

Need - —
For you,
my dear.

Love,
Liza
&
Trude!

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
IN BRIEFING ON FOREIGN AID

Map Room

June 16, 1997

3:12 P.M. EDT

MRS. CLINTON: We wanted to have this briefing -- it is one in a series of briefings that we've held, and some of you have actually attended some of the other briefings on issues that we believe are important but often don't have time to be discussed in any depth. And it's especially significant as we're about to finish the commemoration of the Marshall Plan and to go into another series of what will be, we think, important discussions in the country, whether it's NATO enlargement or MFN or fast track or United Nations reform, and a lot of the other issues that have an important bearing on what happens in our country and the world, but often are not on the front burner of public consciousness, that we would take a chance like this to discuss one aspect of that. And that is, in particular, the role of development assistance and humanitarian assistance in our overall foreign policy and how they are strategic means for advancing American interests at home and abroad.

When we were recently in the Netherlands for the celebration of the Marshall Plan I gave a speech at the University of Amsterdam about development assistance which seemed somewhat appropriate since the Dutch spend probably a higher percentage of their gross domestic product on development assistance than any but maybe one or two other Scandinavian countries, and they've long been committed to it.

But what I thought was significant was that in his 1954 Nobel speech, General Marshall gave a rather remarkable statement about the importance of development assistance and the sort of softer side of security, and how, in looking back on his career as a soldier and on looking at the success of the Marshall Plan, the things that he would like to see the North Atlantic Alliance focus on were education and sort of social investment, human capital development and the like.

So we have here some experts in foreign policy and in America's role in the world today and in the way in which a lot of the work that we're doing really ties together. This is an auspicious day to have this discussion because tomorrow, as you'll hear in a minute, we have -- what -- the 500th flight of Operation Provide Hope and we have an important announcement about African trade and aid policy, both of which are linked together, although at first glance they may not appear to be so.

I'd like first to call on Ambassador, now Secretary Pickering, who has just been confirmed, thankfully, and is over at the State Department after, I think it's fair to say, one of, if not the most distinguished careers in the foreign service and on behalf of the United States recently serving in Russia. And I wanted to ask him -- he's going to have to leave for another appointment -- but to provide a kind of overview of what's happening in Russia and what our engagement with Russia means and how these efforts at aid and building up relations through development efforts are really critical to the long-term democratization prospects of that country.

AMBASSADOR PICKERING: Thank you, Mrs. Clinton, very much. It's a pleasure to be over here and a pleasure to talk about a subject which has occupied a lot of my time and attention. I think General Marshall said, when questioned about the Marshall Plan, that it was the most difficult and, at the same time, the most rewarding issue he'd ever been involved in. And many things about our assistance program in Russia fill that bill for me.

Most recently, I had the shortest retirement on record as President of the Eurasia Foundation, which is a small, but I think, very significant aid recipient, working at grass-roots projects in Russia and the states of the former Soviet Union. I'll be glad to talk further about that with any of you.

But I would also tell you at the larger end of the spectrum, those of you who have watched Russia -- and there are a lot of Russia watchers in here -- will know and understand that macroeconomic stabilization has been achieved in Russia. In simple terms, that means inflation rate is down from 1000 percent a year in '92 to very low double digits and maybe moving toward single digits in the future -- a very, very important achievement and one that sets the basis, in my view, for Russia's being able to grow and seek more investment. And that's certainly what President Yeltsin and his key reformist advisors are struggling with now. But the role and record of aid, particularly in the kind of technical advice that was necessary and provided on a sustained basis, was very, very much responsible for that.

Similarly, privatization in a country where private business was totally illegal in 1990 and where now 60 to 70 percent of the work force is involved in some element of private activity, the very significant amounts of money spent on technical advice in that area through AID were extremely significant in bringing about that very large-scale change -- not without bumps along the road; none of us think it was cost-free or necessarily totally perfect, but it was a major change. And it's extremely important to recognize that it was change in a country which never intended to change, and change in a country along a route which was never plotted in advance.

Nobody knew how to go from communism to something like the free market and capitalism. And so it had to be sustained and pushed ahead and thought about and planned as it went, rather than something that could be immediately seen as a kind of projection of what we've been doing in Africa or what we've been doing in Latin America. So it was brand new and a great challenge.

I think it is also very, very important to mention -- and Dick Morningstar will get into this -- that there is a human face to American assistance in the states of the former Soviet Union, from the humanitarian program which Dick will mention, to a program that Mrs. Clinton herself was directly involved with, our hospital to hospital partnerships, something in which numerous large American hospitals have partnered themselves with very significant Russian and NIS hospitals for technical assistance, for in-service training, for exchanges

of person, and for support in things like medicines and equipment. These have been supported through AID and been very, very significant.

Another very touching program -- and I think, too, Mrs. Clinton, you were involved in this -- is the fact that in preparation for a Russian attack in Central Europe these many years, and as part of NATO's buildup, the United States built and stored something like nine or ten extremely large military hospitals in containers. And these were delivered in pieces all over the CIS states as part of our contribution to helping those hospitals upgrade.

And Russians and Americans were all touched by the fact that we had been preparing one moment for war with one another, and the next moment we had seen these remarkable changes and developments, and through the defense program of disposing of this surplus equipment, all of it first line, all of it meeting the highest American standards, 500 train carloads were delivered at various times throughout Russia, the Ukraine, and the other states of the former Soviet Union. And it made a huge difference to the life and health of many ordinary Russians.

We can go on and on -- business is another area, focus and concentration in our work. And our ability to help businessmen understand what business was about, to provide Peace Corps volunteers -- a very interesting and different adaptation to the Peace Corps idea -- as business consultants throughout the CIS, the ability to set up small business training institutions throughout Russia and the other countries had an enormous impact and is continuing to have an enormous impact on Russia.

And I'll mention one more because it is a centerpiece of American foreign policy and interest, and that's democracy. We have provided lots of assistance in many areas. The introduction of jury trials, which existed in a fashion under czarist Russia, was a strange, rather interesting, but very innovative experience. It was limited to nine of the 89 Russian equivalents of our states. It was limited to the choice of defendants in death penalty cases, but very quickly defendants in Russia found they got a better shake from the jury system than they did from the new adaptation of the old Soviet system which was designed to ensure 99.9 percent convictions -- a very interesting breath of fresh air in the Russian scene.

Similarly, in elections, where aid assistance and support was absolutely critical in the six or seven major Russian elections that have been held since the disappearance of the Soviet Union -- absolutely critical in assuring the freeness and fairness of those elections -- you can't imagine how difficult it was to organize an election process with 96,000 polling places across Russia, 11 time zones, huge changes in climate, and to do this time after time and to do this in a way that stood the scrutiny of international observers, that stood the test of mathematical comparison, that met the standard of exist polling, all of which made a big difference I think in the way in which the Russian electoral process was working and continues to work, and obviously made a major difference, I think, in the outcome of the Russian efforts toward democracy and reform.

Well, I could go on and on. There are lots of other gee-whiz kinds of things, but the critical and most important thing is that on all of the major issues that made a real difference, the United States was not a Marshall Plan for Russia, but it provided that amount of assistance and that amount of technical backup that made a significant difference. We provided very little, if any, to the Russian government in terms of dollars. We provided technical advice to Russians, many of them connected with the government, and there was lots of criticism in Russia and elsewhere that we were providing very high-priced

consultants. But after a very careful look, it was clear to me that the prices that we paid for consultants was entirely compatible with exactly what the United States government was paying all over the United States for consultant services it had also contracted for.

I know you have questions, and so let me move on, Mrs. Clinton, to the next contributor. But thank you for the opportunity to be here.

MRS. CLINTON: I think that Secretary Pickering's very brief, but comprehensive overview of all of the different forms of aid that have been offered raises an interesting question, because it may not be part of a Marshall Plan, but it certainly has resulted from the marshaling of a lot of resources. And I'm not sure that we've yet sat down and actually calculated the combination of direct and indirect resources that have gone on to governments and non-governmental entities in the former Soviet Union. But I think if we were and we counted foundation and business and in-kind and everything else, we would be far in excess in today's dollars on any kind of comparison than what the Marshall Plan provided.

But because it is not direct government-to-government aid, it is not always understood and viewed as being what it is, which is a very clear investment of American resources, public and private, in the future economic and democratic successes of these countries.

Dick Morningstar has been responsible and on the front line for a lot of the aid that's gone in, and I want him to give sort of a brief overview of what he's done.

MR. MORNINGSTAR: Thank you, Mrs. Clinton. I'll briefly touch on two areas, one being -- it's not fair that you're leaving, Tom, because you got to say all this stuff and -- but Tom mentioned the surplus of defense equipment that has been supplied into the CIS or the former Soviet Union over the last several years. And tomorrow's 500th flight as part of Operation Provide Hope will include several million dollars of excess defense equipment that will be going to Uzbekistan. In fact, that equipment will be going -- to be totally accurate -- will be going by rail and pure medical supplies will be going on the airplane. But it's another example of how materials that were put in Europe as part of the Cold War is still now doing good in the former Soviet Union.

One little anecdote to emphasize the point, the person in my office who is responsible for the Operation Provide Hope program is Colonel Russ Hardesty. He was a B-52 navigator before coming to the State Department to run this program, on detail from the Defense Department. And it's sort of a real-life, vivid example of the transition that's taking place.

Operation Provide Hope is something that really isn't talked about very much, and it does have the very human impact that Mrs. Clinton was talking about before. We have provided some \$2 billion worth of commodities to the former Soviet Union through this, 80 percent of which has come through private contribution. Some 20 pharmaceutical companies and medical companies are participating in the 500th flight tomorrow. It's a perfect example of how a public-private partnership can work where small amounts of federal dollars -- literally, what we pay for is the transportation for these shipments, and the goods come either from the private sector or from the DOD excess equipment that's been talked about. And it's a remarkable program and it's done a remarkable amount of good.

When I go to places -- some of the smaller countries like Georgia, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, others, they will say that they literally may not have survived as independent countries but for this assistance, along with some of the other humanitarian assistance that we provide under a more traditional rubric, through the U.S. Department of Agriculture and other programs.

I need to take this opportunity since there's a somewhat captive audience to talk briefly about the President's Partnership for Freedom initiative for the NIS. The President, as many of you know, has requested from Congress an increase from \$625 million to \$900 million for the Partnership for Freedom program. I would like to make five quick points with respect to that program that I think ought to be emphasized.

One, the work that we do in the former Soviet Union is in our national security interest, and I want to emphasize the security part. It is our national security interest because the ultimate transition of these societies to stable market economies, market democracies and market economies is key to our national security. And when you think about it, it doesn't take a whole lot of imagination to realize why that's the case.

There are four key points to the program. We're focusing on the economic growth of these countries, and in so doing, we're focusing on small businesses and we're focusing on the regions. It's one thing for these countries to have reached macroeconomic stability; it's another to take the transition to economic growth. And we need to take the steps that we can to help that take place because that will create the stability that's necessary.

And we also need to understand that this is a generational process and that we have to stay involved as part of this generational process. I think sometimes we're a little impatient as to how quickly change can take place and we have to recognize that this is going to be a five, 10, 15, 20-year process and we need to stay engaged; we need to create relationships by continuing and emphasizing the partnerships and exchanges that Tom Pickering was talking about, supporting non-governmental organizations and the like.

And, finally, the initiative will allow for more money for two very key areas that I think have been shortchanged; I think a lot of us think have been shortchanged. One is Russia. Because of the earmarks in the appropriations bills of the past few years, Russia literally has been reduced from a \$1.5 billion in 1994 to \$95 million in 1997, under the Freedom Support Act. We would propose to increase that to approximately \$240 million, which is still only 15 percent of the number in 1994, and in doing so, to emphasize at this point of Russia's transition, again, working in the regions, working with small business and activities that have local and community impacts.

And finally, the \$900 million would allow for more money for the Caucasus and Central Asia -- Armenia already does have significant funding, but we still have Georgia and Azerbaijan as well as the five Central Asian countries. It's obviously very important from a commercial standpoint, a geopolitical standpoint, and we can have an effect on promoting democracy in those two areas.

MRS. CLINTON: Thanks, Dick.

Well, I wanted to ask Brian Atwood to make some comments because he's been at this longer than any of the rest of us in trying to make the case for development assistance and its connection to our security and economic interests. And so, Brian, would you --

MR. ATWOOD: Thank you, and thank you for helping me make that case as well, both in terms of your travels and in terms of your willingness to go to the American people and speak about these issues and talk about the lessons that can be learned from our experiences overseas here at home, and the ways in which our interests are served by these programs.

I've had a wonderful day today. I think this is going to just top it off. But this morning I was invited to go to a Republican congressman's district in New Jersey; I visited a plant called Lifelines, where they make these little vial monitors -- they're heat markers they put on vaccines to determine whether or not the vaccine is still valid. And in the battle to eradicate polio around the world, this is an absolutely essential technological breakthrough that we made with AID funds that will enable vaccine to get into some of the remote parts of Africa, to get the final cases of polio.

That will save the United States, by the way, \$234 million a year that we use to vaccinate our children because polio still exists in the world. So it was nice. I spoke to a group of his constituents, and I think, frankly, the mood on Capitol Hill has changed so dramatically in the last couple of years. I think people are now beginning to understand that foreign aid really is a misnomer, that it is also very, very much in our interest as well to pursue things like infectious diseases and to deal with environmental threats to our own country and the like.

It's also -- finally, after four years, I can actually say it's been a good year to be AID Administrator, in the sense that everyone is focusing on the Marshall Plan and what a wonderful achievement for America that that was.

There is, however, one small complaint I have. Most people seem to say, okay, that was then and this is now and there's a major difference. And what I would suggest is that after the Marshall Plan succeeded, we were successful in getting those countries that had been reconstructed to join us. And today the burden-sharing is very significant. In those days, of course, we provided 100 percent of all of the foreign aid in the world. Today it's 12 percent. The worry I have -- I don't worry about the 12 percent -- the worry I have is that the overall amount has been going down the last three years and it can go down to a dangerous point. And I think we obviously need to demonstrate our leadership.

But I wanted to just review very quickly some of the things that have been accomplished, especially for those who say aid hasn't worked since the Marshall Plan. Well, in the last 35 years -- I'll give you some examples -- life expectancy in the developing world rose by more than 20 years, from 41 to 62 years. Infant mortality was cut in half. The percentage of the population with access to clean water doubled, from 35 percent to 70 percent. Adult literacy has risen from less than half the world population to two-thirds of the world population. Food production and consumption have increased at a rate of 20 percent faster than population growth, although that's starting to become a problem, which is why we are going to be emphasizing food security issues.

