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001. letter	re: personal story (1 page)	06/04/1998	b(6)
002. letter	re: Coming Up Taller Awards (3 pages)	06/15/1998	b(6)
003. email	Constituent to pciah@neh.fed.us re: coming up taller site (1 page)	05/17/1998	b(6)
004. email	Constituent to Judith Weitz re: Art Programs for Children [partial] (1 page)	06/03/1998	b(6)
005. letter	Sekenia Williams to Mrs Clinton [partial] (1 page)	05/20/1998	b(6)
006. letter	Constituent to President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities [partial] (1 page)	05/20/1998	b(6)
007. letter	Constituent to Whom it May Concern [partial, page 2 in full] (1 page)	06/09/1998	b(6)
008. letter	Constituent to Whom it May Concern (3 pages)	05/20/1998	b(6)
009. letter	Constituent to Whom it May Concern (3 pages)	05/16/1998	b(6)
010. letter	Constituent to Mr. President and First Lady (1 page)	05/31/1998	b(6)

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HIPPY SUCCESS STORIES

1. HIPPY's first program was in the Hatikvah (which means hope) neighborhood of Tel Aviv (underprivileged). Recently a HIPPY official was visiting the center and was approached by a young man inquiring about the reason for her visit. When she explained that they were interested in readministering HIPPY from this community center, the young man became excited and explained that he was a HIPPY graduate. He said that it was the most important experience of his life because it raised the expectations of his family. He is an officer in the army and runs an athletic program for kids in his neighborhood. He says that the neighborhood gave him so much, he felt he wanted to give something back.

2. A new Ethiopian immigrant, young . She is illiterate in Hebrew and felt very insecure about her abilities in helping her children. She had a complex about not speaking Hebrew well, and felt especially intimidated by the prospect of using the workbooks that HIPPY provides to parents to work with their kids. HIPPY worked closely with her to teach her the framework she needs to provide for her children and through the personal attention they devoted to her they instilled her with the confidence she needs to set up good habits with her children's homework and study habits. She says now that because they taught her the importance of working directly with her son, he now knows that she is in charge of his education, even though she cannot yet speak or read Hebrew. She now knows that it is her responsibility to encourage them to do his homework. Even though she can't help him with his homework, she understands the importance of education in their lives and has established herself as an enforcer of education. She has also expressed a great interest in going to an Ulpan (Hebrew intensive language course) so she can learn to read and write.

3. In a low income/welfare community in Israel many of the kindergartners were not advanced to the first grade. The parents were obviously very concerned. Parents then went to the community center and encouraged them to enlist HIPPY's help in setting up a program for their community to help educate prepare the children for school. In six months tremendous progress has been made. The kids are making great strides. **ANY SPECIFICS**

4. In Netanya, another city in Israel, a very strong HIPPY program has existed now for three years for new immigrants. The parents, feeling so confident in their successes through HIPPY requested that HIPPY start a support group of sorts for parents with kids starting grade school (since HIPPY is for pre-school aged children). The success of having the parents ask for this sort of assistance shows their increased level of involvement in their children's educational lives. Their seeking additional help reflects their strong desire to learn how to be better parents.

5. A group of new immigrants was involved with a HIPPY program. They didn't feel comfortable attending an ulpan and asked the HIPPY program to help them organize their own Ulpan, so that they could study together as a group. They are now learning Hebrew and how to effectively administer HIPPY all at once.

6. HIPPY was teaching parents how to use computers so they can teach computers to their kids. Thanks to the exposure that the HIPPY program has provided them, many of the parents were inspired by the easiness of using computers and gained confidence in their abilities and sought out jobs in computers.

7. One mother was told by school officials that her son could not advance in regular school and would have to enrol in a special needs school. She refused to believe that her son could not survive in regular school so she went to HIPPY and enlisted their help in helping her learn how to engage his learning disabilities. They designed a special program with the child, his kindergarten teacher, and the Government Development center. HIPPY provided the mother with training in addressing her son's special needs and helping her overcome her fears -- working through his problems. They taught her patience in answering his questions, methods to address his restlessness and general techniques in working with him.

Anecdotes about the Struggle for Access to Family Planning in America

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Planned Parenthood Federation of America

The story of family planning became a public drama in the U.S., on October 16, 1916, in the Brownsville community of Brooklyn, New York. On that day, Margaret Sanger, her sister Ethel Byrne, and an associate, Fania Mindell, opened the first birth control clinic in America. They provided contraceptive advice to desperately poor, immigrant women who lined up hours before the clinic doors opened. It was at this moment that the American family planning movement was born.

Less than a month after the clinic opened, all three women were charged with violating New York's anti-obscenity statutes. They were arrested, indicted, and sent to prison for discussing and distributing contraceptives. To call attention to the absurdity of the Comstock laws, Sanger—an early master at media manipulation—refused to pay the fine for her role in the Brownsville clinic. Instead, she chose to spend 30 days in the Queens County Penitentiary, where she taught birth control to other inmates! Also sentenced to 30 days in jail, Byrne went on a hunger strike and nearly died, after becoming the **first woman in a U.S. prison to be force-fed through a tube.**

This event was a watershed in American history. It focused attention on federal and local Comstock statutes, passed in the 1870s, that defined contraceptives and abortifacients as "obscene."

The imprisonment of three women for talking about birth control galvanized public anger against the injustice of forcing women to bear children they could not afford and did not want. And it added immeasurably to the fame and influence of Margaret Sanger, who was soon to become one of the true heroes in American history.

By the time she opened the Brownsville clinic, Sanger already had a national reputation as a spokesperson for the birth control movement. She argued quietly but forcefully that birth control had to be legalized to free women from poverty, dependence, and inequality.

How to Give a Speech while Wearing a Gag

Margaret Sanger was often prevented by opposition from the Catholic Church hierarchy from speaking in public. In April 1929, after Boston authorities threatened to bar her from the stage of Ford Hall Forum, she, ever media savvy, appeared in a gag while the historian, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., read her speech.

Smuggling Diaphragms

The diaphragm played a special role in Margaret Sanger's effort to rescue America from the Comstock laws. During a trip to Holland in 1915, she learned about the use of snugly fitting spring-loaded diaphragms that were developed in Germany during the 1880s. In 1916 she was arrested and sent to jail for telling women about them. Her month in jail only strengthened her resolve to distribute diaphragms in her clinic.

Sanger had to find a way around the Comstock laws, which prohibited the transport of birth control devices or information through the mail. Her solution was clever as well as illegal, also involved the diaphragm.

Sanger's second husband, Noah Slee, owned the company that manufactured Three-in-One Oil®, a lubricant for metal parts. Slee imported diaphragms from manufacturers in Germany and Holland to his factory in Montreal. He had the diaphragms packed in Three-in-One cartons and shipped to New York.

Slee also solved Sanger's difficulty obtaining contraceptive jelly to use with the diaphragm. He got the German formula and manufactured the jelly illegally at his plant in Rahway, New Jersey. In 1925, he founded the Holland-Rantos Company to manufacture the first American diaphragms.

Sanger had met a Japanese physician at an international conference on birth control and got him to mail her a package of diaphragms in 1932, but the package was confiscated by U.S. customs officers. Undeterred, Sanger decided to test the Comstock laws that forbade distribution of contraceptives and contraceptive information through the mail.

She arranged to have another package of diaphragms mailed from Japan to Dr. Hannah Meyer Stone, a New York City physician who supported Sanger's crusade for reproductive rights. This package was also seized by customs.

Manhattan Judge Augustus Hand, writing for a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, ruled that the package could be delivered. The case *United States v. One Package Containing 120, more or less, Rubber Pessaries to Prevent Conception* was a watershed in U.S. birth control history. It severely weakened the federal Comstock obscenity law that had prevailed against the public dissemination of contraceptive information since 1873.

***Griswold v. Connecticut* All Married Couples in the U.S. Get to Use Birth Control!**

Legalization of family planning took a great step forward in 1965, when the U.S.

Supreme Court, in *Griswold v. Connecticut*, struck down state laws prohibiting the use of contraceptives by married couples. The decision resulted in the immediate liberalization of family planning legislation in 10 states and paved the way for the nearly unanimous acceptance of contraception that now exists in this country. It wasn't until 1972, in *Eisenstadt v. Baird*, that the U.S. Supreme Court struck down a Massachusetts statute that barred the **distribution of contraceptives to unmarried people**.

Prohibitions against the Condom and FDR.

The American Social Hygiene Association fought hard to prohibit condom use in the early part of this century. Social hygienists believed that anyone who risked getting "venereal" diseases should suffer the consequences, including American "dough boys" U.S. soldiers who fought in World War I. The American Expeditionary Forces, as our army was called, were the only armed forces in Europe during the war who were denied the use of condoms. It is not surprising that our troops had the highest rates of sexually transmitted infections of all 70 percent of our "boys" were just unable to "just say 'no'."

The Secretary of the Navy was only one of many military leaders who believed that condom use was immoral and "unchristian." It was a young Assistant Secretary of the Navy, **Franklin Delano Roosevelt**, who, when his boss was away from the office, ordered the distribution of condoms to sailors.

One of the challenges that **Margaret Sanger** faced as she fought for women's right to use birth control was the double standard regarding condom use. Doctors were allowed to "prescribe" condoms to protect men from syphilis and gonorrhea when they had pre-marital or extra-marital sexual intercourse. The men could not, however, get condoms to protect their wives from unintended pregnancy.

The Falling Age of Menarche and Teen Pregnancy

One of the major arguments for teen abstinence today is the avoidance of unintended pregnancy. In the past, girls were allowed sex play that included vaginal intercourse until they reached menarche. The dramatic fall in the average age of menarche is one of the reasons for the rise in teen pregnancy in the western world during the last century. In the Middle Ages, the average age for menarche was probably around 20. In other words, no matter how passionate Romeo and Juliet got, it is unlikely that they could have "gotten in trouble."

By 1840 the average age for menarche had dropped to between 17 and 18. Today the average age that girls have their first period is 12.5! Physiologists believe that earlier menarche is related to better nutrition that leads to increased amounts of body fat in modern girls. The hormones responsible for the menstrual cycle are stored in body fat.

Sex play among teens and pre-teens has occurred throughout history, regardless of social taboo. Modern girls have an equally normal interest in exploring their sexuality, but they are much more likely to they are much more likely to "get caught" by having an unintended pregnancy.

It took 15,000 years to figure out how human fertility works.

People have tried very hard to understand women's fertility and human reproduction since the first families were formed. Many "Stone-Age" people had no idea where babies came from. Some thought that the spirits of children lived in certain fruits, and that pregnancy was caused by eating the fruit. Others held the sun, wind, rain, moon, or stars responsible for causing pregnancy many considered sea foam particularly potent. Pregnancy was a magical event.

Only a few figured out that sex had something to do with pregnancy scientists didn't identify sperm until 1677. It took another 100 years to figure out what sperm did! Mammal eggs weren't identified until 1827. The timing of ovulation in women was anyone's guess until the 1930s, and it wasn't until 1995 that physiologists could demonstrate when fertilization of the egg was most likely.

History of the Pill

In the 1940s and 1950s, Margaret Sanger closely followed scientific research on birth control and personally funded some of it, while Planned Parenthood Federation of America made support for new birth control technology a major focus of its advocacy efforts. The turning point came, though, when a remarkable woman named Katharine Dexter McCormick (1875-1967) threw her support behind research to produce an oral contraceptive.

McCormick, heir to the International Harvester fortune, was one of the first women graduates of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an ardent supporter of women's rights, and a longtime friend of Sanger. In 1950, following the death of her husband, Stanley, McCormick wrote to Sanger to ask how she could use her inheritance to contribute to contraceptive research.

In 1953, Sanger took McCormick to visit the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology in Massachusetts, where research scientists Gregory Pincus and Min Chueh Chang were conducting experiments Sanger considered promising at her behest, they were trying to produce an oral contraceptive based on synthetic progesterone. McCormick first pledged them \$10,000. Soon after, she began contributing \$150,00 to \$180,000 a year, funneling a portion of the money through the Planned Parenthood research grant program. The total of McCormick's gifts to the research was \$2,000,000.

McCormick also funded the first clinical trials of the pill, which were conducted by Dr. John Rock, an eminent Catholic gynecologist, with patients in his private practice. Rock, who came to be regarded as a co-developer of the Pill, worked with Planned Parenthood staff on a closely reasoned book, *The Time Has Come*, arguing

that the Catholic church should accept the oral contraceptive as a natural extension of the "rhythm method."

In 1956, the journal *Science* announced the success of Rock's clinical trials. Four years later, the FDA approved distribution of the Enovid contraceptive pill, manufactured by G.D. Searle and Company, a firm that had also supported Gregory Pincus's research for many years.

The efforts of Sanger and McCormick would have been for naught, however, if it hadn't been for the medical folk traditions of the descendants of the Aztecs. The basic research for the Pill became possible when a researcher discovered that generations of Mexican women had been eating a certain wild yam the Barbasco root, also called *cabeza de negro*, for contraception. It was from these yams that Russell Marker was able to extract the progestin that Gregory Pincus combined with estrogen to formulate the first birth control pill.

It was far from perfect but its effectiveness, simplicity, and ease of use extended to millions of women an unheard-of control over reproduction, for the first time allowing them to truly separate the sexual act from procreation. Margaret Sanger's pill was a major contribution to the sexual liberation movement of the 60s.

Oral Contraception before Sanger

According to ancient Greek myth, the goddess of spring refused to eat anything but pomegranate seeds after she was raped by the god of death and kidnapped to the underworld. Medical historians now know why pomegranate was one of the first oral contraceptives. The myth explained the cause of world's first winter it was the time the goddess withheld her fertility while confined in the underworld. All the winters that have followed are echoes of her tribulations and her mother's search for her.

The reunion of this mother and daughter Demeter and Persephone was celebrated by Greek women for centuries. All men were banned for these, the festivals of "Thesmophoria." Four plants were central to the secret rituals. They were pomegranate, pennyroyal, pine, and vitex, also known as "chaste-tree." All of these plants are now known to have contraceptive benefits, as well as other effects. Pennyroyal, for example, is highly toxic, except in quite weak infusions. Clearly, the women gathered to share Persephone's contraceptive secrets.

Contraceptive Plant Becomes Extinct from Overuse

In 700 B.C., a brisk contraceptive trade developed in the part of North Africa that is now known as Libya. The flowering plant, silphium, grew there, and only there. Silphium was such a reliable contraceptive that it fetched an exorbitant price in shipping ports all over the ancient world. Despite its staggering price, the demand for silphium was inexhaustible. By the first century A.D., the plant was very scarce from over-harvesting, and by the fourth century, it was extinct.

The Pope Who Published Recipes for Contraception

Women all over the world used herbs for family planning. Surprisingly, one of the most comprehensive recipe books for pre- and post-coital contraception was written by a man who became pope. Peter of Spain, who offered advice on birth control and how to provoke menstruation in his immensely popular *Thesaurus Pauperum* (*Treasure of the Poor*), was elected Pope John XXI in 1276. Many of Peter's recipes have been found surprisingly effective by contemporary research.

Global Diversity and Herbal Contraception

Hundreds of generations of women in Africa, Asia, and the Americas used various fruits and plants for family planning. Researchers are often surprised to discover how efficacious many folk contraceptives are at protecting against unintended pregnancy. Women in tropical India and Sri Lanka, for example, eat a papaya a day when they want to prevent pregnancy. It sounded improbable, but in 1993, English scientists were astonished to find that an enzyme in the fruit, papain, interacts with the hormone progesterone to prevent pregnancy.

Contraceptive knowledge began to vanish in Europe after the 15th century. Women who had the knowledge became more and more fearful about sharing it. To offer contraceptive information during these times was to risk being accused of witchcraft or heresy the punishments included torture and death.

Women in colonial America were offered contraceptive information by their native American neighbors and by their African-American slaves. It is interesting that some of those recipes, still used in the rural south, can be found in Peter of Spain's 750-year-old recipe book.

The Stories of Women in the Struggle for Reproductive Rights

1800's Women without access to contraception utilized abortion as birth control

- A poor woman writes to Margaret Sanger outlining her family's meager budget and grocery list "We never have meat or fresh fruit or vegetables...many times we go two days at a time on only bread and coffee. **We are lover's of children but can not feed our existing baby let alone another.**" **"Behind on periods and looking for help" ie:abortion**
- A woman seeking birth control for her three daughters, each of whom had two children and periodically had abortions in order to avoid more (acknowledging the risk inherent in illegal contraception/abortion) **"they don't care for they will be better dead than to live in hell with a big family and nothing to raise them on."**
- A desperate woman with 2 toddlers seeks abortion to avoid being beaten by husband angry about pregnancy."I am a poor married woman in great trouble, I'm in the family way again and I'm nearly crazy for when my husband finds out that I'm going to have another baby he will beat the life out of me." "Rather jump in the river than have another baby" "I would rather starve a couple of weeks or months and get enough money (for the abortion).so I wouldn't have another baby"
- When Margaret Sanger and her sister opened first birth control clinic in the United States in 1916, the weren't sure whether women would risk breaking the law and brave societal disapproval in order to come. Nonetheless the spread the word that the clinic would open in Brooklyn. The day of the opening, women lined up around the block a hundred patiently waiting for help. Sheer desperation drove them to the clinic, which was raided by the police days later. Sanger saw the women's poverty, their haggard appearance, their numerous, clinging children. She heard their stories of miscarriages, illegal abortions and desperate attempts to provide for 7,8,9,10 and more children when there was barely enough for one. In the 9 days the clinic was open Sanger served over 900 women.
- In New York, **Sanger illegally imported birth control supplies from Denmark, hidden in oil barrels.**
- In Dallas, a socialite Katie Rice Ripley, who in 1935 risked jail to establish Texas' first birth control clinic, **used the Ripley shirt box to smuggle contraceptives.**
Ripley sent the shirt boxes to Sanger in New York, the boxes of "shirt materials" came back to Texas packed with diaphragms, condoms, and other materials.
- Ripley would use her car to bring women to the clinic who could not otherwise access its services.

- Of the disparity in access between the poor and middle class women for both contraception and termination services.
- 1920-30's Middle class women could afford douches and condoms and had family physicians who more readily provided middle-class women with diaphragms.
- 1930's Federal government quietly supports the provision of birth control services For the poor based primarily on public contempt for "welfare babies"
- Scarcity of contraception increases abortion rate, after "crack down" on abortion providers in the 50's , scarcity of abortion services raises cost considerably one Chicago woman "**dropped out of school in order to earn the 4500 needed for an illegal abortion. While she worked, her pregnancy progressed. When she was six months pregnant, she had her abortion in an apartment..with no medical backup services**"
- Others took their furniture to pawn shops to raise money for abortions.
- 1950's and 1960's it was nearly impossibility for single women to obtain birth control. Physicians and birth control clinics refuse to provide contraceptives to unmarried women. In the late 60's the health clinic at the University of Illinois in Chicago **insisted upon seeing a marriage license before providing birth control.**
- Women also had to **pretend to be married to access abortion services:**
Rose S. Got pregnant at nineteen despite her diaphragm use, she "confirmed the pregnancy by seeing, under a false name and equipped with a Woolworth-bought wedding ring, a gynecologist..." She acted under a false name because, she explained, "What seemed of paramount importance to me was the secrecy"
- That shroud of secrecy cost another college student her life in the 1950's
College student's need for secrecy could be fatal. One woman, who had gone to a southern women's college, remembered another student who had an illegal abortion "**She was too frightened to tell anyone what she had done so when she developed complications, she tried to take care of herself. She locked herself in the bathroom between 2 dorm rooms and quietly bled to death**"

**EVERY DAY 150,000
PREGNANCIES ARE TERMINATED
WORLDWIDE.**

**A QUARTER OF THE WORLD'S
POPULATION LIVES IN COUNTRIES
WHERE ABORTIONS ARE COMPLETELY
OR ALMOST COMPLETELY PROHIBITED.
AND AS MANY AS 500 WOMEN LOSE
THEIR LIVES EVERY DAY AS A RESULT
OF UNSAFE ABORTIONS.**

**BUT ONLY RECENTLY HAS THIS MOST
INTIMATE AND PRIVATE DECISION
BEEN SO PUBLICLY DEBATED. THE
PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE OF
ABORTION HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY
CONTROVERSIAL, BRINGING
THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ONTO THE
STREETS, DIVIDING NATIONS AND
CONVULSING THE POLITICS OF
MANY COUNTRIES.**

**JANET HADLEY, IN THIS FASCINATING
AND METICULOUSLY ARGUED BOOK,
CONSIDERS ABORTION POLITICS WITH
AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE AND
EXPLORES SOME OF THE NEW ISSUES
AFFECTING THE ABORTION
CONTROVERSY, SUCH AS THE
ABORTION PILL AND PRENATAL
TESTING FOR BIRTH DEFECTS. SHE
CHALLENGES MANY OF THE
ARGUMENTS OFFERED BY THE
PRO-LIFE AND PRO-CHOICE
ADVOCATES, ARGUING FOR A
RENEWED FEMINIST COMMITMENT TO
ABORTION AS A FUNDAMENTAL
ELEMENT OF SEXUAL FREEDOM.**

Illegal
Abortion
Death
Statistics

abortion, but also that the development of a foolproof contraceptive is desirable, in order to hasten the day when abortion might be obsolete.

There is no such thing as a perfectly reliable contraceptive. Even if women all used the most "reliable" methods (regardless of whether these were suitable for their health), a third of abortions would probably still be necessary (Westoff 1981). A recent study of women requesting abortion in Britain found that seven out of ten had used contraception but it had not worked (Bromham 1993a). People who have chosen a reliable method, and are unluckily let down by it, are more likely to seek abortion, because unplanned pregnancy is so unacceptable to them and they believe it is their right to control their fertility. And a stress on the importance of preventing unplanned pregnancy, far from obviating the need for abortion, can actually increase the demand for it, especially if contraceptive hardware is difficult to obtain.¹⁵

The overwhelmingly defensive stance on abortion beams out the message that family planning is always preferable to abortion. In the new morality of contraception, abortion's connotations are of deviance, failure and irresponsibility. When their voices are heard, many women describe the way health professionals seize on the occasion of unplanned pregnancy as an opportunity for education as an unwanted, moralistic paternalism. They feel as if, as a condition of getting an abortion, they must "atone" in some way for their failure to contracept effectively and that they are being blamed and made to feel stupid. Unless they show remorse and promise greater care in the future they will not *deserve* the abortion. The deep-seated belief on the part of the medical authorities is that fertility is controllable by appropriate and conscientious methods. That is why women seeking repeat abortion are under such a cloud (Ryan, Ripper and Buttfield 1994).

But if failure and irresponsibility are to be avoided at all costs, women have to be persuaded to use a contraceptive which is, above all, reliable. Other possible criteria for choosing it, such as safety, acceptability to both partners and so on, must take second place. In Holland, which has been dubbed the "perfect contraceptive population," the low abortion rate is attributed to women's consistent use of the Pill and the IUD and the prevalence of male sterilization. Is this the only model to be emulated, or are there alternatives?

If, for instance, abortion is legal and can be performed early, a woman's health may be best served by using a simple barrier method of contraception, with abortion as a back-up for occasional failures. Comparisons of the safety of various methods show that this combination carries the lowest health risk for women.¹⁶ At present, hormonal contraception is billed by the medical profession and the family planning establishment as effective, modern contracep-

WOMEN,

MEDICINE,

AND

LAW

IN THE

UNITED STATES,

1867-1973

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- California: abortion reform in, 233, 331n15; maternal mortality rates in, 246; Supreme Court, 235. *See also* Los Angeles; San Francisco; Society for Humane Abortion
- California Hospital (Los Angeles), 178
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- Carter, Dr. Patricia A., 179, 180
- Catherwood, Dr. Albert E., 174
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Family finances played an enormous role in women's decisions to abort. One outlined her family's meager budget and her grocery list when she wrote to Margaret Sanger. She described their meals: "We never have meat or fresh fruit or vegetables . . . many times we go two days at a time on only bread and coffee." She and her husband were "lovers of children," but, she explained, she could not feed her existing baby, let alone another. She was "behind" on her periods and looking for help.⁹³ Another woman sought birth control for her three daughters, each of whom had two children and periodically had abortions in order to avoid more. She feared for their lives, but they told her, "*They don't care for they will be better dead than to live in hell with a big family and nothing to raise them on*" (emphasis in original).⁹⁴ When a mother of nine on New York's east side delivered her tenth child, she "groan[ed]," the attending nurse reported, "Oh God! another mouth to feed."⁹⁵ Others literally could not afford to bear a child. Margaret Winter's doctor was suing the Winters for fees owed him for delivering their baby nine months earlier. She went to a midwife for an abortion instead.⁹⁶

Poor women sought abortions because they were already overburdened with household work and child care and each additional child meant more work. A baby had to be nursed, cuddled, and watched. A baby generated more laundry. Young children required the preparation of special foods. Mothers shouldered all of this additional work, though they expected older children to pick up some of it.⁹⁷ A new child represented new household expenses for food and clothing. In 1918, a twenty-two-year-old mother of three despaired when she suspected another pregnancy. Her husband had tuberculosis and could barely work. They had taken in his five orphaned brothers and sisters, and she now cared for a family of ten. She did "all the cooking, housework and sewing for all" and cared for her baby too. The thought of one more made her "crazy," and she took drugs to bring on her "monthly sickness."⁹⁸

Most women who had abortions, like these and like Mrs. Projahn, tended to bear children in the early years of marriage and to abort later pregnancies. They were reaching the end of their reproductive life cycles and, in some cases, the end of their ropes. In contrast, some upper-class women and their husbands tended to avoid childbearing in the earlier years of marriage (while in college) and aborted first pregnancies rather than last ones. Upper-class couples were having babies and beginning families as working-class couples finished their childbearing and began aborting pregnancies.⁹⁹

Class affected birth control use as well. Middle-class married couples had greater access to contraceptives than did the poor or unmarried.

Anecdotes
of
women
seeking
abortions
in 1800's

Abortion
as birth control
in 1800's
Practices of the poor
-vs-
Middle/upper
class

They could afford douches and condoms and had family physicians who more readily provided middle-class women with diaphragms. The birth control movement regularly condemned doctors who refused to give poorer women information about how to avoid pregnancy. (Such refusals were not always a result of conscious hostility; many doctors were themselves ignorant about birth control).¹⁰⁰ Even if poor women obtained contraceptives, the conditions in which they lived made using those contraceptives difficult. For women living in crowded tenements that lacked the privacy they might want when inserting diaphragms and the running water they needed to clean the devices, using a diaphragm would have meant another chore that only the most determined could manage.¹⁰¹ For the poor, withdrawal was certainly a cheaper and more accessible method, if the husband chose to use it.

Some women sought abortions because they were afraid of being beaten by husbands who reacted with rage when they learned that another child was on the way. "I am a poor married woman in great trouble," began one woman's letter begging Sanger to "take pity" on her and help her end a pregnancy. She had two children, a toddler and an infant, and wrote, "I[']m in the family way again and I[']m nearly crazy for when my husband finds out that I[']m going to have another baby he will beat the life out of me." Desperation permeated this woman's letter; she would "rather jump in the river" than have another baby. Whether she wanted a baby or not is unknowable; the wife beating made her "want" an abortion. She promised to pay for help received: "I [would] rather starve a couple weeks or months and get enough money . . . so I wouldn't have another baby."¹⁰²

Like many women, this one quite logically thought that "birth control" and "family limitation" included preventing birth through abortion. The popular tradition of women did not make a distinction between contraception and abortion, but saw them as part of the same project—a way to avoid unwanted childbearing. An asterisked editorial note in *BCR* reminded readers of the birth control movement's definition of birth control and where it drew the line in responding to women's needs for reproductive control. "The tragedy of such cases," the editor commented, "is that the victims so often write in after it is too late for birth control to help them."¹⁰³

Medical warnings to women about the danger of pregnancies prompted some to seek abortions. A Nebraska woman had two abortions during her sixteen-month marriage because her husband was "diseased" and our doctor told us it was for the best not to have any [children]. On his advice, she had used a douche, but still conceived.

Contraception
Access
in the 1800's

Poorer Middle

Woman seeks abortion
so as to avoid being
beaten by husband
angering pregnancy

finances and child care persist. Meanwhile, the New Right is desperately working to restigmatize women who have sex and bear children outside of marriage.⁸

The near impossibility of obtaining birth control in the fifties and sixties raised the danger of intercourse and the fears felt by single women. Physicians and birth control clinics refused to provide contraceptives to unmarried women. In the late 1960s, the health clinic at the University of Illinois in Chicago insisted upon seeing a marriage license before providing birth control. Though some women managed to circumvent these restrictions, all that was left to most to prevent pregnancy were methods that interrupted the flow of lovemaking and required male cooperation—withdrawal, not one of the most effective methods, or condoms. Nonetheless, fortunate women who managed to obtain contraceptives or had careful and trustworthy boyfriends could still find themselves pregnant and in desperate need of abortion.

