. But surely she is more likely to find cheerleaders in her American-as-apple-pie quest.

"By starting the ball rolling and finding seed money in corporate entities, Mrs. Clinton is going to run into a whole lot of Americans interested—and thrilled—

Associated Press

# I, Publius

## Hillary's the one

By Alan S. Chartock  
Special to The Eagle

So why did Hillary come to the Berkshires? It could be her commitment to preserving America's cultural jewels. That is good enough for me. But in politics, a lot of planning and thinking goes into even the most trivial of activities of a president or his first lady. Let's try to put ourselves inside the heads of the junior geniuses in the basement dungeons of the White House, who thought all of this through. Remember, in politics, winning is "everything."

First, there is the obvious. Republicans have a huge gender gap and the Democrats know it. Everyone from Sen. Al D'Amato to Trent Lott is trying to equal things out. Among women, and many men like me, Hillary Clinton now holds heroine status. Her reception around the country is extraordinary.

It wasn't always so. There was a time when she was painted by her critics as an assertive woman grasping for power who should have been at home baking cookies. When she and Ira Magaziner concocted a complicated and convoluted health care program, people were infuriated. She had, of course, taken on the sacrosanct medical establishment. When Hillary went to The Mount, the former estate of Edith Wharton who was the first woman to win the Pulitzer Prize for literature, the point was made.

Americans have undergone a sea change about Hillary Clinton. The person who created this change, of course, is the artful dodger, Kenneth Starr, the special prosecutor — or is that special persecutor? Ask yourself whether you could have acquitted yourself the way Hillary has. Can you imagine the trauma of that politically motivated, right-wing Republican pulling you before a grand jury several times to endure innuendo and unsubstantiated rumors? Can you imagine walking out of the hearing room and showing yourself to be uncomplaining and centered? Can you imagine having the guts to go on the "Today Show" before all of America and being the first one to denounce Starr for what he is, a partisan Republican, part of right-wing plot to bring this president down?

Then, too, there is the relationship with the president that has, to put it mildly, its own unique elements. Many would have long ago folded their tents and run into the forest to hide. Not Hillary. She has been quiet, determined and has stood her ground. She has not allowed anyone else to determine the parameters of her marriage and, in so doing, she has sent a lesson for all Americans. For every snoopy gossip who would tell tales about any of us and our mates she has said, by example, "Face them down, be true to yourself, don't let anyone shame you or your children or your husband."

For once, Americans haven't bought into the big lie. The Republicans are beside themselves. They can't figure out what to do. Long ago, they thought they had Bill and Hillary Clinton, first in Whitewater and now in their cheap attempt to make the unique attributes of two people's private business into a legal affair. Trent Lott, the Republican Senate Majority Leader, is even stooping to the lowest partisan level by implying that Clinton is a traitor who turns American secrets over to the Chinese, even though he knows that Republicans have been initiating similar deals with China for years.

This nonsense hasn't worked up to now and it isn't going to. The bad guys have cooked their own geese and the game is over. They are just making things worse for themselves. All we feel is revulsion and anger toward the bullies and admiration for people like Hillary Rodham Clinton who can stand up to them. After all, when she stands up to them for herself, she is standing up on behalf of all of us.