And then we've seen a sharp fall in fertility rates. In AID countries where we've provided more family planning services than anyone else, we've seen those rates go down from six to three. And use of modern contraception has risen from 10 percent to 50 percent.

Those are very significant and U.S. leadership was significant in leading the rest of the donor community to do that. And the overall amount of

money that was invested, approximately \$60 billion a year, with the United States contributing somewhere in the range of \$10 billion to \$12 billion a year, was on a range comparable to that of the Marshall Plan if you consider that over five years we spent about \$88 billion on the Marshall Plan.

We have some very ambitious goals ahead, however. We, through a whole series of U.N. conferences, have made commitments. In the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, which was created with American leadership and continues to see that American leadership despite the cuts in our budgets, has set very ambitious goals for the next five to 15 to 20 years.

Let me just review them briefly. One goal is to reduce the proportion of people living in extreme poverty -- that's \$370 a year, about a dollar a day -- by one-half by the year 2015. Now there are 1.3 billion people living in extreme poverty in the world today.

Second, there should be substantial progress in primary education, gender equality, basic health care and family planning as follows: Universal primary education by the year 2005. That means that the number of girls in the world in particular that do not now have equal access to education will -- that problem should be fixed. And that's a commitment made in Copenhagen where Mrs. Clinton spoke to that goal -- eliminate gender disparity as I indicated, and then reduce by two-thirds the 1990 infant mortality rate by 2015.

Now, there are a lot of breakthroughs that were, in many cases, created by AID funding. The oral rehydration therapy that dealt with the number one killer of children previously, the diarrheal diseases; respiratory diseases are now the number one killer of children. Vitamin A research that is very directly related to infant mortality, childhood immunization programs, food security, clean water and family planning. And the final point is that family planning is to be made available for all who want it by the year 2015.

And the third aspect of this involves the environment. It calls upon all countries to have in place a sustainable development environmental strategy by the year 2005. Obviously, you will be hearing a great deal this year and next about climate change. In my opinion, that's one of the greatest national security threats that we face. You're going to be seeing -- you already can see the weather-related disasters increased to the point where many insurance companies don't even want to get into the business. You're seeing rising water levels, and all of this is a result not only of emissions from the industrial world, but from problems that are being created in the developing world, including the loss of rainforest. A football field every second is lost; about 42 million acres of rainforest a year. That is a very, very serious problem, and it's a problem that we have to address.

I'm going to end there, but I do want to underscore a point, too, before Susan speaks about Africa. I believe that is where the greatest challenge exists. I believe that's where we should be putting most of our resources for the following reasons: Twenty-two of the world's 30 poorest countries are in Africa. A quarter of all African children die before their fifth birthday from disease or malnutrition. Only half of all adults are literate in Africa, and fewer than 20 percent of young people can attend high school. HIV AIDS infection rates are the highest in the world in Africa.

I also believe -- and I know that Susan is going to say these things, so I'm not going to continue talking -- but there is more opportunity in Africa for growth than ever before. This year, the World Bank estimates that

African economies will grow cumulatively at the rate of 4.7 percent, and that's with several African economies that are not growing at all. Those that have been at war -- Nigeria, that is being badly managed; Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, Zaire, or ex-Zaire, et cetera. So there is tremendous potential in Africa, and I will end there.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, thank you, Brian. I know that some of you who have traveled with me on my trips know that we've tried to emphasize a lot of these points, because it's something that we think has long-term implications for our country, and Secretary Albright has spoken out forcefully on development assistance and on the role of women around the world in American foreign policy, because we are convinced that if women are given opportunities, countries become stabler, more prosperous and peaceful and better partners for the United States.

As Brian said, that's nowhere more important than in Africa and, as I said in the beginning, we have a conference tomorrow that, as Susan will tell you, will kick off a new strategy that we hope that is both bipartisan and a result of a partnership between the Congress and the President and the public and the private sectors.

Susan, do you want to jump in?

SUSAN: Thank you, Mrs. Clinton. Thank you, also, Brian for --

MR. ATWOOD: I should have said you can't speak for attribution, isn't that correct?

MRS. CLINTON: That's right, because she's been nominated the Secretary for African Affairs.

SUSAN: Our overarching policy goal in Africa is to try to assist Africa to become fully integrated into the global economy. And as we and the Africans themselves strive to do that, it's important to underscore the central role that our development assistance and other bilateral assistance has played in that effort.

We now provide some roughly \$700 million in bilateral development assistance annually to Africa as the President's request level for this coming year is slightly more than what we ended up with last year from Congress, but in that rough ball park. And much of that assistance is directed to what might be called "altogether human capital development," whether it be health, education, microenterprise initiatives, child survival efforts, private sector development, including such things as creating stock markets in various African countries.

These are all about building an enabling environment and creating the human capital necessary for economies to grow. We also do a great deal of democracy and governance work as part of that overall package. Now, bilateral development assistance is central and will continue to be so, and we obviously also assist Africa in other ways -- through humanitarian assistance, which amounts to several hundred million dollars a year, as well as through our contributions to the multilateral institutions, particularly the IDA (pho.) and other concessional lending windows in multilaterals.

And I think that Brian gave us a very impressive litany of statistics of the evidence that supports the contention that our development assistance has had positive success and has made a significant contribution. In the African context, the press is dominated by stories of Sierra Leone and Congo

Brazzaville, and other problems of the -- (inaudible) -- what you don't hear about is the positive side, the growth that's occurring.

You don't know that Ethiopia grew at 12 percent last year. This is, remember, Ethiopia that only a decade ago was going through one of the worst famines in the world, and that Uganda was just coming out of the Obote era grew at 10 percent last year. And that countries like Mozambique, which just three or four years ago was emerging from civil war is now growing at some seven to eight percent a year. And so is little Malawi. So all over, in the midst of some somewhat depressing news, there's some fairly remarkable and unheralded success stories, all of which lead this administration and the President and Mrs. Clinton to the view that Africa represents a real area of opportunity and one that we could bypass at our own peril.

But obviously, development assistance and aid alone can't be the engine for sustained economic development and growth in these areas. Growth must be driven in the first instance by positive, sustained economic and political reforms in these countries, and part of the large reason for the success that we've seen to date is that a number of African countries that are now starting to undertake and stick to these very austere economic reform programs while they embark on solidifying and sustaining their own democracies.

So aid alone can't do it, but aid has to be an important component of an overall strategy and a bridge to a future where policy reforms, supported by increased trade and investment, drive and sustain the sort of long-term growth that we all hope to see. And it's this long-term growth in Africa, which is frankly manifestly in our own national security interests, in our own national economic interest as well.

A few points to illustrate that. At present, the United States enjoys only about seven percent of the African market and yet, we account for about seven percent of imports into Africa which already combine to account for about 100,000 U.S. jobs. As the African market grows and as the United States share of that market grows, so, too, will the number of U.S. jobs that flow directly from that trade.

Africa, as probably many of you don't know, is one of the most lucrative places in the world to invest. It has the highest return of investment rate of any place in the entire world, something close to about 30 percent. That's on the economic side. But obviously, we have security and other interests in seeing a stable and prosperous and democratic Africa. There is obviously a feedback group to the extent that there is security and prosperity, there is a reduced need for humanitarian assistance, for humanitarian intervention and other forms of intervention that may be costly or risky.

At the same time, countries that are performing well economically and are stable partners are the best source of partners we can have when it comes to things like fighting terrorism, fighting narcotics, fighting proliferation of weapons -- all of which are very real security threats in Africa. And so we embark on the effort that the President will announce tomorrow with the very firm conviction that what we are doing is not only good for Africa, but is good for the United States.

Tomorrow, the President will come together with a handful of leaders from Congress, a bipartisan group, to underscore our mutual commitment to pass legislation sponsored by Congressman Crane and Rangel and McDermott in the House and by Senator Lugar in the Senate, that will provide particular support to

those African governments that are embarked on the most difficult and challenging economic reform policies, and to promote increased trade and investments for the United States and Africa. And that initiative will have several components, including increased market access for African products to the United States, include bilateral or multilateral technical assistance, debt relief, efforts to increase U.S. investment in Africa through OPIC and other means, and then efforts also to improve and raise the level of the policy dialogue between the United States and Africa, bringing together on a regular basis senior officials at the ministerial level to work through these difficult economic and political issues.

The thrust of this initiative is, as I said, on those countries that are undertaking the most difficult economic reforms. It's not to say that we're leaving the rest of Africa behind; there is something in there for all that are marching down the same road. But there will be particular benefits reserved for those countries that continue and sustain the economic and political reforms that are already underway, and we're hopeful that tomorrow in the run-up to the Denver Summit where there will be also an effort to focus on Africa and an effort to multilateralize many of the initiatives that the EU decide to undertake on a national level, will lead to heightened awareness around the world of the opportunity and potential in Africa and a greater amount of cooperation and concerted effort among the G-8 partners, with the common role of advancing our own national and collective interests as well as the welfare of the African people and the African continent.

So I'll just stop there and we'll go on --

MRS. CLINTON: Thanks. Let's move on to any questions that you have for any of us.

Q Susan, how many countries are you talking about which are in this category of reform and thereby deserving of U.S. support?

SUSAN: Well, to a large extent, this will be a self-selecting group that will identify itself by reforms that they have already undertaken and those that they will continue to take. We are not at this point going to say that the number is five or the number is 20 or the number is 12. But I think if you have a look around the continent, we have between us mentioned a number of the sorts of countries that are already embarked on types of reforms that we are encouraging to take.

That means -- those reforms include opening their own markets to foreign exports, lowering tariff barriers, introducing currency to current account convertibility -- those sorts of things, as well as sustaining their own domestic investment and capital that will be important benchmarks and are consistent with the legislation that's already been introduced that we will consider carefully as we make these benefits available.

Q I was just going to say, I mean, there aren't many democracies in Africa. Are you -- no? You disagree with that, or -- I mean, there --

SUSAN: -- number is in the 25 range.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes. See, but Larry, I think that makes the point in a way for us, because I was thinking the other day that suppose in the 1980s when there were guerrilla wars going on in Guatemala and El Salvador and there was intense television coverage in Europe and in Africa and in Asia, and they looked

and they said, oh, my God, North America is a mess. That's kind of where we are with Africa, because there are about 25 democracies, some of which have made heroic efforts in the last 10 years and particularly in the last five years, but they're overshadowed by what goes on in Zaire or Sudan or Sierra Leone, and I actually had somebody ask me before I was leaving for Africa what the capital of Africa was. (Laughter.) So that there is so little sense of North Africa and Equatorial Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa and South Africa, and I think the question was a good question, because what we found just in our own trip to the six countries we went to is that there is a transition going on in leadership not only in the public sector, but in the private sector in Africa and if we can provide some incentives, we can actually accelerate some of the process of change in these democracies. At least that's the bet we're making.

Now, will we still have Sierra Leones? Will we still have Nigeria? Will we still have a very unsettled future for the new Congo and the old Congo? Absolutely. But you can take any continent and say the same thing. You don't say Cambodia and Singapore are the same when you look at East Asia. So I think part of what Susan and the administration and the President are trying to do with this initiative and press conference tomorrow is to try to help Americans start thinking about countries and places instead of just this whole continent which they kind of view as nothing but trouble.

Q Mrs. Clinton, if I may, you said you were -- I think I quoted you exactly -- "trying to make the case for development assistance." What I'd like to know, really, is to whom? I mean, given what Brian said about how the mood in Congress has already changed, who is the target audience?

MRS. CLINTON: I think we've been doing this for four years so that there has been a concerted effort on the part of the administration -- I was just one of many of these people who were making this case about development assistance. And we have seen a change in attitude and a greater awareness on the part of the Congress. But I still think there is a case to be made to the general public. Because even though we have seen attitudes among members of Congress who may have come to Congress with no interest or previous experience in foreign travel let alone foreign affairs begin to change as they have tackled problems and traveled and listened to people like Brian or Susan or Dick. There still is not a very broad or deep understanding out in the public at large. And I think part of that is because we don't have a factual basis for Americans to work off of.

Any public survey that's taken show that still Americans say, well, we spend too much money on foreign aid and when asked how much do we spend, they estimate anywhere from 15 to 25 percent of our budget. And often, when there is a follow-up question, which is how much do you think we should spend, often people say, oh, I don't know, no more than 10, and yet we spend less than one.

So there is a real disconnect -- I think a lot of Americans are proud when they hear that we've wiped out polio in both the North and the South Americas and that we're on the brink of wiping it out because of what we've done and many other examples that Brian could give. But they still don't have a good, factual understanding of what we spend our money on, how much we spend and the results we get.

So I think part of what we're continuing to do is to try to make that case to the American public and certainly Secretary Albright who has been fabulous in her travels around America talking about the importance of foreign policy is giving us a much better audience than we had before.

Q Could I ask a question that perhaps flies in the face of political conventional wisdom? Do you really think you're doing enough for Russia and the former Soviet Union? I don't just mean in terms of direct aid, but given the stakes, given the risks if it doesn't go right, are you sure that this administration is doing enough to make sure it doesn't go the wrong way?

MRS. CLINTON: I'll give you a personal opinion and then I'll let somebody speak for the administration, so I speak strictly for myself, for nobody else. I think the answer to that is probably not, and I think that we've missed some real opportunities not just in Russia, but in Central and Eastern Europe to make more investments in democratization efforts and development assistance that would have long-lasting benefits.

Dick Morningstar said that we've cut our direct aid to Russia rather dramatically, and I think that is something we should rethink, as we're attempting to do with some of the proposals for foreign assistance this year, but I should let Brian and Dick feel bad on behalf of the administration.

MR. ATWOOD: I will only say that the problem we've had is that the overall amount that has gone to the Soviet Union with the exception of one year where we actually spent \$1.3 billion. I might say that the President made a major push for that money after having a series of summit meetings with Mr. Yeltsin, and obviously that creates a bit of a pipeline. But it's now down to something like \$95 million, and a large reason for that is the earmarking on Capitol Hill. They took a lot of that money and put it into the Ukraine, for example. I think the Ukraine last year was \$225 million.

But, Dick, why don't you finish?

MR. MORNINGSTAR: I think the numbers that are -- dollars -- assistance or cooperative activities in the NIS are dictated by political realities and not by what ought to be done. I would agree with Mrs. Clinton that more could be done and more ought to be done. What we intend to do by focusing on localities and regions is going to be very important. And I think the more that we can do to help small business, the more that we can do to create more partnerships, to do more exchanges on an incremental basis is going to help. Every single one helps.

I come from business, so when I came into this present job, I wouldn't say I was cynical, but I certainly had questions that -- you know, are exchanges really valuable, that kind of thing -- and I think they're tremendously valuable, not just from the standpoint of the training and the education that an individual recipient gets, but that person has family, that person has friends, and their experience creates so much excitement that they go back and they're ambassadors. And I think that it's very helpful.