Unmarried college women feared having their sex lives discovered by college officials or parents. As one 1945 graduate of the University of Wisconsin in Madison recalled, she and other students “hoped that the university authorities . . . knew nothing including your name. College was then in loco parentis and you were put on probation or expelled should the Dean become blatantly aware of all the hanky-panky going on.” If students found themselves pregnant, they needed to keep both the pregnancy and their sexual activity secret. One way to do that was by having an abortion. When Rose S. got pregnant at nineteen despite her use of a diaphragm, she “confirmed the pregnancy by seeing, under a false name and equipped with a Woolworth-bought wedding ring, a gynecologist . . . (chosen at random from the phone book).” She acted under a false name because, she explained, “What seemed of paramount importance to me . . . was the secrecy: I not only didn’t want anyone in authority to know, I was also anxious that no word leak out to any of my friends and, certainly, family.” Once she had confirmed her pregnancy as a “married” woman, as an unmarried college student she arranged for an abortion with “an expert” doctor in Chicago. She had previously accompanied a friend to Chicago for an abortion; she now traveled by train to Chicago for her own abortion at an office much like the Dr. Gabler-Martin clinic on State Street. She had a 6 A.M. appointment, paid \$250, more than twice the cost of her out-of-state tuition, and by 9 A.M. was going home by train. The abortion was successful and no one at the university ever discovered it. In later years she more openly discussed her abortions with friends and, when asked for

1950s-60's
Poor access to
birth control
for
single women

Rose S.
Pretended to
be married to
gain access to
abortion

help in locating an abortionist, she had names and telephone numbers ready in her address book.⁹

College students' need for secrecy could be fatal. One woman, who had gone to a southern women's college, remembered another student who had an illegal abortion. "She was too frightened to tell anyone what she had done," she recalled, "so when she developed complications, [she] tried to take care of herself. She locked herself in the bathroom between 2 dorm rooms and quietly bled to death." College students learned a chilling lesson that year about womanhood and the dangers of sex and pregnancy and, perhaps, of the danger of silence as well.¹⁰

Many more sought out illegal abortionists, but the police crackdown made them harder to find and more expensive. Medical observers agreed that fewer abortionists practiced in New York City in 1955 than had in 1940. The "sharp crackdown" on abortionists in New York had not only reduced their numbers, but the prices charged by the remaining few had more than tripled. Chicago newspaper reports in the 1950s showed that the average fee for abortion in Chicago had more than quadrupled to \$325 compared to the average fee of \$68 charged in the early 1940s at the Gabler-Martin clinic. One magazine investigated abortion in nine cities in 1955 and found that prices charged by physician-abortionists ranged from \$200 to \$500.¹¹

Finding the money needed to pay for an abortion was a hardship for most. Abortionists could charge hundreds or thousands of dollars depending on the woman's finances. One Chicago woman reported that a friend of hers dropped out of school in order to earn the \$500 needed for an illegal abortion. While she worked, her pregnancy progressed. When she was six months pregnant, she had her abortion "in an apartment . . . with no medical backup services."¹² Others took their furniture to pawn shops to raise money for abortions.¹³

There was a notable shift in illegal abortion practices in this period. It was not until the postwar period, quite late in the history of illegal abortion, that women's descriptions of illegal abortions included meeting intermediaries, being blindfolded, and being driven to a secret and unknown place where an unseen and unknown person performed the abortion. Popular magazines at the time emphasized the newly clandestine nature of abortion. When *Ebony*, an African American magazine, covered illegal abortion in its January 1951 issue, it presented abortion as dark and dangerous. A series of dim photographs showed a woman meeting an unknown "contact-man," a cramped room in which the abortionist operated, and police crowded around a bed

1950's

Secrecy Fatal
College student. bleeds
to death

Scarcity of abortion service
leads to high cost

- Women drop out of school to work for 6 months to earn enough \$\$\$ for late term abortion
- Pawn shops

Shift in illegal abortion practices in late 50's

Abortion
Club
analogous to
subscription
payment plan

Depression
legitimizes
birth control

Hostility toward
"welfare mothers/babies"
wins support
for birth control
access for the
poor

First Fed Govt
support

overturned
Comstock laws

1937 - AMA
oppositional

Poor women
financial pressure

abandons
stance to b.c.

abortion "insurance" in 1936 demonstrates that abortion was a recurring and common need for many. New Jersey police uncovered a "Birth Control Club" of eight hundred dues-paying and card-carrying members. Membership in the club "entitled them to regular examinations and to illegal operations, when they needed them, at a further fee of \$75 and upward." Most of the members were "girl clerks" who worked in Newark's downtown offices. Just as working people made small regular payments for life insurance and funeral coverage, these working women bought a form of health insurance through dues paid to this "club." These women *expected* to have abortions in the future. The club provided a means of blunting the expense of abortions and other gynecological care.⁷ When the *New York Times* covered this incident, birth control leaders immediately attacked the headline dubbing this a "birth control" club. The medical director of the American Birth Control League explained that the birth control movement "opposed" abortion and that the two were not the same.⁸

The Depression helped legitimate contraceptives. American society increasingly accepted birth control during the 1930s. Condoms sold briskly in drug stores and gas stations. In 1930, the American Birth Control League had fifty-five birth control clinics in fifteen states; by 1938 there were over five hundred clinics. Hostility toward welfare payments and "relief babies" helped win support for providing birth control to the poor. The federal government quietly sponsored, for the first time, provision of birth control services in the late 1930s. As courts began to overturn the Comstock Laws on contraceptives, they allowed the medical profession to prescribe birth control devices. One 1937 poll found that nearly 80 percent of American women approved of birth control use. That year the AMA finally abandoned its official opposition to birth control. The medical profession had been pushed by the birth control movement into accepting responsibility for contraception.⁹ Contraceptives were not foolproof, however.

Greater availability of contraceptives could not alone meet the increased need for control over childbearing. The recognized expert on abortion, Frederick J. Taussig, reported that the number of abortions had grown "throughout the world." He believed it was "due less to [a] laxity of morals than to underlying economic conditions." A New Orleans physician who studied the septic abortion cases at the Charity Hospital found that the number of criminal abortions among poor, white patients rose 166 percent between 1930 and 1931. This surge reflected, he suggested, "the financial pressure . . . on this type of charity patient." Studies of Cincinnati, Minneapolis, New York, and Phila-

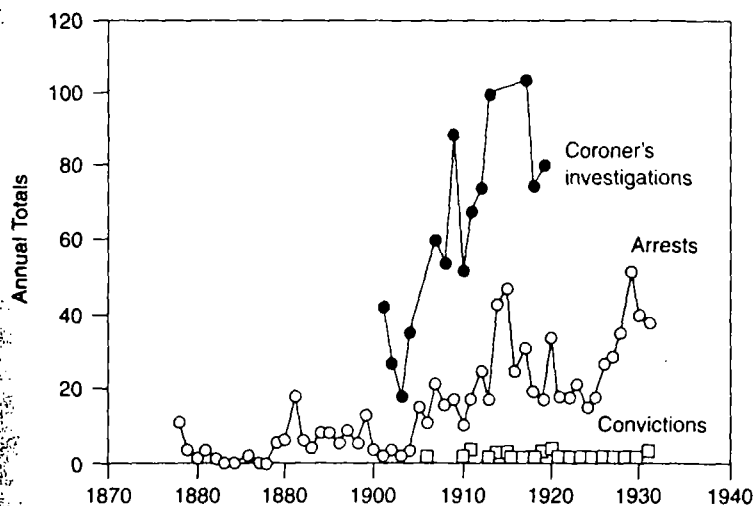


Figure 1. Coroner's investigations of abortion-related deaths compared to arrests and convictions for abortion, Chicago, 1878-1931.

SOURCES: Chicago Department of Police, *Report of General Superintendent of Police of the City of Chicago*, 1878-1912, Municipal Reference Collection, Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Illinois (MRC); Chicago Department of Police, *Annual Report*, 1913-1931, MRC; "Chicago Medical Society. Regular Meeting, Held November 23, 1904, Symposium on Criminal Abortion," *JAMA* 43 (December 17, 1904): 1890.

in a conviction.⁷ In contrast, police made at least ten arrests annually for abortion after 1905, averaged twenty-five or twenty-six annual arrests during the 1910s and 1920s, and made almost forty arrests each year in the early 1930s. Police stepped up their arrests under political pressure. The peak years for arrests for abortion coincided with organized efforts against abortion. For example, a peak in 1905 is probably due to the Chicago Medical Society's renewed efforts to eradicate abortion, and the peak in 1912 matches the coordinated, nationwide raids by the U.S. Post Office on people who used the mail to sell contraceptive or abortion instruments or services.⁸

The coroner conducted even more inquests into abortion deaths every year. Between 1901 and 1919, the years for which figures are available, the Cook County coroner investigated an average of over sixty abortion deaths a year, from a low of eighteen in 1903 to a high of 103 in 1917. Not all of these abortion-related deaths followed criminal abortions; some were "accidental," "self-induced," or "spontaneous" abortions, and others were the result of an "undetermined" cause, but, be-

1901-1919
Average of
abortion d
, per year.

under the Comstock Act of 1873, whose sweeping provisions also banned information on contraception and abortion. Venereal disease exacted a terrible toll from women denied knowledge of their bodies, but the numerous deaths from abortions among Sanger's patients in the tenements of the Lower East Side provided an even more horrifying symbol of female degradation.

Sanger claimed that, of all her experiences as a midwife and visiting nurse, the death of one of her clients from a self-induced abortion was the traumatic event that led her to focus all her energy on the single cause of reproductive autonomy for women. In the story of Sadie Sachs, a truck driver's wife who was scornfully refused contraceptive advice by a doctor and instructed instead to have her husband sleep on the roof, Sanger found a compelling myth. She used it to convey her outrage at the suppression of knowledge that women needed, whether their primary concern was the support of their families or the desire for greater personal freedom. Sanger's feeling of having been trapped by marriage, as well as her resentment of her mother's premature death, made the suffering of tenement mothers her own. There seemed to be no justice for these women, whose "weary misshapen bodies . . . were destined to be thrown on the scrap heap before they were thirty-five." Thus in 1914 Sanger, then living apart from her husband, set out to remove the stigma of obscenity from contraception and to establish a nationwide system of advice centers where women could obtain reliable birth control information.

Her first task was an investigation of birth control methods with the goal of discovering a safe, effective, female-controlled contraceptive. Native-born Americans had dramatically lowered their birth rates in the nineteenth century through sexual restraint within marriage, induced abortion, and contraception, but they paid a high cost in the form of sexual frustration, infection, and guilt. American moral leaders almost unanimously condemned these practices on religious and nativist grounds, claiming that the native-born women's revolt against their "natural" role would lead to "race suicide." These fears provided one motive for the late nineteenth-century suppression of contraceptive information, particularly through the Comstock Act. Although numerous contraceptive devices, including spermicidal douches, "womb veils" (diaphragms), a "safe period," and condoms, were described in nineteenth-century marriage manuals, physicians did not conduct contraceptive research. After surveying the medical literature and finding that no female methods had

been clinically tested, Sanger traveled to Europe in search of better birth control technology. She returned in early 1914 determined to spread the good news that sex could be separated from procreation, although women would have to discover through individual experimentation which method was best.

Sanger hoped to mobilize a mass demand for legalization of birth control through publication, beginning in March 1914, of her militantly feminist journal, *The Woman Rebel*, which the post office declared unmailable even though it gave no specific contraceptive advice. She continued to publish the journal and, after being indicted for violation of the postal code, departed for Europe in October 1914. Left behind were her instructions for mass distribution of her how-to-do-it pamphlet *Family Limitation*, which provided the most detailed and informed discussion of contraceptive technique then available in English. Critics pointed to questionable recommendations such as the use of laxatives to induce menstruation, but she had shown that women did not have to accept the void left by medical reluctance to provide contraceptive information.

During a year of exile in Europe, Sanger became an intimate friend of Havelock Ellis, author of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. Under his influence she began to develop a more cautious propaganda that exploited the rhetoric of social science and sought to win social elites to the cause. Ellis's permissive view of sexuality provided Sanger with a model of human nature more congenial to feminism than that of his great rival Freud. In the Netherlands Sanger found contraceptive advice centers staffed by midwives and was allowed to attend classes in the fitting of the spring-loaded vaginal diaphragm, a device that had been popularized by that country's first female physician, Aletta Jacobs. While she was away, William Sanger had been entrapped by an agent of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice for handing out a copy of *Family Limitation*. This event and the pneumonia death of the Sangers' daughter in 1915 aroused great public sympathy for her. Probably as a result, within six months of her return to the United States in October 1915, the government dropped its earlier charges against her. Deeply distressed by her daughter's death, Sanger more than ever sought personal redemption through her cause and began a nationwide tour that convinced her the time had come to open a birth control advice center in the United States.

Staffed by Sanger and her younger sister, Ethel Byrne, the Brownsville clinic opened in October 1916 and provided 488 Brooklyn

mothers with contraceptive advice during the ten days before it was closed by the police. The trial and imprisonment of the "birth control sisters" helped make Sanger a national figure, and, in appealing her case, she won a clarification of the New York law that forbade distribution of birth control information. Judge Frederick Crane ruled that the 1873 statute under which Sanger had been arrested was reasonable because it allowed doctors to prescribe condoms for venereal disease. In rejecting Sanger's claim that the law was unconstitutional because it forced women to risk death in pregnancy against their will, Crane established the right of doctors to provide women with contraceptive advice for "the cure and prevention of disease," thus widening the venereal disease clause to include women.

Sanger interpreted the Crane decision as a mandate for doctor-staffed birth control clinics. Although she continued to send revised editions of *Family Limitation* to those who asked for help, she adopted the strategy of lobbying for "doctors only" bills that removed legal prohibitions on medical advice. This pragmatic concession to the self-conscious professionalism of doctors was bitterly opposed by MARY WARE DENNETT, Sanger's chief rival for leadership of the movement in the early 1920s.

Sanger's attempt to cultivate support among doctors was part of her shift of strategy as a reformer. Gradually she broke her ties with old comrades, played down her radical past, stressed eugenic arguments for birth control, and found financial angels among socialites and philanthropists. Such support allowed her in 1921 to organize the American Birth Control League, the national lobbying organization which later became the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (1942). Having divorced William Sanger in 1920, she completed her social transition in 1922 by marrying millionaire J. Noah Slee, the manufacturer of Three-in-One Oil. Slee kept his promises to respect her autonomy and to fund her cause, and, although Sanger continued to enjoy intimate friendships with other men, their marriage lasted until Slee's death in 1943.

By 1923 Sanger had developed the network of support that allowed her to open, and to keep open, the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in New York City. The first doctor-staffed birth control clinic in the United States, it was one of Sanger's most important achievements. Under the medical direction of Hannah Stone (1893-1941), a careful clinical record was established demonstrating the safety and effectiveness of contraceptive practice. Irresponsible claims by medical men that diaphragms caused

cancer and madness, and did not work anyway, were refuted. The Bureau also served as a teaching facility where hundreds of physicians received instruction in contraceptive technique at a time when it was not a part of the medical school curriculum. Perhaps the Bureau's most important role was as a model for the nationwide network of over 300 birth control clinics established by Sanger and her supporters by 1938. Staffed mainly by women doctors and supported by the efforts of women volunteers, these clinics provided access to reliable contraceptive advice and were responsible for important improvements in the effectiveness of contraceptive practice.

In order to keep her clinics open, Sanger tirelessly raised money to make up budget deficits. Until she could convince an old friend, Herbert Simonds, to found the Holland Rantos Company in 1925 (with funds provided by Slee), she smuggled European-manufactured diaphragms into the United States. She also fought a series of court battles to establish the legality of the birth control clinic, and in 1936 realized her goal of reversing the Comstock Act's classification of birth control as obscenity. In *United States v. One Package*, a case initiated by Sanger's national Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control, a federal court ruled that new clinical data forced reinterpretation of the 1873 law to permit the mailing of contraceptive materials intended for physicians. The decision made possible the 1937 resolution of the American Medical Association recognizing contraception as a legitimate medical service that should be taught in medical schools.

After the *One Package* case, Sanger played a less important role in the American birth control movement and moved from New York to Tucson, Ariz., where she and Slee had built a home for their retirement. Her occasional suggestion that women stop having children until their demands for reproductive autonomy were met and her desire to ease restrictions on medical abortions seemed out of step during a period when the birth rate hovered around the replacement level; instead, prominent social scientists argued that depopulation was a cause of the depression and fretted over the disparity between birth rates in the western democracies and those in Nazi Germany. By the late 1930s Sanger's brand of feminism was deemed counterproductive by new leaders who hoped to gain acceptance of their cause from supporters of voluntary health organizations. They replaced "birth control" with "family planning" in an effort to broaden the appeal of the movement and sought to restrict contraceptive advice to those whose health would be threatened by preg-

① Struggle to keep clinics open legally/financially

1st Birth Control Clinic 1923
over 300 clinics by 1938

Birth Control Myths:
Cause cancer + madness

626 Comstock act labeled ② birth control as obscenity

③ late 1930's Shift from "birth control" to "family planning"

nancy. This trend distressed Sanger, who believed in helping as many women as possible.

After World War II and the discovery of the so-called population explosion, Sanger's vision began to command new respect, and in 1952 she played a creative role in the founding of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, which she served as first president. Despite her role in promoting the diaphragm, she had never been satisfied with it and raised large sums throughout her career for research on promising leads ranging from spermatoxins to foam powders. In 1952 she helped to realize her dream of a female-controlled physiological contraceptive when she brought the work of the biologist Gregory Pincus to the attention of KATHARINE DEXTER MCCORMICK, who subsidized the development of the birth control pill first marketed in 1960.

When Margaret Sanger died of congestive heart failure in 1966 after a four-year stay in a Tucson nursing home, her goal of reproductive autonomy for all women remained unattained, but she had done more than any other individual to give women control over their bodies.

[Over 500 boxes of personal and organizational papers are divided among the Library of Congress, the Sophia Smith Coll. at Smith College, and the Am. Birth Control League Papers at Houghton Library, Harvard Univ. The Sophia Smith Coll. also has a microfilm of the Sanger papers in the Library of Congress, as well as the papers of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Sanger left two autobiographies, *My Fight for Birth Control* (1931) and *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography* (1938). Her other major books are *Woman and the New Race* (1920), *The Pivot of Civilization* (1922), *Happiness in Marriage* (1926), and *Motherhood in Bondage* (1928). She published three important journals: *Woman Rebel* (1914), *Birth Control Review* (1917-40), and *Human Fertility* (1940-48). Major studies of her career are Harold Hersey, *Margaret Sanger: The Biography of the Birth Control Pioneer* (1938); Lawrence Lader, *The Margaret Sanger Story and the Fight for Birth Control* (1955); David Kennedy, *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger* (1970); Emily Taft Douglas, *Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Future* (1970); and Madeline Gray, *Margaret Sanger: A Biography of the Champion of Birth Control* (1979). In addition, several historians have given extended attention to Sanger's career in broader studies: Linda Gordon, *Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America* (1976); Sheila Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present* (1978); and James Reed, *From Private Vice to Public Virtue: The Birth Control Movement and American Society Since 1830* (1978), which contains an annotated bibliography. The source of Sanger's birth date is the family Bible in the Sophia

Smith Coll.; Gray, p. 13, explains how discrepancies in the date were resolved. Death certificate supplied by Ariz. Dept. of Health.]

JAMES REED

SAVAGE, Augusta Christine, Feb. 29, 1892-March 26, 1962. Sculptor.

Augusta Savage was born in Green Cove Springs, Fla., the seventh of fourteen children of Rev. Edward and Cornelia (Murphy) Fells. She was the third child and second daughter of the nine children (five girls and four boys) who lived to maturity. Edward Fells, who earned his living as a house painter, was a deeply religious man who assisted local Methodist ministers in conducting church services.

Augusta Fells attended public schools in Green Cove Springs and studied briefly at the state normal school in Tallahassee (later Florida A & M University). From an early age, she had shown an interest in modeling the local red clay into figures. Edward Fells, thinking Augusta's models were the "graven images" prohibited in the Bible, punished her whenever he found her creations, but she persisted and he came eventually to accept her modeling.

Augusta Fells married John T. Moore in 1907; her only child, Irene Connie Moore, was born the following year. John Moore died when Irene was a small child and in 1915 Augusta Moore moved to West Palm Beach, Fla. Some time in the mid-1910s, she married James Savage, a laborer and carpenter; they were divorced in the early 1920s. She remained close to her daughter; they shared a home for much of Augusta Savage's life and Irene Moore provided emotional and financial support for her mother's art.

At a Palm Beach county fair Savage's clay models won a special prize of \$25; additional donations from the public brought her fair earnings to \$175. Advised to go to New York City to develop her talent, she eventually arrived there in 1920 with \$4.60, found a job as an apartment caretaker, and set out to learn to be a sculptor. Solon Borglum, a prominent New York sculptor, directed her to Cooper Union, which had a four-year tuition-free art program. Beginning there in October 1921, she continued to take courses at the school until 1924, doing much of her study with the sculptor George Brewster. She lost her job soon after starting at Cooper Union, but the school's directors granted her a scholarship for her living expenses.

In early 1923, Augusta Savage applied for admission to a summer school to be held under the patronage of the French government at the

LEVEL 1 - 19 OF 64 STORIES

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HEADLINE: The Birth of a Clinic;
Dallas socialite was family planning pioneer

BYLINE: Gayle Reaves, Staff Writer of The Dallas Morning News

BODY:

Fifty-seven years ago this month, a young woman from Frisco, pregnant with her seventh child, wrote desperately to New York asking for help.

Help eventually came, not from New York, but from a Dallas clubwoman.

Come to Dallas after the baby is born, the clubwoman wrote to the distraught mother. In a clinic here, she could receive something considered so inflammatory and dangerous that its distribution had been outlawed by the United States - birth control information.

The clubwoman was Katie Rice Ripley, a Dallas socialite who risked jail to establish Texas' first birth control clinic in Oak Cliff in 1935. Though her role has been well-known in family planning circles for decades, some longtime friends never knew the full story of her sometimes clandestine activities.

Most newspaper stories about well-known Katie and George Ripley mentioned nothing about that daring phase in her life.

Nonetheless, the Texas Women's History Project found her, and included her in its exhibit and research collection now housed at Texas Woman's University in Denton.

"She was the most interesting woman I think I've ever met," said nurse Dorothy Roehr, who for many years worked in a Dallas Planned Parenthood clinic.

Few things were predictable about Katie Ripley: She loved children but had none herself; she loved to travel the continent with her husband, often staying not in luxury hotels but in her specially fitted travel trailer.

"She was a very tenderhearted person. She always had her hands out to help somebody else," said Rosie Nell Leftridge, who worked for Mrs. Ripley for 32 years.

Katie and George Ripley operated the Ripley Shirt Co. in Oak Cliff. In the early years of the business, Mrs. Ripley herself did everything from buttonholes to bookkeeping.



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They were partners in their other causes, too. The Ripleys' contribution to birth control pioneer Margaret Sanger was apparently one of the first Texas donations to the campaign to legalize the distribution of contraceptive devices.

In the hard times of the 1930s, Mrs. Ripley "saw women who had kids they didn't want, that they couldn't take care of, who were pregnant all the time," said Ms. Roehr, who interviewed Mrs. Ripley for a college course. "She didn't believe in that - she was a forward-thinking lady."

According to the late Gertrude Shelburne, another early family planning activist in Dallas, there were also other, more personal reasons for Mrs. Ripley's interest in the problem.

"She found it difficult to secure contraceptive devices and supplies" for her own use, Mrs. Shelburne told a Planned Parenthood gathering in 1973. Her friend realized that if it was difficult for her, it was generally impossible for the general population."

Having met Ms. Sanger at a New York rally, Mrs. Ripley consulted her for advice. Then, with the help of Mrs. Ripley's own physician, the Ripleys established their first clinic in the Medical Arts Building, over the objections of some doctors who officed there.

For years, Mrs. Shelburne said, the couple was the sole support of the clinic.

"They would accept no contributions," Mrs. Shelburne said in the 1973 speech, a text of which is included in the TWU collection.

"Mrs. Ripley said, If anyone is going to jail, I want to go alone, and I do not want anyone else involved." "

This was not taken lightly at the time, Mrs. Shelburne said, because the federal Comstock Law, which made it illegal to send birth control information or supplies through the mail, was still in force. The birth control provisions of the law, which was aimed at the distributors of pornography of all types, were not deleted until 1971.

In New York, Margaret Sanger was illegally importing birth control supplies from Denmark, hidden in oil barrels. In Texas, one of the instruments of women's liberation from unplanned pregnancies was a Ripley's shirt box.

According to Mrs. Shelburne and others, the shirt boxes were sent to Ms. Sanger in New York. The boxes of "shirt material" came back to Texas packed with diaphragms, condoms and other materials.

Their actions brought Katie Ripley and Gertrude Shelburne some strong local opposition - but no jail terms. "From some people, she (Mrs. Ripley) got much criticism for it," Mrs. Roehr said. "It was not the thing people in her circle did."

"We were living in a continuation of the Victorian era," Mrs. Shelburne said in her speech. "The subject of birth control was one that was not dared



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discussed."

Visiting nurses, for instance, were not permitted to mention contraception to their patients, "even though the patient might have high blood pressure, eight or 10 children and another baby might kill her," she said.

Katie Ripley went on to help finance and organize birth control clinics in Houston, Fort Worth and San Angelo and to lead the statewide movement. She lectured to many organizations on the need for available birth control measures, and even arranged the showing of films on the subject, a definite rarity for the time. She is credited with organizing the first public meeting in the United States for the discussion of birth control - and with bringing Ms. Sanger to Dallas for speeches before standing-room-only crowds.

Ms. Roehr said Mrs. Ripley remained active in the operation of the birth control clinic for many years, though she was often ill.

"She would go and pick up women" who could not get to the clinic any other way, Ms. Roehr said, and bring them to Oak Cliff in her car.

George "Rip" Ripley, who fought his own battles for reform in Dallas over the years, supported his wife and the clinic "all the way," Mrs. Roehr said. "They were both fight-for-the-underdog kinds of people," she said.

Margaret Golden, a close friend of the Ripleys, agreed.

"Katie always had a cause," said Mrs. Golden, and Mr. Ripley "was so proud of her, you could see him just blooming" with it.

Mrs. Ripley is probably better known among many in Dallas for her club activities, including the presidency of the Dallas Federation of Women's Clubs in the 1940s. Newspaper readers of the 1940s and 1950s heard about the couple's travels around the world.

When Mrs. Ripley died in 1976, her obituary in The Dallas Morning News mentioned her club activities, but nothing about her work for the cause of family planning.

Historian and feminist writer Ruthe Winegarten of the Texas Women's History Project discovered her.

"How we ran across her was, we sent out questionnaires to a couple of hundred libraries, museums" and others, Ms. Winegarten said. "Someone sent us back a questionnaire with this information on it" about the Dallas woman's pioneering work.

The research collection and exhibit put together by history project workers includes copies of her correspondence with Margaret Sanger, early records from the birth control clinic, pictures - and a Ripley Shirt Co. box.

Margaret Golden and Rosie Nell Leftridge said they never knew their friend had been a smuggler of contraceptives. "I'm surprised," Mrs. Golden said. "She was such a stickler for the truth."



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BYLINE: LESLIE SOWERS; Staff

BODY:

THE PILL:

A Biography of the Drug That Changed the World.

By Bernard Asbell.

Random House, \$ 25.

WHEN Margaret Sanger and her sister were opening the first **birth control** clinic in the United States in 1916, they weren't sure whether women would risk breaking the law and brave societal disapproval in order to come. The sisters nonetheless spread the word that the clinic would open in a Brooklyn neighborhood.

The day of the opening, women lined up around the block, a hundred patiently waiting for help. Sheer desperation drove them to the clinic, which was eventually raided by police.

Sanger saw the women's poverty, their haggard appearance, their numerous, clinging children. She heard their stories of miscarriages, illegal abortions, and desperate attempts to provide for seven, eight, nine, 10 and more children when there was barely enough for one.

Sanger guessed rightly that women would take great risks to obtain birth control information when it was illegal. Fifty years later, she again gambled that women would risk societal disapproval as well as uncertain health effects to take a new method of birth control that Sanger was instrumental in getting developed.

In 1960, when the Federal Drug Administration approved the first birth control pill, few people believed that American women would want the bother of taking a pill 21 days each month to prevent pregnancy. Sanger, whose sponsorship was an impetus for the pill's development, thought otherwise.

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The Houston Chronicle, July 23, 1995

Sanger was right. By 1962, more than 1 million American women were taking it; by 1984, an estimated 50 million to 80 million women worldwide were taking it.

The history of The Pill, the only drug that can be identified solely as The Pill, might sound too dry to swallow. Not so.

'The Pill: The Biography of the Drug That Changed the World' reveals a complex tale in which a fundamental new human freedom was born.

But not without moral, legal, scientific and religious struggle. The birth pangs make fascinating reading.