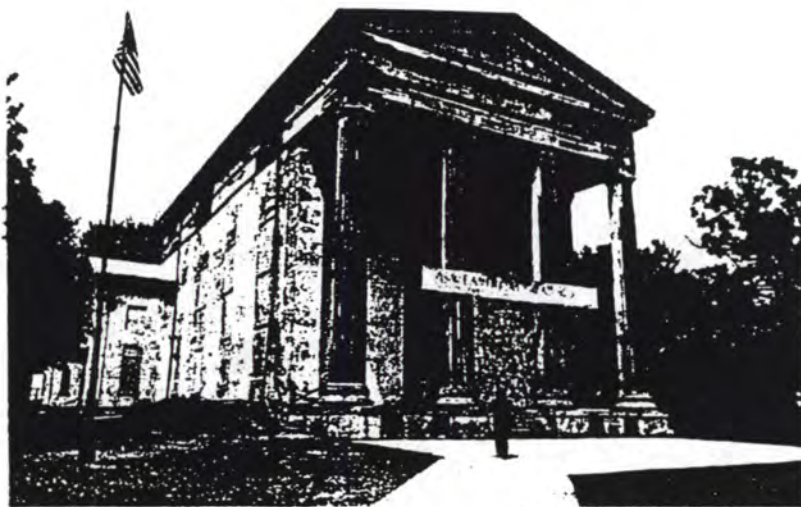
It really isn't all that surprising that there was a lot of pent-up energy and admiration for this gutsy and tough first lady. The more the right wing beats up on Hillary, the more they will exacerbate the gender imbalance so well deserved. They always foul up, even in their own party. Consider the nutsy crowd who beat up on Jane Swift for daring to be pregnant and run for political office at the same time. Hello-ooooooooo?!! Welcome to the new millennium, folks. That's why so many people were out there cheering for Hillary the other day and that's why I'm cheering for her now. Go girl, go!

Alan Chartock is chairman and executive director of WAMC public radio in Albany, N.Y., and a SUNY professor of political science and communications, but makes his home in Great Barrington.

The Berkshire Eagle  
July 17, 1998

# What Price Preservation?

DESIGN NOTEBOOK



Philip Greenberg for The New York Times

**GOD IN THE DETAILS** Who will save the Dutch Reformed Church?

## Partners In Saving A Legacy

By PATRICIA LEIGH BROWN

NEWBURGH, N.Y.  
**T**HERE were no suntanned, silver-haired corporate angels on hand on July 14, when Hillary Rodham Clinton visited the Dutch Reformed Church here to talk about historic preservation. Her backdrop was the derelict Greek revival temple by Alexander Jackson Davis, completed in 1835, once an uplifting symbol of the city's material progress and now an evocative, camera-ready testament to urban decay.

"What does it mean to save a building?" Mrs. Clinton mused before a large crowd assembled in the sweltering heat. "When a town like Newburgh is able to revitalize its history, you become a beacon of economic development and tourism."

By saving landmarks and living with them daily, "you begin to tell yourselves and your children the story of Newburgh," she observed.

"That makes America more real."

The day before, the President and the First Lady shared the dais at the National Museum of American History with Ralph Lauren, announcing with much hoopla the designer's \$10 million rescue of the flag that inspired "The Star-Spangled Banner," (presumably this flag is off-limits for Mr. Lauren as a style phenomenon).

The dueling images — Mr. Lauren as patriotic savior and a vacant city church without a patron — underscored the paradox of Mrs. Clinton's "Save America's Treasures" tour: For every million-dollar pledge by a Ralph Lauren or G.E. to rescue a

—  
America is built of  
the stones of places  
like Newburgh.  
—

star, there were humbler places like the Dutch Reformed Church or the Colonial Theater in Pittsfield, Mass., waiting for deliverance. Who should pay to preserve them?

The First Lady made a pledge herself, donating royalties from a coming book of letters to the First Pets to the National Park Founda-

Continued on Page 9

NE C1  
THURSDAY, JULY 23, 1998

# House&Home

The New York Times

# Partners in Saving A Legacy in Stone

*Continued From Page 1, This Section*

on. (The nonprofit foundation announced this week that the Coca-Cola foundation was donating \$1.5 million to pay for hands-on discovery centers at nine national parks.)

In an interview, Mrs. Clinton said that government — Federal, state and local — should bear a large part of the financial burden for historical preservation, supplemented by public-private partnerships. "Government has the primary obligation," he said. "But there are also many people with resources who might not have thought about the contribution they could make."

Although state and local governments made forays into preservation at least as early as 1816, when Independence Hall in Philadelphia was purchased and restored, ever since the Mount Vernon Ladies Association rescued George Washington's mansion and grounds, preservation in the United States has relied on contributions and philanthropy.

The most notable Federal exception, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, created the National Register of Historic Places, which now has nearly 80,000 entries, and a program of matching grants for their preservation.