So, yes, sure -- in an ideal world, it would be great to have more, it would be great to be doing more things, but it is incremental and we have to do as much as we can.

Q Using like the U.N. arrearsages or the so-called "reorganization of the State Department" as models, how far along would you say you are toward having a bipartisan consensus with Congress that could sustain adequate levels of development assistance for four or five years?

MR. MORNINGSTAR: Well, I think we're getting there. I think the bill that was recorded out of the Foreign Relations Committee with respect to U.N.

reform is a lot closer to our position than we might have imagined, and so we're pleased about that and hoping that we can sustain that and indeed, that we can negotiate the terms with other nations that participate in the U.N. system.

The reorganization I think is a recognition that something had to be done, that we're dealing with different problems. My only point would be that we need to look more broadly at resource expenditures in the post-Cold War world that there isn't a lot that is spent by those agencies that fall within the 150 economy.

There is more money out there that is spent on international affairs and other accounts that will go nameless. But nonetheless, I think we're again, to the extent that the administration has listened to Capitol Hill on reorganization that we, the President has come up with his own plan, the details of which we're working out and we certainly would like to make sure the Congress gives us the time to work out those details and doesn't try to legislate the specifics of this, but I think we've gone a long way to reach unified partisan consensus on these issues.

So therefore, there ought to be more willingness and there has been in the budget resolutions a willingness to give the President what he asked for, for the 150 account. I think that's very significant.

Q I have two questions for Mrs. Clinton. First off, is this going to be -- the battle for more funding for foreign aid -- Is this going to be a major project of yours in the future? Is this kind of a one-shot deal based on your trip?

MR. MORNINGSTAR: It's been a four-year effort here.

Q I know, but I mean, this whole announcement. And secondly, when you talk about Africa and you talk about the fact that we really don't know much about Africa and, frankly, we don't write as much as we should about Africa -- we had a great trip to Africa before -- but do you think that part of the reason why we don't focus on Africa very much is the issue of racism? Your husband is making a big initiative on racism right now. Is racism the reason why we haven't focused on Africa?

MRS. CLINTON: I think that's a really interesting question and I don't have an answer for it. But I think it would be worth exploring. It might be worth talking with some experts in the field and people who have studied this issue, because I certainly would be interested in knowing what they might say about it. And I would commend that as an idea to all of you.

I don't have a -- I've not thought about it that way. You know, it's in many ways -- if you go back and look in the 1960s at what economists were saying, they were saying that Africa was poised to take off, because with the end of colonial rule, they had infrastructures that were all set, and that South and East Asia were just never going to amount to very much. And we know now that those predictions were absolutely wrong more than 30 years ago.

So I think that there are a lot of reasons why the American public is not as engaged in what has gone on in Africa, and I think that really should be explored and I we should think about how to make it more accessible to people and look at every issue that might affect that.

It's like the United Nations. Most people don't know that treaties and protocols passed by the United Nations help them get their letters sent from one part of the world to the other. So there's just a lot of learning, to go back to the question about who is a conversation like this aimed at. Well, it's aimed at the American public, so that when decisions are made, there can at least be a broad, factual basis.

Now, there will still be legitimate disagreements over policy, and that is absolutely appropriate. But those disagreements will be fought out over some factual understanding of what the stakes are and what has been expended and what the results of that kind of investment have been.

So, last question.

Q Can I interject, actually? In the late '80s, the amount of money spent on foreign aid was much higher than it is now. So is the bipartisan agreement that we've hit the bottom, or do you think there's a climate where we can start to get back to those levels?

MR. MORNINGSTAR: It's beginning to come back incrementally. I think this year we'll see a small increase, and I think each year as we go forward as we examine our interests, I think we'll see increases. I don't think in the context of the need to balance the budget are we going to see huge increases, but incremental.

MRS. CLINTON: But the one thing I would ask, too, that you think about and add to the calculation is that I don't think ever before we've had such a concerted effort by our government to bring in other partners outside the government for development assistance. If you look at these hospital partnerships -- and I've visited several of them, I've helped to announce several of them here in the White House -- how you calculate the direct aid and the exchange of expertise -- we just haven't done it on the level that we're doing it now. The kind of enlistment of American businesses, not just for investments, but for aid contributions that are going on now.

So I think that in a way, we may be short-changing even what we've been able to accomplish by not looking at the entire context of what now is described as development assistance. We do have to focus on the government appropriations, but we also have to make sure that they are combined with in our understanding of what we're contributing with everything that's going on from the private and not-for-profit sector here in the United States as well.

Q I was just wondering, how much do you think this new push for aid, particularly to places like the former Soviet Union and Africa represents a rethinking of what seems now to be the conventional wisdom that markets are a solution and which, in fact, has been pushed as doctrine by the two main U.S. multilateral institutions, the IMF and the World Bank, and how much does it reflect a fear of a backlash against globalization in the sense that there are all of these social inequalities developing out there between rich and poor and that marketization is not panacea?

MRS. CLINTON: I think that's a wonderful question, because what we have tried to make the case for is that it's not either/or. Those of you who have covered my husband for some years knows that he's always looking for the third way, for the consensus. And oftentimes he's right, because it isn't either trade or aid. It's not either markets or government. It is a new way of trying to conceptualize and then implement a balanced approach.

I think that there has been some necessary learning about what the extent of free markets could be in terms of dealing with a lot of the hard core problems that were apparent in the former Soviet Union, whether it's environmental cleanup or unemployment or the like.

So, yes, I think there is beginning to be a conversation around the world. It's not just in the context of aid, but we're seeing it in Europe as a lot of the tensions are coming to the surface on what it means to have a unified Europe, let alone a currency. We're seeing the debate in Canada with their recent election, we're seeing the debate here in the United States, we're seeing the debate really come to the forefront. And I think that's a very healthy position to be in.

Because if you either put all of your eggs in the government basket, we know the results of that. If you put all of your eggs into the free market basket, we know that the inequalities can become severe and threaten democratic institutions, so creating this new balance as we move toward a new century of the appropriate amount of a safety net, of the appropriate restraints on government, the appropriate regulations for a market, all of that is what is being kind of played out now most visibly in Europe. You read about the marches in Amsterdam over the weekend.

I think that there is going to be a lot of discussion and focus, you're going to see Tony Blair looking to create new labor in governing, not just new labor in political campaigning, and much of what the President has tried to do over the past four and a half years has really been to kind of lay the groundwork for how we answer that question here at home and to work with leaders from around the world about how we're going to answer it globally. And that's going to be one of the very big issues that we will have to address around the world, because there are a lot of issues that Brian mentioned, whether it's environmental degradation or disease, drug-trafficking, that cannot be handled by governments alone, cannot be handled by the free market, cannot be handled by multinational corporations -- all of that is going to be a big set of issues for us to deal with.

That's something that's a little theoretical now, but I think that a lot of what you're seeing acted out in the foreign aid debate and even in Congress is a kind of recognition that a lot of these issues are going to have to be thought about differently, addressed differently to create the right balance of power, and that's what I keep coming back to is that if you're going to have a healthy, functioning society, you need a good balance of power among the three principal sectors of society -- the market economy, the governmental authority and then for want of a better term, the civil society. How do those three work in balance.

And where there is an imbalance, how do we build it up over the short term. And in many countries we have to get functioning markets. They don't have them. In other countries, we have to help governments understand how to exercise authority in a fair and equitable, transparent way and in other countries we're trying to help build a civil society with a nongovernmental organizational base that will help hold both the government and the market in check. And it's that kind of balance that I think we're going to have to look to.

MR. MORNINGSTAR: Can I just add one thing -- and I agree obviously with everything you said. By the year 2000 four out of the five people that are living on the face of this earth will be living in the developing world. In the

next two decades we're going to add 2 billion people to that. That increase is about the level of the world's population in 1950. Ninety-five percent of those new people are going to be living in the developing world.

As we enter this new era, hopefully add to this new era of free trade with the new World Trade Organization and the like, the real question is, how many of the countries are going to be left behind that will not qualify for membership in the world's trading system. That is one of the major objectives of the African Trade Investment Initiative.

We must see Africa join the world trading system and the global economy; otherwise, the 2 billion people, or at least a very large majority of them, are going to be the wards of the international community as opposed to being consumers. So that's the real challenge, and that's why I think we're gaining once again a consensus that the United States needs to continue to be involved in this. Otherwise, we will be left behind as well.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you all very much.

END

Lisa

As per conversation, here's better copy of the article with the quotes about Mandela...(I can only find two versions today--but will locate others if you need same).

I'm sure he'd like to see how Mrs.Clinton was impressed with him. Do you want other South Africa articles as well?

Here, also, is a better copy of the Mrs.Gorbachev feature... and in the same issue is a wedding anniversary article on the Reagans...

Similar to this and the other anniversary articles I gave you on the Johnsons, Nixons, Fords, Bushes, Kissingers, Rockefellers, etc... would you like one for the Clintons' anniversary in October?

Please let me know and thanks in advance.

Also, may I call directly for the Pittsburg and San Jose photos or wait for you on them?

Trude

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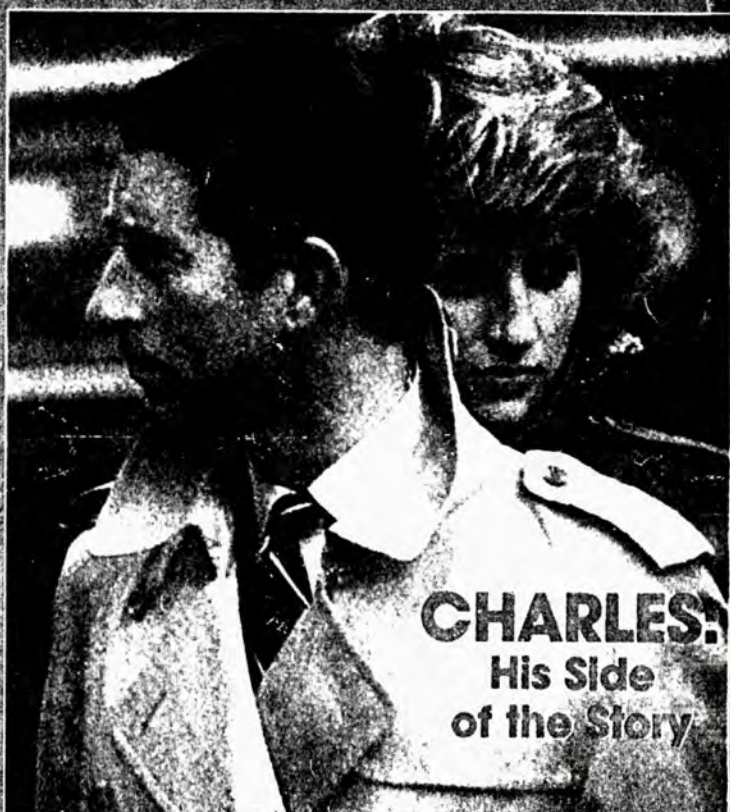
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quence, unprecedented in wives of former leaders, had been resented by some who felt she was overstepping her position. There is no such concept as "first lady" in the Soviet Union. But for Americans, during those three summit days that shook the world, her wide exposure in our media may have altered the stereotypic image of the stout and dowdy Soviet woman wearing a kerchief. Raisa Maximovna Gorbacheva is a contemporary Soviet woman, a woman of our time, though of a different place.

It grows warm in the room under the television lights. I see Raisa break away from the admiring group around her—a group no smaller than the one around her husband on the other side of the room. "Toot tak zharko," I overhear her say—"It's so hot here"—as she walks protectively toward her husband, as if to shield him from the heat and the crowd.

Upstairs, in the dining room, there are 15 tables with a half dozen people at each—American guests and Soviets. On each table—white flowers, red wine, crystal goblets and place cards with our names in English and in Russian. Gilt, mirrors, candelabra, luxurious carpeting and a sea of men in dark suits with earphones ready for instantaneous translation into English of Gorbachev's talk. I steal a casual glance at handsome Paul Newman at the next table. At another table Joyce Carol Oates is sitting next to Henry Kissinger. Scattered throughout the room are John Kenneth Galbraith, Billy Graham, John Denver, ambassadors, authors, religious leaders, actors, politicians, scientists—the "intelligentsia" Gorbachev wants to reach.

I count more than ninety people in the room, but only seven or eight women, a mere handful among all these "prominent Americans." That in itself makes a statement.

Mr. Gorbachev speaks informally, sitting at a table at the end of the room. He reiterates the need his wife had expressed for better understanding between our two countries, a "perestroika" (reconstruction) in our relations. It is only when he says, "I told President Reagan this morning . . ." that I feel goose bumps down my arms: I realize I am a witness to history. The substance of his talk is for another story. Today, in the midst of huge historic events, my main interest is in the Gorbachevs as people.

Promptly at six, after a dialogue with some of the guests, Gorbachev rises, as we all do, and we go downstairs. Now Mr. and Mrs. Gorbachev are saying good-bye to us. I shake hands with them once

more. To my astonishment, Raisa Maximovna smiles at me and says, "I'll be sure to read your book." Whether she does or not isn't the point, but what a gracious, diplomatic thing to say, to show she had remembered our chat an hour and a half earlier!

They begin to go upstairs to what must have been their living quarters at the Embassy. In the middle of the staircase they stop, turn around, smile and wave at us. It is such an attractive, intimate picture that I have my camera ready to snap them, but I am caught in

applauding them, as is everyone else. It is physically impossible to applaud and snap a picture at the same time. But I need no photograph to see them still standing there, husband and wife, affectionate and very human. ■

Bel Kaufman's novel Up the Down Staircase was a best seller here and in the Soviet Union. She was brought up in Odessa and Moscow and is the granddaughter of Sholom Aleichem, the celebrated humorist/writer.

WASHINGTON WELCOMES RAISA

BY TRUDE B.
FELDMAN

Everyone
wanted to
meet the
woman of
whom so
much had
been written,
so little
was known



Being on the Raisa Gorbachev "patrol" for three days and three nights last December was an experience unlike any other in my 20 years as a writer covering foreign officials in our nation's capital. While attention focused on the historic meetings between President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Gorbachevs' first visit to the United States also engendered astonishing media curiosity about Mrs. Gorbachev.

Throughout the tightly packed schedule of events—some big and glittery, some relatively private—her every move, gesture and snippet of conversation was observed and analyzed by scores of the 7,000 members of the press headquartered at the International Press Center set up in the J.W. Marriott Hotel

near the White House. After following her on her Washington orbit and after brief chats with her, I sensed a woman who combined the "steel magnolia" demeanor of former American First Lady Rosalyn Carter with the well-informed activist persona of the late Eleanor Roosevelt. Projecting an assertiveness not usually so visible among the wives of dignitaries, she exuded as well a zest that usually disarmed and delighted.

