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FOLDER TITLE:

Medal of Freedom 1/13 [1998]

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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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White House Press Release
Statement by the Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 8, 1998

Statement by the Press Secretary

President Clinton announced today that he will award the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Nation's highest civilian honor, to 15 distinguished Americans. The President will bestow the medals at a White House ceremony on January 15, 1998.

○ Arnold Aronson. A civil rights leader for over fifty years, Arnie Aronson co-founded and led the path-breaking Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, coordinated lobbying campaigns to pass the landmark civil rights legislation of the 1950s and 1960s, and joined Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as one of the ten leaders of the 1963 March on Washington.

✓ Brooke Astor. A New York philanthropist, Brooke Astor, through the Vincent Astor Foundation, has spent a lifetime funding innovative projects, ranging from outdoor living spaces in public housing to the revitalization of the New York Public Library, for which she has served as a trustee since 1959.

✓ Robert Coles. As Professor of Social Ethics at Harvard, psychiatrist, recipient of a MacArthur Genius Award, and Pulitzer-Prize-winning author of more than 50 books, Coles is a leader in the call to citizen service. He has explored children's relationships with their world, focusing much of his research on how children experience racism and spirituality. Early in his career, he served as an adviser to President Kennedy on racial and education issues.

✓ Justin Dart, Jr. Considered the father of the historic Americans with Disabilities Act, Justin Dart has worked from his wheelchair for more than 40 years to expand the rights of others. From his days at the University of Houston organizing a civil rights initiative to his government service to his trailblazing work on behalf of people with

disabilities, Dart has profoundly influenced the public policy of this Nation.

✓ James Farmer. One of our Nation's most influential civil rights leaders, James Farmer formed the Congress of Racial Equality in 1942, which became a catalyst of the civil rights movement. As the director of CORE, Farmer introduced nonviolent resistance against segregation and discrimination through such activities as sit-ins, standing lines, and the famous Freedom Rides. He is currently a professor at Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg, VA.

✓ Frances Hesselbein. Mrs. Hesselbein is one of the foremost experts on not-for-profit corporations and management in the workplace. As the leader of the Girl Scouts of America from 1976 to 1990, she transformed the organization. By 1990 her policies had produced a record membership of 3 million and had tripled minority participation. She is now President and CEO of the Peter F. Drucker Foundation for Non-Profit Management, which helps non-profit organizations maintain their values while more effectively meeting the needs of those they serve.

✓ Fred Korematsu. Fred Korematsu's legal challenges to civilian exclusion orders during WWII serve as the underpinning of the redress movement for Japanese Americans. In 1942, he was arrested and convicted for violating the government's exclusion orders, sentenced to five years of probation and sent to an internment camp. Korematsu appealed his conviction to the Supreme Court, where it was upheld in 1944. Forty years later in 1983, a Federal district court found the Government's exclusion and detention actions during the war were legally unsupported and that the Government's defense of the actions was based on fraud and misconduct.

○ Sol Linowitz. Linowitz, along with David Rockefeller, is a founder and a former chair of the International Executive Service Corps. A volunteer program that sends American executives to provide managerial and technical expertise to developing countries, IESC has launched more than 10,000 service projects. In addition to a successful career as an international lawyer and businessman, Linowitz served as United States representative to the OAS as well as co-negotiator of the Panama Canal treaties and President Carter's Ambassador-at-Large for Middle East negotiations.

✓ Wilma Mankiller. Rising out of poverty and overcoming great personal tragedy, Wilma Mankiller was appointed the principal chief of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma in 1985. In 1987, she became the first elected female leader of a major Indian tribe and was re-elected twice. Known for being an effective leader, she has emphasized reducing Cherokee infant mortality, improving health and educational systems, and promoting Cherokee business interests.

✓ Margaret (Mardy) Murie. A lifetime environmental activist and the widow of renowned naturalist Olaus Murie, Ms. Murie has been at the forefront of the conservation movement for over 70 years. A member of the governing council of The Wilderness Society, her work led to, among other accomplishments, the passage of landmark legislation that protected some of our Nation's most pristine and precious lands in Alaska. She also founded the Teton Science School to teach ecology to students of all ages.

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Every day across our country, thousands of men and women perform deeds that help make our world a more just place. They don't do it for fame or money. They do it because they believe in the individual worth and dignity of every human being. Their selfless acts of courage and service show the rest of us what we can do in our own lives to strengthen America's tradition of freedom.