Author Bernard Asbell chooses to begin by reprinting poignant letters to Margaret Sanger from women who could not bear to bear more children. Their heart-rending pleas for help were an eloquent reason for Sanger and financial backer Katharine McCormick to sponsor development of the pill.

The two women located the scientist they thought most likely to be able to produce a simple, safe and effective pill - and to produce it rapidly.

In 1951, they enlisted Dr. Gregory Pincus, an experimental biologist with a laboratory in Massachusetts, to develop the "perfect contraceptive."

Pincus realized the best path to the pill was through the use of hormones. He then sought out an elusive chemist who had synthesized progesterone in Mexico from locally grown plants.

Russell Marker's work was an important contribution, as was that of his successor at a Mexican firm called Syntex, Carl Djerassi.

Throughout the course of the decade it took to research the pill, test it and bring it to the market, the large pharmaceutical companies were skeptical and skittish.

Field trials for the pill were accomplished by a back-door route. Renowned Harvard University gynecologist John Rock was experimenting with progesterone to treat infertility, a more politically acceptable goal. He worked with Pincus to obtain data about the safety of the drug, the same drug that later would be marketed for birth control. Rock, a staunch Catholic, was also instrumental in obtaining Food and Drug Administration approval for the new drug.

Despite the fears of the drug companies, women eagerly awaited the pill. In fact, they began using it even before it had been approved for contraception. When it won approval for use in treating menstrual irregularity, some half a million women began using it.



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Asbell explores fully and in detail the pill's development and its long controversial examination by the Roman Catholic Church. Those unfamiliar with the papal hearings on the pill may be surprised to learn how close the church came to approving this contraceptive. But a conservative adviser held sway, and the pope issued a severe indictment of the drug.

Asbell also draws a complete picture of birth control pioneer Sanger, including her mother's death following difficult childbirth and her probably abusive, alcoholic father's role in her life.

If the book skimps, it is in the chapters allotted to the impact of the pill and the history of its use. Asbell examines briefly whether the pill created the sexual revolution or simply coincided with it. He mentions feminist objections to the pill's safety. He also sees the pill as a wedge, opening a mind-set that will lead to further human intervention in biology and genetics.

The Pill provides historical perspective on a drug so entrenched in its use that we might think it's been around longer than it has. Asbell's book shows the remarkable convergence of science and social change that made this drug a possibility and a reality.

GRAPHIC: Mug: 1. Bernard Asbell; Photo: 2. Cover of book ''The Pill''

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

TYPE: Book review

NOTES: Leslie Sowers is a feature writer for the Chronicle.

LOAD-DATE: July 24, 1995



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checked investing career she won some and lost some. Bill Clinton was as ethically casual, and as ruthless, about his political fundraising in Arkansas as most other American politicians. He was not much involved in personal financial matters, not because he was stuffing his nose with cocaine or torturing call girls but because he was governing a small state well enough to be consistently re-elected by his own people.

The voters of Arkansas got to know him reasonably well as a flawed but engaging sprawl of a man with entirely human appetites and weaknesses and a lot of good intentions. Above all, he had a gift for politics and a capacity to inspire and lead people which usually, and on the whole, delivered more public good than harm. It is as much as most citizens expect from their politicians, and more than most of them deliver. ☞

A Birth-Control Crusader

by Marjorie Heins

**"THE SEX SIDE OF LIFE":
Mary Ware Dennett's
Pioneering Battle
for Birth Control and
Sex Education**

by Constance M. Chen.
The New Press, 305 pages,
\$25.00.

"IT may be assumed that any article dealing with the sex side of life and explaining the functions of the sex organs is capable in some circumstances of arousing lust," Judge Augustus N. Hand wrote in a 1930 opinion reversing the conviction of the birth-control advocate and social activist Mary Ware Dennett for "mailing obscene matter." The prosecution of Dennett had arisen from an informational pamphlet called "The Sex Side of Life: An Explanation for Young People," which Dennett had writ-

ten for her two adolescent sons fifteen years earlier, and which had become popular among sex educators. Dennett had been convicted under an 1873 federal obscenity law, which was inspired and primarily enforced by the anti-vice crusader Anthony Comstock, and which, as amended, banned the mailing of not only "every obscene, lewd, or lascivious, and every filthy book, pamphlet, picture, paper, letter, writing, print, or other publication of an indecent character" but also any "article or thing designed, adapted, or intended for preventing conception or producing abortion."

The "Sex Side of Life" trial and appeal briefly made Dennett into a free-speech celebrity ("GRANDMOTHER FOUND GUILTY IN SEX LIFE PAMPHLET TRIAL," one headline reported) after she had spent decades as a dogged but little-known activist for women's suffrage, birth control, and other causes. Constance Chen's book, the first full-length Dennett biography, has now rescued its subject from historical obscurity. Chen was fortunate, while doing research as a Harvard writing fellow, to come upon Dennett's substantial archive, then recently donated by Dennett's older son to Radcliffe's Schlesinger Library. As a result, much previously unavailable primary source material has gone into the book.

Chen's biography is a guided tour through the major American social movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Dennett and her husband, the architect William Hartley Dennett, began as New England enthusiasts of the British-born Arts and Crafts movement of the 1890s, but after a bitter separation shattered her hopes for happiness with Hartley and their two sons, Dennett moved to New York in 1910 to take a job with the National American Woman Suffrage Association. She soon proved her organizational abilities by revitalizing a stagnant movement that had failed to win any new states for women's enfranchisement in the preceding fourteen years. Within the next three years Dennett led the association to victories in Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, Illinois, and Alaska. Chen writes, "Although unrecognized today, Mary Ware Dennett was the turning point for the NAWSA."

In New York, Dennett became in-

involved with Heterodoxy, a Greenwich Village group of female activists and intellectuals who gave her moral support during what must have been a tough time emotionally. (She lived alone, having reluctantly left her sons with friends and relatives in Massachusetts.) Although she led a relatively staid life in a tiny, spartan apartment on Fifty-fifth Street, Dennett immersed herself in a bohemian subculture that supported the Wobblies, touted feminism and free love, spawned the sophisticated radical magazine *The Masses*, and encouraged sexual experimentation. It was during this period that she wrote "The Sex Side of Life." Liberating in its affirmative, orgasmic approach to heterosexual intercourse, the work's most antique note is struck when Dennett exhorts her sons to resist the lure of masturbation, because "the sex secretions are specially needed within your body," and "you [should not] use them wastefully before you are grown."

Dennett's own sexual adventures were evidently modest. Chen only briefly mentions a disappointing affair with an unnamed married man and an entanglement with an ardent lesbian admirer, Marie Smith, which was probably unconsummated. Dennett for the most part channeled her energies into politics: in addition to her women's-rights work she found time for pacifist activism against U.S. preparedness and served as executive secretary of the meeting committee of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, the predecessor of the ACLU.

IT was in the midst of all this activity that Dennett encountered the charismatic Margaret Sanger and became involved in the birth-control movement. Contraceptive devices and information had been legal in the United States before the Comstock law; even abortion in the early months of pregnancy was legal until the mid nineteenth century. Cultural and economic changes—in particular the onset of Victorian prudery—led to the suppression of previously available birth-control methods and information and, indeed, of any public discussion of sexuality. One of the ironies suggested by Chen's biography is that Dennett's parents may have had more knowledge of birth control than did she and her feckless husband. Chen implies—though explicit information is apparently lack-



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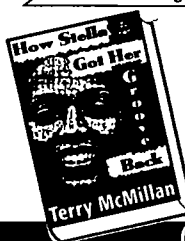
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ing—that because Mary and Hartley were ignorant of reliable contraceptive techniques, sex in the Dennett marriage ended (or very nearly so) after Mary's three painful and dangerous pregnancies (the third was life-threatening, and one child died shortly after birth).

Dennett obviously regretted this enforced celibacy and to some extent blamed it for the breakup of her marriage. Her decision, in 1915, to fix upon birth control as her major political and professional commitment was, Chen writes, impelled by her firsthand knowledge of "the dangers and sadness child-bearing could bring. . . . For rich and poor alike, the mostly male medical establishment let out the secret of contraception only at its own discretion. The resulting ignorance held all women under its yoke. . . ." Thus, Chen reports, after listening to Sanger speak at an early birth-control meeting, "Dennett may have realized that birth control held staggering possibilities for improving the lives of all women."

Comstockery had by then suppressed both information about contraception and access to simple though hardly foolproof techniques for achieving it. These ranged from coitus interruptus and douching (Comstock, given enforcement powers by both the U.S. Postal Service and New York State, prosecuted pharmacists who did nothing more than sell syringes) to condoms and vaginal pessaries that combined known spermicidal substances with sponges or other materials to block the cervix. Such devices were advertised in the United States until the Comstock legislation outlawed them, though they continued, ironically, to be available in England, the home of Victorianism.

Chen does not explore the reasons for the growth of Comstockery, but Ellen Chesler, in her 1992 biography of Margaret Sanger, *Woman of Valor*, explained the suppression of birth control and other sexual information in the late nineteenth century as part of a "conservative social backlash that followed the Civil War." Describing a not wholly unfamiliar political situation, Chesler wrote,

Native white Americans concerned about the apparent threat to their hegemony from European immigrants and free blacks took refuge under a banner of social purity and reli-

gious orthodoxy. They were joined by religious fundamentalists, physicians looking to secure their status, and self-proclaimed feminists who believed they were promoting their own autonomy by regulating sexual behavior and by attacking pornography, alcohol, and vice.

Anthony Comstock was thus in the right place at the right time, and succeeded in passing obscenity laws that placed new prohibitions on sexual information and vastly expanded existing ones. Comstock's powers were so great, Chen relates, that he was able to jail the author of a newspaper editorial deploring society's treatment of unwed mothers.

INSPIRED to commit herself to the fight for birth control and against Comstockian repression, Dennett unfortunately soon found herself embroiled in a bitter rivalry with Sanger that weakened the movement and ultimately defeated Dennett both personally and professionally. Chen writes that Sanger was a ruthlessly ambitious, rigidly controlling, "myopic and intolerant" egomaniac who could not brook competition. When Dennett founded the National Birth Control League, and later the Voluntary Parenthood League (VPL), and began to lobby for the repeal of state and federal bans on birth-control devices and information, Sanger did all she could to sabotage the effort. At this point, whether on principle or for reasons of political expediency, Sanger favored an "elitist" approach to legislative reform, a "doctors only" bill that gave the medical establishment control of contraceptive devices and information. Dennett, unwavering in her belief in both free speech and reproductive autonomy, insisted on a "clean repeal" of the birth-control ban.

Neither bill ever passed. But Dennett, who worked almost exclusively on the legislative strategy, emerged from the struggle demoralized and, as she wrote to her friend the British sex educator Marie Stopes, having barely escaped a nervous breakdown.

My six years of stiff worrisome work in the VPL sapped my vitality a good deal; especially did the things which went on behind the scenes tax my endurance. This combined with some strenuous personal problems broke my resistance.

Chen's harsh view of Margaret Sanger is not entirely new: both Chesler's biography and Linda Gordon's classic 1976 study of birth control, *Woman's Body, Woman's Right*, described Sanger's headstrong and dictatorial personality. But Chen's portrait is so severe that it will most likely be controversial, given Sanger's emergence as the clear victor both in her contest with Dennett and in her immediate political strategy for birth control—not to mention her current canonization as a reproductive-rights prophet. What Chen ignores, of course, is that Sanger, however numerous were her defects, had genius. Her early direct-action civil disobedience against the Comstock law, resulting in a number of highly publicized sojourns in jail, added fire to the cause in ways that Dennett's more polite legal and organizational strategies never did. And however questionable may have been some of the deals Sanger made along the way, ultimately she did create an organization, Planned Parenthood, that grew to be one of the most effective providers of reproductive health care in the United States, as well as an important advocate for the still-embattled cause of reproductive freedom in the United States. Dennett's legacy is less visible: no lasting organization is associated with her name. Soon after a crushing legislative defeat in 1925, Dennett retired from public life, exhausted and disheartened. She lived until 1947, still writing articles and letters, and sitting on the boards of various public-interest organizations.

The most sobering aspect of Chen's story goes beyond the personal failings of these two remarkable women to suggest how their differences over strategy slowed the nation's rejection of Comstockery. (It was not until the Supreme Court's 1965 decision in *Griswold v. Connecticut* that access to contraceptives and contraceptive information was established as a constitutional right, at least for married couples; in reality, of course, condoms were furtively available, despite state-law bans.) Indeed, the self-defeating rivalry between Sanger's American Birth Control League and Dennett's Voluntary Parenthood League was only one instance of the chronic infighting that characterized virtually all the movements Dennett embraced, and that plague like movements to this day.

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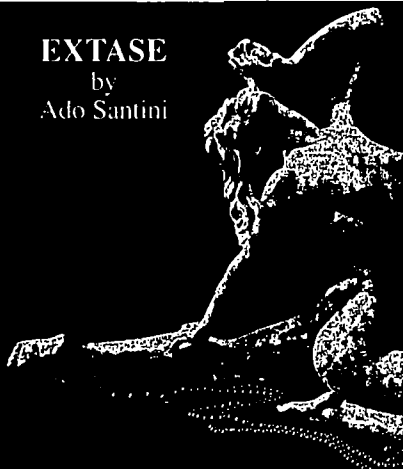
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Chen's book does not really analyze these issues, and cannot compete with Chesler's or Gordon's on the level of historical analysis.

"*The Sex Side of Life*" is also disappointing in its relatively abbreviated treatment of Dennett's prosecution for obscenity and its aftermath—an important occurrence, for the appellate decision in *United States v. Dennett* signaled the unraveling of Comstockery as a matter of constitutional law. A year after Judge Hand's decision the federal courts dismissed another obscenity case, this one against Dennett's friend Marie Stopes (*U.S. v. "Married Love"*), and in 1936 a federal court ruled that a statute derived from the original Comstock law could not be used to bar the import of contraceptives for legitimate medical use, thus essentially supplying by judicial interpretation the "doctors only" exemption that Sanger had been seeking legislatively (*U.S. v. One Package Containing 120, more or less, Rubber Pessaries to Prevent Conception*). Meanwhile, in 1933 Judge John M. Woolsey had liberated James Joyce's *Ulysses* from the U.S. Customs Service's obscenity ban, in a memorably literary opinion observing that the effect of Joyce's novel was more "emetic" than "aphrodisiac" and that "in respect of the recurrent emergence of the theme of sex in the minds of [Joyce's] characters, it must always be remembered that his locale was Celtic and his season spring." After those decisions it was only a matter of time before official censorship in the United States began to recede and before the figure of Anthony Comstock became more ridiculous than respectable in the public mind.

Yet even in an era glutted with commercial speech and imagery exploiting sex, Comstock's shadow is still with us. His federal obscenity law remains on the books, largely intact. To be sure, the Supreme Court over the past forty years has laboriously narrowed what the law covers, so that now only "hardcore pornography" is criminalized. But the definition of what is proscribed is still so vague that in the past few years prosecutors have charged art in museums, literature, and social commentary under obscenity laws—perhaps the most notorious example being the Cincinnati prosecution of a museum director in 1990 for exhibiting photographs by

Robert Mapplethorpe. In addition, the relative narrowness of the Supreme Court's obscenity test has led Comstock's present-day equivalents to fashion laws against "indecent"—a much broader category of speech about sex which encompasses images or writings that may have substantial literary, artistic, or other value. In February, President Bill Clinton signed the Communications Decency Act, making it a crime to post

any "indecent" words or images in cyberspace if a person under age eighteen might see them. (A federal court struck down the law in June, and the government has appealed to the Supreme Court.) Our current Congress is returning to Comstockery by increasingly fashioning laws that ban "lewd, lascivious, filthy, and indecent" speech. Mary Ware Dennett's battles are, evidently, far from over. ☸

BRIEF REVIEWS



The Letters of Vincent Van Gogh

*selected and edited by Ronald de Leeuw,
translated by Arnold Pomerans.
Penguin/Allen Lane, 560 pages,
\$32.95.*

If Van Gogh had never become the painter that he was, he might well be remembered as one of the greatest of nineteenth-century letter writers. His letters were copious as well as brilliant, amounting in one edition to four volumes, and from this mass of material Mr. de Leeuw has selected a progression of those that chronicle the artist's zigzag path, of failed jobs, futile enterprises, and impractical schemes, to suicide and greatness. Most of the letters were to Theo, the brother who supported Van Gogh through years of poverty and unsold pictures. The letters cover a wide spectrum of ideas, literary references, experiences, and locations. They have engaging flashes of humor: on his arrival in Arles, Van Gogh observed "the priest in his surplice, who resembles a dangerous rhinoceros." The painter had long since recovered from a bout of religious fervor during which his sister described him as "groggy with piety." There are sharp accounts of his difficult relations with his parents. On one visit home, broke and shabby as usual, he wrote that the Reverend van Gogh and his wife "shrink

from taking me into the house as they might from taking in a large shaggy dog who is sure to come into the room with wet paws" and "could easily bite—he could easily become rabid—and the village policeman would have to come round and shoot him." His descriptions of scenery are enchanting evocations of shape and color. The late letters from Arles, concerning his recurring bouts of irrational behavior, are impressive and saddening in their cool analysis of what he had come to recognize as an illness producing anguish and terror, but "now that it has all been abating for 5 months I have high hopes of getting over it." That was in May of 1889. By September he had "abandoned any hope that it won't come back." His last letter to Theo raised, once again, the idealistic dream of a painters' cooperative to thwart the machinations of dealers, and included an order for paint and a description of his latest canvas. It is dated July 24, 1890. He shot himself on July 27 and died two days later. Mr. de Leeuw's choice of letters and his editorial additions are admirable. He fills in the inevitable gaps, lifts pertinent quotations from omitted letters, and discreetly reminds the reader that Van Gogh's account of events is strictly his own, not necessarily shared by other participants. As a young apprentice to a London art dealer, Van Gogh had advised little brother Theo, "Keep up

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REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
WITH BOSNIAN CIVIC TEACHERS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

August 2, 1996

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I just want to echo what Joe [Duffy] said when he was saying that in many parts of our own country and really everywhere I go around the world that building of a civil society and teaching people about their civic responsibilities and citizenship is critical to the function of any democracy. When I was in Prague at the Radio Free Europe and speaking about what I think of as some of the contributions that we have made over the last decade and continue to make, I keep trying to elevate that civil society and the work you're doing to maintain it and enhance it is critical. And I often tell audiences of America that if you just take Bosnia as an example and Yugoslavia, Hungary - they had an autonomy. And they even had elections. And they, like a lot of other countries that were freed from the Soviet domination, continue to have elections and autonomy. But what they don't have are the values of democracy rooted in the hearts and minds and everyday lives of people.

And that's what so critical about what you're doing because you're going below the radar screen, if you will, into classrooms, into community settings, helping people understand that just because a democracy is proclaimed on paper doesn't mean that people are going to understand their democratic responsibilities.

I saw that so clearly when I visited Bosnia and I had a chance to talk with some of the civilians who had survived those horrific years - the Muslims, the Croates, the Serbs. It was evident how hard it was for them to keep life going, but even more than that, the pain in their voices and in their eyes suggested how they were just profoundly bewildered by how this happened.

And how did society collapse around them? People who have lived next door to each other; they've attended each other's weddings; they've gone to each other for help; and then, all of a sudden, they were turning against one another. I had remembered reading an article by a reporter who had gone into one of the communities that had been ethnically cleansed and had said to the people, "Well, what were you afraid of? Had you not gotten along with these people?" And the people said, "No, we had gotten along fine." And they told this person stories about how "I remember when my daughter was sick and So-n-So came to help take care of her." And so the reporter just said, "Well, how did this happen?" And the response over and over again was, "Well, we heard that they were going to do that to us." "Where did you hear it?" "We heard it on the radio. We read it in the newspaper." "Well, why did you believe that?" "Because we heard it on the radio. We read it in the newspaper." So that the propaganda fell on such fertile

ground because people did not have associations that were more organized and didn't have an alliance of values as to how they could combat the problems that faced them.

I remember being so struck when I went out to outposts and visited - Camp Alicia and Camp Bedrock. When the helicopter landed and I looked out and I saw American soldiers and I saw men and women, black and brown, and white faces, and I met these young people and I heard every accent you can imagine from the Bronx, to south LA, and you could hear everything there and you could see everything there. It was as much of anything they were doing to keep the chance of peace alive - their example of what it means to be citizens of democracy where people can cooperate and take diversity as a strength, not as a weakness.

I said to many crowds, "That is one of our great gifts in the world right now - lead by example what it is that a democracy really means. And I just don't think there is anything more important, and of course as Joe [Duffy] knows, I've been trying to make this case in Congress and elsewhere that now that we have invested billions and millions of dollars to win the cold war, we can't walk away from people because they all of a sudden say, "Oh we're a democracy. And oh, we're trying to get a free market economy." So much more work needs to be done. And that's why what you're doing is of the core importance. The only thing I would ask is that you would also, and I am sure you will, take your experiences back to your American students and colleagues, friends and neighbors because, I don't know how you feel, but whenever I come back from anywhere and particularly from a place like Bosnia, I'm so grateful for what we have, and I feel that often times Americans don't appreciate how lucky we are and how much work has been done for so many years to create the environment that we take for granted.

Thank you very much.

This inspirational poem (a call to women, as it describes the strength of a woman calling out) is by Johanna Schouten-Elsenhout (1910-1992), a poet born in Surinam and writing in Creole. The original Sranan poem appears alongside a Dutch translation in a recent anthology entitled Spiegel van de Surinaamse Poezie, ed. Michiel van Kempen (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1995).

Woman

Nothing rises so high
As a voice
That calls out
In the middle of the day

A voice so fine
A voice so strong
Is never false
Even when the wind
Blows hard

Woman you rise so high
You inspire
You abide
In the midst of the battle
Of every day

(English translation by Yopie Prins, University of Michigan)



UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

February 5, 1999

Ms. Noa Meyer
Office of the First Lady
Washington, D.C.

Fax (202) 456-2581

Dear Noa Meyer,

I spoke this afternoon with Regina Lockhead (sp?) about your search for a poem to quote in a speech, to be delivered by the First Lady during her trip to the Netherlands this weekend.

I understand that you are interested in women poets in particular, but were unable to find anything suitable in The Dutch Defiant Muse, the anthology of Dutch and Flemish women's poetry which I recently co-edited. If you are looking for a message of hope, one possibility might be the forward-looking poem published on p.78-79 of that collection: "My Soul's Awakening" by Henriette Roland-Holst (1869-1952), a well-known and much-loved Dutch woman poet of the earlier twentieth century.

I am also faxing my own translation of a poem by Johanna Schouten-Elsenhout (1910-1992), born in Surinam and writing in Creole, whose poetry is relevant to an increasingly multi-cultural Dutch society in the later twentieth century.

I promised Regina I would try to fax my suggestions to you before 6pm today, but I may fax a few additional poems by tomorrow as well (if I find them). Please do feel free to contact me over the weekend if you have any questions. My home telephone number is (734)669-8956 and my home fax number is (734) 669-8946.

I hope this is of help to you. It would be a pleasure, and an honor, to be of service in finding a poem that fits the occasion.

Sincerely,

Yopie Frins
Associate Professor of English and Comparative Literature

Dev. Ed. met.
Hsn School's

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The United Nations and You

I was to talk to you about what you could do for the United Nations. One thing I feel very strongly. You've just heard about the crisis at present in college education. Well, you know that crisis points up a great deal that we are constantly hearing about. We're always meeting crises because nobody has enough imagination to look a little bit ahead and realize that we're going to have these crises, that they're coming inevitably.

Now young people could develop imagination, and while you are in high school is a very good time to develop it, and while this happens to be a very small crisis from my point of view, nevertheless, it points to the fact that you need to have imagination in every field, and you need to have it in the future of the world. Now I heard the end of a speech which was very interesting to me, because it pointed up something that I wanted to say to you in your relation to the United Nations. What you do in your own communities and in your own lives is vital, because the United Nations are fifty-one nations, and they have to be brought together and understand each other and work together, and each one has to recognize the good things about the other and the things that they don't understand they must try to gain an understanding of, and that's going to require imagination.

And it's going to require, for the future, a vision and a vision above everything else, of our responsibility as individuals, to accept the fact that what we do at home, in our community, builds the kind of a nation we have and the kind of influence that nation is going to have in this group of fifty-one nations now, but which will later be even greater.

Now one thing I kept thinking about in London was the fact that always we compared other people to ourselves, as we were now. We seemed to have so little perspective on the growth of nations and the development of nations, and we seemed to forget what we ourselves had been in our own development.

Now you are learning history. Now don't just learn history as a question of dates and wars. Try to make this history that you learn come alive. Think of it in terms of people, of different stages, and when you meet people from other nations think of your contact as historic contacts, contacts in which you are making history for the future.

Now, sometimes, I think that one of the things that excite us most today is how are we going to get on with the countries in Europe and in Asia that we don't know much about and that are handling their problems in a different way from the way we handle ours today.

Vital Speeches of the Day 12 (May 1, 1946): 444-445. Address to the New York Herald Tribune High School Forum, New York, April 13, 1946.

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Chinzy:

There is a good book of
E. R. essays in the
library. This is one
I used for UN speech

TRD

great
opportunities
and - some of them
some of the countries
modern farm and
regions - all - below
budget - \$2 billion
more - \$2 billion
dead cost - \$2
used in all
are provided
in GNP

Just
had
extra

Remember Our Own Past

Well, if we will remember the way we handled problems a hundred years ago it'll help us a great deal. And that's one of the things that I think while you are in high school you can do. Another thing is that we are in the United States have always looked down, really, upon people from other parts of the world. We haven't wanted to learn their languages. Now I happen to believe that the best thing we could do for peace is to find a language—and I know all the political difficulties attached to choosing a language—but if we could overcome them through the United Nations and find a language which all over the world all of us will learn, besides our own, it would mean a great deal for better understanding in the future. That language barrier was one of the things that struck me over and over again.

I wanted to talk to a woman from Byelorussia. Well, first of all, I had to find out what part of Russia was Byelorussia, which shows how bad my own geography was. When she told me Minsk was the capital, why then I knew, because I remembered watching what happened around Minsk. But I knew very little about Byelorussia.

We could get along all right with an interpreter when we were just talking to each other, but when it came to a discussion, she was way behind, because no interpreter can interpret fast enough to tell you what a lot of people are talking about all around.

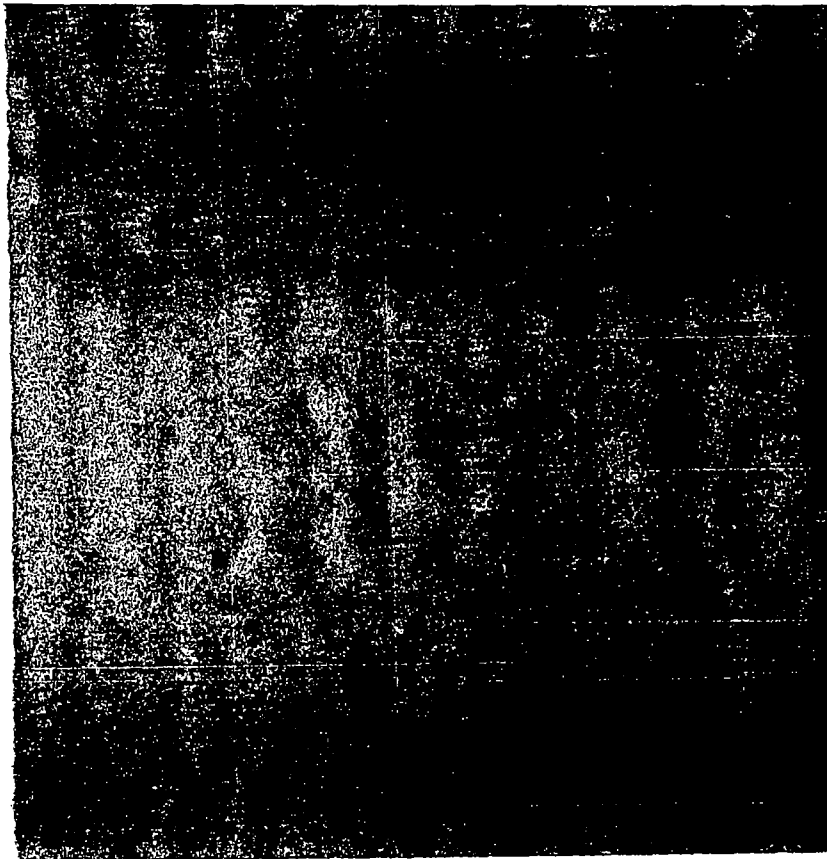
So, you young people, talk to other young people whenever you get a chance, from other countries, and try to not look down on foreign languages, and try to come to some agreement that all of you everywhere will gradually be learning one language which you can talk to each other without interpreters. That's one of the greatest barriers.

The woman from Byelorussia had a lot to tell me that I really needed to know, and a lot that made it clearer why certain things were felt in certain parts of the world, but it took a long while for me to find out. It would have been much easier if I had been able to really talk.

And I think one little story which will amuse you, but which illustrates this language trouble, will help to clarify it for you.