But practically from the beginning, preservationists have had to be skillful quilters, piecing together funds from public and private sources. The private role in public monuments was perhaps most strikingly illustrated by Lee Iacocca's successful campaign to restore the statue of Liberty and Ellis Island, which raised more than \$400 million.

A leader in public preservation has been the National Trust for Historic Preservation, which has received money from Congress since 1966, but will lose its financing next year. Three years ago, after Congress threatened to pull the plug, the National Trust negotiated a three-year 7 million phase-out and has since been building a war chest to privatize itself. "We're comfortable with it," its president, Richard Moe, said. "The funding fight became a pre-occupying thing that distracted us from the issues. We want to be more effective and entrepreneurial."

At the national parks, the repair backlog for historic buildings is more than \$1 billion. Three years ago, an experimental program began

that returned park entrance fees to the parks; it will generate about \$400 million in the next several years, said Edward Norton, vice president for law and public policy for the preservation trust.

The House Appropriations Committee is considering a bill to increase funds for rehabilitating historic buildings in the national parks and to stabilize the deteriorating south side of Ellis Island.

"We're definitely making progress," Mr. Norton said.

But in places like Newburgh, when the tour bus pulls out and the bunting is folded, financing will probably depend, as it always has, on the grit of a determined few. "Preservation is the most underrated catalyst for urban rebirth nationwide," said Roberta Brandes Gratz, author of "Cities Back From the Edge: New Life for Downtown" (John Wiley & Sons, 1998). "The most desirable neighborhoods from Atlanta to Seattle are historic districts. But preservation hasn't gained the star status that big stadium and casino projects have because it happens in small increments."

The Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, for example, a model of creative financing, has spent three and a half decades cobbling together reinvestment in formerly low-income, redlined historic districts, neighborhoods that Jane Jacobs once compared to "a working man's Georgetown."

The Pittsburgh foundation, said its president, Arthur P. Ziegler Jr., has set up a partnership with 11 local banks to provide low-interest loans to community-development corporations for low- and moderate-income housing and small businesses in the historic district. The foundation also provides architectural assistance. It set up a \$25 million endowment by developing (and then selling) Station Square, a historic railroad station, now housing a hotel, restaurants and other businesses. The project, developed over 20 years, began with seed money from the Allegheny Foundation, heirs to the Mellon fortune.

On a smaller scale, Newburgh is beginning to use the same financing



Philip Greenberg for The New York Times

**OLD IS NEW** In Newburgh, abandoned 1850's row houses will live again

tools. On Lander Street, a block long plagued by drugs and abandonment and which Mrs. Clinton visited, Arnold Moss, a New York developer, is rebuilding 33 vacated 1850's row houses. Working with the Enterprise Foundation and Rural Opportunities, a nonprofit organization that manages affordable housing, he is knitting together private financing (about 80 percent of the \$9.5 million needed), state, city and Federal funds and Federal tax credits for low-income housing and historic buildings.

The row houses are being designed as two-family duplexes, which will rent for \$500 to \$750 a month. The sight of old buildings beginning to look new gladdens Margie Peacock, who has lived on the block for 15 years. "It's not a bad place to live," she said, sitting on her porch, where a sign that says SANTA IS ALWAYS WELCOME HERE hangs on her door-knob. "I love to see it kept up."

**T**HE monumental Dutch Reformed Church, modeled on an Acropolis temple and considered one of the finest Greek revival churches in America, may have a tougher go. Davis, the 19th-century architect, wrote that the design, with its giant Ionic columns and 30-foot-high entrance door, was meant to be "indicative of the refined taste, discrimination and sense of classical beauty of the inhabitants of Newburgh." But the church lost its congregation in 1964 and has been vacant since. "It is one of the noblest buildings in the city," said J. Winthrop Aldrich, New York's Deputy Commissioner for historic preservation. "But it looks so derelict today, it's hard to imagine

what it was or might be."

The preservation of religious properties is "one of the most difficult issues we face," said Peg Breidenbach, president of the New York Landmarks Conservancy, a nonprofit organization based in Manhattan which has provided grants and loans to about 500 religious properties statewide. "Cities seldom know what to do with them or how to raise money for them," she added. "Churches don't just affect the people who go there. They are the true sense of landmarks: they mark land, anchor the community."