Trim, pretty and petite at five feet, two and a half inches tall, Raisa Gorbachev is even more attractive in person than she appears on television or in photographs, which do not do justice to her youthful complexion and auburn hair. Her smile is infectious. Throughout her stops, she looked radiant and self-assured, apparently comfortable talking about a variety of topics. (please turn to page 142)

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KEEPING UP WITH MRS. GORBACHEV

RAISA

continued from page 141

She speaks little English and some French.

Born Raisa Maximovna "in about 1930," she holds a doctorate of philosophical sciences from Moscow State University, where she met Mikhail, then a law student. The couple were married "around 1955," and she began a teaching career, lecturing on philosophy at higher educational institutions until her husband became General Secretary, about two and a half years ago. The Gorbachevs have a 30-year-old married daughter, Irina, and Irina and her husband, both physicians, have two young daughters. Since 1985, Raisa Gorbachev has achieved a degree of public and political prominence unprecedented in a Soviet leader's wife, an exposure reflected in her poised presentation during her Washington rounds.

Soon after the Aeroflot plane carrying the Gorbachevs to America landed at Andrews Air Force Base, Raisa Gorbachev began her hectic round of engagements. She went to all events, other than White House meetings, with her husband. Lamenting that she had "too little time," she was taken on a hasty motor tour of Washington, stopping only at the Jefferson Memorial. President and Mrs. Reagan hosted a gala State Dinner at the White House, where Mrs. Gorbachev impressed some of the guests with her knowledge of their backgrounds. She told Mary Lou Retton, the Olympic gymnast, that she herself was once a gymnast and knew full well the rigorous training that sport requires. She talked about a number of American authors whose work she had read.

The most personal moment for the Gorbachevs came during the entertainment when pianist Van Cliburn began his performance by playing the American and Russian anthems. The American who won the Soviet Tchaikovsky Competition in 1958, he came out of retirement to play four selections. Then he embraced Mrs. Reagan and gave bear hugs to the Gorbachevs. Mrs. Gorbachev spoke to Van Cliburn in Russian, saying, "What a pity there is no orchestra because then you could play Tchaikovsky." Cliburn hesitated, then told Mrs. Gorbachev, "Well, we have no orchestra, but with your help we can do something." He returned to the piano and played and sang the romantic, traditional Russian song, "Moscow Nights." After

a few bars, Mr. Gorbachev applauded lustily, and then the Gorbachevs sang along with Van Cliburn.

Later Mrs. Gorbachev told me that she was particularly grateful to the Reagans for inviting Van Cliburn and that she was pleased with the friendliness the American people displayed toward her and her husband. "For me, meeting you is meeting Americans," she said. "I want to meet more people. Perhaps another time. Washington is a beautiful city, and I want to return and see more of its monuments and more of your country." Adding that she is "not a political creature" but one who has "scientific pursuits" and doesn't "wish to pretend because I am natural," she said gently, "I hope you'll be kind in what you write."

The following day, after a quick tour of the National Gallery of Art (where she was especially impressed by an exhibition of works by Georgia O'Keeffe—"a great American painter," she said, "and, most important, she was a woman"), Mrs. Gorbachev met Nancy Reagan at the White House for that much-heralded 25-minute private chat and 20-minute tour. It was apparent that she had done her homework. When she was shown the portrait of Patricia Nixon painted by Henrietta Wyeth Hurd, sister of Andrew Wyeth, she said, "Oh, yes, in Moscow there was an exhibition." Looking at a painting of Abigail Adams by Gilbert Stuart, Mrs. Gorbachev asked: "Wasn't he the father of American paintings?" She didn't hesitate to remark at one point that she was unable to see the paintings well because press lights were shining on them. Nevertheless, she seemed to enjoy the limelight, even playing to the cameras and reporters.

Since the 1986 Reykjavic summit meeting, which Raisa attended and Nancy did not, some press reports have given the impression that there is friction between the two women.

When I asked the First Lady about the so-called rift, she told me: "I never did indicate or say I didn't like Mrs. Gorbachev. The press kept asking if I had heard from her about my invitation to tea and a tour of the White House. The important thing is the summit, not what we think about each other." She added that she found Mrs. Gorbachev "very nice, bright and intelligent."

At one of their talks, Mrs. Reagan recalled, she said to Mrs. Gorbachev, "I can't let you out of here without my asking you about the drug and alcohol problem in Russia. Mrs. Gorbachev replied that they have no drug problem in her country. 'We do have an alcohol

problem,' of it.' She homeless everyone

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Another woman who spent a considerable amount of time with Mrs. Gorbachev was Barbara Bush, wife of Vice-President George Bush. She joined her and Nancy Reagan for coffee after elaborate arrival ceremonies at the White House; they spoke again at a breakfast at the Soviet Embassy, and Mrs. Bush also accompanied Mrs. Gorbachev to the airport when the Gorbachevs left.

Mrs. Bush told me: "We had interesting discussions on many subjects. I found her unusually well informed about America, albeit her information is not always accurate. For instance, she sees America through movies. She thinks all our streets are unsafe. Perhaps I should have reminded her that, when we were in Russia, the security didn't let us walk their streets."

"But I sensed that she is alert and keeps up with current events," Mrs. Bush said, adding that her knowledge about U.S. politics had really surprised her. "She even asked me about Gary Hart and his problem with his candidacy." Interestingly, he announced resumption of that candidacy only five days later.

Mrs. Bush revealed that she had asked Mrs. Gorbachev if she were aware of Nancy Reagan's recent mastectomy. "Oh, yes," Mrs. Gorbachev replied, "but I didn't bring it up to her because in Russia that operation is an unmentionable. In fact, the doctor would be in trouble for talking about it."

Mrs. Bush told me: "I explained to her that by going public with her cancer surgery, Nancy ignored her desire for privacy and set an example for others—that early detection does save lives. I'm really proud of her bravery in disclosing it as she did because she is saving thousands of lives. I told Mrs. Gorbachev that, although we sometimes get upset with our press for detailing our personal lives, we would die for the right of freedom of the press."

When Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan signed the 56-page treaty between the U.S.A. and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, Nancy Reagan shook Mrs. Gorbachev's hand. Later, she said, "When I saw our husbands shake hands after the signing, I thought we should do the same. That was my way of saying we too are part of this history making."



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“WE NEVER FACE ANYTHING ALONE”

BY
TRUDE B.
FELDMAN

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

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

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



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

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

She listened to doctors explain the nature of such (please turn to page 60)

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL EVANS, THE WHITE HOUSE

"WE NEVER FACE ANYTHING ALONE"

continued from page 59

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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"WE NEVER FACE ANYTHING ALONE"

continued

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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(3 versions of article)

These were faxed/and or sent to Mrs Clinton and you ^A but were returned
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her 'approval'.

Since she wasn't able to focus on the draft of health care in the series,
I now must focus on Mideast...even though I could use the paragraphs I wanted
to insert on Warsaw and Poland for my 'Jewish Press syndicate'--if that's not
too late for you?

For Mideast, I enclose some clips she may want to look at since she may
be meeting with the wives...and knows Queen Noor etc.

Here's an old Carter Mideast dinner at White House..which may be of interest
to you...now. The others I sent you awhile back in 'entertaining at White House'
package.

Mark Gearan said you'd 'take care' of my being in all the pools--as a wire--
for the dinners and other things involving East Wing and Residence.

Please and thanks in advance.

Trude

202 638 3048 please call either way.

please let me know if you received all the other clips I sent you,
plus the 'drafts'... It's a puzzle ~~is~~ what has happened to them.
Two envelopes were returned to me that I sent you and her BMFOR the
last foreign trip.

Hillary Clinton confident America will meet its challenges

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN

Hillary Rodham Clinton firmly believes that America will meet the challenges of peace in the post-Cold-War era and will continue to play a world leadership role.

In her first interview focusing on foreign affairs, Mrs. Clinton said, "We've never had quite the situation we're in today. But I think the U.S. has to lead and always has to take responsibility."

On her third trip abroad in less than two months, Mrs. Clinton accompanied the president to Riga, Latvia, Warsaw, Bonn and Berlin, as well as Naples, for the annual G-7 economic summit of major industrialized democracies.

In May, she traveled to South Africa for the inauguration of Nelson Mandela and in June she went with the president to Italy, France and England for the 50th anniversary commemoration of the Allied invasion to liberate Europe from Nazi occupation.

During a 35-minute exclusive interview in the Map Room of the White House, Mrs. Clinton reminisced about those visits and discussed U.S.-Japan relations and the crisis in North Korea.

REFLECTING on her visit to Europe in connection with D-Day, she said, "It was impressive to see so many veterans who had come because they wanted to commemorate their service during World War II. I was proud of them, and proud of America. To me, it was an appropriate time for America to pause and reflect about those critical days and to honor those veterans who saved democracy."

"It was also a perfect time to honor them by thinking about what we in America can do to solve our current problems. The challenges of war are overwhelming, and we need to rise to meet them — as America always has. Our problems today are different, but they are no less crucial."

"The challenges of peace at this time, even after the Cold War, are challenges we have to meet. And that's the message I brought home from our D-Day European trip. Perhaps the greatest tribute we can give the World War II generation is not only to remember what they did, but to build on their sacrifices to make America even better."

She quoted historian Stephen E. Ambrose, author of the book, "D-Day, June 6, 1944: The Climactic Battle of World War II," who has indicated that America was ill-prepared to become involved in World War II.

She commented that the D-Day observance was a reminder of American tenacity in the face of crisis, and said "Hitler thought that America was soft, that our best years were behind us and that we would never be successful. We proved Hitler wrong."



Mrs. Clinton says she's supporting the president and reaching out to people, to help them feel involved in the life of our country.

MRS. CLINTON believes that during the past 50 years, America has, occasionally, drifted off course. "As a democracy, that is understandable," she observed. "We have many different voices and try to accommodate them. But when the challenge is put before us as a nation, we always meet it, and I think that's what we're doing now."

Mrs. Clinton added that her visit to the gravesites of World War II veterans who sacrificed their lives for others made her realize even more the importance of "our obligation to use the hard-won freedom to expand democracy and to fight world chaos."

"I came away even more convinced that the ingredients for greatness are still within the people of

America, and we just have to make up our minds that we will solve our problems, and forge ahead."

Did the commemoration of D-Day change Mrs. Clinton's perception of America's role in peacekeeping, or in its involvement in other countries, such as Haiti, Bosnia, Rwanda, or North Korea?

"I really don't have an opinion about that," she said, adding: "These are very difficult matters which the president and military leaders and National Security advisers must grapple with. Those issues have to be carefully thought through so the decisions that are made will have the support of all Americans. That's what this president is doing as he helps chart a new course in the world today."

An example of that leadership role, Mrs. Clinton noted, is that President Clinton has built an international consensus in dealing with North Korea's nuclear situation. She said former President Carter's goodwill trip to the Korean peninsula, and his talks with Kim Il Sung, before the Korean leader's unexpected death, helped diffuse tension with North Korea.

MRS. CLINTON went to Pretoria as a member of the American delegation to Nelson Mandela's inauguration as South Africa's first black president. She said she was impressed that Mandela, who had spent 27 years in prison before becoming president, had invited three of his former jailers to his inaugural.

"He learned the lesson of what it means to hope," Mrs. Clinton said. "A hopeful heart has no room for bitterness, vengeance or hatred. Nelson Mandela represents the kind of commitment that transcends politics, commitment that springs from the heart and soul. By inviting his jailers, he probably told more about himself and his vision of South Africa than he did in his campaign speeches."

She remarked that Mandela's gesture reminded her of the essence of her husband's own presidential campaign — "Real change" must start from the inside.

"We have to change our hearts and minds before we can change the conditions we find around us," she added. "And as we dig deep to recognize our common humanity, to understand, as Nelson Mandela pointed

out, there will always be within each of us the forces of darkness waging its war against the forces of light."

Mrs. Clinton emphasized that every person has a role to play and that each has the power to change his or her attitudes and beliefs.

AS AN EXAMPLE, she cited the evolution that has taken place in the past 50 years involving Japan. Last summer, Japan's Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko entertained the Clintons at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo during the 1993 G-7 economic summit.

Mrs. Clinton spoke of the warmth and respect she has for Japan's royal couple, who were guests at the Clinton's first official state dinner at the White House, held during their recent 16-day visit to 11 American cities.

"It was wonderful that the emperor and empress could be here for such a lengthy visit because it's important for Japan and the U.S. to develop closer ties of

friendship and understanding," Mrs. Clinton said. "Both the emperor and empress are extremely intelligent people who do a superb job of interpreting Japan to Americans, and in turn, America to the Japanese. From our perspective, it was a significant visit."

IN HER ROLE as America's first lady, how is Mrs. Clinton helping to make a difference in the lives of Americans, and helping change attitudes and beliefs?

"I'm trying to help in any way I can to support the president in solving the problems America faces, and I'm reaching out to people to help them feel involved in the life of our country," Mrs. Clinton said. "I'm trying to give people reasons for hope about our future. I believe that's an important part of making our nation more positive and forward-looking again."

■ Trude B. Feldman has been a White House correspondent for the past 30 years and has written about every first lady since Ladybird Johnson.

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Mrs. Clinton expects America to rise to world of new challenges

Says president maintains nation's leadership overseas

By Trude B. Feldman
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Hillary Rodham Clinton says she firmly believes that America will meet the challenges in the post-Cold War era and will continue to play a world leadership role.

"We have new and different issues around the world," she said. "I'm confident that America, as it sorts out these new challenges, will be ready to meet them — just as we did 50 years ago."

In her first interview focusing on foreign affairs, she added: "We've never had quite the situation we're in today. But I think the U.S. has to lead and always has to take responsibility."

Mrs. Clinton just returned from her third trip abroad in less than two months. She accompanied the president to Naples for the annual economic summit of major industrialized democracies and to Berlin, Bonn, Warsaw, and Riga, Latvia.

In May she traveled to South Africa for the presidential inauguration of Nelson Mandela. In June she went with Mr. Clinton to Italy, France and England to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Allied landings at Normandy to liberate Europe from Nazi occupation.

During a 35-minute interview last week in the Map Room of the White House, Mrs. Clinton talked about those visits.

"It was impressive to see so many veterans who had come because they wanted to commemorate their service during World War II," she said. "I was proud of them and proud of America. To me, it was an appropriate time for America to pause and reflect about those critical days and to honor those veterans who saved democracy."

"It was also a perfect time to honor them by thinking about what we in America can do to solve our current problems."



The first lady says real change starts with the heart and mind.