I served on a committee which discussed the rights of individuals to self-determination, and in the course of it a subcommittee was appointed because our Russian representative felt sure we would come to some better agreement than we had reached in the whole committee. And we'd argue for days on a phrase. And finally, one day, my adviser handed me a phrase he thought might do—it was just a couple of sentences—and I read it out to the committee. Before I had finished reading it the British representative, who was typically British Foreign Service-trained, with generations behind him of training, spoke. We used to be worried by that kind of British diplomat—we always felt we were inferior. Nowadays we don't feel that anymore because we're grown up. But he was on his feet immediately.

He said: "Mrs. Roosevelt, in the interest of good English, I think we should say that thus and so," and he put in about a hundred words for my



Our Own Past

I remember the way we handled problems a hundred years ago. That's one of the things that I think while you are young people can do. Another thing is that we are in the United States looking down, really, upon people from other parts of the world. We want to learn their languages. Now I happen to believe that the only way to do for peace is to find a language—and I know all the difficulties attached to choosing a language—but if we could overcome the language barrier in the United Nations and find a language which all over the world will learn, besides our own, it would mean a great deal for the future. That language barrier was one of the things that held me over and over again.

When I went to talk to a woman from Byelorussia. Well, first of all, I had to find out what part of Russia was Byelorussia, which shows how bad my own knowledge was. When she told me Minsk was the capital, why then I knew, I remembered watching what happened around Minsk. But I knew nothing about Byelorussia.

I did get along all right with an interpreter when we were just getting together, but when it came to a discussion, she was way behind. The interpreter can interpret fast enough to tell you what a lot of things are going on about all around.

Young people, talk to other young people whenever you get a chance in other countries, and try to not look down on foreign languages. We need to come to some agreement that all of you everywhere will gradually learn a common language which you can talk to each other without interpretation. That is one of the greatest barriers.

A man from Byelorussia had a lot to tell me that I really needed to know. It was not that that made it clearer why certain things were felt in certain parts of the world, but it took a long while for me to find out. It would have been easier if I had been able to really talk.

I think one little story which will amuse you, but which illustrates the trouble, will help to clarify it for you.

When I was on a committee which discussed the rights of individuals to self-determination, and in the course of it a subcommittee was appointed because the representative felt sure we would come to some better agreement. I was reached in the whole committee. And we'd argue for days on a particular matter. Finally, one day, my adviser handed me a phrase he thought might settle a couple of sentences—and I read it out to the committee. I finished reading it the British representative, who was typically Service-trained, with generations behind him of training, spoke. He was worried by that kind of British diplomat—we always felt we were. Nowadays we don't feel that anymore because we're grown up. I put his feet immediately.

"Mrs. Roosevelt, in the interest of good English, I think we should say thus and so," and he put in about a hundred words for my

twenty. I was quite willing to accept it, but before he had finished the Russian delegate was on his feet. He was Dr. Arutiunian, professor of economics in Moscow, and he said, "I have been caught by Sir George's good good English before." Sir George promptly came back with "I have been caught by Dr. Arutiunian's tricks before," and I promptly said, "Gentlemen, it means the same thing. Mine's good American, his is good English." And Dr. Arutiunian said, "I like good American. I can understand it."

You see, all agreements, and all peace are built on confidence. You cannot have peace and you cannot get on with other people in the world unless you have confidence in them. You know that just as well as I do. Now, what we are building in the United Nations—what we're trying to build—is confidence. Now, if they look at us in our communities in this country—and remember that all races and all religions are represented—if they look at us and find us prejudiced, doing things without regard to our Constitution and our Bill of Rights, they wonder whether what we say about democracy is what we really mean or whether it's just a kind of lip service. One of the things I noticed was the fact that so many of our young people in the Army were not always able to say really what they believed democracy meant in action. They'd heard a good many things in schools, but they had never translated it into the way you live, day in and day out. And, after all your government is the expression of the way you live and believe.

Now sometimes it's awfully hard to live up to the beliefs and the things that you have read about and accepted, just taken for granted. But when you come to actually live up to them, those things sometimes lead you into difficult situations.

The best thing, I think, that you young people can do is to face up to your difficult situations at home. You will be much better prepared to support the United Nations and face up to the difficult situations that arise between nations. There are always going to be difficulties among human beings. Now, young people have a great advantage. They've had no disappointments to speak of about human nature. As you grow older you have more disappointments. But when you're young you have more courage, more confidence, because you haven't had so many disappointments, and that is a very good thing, because very often people live up to what is expected of them, and if you expect a great deal, people will often live up to it. So the approach of youth is a valuable approach, both in international relations and in our own domestic relations, and you want to feel that you have a real job to do, a job which you can do day by day.

You can be preparing yourself with what you learn through your understanding for the responsibilities which will fall upon you as you grow older. But in everything you do, day by day, you're getting ready for those responsibilities and you are helping to create public opinion.

What you feel and how you do things will have an effect even on your elders. So you have a responsibility already in the community as a whole. Be courageous in approaching responsibility. Have imagination about it. Have vision. People will tell you that you dream dreams. Well, remember that every

step forward is the result of somebody who dreamed dreams. Never be afraid of wanting to go forward too fast. You'll be slowed up by circumstances anyway. Have your beliefs clearly in mind and have the courage to live up to them. Have heroes and follow them and you'll find that they will be stronger and better because of your trust.

Good luck to you and God bless you.

Stories: Democracy

1. *Remarks at City Hall (Poland), 7/2/96*

I met with a courageous editor of one of Poland's most important journals, Jerzy Turowicz, who kept ideas alive when ideas were dangerous to hold. Without, the bold efforts of people like him, there might have been no public discourse, no vocabulary for independent thought during the dark years of communism. I met with a Nobel-prize winning poet Czeslaw Milosz who spoke for captive nations and peoples in an era of totalitarian rule, ensuring that the story of their lives would never go untold.

2. *Radio Free Europe, 4/4/96*

Secretary (then Ambassador) Albright has told me the story of how in 1995, during the 50th anniversary celebration of the end of World War II, she visited the lands of western Bohemia, lands that were liberated by American troops in 1945. In every town and village she visited, the Czech people were waving American flags -- flags with 48 stars. The American troops had passed out the flags a half a century ago, when America had only 48 states. And these men and women in the Czech countryside had preserved those flags, held on to them year after year of Soviet domination.

3. *Central Asian Conference on Women in Politics, Almaty, Kazakhstan, November 12, 1997*

Since I arrived yesterday, I have already seen firsthand what women and young people are doing to transform this country. Last night, I talked with young people from the Kazakhstan Association of Young Leaders who are teaching each other about civic participation in a democracy. I remember one young man in particular, who told me that a few years back he thought he could never make a difference. Now, after learning the skills of democracy and working with other young people, he says, "I can see how much I can do."

4. *Ivan Franko Opera and Ballet L'viv, Ukraine November 18, 1997*

Governments cannot be serious about democracy unless they recognize and work with non-governmental organizations. Yesterday I saw citizens of this city building a civil society. I stood with thousands of people at the new Memorial Honoring Victims of Communist repression. This memorial was erected not by the government. It was a gift of the victims of communism, their families, and private organizations. They didn't have to do this but they did.

5. *Ivan Franko Opera and Ballet, L'viv, Ukraine, November 18, 1997*

I visited a health clinic filled with children balanced between life and death, infants born prematurely, some critically ill. But for their cries, these children have no voice. They cannot compel someone to come to their aid. Yet doctors, nurses, parents, and communities, from both Ukraine and the United States, chose to do so. As one mother told me, doctors and nurses she didn't even know saved her child's life. They didn't have to do this. Ukrainian and American nurses and doctors didn't have to work together but they did. I stood in the beautifully restored Gilad Synagogue, where citizens can once again worship freely. There the rabbi told me what it

meant to open a Jewish school after so many years of unspeakable hardship. It had given him faith that the community would survive. The community didn't have to do this for its children but it did. I stood in the magnificent renovated St. George's Cathedral. For too many years, the faith of the people whom I met had been driven underground. The congregation prayed in hidden places; the beautiful symbols of their faith were hidden away in cellars and attics. Today, the members of St. George's practice their religion in the clear light of day. They are using their faith not only to worship as they please, but also to reach out to others whom society pushed away, such as children with disabilities. The people of St. George's didn't have to do this but they did.

6. Remarks to the Women of Australia, November 21, 1996

I've met women throughout the world who have seized this moment to make their voices heard on behalf of themselves and democracy's values. I have met women in Northern Ireland – Catholics and Protestants – who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa – black and whites – who helped lead these struggles to end apartheid. I have met women in Bosnia – Croats, Serbs and Muslims – who are transcending long-standing ethnic hatreds to keep the peace in that war-torn land. I have met women in Russia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, the Baltic region and in Mongolia who are leading the effort to build democratic governments, free market economies and civil society from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South America who are joining forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. And I have met women in South and East Asia who are working to provide economic opportunity for the poorest of the poor through small loans and credit.

I have met women in my own country who have come together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and the environment cleaner. And just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are enriching this nation through their contributions to politics, law, science, education, the arts, journalism and so much else.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But most are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles.

They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and to make their voices heard. They and faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they were not going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

7. Remarks at Radio Nadezhda – Moscow, Russia 5/10/95

Radio Nadezhda also plays a very special role for women and families. Around the world, it is common for issues of concern to women, such as health care, education, and children, to be dismissed as marginal or unrelated to larger questions about economic growth. But I believe that so-called women's issues are central to the economic and political challenges that every nation faces today.

...

Beyond giving women a voice, Radio Nadeshda also conveys the Russian people's commitment

to democracy. To make democracy work, citizens must be informed, and they must participate. And they must rely on a responsible news media to educate them as voters, decision makers, and opinion – makers.

8. *Prague – Radio Free Europe – 7/4/96*

This itself is an emblem of the political, economic and social transformations that have taken place in central Europe. ... Ask anyone who fought for liberty in Central Europe during the Cold War and they will tell you that Radio Free Europe was like a member of the family. I have heard of men and women who always placed their radios in front of a certain window or on one side of the house where the signal was the strongest. I have talked to men and women who, for years, arranged their daily schedules around Radio Free Europe's broadcasts. President Havel has said that he and other Czech dissidents relied on Radio Free Europe to share their ideas with their countrymen and women. Were it not for Radio free Europe, he has said, he might have spent more years in prison.

...

I met with teachers in Romania who are developing a new pedagogy that emphasizes civic participation and democratic values. I met doctors and nurses caring for children with AIDS and leaders of voluntary organizations who are training citizens to participate in elections. In Poland I met leaders of non governmental organizations who are helping citizens protect the environment, improve health services, promote women's rights and strengthen the free press. ... And the third lesson is that democratic values must be steeped into our daily lives. President Woodrow Wilson, whose name graces the railway station and a boulevard near here [radio free Europe headquarters], once said that "liberty does not consist in mere declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite actions."

9. *Bosnian Civic Teachers - Washington DC – 8/2/96*

I remember being so struck when I went out to outposts and visited Camp Alicia and Camp Bedrock. When the helicopter landed and I looked out and I saw American soldiers and I saw men and women, black and brown and white faces and I met these young people I heard every accent you can imagine from the Bronx to south LA and you could hear everything there and you could see everything there. It was as much of anything they were doing to keep the chance of peace alive – their example of what it means to be citizens of democracy where people can cooperate and take diversity as a strength, not as a weakness.

10. *Zappeion Conference Center 3/29/96*

And [when at the Acropolis] I was remembering the words of Pericles in his famous funeral oration of 431 BC when he talked about the values of democratic society. "We have a form of government, he said, that does not try to imitate the laws of our neighboring states. We are more an example to others than they to us. In a name it is called democracy because it is managed not for a few people but for the majority.

...

A few days ago I was in Bosnia visiting American troops in Tuzla who, along with soldiers from many other nations, including Greece, are part of NATO's peace keeping mission. There, I saw what happens to a society when the democratic ideal is lost – when people lose their sense of common humanity, when they are denied their rights as citizens to express their opinions and

practice their religion freely, when tolerance, civility and respect give way to repression, hatred and violence.

11. National University of Mongolia 9/7/95

This country has transformed itself from a one-party communist dictatorship into a pluralistic political system. You have done so with quiet and courageous determination. Although it is not widely known in my country, the Mongolian people yearned so strongly for democracy that a movement began with demonstrations in sub zero temperatures and culminated with the resignation of the Politburo, the legalization of other Parties and the writing of a new constitution. Clearly the Mongolian people take the privileges of democracy and freedom seriously. I learned before coming here that about 90 percent of voters cast ballots here, and many have to travel great distances to do so. That voting rate is higher than in many older democracies, including my own.

12. Fifth Conference of Wives of Heads of State and of Governments of the Americas, Asuncion, Paraguay 10/16/95

I then traveled on to Salvador da Bahia where an extraordinary effort is underway to channel the potential energy of thousands of street children. One program I saw was a circus in which the performers were children, some as young as eight who had been recruited off the streets where they lived. They were not being trained for circus jobs; their performances were merely a vehicle for learning the value of discipline, teamwork, and hard work. Along the way, these children develop confidence, self esteem and pride in their accomplishments. Part of a program called PROJECT Axe, they also receive schooling and vocational training, as well as counseling to reunite them with their families. I asked one 15 year old boy who had been with the project since it began five years ago, whether it had made a difference in his life. If not for the project, he said "I would be dead or in prison right now."

...

A few days ago, in Santiago, Mrs. Frei took me to a school that embodies the Chilean commitment to building an educational system for the future. I saw boys and girls busy working on computers hooked up to the internet. I learned from the Minister of Education that schools may begin to keep their doors open on Saturdays and Sundays to accommodate the children of working parents who have no alternatives for child care, and for children who wish to acquire new skills for themselves.

...

I have even seen it in my own country, where poor women at a project called Mi Casa in Denver Colorado have banded together to take out small loans to help themselves. And they told me very directly how difficult it is for women even in the United States to have access to credit. One woman said: "Too many great ideas die in the parking lots of banks

But all over this hemisphere women are overcoming these obstacles. In Nicaragua, which I visited at the beginning of my trip, I saw how hard President Chamorro has worked to strengthen democratic institutions and promote a market economy. And I met thirty women from a very poor barrio in Managua who run a bank in their neighborhood, borrowing small sums of money to start their own businesses, to start a bakery, to make mosquito netting, to be a seamstress.

15. *University of Amsterdam* 5/27/97
16. *Capetown, South Africa* 3/20/97
17. *University of Louisville, Kentucky* 4/24/97
18. *City Year in Rhode Island* 6/3/97
19. *Make a Difference in Arlington, Virginia* 5/1/97
20. *University of Zurich, Switzerland* 1/31/98

Civil Society and Democracy as seen in “Talking it Over”

September 3, 1995

The U.S. will be sending a delegation of 45 women and men to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Although the delegation and the conference as a whole are made up of citizens from diverse backgrounds, each member has the same concerns: access to child care, education, jobs and credit, the chance to enjoy basic legal and human rights, and the opportunity to participate politically. It is necessary for American women to get involved in this conference because the U.S. has played a leading role in the protection of human rights and the empowering of women. – With discussion in September 10, 1995

September 16, 1995

This week, for the first time ever, Mrs. Clinton was not there when Chelsea began the school year. Instead, she was visiting Mongolia, where she saw how difficult the transition to democracy can be, particularly for the nation’s children who suffer because there is not enough funding for education or health care.

November 12, 1995

In this column, Mrs. Clinton expresses her sorrow over the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. After signing a peace treaty with Jordan and Palestine, he was criticized for dealing with former enemies and extremists used this division to increase their own support. She is disgusted that citizens of democratic countries choose violence to bring about political change.

December 9, 1995

Recounting her trip to Northern Ireland, Mrs. Clinton tells the story of Joyce McCartan. After the murder of her son, McCartan founded a neighborhood information center and began to work for peace, inspiring many other women to join her. Both Protestant and Catholic women have realized that they share the same grief, and they have become a driving force behind the peace process.

February 3, 1996

Mrs. Clinton celebrates the efforts of Americans performing relief work in the former

Yugoslavia, highlighting a joint project undertaken by the Catholic Relief Services and the International Orthodox Christian Charities. This is the first time these religious groups have worked together, and their project provides hope that people in Bosnia as well can get along.

April 2, 1996

Mrs. Clinton discusses her visits to Bosnia, ravaged by war; Turkey, which has a long history of religious tolerance; and Greece, birthplace of Western civilization and the Olympic Games. The Olympics, the First Lady explains, tie all of these nations--and, in fact, all the nations of the global family--together, and help nations build bridges of friendship.

July 2, 1996

Mrs. Clinton notes what an appropriate place Central Europe is to spend the Fourth of July, a celebration of freedom. Discussing the new birth of democracy in the region, She mentions the important things she has already seen in Romania, Poland, and the Czech Republic, and notes that she will soon visit Slovakia, Hungary, and Estonia.

July 9, 1996

Mrs. Clinton talks about the various countries she visited in Central Europe and the Baltic Region, noting the various signs of democracy at work there. The United States, through the government, the private sector, and non-governmental organizations, is supporting many local efforts in these countries and creating an alliance of shared values.

September 3, 1996

Mrs. Clinton praises the Seeds of Peace program which brings together boys and girls from Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Qatar, Tunisia, and Kuwait who show potential for leadership and diplomacy. By spending time together, these children learn to overcome stereotypes and work for a brighter future.

November 19, 1996

Mrs. Clinton is visiting Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand to see what has been done to improve conditions for women and promote their involvement in civic life. She speaks of the leadership of Australia in this field, granting suffrage to women two decades before the U.S., having universal health care, and efforts to stop domestic violence.

May 13, 1997

After attending summits in Central America, the First Lady discusses the micro credit loans available in these democratic countries. Because micro credit gives opportunity for economic participation, there are many examples of women who have succeeded in earning a living through various means. The President launched an initiative to expand micro credit projects in the Caribbean. To highlight the U.S. commitment to human rights in Latin America, the Secretary of State and the First Lady visited the Institute for Human Rights.

July 15, 1997

During her visit to Austria earlier in the week, the First Lady attended the conference "Vital Voices: Women and Democracy," where women from Central and Eastern Europe gathered to discuss the barriers they face and strategies for furthering democracy. Although Austria's future was uncertain after WWII, the Marshall Plan and the Salzburg Seminar helped secure peace and democracy.

November 4, 1997

The First Lady discusses the strength of the women in Northern Ireland, like Joyce McCatan, who worked together as Protestants and Catholics to bring peace. In spite of religious conflicts, these women and many young people have come together to demand political action to advance the important issues of health care, education, job training, and peace.

November 25, 1997

In celebrating Thanksgiving, Mrs. Clinton recognizes the democratic and economic progress that the countries of the former Soviet Union have made. Young people, women, and non-governmental organizations have been working hard to implement reforms. With the help of the United States, these countries are on their way to becoming full democracies.

February 3, 1998

After speaking in Davos, Switzerland at the World Economic Forum, the First Lady discusses the Swiss commitment to democracy. For example, the Children's Parliament, made up of 8- to 14-year-olds, follows parliamentary rule and meets weekly to debate issues and allocate funds. The First Lady supports Swiss efforts to help the survivors of the Holocaust and stresses the importance of investing in women all over the world to build a strong civil society.

July 1, 1998

Describes the challenges facing Chinese women which Mrs. Clinton saw up-close on her trip. Though the Chinese economy is growing, women are often held back by illiteracy and a lack of legal rights and services. Micro credit programs and new ventures can make an enormous difference in improving the lives of these women.

December 8, 1998

This column discusses Eleanor Roosevelt and her legacy of contributions emphasizing the Declaration of Human Rights. Using the Declaration, Mrs. Clinton addresses children's rights issues such as childhood prostitution, child soldier and child poverty.

March 24, 1999

This column discusses The First Lady's visits and observations in Egypt. Social and government programs and their impact on preserving human lives and the 20th anniversary of the historic Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement are included.

Plus Lots on Kosovo

REAL STORIES, REAL PEOPLE (PART 2)

Paul Marshall: Disability Beneficiary

Paul Marshall, a Washington, DC native, had a busy life as a 26-year-old supporting four children. The self-described "galloping gourmet" worked for various restaurants and catering companies around the District. He also was a disc jockey and a maintenance worker. Any free time he spent with his children. This life, however, came to an end on the night of June 26, 1984, when a stray bullet from a robbery struck his spine, severing his spinal cord and leaving him in a wheelchair, a quadriplegic.

He spent two months in the hospital and 2 years in Outpatient Rehabilitation at Medicare's National Rehabilitation Hospital. Besides receiving therapy to help him adjust to his new lifestyle, while a patient at the NRH, Marshall enrolled in a computer class and learned a "one-finger" typing program. This training gave him the skills he needed to gain an internship with Disabled Sports USA, a local non-profit organization. Today, Paul's hard work and determination, along with benefits from Social Security, provide him independence and dignity.

He lives with his mother, who is retired, and by pooling their resources they have a minimally secure living. Thankfully, Paul says, Social Security is a "family program for all ages," because "if it weren't for Social Security and Medicare, we wouldn't be able to survive." Deductions are taken out of his Social Security check each month and sent directly to his children. The remaining \$580 a month that Paul receives from Social Security, along with his mother's Social Security retirement check, covers their basic living

expenses: rent, life insurance, food, utilities, personal items and transportation. Medicare covers both of their healthcare needs. "The only reason I am comfortable now is because my mom is with me," he explains.

Four years ago, disaster struck again, as a young boy accidentally shot Paul's 11-year-old son. Now 16, his son has adjusted well to his disability; he plays wheelchair basketball and attends high school. "I know a lot of young people, a lot younger than I am, living at home in wheel chairs," Paul stated, as he described a recent visit to his old neighborhood in South East Washington, where he says several young people on each block are disabled.

According to Paul, most of their disabilities, like Paul and his son, resulted from gun violence. His thoughts on Social Security reform: "The only thing that it could do better is provide more money or programs such as low income housing."



1997 SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFICIARIES

Social Security paid out a total of \$367 billion in benefits to 44 million people:

4.5 million disabled workers, including Paul Marshall

1.6 million dependents of disabled workers, including Paul's children

27.3 million retired workers, including Paul's mother

Source: Social Security Administration

Paul Marshall testified to a Congressional Democratic Caucus hearing, "Save Social Security First," the same day as Hans Riemer, 2030 Center Director (March 1998).



FAX

Feb. 16, 99

Noa Meyer	Office of the First Lady
<u>3 pages total</u>	456-2581 fax

Here is the information
I mentioned. I'll look
around for more.

My dad, incidentally, was
raised with one income -
Social Security survivors
benefits.

Regards,

HANS

822 6526

P.S. - Tyra Brown
will be in the
audience tomorrow.

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REAL PEOPLE, REAL STORIES (PART 1)

Tyra Brown: Survivors Insurance Beneficiary

Tyra Brown grew up in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. In 1993, she was a 15 year old high school junior and, like most young people, did not think a whole lot about Social Security.



Photo credit: AP

Everything changed that year. Tyra's mother passed away, due to heart disease. This left Tyra in her grandmother's care — and very uncertain about her future. The loss of the family breadwinner was particularly difficult for Tyra — her mother had

earned a middle class income. Moreover, Tyra's grandmother was trying to save for a long retirement.

Social Security was there for them. As with all workers, Tyra's mother and her employer paid FICA. These Social Security contributions covered disability and survivors insurance in addition to a retirement benefit. So, while Tyra's mother never retired, her daughter could count on Social Security survivors' benefits.

The Social Security check that Tyra received each month ensured that they would have the economic security to pick things up and move forward.

Tyra was able to concentrate on school, friends and family, and college applications. Her hard work and determination put her on the path of success. She was accepted to Howard University in Washington, DC — her first choice.

Social Security survivors' benefits, however, were cut off for Tyra when she turned 18. Years ago, Social Security survivors' benefits continued through college to age 21, as part of a "student benefit" that all Social Security dependents were eligible to receive. In 1981, President Reagan successfully ended that benefit in order to pay for his other budgetary priorities.

To supplement Tyra's scholarships and loans, Tyra's grandmother tapped her own retirement savings. Being able to count on Social Security's retirement benefits enabled her to make a crucial investment in Tyra's future.

Now, as Social Security is on the agenda in Congress once again, Tyra is getting involved. "As I pay into Social Security, I want to be sure that it will be there for my retirement or in case of a tragic circumstance — guaranteed," she recently told the President. "I know that Social Security needs to be strengthened...there has to be a way to do it that preserves that vital guarantee."

Tyra urges young people to write the President a letter, meet with a member of Congress, or take other steps to make sure that, this time around, Congress and the President stand up for younger generations.

"Social Security touches millions of lives in America, it has touched mine, and it should be strong for generations to come," she says.

Tyra Brown, an Americorps member, participated in the White House "Women and Retirement Security" forum (October 1998). She was recruited for the event through the 2030 Center's storybank project.

STORIES: WOMEN MAKING A DIFFERENCE

1. Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98

I have seen it (revolution in the world about the roles and voices of women) in Santiago, Chile where I visited a religious institution and listened as a woman told me that when she got her small loan to buy a new high speed sewing machine she felt like a caged bird set free. I have seen it in the faces and activities of women at a housing project outside Cape Town, South Africa. Women who had lived in shanties and shacks as homeless squatters who decided they would take a stand for their own futures, their dignity, and build their own houses and again with the help of a religious institution bought some very scruffy land and began to build.

When I first visited them in 1997 they had 18 homes built and a lot of dreams. But I asked the group of women before me how many thought they would eventually have their own home and every hand was raised. When I took my husband back on our recent trip to Africa there were 140 homes and they had bought the property across the railroad tracks to build 400 more. They had a community center, a day care center and a store and they were letting their voices be heard.

2. Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98

We are seeing women transform from someone who did not believe she had worth, to someone who understands the contribution she could make to her own life, her family and even in her community. In Northern Ireland, Catholic and Protestant women are working side by side to address the root causes of Secretarian violence. I met with the two women leaders of the Women's party in Northern Ireland that actually won a place at the table for peace negotiations. And they recited to me chapter and verse the extraordinary abuse they were subjected to. They had no right to be there as women, they had no contribution to make and yet day after day they showed up and they held their ground and they talked about the issues that were on the minds of women and I remembered very well that when I first went to Belfast meeting with women who told me how they were crossing those Secretarian lines, because they were tired of seeing their husbands, and their fathers, and their sons and their nephews gunned down. And as one woman memorably said, "You cannot fry flags in a pan". And to her that meant all of this violence, all of this prejudice and discrimination were standing in the way of a better life, for her and her family.

3. Vital Voices Speech, 7/11/97

On my visits to Central and Eastern Europe, I have heard the sounds of those voices. I have heard women from many countries articulating their dreams for the world and their lives after communism. Despite the differences between them, everyone seemed to speak the same mother tongue -- the language of freedom and hope. I heard women's voices in Estonia when I visited a clinic that is the first in that country to offer a broad range of health services for women. I heard them in Romania when I met with teachers who are developing a new pedagogy that

emphasizes civic participation and democratic values. I hear them in Ukraine when I met with nurses who had just started their own professional organization. I heard them in Hungary when I visited a center that is helping the minority overcome barriers to education, employment and full participation in Hungarian society. I heard them in the Czech Republic when I met with leaders of non-governmental organizations who are involved in local projects to protect the rights of children and to safeguard the environment. I heard them in Belarus when I spoke with women health professionals struggling to bring quality health care to the critically ill children of Chernobyl. I hear them in Russia when I talked over the radio with listeners throughout the country on a women-owned radio station. I heard the voices of women asking "what do we do now? We are educated; how do we use that education to be part of democracy?" And I heard them in Poland when I sat around a table with women representing different political points of view and participated in one of the most important democratic acts, disagreeing with one another respectfully, as we debated the issues that were important to us. And I heard women's vital voices in Bosnia where I was told by a teacher how she kept trying to keep her students learning despite a horrific war. How I was told by health professionals the struggles they faced treating the wounded and how they were all committed to rebuilding their lives.

4. Vital Voices Speech, 7/11/97

When I am privileged to travel as I do, I always meet with groups of women for informal discussions. Whether I am in Bangladesh, Romania, Poland, Nicaragua, or Chile, I find that women have much more in common that might appear on the surface. And yet I also find that even in those cities where I am meeting with women who represent the academia or the professions or business or politics, they often do not speak to one another. They sometimes do not even know one another. They are surprised to learn what the woman down the street is doing to assist them in their work. We cannot build strong civil societies without working together and creating associations that enable us to make progress on the issues we care about.

5. Lahore Institute of Management Sciences (Pakistan), 3/27/95

A few weeks ago I met with a group of Pakistani-Americans in Washington who wanted to make a concrete contribution to promote the education of girls in this, their homeland. They have decided to endow a scholarship at the Lahore University of Management Sciences. They have secured the funding for the first year of the scholarship and are in the process of establishing an endowment to ensure that every year a woman student, whose family does not have the resources to finance an education here at LUMS, Pakistan will need in the 21st century.