Earlier this week, the President honored a handful of these citizens with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor in the United States. Only 344 people have received the award since its inception in 1963.

I'd like to share the stories of this year's honorees with you.

-- Joseph Cardinal Bernardin. Throughout a distinguished career in the Roman Catholic Church, Cardinal Bernardin's voice and conscience have set an example for all people. Guided by his faith in God, he has fought tirelessly against some of the greatest enemies of freedom: racial discrimination, poverty and ignorance. As the President said, he is "a remarkable man of God and a remarkable man of the people."

-- James Brady. The freedom to walk the streets and neighborhoods of America in safety is what former White House Press Secretary James Brady and his wife, Sarah, have worked for these past 15 years. Paralyzed by a would-be assassin's bullet in 1981, Brady recovered to fight for stronger gun control laws in this country, including passage of the law that carries his name.

-- Millard Fuller. The founder and President of Habitat for Humanity, Millard Fuller has spent 20 years improving housing for low-income Americans. His organization has recruited thousands of volunteers (including Bill, Chelsea and me) to help 50,000 low-income families build their own homes.

-- David Hamburg. David Hamburg has devoted his life to understanding human behavior, preventing violent conflict and improving the health and well-being of children. As a physician, educator and most recently the President of the Carnegie Corp., he has given voice to the issues that matter most in the lives of children and their families.

-- John H. Johnson. Through Johnson Publishing Co., which prints leading African-American magazines like Ebony and Jet, John H. Johnson has raised the profile of African-Americans in our nation's daily life and discouraged negative racial stereotypes. An Arkansas native and self-made man, Johnson continues to inspire

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young people to believe in themselves and to take advantage of available opportunities.

– Eugene Lang. Fifteen years ago, businessman Eugene Lang promised to pay the college tuition of any member of a sixth-grade class at his East Harlem alma mater who graduated from high school. That promise led to the creation of his "I Have a Dream" foundation, which is helping 15,000 underprivileged students in 59 cities prepare for college with tutoring, mentoring and financial aid.

– Jan Nowak-Jezioranski. Jan Nowak-Jezioranski is revered in both his native Poland and his adopted United States for his lifelong dedication to the cause of freedom and democracy. In World War II, Nowak risked his life to carry vital information from Poland to the allies. Later, he directed Radio Free Europe's Polish Service, a voice of freedom and hope for millions of Poles.

– Antonia Pantoja. The driving force behind innumerable efforts to empower and strengthen the Puerto Rican community, Antonia Pantoja founded ASPIRA 35 years ago. This organization promotes education, leadership training and community service for Latino youth.

– Rosa Parks. By refusing to surrender her seat on a bus to a white man one evening 40 years ago in Montgomery, Ala., Rosa Parks symbolized a civil rights revolution that forced our country to honor our ideals of equality and justice. Parks continues to work to extend more opportunities for young people through the Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute for Self-Development in Detroit.

– Ginetta Sagan. Imprisoned and tortured during World War II, Ginetta Sagan has devoted her life to saving others from unjust and inhumane imprisonment. Through Amnesty International and her own Aurora Foundation, she has drawn the world's attention to the plight of prisoners of conscience and their families.

-- Morris Udall. A 30-year veteran of the House of Representatives, Morris Udall led our nation's efforts to protect America's natural resources, wildlife and environment. In addition to his skills as a lawmaker, Udall was revered in Congress for the sense of humor and civility he brought to his office.

Like so many other Americans whose names we will never know, the winners of the Medal of Freedom look beyond their own needs to serve the needs of others. Their lives and accomplishments reflect the best of the American character and spirit -- and the best that our democracy has to offer.

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Coles to Receive Highest U.S. Civilian Honor Presidential Medal Awarded on Thursday

Published January 12, 1998

By GEORGIA N. ALEXAKIS

Robert M. Coles '50, Agee Professor of Social Ethics at the Graduate School of Education (GSE), will receive the nation's highest civilian honor—the Presidential Medal of Freedom—on Thursday.

“The first thing I thought of when the White House called me with the news was all the children that I’ve worked with over the last 25 years,” Coles said. “Their stories and their lives all led to that phone call.”

The Presidential Medal of Freedom is awarded by the president to individuals who have made exceptional contributions to national security interests, world peace or other significant public and private endeavors.