Mrs. Clinton believes that during the past 50 years America has occasionally drifted off course. "As a democracy, that is understandable," she said. "We have many different voices and try to accommodate them. But when the challenge is put before us as a nation, we always meet it, and I think that's what we're doing now."

Did her visit to World War II memorials change her perception of what America's role should be in peacekeeping and dealing with such countries as Haiti, Bosnia, Rwanda and North Korea?

"I really don't have an opinion about that," she said. "These are very difficult matters which the president and military leaders and national security advisers must grapple with."

"Those issues have to be carefully thought through so that the decisions that are made will have the support of all Americans. That's what this president is doing as he helps chart a new course in the world today."

A prime example of that leadership, Mrs. Clinton said, is the inter-

national consensus President Clinton has built in dealing with the nuclear situation in North Korea. She also said former President Carter's goodwill trip to the Korean Peninsula and his talks with Kim Il-sung shortly before the North Korean leader's death helped to defuse tension.

Mrs. Clinton said she was impressed that Mr. Mandela, who spent 27 years in prison before becoming South Africa's first black president, invited three of his former jailers to the inaugural.

"He learned the lesson of what it means to hope," Mrs. Clinton said. "A hopeful heart has no room for bitterness, vengeance or hatred. Nelson Mandela represents the kind of commitment that transcends politics, commitment that springs from the heart and soul. By inviting his jailers, he probably told more about himself and his vision of South Africa than he did in his campaign speeches."

She said Mr. Mandela's gesture reminded her of the essence of her husband's presidential campaign: that real change must start from the inside.

"We have to change our hearts and minds before we can change the conditions we find around us," she said. "And, as we dig deep to recognize our common humanity, to understand, as Nelson Mandela pointed out there will always be within each of us the forces of darkness waging war against the forces of light."

In her role as America's first lady, Mrs. Clinton said she is "trying to help in any way I can to support the president in solving the problems America is facing today and in reaching out to people to make the n feel involved in the life of our country."

"I am trying to give people reasons for hope about our future," Mrs. Clinton said. "I believe that's an important part of making our nation more positive and forward-looking again."

• Trude B. Feldman is an internationally syndicated writer.

Cut
in
1/4
X

Hillary: ho l'Italia nel cuore

«Abbiamo iniziato a liberare l'Europa dal nazismo partendo dalla spiaggia di Nettuno e da Anzio. L'Italia ha per noi un significato particolare». Hillary Clinton, alla vigilia della visita a Napoli per il vertice del G-7, racconta l'emozione provata durante il recente viaggio in Europa e parla delle nuove sfide dell'America.

«Sfide differenti dice — ma non per questo meno importanti» dello sbarco in Normandia.

A pagina 7

TRUDE FELDMANN

Si apre un nuovo fronte nella maggioranza che in settimana varerà la manovra economica

Maroni: niente tagli o mi dimetto

Il ministro leghista avverte Dini: non toccate i finanziamenti agli enti locali

ROMA — Il ministro dell'Interno Roberto Maroni dice no a qualsiasi tentativo di tagliare la spesa per trasferimenti agli enti locali. «Ho ricevuto una comunicazione dal ministro del Tesoro Lamberto Dini che riguarda la possibilità di ridurre i finanziamenti ai Comuni. Considero assolutamente inaccettabile un'ipotesi del genere. Gli enti locali hanno già fatto troppi sacrifici. È bene quindi che il governo cominci a guardare altrove, in settori dove tuttora sussistono sprechi, come ad esempio nella sanità. Se il governo mi imponesse invece iniziative inaccettabili non vedo perché vorrei continuare a fare il ministro dell'Interno».

Maroni avverte quindi che è pronto a una battaglia di principio per difendere i trasferimenti dello Stato agli enti locali, fino al punto di rinacciare le dimissioni in caso di tagli. Una linea che il

ministro intende seguire perché fa parte degli impegni presi dalla Lega per il Viminale: favorire l'autonomia e il decentramento contro il vecchio statalismo.

Nonostante questo nuovo intoppo sulla strada di una rapida definizione della manovra di correzione dei conti pubblici, il ministro del Bilancio Giancarlo Pajiani annuncia: «In settimana, prima o subito dopo il G7 di Napoli (riunione dei sette Paesi più industrializzati che inizierà venerdì, n.d.r.), il presidente del Consiglio Silvio Berlusconi dovrebbe illustrare il testo base del Documento di programmazione economica. L'obiettivo è di tenere il deficit pubblico '94 entro 154 mila miliardi. Servono quindi 5 mila miliardi. E altri 30-40 mila miliardi per il '95».

Nel mirino: pensioni, sanità, scuola, difesa, pubblico impiego.

Mario a pagina 15

Bossi: dopo la Rai toccherà alla Fininvest



MILANO — La Lega dopo la Rai vuole colpire la Fininvest. Scende in campo Bossi (nella foto con Berlusconi) e lancia la sua crociata antitrust: «Il cavaliere non deve dimenticare il suo problema, la sua Fininvest».

Da Rold a pagina 5

in autostrada. E Pafa non diminuirà
orto, ospedali in allarme

Lo scrittore passava ai servizi segreti le lettere inviate dalla spia sovietica
Graham Greene «tradiva» l'amico Kim Philby

LONDRA — Graham Greene, il grande autore di «Il nostro agente all'Avana» e «Il terzo uomo», è restato per un decennio in stretto contatto episto-

intellettuale inglese — lavorò per i servizi segreti ed ebbe addirittura Philby come capo quando era agente in Africa, in Sierra Leone. Ma non si

L'INDIPENDENTE

Via la Bianco

TANGENTOPOLI

Della Valle: no

INTERVISTA / Di ritorno dalla Normandia e in procinto di accompagnare al vertice di Napoli il marito, la signora Clinton racconta i suoi

Hillary: «Che emozione l'Europa»

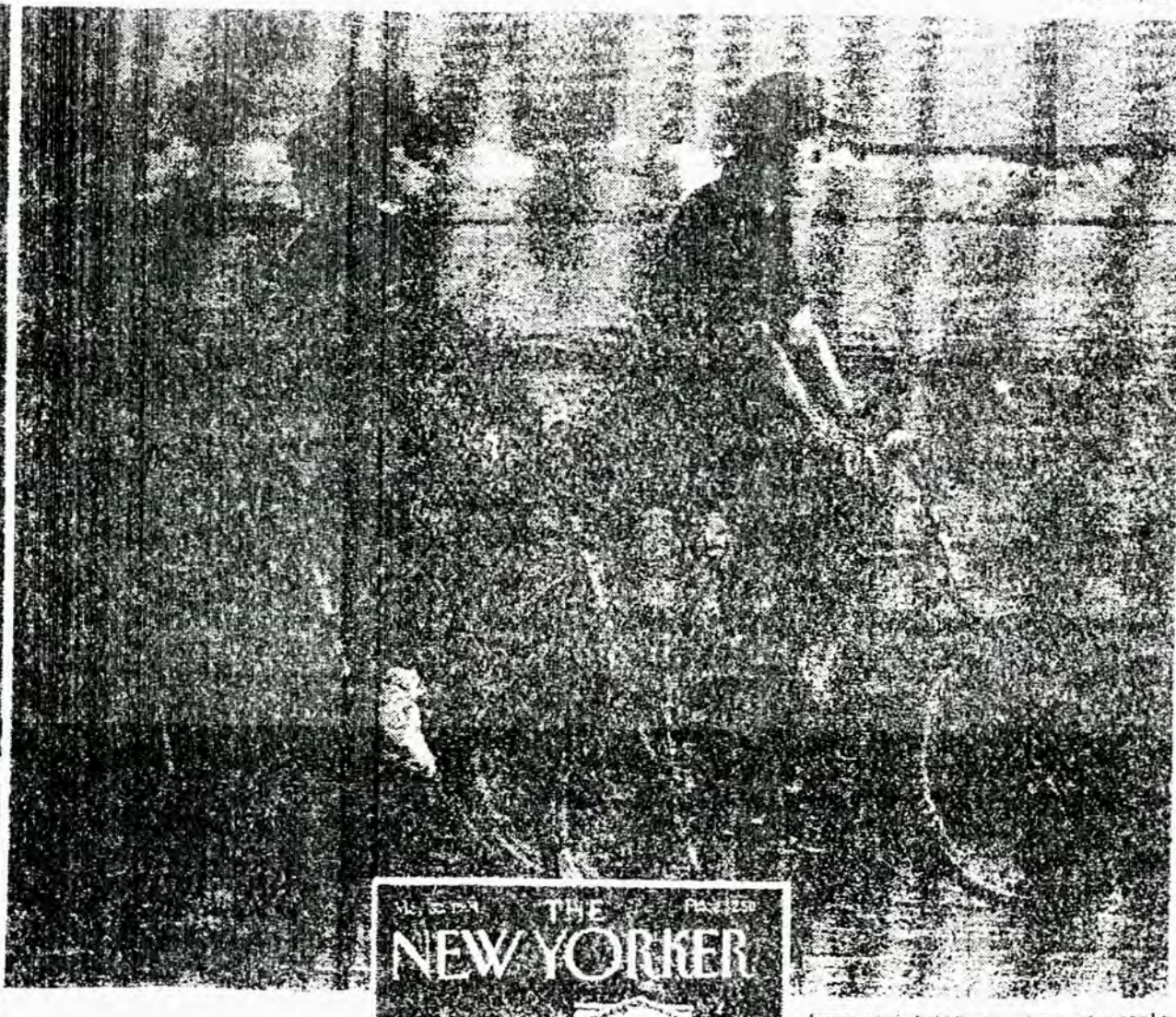
E la first lady esorta l'America ad «affrontare le nuove sfide»

Hillary Clinton racconta le proprie impressioni, l'emozione provata per il sacrificio di migliaia di soldati americani in Normandia, la sicurezza che il suo popolo crescerà e riuscirà ad affrontare le sfide attuali, «differenti, ma non per questo meno importanti». In questa intervista in esclusiva — la prima concessa dopo il ritorno dall'Europa e dedicata proprio al viaggio compiuto assieme al marito presidente in Italia (dove tornerà questa settimana per il vertice del G-7), Francia e Inghilterra in occasione del cinquantenario del D-day — la First lady sottolinea l'importanza della liberazione dell'Europa dall'invasione nazista. «Abbiamo iniziato dalla spiaggia di Nettuno e da Anzio: l'Italia ha per noi un significato particolare», dice la signora Clinton aggiungendo che il padre, il defunto Hugh Rodham, era veterano della Seconda guerra mondiale e che il padre del presidente, William Jefferson Blythe, morto nel '46, era stato un meccanico nell'esercito durante la campagna italiana.

Durante l'intervista, rilasciata nella Map Room della Casa Bianca, Hillary si mostra entusiasta del caloroso benvenuto che gli europei hanno riservato alle migliaia di visitatori americani ed è visibilmente commossa al ricordo delle visite ai cimiteri di guerra USA. «E' stato impressionante vedere così tanti veterani venuti in Italia, Francia e Inghilterra per commemorare il loro servizio militare durante la Seconda guerra mondiale. Mi sentivo veramente orgogliosa di loro, e dell'America. E' stato uno splendido momento. L'America ha potuto fermarsi a riflettere su quei giorni cruciali e onorare quei veterani che salvarono la democrazia. Ed è stato anche il momento migliore per aiutarli riflettendo su ciò che noi in America possiamo fare per risolvere i nostri attuali problemi. Le sfide della guerra sono



The First Lady
Hillary Rodham Clinton, president's wife, is seen in a photo taken by the Associated Press.



THE NEW YORKER

Pendef, e una seconda...
to sercio, privilegiat...
Amato la tenacia de...
la sua fede». E aggiun...
to «in ferma» novost...
da un'operazione.

Quand...
do sa P...
gnora Cl...
ta, poco...
gio in...
membro...
ne amer...
sistito a...
di Nelson...
spiega «...
molto in...
tatto di...
prima de...
va trasc...
anni in...
invitato...
secondar...
del suo...
«Ho imp...
de lezioni...
re avere...
«Un cuo...
anza m...
sentimen...
rezza ve...
Nelson...
senta il...
che trasc...
un impe...
sce dal...
ma. Invi...
tre ex ca...
dimostra...
la propria...
difica, c...
niera mol...
quanto a...
rante la...
elettorale...
Hillary...
come il...
le ric...
can...



*«Abbiamo iniziato
a liberare dal nazismo
da Nettuno e da Anzio:
l'Italia ha per noi
un significato particolare»
«Voglio ridare fiducia
all'America e al mondo»*



immagini di Hillary
superstar in
alto a sinistra la
copertina che le ha
dedicato Vogue,
la bibbia della moda
A fianco una
caricatura
pubblicata dal New
Yorker, rivista
raffinata e
prestigiosa
Sopra, la bicicletta
con Bill

ricordi dell'essenza della
campagna elettorale di
suo marito. «Un cambia-
mento reale — afferma — deve nascere
dal proprio io. Prima di poter cambiare
ciò che ci circonda, dobbiamo cambia-
re i nostri cuori e le nostre idee. E sca-
viando all'interno della nostra umanità,
comprenderemo che ci saranno sempre
dentro di noi delle forze del buio che
ostacoleranno quelle della luce». La si-
gnora Clinton quindi sottolinea come
ogni essere umano abbia un ruolo e co-
me ogni individuo abbia il potere di
cambiare la propria persona, il proprio
atteggiamento e le proprie convinzioni.
Come esempio cita l'evoluzione giappo-
nese degli ultimi cinquant'anni.
Nel ruolo di first lady, come sta per-
cendo di influenzare i cittadini ameri-
cani per cambiare il loro atteggiamento
e le loro convinzioni?