6. Bulgaria/Czech Republic Trip Info.

Ms. Gordana Stojanovic is the President of the Association for Peace in Baranja, Croatia an organization which encourages tolerance and aims to decrease regional tensions. She has spent over three years bringing families back together who were separated by the war. She also acts as a mediator between former colleagues who are trying to reestablish business ties. The association has been able to make a genuine impact on the lives of many Croatians. It has provided legal help and advice to more than 800 people in the region.

*Christy***Participants (all English speaking)**

- **Haiti**

- Nadine Perrault (confirmed)**

Nadine is one of the leading women in Haiti in the area of civic education and rule of law. She is a Vital Voices of the Americas alum. Nadine was involved in setting up the Vital Voices follow-up conference for Haiti last May and is working with women throughout the region to plan for the Vital Voices for the Caribbean in September '99.

Subject: Report from the Vital Voices Haiti conference – May '99 and progress for the Vital Voices of the Caribbean – September '99.

- **Somalia**

- Nasri Hussein Adam (confirmed)**

Nasri is a 29-year-old Somali woman born and raised in Kenya. When war broke out in Somali in 1991, and Nasri was 22 years old, she left her safe job as a bank teller in Kenya to work for peace and demobilization in the coastal trading post of Merqu in Somalia. Working first with women, she joined the IIDA Women's Development Organization, which provided women with education, mediation training and healthcare. Nasri founded the organizations Peace Center. Through the Peace Center she recruited 150 militiamen and persuaded them to trade in their weapons for classes in literacy, technical skills and English in hopes of finding work other than as mercenary soldiers. All 150 militiamen stayed in the program. Many have carried out community work after graduating. She is currently working on projects with Vital Voices partners.

Subject: Vital Voices Africa / Women in Peacekeeping and Armed Conflict

- **Northern Ireland**

- Pearl Sagar (confirmed)**

Pearl Sagar is a founding member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition. She coordinates Vital Voices follow-up activities in Northern Ireland. Last year she was awarded with the OBE for her work in peace building, community development and political leadership.

Subject: Vital Voices of Northern Ireland follow-up projects

- **Italy**

- Maria Grazia Giammarinaro (confirmed)**

Maria is the Director of the Office of Legislation of the Italian Ministry of Equal Opportunity. She is a judge and an expert on trafficking of women. She is currently working with the President's Interagency Council on Women to develop a joint initiative on trafficking between the U.S. government and the Italian Government.

Subject: Vital Voices Trafficking Project

- **Kuwait (not yet confirmed)**

The Amir of Kuwait has recently moved to enfranchise women. After the next election period in February 2000, women in Kuwait will be able to vote and run for elected office for the first time. We are in contact with our embassy in Kuwait to decide which of these

three women could play the most significant role in future Vital Voices activities and Kuwait's changing political climate:

Dr. Fatima Abdalli

On June 2, Fatima became the first woman to deliver the keynote address at the opening of a national assembly candidate's campaign tent.

Dr. Ma'Asouma Mubarak

Ma'Asouma is a political science professor and recently nominated herself to run in the 2003 elections on June 5.

Dr. Rasha al-Sabah

Dr. Rasha al-Sabah is currently a senior level official in Kuwait's Ministry of Education and the most highly ranked women in the Government of Kuwait. Dr. al-Sabah met with the first lady in Washington in December 1997, and the first lady has recently expressed to Dr. al-Sabah her support for Kuwaiti women gaining full political rights.

Subject: Vital Voices - Kuwait Women's Political and Leadership Training Project

- **Nigeria (not yet confirmed)**

Hafsat Abiola,

Hafsat is Executive Director, Kudirat Initiative for Democracy and the daughter of the first democratic president elect of Nigeria. After the death of her parents Hafsat founded KIND to carry out the work of her parents to build a strong democratic society in Nigeria and throughout Africa. Her work focuses on youth, human rights and democracy. Hafsat is a Vital Voices of Northern Ireland

Subject: Vital Voices Africa, Trafficking Project in Nigeria, and Emerging Vital Voices Project

- **Bulgaria or Lithuania (not yet confirmed)**

Bulgaria

Dr. Maria Slavova

Maria is a Vital Voices Vienna Alum and the Chair of the Bulgarian National Vital Voices Club, which was formed as a follow-up to the Vienna Vital Voices.

Subject: Vital Voices Vienna Follow-up

Lithuania

Vilija Aleknaite-Abramikiene, Member of Parliament

Ms. Aleknaite-Abramikiene is a Vital Voices Vienna Alum. She was a leader of the reform movement and is now in her second term in Parliament. She plays a major role in the Lithuanian government and is an expert in the areas of political transition, governance, civil society and pluralism.

Subject: Vital Voices Vienna Follow-up

- **Tunisia**

- Leyla Khaiat (not yet confirmed)**

- Leyla is the President of The National Chamber for Women Business Owners. This international organization brings together over 30,000 women business owners from over 30 countries. Mrs. Clinton sent a message of encouragement to the Chamber's annual conference this year. She a crucial Vital Voices link for future VV activities in North Africa.

- **Argentina (confirmed)**

- *The following women are Vital Voices of the Americas Alumni. One would be selected to join the roundtable. All are leaders in their country for their work in civic education and rule of law:

- Maria Rosa De Martini**

- Silvia Uranga**

- Monique Thiteux Altschul**

- **Indonesia or China (not yet confirmed)**

- Indonesia**

- A labor leader from Indonesia who started the first labor union there and has been working with AFL-CIO, a Vital Voices partner

- Subject: Vital Voices activities in Asia**

- China**

- A Chinese woman who participated in the First Lady's roundtable in China June '98 and participated I the recent USIA China visitors exchange program.

- Subject: Vital Voices activities in Asia**

- *The following CIVITAS participants have not yet linked with Vital Voices but they have been working with Vital Voices partners in the U.S. and elsewhere. We would like to pull them in to future Vital Voices activities. All have been recommended to us as English speaking and could fill in as if necessary:

AFRICA

- **Tanzania**

- Margaret Sitta**

- Works with a legal rights NGO in Tanzania.

- Subject: Vital Voices Africa**

- **Kenya**

- Grace Githu**

- Subject: Vital Voices Africa**

- **South Africa**
Iona Tip
Subject: Vital Voices Africa

EASTERN EUROPE

- **Moldova**
Corina Mihaela Leca
Works with a legal education and human rights NGO in Moldova.
Subject: Vital Voices Vienna follow-up activities

THE AMERICAS

- **Bolivia**
Nardi Suco
Works on conflict resolution in Bolivia
Subject: Vital Voices of the Americas follow-up activities
- **Brazil**
Ina Quang
Works a various democracy projects in Brazil
Subject: Vital Voices of the Americas follow-up activities
- **Colombia**
Clara Fonnegra
Works on justice, corruption, and legal issues in Colombia
Subject: Vital Voices of the Americas follow-up activities

STORIES: EDUCATION

1

1. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98; Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

A young woman from New Delhi who gave me a poem she had written about why it (education) was so important, that she being the first young woman in her family ever to go on to college, had that opportunity. It was one of the most moving descriptions of what we mean when we talk about women's voices. Here is what she wrote:

"Too many women in too many countries, speak the same language of silence. There must be freedom if we are to speak and there must be power if we are to be heard. Those of us who have freedom and power must give voice to those who cannot speak, for as long as women are valued less, fed last, over worked, underpaid, non schooled, subjected to violence, the potential of all of us to be God's children, to contribute to a peaceful and prosperous world will not be realized."

2. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98*

In Senegal, I visited a small village, where education for girls and women's adult literacy programs, have been the first steps in helping the village understand how it could work together to create more prosperity. How it could take five pectars of barren land and turn it into an oasis of green growing crops that could not only support the village, but be sold in the marketplace.

3. *USAID Girls Education Conference, 5/7/98*

In Bangladesh, I visited a school run by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, an NGO that believes that education -- especially girls' education -- is a precondition for economic development. Because of that belief, some of the BRAC schools have burned by extremist groups. But the schools keep being rebuilt. And the families keep sending their children to attend.

4. *USAID Girls Education Conference, 5/7/98; Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

In Bangladesh, I saw where the government is attempting to provide incentives for families to keep their daughters in school. The families get food each week if they send their children, particularly their girls, to school. And, to help give girls the chance to go to secondary school, the government actually deposits a small amount of money in a family bank account, as long as the daughters attend school.

5. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98; Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

I have seen the results of President Museveni's promise of Universal Primary Education in Uganda. I have been in classrooms that are absolutely filled with children; 70, 75, 80 third graders. A very big challenge to any teacher. But instead of feeling frustrated the teachers I have met have been proud. Proud because children are coming to school, and everyone is working very hard to create the materials and train the additional teachers to meet this challenge, but the overwhelming pride that is felt because for the first time, more girls than boys are attending school.

6. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98*

 In Guatemala, the government and the Foundation for Sugar Producers teamed up to offer small scholarships to girls in rural schools. Because they do that, among the first and second grades, the drop out rate for girls in those schools was only one percent -- compared to 30 percent nationwide. In another Guatemalan program, afternoon school sessions have been introduced to accommodate girls who must carry out domestic and agricultural work in the mornings.

7. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98*

In Malawi, the villagers were not only asked why girls aren't attending school . . . they were asked to come up with solutions. And they performed plays and skits, they waived school fees, they took responsibility for enrolling girls in school, and as a result the enrollment increased from 50 to 83 percent.

8. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98*

In the Community Schools Program in Egypt, the number of girls enrolled in school increased from 2,000 to 35,000 because schools were located closer to homes, making them safer and more accessible. The curriculum was designed so that it was culturally appropriate and approved by village leaders. And girls were trained to be sure that they were understanding of how important this gift of education was, and parents were asked to become actively involved as well.

9. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98; Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

I remember so well being in a small village, about 40 minutes outside Labor, Pakistan. Where I visited a school that had been built, to give the girls in that area primary education. I sat out in the courtyard in front of the school, and talked with mothers of children who attended. One mother told me about her 10 children -- 5 girls and 5 boys. Her worry was that she had sent her children to school, to primary school, and when her boys graduated from primary school they had gone on. They had gone to the nearest secondary school continuing their education. But when her daughters finished the village school, there were no secondary schools nearby for girls. And she was not willing to send her daughters off alone to attend a school far away. So she

asked me, and she asked all the officials who were with me, if they could please have a secondary school built for girls in their village.

10. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98*

In South Africa I visited a school in Soeto, where there were not enough teachers, where there were many children, now coming back into the schools with the end of apartheid, and where they were attempting to teach as many children as possible English. So they were using tape recordings that the teacher could monitor, but individual students could work with.

11. *Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

I am particularly grateful that I had a youth minister in those long ago years who took it as part of his mission to tell this group of white suburban kids from a middle class suburb that there was a bigger world outside, one that they may not see on a day to day basis but would surely effect how they lived their lives in the future. He even arranged for us to go down to Chicago and have youth exchanges with children in African American churches and Hispanic churches. We discussed civil rights and other controversial issues and one of the highlights of my early teenage years was being taken by that minister along with members of our youth group to hear Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. speak in Chicago. He was constantly challenging us and telling us that we had to stretch, that if we were going to be Christians we had to understand what that meant in the fullest possible meaning. I certainly remember clearly the challenges that I faced in trying to put that into action.

12. *Remarks at Salzburg Seminar, 7/14/97*

It became clear to us, starting as early as the late 1950's, that education was never a finished enterprise. I remember very well when I was in grade school when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, before most of you were born. And when Sputnik went into the skies, our government decided we were not doing a very good job preparing our children for math and science education. And I remember very well my teacher telling us as young students we had to study harder because our President needed us to. Now, I was not particularly interested in math and science at the age of ten, but because it kept being told to me that this was something I could do for my country and my President, I tried my best. And through the years, I have seen over and over again how there comes a point in our country's history that we have to pull together and take a hard look at education. That what worked for earlier generations of Americans is no longer adequate for our children and certainly for the children that will come after.

13. *Council on Foreign Relation 3/19/96*

When I was in Bangladesh, I visited a school run by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, a non-governmental organization that acts on the theory that education is a precondition for economic development. Some of the BRAC schools, which primarily serve girls, have been burned by extremist groups protesting the role of NGOs promoting change.

In some rural areas, there simply are no schools nearby and parents are understandably reluctant to send their daughters far from home. I visited a village outside of Lahore, Pakistan, that had recently built a primary school. But as one mother told me, her five daughters had no hopes of schooling beyond the primary level because the only secondary school was too far away. There was no question, however, that her sons would attend.

STORIES: HEALTH

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1. *Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98; World Health Assembly 5/14/98; World Health Day, The World Bank, 4/7/98*

In Senegal, I met in 1997 with women and men who were learning about democracy and the role that one's voice plays in democracy. And I went out to a village and sat and talked with these, primarily women, but with some supportive men, about what they were doing with their new found sense of empowerment. And they told me they were creating health services for their families, and they were trying to get a closer school so their children could attend more easily and cheaply. And they told me also that they were concerned about the ancient practice known as female genital mutilation or female circumcision. Although it affects less than 20% of the women in Senegal, in many villages it was considered a right of passage.

During the year since I was in Africa the first time, I began getting correspondence from women in some of the villages who were talking to me about what they could do about this ancient practice. And I remember telling them, and writing them, that they should think of it as a health issue, that it would damage, and they knew it would, their daughter's lives, perhaps even kill them.

And so when I went back this time, again with my husband, to Senegal, I learned that one village had actually voted, with women's voices leading the way, to end the practice. And that men who had supported the women in the village, who were freer to travel than the women, had traveled from village to village. Among the things they took was a letter I had written them on White House stationary commending them for their study of this issue and they went from village to village and they performed skits and they talked about why they should stop this practice. So that by the end of 1997 there were about 13 villages that had voted to stop the practice and in February the President of Senegal said that he would advocate a law banning it.

When I went back, I met with women from the village where it had all started. They showed me a skit they had used to educate their religious leaders, their neighbors, and their husbands. And one sixty-six year old man who had been one of those who traveled from place to place proudly stood up and said he had studied the Koran and there was nothing in it about this practice. And he felt very empowered to go from village to village telling them they had to stop it in order to save the lives and the futures of their girls.

2. *World Health Assembly, 5/14/98*

In Bolivia, I visited with expectant mothers at a primary health center run by an NGO with support from the government. They had created a safe place for very poor women to come and get health care. The women -- with their ruddy faces and bowler hats -- were receiving prenatal checkups and having their infant immunized on the day that I visited. They were also learning about family planning and how to space births so they could more likely have their children survive, and themselves.

3. *World Health Assembly, 5/14/98; World Health Day, The World Bank, 4/7/98*

At a small clinic in Nepal I saw a safe home-delivery kit that is given to expectant mothers. Inside is a bar of soap, twine, wax, a plastic sheet, and a razor blade. Its purpose is to reduce the two major causes of maternal and neonatal death -- tetanus and sepsis -- by promoting the "three cleans" principle -- clean hands, clean surfaces, clean umbilical care. These kits are made locally by a micro enterprise owned by women. And these kits, as well as the entire Safe Motherhood Initiative, teach us about the importance of investing in prevention.

4. *Remarks to Women of the Philippines, 11/24/96*

I have seen for myself the pioneering work being done to improve conditions for women in the Philippines. I had the chance when I was here before to tour the Fabella hospital, where innovative, low-cost techniques are used to help new mothers bond with and breast-feed their infants. When it comes to giving women and children the right start in life, the hospital is a model for the world.

5. *First Ladies Symposium, 12/10/94*

My friend, Elizabeth Gleaser, died last weekend after losing a long battle with AIDS. Elizabeth contracted HIV through a blood transfusion while hemorrhaging during the delivery of her first child Ariel. Unbeknownst to her, her daughter, and then a son born later, also contracted the virus. When Elizabeth learned that she and her children had been infected with HIV, she dedicated herself to raising awareness about AIDS. From a small office in Los Angeles, she created the Pediatric AIDS Foundation, which has raised over \$30 million since its founding in 1988. Elizabeth often said she was motivated and strengthened by the memory of her daughter, who died four years ago at the age of seven. Her son, now 10, lives with HIV every day. If Elizabeth could continue to contribute so much on behalf of her children throughout her own illness, I know we can make our own contributions too.

6. *Czech Republic/Bulgaria Trip Info.*

Diana Szijarto, a nurse at a planning clinic in Timisoara in Romania participated in a Reproductive Health Training Program at the Center for International Community Health Studies at the University of Connecticut. Since her return, Ms. Szijarto has been hard at work meeting with officials and making impressive changes to the available services in reproductive health in Timisoara. She has joined efforts with the local health department to plan a training course for nurses, like herself, in family planning. She brought a copy of the book "Our Bodies, Our Selves" back with her from her training program and plans to use it as a supplement in the training course. The first sessions of the course are currently being offered.

Yemen } tape d

7. *Remarks to the Council on Foreign Relations, 3/19/96*

In Salvador Da Bahia in Brazil, I visited a maternity hospital that also cares for women who have tried to induce abortions themselves, a tragically common occurrence there. I saw classrooms throughout the hospital displaying charts and diagrams of the most basic reproductive information. The hospital also provides family planning services. The Minister of Health told me that he hoped to extend this USAID supported program to rural areas in the region. Even here, in a predominantly Catholic country, there is a growing recognition that family planning saves lives.

8. *Remarks to the Council on Foreign Relations, 3/19/96*

In Sri Lanka, women have had the right to vote for the better part of this century and enjoy greater access to education than their counterparts elsewhere in South Asia. Not surprisingly, Sri Lanka also has the region's best health care system and lower maternal mortality rates than many wealthier nations.

9. *National Geographic, 10/98*

To help improve health care, BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) has founded clinics throughout the country. "Many more women want contraceptives now," said Mergine Khatun, a village health worker in Mymensingh district. "They see that if a mother has fewer children, she can give them better care. And her health will be better." What if a conservative Muslim leader tells Mergina that contraception is against the will of God? "I say that God also told us to be responsible for our families."

Stories: Democracy

1. *Remarks at City Hall (Poland), 7/2/96*

I met with a courageous editor of one of Poland's most important journals, Jerzy Turowicz, who kept ideas alive when ideas were dangerous to hold. Without, the bold efforts of people like him, there might have been no public discourse, no vocabulary for independent thought during the dark years of communism. I met with a Nobel-prize winning poet Czeslaw Milosz who spoke for captive nations and peoples in an era of totalitarian rule, ensuring that the story of their lives would never go untold.

2. *Radio Free Europe, 4/4/96*

Secretary (then Ambassador) Albright has told me the story of how in 1995, during the 50th anniversary celebration of the end of World War II, she visited the lands of western Bohemia, lands that were liberated by American troops in 1945. In every town and village she visited, the Czech people were waving American flags -- flags with 48 stars. The American troops had passed out the flags a half a century ago, when America had only 48 states. And these men and women in the Czech countryside had preserved those flags, held on to them year after year of Soviet domination.

3. *Central Asian Conference on Women in Politics, Almaty, Kazakhstan, November 12, 1997*

Since I arrived yesterday, I have already seen firsthand what women and young people are doing to transform this country. Last night, I talked with young people from the Kazakhstan Association of Young Leaders who are teaching each other about civic participation in a democracy. I remember one young man in particular, who told me that a few years back he thought he could never make a difference. Now, after learning the skills of democracy and working with other young people, he says, "I can see how much I can do."

4. *Ivan Franko Opera and Ballet L'viv, Ukraine November 18, 1997*

Governments cannot be serious about democracy unless they recognize and work with non-governmental organizations. Yesterday I saw citizens of this city building a civil society. I stood with thousands of people at the new Memorial Honoring Victims of Communist repression. This memorial was erected not by the government. It was a gift of the victims of communism, their families, and private organizations. They didn't have to do this but they did.

5. *Ivan Franko Opera and Ballet, L'viv, Ukraine, November 18, 1997*

I visited a health clinic filled with children balanced between life and death, infants born prematurely, some critically ill. But for their cries, these children have no voice. They cannot compel someone to come to their aid. Yet doctors, nurses, parents, and communities, from both Ukraine and the United States, chose to do so. As one mother told me, doctors and nurses she didn't even know saved her child's life. They didn't have to do this. Ukrainian and American nurses and doctors didn't have to work together but they did. I stood in the beautifully restored Gilad Synagogue, where citizens can once again worship freely. There the rabbi told me what it

meant to open a Jewish school after so many years of unspeakable hardship. It had given him faith that the community would survive. The community didn't have to do this for its children but it did. I stood in the magnificent renovated St. George's Cathedral. For too many years, the faith of the people whom I met had been driven underground. The congregation prayed in hidden places; the beautiful symbols of their faith were hidden away in cellars and attics. Today, the members of St. George's practice their religion in the clear light of day. They are using their faith not only to worship as they please, but also to reach out to others whom society pushed away, such as children with disabilities. The people of St. George's didn't have to do this but they did.

6. Remarks to the Women of Australia, November 21, 1996

I've met women throughout the world who have seized this moment to make their voices heard on behalf of themselves and democracy's values. I have met women in Northern Ireland – Catholics and Protestants – who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa – black and whites – who helped lead these struggles to end apartheid. I have met women in Bosnia – Croats, Serbs and Muslims – who are transcending long-standing ethnic hatreds to keep the peace in that war-torn land. I have met women in Russia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, the Baltic region and in Mongolia who are leading the effort to build democratic governments, free market economies and civil society from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South America who are joining forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. And I have met women in South and East Asia who are working to provide economic opportunity for the poorest of the poor through small loans and credit.

I have met women in my own country who have come together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and the environment cleaner. And just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are enriching this nation through their contributions to politics, law, science, education, the arts, journalism and so much else.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But most are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles.

They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and to make their voices heard. They and faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they were not going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

7. Remarks at Radio Nadezhda – Moscow, Russia 5/10/95

Radio Nadezhda also plays a very special role for women and families. Around the world, it is common for issues of concern to women, such as health care, education, and children, to be dismissed as marginal or unrelated to larger questions about economic growth. But I believe that so-called women's issues are central to the economic and political challenges that every nation faces today.

...

Beyond giving women a voice, Radio Nadeshda also conveys the Russian people's commitment

to democracy. To make democracy work, citizens must be informed, and they must participate. And they must rely on a responsible news media to educate them as voters, decision makers, and opinion – makers.

8. *Prague – Radio Free Europe – 7/4/96*

This itself is an emblem of the political, economic and social transformations that have taken place in central Europe. ... Ask anyone who fought for liberty in Central Europe during the Cold War and they will tell you that Radio Free Europe was like a member of the family. I have heard of men and women who always placed their radios in front of a certain window or on one side of the house where the signal was the strongest. I have talked to men and women who, for years, arranged their daily schedules around Radio Free Europe's broadcasts. President Havel has said that he and other Czech dissidents relied on Radio Free Europe to share their ideas with their countrymen and women. Were it not for Radio free Europe, he has said, he might have spent more years in prison.

...

I met with teachers in Romania who are developing a new pedagogy that emphasizes civic participation and democratic values. I met doctors and nurses caring for children with AIDS and leaders of voluntary organizations who are training citizens to participate in elections. In Poland I met leaders of non governmental organizations who are helping citizens protect the environment, improve health services, promote women's rights and strengthen the free press. ... And the third lesson is that democratic values must be steeped into our daily lives. President Woodrow Wilson, whose name graces the railway station and a boulevard near here [radio free Europe headquarters], once said that "liberty does not consist in mere declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite actions."

9. *Bosnian Civic Teachers - Washington DC – 8/2/96*

I remember being so struck when I went out to outposts and visited Camp Alicia and Camp Bedrock. When the helicopter landed and I looked out and I saw American soldiers and I saw men and women, black and brown and white faces and I met these young people I heard every accent you can imagine from the Bronx to south LA and you could hear everything there and you could see everything there. It was as much of anything they were doing to keep the chance of peace alive – their example of what it means to be citizens of democracy where people can cooperate and take diversity as a strength, not as a weakness.

10. *Zappeion Conference Center 3/29/96*

And [when at the Acropolis] I was remembering the words of Pericles in his famous funeral oration of 431 BC when he talked about the values of democratic society. "We have a form of government, he said, that does not try to imitate the laws of our neighboring states. We are more an example to others than they to us. In a name it is called democracy because it is managed not for a few people but for the majority.

...

A few days ago I was in Bosnia visiting American troops in Tuzla who, along with soldiers from many other nations, including Greece, are part of NATO's peace keeping mission. There, I saw what happens to a society when the democratic ideal is lost – when people lose their sense of common humanity, when they are denied their rights as citizens to express their opinions and

practice their religion freely, when tolerance, civility and respect give way to repression, hatred and violence.

11. *National University of Mongolia* 9/7/95

This country has transformed itself from a one-party communist dictatorship into a pluralistic political system. You have done so with quiet and courageous determination. Although it is not widely known in my country, the Mongolian people yearned so strongly for democracy that a movement began with demonstrations in sub zero temperatures and culminated with the resignation of the Politburo, the legalization of other Parties and the writing of a new constitution. Clearly the Mongolian people take the privileges of democracy and freedom seriously. I learned before coming here that about 90 percent of voters cast ballots here, and many have to travel great distances to do so. That voting rate is higher than in many older democracies, including my own.

12. *Fifth Conference of Wives of Heads of State and of Governments of the Americas, Asuncion, Paraguay* 10/16/95

I then traveled on to Salvador da Bahia where an extraordinary effort is underway to channel the potential energy of thousands of street children. One program I saw was a circus in which the performers were children, some as young as eight who had been recruited off the streets where they lived. They were not being trained for circus jobs; their performances were merely a vehicle for learning the value of discipline, teamwork, and hard work. Along the way, these children develop confidence, self esteem and pride in their accomplishments. Part of a program called PROJECT Axe, they also receive schooling and vocational training, as well as counseling to reunite them with their families. I asked one 15 year old boy who had been with the project since it began five years ago, whether it had made a difference in his life. If not for the project, he said "I would be dead or in prison right now."

...

A few days ago, in Santiago, Mrs. Frei took me to a school that embodies the Chilean commitment to building an educational system for the future. I saw boys and girls busy working on computers hooked up to the internet. I learned from the Minister of Education that schools may begin to keep their doors open on Saturdays and Sundays to accommodate the children of working parents who have no alternatives for child care, and for children who wish to acquire new skills for themselves.

...

I have even seen it in my own country, where poor women at a project called Mi Casa in Denver Colorado have banded together to take out small loans to help themselves. And they told me very directly how difficult it is for women even in the United States to have access to credit. One woman said: "Too many great ideas die in the parking lots of banks

But all over this hemisphere women are overcoming these obstacles. In Nicaragua, which I visited at the beginning of my trip, I saw how hard President Chamorro has worked to strengthen democratic institutions and promote a market economy. And I met thirty women from a very poor barrio in Managua who run a bank in their neighborhood, borrowing small sums of money to start their own businesses, to start a bakery, to make mosquito netting, to be a seamstress.

15. *University of Amsterdam* 5/27/97
16. *Capetown, South Africa* 3/20/97
17. *University of Louisville, Kentucky* 4/24/97
18. *City Year in Rhode Island* 6/3/97
19. *Make a Difference in Arlington, Virginia* 5/1/97
20. *University of Zurich, Switzerland* 1/31/98

Civil Society and Democracy as seen in “Talking it Over”

September 3, 1995

The U.S. will be sending a delegation of 45 women and men to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Although the delegation and the conference as a whole are made up of citizens from diverse backgrounds, each member has the same concerns: access to child care, education, jobs and credit, the chance to enjoy basic legal and human rights, and the opportunity to participate politically. It is necessary for American women to get involved in this conference because the U.S. has played a leading role in the protection of human rights and the empowering of women. – With discussion in September 10, 1995

September 16, 1995

This week, for the first time ever, Mrs. Clinton was not there when Chelsea began the school year. Instead, she was visiting Mongolia, where she saw how difficult the transition to democracy can be, particularly for the nation’s children who suffer because there is not enough funding for education or health care.

November 12, 1995

In this column, Mrs. Clinton expresses her sorrow over the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. After signing a peace treaty with Jordan and Palestine, he was criticized for dealing with former enemies and extremists used this division to increase their own support. She is disgusted that citizens of democratic countries choose violence to bring about political change.

December 9, 1995

Recounting her trip to Northern Ireland, Mrs. Clinton tells the story of Joyce McCartan. After the murder of her son, McCartan founded a neighborhood information center and began to work for peace, inspiring many other women to join her. Both Protestant and Catholic women have realized that they share the same grief, and they have become a driving force behind the peace process.

February 3, 1996

Mrs. Clinton celebrates the efforts of Americans performing relief work in the former

Yugoslavia, highlighting a joint project undertaken by the Catholic Relief Services and the International Orthodox Christian Charities. This is the first time these religious groups have worked together, and their project provides hope that people in Bosnia as well can get along.

April 2, 1996

Mrs. Clinton discusses her visits to Bosnia, ravaged by war; Turkey, which has a long history of religious tolerance; and Greece, birthplace of Western civilization and the Olympic Games. The Olympics, the First Lady explains, tie all of these nations--and, in fact, all the nations of the global family--together, and help nations build bridges of friendship.