Coles—a child psychiatrist, recipient of the 1981 MacArthur Foundation Fellowship Prize, and a 1973 Pulitzer Prize winner—has worked to understand the lives of children from a variety of backgrounds.

As a neuropsychiatrist in the Air Force, Coles began working with children undergoing the stress of school desegregation when he was stationed in Louisiana during the 1960s.

“Over the last 30 years, I’ve worked as an anthropological field worker, even though I’m really a physician,” Coles said. “I do my work in the home, neighborhoods and schools.

“I began to learn early on that children and their families have stories to tell about their lives,” Coles added.

Coles, a research psychiatrist for University Health Services and a professor of psychiatry and medical humanities at the Harvard Medical School, has taught courses at several schools across the University since coming to Harvard in 1977.

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Coles also teaches General Education 105: "The Literature of Social Reflection," using great works of literature to advance moral and social inquiry. In recent years, the course has attracted more than 400 undergraduates.

"In literature we find a kind of human truth that does justice to the complexities and ambiguities of the human existence that we can't always find in social theory," Coles said.

The author of more than 50 books and 1,200 articles, reviews and essays since 1961, Coles says he "prefers using words that I was seeing and feeling rather than the words that I use when I write in technical journals."

"The White House official [who informed me of the honor] told me that the President and Mrs. Clinton had read my books going way back when they were in law school," Coles said.

After speaking a conference on the homeless on Wednesday in Washington, D.C., Coles said he will attend "a two-hour shindig" at the White House with the 14 other Presidential Medal of Freedom recipients.

"I had to buy a suit for the occasion," Coles said, explaining that his three children told him that he could not wear his usual corduroys and sweaters to the White House ceremony.

Coles' colleagues said his past work made him worthy of the president's honor.

"He has been tremendously influential in many domains throughout his career," said Jerome T. Murphy, dean of the GSE. "Each year there is a long line to enroll in his courses because he is so popular. He knows so much about kids, particularly kids who are dealing with poverty and who are at risk. He demonstrates such compassion and passion in his teaching."

Murphy added that Coles is a suitable candidate for the honor because of the emphasis he has placed on the need for increased public service.

"What strikes you most is how deeply committed he is to social justice and how deeply committed he is to telling the story of ordinary people and the traumatic situations they face," Murphy said.

Gregory A. Johnson '72, former Phillips Brooks House Association (PBHA) director, agreed with Murphy, citing Coles' commitment to student-run volunteer programs.

In the early 1990s, Coles led a program for Harvard students involved in summer PBHA activities which combined literary readings and seminar discussions to give participants the chance to reflect on their volunteer experiences.

“He added the missing reflective component to the program,” Johnson said. “You can’t be a good human servant unless you have a conception of the milieu in which you are serving.”

Johnson, a former senior tutor of Adams House, said that Coles—an associate of Adams House—has made incomparable contributions to Harvard.

“There is no one like him at the College—that is the most clear way to put it,” Johnson said. “An incredible human being, a masterful teacher—he is one of the most popular professors to ever grace the College, with good reason.”

Other recipients of this year’s award include: Brooke Astor, the New York philanthropist; Justin Dart, Jr., considered the father of the Americans with Disabilities Act; Albert Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers; and Wilma Mankiller, who became the first woman to be elected as the leader of an American Indian tribe.

Past recipients of the Presidential Medal of Freedom include former senator Bob Dole, former surgeon general C. Everett Coop, A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., public service professor of jurisprudence at the Kennedy School of Government, Eugene Lang, founder and chair of the “I Have a Dream” Foundation and Joan Ganz Cooney, the creator of “Sesame Street.”

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108TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Los Angeles Times

January 8, 1995, Sunday, Bulldog Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 1; Column 1; Advance Desk

LENGTH: 1240 words

HEADLINE: EX-ADMIRAL COPELS WITH A DEEPER PAIN OVER HIS SON'S CANCER DEATH;
VIETNAM: ELMO ZUMWALT JR. HEADED U.S. NAVAL FORCES IN VIETNAM AND ORDERED AGENT
ORANGE BE USED. HE NOW BELIEVES IT KILLED HIS SON.

BYLINE: By GEORGE ESPER, ASSOCIATED PRESS

DATELINE: HANOI

BODY:

As commander of the U.S. naval forces in the Vietnam War from 1968 to 1970, Adm. Elmo Zumwalt Jr. always read the daily casualty list from the bottom to the top.