grande tri-
alla genera-
mondo ci
are ciò che
e sui loro
ica ancora
ma poi di
ni cinquan-
a deviano il
ibile in un
va —. Ab-
iamo di ar-
viene posta
e siamo
mpio, deve-
o il collasso
molti modi
fra la fine
erra fredda
lice perché
a il nostro
il comandi-
era oppor-
ecia dell'e-
esso che la

monaccia non è più all'orizzonte, nel
mondo ci sono nuovi e differenti pro-
blemi e sono sicura che l'America sarà
in grado di affrontarli, così come lo ab-
biamo fatto nel 1944.
Che impressione le hanno fatto, ve-
dendole da vicino, le rovine di quella
guerra in Europa?
«L'esperienza è stata sicuramente
emozionante. E l'emozione ha toccato
l'apice quando ho visto le file di croci, la
Stella di David, e i nomi dei dispersi
scopiti sui muri dei monumenti ai ca-
duti. Sono tornata ancor più convinta
che gli ingredienti per la grandezza so-
no ancora presenti nel popolo america-
no, e ciò che dobbiamo fare è convin-
cerci che risolveremo i nostri problemi
e che avanzaemo con decisione: pos-
siamo e dobbiamo farlo».
La signora Clinton spiega che la visi-
ta ai cimicri di guerra le ha fatto com-
prendere ancora di più l'importanza
dell'onbligo di usare una democrazia
viva a così caro prezzo per affargare la
democrazia e combattere il caos mon-

diale. Un episodio significativo, sotto-
linea, è stato l'incontro con i giovani
soldati a bordo della USS George Wa-
shington. «Abbiamo trascorso dei mo-
menti molto piacevoli. E' stata un'e-
sperienza eccezionale e per me, perso-
nalmente, molto soddisfacente perché
quelle persone sono preparate, impe-
gnate e ispiratrici».
La commemorazione del D-day ha
mutato la sua percezione sul ruolo che
l'America dovrebbe svolgere nel man-
tenimento della pace o nel coinvolgi-
mento in altri Paesi, quali Haiti, Bo-
snia, Rwanda o la Corea del Nord?
«Su quest'argomento non ho un'opi-
nione — risponde — questi sono pro-
blemi molto difficili con cui devono oc-
cuparsi il presidente, i leader militari
e i consiglieri per la Sicurezza Naziona-
le». Ma poi aggiunge: «La situazione at-
tuale è diversa: penso che gli USA deb-
bano assumere il comando e le respon-
sabilità. Le risposte a quelle istanze de-
vono essere attentamente studiate, di
modo che le decisioni che poi verranno

prese avranno l'ap-
poggio di tutti gli
americani. E' quello
che sta facendo il
presidente tracciando un nuovo corso
nel mondo d'oggi. Non ho alcun dubbio
che l'America continuerà ad avere un
ruolo di comando». Un esempio signifi-
cativo di questo ruolo — nota la signora
Clinton — è dato dal fatto che il presi-
dente è riuscito ad ottenere il consenso
internazionale sulla gestione della si-
tuazione nucleare nordcoreana. E Hil-
lary non manca di riconoscere il ruolo
svolto dall'ex presidente Jimmy Carter
che, accompagnato dalla moglie Ro-
sallynn, ha incontrato il leader della Co-
rea del Nord Kim Il Sung contribuendo
alla distensione.
La partecipazione alle commemora-
zioni del D-day hanno aiutato il presi-
dente Bill Clinton a vincere le critiche
mosseggi dall'opinione pubblica perché
non aveva prestato il servizio militare?
«Non lo so — risponde la first lady —
Posso solo dire che i veterani presenti

mentato per il ruolo che il presidente in-
tende assumere e per le azioni che sta
intraprendendo per mantenere intatta
la potenza militare americana e salva-
guardare la democrazia dalle minacce,
da qualsiasi parte esse possano prove-
nire. Il suo incontro con migliaia di ve-
terani americani ha fatto sì che il no-
stro popolo ora lo consideri non solo
come il presidente ma anche il coman-
dante supremo. Ha fatto il suo dovere
in maniera eccellente e penso che molti
siano stati orgogliosi di lui. Spero an-
che che ciò abbia contribuito ad accre-
dere la consapevolezza di ciò che egli
sta cercando di fare per acempiere al
compito dell'America, quale leader di
un mondo libero».
A Roma la first lady ha incontrato ac-
canto al marito anche il Papa Giovanni
Paolo II, che aveva già visto l'anno
scorso a Denver. L'aver incontrato il

«Sto facendo del mio meglio per aiu-
tare il presidente ad affrontare i proble-
mi che l'America deve risolvere e per
farli conoscere alla gente, per renderla
partecipe alla vita della nostra nazione».
E la signora Clinton conclude: «Sto
cercando di dare alla gente una speran-
za per il nostro futuro. Penso che que-
sto sia un aspetto molto importante
per ridare fiducia al nostro Paese, e al
mondo intero».
La signora Clinton è già in partenza
verso Napoli, dove il marito Bill assi-
sterà all'atteso vertice dei sette Paesi
più industrializzati. Il loro secondo
viaggio in Europa, dal 5 al 12 luglio,
proseguirà poi a Sigm, la capitale della
Lettonia, Varsavia, Bonn e Berlino.
Trude B. Feldmann
E Carriere della Sera
Distribuito da International
Press Syndicate
(Tras. Romana Rapisarda)

Sarajevo al mercato

sudoccidentale di Bu-
gara — unico centro di
una certa importanza
ancora sotto controllo
governativo — dove le-
200 marines francesi
hanno installato un
centro di assistenza
per le migliaia di profu-
ghi. L'apr ha mi-

Lo scrittore passava le lettere dell'amico ai servizi segreti britannici Greene e Philby, amicizia nel nome di 007

LONDRA — Aveva lasciato i ser-
vizi segreti per diventare uno scrit-
tore di successo. Ma non aveva
mai «tradito» davvero il suo vec-
chio datore di lavoro, Graham
Greene, il grande autore di «Il no-
stro agente all'Avana» e «Il terzo
uomo». È restato per un decennio
lo stretto contatto epistolare con
la spia Kim Philby, frequentatore

conservò tali legami fino alla tarda
vecchiaia.
I comandi di Graham Greene
erano autobiografici. Proprio
Philby, la super spia sovietica, fa
una importante approssimazione nel
«Terzo uomo». E nonostante Gre-
ene deprecasse il tradimento del
suo ex superiore, i due erano rima-
sti amici. E' un fatto che, dopo la

morte di Philby, avevano disturba-
to i bei pensieri.
Ora si viene a sapere che invece,
Greene non era del tutto fedele al
l'amico Philby. Eppure la corri-
spondenza che, si sapeva vagha-
mente, andava e veniva da Anabes
(dove Greene viveva negli ultimi
anni) e Mosca, dava fastidio agli

ABORTO Lech Walesa «Non firmo»

VARSAVIA — Cri-
si istituzionale in
Polonia per la legge
sull'aborto passata
giovedì dalla camera
alta. Il presidente
Lech Walesa è deci-
so a far valere il suo
potere di veto. «Non
firmerò mai, ha giu-
rato.

GIAPPONE Grattacielo di mille metri

TOKIO — Un grat-
tacielo di trecento
piani, alto mille me-
tri, destinato a dura-
re oltre mille anni. E
questo il progetto
galattico per il quale
il governo giappone-
se ha deciso di isti-

CUBA Grande fuga in Florida

MIAMI — Fuga in-
massa da Cuba ver-
so gli Stati Uniti, la
notte scorsa 127 ra-
bani, uomini donne e
bambini, hanno rag-
giunto a bordo di
un'imbarcazione da
carico le coste della

By **TRUDE B. FELDMAN**
White House Correspondent

Washington, D.C. — Menachem Begin is back in Jerusalem after his eighth visit to Washington since Israel's Prime Minister and Jimmy Carter both took office in 1977.

In the midst of two days of extensive talks on remaining issues in the autonomy negotiations, on global security and on the total Middle East situation, President and Mrs. Carter hosted an elaborate and *heimische* state dinner in honor of Begin and his wife, Aliza.

THE CARTERS took extraordinary steps to accommodate the Begins and other guests who observe the Jewish dietary laws by serving a kosher meal in the White House. Under the supervision of the Orthodox Rabbinical Council of Washington, the menu included cold Columbia River salmon; roast duckling with glazed peaches; wild rice, fresh asparagus, mixed green salad and frozen orange sherbert cake with Grand Marnier sauce.

Rabbi Samuel Kawior, the supervisor, was in the White House pantry and kitchen throughout the preparation and serving of the meal. He saw that the kitchen was made kosher prior to the banquet.

The ducklings were from Empire Poultry in Pennsylvania and purchased through Shalom Kosher Markets in Silver Spring, MD. The Kedem Wine, from New York City, was purchased through Central Liquor in Washington, D.C.

During dinner Begin turned to his wife, who, in the excitement of the moment, was eating lightly, and quipped: "This is an appetizing meal, and you should eat more of it."

Then Begin teased Carter. "This meal is so delicious. Perhaps you might want to eat kosher food more often." The president laughed heartily.

The 140 dinner guests were seated at round tables covered with pale yellow cloths overlaid with sheer, embroidered, white circles. Yellow and white daffodils were the base of the centerpiece for each table. Above the base were bouquets

of daffodil blossoms suspended on a 15-inch lucite stand. The centerpiece was set on a circular mirror with candles. Plain white china and silver flatware completed the table setting.

DR. YOSEF BURG, Israeli Minister of Interior, said he was impressed with the exchange of toasts and the warmth which permeated the evening.

"The President and Mrs. Carter went all out to make us feel at home here tonight," he added, "and we're really grateful, especially at a time when he has so many other matters on his mind."

President Carter, in toasting Begin, said the Prime Minister's visits are not only a personal pleasure, but also "the realization of the making of history. There are few who, because of integrity, commitment and sensitivity to others, are able to change the course of human events. Begin is one of those men."

"This is an historic house, and the friendship that binds our two countries and the achievements of this statesman make a confluence of both pleasure and history."

Carter added that the Camp David Accord, "carefully hammered out" between Begin and Sadat is "still the binding document under which we are presently engaged in further pursuit of peace."

"Israel already has withdrawn from more than two-thirds of the Sinai; and, in a time when oil is particularly precious, has relinquished oil wells that were acknowledged Egyptian territory, but were developed by and discovered by Israel. We have guaranteed Israel to meet her needs for oil in the future if her supply should be interrupted."

CARTER ALSO pointed out that much progress has been made...and "now we are moving to the next step—how to carry out those detailed, complicated, carefully-negotiated agreements; how to define the self-governing authority; how to set up the procedure for the elections."

"But, it would be a tragedy, having come this far, to fail. Mr. Begin represents those

characteristics that can ensure success. His courage, sensitivity and tenacity are shared by his heroic partner in this effort—President Sadat."

Carter concluded by saying he believes that Jerusalem should be undivided and that all should have access to the worship places there.

PREMIER BEGIN spoke at length about the Holocaust, its aftermath and meaning. He also touched on the autonomy negotiations.

"We now face difficulties, but we shall solve them. We want to do so by May 26, as we promised each other, as a goal, not as a deadline. We believe in lifelines, not in deadlines."

"Before I came here, there were rumors that pressure will be exerted on me. But after many hours of talks, no confrontation took place. We looked for solutions and formulations and all the brains worked. On both sides sat some brainy people who did their best. So there is hope that we may meet the date. But if we don't, the sky is not on our heads; and we shall continue negotiating until we reach agreement."

Begin said he is grateful to President Carter for "finding time to invite me and President Sadat and to deal with our problems, although his mind is with the American hostages in Iran. At such a juncture, to find time for our problems is a measure of devotion and of moral greatness."

Begin described Carter as the "architect" of the Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel and hailed the treaty as "the turning point in the annals of the Middle East."

The premier asked the guests to raise their glasses and toast the president "who has contributed so much to peace in the Mideast."

Menachem Begin was in high spirits throughout the evening. He said it was an exhilarating event and he "enjoyed every moment."

He was "pleased" with the president's toasts—"especially the part on Jerusalem."

This was one of the friendliest of all our visits," he said.

*Carter State Dinner
1978-02-79*

1964

RUTH MONTGOMERY

Hussein's Visit--A Night to Remember



WASHINGTON: It was a gay, mad night to remember! The Arab King of Jordan danced with a Jewish newspaper correspondent, President Johnson described himself as "a very maligned man," and AFL-CIO President George Meany pounded the dinner table so wrathfully that the gold-banded china rattled.

It all happened at the White House state dinner for young King Hussein, who is seeking U.S. support to block neighboring Israel from diverting water from the river Jordan.

A jazz buff, the 28-year-old king sat through a red-hot musicale by the Dave Brubeck Quartet which was so lively that it set the crystal chandeliers tinkling in the East Room.

Angelino Dances

Afterwards he glided out onto the polished floor of the oval Blue Room with Lady Bird Johnson in his arms, and although the First Lady is only five feet four inches tall, she towered above the diminutive monarch.

The next thing we knew, the ruler of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was dancing with petite Trude Feldman, who stands four feet ten and a half and was topped nearly three inches by the king.

What his majesty did not realize was that Trude, who had not been invited to dinner, but was allowed to come in afterwards with the press, is a former Hebrew teacher who lived three years in Israel.

She is the daughter of

Hearst Headline Service

celebrated Rabbi Moses J. Feldman, ranking member of the Orthodox Jewish community in Los Angeles. Her three brothers and one of her brothers-in-law are also rabbis, and she herself writes columns for the weekly Jewish press and a magazine called Jewish World, plus an occasional piece for the Jerusalem Post in Israel.

Only One Shorter

During her recent residence in Israel, whose existence the Arab world declines to recognize, she covered the celebrated Elchmann trial, and played a bit part in "Exodus."

Since Hussein obviously

did not know her identity when he asked her to dance, I asked Trude how she thought it came about. With becoming modesty, she replied: "Because I'm short. I was the only woman there who was shorter than the king. I only wish our dancing could have brought the two countries peaceably together."

When the President danced with me, I pleaded that he slow down a bit at the wheel in order to save himself for his country. Beaming down from his six feet three inches, he scoffed: "I'm a very maligned man. I never drive faster than six miles an hour."

Labor leader Meany's wrath was not directed at speeding drivers, but at me. During dinner he was blasting away at railroad management over the impending strike, when I asked what his own solution would be for the featherbedding problem.

No Dirty Word

Banging his fist on the table, and narrowly missing being speared by a gold fork, he bellowed: "If I'd known you were going to use that word 'featherbedding,' I would never have talked to you."

Since my Victorian mother had never warned me that "featherbedding" was a dirty word, I scarcely knew what to reply. Everything worked out all right, though. Mr. Meany continued to talk to me right through the strawberries Romanoff course, which topped off the memorable meal.

Sketches

By BEN BURROUGHS

*Peace falls on the city
the time has come to rest
... birds go winging homeward ... to those they love
best ... the sun is fading
fast away ... the moon
comes peeping through
... and a million twinkling
stars ... begin to flock the
blue ... this truly is a
hallowed time ... so calm and
so worthwhile ... when
worldly cares are put away
... and hearts begin to
smile ... oh twilight, man-
kind welcomes you ... just
like a sincere friend ...
for you give faith to those
afraid ... making hopes
ascend ... too soon the
night will swallow you ...
in its silken veil ... and
we will drift into sweet
dreams ... till morning
lights prevail.*

Hussein at 50. A SURVIVOR

TRUDE B. FELDMAN

Our White House Writer

WASHINGTON, D.C. — This week marks the 50th anniversary of the birth of Hussein Bin Talal who was crowned King of Jordan on his 18th birthday, and catapulted into years of unrelenting demands, and unforeseen dilemmas.