July 2, 1996

Mrs. Clinton notes what an appropriate place Central Europe is to spend the Fourth of July, a celebration of freedom. Discussing the new birth of democracy in the region, She mentions the important things she has already seen in Romania, Poland, and the Czech Republic, and notes that she will soon visit Slovakia, Hungary, and Estonia.

July 9, 1996

Mrs. Clinton talks about the various countries she visited in Central Europe and the Baltic Region, noting the various signs of democracy at work there. The United States, through the government, the private sector, and non-governmental organizations, is supporting many local efforts in these countries and creating an alliance of shared values.

September 3, 1996

Mrs. Clinton praises the Seeds of Peace program which brings together boys and girls from Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Qatar, Tunisia, and Kuwait who show potential for leadership and diplomacy. By spending time together, these children learn to overcome stereotypes and work for a brighter future.

November 19, 1996

Mrs. Clinton is visiting Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand to see what has been done to improve conditions for women and promote their involvement in civic life. She speaks of the leadership of Australia in this field, granting suffrage to women two decades before the U.S., having universal health care, and efforts to stop domestic violence.

May 13, 1997

After attending summits in Central America, the First Lady discusses the micro credit loans available in these democratic countries. Because micro credit gives opportunity for economic participation, there are many examples of women who have succeeded in earning a living through various means. The President launched an initiative to expand micro credit projects in the Caribbean. To highlight the U.S. commitment to human rights in Latin America, the Secretary of State and the First Lady visited the Institute for Human Rights.

July 15, 1997

During her visit to Austria earlier in the week, the First Lady attended the conference "Vital Voices: Women and Democracy," where women from Central and Eastern Europe gathered to discuss the barriers they face and strategies for furthering democracy. Although Austria's future was uncertain after WWII, the Marshall Plan and the Salzburg Seminar helped secure peace and democracy.

November 4, 1997

The First Lady discusses the strength of the women in Northern Ireland, like Joyce McCatan, who worked together as Protestants and Catholics to bring peace. In spite of religious conflicts, these women and many young people have come together to demand political action to advance the important issues of health care, education, job training, and peace.

November 25, 1997

In celebrating Thanksgiving, Mrs. Clinton recognizes the democratic and economic progress that the countries of the former Soviet Union have made. Young people, women, and non-governmental organizations have been working hard to implement reforms. With the help of the United States, these countries are on their way to becoming full democracies.

February 3, 1998

After speaking in Davos, Switzerland at the World Economic Forum, the First Lady discusses the Swiss commitment to democracy. For example, the Children's Parliament, made up of 8- to 14-year-olds, follows parliamentary rule and meets weekly to debate issues and allocate funds. The First Lady supports Swiss efforts to help the survivors of the Holocaust and stresses the importance of investing in women all over the world to build a strong civil society.

July 1, 1998

Describes the challenges facing Chinese women which Mrs. Clinton saw up-close on her trip. Though the Chinese economy is growing, women are often held back by illiteracy and a lack of legal rights and services. Micro credit programs and new ventures can make an enormous difference in improving the lives of these women.

December 8, 1998

This column discusses Eleanor Roosevelt and her legacy of contributions emphasizing the Declaration of Human Rights. Using the Declaration, Mrs. Clinton addresses children's rights issues such as childhood prostitution, child soldier and child poverty.

March 24, 1999

This column discusses The First Lady's visits and observations in Egypt. Social and government programs and their impact on preserving human lives and the 20th anniversary of the historic Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement are included.

Plus Lots on Kosovo

Excerpts from prominent egyptians

MUSTAFA KAMEL: (Nationalist Leader)

"If I had not been born an Egyptian, I would wish to be one."

AHMAD SHAWQI: (Renowned Writer & Poet)

-- "Wise Prose Sayings":

- 1- He who oppresses with a rightful weapon will be oppressed with a wrongful weapon
- 2- Doomed to perdition is a nation that by an individual survives and dies
- 3- A wise man while not forgetting life is mindful of death
- 4- Right will never fade in a nation as long as it has a single man alive.

-- On mothers: "Mothers are schools, if well learned, you will have a prosperous strong cultured nation."

HAFEZ IBRAHIM (Renowned Poet)

-- On Egypt's greatness: "The entire world stood to watch how we build the cornerstones of greatness alone."

*** taha^{man} hussain: (Renowned Writer)**

Ta-Ha Hussain

-- On the importance of Education: "knowledge is like water and air."

-- On his writings: "To those burning with their yearning for justice; to those rendered sleepless by their fear of injustice; to those and those together, I direct those words; to those who have what they do not spend, and to those who do not have anything to spend, are these words directed."

GAMAL HEMDAN: (Renowned Writer, Researcher)

-- On Egypt: "If it is right to say that Egypt has Pharaonic roots and Arab origin, thus the roots and the origin came from the same source. The Arabs are the biological father of the Egyptians. Also, they had arabized the culture of Egypt. Egypt is the pioneer of the Arabs. Egypt can not abandon such a position nor deny this fact."

-- On the moderate nature of Egypt: "Egypt is in the center of continents, oceans, cultures, and civilizations."

-- On Egypt's leadership: "Nature has given Egypt all the leader qualities, as it locates in the center of Asia and Africa, thus it is naturally the leader of the Arab world."

grade classroom instruction. USAID has worked to involve local communities in school decision-making and they have supported initiatives from civil society for girls' education.

For the May 1998 Girls' Education conference in Washington D.C., USAID sponsored a delegation of fourteen Moroccan officials (including the Minister of National Education Moulay Ismail Alaoui, --*First Lady to look at Minister Alaoui who will be at the stage with her and say something like : "who I had the honor to meet in Errachidia the first day of my stay in Morocco, when I visited a school in Rich"*; members of his staff, and representatives of the private sector, NGO's and the media). Most of the members of this delegation are here today and this group has been involved in the development of the scope for today's conference. This conference is an outcome of the group's determination in Washington that there is a need for education partnerships in Morocco.

Related Success Stories/Examples

1. When I was in Errachidia, I saw how the community has worked together to build a well for the school and to introduce literacy classes for mothers. Community participation is critical for the success of education.
2. One of your largest banks, Wafabank, has set up a civil participation program of "One School, One Branch". They established a school support board for a school in a poor Casablanca neighborhood, to assess the school's infrastructure, pedagogical, and management needs.
3. Your Moroccan Bank for External Commerce (BMCE) has launched its commitment to build 100 schools per year in support of education in rural Morocco.
4. Nestlé has provided financial assistance to NGOs in support of in-formal education thus giving those children who were left out from the formal system a chance to access education.
5. Some of your NGOs have come together to find creative solutions to problems facing rural schools. They solicited and received funding from the Japanese, Canadian, and British Embassies to rehabilitate the infrastructure of several rural schools so that boys and girls can learn in a more comfortable environment.
6. After Saida Drissi Amrani, a teacher of French, participated in a USAID funded training program for NGOs, she returned to Kelaat M'gouna in the Ouarzazate convinced of the importance of eradicating illiteracy among the Berber speaking women of the her village. She briefed the president of the local commune, disseminated information in the village on the upcoming literacy training for women, and applied and received permission from the local Ministry of National Education delegation to use the village school for literacy training. On the first day of the training, only two women showed up. By the fourth day, Saida had 80 participants in

Local Millennium Examples

- Also see Handbook
for these examples
fleshed out.

Wyandotte, Michigan

Among the plans of the Wyandotte Millennium Committee to mark this historic moment is the dedication of the "Wyandott Indian Family Statue" along the town waterfront to honor the area's first inhabitants.

Phone (734) 324-4506

Fax (734) 324-4552

Allentown, Pennsylvania

The Allentown Millennium Year 2000 Committee sponsored a contest to create a theme for the city's celebrations. Ads for the contest ran in the local papers to promote greater public awareness and community support for millennium events and activities. The final theme chosen is "Embrace Our Heritage - Envision Our Future." One of the city's projects will be a special millennium contest in which a college scholarship will be awarded to a young woman in the area.

Phone (610) 432-6881

Fax (610) 432-7853

Naperville, Illinois

Naperville residents are planning Celebration 2000, a celebration of community and life. Over 150 people in the community are involved in the development and implementation of the three-day project, which will begin with a city wide ecumenical prayer breakfast. The breakfast will be followed by a series of events including a theatrical performance entitled, "One Community, One World" marking a thousand years of dance, music and famous individuals. As a legacy to the community a labyrinth will be installed in the floor of the town's Riverwalk amphitheater to provide a quiet spot for spiritual renewal and contemplation.

Phone (630) 369-0423

Fax (630) 548-1726

Woodbury, New Jersey

The town of Woodbury has a millennium project in the works that will link the city to its English roots. In the spring of 2000 a 112-foot replica of a 1725 brig, the Phoenix, will retrace the historic voyage of Henry Wood, the man credited with founding Woodbury. Wood, a Quaker from Bury, England, sailed to America at the age of 80, after repeatedly being jailed for his religious beliefs. On July 1, 2000 the new ship's crew, partly made up of young people from Bury and Woodbury, will arrive in Woodbury Creek for a week long millennium celebration.

Phone (609) 854-1300

Fax (609) 854-1309

Ocean County, New Jersey

Ocean County will publish a history of the county, "Ocean County: Four Centuries in the Marking," which will be presented to the community at a special ceremony on February 15, 2000, to mark the county's sesquicentennial and the new millennium. The county is also planning to publish a children's coloring book that will highlight places and events of historic significance to the area.

Phone (732) 929-4779

Fax (732) 506-5000

McKeesport, Pennsylvania

McKeesport's mayor has organized a Millennium Committee to develop the town's projects and events. Among the plans under consideration are a Community Clock to symbolize time past and time future, a reunion of all McKeesport High School classes during the 1900's and a special publication recounting the area's past and projecting ideas for its future.

Phone (412) 675-5020

Fax (412) 675-5049

Hendersonville, Tennessee

Hendersonville's project for the millennium is the dredging of Drakes Creek, the city's focal point. The four-mile long creek, which was once a popular fishing spot and swimming hole where residents met and children played, is now full of sediment and debris. Geese, ducks and cranes make their home in the surrounding area. The completion of the restoration project will improve the aquatic environment, provide an ideal fish habitat and restore the beauty of the area.

Phone (615) 822-1000

Fax (615) 264-5327

Westport, Connecticut

Westport, Connecticut, population 25,000, demonstrates how a small town can make big plans for the millennium. A group of civic minded volunteers has gotten together to plan activities around the historic event. The initial list of 42 committee members has grown to more than 70 and the projects keep growing as the excitement mounts for projects celebrating Westport's rich history of civic and artistic involvement. Among the projects underway are a Community Gift Catalogue, which will list items needed by the town that people can donate, digitizing the town's archives and preserving and cataloging the art in town buildings.

Phone (203) 226-4948 ext. 2000

Fax (203) 227-2767

Web: <http://tmn.com/~westport>

Alaska Federation of Natives

To empower its community and its children for the new millennium, the Alaska Federation of Natives will journey in the following directions: hold an extensive series of discussions and visioning efforts with Native communities and leaders throughout Alaska; encourage all Native, ethnic, and geographical groups to participate; draw on the wisdom of Native elders and the enthusiasm and idealism of Native youth; and, set clear and attainable goals.

Phone (907) 274-3611

Fax (907) 276-7989

Burlington, Vermont

The City of Burlington is using the millennium as an action forcing deadline to look at the long term sustainability of their community. They are putting together a grant application with the Vermont Based Institute for Sustainable Institutions for sustainable communities. Their goal is to use the grant to develop a long-term plan to ensure Burlington's environment, democracy etc. are sustained into the future. They will use these planning document to lead their way into the new millennium.

www.ci.Burlington.VT.us

Phone (802) 865-7272 Fax (802) 865-7024

Rockford, Illinois

Plans are underway for Rockford, IL to commemorate the millennium in meaningful ways. "Rockford 2000 -- A Tapestry of Possibilities" is a year-long celebration which focuses on Rockford's passage into the millennium, highlighting their rich history and heritage, while exploring possibilities for their community's future. They are planning a "First Night" New Year's eve celebrations in 1999 and 2000. Some of the exciting projects underway in Rockford include "Friends of Coronado" a group that is raising \$14M to renovate the community theater.

Phone (815) 987-5590

Fax (815) 967-6952

Grand Island, Nebraska

The city of Grand Island plans on becoming a "sister city" with Holstein, Germany. In addition, the city has planned several events, which will be announced next month (January). Ideas for celebrating the millennium include youth predictions for the future, stories of the decade, stories of the century, and honoring the most important "Islanders". Corporate sponsors include: The Grand Island Independent (newspaper), Aliant, Equitable Building and Loan and the Monfort and St. Francis Medical Center.

Phone (308) 385-5444

Fax (308) 385-5486

Richmond, California

The city of Richmond has formed a Millennium Committee to plan for projects highlighting our history and our vision for the future as well as celebrating the new century. Richmond will be providing an opportunity for families to record their histories, highlighting the new "Rosie the Riveter" Park -- a tribute to the women who contributed to the WWII Shipyards, and will partner with schools on a project to enhance the educational opportunities of Richmond's children.

Phone (804) 780-7977

Fax (804) 698-3027

Boston, MA

Boston 2000, a Board of civic leaders assembled by Mayor Thomas M. Menino, issued a "Call for Creativity" inviting the citizens of Boston to submit ideas for projects and events to mark the Year 2000. Under the theme "So much History, So Much Future" eight different working groups, involving over 500 community leaders, will review these proposals and select projects which celebrate diversity, involve the youth and elderly, involve the neighborhoods and advance the reputation of Boston as a city in which to live and do business.

617-439-5200 phone

617-439-5205 fax www.boston2000.org

Little Rock, Arkansas

In the Spring of 1998, Mayor Jim Dailey appointed a 17-member Millennium Commission to facilitate the planning and coordination of the "Millennium Celebration" for the City of Little Rock. Commission members represent various sectors of the community including business sectors, education and private citizen sectors, neighborhood/community organizations and faith communities. The Commission has established an overall theme of "Reflect, Imagine, Celebrate" and is considering such projects as establishing a monument to symbolize Little Rock's history, reconstructing the original City Hall dome, exhibiting the work of local artists and developing an educational program to implement into the public school curriculum.

Phone (501) 371-4791

Fax (501) 371-4498

Kansas City, MO

The Year 2000 will mark the 150th Anniversary of Kansas City, Missouri, and plans are underway for a year-long commemoration entitled "KC150: A Celebration of the Heart." Established in 1997, the Kansas City Sesquicentennial Celebration, Inc. will facilitate, track and recognize civic projects and events created to honor of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Kansas City and the coming millennium. To accomplish this, several all-volunteer working committees have been formed to assist schools, neighborhoods, organizations and businesses as they plan their activities. Preliminary ideas include setting up historical trails, creating outdoor murals depicting the culture and history of various city districts, and collecting and compiling life stories of local citizens. (See web excerpts)

Phone (816) 274-2595 Fax (816) 274-1991 www.kc150.org

Seattle, Washington

The Seattle Millennium Project, "Imagine What We Can do Together," will bring together the citizens of Seattle for a unique series of events, programs and activities which will run from Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, January 14, 1999, until Earth Day, April 2000. Several programs are underway. A tripartite "Light, Water, and Woods" legacy initiative will enhance energy-efficient lighting on the city bridges, restore the largest urban creek watersheds, and enhance urban forests by adding over 20,000 trees to the city landscape. "Service Corps 2000" will work with existing programs to encourage all citizens to volunteer within their communities. (See brochure excerpts)

Phone (206) 615-0345

Fax (206) 615-0220 www.seattlecenter.com/millennium

Dallas, Texas

In the closing weeks of 1999, Dallas will celebrate the turn of the century by presenting *The Turn: America at the Millennium*, a five-week, \$30 million grand exposition that commemorates human triumphs and potential. Headquartered at Historic Fair Park near downtown Dallas, *The Turn* will feature hundreds of attractions - from videotape retrospectives of American culture, to views of earth as seen from space, to opportunities for visitors to participate in a perpetual video time capsule. *The Turn* hopes to attract a million visitors between Friday, November 26, 1999 and Sunday, January 2, 2000. (See press release excerpts)

Phone (214) 977-2000

Fax (214) 977-2001

www.The-Turn.com

Chicago, IL

"Chicago: For the time of your life" will set the theme for Chicago's three-year millennium celebration. City departments and agencies are working together and with private partners and cultural organizations to develop an extensive series of programs and initiatives which will celebrate the millennium downtown and in neighborhoods throughout Chicago. The celebration will begin on January 1, 1999 with a year-long "Project Millennium" initiative to explore six themes that are relevant to citizen's lives through exhibits, performances, lectures and special events. The Year 2000 will be welcomed by a "2000-Minute Party", a family-oriented celebration amidst the city's architectural treasures and illuminated skyline. The rest of the year -- and through 2001 -- the city will host a series of major events to highlight the city's people, their history, and their shared future. (See press release excerpts)

Phone (312) 742-2001

Fax (312) 744-2359 www.chicagotime.org

Fort Wayne, IN

The City of Fort Wayne will design, implement, and coordinate community efforts to honor the conclusion of a century and the birth of a new millennium by appreciating the common heritage of its citizens and building on shared values and an existing cooperative spirit. Preliminary project themes include historic preservation, environmental beautification, and neighborhood collaboration.

Phone (219) 427-1130 Fax (219) 427-1115

Minneapolis, MN

Minneapolis will host the Minnesota Millennium Celebration (tm), a statewide celebration that will work to build a better future for Minnesota children. Comprised of three programs, the Minnesota Millennium Celebration (tm) begins in mid-1999 with Millennium Encore!, a showcase of the state's creative and diverse cultural venues. The Millennium Expo, held at the Minneapolis Convention Center, will feature interactive displays and exhibits by leading corporations and community organizations. Finally, Festival 2000! opens the streets of Minneapolis on December 31, 1999 through January 1, 2000 for a grand celebration with local and regional talent and family-oriented fun.

Phone (612) 252-7854

Web: www.millenniumproject.net

Cincinnati, Ohio

The Greater Cincinnati/Northern Kentucky region has formed the Millennium 2000 Commission to celebrate the new millennium. The commission has a myriad of plans to capture the spirit of the 21st century with an overall goal of trying to unite communities and business organizations. The 2000 Commission plans to ignite community spirit by introducing a civic pride marketing campaign aimed at entertaining, educating, and motivating citizens of the Cincinnati/ Northern Kentucky region. Another objective set by the organizers of Millennium 2000 Commission is to facilitate and promote regional partnerships and events that celebrate and sustain the spirit of the new century. The commission's message is best understood in their theme "Cooperate. Collaborate. Celebrate!"

Phone (606) 655-7700

Fax (606) 655-9577

San Diego, California

The San Diego Exposition 2000 was launched to increase the awareness of Balboa Park - the "Heart of San Diego" in the minds of local, state, national, and international visitors. The Balboa Park: Exposition 2000 Project is a year long Millennium Celebration to include educational programs, special events and a fully integrated marketing campaign to renew and revitalize the public awareness and interest in the park. This millennium event will begin in June of 1999 and end on January 2, 2001. The millennium event series will incorporate over 100 institutions and Museums originally established for the 1915 Panama and 1935 World Expositions into its theme: "Past, Present, Future."

Phone (619) 235-5907 Fax (619) 615-1099

Newport, Kentucky

The Millennium Monument, an approximately 1000 foot tall structure being built in Newport Kentucky, features an international cultural exchange between France and Kentucky. A highlight of this project is the 66,000 pound World Peace Bell, which will be decorated with designs representing the contributions of man over the last 1,000 years. The most significant events and people of the last millennium will also be the focus of the Millennium Experience, a major permanent exhibit at the Monument. The bell, which will be cast in France, will be inscribed with the message: "The World Peace Bell is a symbol of freedom and peace honoring our past, celebrating our present and inspiring the future." The casting of the bell will also commemorate the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations Assembly. Culminating the creation of the bell will be a community to community viewing of the bell as it makes its way from France up the Mississippi River to the Millennium Monument site, in Kentucky. On New Year's Eve 1999, the bell will be rung once every hour so that it will ring in the New Year for the people of the world in every time zone.

Phone (606) 655-9500

Fax (606) 655-9577

Operation Sail 2000: Miami, Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New London

Operation Sail, a nonprofit organization, will bring together international tall ships to celebrate the world's entry into the third millennium. This international millennium project will showcase a huge flotilla of ships each representing a particular region or country of the world, all in celebration of the new millennium. This fifth in a series of previous Operation Sail parades will be attended by an anticipated 30,000 vessel fleet, and will bring in millions of shoreline spectators. The journey begins May 25, 2000 in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and ends July 4, 2000 in New York City's historic harbor. During the journey the international tall ships will stop at five pre-selected cities in the United States: Miami; Norfolk; Baltimore; Philadelphia; and New London -- providing people in the area with an opportunity to witness and participate in an event celebrating the world's great maritime heritage.

Phone (202) 862-2484

Fax (202) 862-2400

Web: <http://www.opsail.org>

Pinellas County, Florida

The Pinellas County Millennium Celebration is sponsored by St. Petersburg Junior College and Pinellas County Government. An advisory board of more than 90 community leaders and a diverse array of committees will plan the Millennium Celebration year, which will run from July 4, 1999 to July 4, 2000. The advisory board is pursuing a variety of projects including Scrapbook 2000 commemorating Pinellas organizations and people in the year 2000; a sports and ethics forum; Millennium Park featuring a time capsule; art and photography competitions; and, a school millennium essay contest which will award \$2,000 scholarships.

Phone (727)341-3275 routhm@email.spjc.cc.fl.us

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

In gearing up for their two-year millennium celebration, Philadelphia plans a series of events in 1999 that will feature a retrospective of the city's accomplishments over the last century. In the year 2000, the focus will shift to activities designed to showcase Philadelphia as a leading city of the future. The groundbreaking for Constitution Center, the opening of the Liberty Bell Pavilion, and the 100th anniversary celebration of the Mummers' Parade are just a few of the city's millennium events.

Phone 215-686-3917 Fax 215-686-3908

Orlando, Florida

The City of Orlando is celebrating the new millennium under the banner, "Horizon 2000." The next year will see a series of projects unfold that leave a legacy for the community, including a continuing campaign for the establishment of a light rail transportation system, development of plans for a downtown performing arts center, the unveiling of a new "Millennium Park", and distribution of public art pieces throughout the City's neighborhoods. One of the biggest projects underway is titled, "Life in the Neighborhoods." In cooperation with the local public television station, a television special on Orlando's neighborhoods is being produced for airing in the early summer.

Phone (407) 246-2221 Fax (407) 629-8845

NB: For Canton, OH, Los Angeles, CA, Mobile, AL examples see the WHMC brochure

For Maryland, Indiana, Mobile County, AL and Fulton County, GA see the WHMC handbook (Sept. Version)

File Name: h:\lk\mcexam.amy

HRC: Examples of Visits

Argentina

- Yesterday in San Paulo, for example, I saw an elementary school in one of the city's poorest neighborhoods. For years, the school struggled. Many students were not learning and most did not stay in school. Fortunately, the business community, recognizing the importance of education, got involved, and created the Institute for Quality Education. Working with the local government, parents, and teachers, they have transformed the school. Teachers who themselves may not have finished high school have now received additional training. Students were tested. Parents were encouraged to get involved. In less than a year, test scores in mathematics and language went up more than 200 percent. Even in countries like ours, Argentina and the United States where we don't face such daunting challenges as Brazil does, we have to do more to improve the quality of education in both urban and rural areas and to ensure that all students have access to information technology. Concentrating on education and insuring that all the children of the hemisphere have a chance to learn will be the most important way that we can enable all of our economies to grow and flourish.

Education

Bangladesh

- In Bangladesh, I visited a school run by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, a non-governmental organization that believes that education -- especially girls' education -- is a pre-condition for economic development. Because of that belief, some of the BRAC schools have been burned by extremist groups. But the schools keep being rebuilt and families keep sending their children to attend.

I also saw where the Bangladesh government is attempting to provide incentives for families to keep their daughters in school. Families get food each week if they send their children, particularly their girls, to school. To help give girls the chance to go to secondary school, the government actually deposits a small amount of money in a family banking account as long as the daughters attend school.

- I've also seen firsthand what happens in Bangladesh, and for anyone interested in microcredit you know that it is a journey to the Grameen (sp) Bank that is often part of the learning experience because of the longtime efforts that have been undertaken there. When I visited with a group of women in a village outside of Jasore, I realized that I was visiting a Hindu village, and my schedule did not permit me to go down the road further to visit a Muslim village. And I wanted to see women from both communities who were participating with Grameen. The women in the Muslim village came to the Hindu village, the first time there had ever been such participation together. Never had there been a meeting like that.

micro credit

And I listened as 150 Hindu women and 150 Muslim women told me how their lives had been transformed by virtue of earning income. These women had lived much harder lives than any I could even imagine, and yet they were filled with hope about their future. And

one of the reasons is that Gramine (sp) doesn't just extend credit, as many of you know. It tries to put the women and the men who are borrowers now only in borrowing groups for credit purposes, but to help support one another in solidarity, to build stronger families and communities.

Each person who joins that bank has to abide by 16 decisions or principles that range from the mundane such as "we shall build and use pit latrines," to the much more difficult to explain and understand -- "we shall not inflict injustice on anyone; neither will we allow anyone to do so," or "we shall always keep our children and the environment clean." There is even one principle against dowry, which is extraordinary considering the attitudes in many of those communities about the proper role of women and certainly the importance of dowry.

As each woman waits her turn to get a loan, she knows she cannot borrow money until the woman before her has repaid her loan. So there is a built-in incentive to support each other's enterprises.

I saw women making steel and concrete beams they can sell to other women who use them to build houses with loans from Gramine (sp) and I visited such a house. So a whole self-sustaining market is created within one village.

Gramine (sp) also in Bangladesh attempts to work with children to change attitudes about what is possible for them. Here there was a skit performed in which some of the young children, young boys and girls, were talking about attitudes that were held about education, and in particular, whether or not girls should be educated as well as boys. And by performing that skit, they were serving notice that they understood there was another way, another idea of what could be possible for them.

Bolivia

- In Bolivia, I visited with expectant mothers at a primary health center run by an NGO with support from the government. They had created a safe place for very poor women to come and get health care. The women -- with their ruddy faces and bowler hats -- were receiving prenatal checkups and having their infant immunized on the day that I visited. They were also learning about family planning and how to space births so they could more likely have their children survive, and themselves.
- I saw that again firsthand recently in La Paz, when I met with borrowers at Banco Sol and had a chance to visit the bank itself -- a physical place that is dedicated to microcredit. And the people there were very proud of what they had accomplished. And the United States is pleased that this bank, now the largest bank in Bolivia, was initially supported through a loan from USAID. It is the first commercial bank in the world completely dedicated to microlending.



Brazil

- Just two days ago in Brazil, I witnessed the signing of an agreement between my government and two Brazilian state governments to support a family planning initiative. This came about because two years ago I visited a maternity hospital in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil, and I saw men and women getting the information they would need to enable them to make wise choices about planning their families. I saw mothers cradling their new-born babies in hallways as they stood in line for their check-ups. I saw young women, very pregnant, waiting for their pre-natal check-up. I saw infants were getting immunization. I saw parents were being taught what to feed their young children and how to care for them. And I also saw wards of women who were there because they had to received good quality health care.

In short, family planning and reproductive health programs were integrated in that hospital into maternal and child health services. And I talked with a number of mothers, as well as with the Minister of Health, who told me that for the first time they felt they could adequately care for the children they had, that they could invest in those children not only their love but other resources as well,

Chile

- I've also been impressed by the work I've seen in Santiago, Chile, where community bank relies on peer networks to promote and sustain local microbusinesses. Here in a local market I met the vendors who were showing their commitment to the bank by putting up awnings in matching blue and yellow to demonstrate that they were part of microenterprise.

Most memorable to me was a woman who told me that as a seamstress she could not compete with the larger factories, and yet she knew there was a market for her work because she had many people who had come and asked her to make something for them but she did not have the capacity to do so. With a small loan, she was able to buy a high-speed sewing machine and replace her old antiquated one. She said that when she got that new sewing machine she felt like a caged bird set free. And that is a good way to describe how many of the people I have met seem to feel when given the opportunity.

Egypt

- In the Community Schools Program in Egypt, the number of girls enrolled in school increased from 2,000 to 35,000 because schools were located closer to homes, making them safer and more accessible. Curricula were designed so that they were culturally appropriate and approved by village leaders. Girls were trained to be sure that they were understanding how important this gift of education was and parents were asked to become actively involved as well.

Guatemala

- There have also been results in Guatemala where the government and the Foundation for Sugar Producers teamed up to offer small scholarships to girls in rural schools because they knew that the dropout rate between the first and second grades for girls in those

schools with scholarships was only one percent compared to 30 percent nationwide. In another Guatemalan program, afternoon school sessions have been introduced to accommodate girls who must carry out domestic and agricultural work in the mornings.