That's because his eldest son, Elmo Zumwalt III, was serving in Vietnam at the same time under his command.

"Because they were listed alphabetically, I always knew the last name on the list would be Zumwalt if there were a casualty," recalls the retired admiral, who recently returned to Vietnam for a visit with some of his former foes.

Zumwalt's eldest son survived the war itself but died in 1988 at age 42 from cancer. His father believes the cancer was caused by Agent Orange, the chemical he ordered used to defoliate the jungle.

The Army had been using Agent Orange in areas of Vietnam prior to Zumwalt's arrival. But, ironically, he ordered it sprayed in the areas of the Mekong Delta where his son served aboard a patrol boat, in efforts to strip away the foliage that provided cover for communist troops.

The 74-year-old Zumwalt returned to Vietnam in September for the first time in a quarter of a century, the highest-ranking American officer to do so. He lives in Arlington, Va., and serves as a director of several corporations and nonprofit foundations.

The death of his son turned him into an advocate for joint research between Vietnam and the United States on Agent Orange, and for veterans benefits for those believed to be its victims.

"The work I'm doing in the case of Agent Orange and as chairman of the National Marrow Donor Program are both my way of memorializing my son rather than trying to do it with bricks and mortar," Zumwalt said.

This year, he will lobby the new Congress to hold hearings on appropriating money for joint research on Agent Orange. He said Vietnam has pledged its support.

Los Angeles Times, January 8, 1995

As chief of naval operations in Washington from 1970 to 1974, Zumwalt was noted for his "Z-Grams," directives designed to reform and modernize the Navy. He ran unsuccessfully as the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate in Virginia in 1976.

Accompanying Zumwalt on his return to Vietnam was his younger son, Jim, also a Vietnam veteran. Many American veterans of that war are returning to the former battlefields to shake hands and embrace their old enemies.

Zumwalt met Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap for the first time and invited him to visit the United States and participate in a seminar on Vietnam in April, 1996, at the Lubbock, Tex., branch of Texas Christian University.

Giap defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. A decade later, he held off half-a-million American troops and eventually won the second Indochina War. In a poignant moment, the old warrior, now 83 years old, embraced the admiral.

"I know what happened to your family," Giap said to Zumwalt. The general told of his own losses, comrades in arms, friends and relatives. His wife was arrested for anti-French activities and died in prison.

"You are a legend in your own time and I know that you share my views that the time has come to bind up our wounds," Zumwalt told him.

Zumwalt told Vietnam's President Le Duc Anh, "I have felt a very special responsibility to help deal with the wounds of that war."

During the admiral's visit to a Hanoi hospital, Nguyen Huy Phan, a Vietnamese surgeon, told him, "You have lost a son, but I lost my younger brother, and my father."

"I'm very sorry to hear that," Zumwalt replied.

"My father during the first conflict in Indochina with the French and my brother in 1967 in Da Nang."

"I'm very sorry," Zumwalt repeated.

"And I had to find his remains myself and it took 17 years," Phan said, referring to his brother.

"We are anxious to help in every way we can to put the war behind us and generate increasing friendship between our two peoples," Zumwalt told him.

Zumwalt's most memorable moment was his visit to the Hanoi Hilton, the former prison where hundreds of American POWs were held and tortured. It is now being torn down to make way for a luxury hotel.

Until his recent visit, Zumwalt had never seen the Hanoi Hilton, nor Hanoi's Army Museum, which holds captured American equipment and the wreckage of a U.S. B-52 bomber.

He was not allowed inside the gates of the prison, although it has long been empty. But he walked around its quarried stone walls and iron doors in tears, saluting the airmen he once commanded.

Los Angeles Times, January 8, 1995

Zumwalt wept at the thought of "the horrible years when our remarkable American prisoners were being tortured while some Americans were claiming they were being well treated.

"I knew so many of the wonderful young men after they came home and I learned firsthand of their experiences. But it's driven home even more forcefully when you see the horrible surroundings of the Hanoi Hilton."

At the Army Museum, Zumwalt saluted the captured American equipment. "In almost every case, it represents courageous Americans who died," he said.

And each day he thought of his son, Elmo. Both believed to the day of Elmo's death that he survived the war 13 years beyond its end in 1975 because of the great reduction in casualties that Zumwalt says resulted from defoliation.