Right now, the church, which owned by the city, is in limbo, Maureen Carey said. Volunteers from the Newburgh Center for the Arts have replaced the roof and tend grounds. "We'd like to see it become an arts center, or something compatible with community use," Maureen Carey said.

While this church awaits salvation, Target Stores recently bought a page insert in Time magazine proudly hailing its role in helping restore the Washington Monument (Target gave \$2.5 million.) So preservationists worry about the possible next step: corporate ads on the Olympics, and logos flying from national landmarks.

On this potentially slippery slope, "it's a question of maintaining a balance," said Tony Wood, a New York City preservationist and founder of the New York Preservation Chives, a nonprofit group. "Our job is to keep what's been here for years standing," he said. "If we have to choose between corporate sponsorship and losing history, you'd be a fool not to take the check."

## Worth Preserving

THE first lady's recent tour of East Coast historical sites highlighted the wealth of such sites, and the problems of protecting them.

Mrs. Clinton spent some time at the Edison National Historic Site in West Orange, N.J. It houses prototype inventions, lab notes, and early recordings made by America's preeminent technological genius. Thomas Edison's work changed everyone's life, but the working record of his life, stashed in boxes and corners, has never received the care it deserves.

Not that the National Park Service, which administers the site, wouldn't like to do the job right. But its backlog of needed repairs to historical sites and other buildings is \$1.2 billion. Its prospective budget allows \$50 million for historic preservation.

At Mrs. Clinton's urging, General Electric, appropriately, is donating \$5

million to restore one building and protect the papers at the Edison labs.

Other corporations and individuals might consider what they can do to safeguard the country's historical legacy. This includes those of humbler means, too. The first lady made a point of noting that local people, even children with their pennies, can help preserve monuments in towns and cities. Many grandparents remember how their pennies helped restore the frigate "Old Ironsides," a historic treasure threatened with destruction in the early 1930s until saved by a national fund-raising drive.

Why preserve artifacts of the past? Two reasons come to mind: (1) to remind us where we've been and the progress that's been made and (2) to remind us that fundamental issues and aspirations, from liberty to invention, are constants.

July 30, 1998



## HISTORY

# Old glory

**O**ne hundred and fifty years ago, Elizabeth Cady Stanton led early feminists to Seneca Falls, N.Y., for the first Woman's Rights Convention. Hillary Rodham Clinton journeyed there last week, stopping at imperiled historic sites along the way. The first lady's 12-site, four-state tour launched a joint campaign of the White House and the National Trust for Historic Preservation to "honor the past and imagine the future," she says.

Corporate sponsors are joining the cause. Ralph Lauren's Polo, which makes apparel sporting Old Glory, donated \$13 million to preserve the star-spangled banner that inspired Francis Scott Key's national anthem. The flag is housed at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History. And GE, the descendant of Thomas Edison's Electric Light Co., also chipped in \$5 million to renovate the



**Star-spangled: the president, Lauren, and first lady**

inventor's New Jersey laboratory.

The first lady wrapped up her trip at the Seneca Falls fete commemorating great advances for American women.

—Stacy Atlas

# Arts & Leisure



Stephen Kravitz

Sunday, July 26, 1998

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

ON most nights when opera is the attraction at the Kennedy Center, the Presidential box is either empty or filled by low-level staff members or their friends. The faces everyone recognizes turn out mainly for musicals. Not many senators or representatives show up, either, for Washington's choice concerts and recitals or at big exhibitions at the National Gallery, the Phillips Collection and the Corcoran Gallery, or even at most plays at the city's award-winning Arena Stage. High culture is about as popular a diversion in official Washington as stock-car racing in the Ivy League.

On the other hand, successive owners of the Washington Redskins — George Preston Marshall, Edward

Bennett Williams, Jack Kent Cooke and now his son, John Kent Cooke — have never had any trouble filling their box on autumn Sunday afternoons with politicians, high-voltage lawyers and media luminaries.