India

- The best description that I have ever read about why this conference is so important did not come from a think tank or a government report or a research study but instead from a college student, a young woman from New Delhi who gave me a poem she had written about why it was so important that she be the first young woman in her family ever to go on to college and to have that opportunity. Here is what she wrote:

“Too many women in too many countries speak the same language -- of silence...There must be freedom -- if we are to speak. And yes, there must be power -- if we are to be heard.”

- I want to start with a picture from India, and those of you who are familiar with Sawa (sp) and I believe that Ilabad (sp) is here and will be speaking -- know how important the Self-Employed Women's Association has been. This group has made it possible for very poor women to learn about finance, to borrow money, to be part of a bank, to save money. And when I visited I met with hundreds of women, some of whom had walked for 12 or 15 hours to come to meet with me, to tell me what those initial small loans meant. And I want to emphasize that it was not just stories about what the loans bought and what they were able to do with the loans, it was the entire sense of self-worth and potential that these loans created in the women that made the biggest impression on me.

Women stood up and said that they had been vegetable vendors in the markets and had been abused by police officers, others of authority, with no place to turn to try to keep their businesses going when times were difficult. They told me of working on their family farms, eking out a living in very hard soil with little equipment and little support. And yet, woman after woman stood up and said to me that since they had become members of the Self-Employed Women's Association, they were no longer afraid. They were not afraid to speak up for themselves, to find their place in their family and village, to help contribute to the income that made it possible for them to think of sending a child to school or having a child get the health care that child needed.

Malawi

- In Malawi, the villagers were not only asked why girls are not attending school, they were asked to come up with solutions. They performed plays and skits. They waived school fees. They took responsibility for enrolling girls in school. As a result, enrollment increased from 50 to 83 percent.

Nepal

- At a small clinic in Nepal I saw a safe home-delivery kit that is given to expectant mothers. Inside is a bar of soap, twine, a plastic sheet, and a razor blade. Its purpose is to reduce the two major causes of maternal and neonatal death -- tetanus and sepsis -- by

promoting the "three cleans" principle -- clean hands, clean surfaces, clean umbilical care.

These kits are made locally by a microenterprise owned by women. And these kits, as well as the entire Safe Motherhood Initiative, teach us about the importance of investing in prevention. We will reap great human dividends if we give people the power to protect their with prenatal care, nutrition, and family planning. Most maternal deaths can be prevented by spending less than \$2 a year per person. These safe motherhood kits are emblematic; they remind us that women's health, like all health, issues are not soft or marginal issues but are very important issues and moral obligations as well as practical necessities that every society must face.

Nicaragua

- I was certainly impressed by that when I was in Managua, Nicaragua, meeting with women in a borrowing group shortly after the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, where the platform of action included a commitment to microcredit. And as I have said, and as the President has said, much of the work that we are doing in the United States to advance microcredit is in part a fulfillment of our responsibilities under that platform of action.

Pakistan

- I remember so well being in a small village about 40 minutes outside Lahore, Pakistan where I visited a school that had been built to give the girls in that area primary education. I sat out in the courtyard in front of the school and talked with mothers of children who attended. One mother told me about her 10 children -- 5 girls and 5 boys. Her worry was that she had sent all of her children to school, to primary school. And when her boys graduated from primary school they had gone on. But when her daughters finished the village school, there were no secondary schools nearby for girls and she was not willing to send her daughters off alone to attend school far away. So, she asked me, and she asked all of the officials who were with me, if they could please have a secondary school built for girls near their village.

This one mother spoke, I believe, for countless millions of other -- women who know that their daughters will not live the same lives they have lived, that change is too pervasive, that they have to provide better opportunities so that their daughters will be prepared for whatever the future holds. As Brain mentioned in his remarks, a recently completed evaluation makes clear that the "second generation" of girls' education initiatives must continue to expand access to school, particularly secondary school, but we also must face up to the need to improve the quality of girls' education.

Panama

- I have seen all over the world how access to such credit sparks a woman's entrepreneurial spirit. Just in the last week I have seen two more examples here in our own hemisphere. In Panama I visited a group of women who, with a small grant from the United States Agency for International Development, started a business in a small village growing

plants and seedlings to sell in city markets and also to sell to the Panamanian government's reforestation programs.

Philippines

- I myself saw at the Fabella Hospital in Manila, new mothers staying at the hospital long enough to learn to nurse their babies, which promoted a stronger bond between mother and child and increased the chances of family stability.

Senegal

- Some of what we need to do is provide better information and education so that people can make better health decisions for themselves and for their children. On a recent trip my husband and I took to Africa, I met with women and two men from Malicounda Bambara village in Senegal. These people have accomplished something extraordinary. Although female genital mutilation less than 20 percent of women in Senegal, in villages like theirs it is considered a rite of passage for all girls. The women decided that FGM had for far too long harmed their daughters' bodies and spirits. They decided it was time to end the hemorrhaging, the AIDS, the childbirth complications caused by this tradition. During our discussion they showed me the skit they had used to educate their religious leaders, their neighbors and husbands.

As a result of their efforts, this village voted to van this long-standing cultural ritual. Not only that, they are inspiring others to do the same. A 66-year-old man told me who he walks from village to village spreading the word about the dangers of FGM. Recently 13 other surrounding villages representing 8,000 people joined together to end FGM in their communities. They petitioned the government, and now the president is working to enact a new law to abolish it throughout the country.

When I asked one woman: "What drove these people to change such a long-standing tradition?" She simply replied: "We studied human rights and particularly the right to health."

- When we educate a girl, we decrease poverty by helping women support themselves and their families. A single year of education usually correlates with an increased income of 10 to 20 percent for women later in life. In Senegal, I visited a small village where education for girls, and women's adult literacy programs, have been the first steps in helping the village understand how it could work together to create more prosperity, how it could take five hectares of barren land and turn it into an oasis of green growing produce that could not only support the village but be sold in the marketplace as well.

South Africa

- With technology we can also leap frog over some of the obstacles that would otherwise prevent schooling from being available. In South Africa, I visited a school in Soweto where there were not enough teachers, where there were many children now coming back into the school with the end of apartheid and where they were attempting to teach English to as many children as possible. They were using tape recordings and the teacher could monitor individual students. In other schools there is even an effort to try to get one

television with transmissions that can bring in distant learning so that we can expand the opportunities available even though the teachers are not present. The computer, of course, is very expensive and in some of the schools I have visited there is not even electricity yet. However, if a computer can be made available you have opened the world up to students who live very far from any large city or large university and it is possible to provide access to the information age to those students. We have to be more creative and innovative in thinking about how to overcome the obstacles to provide for girls education.

- In Soweto I met a principal at a primary school who was working overtime to get much needed resources for her students; a teacher who will not rest until every child in her class has mastered the basics of English; a woman at an orphanage a few miles from the school who gave up her own job to keep that home for abandoned children open when the government cut off funding in 1977. She was motivated by the belief that every child deserves love, a sense of belonging and the simple necessity of a safe place to sleep.
- In Johannesburg I met with women social workers, psychologists, law enforcement experts and police, politicians and grassroots activists who are working to end the plagues of domestic violence and child abuse which afflict not only your country, but mine and many others. And let me say that we around the world owe thanks to the women of Africa for focusing international attention on domestic violence and putting it on the agenda first at the United Nations Conference in Women in Nairobi and later in Beijing.
- But perhaps the best illustration I have seen of how women are rooting democracy in South Africa is found in a patch of land here in Capetown that I visited yesterday. It's a brown, dusty place once occupied by squatters. Understandably, the women were not satisfied with their situations. They wanted to do better for themselves and their children. So after hearing about a housing program that worked with poor women in India, they formed their own local housing and credit association. Before long, they requested and received information from government officials about how to lay a foundation for a house. They put in a sewer line. With money saved for the association and some support from the government they bought shovels and wheelbarrows, paint and cement. And together they worked and worked and worked. Today they have completed 18 houses and they are building more.

Uganda

- I have seen the results of President Museveni's promise of Universal Primary Education in Uganda. I have been in classrooms that are absolutely filled with children -- 70, 75, 80 third graders -- a very big challenge to any teacher. But instead of being frustrated the teachers I have met have been proud. Proud because children are coming to school and everyone is working very hard to create the materials and train additional teachers to meet this challenge. Overwhelming pride is felt because for the first time, more girls than boys are attending school.
- Yesterday, President and Mrs. Museveni went with my husband and I to visit a village --

the Jinja Village. We saw women who are working together through a village bank to make their lives better, increasing their income, helping their husbands support their families better, taking care of the children that were orphaned that they have taken in from brothers or sisters or other relatives. And they are doing it because they've been given access to credit; they've been given tools to enable them to make economic progress

- Last year when I spoke with President Museveni, he talked to me about the more than 10,000 Ugandan children who have been abducted by the Lords Resistance Army. One of those children is Charlotte, and she is one of the girls that Sister Rachelle tried to save. I met with her mother, Angelina, at the White House a few weeks ago before we came on this trip. She told me what had happened the night that the LRA kidnaped Charlotte and the other girls from St. Mary's School; how they broke the windows, tied up the girls, beat them if they cried, took them away into a life of unspeakable horrors. Thankfully, many have been rescued or escaped, or their freedom has been purchased. But many others, like Angelina's daughter, have not returned.

Like terrorists and dictators throughout history, the LRA claims to be doing the Lord's work. But there is no greater sin than forcing children to murder each other, family members, even the parents who brought them into existence. There is no greater sin than raping young girls and sending them into slave labor. And there is no greater sin than using children as human shields in battle.

The LRA call themselves soldiers, but they are cowards, for only cowards would hide behind children in battle. Through a group called Concerned Parents Association, Sister Rachelle, Angelina and other parents are working to save their children and all children.

One of Charlotte's classmates who escaped talked about what happened when another girl tried to escape. Listen to her words: The girl who is brought in front of us and the rebels told us to stomp her to death. We killed the poor innocent girl. If we did not kill the girl, we were going to be shot by guns. We prayed for that girl in our hearts, silently, and asked God to pardon us and forgive us because it was not our will to kill her.

I'm hoping that every government around the world and every citizen joins our government and people in Uganda on your fight for peace and in your efforts to save these children. Already Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International are shining a spotlight in this tragedy. UNICEF is helping to get assistance to groups working at the local level. And non-governmental organizations like World Vision and Gulu Save the Children Organization are caring for children who escape.

There are there of those children here with us that I just had a chance to meet before I came out to see you. Their names are Isaac and Janet and Betty. They were kidnaped by the LRA in the north. They managed to escape, eventually finding refuge. As I looked into their faces and their eyes, I saw the faces and eyes of children the world over. And I thought to myself as I looked at these young men and women of Uganda that we owe

them and the thousands more like them everything we can do to make sure that they, too, have a chance, like the children I saw yesterday, to grow up in peace, to be educated, and to look forward to their own families and futures.

Ukraine

- Yesterday I saw citizens of this city building a civil society. I stood with thousands of people at the new Memorial Honoring Victims of Communist Repression. This memorial was erected not by the government. It was a gift of the victims of communism, their families, and private organizations. They didn't have to do this -- but they did.

and great

I visited a health clinic filled with children balanced between life and death. Infants born prematurely, some critically ill. But for their cries, these children have no voice. They cannot compel someone to come to their aid. And yet doctors, nurses, parents, and communities -- from both Ukraine and the United States -- chose to do so. As one mother told me, doctors and nurses she didn't even know saved her child's life. They didn't have to do this -- but they did.

I stood in the beautifully restored Gilad Synagogue, where citizens can once again worship freely. There the rabbi told me what it meant to open a Jewish school after so many years of unspeakable hardship. That it had given him faith that the community would survive. The community didn't have to do this for its children -- but it did.

I stood in the magnificent, renovated St. George's Cathedral. For too many years, the faith of the people whom I met had been driven underground. The congregation prayed in hidden places; the beautiful symbols of their faith were hidden away in cellars and attics. Today, the members of St. George's practice their religion in the clear light of day. And they are using their faith not only to worship as they please, but also to reach out to others whom society pushed away -- such as children with disabilities. The people of St. George didn't have to do this, but this -- they did.

United States

- Some months later, I visited a microenterprise project in Denver, Colorado, here in the United States. In this case women, many of them Hispanic Americans, received career counseling and vocational training, and entrepreneurial technical assistance. It is provided by a group called Mi Casa. And here, the women were explaining to me what it meant for them to finally be taken seriously. Many had been on welfare or were just off welfare, and they were looking for an opportunity to take the skills that they had acquired and turn them into income.

down

Many of those women were good bakers, good seamstresses. They could make good alterations. They could provide food for small restaurants. But they didn't, as we hear so often, have access to credit to get started. One woman said to me something I have never forgotten, when she described to me what it was like trying to go to her local bank. She did not have any traditional collateral, but she was a hard worker. She's always worked for other people. She had a good product to sell. But she was turned away because the amount of money that it would have taken for the bank to process her loan was not, in the

bank's eyes, worth the investment. And she said, too many ideas die in the parking lots of banks. And one of the hopes I have is that conventional banking will understand that there is an economic opportunity, a market niche for those willing to service this community.

I went here to the weekly meeting of the FINCA Group and there were about 30 women who described how they had received small loans to start neighborhood bakeries, seamstress shops -- one was making mosquito netting; one was selling auto parts door to door. I was surprised and very excited when several of the women not only gave me their products, but also asked me what I had been doing in India because some of them had seen on television some pictures of my trip to the Self-Employed Women's Association. They wanted to know what the women there were spending their money on and what businesses they were starting. And I felt that there was an opportunity for this to be literally a global movement, with people learning from each other and supporting each other. And this is exactly what this summit means to do.

Venezuela

- I met an equally impressive group of women in Caracas. I entered an ordinary-looking building in one of what I was told to be one of the worst neighborhoods in Caracas. And yet, in this very well-kept space, sitting on an open-air, rooftop terrace, talking with these women, I was very moved and impressed. The walls were adorned with weavings and art works that they had made. As a light breeze blew in, one woman told me how she had started a thriving taxi company. She knew how to drive, she was responsible and hard-working, there was no transportation adequate to the numbers of people in her community, so she had this idea but no one would give her the credit to purchase the van that she needed until she came to this Microenterprise Institute. She said that when she finally got her own business, it was as if "the sky had opened up."

Another woman used a small loan to expand her juice stand that she ran with her husband. Then a few years later she had a restaurant and another shop employing ten people. She had been able to send one of her children to university -- a woman who had never finished primary school. She said the loan had given her the opportunity "to spread her wings."

Relations with other countries

Denmark

- Tomorrow, as part of International Women's Day, it will be my pleasure to announce a major new United States commitment to expand educational opportunities for poor girls on three continents

South Africa

- Yet we from America know that this is a long task before you. I want you to know that, as Americans, we celebrate your accomplishments and we want to be your partners in securing your democratic future. To that end, President Clinton has pledged an additional \$19 million through the United States Agency for International Development to assist President Mandela's teacher training initiative and \$87 million in USAID assistance this year for housing, health care, and business development initiatives.

One of the most tangible signs of our new partnership is the binational commission chaired by our Vice President and your Deputy President. Last year they signed an to cooperate to fight crime. As a result, the United States is providing funding this year to assist South African law enforcement agencies with criminal justice expertise and training.

South Africans and Americans are also learning from each other, through education, medical, and cultural exchanges at colleges and universities, as well as fellowships at some of our leading scientific institutions. In addition to funding from USAID, many of these programs are supported by American corporations, foundations, and universities.

And let me deliver another indication of our support for the work that you are doing here in this country. Today I am privileged to announce that the United States is expanding support for the campaign to eradicate polio in Africa by the year 2000. Initiated by the World Health Organization's regional office for Africa, the Kick Polio out of Africa campaign is a partnership in the truest sense. It involves national and local governments, nongovernmental organizations, businesses, bilateral donors. It is led by your President. And thanks in part to his leadership, extraordinary progress was made on this front last year.

Now the United States is committing an additional \$16 million through USAID to assist in this vital effort to bring better health to the people of Africa. With us today are representatives from key organizations in this important partnership: the World Health Organization, Rotary International, and UNICEF. In our hemisphere we have succeeded in eradicating polio, and now we wish to assist the people of Africa in eradicating polio on this continent as well.

Uganda

- I want to commend Uganda for your new Local Government Act, which will help more

women be part of the decisions that affect their lives. I am pleased to announce today that the United States government will provide \$2 million to help train these elected official women as they assume their new roles and responsibilities.

...That's why I'm very pleased to announce new steps our government is taking through the United States Agency for International Development. First, we will provide \$500,000 directly to local groups like the Concerned Parents Association and GUSCO, to help them find abducted children and give them the medical care they need to heal.

Second, we will provide \$2 million over the next three years for a new Northern Uganda Initiative that will help the people living there plagued by rebel activity get jobs rebuilding roads, dams, schools, health clinics, and their own communities. I am very pleased that other donors, including the World Bank, have agreed to support these efforts.

Third, we will provide \$10 million to local African NGOs who are working to improve food security and to prevent, ease, and respond to conflict in the region.

And, finally, my husband and our government will increase their efforts to pressure Sudan to end its support for the LRA and their cowardly abductions of children. We will work with you to end this terror, and we will work with you to continue your rebuilding of your country.

Ukraine

- Today, I am pleased to announce that the United States government, in cooperation with the United Nations, will be working with NGOs in Ukraine to launch a new information campaign to reach women who may be in danger, and to inform law enforcement and consular officers, and international organizations so that they can be on the lookout for, and ultimately put a stop to this crime against humanity.

I will return home with many impressions and wonderful memories. I will also return home to speak to my own people, the citizens of the United States. I will tell my fellow citizens what I have seen and why the United States must stay constantly engaged to support forward-looking reform and leaders who are working on reform. In recent days, I've seen first-hand what America, working hand in hand with the people of Ukraine, has accomplished -- fostering innovative health clinics, providing loans to start small businesses, sending Peace corps volunteers to work with people there.

I will want all of the American citizens to know what I know, and I wish that I had brought all of them with me, to see what I have seen. Because the work that has been done, between our governments and organizations, such as USAID and through the private sector, has made it very clear that we are strengthening our bonds and building stronger societies together.

Later this week Vice President Gore and President Kuchma will join together to reach out to members of the international community to secure more support for safely encasing the

Chernobyl Reactor #4. What could be more important than the United States and Ukraine working together to contain one of the greatest environmental threats facing Europe and the world today?

...Just six years after your independence, you have much to be proud of. The sun of freedom is higher in the sky. And yes, it has a ways to travel. I know you will stay the course. And as you do, please know that the American people will stand with you. I hope that you take great pride in where you Ukraine stands today and that you take great confidence in the fact that the United States will be your partner, and your friend, as we travel together into the twenty-first century and the new millennium.

Nicole 483 - 0383
↓

Nicole R. Rabner

05/03/99 04:23:47 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: stories, as promised.

Start

Stories

- (1) A retired Air Force colonel and his wife from Maryland had their identities stolen. Armed with Social Security numbers alone, the thieves opened over 33 accounts in their names, charging over \$100,000 in goods and services. Even though they closed these accounts and cancelled the credit cards, they continue to be harassed by collection agencies.
- (2) A man from Brooklyn, NY received a promotional credit card solicitation with a teaser rate of interest of 3.9 percent. It was only after he transferred his balance to the new card that he found out that the card came with a transaction fee of 3 percent interest payable immediately.
- (3) A woman from Maine had her interest rate jump from 4.9 percent to 20 percent. Because the credit card company was late in mailing her statement, she was late in paying them. And, the bank now continues to charge her a 20 percent interest rate rather than the low rate she was promised. Story after story of these "teaser rates" that jump up immediately after one late payment -- or sometimes at random.
- (4) An elderly woman from Maine took advantage of a credit card offer to purchase Christmas presents for her grandchildren. She lives on Social Security and the credit granted was only \$250. She charged up to her limit and was making \$25 payments each month. She was paying late as her Social Security check arrived near her due date. While she sent in \$25 each month, she was being assessed a \$20 late fee and a \$20 over the limit fee and soon her balance was over \$400.
- (5) I recommend using the hypothetical story in HRC's column -- the time it would take to pay off a debt with paying only the minimum payment.

STORIES: ART

1. *Column, 10/29/96*

An educator from New York visited Washington a few years ago and decided to go on a tour of the White House. He waited in line with thousands of others, eager for the opportunity to see America's most famous residence.

But as he walked through the public rooms and corridors, taking in all of the beautiful art on the walls, he was immediately struck that something was wrong. There were no depictions of black faces in any of the paintings, not even a portrait of the legendary abolitionist Frederick Douglass. In fact, there wasn't a single work by an African American artist -- not Edward Bannister, or Jacob Lawrence, or William Johnson, or any of the fine black painters our country has produced.

As an African American man, Edward D. Bell was saddened to discover this historical omission. So, he decided to do something about it. He wrote to the President to suggest a more representative White House collection that would offer a truer picture of American history -- one that would make all children who visit the White House feel a connection to our country's past. The President read Bell's letter and directed White House Curator Rex Scouten to look for a work by a leading African American artist to hang in one the public rooms. Two leading experts on African American art -- the late Sylvia Williams, former director of the Museum of African Art at the Smithsonian Institution, and scholar David Driskell -- helped locate a magnificent landscape by one of our nation's finest painters, Henry Ossawa Tanner.

Titled "Sand Dunes at Sunset, Atlantic City," the painting was purchased by the White House Endowment Fund earlier this year from Tanner's grandniece, Dr. Rai Alexander-Minter. This week at the White House, the President and I presented the painting at a special ceremony that included Dr. Rae Alexander Minter, Tanner's grandson, Jacques and Edward Bell. It was a fitting tribute to Tanner and a homecoming of sorts for an artist whose work was far more appreciated overseas than here in the United States, largely because of racism during his time.

2. *Column 2/25/97*

Last summer I toured Prague with Czech President Vaclav Havel. As we walked across the Charles Bridge, we fell into a discussion about American culture, about how our greatest and world-transforming exports have been not only our ideals on democracy and the free market but our art, our jazz, our rock and roll. We didn't have to look too far for proof of this idea -- the young people perched on the bridge's balustrades were singing American folk songs and listening to heavy metal music as they read American books and magazines.

3. Column 10/2/97

The power of our arts to connect us to our heritage is also apparent in a new exhibition in the White House Sculpture Garden of works by Native American sculptors. Each piece, in its own way, represents the seamless fusion between ancient roots and modern spirit, the ties between past cultures and present-day creativity. It's an extraordinary collection, the sixth to showcase American sculpture since we inaugurated the garden in 1994 -- and it's there for anyone who visits the White House to see.

4. Remarks at Arts and Humanities for At-Risk Youth Event, 4/26/96

I was in a school in Philadelphia a few weeks ago, and a young boy in seventh grade said, "You know, Mrs. Clinton, All we hear about are the bad kids; nobody really pays attention to us, must be like when an airplane crashes; everybody pays attention, and people forget about the thousands that land safely everyday." And I told him that I would do my part, as each of you is doing, that in every corner of America there are examples of children -- who might otherwise have been written of --- discovering joy, and fulfillment, and discipline and confidence. And often the way they are doing that is through artistic and intellectual expression.

5. Remarks at Arts and Humanities for At-Risk Youth Event, 4/26/96

One teenager, at risk of dropping out of high school, became involved with an artist-in-training program sponsored by the Opera Theatre of St. Louis. Now she has a full time scholarship to college and is in her second year studying voice.

6. Remarks at Arts and Humanities for At-Risk Youth Event, 4/26/96

A sixth grader growing up in a low-income area of Philadelphia joined The People's Light and Theater Company, which works with students after school on a year-round basis. The students wrote, improvised and performed plays, including works of Shakespeare. Today, the girl is one of the top students in the 12th grade and is hoping to become a lawyer. Her 19-classmates in the program will all graduate from high-school this spring.

7. Remarks at Arts and Humanities for At-Risk Youth Event, 4/26/98

A four-year-old boy came to pre-school every day but never talked. One day, as part of an early childhood arts program the boy drew a picture in class, and began to tell his classmates the story behind the picture. Since then, his development has flourished through arts projects.

found his voice

8. *Los Angeles County Art Museum, 9/11/96; The President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, 2/25/97*

I am reminded of how the opportunity to explore and develop creative potentials through singing, painting, sculpting, dancing, writing, or acting can give children reasons to believe in themselves and in their futures each time I see a pair of brightly painted park benches in my office in Washington. They are the gifts of the students of Gallery 37, an organization in Chicago that nurtures the artistic and creative talents of children of all backgrounds. Through paid apprenticeships in such fields as architecture, jewelry-making, bookbinding, and painting, the children have blossomed in so many ways. One child literally found his voice at Gallery 37. When he first joined the program, he refused to speak to either students or instructors. But in time, the eagerness to talk about his art not only moved him to speak, it also spurred him to critique the work of his peers.

9. *Los Angeles Art Museum, 9/11/96; The President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, 2/25/97*

I had an experience this spring, when I visited the Manchester Craftmen's Guild in Pittsburgh, an organization supported by both the NEA and private donations. At the Guild, which is located in one of Pittsburgh's most troubled neighborhoods, I met inner-city school children whose lives had been transformed by their participation in the Guild's ceramic, art and photography courses. When they spoke of their experiences at the Guild and of their newly discovered love for the arts, it wasn't difficult to hear the excitement in their voices or see the hope in their eyes. The Guild had given these children, whom many school had labeled "at risk," much more than the skills to shape clay or develop pictures. It gave them the confidence to finish school, to go to college, and to pursue their dreams.

10. *White House Millennium Evening, 2/11/98; National First Ladies' Library Website Event, 2/23/98; Remarks at Montpelier, Virginia, 7/9/98*

The portrait of one of our greatest presidents, George Washington, hangs behind me. But, as I often point out, that's only because of what Dolley Madison did to save it. When her husband sent word that the British were approaching during the War of 1812, she had little time to flee, but she still managed to take Gilbert Stuart's famous painting.

11. *Poetry Millennium Evening, 4/22/98*

Poet Laureate Joseph Brodsky wanted that "an anthology of American poetry should be found in the drawer in every room in every motel in the land." Seven years later, we see his dream being fulfilled in truck stops, supermarkets, and train stations where thousands of copies of "101 Great Poems" are being handed out by his American Poetry and Literacy Project every April.

12. *Poetry Millennium Evening, 4/22/98; Chicago Public Schools Principals' Luncheon, 6/3/98*

We saw this dream (see previous quote) being fulfilled in the confident young people we met at Johnson Junior High School in Southeast Washington. I wish you could have seen these students. ~~They were rehearsing for a poetry slam taking place tonight. For those of you who have never seen a slam, it's not to be missed.~~ It's a high speed, high spirit competition where students face off against each other by reading their own poems and receiving scores by a group of judges. Sort of like a cross between Olympic gymnastics and old Vaudeville.

Using their voice as an instrument and their soul as a library, the students read poems about the beauty of their names, the plight of a homeless man, the contributions of Duke Ellington, their pride and pain. And they talked about how the poetry had helped them put their anger "on paper instead of acting it out." How it had opened up thoughts they never knew existed. How it had given them confidence. Every child in America should have that opportunity. In a poem one boy read, he said, "I'm so musical that when I write a song, you sing it for the rest of your life."

P.S. I wrote to you both before the election to request that more jobs could be created for our ~~un~~employed neighbors across the country. Thank you for answering my letter; for providing more work for Americans. You both are doing a great job for our country.

If I could have one more request, please require that every school be equipped with at least one metal detector. This would deter any other incidents like the ones we've already witnessed. For our youths and their safety, please consider this.

Sincerely Thanks,
R.A. "Becky" Matthews
Re: Travis Matthews; all students
3606 Sweetbriar
Pasadena, La. 77505
1-281-487-4416

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	re: personal story (1 page)	06/04/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17205

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC Stories

2013-0936-S

rc1350

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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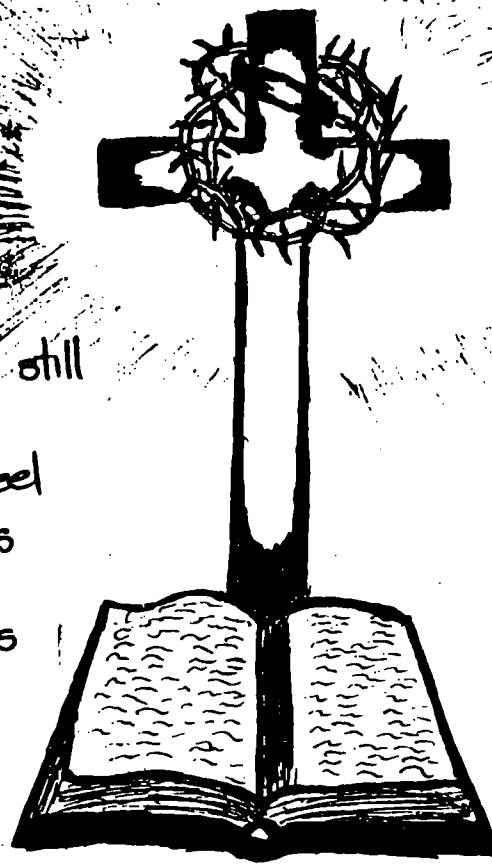
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Seeing a light
but surrounded by darkness
hearing the wind howl
through the razorwire
a chill shudders through my body
even tho' my soul is on fire.
away from the ones I love
the pain is felt everyday,
I regret all of the bad
things we've done.