"Both Elmo and I believed that he probably would not have survived because he was always volunteering to go into harm's way, probably to show that he wasn't getting any special breaks," said his father.

"Neither he nor I have ever had the feeling that was in any way related to guilt, but just a sense of tragedy that I was the instrumentality of his final end."

Agent Orange also is believed to have caused severe learning disabilities in Elmo's son, Russell, 17.

"I would use Agent Orange again today in identical circumstances," Zumwalt said. "My casualties, when we had to go into the narrow rivers and canals along the . . . border, were occurring at the rate of 6% a month. The average naval person had a 70% probability of being killed or maimed in his year's tour. By using it, we reduced our casualties from 6% a month to less than 1%."

Zumwalt and his son were together four or five times during the war. On one occasion, Elmo was able to come to Saigon. But most of the time he was in the jungles.

"He always had a lot of good advice for me," Zumwalt said. "And on one occasion, he insisted that a specific canal coming across the Cambodian border was the route the Viet Cong were using.

"I said, 'It's not accurate, Elmo. We've penetrated their intelligence system and we know they're not using that canal.' So the next night, Elmo took his boat up the canal across the border into Cambodia, and at 2 o'clock in the morning, sank a convoy of about 20 Viet Cong sampans."

His crew told the admiral later that as they were in the water throwing B-40 rocket-propelled grenades up on the deck of their boat, Elmo remarked, "I'll take these back and show my old man that there's no traffic on this canal."

But the younger Zumwalt created a serious problem for his father by going across the border into Cambodia. The admiral took himself out of the chain of command and turned the matter over to his chief of staff. Zumwalt recalls the outcome with pride.

Los Angeles Times, January 8, 1995

"The chief of staff made the decision that Elmo should be court-martialed for violating the rules of engagement, and should be given a medal for what he accomplished, and that the one should cancel out the other, and he should get neither.

"Whereupon, the Vietnamese chief of naval operations awarded him the Vietnamese Cross of Gallantry."

GRAPHIC: Photo, Retired Adm. Elmo Zumwalt Jr. joins visitors to Hanoi's Army Museum displaying Vietnam War exhibits. Associated Press

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 9, 1995

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The New York Times

December 10, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final
Correction Appended

NAME: David Rockefeller

SECTION: Section 3; Page 1; Column 2; Money and Business/Financial Desk

LENGTH: 3941 words

HEADLINE: Last of the Big-Time Rockefellers

BYLINE: By STEPHANIE STROM

BODY:

IT has been a rough year for the standard-bearer of one of the most fabled families in American history.

Just as David Rockefeller was solidifying his role as the business dynasty's third-generation patriarch, two of the proudest symbols of the Rockefeller name suffered embarrassing blows to their prestige.

First, Rockefeller Center filed for bankruptcy protection in May, despite Mr. Rockefeller's intense effort to avert that humiliation. Three months later, the Chase Manhattan Bank, known for years as the "Rockefeller Bank" and the crucible where Mr. Rockefeller forged his reputation as America's premier capitalist and business statesman, was gobbled up by Chemical Bank, its decidedly more plebeian competitor.

To top it all off, the 80-year-old Mr. Rockefeller broke his leg on a trip to Tokyo in February to negotiate with the Mitsubishi Estate Company about keeping Rockefeller Center out of its creditors' hands.

"There have been some episodes, yes, that were unhappy and difficult, breaking my leg not the least of them," he said in an interview on Nov. 30 at his unimposing office on the 56th floor of 30 Rockefeller Plaza, the nerve center of the family's activities.

But it will take more than a few disappointments to sidetrack the grandson of John D. Rockefeller, the 19th-century oil magnate, from his mission as caretaker of the family legacy. It is a role that in a sense has been thrust on him; of John D. Jr.'s five sons, only David and Laurance, 85, survive, and Laurance has made it clear that he prefers to keep out of the limelight.

Moreover, none of the Cousins, as the 22 members of the fourth generation are known, have emerged with the experience and connections to take on the mantle of leadership. Only in this generation have the women assumed senior roles in the family's affairs, though a fair number have abandoned the Rockefeller name.

And so, David Rockefeller carries on, the one force capable of uniting the growing number of heirs to the multibillion-dollar family fortune. Despite his age, he maintains an extremely busy schedule. He continues to update a card file containing 100,000 names of most of the people he has ever met. And he always

The New York Times, December 10, 1995

strives to put the best light on the shifting Rockefeller fortunes.