During working hours, some of the pols plot ways to cut Federal spending on the arts and to keep the remaining dollars — pathetically few by the standards of most advanced countries — out of the hands of artists whose work is deemed offensive to “general standards of decency and respect for the diverse trends and values of the American public,” to quote the legislative formulation whose constitutionality was upheld by the Supreme Court last month.

The artists, understandably, feel beleaguered. When William Bolcom's new Sixth Symphony, with a movement aggressively titled “Marche II Contre les Philistins,” was given its premiere in Washington earlier this year by the National Symphony Orchestra, the composer said in a program note that it was a protest against “the increasingly hostile climate for the arts in our current society.”

There are exceptions, of course. Senator Daniel

## Philistines aren't at the gates of Washington; they're inside them, in charge. Why is that?

Patrick Moynihan of New York and Representative Sidney Yates of Illinois champion the arts even in today's chilly climate. In the not yet distant past, Justice Abe Fortas of the Supreme Court was a devotee of classical music, not only as a listener but as a performer. A violinist, he played chamber music for guests at home.

But not since 1968, when Eugene J. McCarthy flew to Chicago for the doomed Democratic National Convention with the poet Robert Lowell and the novelist William Styron on his private plane, has a high-profile

American politician, at least in my memory, so publicly associated himself with symbols of Art.

It is a Republican-controlled Congress that has most visibly and most recently been trying “to drive a stake into the heart of Federal funding for the arts,” as the departing chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, Jane Alexander, complained when she left the capital recently to return to acting.

But today as yesterday and the day before, with Republicans as well as Democrats in control of the White House, with Democratic as well as Republican majorities on Capitol Hill, the arts and intellectual activity in general are often bashed and seldom boosted by political Washington, left or right.

Bill Clinton, though no worse than the run of American Presidents, is not much better, and Presidents set the tone in this as in so many other aspects of American public life. Hillary Rodham Clinton, unlike Jacqueline Kennedy, appears disinclined to compensate for her husband in this area. During their triumphal tour of China, neither uttered a word of protest in public (or, so

Continued on Page 26

R. W. Apple Jr. is a former Washington bureau chief of The New York Times and now its chief correspondent.

far as is known, in private) about the Shanghai Bureau of Culture's refusal to allow a production of "The Peony Pavilion," a classic Chinese opera, to appear at this year's Lincoln Center Festival.

The Clintons' tastes run to rock-and-roll, television sitcoms and Hollywood yard goods, if their guest lists are any guide. Harry Thomason and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, the creators of chunks of television bubble gum, were the first people invited by the Clintons to spend the night in the Lincoln Bedroom. True, they are longtime Arkansas friends. But Barbra Streisand, who slept there too, is not, and at the big White House bash last winter for the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, the featured entertainers were Elton John and Stevie Wonder, neither of whom has any links to the First Family or to Arkansas. Setting the cultural table for the press that evening, the actor James Brolin said of Mr. Clinton: "He's the most fun President we've ever had. I think we can all agree about that."

### A Phillistine Tradition

So why is it that most American politicians care so little about the arts or intellectual life in general? Why do many who do hide it? Why do others go out of their way to pillory culture? Is a philistine climate in Washington, often reflected in statehouses, an accident or a historical inevitability?

I think we set ourselves on the road to a philistine political tradition long ago, when we resolutely turned our backs on the old aristocratic cultures of Europe, setting up what Tocqueville identified as a lasting tension between elitism and egalitarianism — tension very likely to be resolved in favor of the egalitarians, he said, given "the ever-increasing despotism of the majority."

At first, New England brahmins and Virginia planters like Adams and Jefferson and Madison gave the young United States something approaching an aristocratic tradition in politics. All of them were cultivated men. But in 1828 the nation took a fateful turn against the Eastern elite with the election of Andrew Jackson, the quintessential backwoodsman, who became the first American President without a trace of the aristocrat in his lineage.

Having established the primacy of the frontier in American politics, his supporters crowded into the White House to celebrate, leaving muddy footprints on the chairs and carpets.