Why did it have to be this way?
remembering all of the good times
that I thought would never end,
wishing I never took for granted
the presence of my good friends.
now I stand alone
in the place where time stands still
don't feel pity for me tho';
just understand the way I feel
as your eyes follow the words
of another jail poet
you don't want to walk in my shoes
or live in my world,
as I reach one person
to stop them from doing a crime
I know that I have done my part
to stop my brothers and
sisters from doing any time!



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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. letter	re: Coming Up Taller Awards (3 pages)	06/15/1998	b(6)

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Christine Macy
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FOLDER TITLE:

HRC Stories

2013-0936-S

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Lissa Anderson
620 S. 1st St., #112
Austin, TX 78704

512-416-0543

May 28, 1998

Ans
6/4

President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities
Suite 526, Dept. P
1100 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

To the Director:

I was so glad to see the article in *Parade* about the importance of art in children's lives. I hope that it will convince administrators everywhere that arts programs are essential, not peripheral. How well I remember being saved from the terror of a new big-city school by a teacher who recognized my artistic talent.

Do you need a teacher or director in the Austin area? I have five years of high school teaching experience, ten years of working with young people at the university level; and a lifelong dedication to the arts. This year I taught an experimental Humanities course in which my students learned about the connections between history and the arts. They expanded their appreciation of classic works by trying their hands at clay sculpture, perspective drawing, painting, and collage. There were some real breakthroughs for students who previously had not considered themselves really interested in art. Those moments were precious; I would like to inspire more of those epiphanies. In fact, when I fantasize about what I would do if I ever won the lottery I cook up schemes such as "Puccini in the Prisons," an intensive art and music program for juvenile offenders who never had anything beautiful in their lives.

Although I was a very good teacher, I recently resigned from the public school system, and am now looking for a new career. I would love to work with your committee. My resume is enclosed.

Sincerely,



Lissa Anderson

Weitz, Judith

From: BLAIME@aol.com
Sent: Wednesday, June 03, 1998 12:01 AM
To: JWeitz@neh.gov
Subject: Re: Arts Programs

Dear Judith: Thanks for your kind message. I will try to contact the Texas group, and see what they might do. A number of students I know do so well, and yet they are so willing to give up. And school counselors are unable to steer them to first-rate schools such as Cooper-Union, and others. I'm an Easterner, so often time I'm viewed as one who is trying to undo the system. Texas hubris is difficult to deal with at times. I will end on a positive note, and say thanks. Dr. Ben Laime in Bloomburg, TX. 75556-9717. By the way send any information you can to help me. My postal address is: Great Russell Farms, RR 1, Box 152, Bloomburg, TX. 75556-9717. Any key names would also be appreciated. Thanks Ben Laime.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. email	Constituent to pciah@neh.fed.us re: coming up taller site (1 page)	05/17/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17205

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC Stories

2013-0936-S

rc1350

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Weitz, Judith

From: DollarDee@aol.com
Sent: Tuesday, June 02, 1998 4:29 PM
To: JWeitz@neh.gov
Subject: Re: Arts Programs for Children and Youth

Thank you so much for your support, enthusiasm and guidance in respect to taking the first step toward making this happen. I will go to the web sites you indicated and contact the foundations you recommended.

And, God Bless You, and the work that you are doing as a member of the Clinton/Gore Administration. This Administration clearly believes and has demonstrated such, that each of us together, can make things better for our children and our country.

Sincerely, Dianne Shatin

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. email	Constituent to Judith Weitz re: Art Programs for Children [partial] (1 page)	06/03/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17205

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC Stories

2013-0936-S

rc1350

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Weitz, Judith

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Wednesday, June 03, 1998 2:44 PM
To: JWeitz@neh.gov
Subject: - Re: Art Programs for Children

TO: Judith Weitz

Thank you very much for your seemingly honest concern for the future of my grandson. And, yes, it is terrific that he is an honor student and talented artist.

Since I first contacted you the doctors has learn he was anemic, suggested he be placed on a multiple vitamin, and his "school phobia" seems to have improved, 100%. We are hoping and praying that this continues when he transfers to high school in the fall. The middle school Art Teacher has been very supportive of him. Last week he learned of placing First in a contest in which she had entered one of his drawings! Needless to say this did a lot for his self worth. I cannot tell you exactly what contest it was, due to the fact that I am visiting in Prineville, Oregon, and live in Bridgeport, West Virginia. I am just very proud of him and his talent.

I appreciate your suggestions, and will do all I can to see that they checked out when I return home. He and his parents have a close friend who is an artist, he has been of help to my grandson. But, he also is limited in how to use his art skills and talent in our area. However, this young man does teach a small art class to supplement his income, in order to purchase supplies for his art.

Again, thank you very much for your interest. And your patience with a "fired up" grand-mother. I fear that the Parade article just set me off.

I have printed out your e-mail so that I will have all of your suggestions, and your address in order to contact you in the future, and, to give to his parents if they wish to contact you for further information.

Again, thank you very much for your interest and your answer to my e-mail.

Sincerely,

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

[004]

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. letter	Sekenia Williams to Mrs Clinton [partial] (1 page)	05/20/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17205

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC Stories

2013-0936-S

rc1350

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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(b)(6)

[008]

May 20, 1998
President's Committee on the Arts
& The Humanities
Suite 526
Dept. P
1100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20506

Dear Sir/Madame,

I am writing to you in regard to the article in *the Parade* magazine May 16, 1998. I am very interested in finding a program in my area for my son. He is fifteen years old and in need of help. He is too young for employment, too old for camp or day care and he needs something to do with his spare time.

He has gotten into trouble before but nothing serious enough to acquire probation or a record (at this time). This brings me to my dilemma, because he does not have a record there is no agency here that can help him. I have called the Juvenile Office and Courts "there is nothing they can do at this time because he is not in the juvenile system". I personally think this is very stupid! Unless he commits a crime, gets arrested or does something unlawful, there is nothing any agency can do. That is like closing the barn door once the horse gets out!!!!!! I am trying desperately to find some kind of outlet or help for him.

My son is a good kid he just needs guidance. I'm afraid that he will get into the wrong crowd or activities. He is an excellent and would probably benefit from a youth program but I know of none in our area.

I would appreciate if someone could look into this and help in some way. I would even be willing to help initiate a program (with help of course). Heaven knows there are probably more kids in the same situation in this area.

I hope that I hear from you soon. If there are no programs in this area maybe you can give me some ideas as to what I can do for/with him.

Thank you,

(b)(6)

F
M
W

Frankie M. Wittenberg

Park VII
170 Walnut Street - 6th
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118
(504) 866-2493

Save
letter -
J.
ans.
6/4

May 17, 1998

President's Committee
Arts and the Humanities
Suite 526, Department P
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Re: May 17th article in Parade Magazine

I belong to a volunteer group who teach art in a small public grade school in New Orleans. Our students come from the inter-city. There is no budget for an art teacher due to financial constraints. This sad fact is true throughout Orleans Parish. Unless it is a magnet school with more than 300 students the school board does not furnish teachers for art, music, library, theater, etc.

As volunteers we provide exposure to creative expression. Many times we discover potentially talented youngsters, but our resources (we supply the materials) and our talent is limited. It would be wonderful if we had a means to mainstream these children into advanced programs.

All children are at risk, but these children are lacking opportunities to change their destiny without intervention from concerned citizens. Their exposure is limited to street gangs, crime and welfare. Therefore, the risk is greater.

Any advice on support groups or help that you could offer would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,


Frankie Wittenberg



5-18-98

Linda Granato
14 Catawba Ave.
Turnersville, N.J.
08012

Dear Residents Committee,

My Son would like to request a nomination form for the Coming up Taller Awards, he is now 9 years old.

We would also like information on programs in our area. (Turnersville N.J.)

Art is one of the most important things in my son's life. It has made him feel proud + confident about himself.

May I please have two nomination forms if possible.

THANK You
Mrs. LINDA GRANATO
(609) 227-9295

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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006. letter	Constituent to President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities [partial] (1 page)	05/20/1998	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17205

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC Stories

2013-0936-S

rc1350

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

(b)(6)

[006]

May 20, 1998
President's Committee on the Arts
& The Humanities
Suite 526
Dept. P
1100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20506

Dear Sir/Madame,

I am writing to you in regard to the article in *the Parade* magazine May 16, 1998. I am very interested in finding a program in my area for my son. He is fifteen years old and in need of help. He is too young for employment, too old for camp or day care and he needs something to do with his spare time.

He has gotten into trouble before but nothing serious enough to acquire probation or a record (at this time). This brings me to my dilemma, because he does not have a record there is no agency here that can help him. I have called the Juvenile Office and Courts "there is nothing they can do at this time because he is not in the juvenile system". I personally think this is very stupid! Unless he commits a crime, gets arrested or does something unlawful, there is nothing any agency can do. That is like closing the barn door once the horse gets out!!!!!! I am trying desperately to find some kind of outlet or help for him.

My son is a good kid he just needs guidance. I'm afraid that he will get into the wrong crowd or activities. He is an excellent and would probably benefit from a youth program but I know of none in our area.

I would appreciate if someone could look into this and help in some way. I would even be willing to help initiate a program (with help of course). Heaven knows there are probably more kids in the same situation in this area.

I hope that I hear from you soon. If there are no programs in this area maybe you can give me some ideas as to what I can do for/with him.

Thank you,

(b)(6)

ans
6/9/98

Margaret A. Davis
18 Longleaf Circle
Pooler, GA 31322
(912)748-0583

Dear Arts Committee,

An article in the May 17 issue of PARADE, a supplement to our local Sunday newspaper, immediately caught my attention. The article, by Rosemary Zibart, was entitled "Why Art Can Change A Teenager's Life", and it included your address at the end of the column.

The concept of helping struggling youths develop an interest in the process of creative expression has always appealed to me as a means of coping with life. It certainly helped me when I was troubled girl. Though I'm a lot older now and no longer burdened with the kind of angst particular to teenagers, I've raised two children of my own and watched them and their friends experience their woes. Music, painting, sculpture and so on were liberating for them as well.

My eldest, a daughter, is now teaching high-school English in Pine Hill, New Mexico in the Navaho Nation. She is able to assist and observe first hand now in the pursuit of the arts for young people, and I envy her that. So, when I saw this article, I knew it was something I longed to be involved with.

My husband (for 27 years) is a retired Air Force pilot, currently employed by Flight Safety in Savannah, Georgia. We and our children have been around the country and the world together and have had many wonderful experiences, for which I am grateful. With my daughter in New Mexico and my son at the University of Georgia, however, I find myself in need of a purposeful and enriching vocation. My former endeavors at employment have been unfulfilling at best and future prospects appear as bleak.

If there is anything you could offer me in the way of a job, please inform me. I am willing and able to relocate, but would prefer to start out in the Savannah area if possible. As I am unaware of a local youth art program, any information you could give me would be appreciated. My college education is still in sporadic progress and I am just shy of my B.A. degree. However my studies have included art courses, predominantly and my past work experience has focused on public relations. With the energy and resources I have in this part of my life, I can think of nothing more rewarding than to participate in an art program for kids. I thank you for any assistance you can give me.

Sincerely,

Margaret A. Davis

To Whom it May Concern

Ans
6/9/98

I just read an article in the Sunday Hartford Courant's Parade about art programs that may exist in our area.

My 14 year old son is very talented but failing in school. Seventh grade was marked with suspensions, failed all of his classes, experimented with drugs and decided school is a waste of time. He went to summer school which allowed him to pass into eight grade. Eight grade was no better, a little less trouble in school but still failing grades. He will not go on to high school this year.

I am looking for a program that will help build his self esteem, academically and talent wise. He is a nice person but needs help.

Because our income level is around \$50,000 (both parents work) most programs I've heard about would cost about 3 to 6 thousand a year. They do not look at the debt ratio, we have no insurance or any personal facts. There is no way I can squeeze that kind of money out of our budget.

Please, if you have any information on programs with in traveling distance cost of

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. letter	Constituent to Whom it May Concern [partial, page 2 in full] (1 page)	06/09/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17205

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC Stories

2013-0936-S

rc1350

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. letter	Constituent to Whom it May Concern (3 pages)	05/20/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17205

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC Stories

2013-0936-S

rc1350

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009. letter	Constituent to Whom it May Concern (3 pages)	05/16/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

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First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
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BEVERLY'S SCHOOL OF MUSIC
3714 CANTERBURY LANE
PUEBLO, CO 81005
(719)561-3068
Email bevmcc@juno.com

*One
blip*

May 1998

Coming Up Taller Awards, President's Committee
on the Arts and the Humanities
Suite 526, Dept. P, 1100 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very excited to tell you about a program that is only four years old and directed by my daughter, Jacqueline Bruce. She is a language arts high school teacher at Florence High School, located in Florence, Colorado. Florence is a small, quiet community of approximately 5,000 people. The main industry in Florence is correctional facilities. They house a federal penitentiary and several state prisons where most of the residents are employed or drive to neighboring communities of Canon City, Colorado Springs, or Pueblo for employment. When Jacqueline first came to Florence as a teacher, she noticed that her students were very bright youngsters but were not being challenged to work at their full potential. The first program she helped institute was an honors English class of which students, parents, and some faculty members thought she was expecting too much. By the end of the first semester, her students were reading novels such as The Good Earth, The Hunchback of Notre Dame, and Roots. Moreover, they produced quality essays and term papers. Never before had a teacher demanded so much! And the students responded by producing grade A work. The students who were enrolled in her Honors English class were doing college freshman level work.

At this point, Jacqueline decided it was time to introduce her school to a theater program. Many of her students had never seen a live performance and many had never been out of the city limits of Florence. She chartered school buses to attend the Denver Country Dinner Playhouse, the Buell Center for the Performing Arts in Denver, Colorado, and she and her students are currently planning a trip to New York City for a week-long Broadway Musical workshop. In addition, she started a "Celebration of the Arts" day that featured the local and surrounding communities' musicians, artists, and actors presenting their talent. She started her new drama program by doing small skits in her school's outdoor commons area. She worked with the special education teacher who had a love for the theater, the industrial arts teacher who helped her build the sets, and the band teacher who helped her direct the music in her plays. There had not been any theater performed in that school for over eight years. The school didn't even have an auditorium in which to present their plays, so they turned a basketball gymnasium-with horrible acoustics-into a performing art center which can seat about 150 people. Therefore,

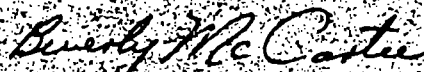
Florence High School has three to four performance nights and a couple of matinees in this tiny room in order to accommodate all of the people who want to see the shows. She has had a standing room only for most performances for the past three years. When she began her program, she had eight students. For this upcoming school year, she will have over 125 students enrolled in her program. More students are enrolled in her program than in any other activity at Florence High School, including the athletic programs.

This past year, Jacqueline presented "Romeo and Juliet", which according to many had the makings of a Broadway performance. During the spring, she introduced Florence, Colorado to the first musical to ever be performed at this high school, "South Pacific". Again, there was a standing room only. Next year, Jacqueline plans to add another new dimension. She plans to do "Blithe Spirit" and offer it as a dinner theater. And next spring, the Florence Performing Arts Center that was once a sweaty basketball gym will become the home of "Grease". The kids can hardly wait!

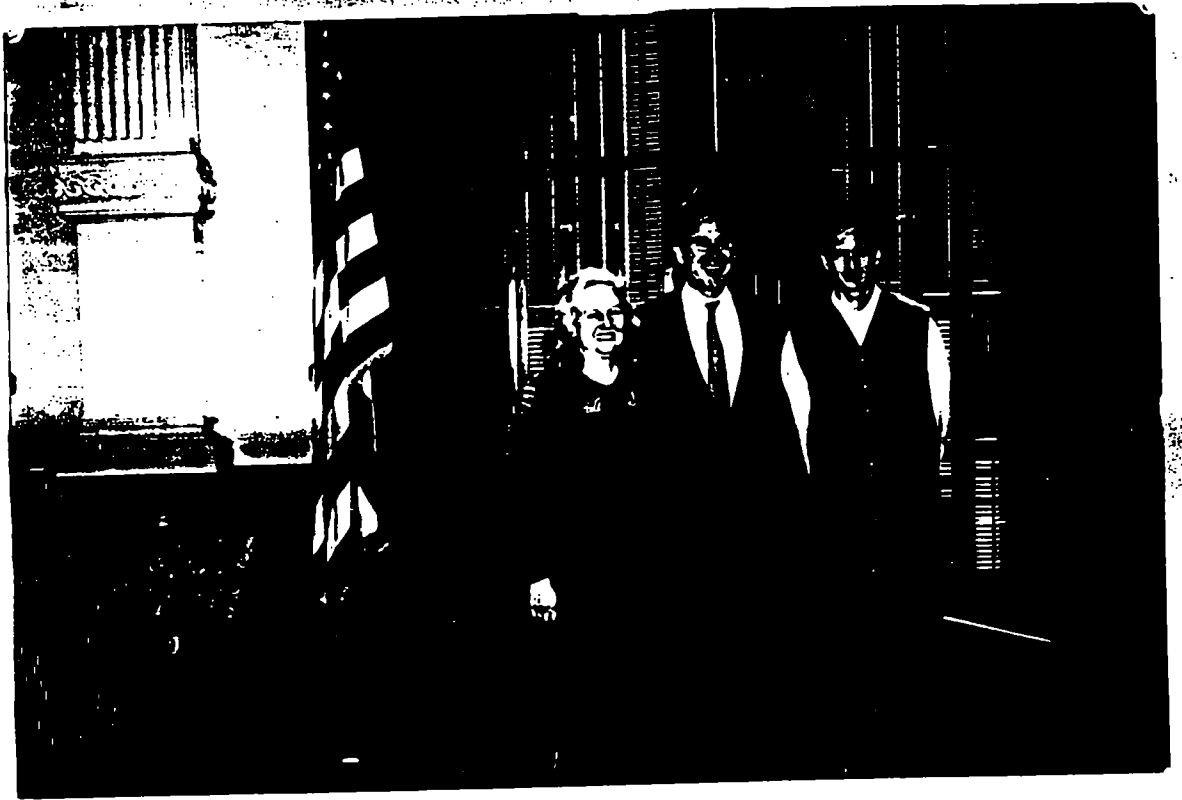
Her students are learning how to use their God-given talents that they never even knew existed by learning how to be responsible, meet deadlines, and think about how they are going to use all of the academics they have been taught to create something wonderful. When so many schools are busy cutting the artistic classes out of curricula because reading scores are low or math scores aren't high enough, Florence High School is doing just the opposite, and their test scores are higher than many front range cities in Colorado. Many of the students who graduate from Florence High School are pursuing college degrees. I am so glad that President and Mrs. Clinton support the arts. I have felt that my daughter and her small army have been fighting an uphill battle to get the arts back in the school curriculum. I know that kids respond to the arts, whether it is done with color, music, or script. It teaches people how to feel. Our future needs to include the whole curriculum which is academics plus the arts. Corporations should welcome completely educated people. Without the arts to balance academics, our future stands to be nothing more than people operating machines and computers. It would be a boring world, indeed, if there were never any symphonies, art galleries, or Broadway musicals to soothe the weary mind after a hard day working at the office, mill, or prison. The arts give life balance.

I hope you will consider Jacqueline Bruce for this prestigious award. I know that small towns such as Florence, Colorado rarely get noticed for the good things that happen to them. This is one small town where its graduates are going to make a difference! President Clinton came from a small town and was involved in the music program at his high school. Maybe Florence, Colorado has a future president in the making because of a teacher who saw a need to start a performing arts program.

Sincerely,



Beverly McCartee



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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. letter	Constituent to Mr. President and First Lady (1 page)	05/31/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17205

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC Stories

2013-0936-S

rc1350

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From
Life of HWL w/Extracts
from his Journals and Correspondence

Edited by Samuel Longfellow

LONGFELLOW ON SLAVERY

"...There is a poor, blind Samson in this land,
Shorn of his strength and bound in bonds of steel,
Who may, in some grim revel, raise his hand,
And shake the pillars of this Commonweal.
Till the vast Temple of our liberties
A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies."

from Longfellow's poem "The Warning"

"...The theme is one which should be repeated and re-echoed from every good heart and true, through the whole country: for the country seems bent upon disgracing itself in every possible way. I say it with deep humiliation and grief, the American character seems often wanting in many of the more generous and lofty traits which ennoble humanity.

I am sorry you find so much to gainsay in my Poems on Slavery. I shall not argue the point with you, however, but will simply state to you my belief.

1. I believe slavery to be an unrighteous institution, based on the false maxim that Might makes Right.
2. I have great faith in doing what is righteous, and fear no evil consequences.
3. I believe that every one has a perfect right to express his opinion on the subject of Slavery as on every other thing; that every one ought so to do, until the public opinion of all Christendom shall penetrate into and change the hearts of the Southerners on this subject.
4. I would have no other interference than what is sanctioned by law.
5. I believe that where there is a will there is a way. When the whole country sincerely wishes to get rid of Slavery, it will readily find the means.
6. Let us, therefore, do all we can to bring about this will, in all gentleness and Christian charity.

And God speed the time!" Longfellow to George Lunt, January 4, 1843.

9-14-50---"The day has been blackened to me by reading of the passage of the "Fugitive Slave Bill" in the House, Eliot of Boston voting for it. This is a dark disgrace to the city. If we should read in Dino Compagni that in the 10th century a citizen of Florence had given such a vote, we should see what an action he had done. But this the people of Boston cannot see in themselves. They will uphold it."

10-26-50---"The slave-hunters are in Boston. I hope they will be imprisoned as they as they deserve. What a disgrace this is to a republic of the nineteenth century."

10-27-50---"Sumner at dinner. The fugitive slave Crafts, has got a warrant against his pursuers, and had them arrested for slander in

calling him a ^{thief} ~~thief~~, damages laid at \$10,000. They found bail. ★
This is a good beginning.

11-5-51---"Webster with his face of infinite woes." (Visited at the Revere house) "He reminds me of Dante, though he has written a Divina Commedia."

11-10-51---"If the Free-soil and Democratic coalition triumphs--- Sumner will--be made Senator at Washington for 6 years. I don't think he much desires it save so far as it will be a vindication of himself and his course."

11-13-51---"I am glad that I am not a politician, nor filled with the rancor that politics engenders. The whigs are beaten---This is owing to their dereliction from their avowed principles of freedom. I think Daniel Webster has broken up the Whig party in Massachusetts, and those who have been so active in upholding his "Fugitive-Slave Bill" speech, and trying to ride everyone who differs from them must thank him and themselves for this signal defeat."

2-15-51---"Hear that a fugitive slave or a man accused of being one, escaped from the courtroom during the recess, aided by other blacks. Very glad of it. This government must not pass laws that outrage the sense of right in the community." (This was the Shadrack Minkins case) ★

"Shadrach-colored waiter in a Boston hotel....The President issued a proclamation commanding all officers, civil and military, to assist in capturing the rescuers, and the Secretaries of war and the Navy directed all officers under their command to give their aid. The rescuers were tried but not convicted." (Richard Henry Dana Jr. was one of the lawyers of the rescuers. This last paragraph is not his notation but his a footnote to his journal

4-3-51---"There is much excitement in Boston about the capture of an alleged fugitive slave. O city without soul! When and where will this end? Shame that the great Republic, the "refuge of the oppressed" should stoop so low as to become the Hunter of Slaves!"

4-5-51---"Troops under arms in Boston; the court-house guarded; the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court forced to stoop under chains to enter the temple of Justice. This is the last point of degradation. Alas for the people who cannot feel an insult! While the "great Webster" comes North to see that the work is done."

4-25-51---"The papers are all ringing with Sumner-(His election)--while the hero of the strife is sitting here quietly more saddened than exalted."

6-14-51---"Went to hear Emerson on the Fugitive Slave Law at the Cambridge City Hall---The treatment of Webster I did not like so well! ("Every drop of blood in this man's veins," he said (Emerson)

Testimony for Defense

1. From Govt. witnesses

Jones---Scott is a dealer in cloth...Is a good quiet citizen - timid in his disposition - Did not see Scott go in and out of the Court Room.

2. Alonso F. Neale (according to Dana) he will probably testify that he was in the court Room with Shadrach and did not see Scott in the Court Room...Knows Scott well.

3. ? Hutchins Outside resisting the rescuers - did not see Scott

4. Rev. Mrs Grimes

Was in the court room at the time of Shadrach's rescue...did not ...him...as among those who came into the court room.

(All the preceding are from Richard Henry Dana Jr's notes.)

additional notes by Longfellow on Slavery.

5/26/54--Yesterday a fugitive slave was arrested in Boston! Today there is an eclipse of the sun. "Hung be the heavens in black!" (This was Anthony Burns, of whose arrest, trial, and rendition to slavery a full account may be found in Henry Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power, ii. 435. Boston saw the spectacle of the military, naval, and executive power of the United States united to take away the liberty of one poor fugitive from injustice.)

5/27/54--Last night there was a meeting in Faneuil Hall, and afterward an attempt at rescue, which, I am sorry to say, failed. I am sick and sorrowful with this infamous business. Ah, Webster, Webster, you have much to answer for!

5/30/54--The slave case drags along. There is great and widespread excitement, and a healthy one. The general feeling is, "We will submit to this no longer, come what may!"

6/2/54--The fugitive slave is surrendered to his master, and, being marched through State Street with soldiery, put on board the United States revenue cutter. Dirty work for a country that is so loud about freedom as ours! 

6-2-54--Today is decided the fate of Burns, the fugitive slave. You have read it all in the papers, --the arrest, the trial, etc. Dana has done nobly; acting throughout with the greatest nerve and intrepidity. Letter to Sumner.

3/22/55--Lundy Lane and old Mrs Vassall (born a slave in this house in 1769) come to see me, and stay so long that Fields is driven away....)

4/20/62--In every country the "dangerous classes" are those who do no work;--the nobility in Europe and the slave-holders here. The

world needs a new nobility--What an Easter for Negroes in the District of Columbia.--"This Easter of Africa."

5/8/62--Of the civil war I say only this. It is not a revolution, but a Catalinian conspiracy. It is Slavery against Freedom; the north wind against the southern pestilence. I saw lately, at a jeweller's, a slave's collar of iron, with an iron tongue as large as a spoon, to go into the mouth. Every drop of blood in me quivered! The world forgets what slavery really is!



4/30/64--...Your report on the rejection of colored testimony I read with a kind of agony, to think what we had been inflicting on those "whose despair is dumb." (In no court of the District of Columbia or any Slave-State could the testimony of a black man be received.) "This dreadful stone of Slavery!--whenever you lift it, what reptiles crawl out from under it!" Longfellow to Charles Sumner.

5/28/63--In town saw the first regiment of blacks march through Beacon Street. An imposing sight, with something wild and strange about it, like a dream. At last the North consents to let the negro fight for freedom.



"In 1841 Longfellow had followed sympathetically the news of an African slave revolt aboard the Spanish ship Amistad and the subsequent trial in which John Q. Adam

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

A DAY OF SUNSHINE.

O GIFT of God! O perfect day :
Whereon shall no man work, but play ;
Whereon it is enough for me,
Not to be doing, but to be!

Through every fibre of my brain,
Through every nerve, through every vein,
I feel the electric thrill, the touch
Of life, that seems almost too much.

I hear the wind among the trees
Playing celestial symphonies ;
I see the branches downward bent,
Like keys of some great instrument.

And over me unrolls on high
The splendid scenery of the sky,
Where through a sapphire sea the sun
Sails like a golden galleon.

Towards yonder cloud-land in the West,
Towards yonder Islands of the Blest,
Whose steep sierra far uplifts
Its craggy summits white with drifts.

Blow, winds ! and waft through all the rooms
The snow-flakes of the cherry-blooms !
Blow, winds ! and bend within my reach
The fiery blossoms of the peach !

O Life and Love ! O happy throng
Of thoughts, whose only speech is song !
O heart of man ! canst thou not be
Blithe as the air is, and as free ?

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

Further Reading:

The Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, The Wordsworth Poetry Library, 1994

Newton Arvin, *Longfellow: His Life and Work*. Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1963

Hildegard Hawthorne, *The Poet of Craigie House*. 1936

Carl L. Johnson, *Professor Longfellow of Harvard*. University of Oregon, 1944

Samuel Longfellow, *Life of HWL, with Extracts from his Journals and Correspondence*, 2 vols. Ticknor, 1886

Lawrence Thompson, *Young Longfellow*, 1807-1843. 1938

Edward Wagenknecht, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Portrait of an American Humanist*. Oxford UP, 1966

Walt Whitman, 'The Death of Longfellow'. The Critic, 1882

Further WWW-Reading:

- [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#)
- [Longfellow](#)
- [Hiawatha's childhood](#)
- [The village blacksmith](#)
- For a 133kB picture of H. W. Longfellow, click [here](#).

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