At the time of his accession, Russia was led by Joseph Stalin, Great Britain by Winston Churchill, and the United States by Dwight Eisenhower.

Now at age 50, having survived in the political arena longer than any world leader, Hussein faces his most awesome task. It is to co-exist in peace with Israel and achieve a fair solution to the Palestinian problem before the violence of Middle East politics overwhelms him, as well as other moderate Arab leaders, and Israel's Prime Minister, Shimon Peres.

Can Hussein now cope with this monumental challenge?

A hard taskmaster on himself, he is trying to expedite the peace process, much of it through quiet diplomacy. His supporters claim that no one else has made as many overtures towards Israel. His critics claim he has been engaged in a number of unnecessary anti-Israel acts. Still others say all he needs do is accept Mr. Peres's invitation to meet publicly — anywhere, anytime. (The two have — in the past — met privately.)

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To convince skeptics that he is serious in his pursuit of peace, Hussein must take action beyond good intentions. What can he do that is both positive and practical in the short run, yet credible in long-term objectives?

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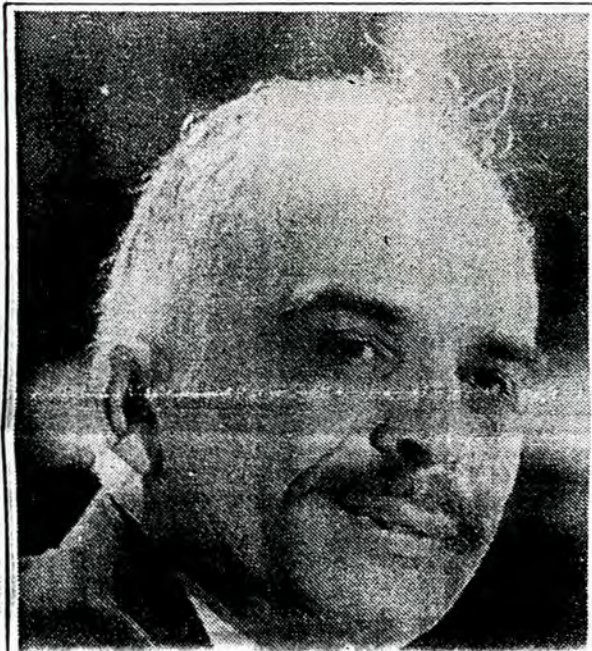
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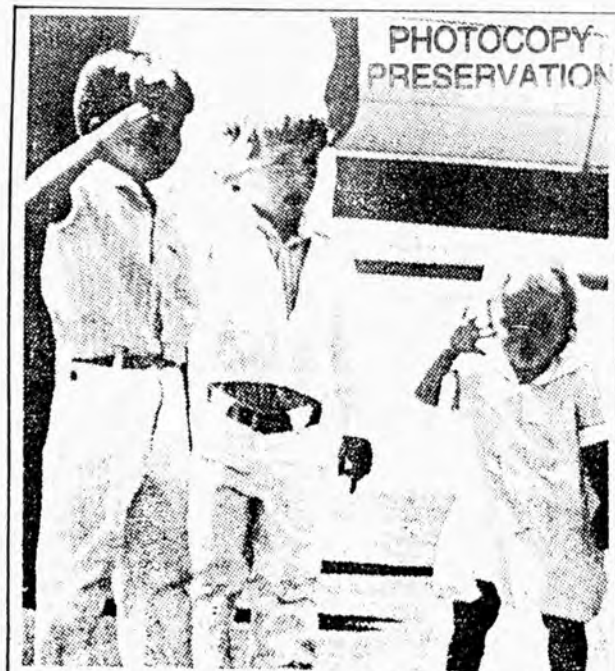
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MOHAMMED'S DESCENDENTS — The three children of King Hussein and his American-born wife, Queen Noor, salute the honor guard at Amman. They are Prince Hamzah, 5; Prince Hashem, 3, and Princess Iman, born in April 1983. The Queen is expecting another child this

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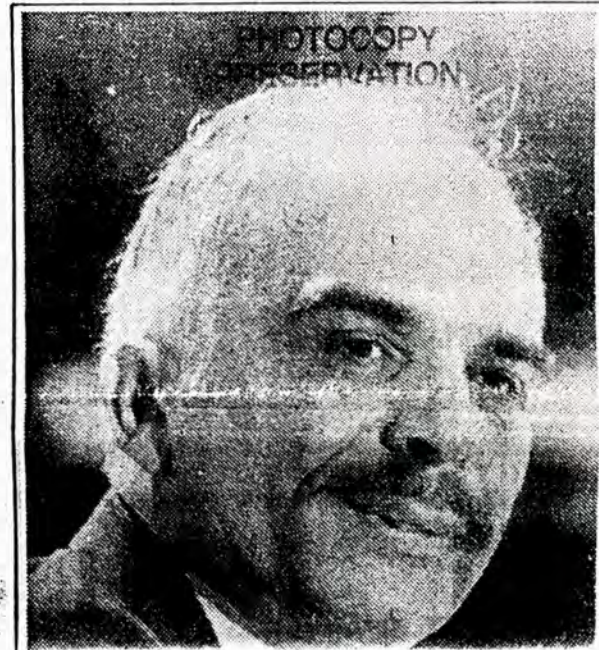
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The urgency is clear. There is momentum building to achieve a breakthrough now while Mr. Peres is at the helm in Israel. There is also a greater sense of foreboding, a fear that if there is no solution soon, the chance will be forever lost. Hussein's refrain that this is the last chance for peace has never been more true. The history of the Mideast is replete with lost opportunities. And because of the growing danger, the absence of peace could result in a devastating climax instigated by resurging extremist forces. As great as is the danger, so too is the present opportunity to generate a new era of commitment to peace.

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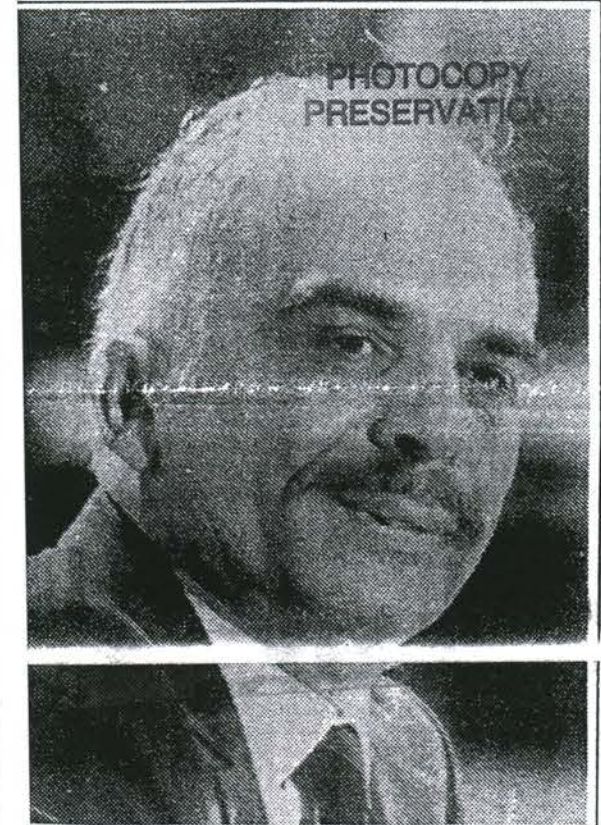
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MARKS the 50th birthday of Hussein bin Talal, who was crowned King of Jordan on his 18th birthday, and plunged into years of unrelenting de-

At the time of his accession, Russia was led by Joseph Stalin, Great Britain by Winston Churchill and the United States by Dwight Eisenhower.

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Now, at age 50, having survived in the political arena longer than any world leader, Hussein faces his most awesome task. It is to live in peace with Israel and achieve a solution to the Palestinian problem before the violence of Middle East politics overwhelms him, as well as other moderate leaders, and Israel's prime minister, Golda Meir.

How can Hussein now cope with this monumental challenge?

As a hard taskmaster on himself, he is trying to expedite the peace process, much of it through quiet diplomacy. His supporters hope that no one else has made as many gestures toward Israel. His critics say all he needs do is accept Peres's invitation to meet publicly anywhere, anytime. (They have in the past met privately).

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Hussein being interviewed by Feldman — 1964

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May the New Year bring peace



Encouraged by President Clinton, Prime Minister Rabin shakes hands with PLO Chairman Arafat.
AP/Wide World Photos

Historic recognition agreement ushers in new era in Mideast

By Trude B. Feldman
JCN White House
correspondent

WASHINGTON DC – The South Lawn of the White House last week was the scene of an historic ceremony where President Bill Clinton hosted Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Chairman, Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasser Arafat for the signing of the Israel-Palestinian Agreement.

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Mahmoud Abbas, member, executive committee of the PLO, did the actual signing of the Israeli-PLO mutual recognition agreement on the same conference table upon which the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty was signed by President Anwar Sadat and

Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Jimmy Carter, as President, had witnessed on March 26, 1979, at the White House's North Portico that 'Treaty of Peace Between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel.'

This day, Jimmy Carter, with his wife, Rosalynn, and former President George Bush, together with some 2500 other guests, including San Jose's Ruthellen Harris, a guest of Congressman Norman Mineta, witnessed an unprecedented moment in the presence of Arafat, Rabin and Clinton.

Among dignitaries present were Abba Eban, Israel's former foreign minister and first Israeli ambassador to the U.S. and the United Nations; Anwar Sadat's widow, Jihan; the pres-

See "ceremony" page 10

Washington, D.C. 20500

ident of the European Community; the foreign ministers of Norway, Japan, Spain, Belgium, Austria, Morocco, Egypt, and Tunisia; U.S. chief of protocol Molly Raiser; Associate Justices Ginsburg, Kennedy, Day O'Connor, Blackmun, Stevens, Scalia and Thomas; U.S. Trade representative Mickey Kantor; Secretary of Labor Robert Reich and U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright.

Also in attendance were Secretaries of State Cyrus Vance, Alexander Haig, Henry Kissinger, James Baker, George Shultz, William Rogers, Edmund Muskie and Lawrence Eagleburger; as well as former National Security advisors Gen. Colin Powell; Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Robert McFarlane and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Among those prominent in

"Yesterday a dream, today a commitment."

— **Shimon Peres**

the Jewish community were Elie Wiesel, Max Fisher, Edgar Bronfman, Richard Cohen, Seymour Reich, Monte Friedman, Edward Sanders, Leon Charney, Dan Abraham, Barbi and Lawrence Weinberg, Jerry Tannenbaum, Robert Kogod, Barbara and Brian Greenspun and Rabbis David Saperstein and Norman Lamm.

President Clinton opened the impressive ceremony by welcoming the participants on behalf of the U.S. and Russia,

peres... the occasion as one of "history and hope."

"Today," Clinton began, "we bear witness to an extraordinary act in one of history's defining dramas, a drama that began in the time of our ancestors when the word went forth from a sliver of land between the River Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea. That hallowed piece of earth, that land of light and revelation, is the home to the memories of Jews, Muslims and Christians throughout the world."

Peres, in his remarks, emphasized that what is being done today is more than signing an agreement. It is a revolution. "Yesterday, a dream," he said, "Today, a commitment. The Israelis and Palestinians, who fought each other for almost a century have agreed to move decisively on the path of dialogue, understanding and cooperation."

"Two parallel tragedies have unfolded... let us bid once and for all farewell to wars, to threats, to human misery. Let us bid farewell to enmity and may there be no more victims on either side."

Abbas said he hoped the signing would prove to be the onset of a positive and constructive change that will serve the interests of the Palestinians and Israelis.

"We've come to this point because we believe that peaceful coexistence and cooperation are the only means for reaching understanding and for realizing the hopes of the Palestinians and Israelis," he said. "The agreement reflects the decision we made in the PLO to turn a new page in our relationship with Israel."

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who signed the agreement as an official wit-



President Clinton meets with Israeli Prime Minister Rabin (left) and Israeli Foreign Minister Peres (right) in the White House Blue Room prior to the signing of the Israel-Palestinian Agreement. Joining them is Vice President Al Gore.

people have dreamed of this moment. "The Israelis and Palestinians have taken a dramatic step toward a just, lasting and comprehensive peace that can lift the lives of the people," he said. "This gives genuine hope that they will complete the journey begun today."

Russia's foreign minister, Andrei Kosyrev, who also signed the agreement as a witness, said that it is time to rejoice, but no time for euphoria. "Unfortunately," he added, "this is only the first step — major, but first step — on the long, long road."

Rabin noted that the signing of the Declaration of Principle is not easy — for himself as a soldier in Israel's war, nor for

aspora — "who are watching us now with hope mixed with apprehension."

Chairman Arafat, in his remarks, said he is assuring the Americans that he shares their values of freedom, justice and human rights — values for which his people have been striving. "My people are hoping that this agreement marks the beginning of the end of a chapter of pain and suffering which has lasted throughout this century," he said. "My people are hoping the agreement will usher in an age of peace, co-existence and equal rights. We're relying on the role of the president of the U.S. and of all the countries which believe that, without peace in the Mideast,

complete."

Clinton closed the extraordinary program by concluding: "Just as the Jewish people are now celebrating the dawn of a new year, let us all go from this place to celebrate the dawn of a new era not only for the Mideast, but for the entire world."

(A personal note: While watching Shimon Peres sign the agreement, my mind flashed back to 1961 in Jerusalem, when he was the aide who ushered me into Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's office for my first interview with Israel's first prime

Nixon Sees Mid-East As More Explosive Than Vietnam

By Trude B. Feldman
Washington Correspondent
for the Jewish Chronicle

Richard M. Nixon believes in an increased effort to maintain a balance of power in the Middle East. The former Vice-President said that a power balance "is essential not just to Israel's existence, but also to peace in that area, and therefore essential to the United States of America."

Mr. Nixon continued: "What is involved in the Middle East is not just the future of Israel, but a permanent peace in that part of the world."

He warned that unless we "maintain a delicate balance of power in that area, that there will be a very great danger of war—a war that could escalate into a world war." Therefore, he stressed, Middle East affairs under his administration would occupy a "front burner" in United States diplomatic initiatives with the Soviet Union.

During an exclusive interview this week, Mr. Nixon also made it clear that he regards the ticklish Middle East situation as potentially more dangerous than Vietnam. The seriousness with which he views this issue was indicated by his warning that the danger of a United States-Soviet Union confrontation is greater than in Vietnam.

"This is because the interests of the United States and the interests of the Soviet Union come directly in conflict when we think of the Middle East," he observed, "and the reason that danger now is greater—in spite of the recent victory of the Israelis—is that the Soviet Union has re-equipped the armed forces of the United Arab Republic and Syria to the point that they are now as strong as they were before the last war."