Eight years later, William Henry Harrison beat Martin Van Buren, campaigning as the "log cabin and cider" candidate and ridiculing Van Buren as an Easterner so effete that he actually had a bathtub in the White House.

### Highborn pols may try to disguise their origins: F.D.R. served hot dogs and Bush ate pork rinds.

Harrison's victory provided a corollary precedent to Jackson's: if you aren't a man of the people, pretend to be. Like his running mate, John Tyler, he was a Virginia aristocrat, but he ignored that and ran instead on his exploits in the western wars: "Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too," said the campaign handbills.

Ever since, the great mass of American politicians have shied away from identification with things artistic and intellectual. "Elite" is one of the dirtiest words in the

lexicon of American politics, and those who are suspected of having a mansion instead of a log cabin lurking in their backgrounds feel the need to hide it with ostentatious symbols of the common touch. Franklin D. Roosevelt, a Hudson River squire, served hot dogs to the King and Queen of England, and George Bush, an upper-crust Connecticut Yankee, made a show of nibbling pork rinds. Talking about the tables down at Mory's would have projected the wrong image.

The frontier style in American politics, as it might be called, is related to the scarcely concealed notion that there is something meanly about the arts; John Wayne didn't talk about Rembrandt or listen to Callas. Traditionally, American men have admired (and aspired to be) tough guys, denizens of bars and smokers of cigars. The more genteel side of life, in this stereotype, is left to the women, twittering away at card parties. Arts-loving men have often been derided as homosexual or at least limp. For politicians, it is safer not to run the risk.

In this as in other things, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York is an exception, an opera lover since childhood who turns up not only in the audience at the Met but onstage, to make some sort of presentation or other. Then, he is the Mayor of a city where high culture is a multimillion-dollar business, and business, unlike the arts, has long been seen as a proper preoccupation of politicians.

F.D.R. wrote one of the noble chapters in governmental financing of the arts with the Works Progress Administration's support of artists who painted murals and frescoes on public buildings and writers who created a series of historical guides to the then 48 states. No one objected very much; artists were on the bread lines just as much as assembly-line workers and haberdashers.

Influenced by his arts-loving, saxophone-playing legal aide, Leonard Garment, Richard Nixon financed the National Endowment more generously than any of his successors, although he himself had no particular artistic leanings.

And John F. Kennedy and his culture-vulture wife, Jacqueline, created Camelot, disdained today by the revisionists but astonishing at the time. Not only were the intellectually lively like Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. and John Kenneth Galbraith recruited for key places in the Administration (Hannah Arendt said that Kennedy had "emptied the Harvard faculty"), but the artistically distinguished were invited to state occasions, from Robert Lowell and Robert Frost to Pablo Casals.

Like President Nixon, President Kennedy may have had pedestrian tastes; indeed, Richard Reeves says in his book about the Kennedy Presidency that J.F.K. cracked jokes behind his wife's back about the soirees she arranged. But Kennedy had keen enough political antennae to know that high style sold well for the two of them — our own version of royalty — however much an exception that represented from the usual rules of American public life.

Most politicians have dreaded seeming out of touch with the mainstream of American culture, especially its more populist elements. They take it as a given that refined sensibilities play badly "out there." Cowed by polls, fearful of retribution at the ballot box by voters whose instincts they habitually underestimate, they attend prayer breakfasts even if not very religious and surround themselves with movie and television stars.

To have turned the nation's political culture into a Sahara of the Bozart, where eggheads are punished unless they keep their heads down, as Adlai E. Stevenson and Eugene McCarthy both learned; where the yahoos thrive and where few voices are raised in celebration of the arts.

If American politicians have little interest in traditional arts — or seem actually scared of them — one can imagine their lack of interest in defending truly controversial art. If they would just as soon stay away from Mozart and Renoir and Shakespeare, shock art makes them squirm. And especially in the last century and a half, much of avant-garde painting, music and literature has been adversarial and difficult to access by the uninitiated. The homoerotic photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano's cross submerged in urine not only offended members of the religious right but

## Elect Bodies With Hardly a Cultured Bone

doubtless upset many in the mainstream as well.