Thanks to his efforts, the family is poised to regain a stake in Rockefeller Center, albeit a much smaller one than it held before the bankruptcy. And while confessing to a certain melancholy over Chase's absorption by Chemical, he takes the stoic view that some sort of merger was inevitable, given the rapid consolidation of the American banking industry. Even though the combined bank will clearly be dominated by Chemical executives and their culture, he likes to point out that it will carry Chase's name and its "beveled bagel" logo.

His fractured femur has barely slowed him. Just three weeks after doctors inserted two pins into his leg, he presented an award to King Hussein of Jordan on behalf of the American Committee for Foreign Policy, and in another month or so, was back doing his morning workouts. "I only have a little more difficulty riding on horseback, because I can't quite get my leg up over the saddle easily," he said.

His upbeat attitude hardly surprises his associates. "The past year has been fraught with frustrations and challenges for him, but he's made of steel, you know," said Joseph Verner Reed, an undersecretary general at the United Nations and an old friend.

Mr. Rockefeller is more apt to describe himself as a plodder. "When things happen, you just have to try to find the best way of working them out that you can," he said.

Even within the family, there is the sense that David Rockefeller represents the end of an era. As others take possession of the Rockefeller crown jewels and the clan itself becomes bigger and more dispersed, it becomes increasingly uncertain whether the Rockefeller name will much longer retain its cachet as a passport to the centers of political and economic power.

Today, some 110 Rockefellers are direct descendants of John D., the feisty founder of the Standard Oil empire and America's first billionaire. His brother, William, produced an even bigger brood that now numbers more than 300, although they do not benefit from the web of trusts established by John D. Jr. that have preserved the family wealth, estimated at between \$4 billion and \$5 billion.

David Rockefeller Jr., Mr. Rockefeller's son and the current head of the family enterprises, Rockefeller & Company, has volunteered to represent the family and oversee the management of its money and collective affairs. And most of John D.'s other descendants are busy in the Rockefeller tradition of hard work and philanthropy.

David's daughter Peggy Dulany, for example, has built strong ties to leaders in emerging countries and works to help them put together social and economic development projects, while her sister Neva Goodwin, a professor at Tufts, is completing a textbook on elementary economics for Russia. Rodman Rockefeller, the oldest son of the late Nelson Rockefeller, is an astute business man, while John D. 4th, known as Jay, is a Senator.

None of these younger Rockefellers, however, seem equipped or inclined to follow in David Rockefeller Sr.'s footsteps. "No one can step into his shoes," said Warren T. Lindquist, a longtime friend. "Not because they aren't good, smart, talented people but because it's just a different world, and they have

The New York Times, December 10, 1995

different interests."

David Jr. agrees. "We're no longer just a New York City family," he said. "My guess is that there will be multiple leaders and patriarchs and perhaps matriarchs." And the elder Mr. Rockefeller himself reluctantly recognizes that he probably represents the last of a breed. "When a family multiplies the way ours has, it's hard to maintain the identity over time," he said.

"I don't think it's fair to judge what the next generation is doing by comparing them and their activities to what I and my siblings have accomplished at the end of our lives," he added. "I think it's fair to say that 20 or 25 years ago, I was less well-known than now."

EVEN so, the Rockefellers have shown remarkable staying power compared with the other American family empires. Who remembers any one member of the third generation of the Kelloggs, the Carnegies or the Vanderbilts, for example, other than for lavish home-decorating or scandal? Even more impressive, the Rockefellers produced not one but two third-generation luminaries: first Nelson, four-time Governor of New York and Vice President during the Ford Administration, who died in 1979; and now David.

The Brothers, as the third generation of Rockefellers is known (even though the oldest of the brood was a woman, Abby, who died in 1976), were determined to avoid the fate of the other business clans. "There is an old saying: 'Shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves in three generations,' " one of the brothers told the biographer Joe Alex Morris shortly after the end of World War II. "Well, we have to avoid a third-generation anticlimax."

For all the accolades, David Rockefeller isn't without his detractors. While few doubt his seriousness of purpose, for example, some say he was a bit like an absentee manager when he ran Chase Manhattan, once the world's largest bank.