Nixon added that this does not mean that they are necessarily going to launch any immediate attack, but "the danger is there, because the idea of revenge is one that would appeal to those who are Israel's neighbors."

To preserve the balance of power in the Middle East and prevent any such recurrence of fighting,



Richard M. Nixon advocated doing more than the present Administration has done to preserve a balance of power in the Middle East during an exclusive interview with Trude B. Feldman, the Jewish Chronicle's Washington correspondent. Prior to Miss Feldman's interview with the former Vice-President, Israeli Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin had met with him and expressed his pleasure at their meeting. The two had met on two previous occasions when Nixon visited Israel. (photo by Don Koelker)

gressman Gerald Ford, Minority House Leader, and Sen. Everett Dirksen, Minority Senate leader, are urging that Israel be supplied with the necessary F-4 Phantom supersonic jets that she so badly needs.

Nixon confided that previous to our interview he had met with the two G.O.P. leaders to draft a special statement on this issue. "I think that on this proposition the Administration should now go along with the Republicans," he said.

Nixon also said that a Nixon Administration would pursue three main objectives with regard to Mid-east policy:

- "We must do what is necessary in concert with other interested parties in seeing to it that the strength of Israel is maintained at a point that it would deter any potential aggressors in the

Finds Jews 'Over-Represented' In Ghetto

WASHINGTON, (JTA) — Jews are "proportionally overrepresented in ghetto business" and a large proportion of such retail merchants "exploit" and "mistreat" Negroes, according to the findings of new supplementary studies just released by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

The report also disclosed that a minimal number of white social workers aiding ghetto Negroes were Jews. "With regard to religion, only 6% of the social workers were Jewish, while 60% were Protestant, and 28% were Catholic," according to the new study. The figures were based on a survey of 15 large cities.

Former Gov. Otto Kerner, of Illinois, chairman of the Commission, and New York Mayor John V. Lindsay, vice-chairman, submitted the new report to President Johnson. It was prepared by the survey research center of the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan.

A portion of the survey dealt with the charges by the black community against merchants trading in the ghetto areas. "With regard to religion, our sample seems to back up the popular notion that Jews are proportionately overrepresented in ghetto business. Thirty-nine percent of our sample of ghetto merchants were Jewish, with Protestants (35%) and Catholics (24%) making up the rest of the total."

"Thus," said the report, "our typical merchant was a man about 50 years old with a high school education, who moved to his present city in his early twenties. He was most likely Jewish, voted Democratic, and owned his own home . . . He had not been active in civil rights organizations (only 11% are members of civil rights groups)."

The report asserted: "The merchants in our sample were among the most unsympathetic to the plight of the ghetto Negro of any occupational group in the study . . . Along with this lack of sympathy, they showed a series of beliefs from which one can infer that, in our sample at least, some merchants engaged in unethical

practices. Further, the merchants endorsed attitudes about Negroes that would lead us to believe that they are apt to treat Negro customers considerably less well than white customers."

Not all of the retail merchants in the ghetto were condemned "but a sizeable percentage, from 25 to 50%, seem to do business in a way that leaves many improvements to be desired." The report warned: "As long as these improvements are not made, the retail merchant in our urban ghettos will continue to be one of the primary targets of Negro antagonism."

Council Receives Letter From Rabbi Levin

NEW YORK, (JTA)—The American Council for Judaism, the anti-Zionist organization which had originally invited Rabbi Yehuda Leib Levin of Moscow and Cantor David Stiskin of Leningrad to the United States and sponsored the initial part of their visit, has made public a letter from Rabbi Levin expressing his "sincere thanks" for "making it possible for me to have a wonderful dialogue with the large Jewish community of America."

Rabbi Levin wrote that for himself and for Cantor Stiskin, it was "an inspiring and stimulating experience" and expressed the hope that "Almighty God make it possible to visit you a second time and have the opportunity again to embrace American Jews."

Rabbi Levin wrote further that he would report to his congregants what he had seen of American Jewish life. "I assure you, my dear and generous hosts that my report will bring forth what is uppermost in my heart: the hope that the spiritual bond which united our two communities will grow stronger, that the future will usher in an era of peace, honor and friendship for our two great peoples and countries."



WASHINGTON

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN
Buffalo Jewish Review White House Correspondent

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White House correspondent

Two years ago this week, President Carter, Israeli Prime Minister Begin and Egyptian President Sadat flew together from Camp David to the White House. They had just ended a 13-day Summit in the Maryland mountain retreat, resulting in two agreements — establishing a framework for peace in the Middle East, and a framework for the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.

The two documents, which have become known as the Camp David Accords, were signed by the three leaders in a moving, almost electrifying ceremony in the East Room. Six months later, on March 26, Premier Menachem Begin and President Anwar el Sadat returned to the White House to sign the Peace Treaty between Israel and Egypt.

Since that history-making period at Camp David, Jimmy Carter has spent numerous weekends at the rustic site. When he walks past the cabins which housed Premier Begin and President Sadat, Carter can't help but think about the long and arduous, yet rewarding negotiations, in which he served as the intermediary.

On the eve of the second anniversary of the Camp David Accords — as his helicopter waited on the South Lawn to take him to Camp David for the weekend — President Carter sat in the Oval Office and talked about the two years that have elapsed.

In an exclusive interview, he said he looks back on "Camp David" with fond memories as well as with a sense of personal and historical challenge. He reflected on the Accords and what they have meant to him as the architect. He also revealed that one of his earnest desires is that history will properly and accurately record his initiative and tenacity in bringing the achievements of the first Camp David Accords to fruition in a final agreement.

"I'm determined to succeed with the Camp David peace process," he told me. "When my service in the White House is over and the history books are written, the one thing I want to see there is 'President Jimmy Carter, representing the people of this nation, contributed successfully, to the security of Israel on a permanent basis and to the peace in the Middle East between Israel and all her neighbors'."

The President went on to say that he has probably put in more time trying to bring about this peace agreement than on any other single issue since he came to the White House. He disclosed that one of his methods — to resolve some of the issues — was to carefully establish the fact that problems could be resolved by first dealing with those which had more obvious solutions and saving the most difficult ones for the end.

Midway in the intense negotiations at Camp David, President

Carter on Camp David

work for peace, an opportunity was being lost to get down to the specifics of an Egyptian-Israeli treaty. He began drafting a second framework document, and that became the basis for the final treaty. He again involved himself by going to Jerusalem and Cairo to finalize the Treaty.

"It would have been much easier for me personally to stay out of it and let my representatives act on my behalf, taking credit when things were good, and blame when they went wrong," he said, "but I wanted to make sure the peace process would succeed. I think I was an instrument, along with Begin and Sadat, to bring that about."

"My role was to provide a mechanism for an avenue by which these two leaders might come together and realize their own deep commitments and hopes. But Begin and Sadat deserve the real credit for what was achieved at Camp David because they made the sacrifices. They genuinely want peace."

The President told me he kept a detailed record of all his private conversations with Begin and Sadat and their aides. "In reading through those records," he said, "I was again impressed with the long list of apparently irreconcilable differences with which we began, and how, one by one, they were resolved by the good intentions of the leaders of both sides."

"Since then, in the autonomy negotiations that have followed, we have seen issues arise that create difficulties. But those issues are no more difficult than the ones we faced when we went to Camp David two years ago."

He was referring to the talks agreed to at Camp David which would provide full autonomy for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The talks are now grinding their way well into their second year.

The plus side of "Camp David," Carter said, was that the "inability to talk or to communicate was wiped away. Also, the hatreds that had been built upon the death of beloved children in four wars were alleviated; and the determination to recognize a genuine desire for peace on the part of the Egyptians and the Israelis was realized."

On the negative side, he said, are the difficulties in implementation. "The Peace Treaty is not perfect," he conceded, "but we have been successful in the most important single element — the reaching of a signed document between Israel and Egypt. This has led to the exchange of ambassadors, open borders, the opportunity for tourism and the possibility of a comprehensive peace. But the details are so difficult and the pressures at home are so extreme, both in Israel and in Egypt, and throughout the Arab world, that it is necessary for courage to be continually demonstrated by both leaders."

President Carter said he is sensitive to Premier Begin and his dilemmas, and that he "even felt his anguish when he was forced to give up the oil fields upon which Israel had begun to depend."

"I admired his courage in recognizing that this was an essential precondition to the achievement of peace," Carter added. "The fact that he was willing to make this type of sacrifice indicates his strong dedication to peace and the Camp David process."

I read where Mrs Clinton considers Golda Meir and Eleanor Roosevelt
two women-leader role models. I can't find my interviews now with
Golda Meir but here's an old one and up to date one (10 years later)
of Mrs.Roosevelt.



Golda Meir - 75th Birthday
Interview
Blair House



Author Trude Feldman and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mrs. Roosevelt's Last Trip: FIVE DAYS IN ISRAEL

She had planned another visit soon "in order to keep up with the goings-on here"

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN

sent this full one weeks ago

PART ONE

It was my first New York assignment—a B'nai B'rith dinner at the Waldorf Astoria. I was lost in the huge hotel, looking for the ballroom. As I stood alone near the elevator, a distinguished-looking elderly couple approached me, to ask if I could tell them where the dinner was being held.

When I replied that I was also going there, they followed me. The familiarity of their faces struck me, and suddenly I realized I was in the company of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Bernard Baruch. In the elevator, Mrs. Roosevelt asked where I was from. When I told her I hailed from California, the conversation turned to her son, James, a Congressman from that state.

I spoke to Mrs. Roosevelt on several subsequent occasions. At the start of 1960 I wrote her that I was planning a trip to Israel. She replied, suggesting some places I should include in my visit.

I stayed on in Israel longer than I had planned, because of the Eichmann trial. During its recess, I made a trip to Beersheba to visit the Youth Center to which Eleanor Roosevelt chose to lend her name. It is a vocational training school, geared to the needs of the non-European element in Israel—children whose parents come from Morocco and other backward Moslem areas.

Trude B. Feldman, who interviewed Eichmann's lawyer, Robert Servatius, for our February 1961 issue, and Judge Michael A. Musmanno for our June 1961 issue, is a native of Los Angeles, and a former Hebrew school teacher in Hollywood, Brooklyn, and Elizabeth, N. J. She is a columnist for the *Beverly Hills Reporter* and the *Jewish Press*, and a free-lance writer for magazines. This is the first of two installments on her experiences as Mrs. Roosevelt's companion on a five-day visit to Israel last February.—Editor.

I wrote an article about the Youth Center which came to Mrs. Roosevelt's attention, and she wrote to thank me and tell me that she would be in Israel herself the latter part of February, 1962.

She arrived in Israel on February 22. On this, her last trip abroad, I spent five full days with her. I wanted to see for myself what her famous whirlwind trips were like. She graciously consented.

It was on Washington's Birthday that I met Mrs. Roosevelt at Lod Airport. She was in unusually fine spirits, and allowed photographers to take as many photographs as they requested. After spending the night at the Dan Hotel in Tel Aviv, her first full day began with a visit to the Wingate Institute for Physical Education in Natanya, where Israeli and African students were being trained for positions as teachers. As we toured the grounds and saw a group of students playing volleyball, she leaned over and chuckled: "I imagine they must have heard of our President Kennedy's physical fitness program."

"Speaking of Kennedy," I whispered. "I have been here since his election. How is the new administration doing?" She looked down at me and replied: "I think the Kennedy Administration is doing very well—but after all, I am a Democrat."

And as we walked toward the car, she said:

"It makes me feel so good to see how these young people who will mold the minds of the children of tomorrow, work together, study together and play together."

A few hours later, she was the guest of the Jordan Valley District Council at Bet Gordon, in Degania Alef. The Council named a new wing of Bet Gordon School in her honor. She was a steady contributor to its fund. Her crowded schedule allowed us only a few moments' stay. But when the Foreign Ministry guide suggested we leave, she said graciously: "Please don't rush me. I want to get to know these people." And she continued speaking with one of the students a few more minutes before entering

the car and going on to another school—a Beit Shean School—which bears the name of her late husband.

Later we visited the ancient Roman Capital of Caesarea, to view the excavations which are turning it into one of the great tourist attractions of Israel.

We continued our journey to Safed. There I was especially curious about her reaction to the Chassidim. Mrs. Roosevelt smiled good-naturedly, and asked: "I am more curious to know how you—the American rabbi's daughter—feel about this community."

She listened attentively as we toured the artists' quarter at Safed and inspected some of the lovely paintings that hung on the bare walls. She paused in front of one, and said: "This has such warmth and is so typical of the community." It was a picture of an old man bent over sewing two pieces of cloth together.

Mrs. Roosevelt was presented with a picture of her choice, "The Jewish Tailor."

She was especially interested in revisiting Kibbutz Degania, the oldest cooperative settlement in Israel. She com-



Mrs. Roosevelt talking with African students at the Wingate Institute for Physical Education, at Natanya.

Eleanor Roosevelt's last trip to Israel; a first-hand recollection

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

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

These observations came from Eleanor Roosevelt during a visit to Israel in 1962, the last of many trips before her death later that year.

Trude B.
Feldman

She was impressed by the changes since her previous visit three years earlier, and she kept shaking her head in disbelief each time she was shown another hurdle the Israelis had managed to overcome.

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

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

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

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

At the Wingate Institute for Physical Education in Natanya, we saw Israeli and African students training side by side as teachers. In Ramat Gan, we visited

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

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

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

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

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

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

En route to Beersheba, in Israel's Negev Desert, we stopped in the ancient town of Ashkelon, where Samson courted Delilah. As we lunched on a terrace overlooking the sea, birds flew around our table, picking crumbs here and there. One bird landed near Mrs. Roosevelt. As a waiter started to chase it, the great lady motioned him to let it stay. "I love to watch birds," she mused. "What a wonderful idea—having lunch with these nice creatures."

At Beersheba, where a town was built

from the desert, the mayor greeted Mrs. Roosevelt and took us to HIAS House (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), where we met immigrants, soldiers and municipal leaders, including the bearded, hatted Sephardic Chief Rabbi and his wife from Algeria. Mrs. Roosevelt conversed in French with them. The rabbi was later asked why he shook hands with a woman, a departure from Orthodox practice. In Hebrew, so as not to embarrass her, the rabbi replied: "She is no ordinary woman—she is royalty."

Also in Hebrew she was greeted by



Feldman and Roosevelt in Israel

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

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

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

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

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

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

At Safed, touring the artists quarters, Mrs. Roosevelt viewed a number of paintings. Pausing in front of one, "The Jewish Tailor,"—an old man, bent over, sewing pieces of cloth together—she remarked, "This has such charm and

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

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

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

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

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

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

Above the bittersweet notes of "Taps," I could still hear their voices shouting greetings to her: "Shalom shalom . . ."