In recent years, this kind of work has ignited a political bonfire that came close to consuming the whole idea of Federal arts subsidies. While such art is part of a long tradition of esthetic radicalism, it also marks a departure, not only shocking the artistic sensibilities of some of those who experience them but also offending the religious beliefs of millions at a time when religion and politics are unusually closely linked in this country.

"At the moment," Senator Moynihan commented, "it seems to me that there is an unusually assertive desire to shock. Maybe that's because artists feel that they live on

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## **In Europe, monarchs and popes, nobles and aristocrats, took it upon themselves to support the arts.**

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the margins of a materialistic culture, or maybe it's just my age. At any rate, when you get shocked audiences, you're going to get shocked people in Congress too, because Congress as a whole — the Senate, at least — has a range of dispositions, talents and tastes not very different from the country's."

For every Pat Moynihan who reflects the values of the faculty lounge, in other words, there are a lot more Jesse Helmses who reflect those of the Bible Belt, where the crabbed spirit of the Puritans still shines. And artists, as Mr. Mencken observed, "are never Puritan and seldom even ordinarily respectable."

Mr. Yates, who has been fighting these battles for decades, said that few Presidents, in his view, had put their hearts into the arts, settling instead for "fine-sounding words of support for worthy ideals." Presidents operate within limits, he suggested, "and some artists always go beyond the limits — they operate out on the edge, and that is what they are supposed to do."

### **The European Way**

A big part of the difference between Europe and America is history.

For centuries, European monarchs, including popes, took it upon themselves to support the arts, as did nobles and aristocrats. Popes hired Michelangelo and Raphael, the Esterhazys employed Haydn, and Frederick the Great, a composer of repute himself, brought Voltaire to Potsdam for philosophical discourses.

As the power of the absolutists waned, the obligations of cultural patrons passed to democratically elected politicians, along with the remaining aristocrats. A deference to cultural elites persisted. I once asked Herbert von Karajan in the days when he dominated the Salzburg Festival what he did when a production ran over budget. He looked at me as if I had yet to learn the facts of life and answered, "I call Vienna, and the ministry sends money" — an exaggeration, no doubt, but an accurate depiction of lavish Austrian spending on music.

Many British and French and other European politicians are patrons of the arts in both senses, not only regularly voting for large subventions but regularly attending plays and concerts. Some are cultural figures themselves, whether full-time politicians with artistic avocations (like Denis Healey, the former British foreign secretary, a music lover who writes serious books and takes photographs good enough to merit exhibitions) or full-time artists with political avocations (like André Malraux, a minister under de Gaulle, or Vaclav Havel, the presi-

dent of the Czech Republic, or Kurt Masur, a leader of the Leipzig revolt against the old East German regime). The most successful French Ambassador to Washington since World War II, Emmanuel de Margerie, had previously headed France's most distinguished art museums.

Since London, Paris and Helsinki are their countries' cultural as well as political capitals, the political classes there may be more naturally friendly to the arts than in our country, where the economic and cultural capital, New York, is an hour's flight away from the halls of Congress. The political capitals of the largest American states, which control arts budgets of their own, are also distant from their cultural and intellectual capitals. Those who control the government money bags are in Albany, Austin, Springfield and Sacramento, not New York, Houston, Chicago and Los Angeles.

But even if the worlds of government and the arts lived in close proximity to each other, the antagonism might persist, unless the politicians could stop worrying about looking like elitists in their constituents' suspicious eyes. Cultural capitals are almost by definition elitist places.

A more serious drawback in the United States must be the lack of a core cultural tradition, accepted by all, which the politicians can foster with tax dollars. In a country as heterogeneous as this, it is hard to imagine the almost universal love of serious music that possesses Italy, for example. I remember hailing a cab in Milan on the night of a Sviatoslav Richter concert many years ago and learning that the driver was going, too.

Here, the multicultural, egalitarian tradition weighs heavy. Politicians and the rest of us are encouraged to believe that all artistic traditions have equal merit. The result is a fragmented view of the arts, a world where the politicians pander rather than lead, resting content with their philistinism instead of championing art — any art — at the risk of their political necks. □