As its chairman and chief executive in the 1970's, Mr. Rockefeller spent a good deal of his time traveling the world in search of new customers and business opportunities. Mr. Reed, the United Nations official, recalls that he made 78 trips in the 12 years that he worked as Mr. Rockefeller's assistant at the bank -- and not quick jaunts, but long excursions. The Rockefeller name worked magic in opening doors, not only in the free world, but in the Communist bloc as well. Chase was the first Western bank to open branches in Moscow and Beijing and was the primary lender to many of their satellites in Africa, the Far East and Latin America.

Critics, however, said that his globe-trotting led him to neglect Chase's business at home. After all, it was during his watch that Citibank, Chase's longtime rival, overtook "David's bank" as the No. 1 bank in the country. And in the late 1970's, souring loans in real-estate and Latin America threatened further deterioration.

Others took Mr. Rockefeller to task for meeting with some of the world's most notorious dictators. He defends these contacts as quiet diplomacy. "The fact that I met with them doesn't mean I agree with them," he said. "My feeling is that one has a much better chance of getting people to make changes if you're talking to them."

The New York Times, December 10, 1995

Such willingness to hobnob with the leaders of undemocratic regimes can still stir up trouble for Mr. Rockefeller. When Ms. Dulany, his daughter, learned that Fidel Castro, whom she had met through her work in developing countries, was coming to New York for the United Nations' 50th anniversary celebrations this fall, she asked her father to hold a dinner for the Cuban dictator. Fearful that such an event would set off Rockefeller-bashing of the sort he had managed to avoid for years, he declined, but suggested that Ms. Dulany hold her own dinner party for Mr. Castro, which she did.

It was not so easy to sidestep the land mines of unfavorable publicity, however. Mr. Rockefeller was in a car on his way to a dinner that Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York was having for visiting dignitaries when he heard WCBS radio announce that he was at that very moment giving a party for Mr. Castro.

The next day at the United Nations, Mr. Castro strode across a room packed with diplomats and world leaders to shake Mr. Rockefeller's hand, a gesture captured in pictures that appeared in newspapers nationwide. "I must have shaken the hands of 50 people that day, but of course, the only picture that made it into the papers was the one with Castro," he said with a smile.

IN a brief meeting later with Mr. Castro, he continued his efforts at pragmatic bridge-building. "I told him the world has changed, and I thought it was time our two countries tried to find a way to see if they could get together," Mr. Rockefeller recalled. "He said he'd think about it."

He left Chase at its zenith, having disposed of its troubled loans and given it global reach. But some critics, including even some of his close friends, say that his preoccupation with foreign affairs had in fact sown the seeds of the bank's future frailty. In their view, his worst sin was a failure to cultivate strong subordinates, creating a leadership void.

Banking analysts say that that flaw was compounded by a clouded judgment. They say it is now clear that neither Willard C. Butcher, who succeeded Mr. Rockefeller at Chase, nor Thomas G. LaBrecque, the current chairman who was one of Mr. Rockefeller's fair-haired boys 20 years ago, had the ability to lead such a large and multifaceted institution.

His supporters note that in fact, Mr. Rockefeller axed the successor he had chosen, Herbert P. Patterson, reluctantly agreeing with Chase board members that Mr. Patterson lacked the aggressiveness to keep the bank competitive, a trait that unfortunately permeated the Chase culture.

Mr. Rockefeller brushes off such sniping. "Bill deserves much of the credit for the turnaround at the Chase that I was given credit for when I left," he said. "There was no doubt in my mind that he was qualified and entitled to succeed me."

Some note that Mr. Rockefeller, who retired from Chase in 1981, had no role in selecting Mr. LaBrecque for the bank's top job in 1990. And Mr. Rockefeller argues that Mr. LaBrecque performed admirably, even in selling what many regarded as a Rockefeller institution (though the family's stake in Chase was never more than about 5 percent). "I think this is the best solution for the Chase," he said. "I doubt that the Chase would have been able to, quickly enough, raise the capital to keep itself competitive as a world-class bank."

The New York Times, December 10, 1995

His supporters say his backing for Mr. LaBrecque is a manifestation of the fierce loyalty that he has always extended to his friends and associates -- a trait that can create havoc if it is misplaced. It certainly roiled Rockefeller University, one of the world's pre-eminent medical research institutions that enjoys the financial support of the Rockefeller fortune. In late 1989, Mr. Rockefeller backed the appointment of Dr. David Baltimore, winner of a Nobel Prize for biomedical research, to the presidency of the university, in spite of widespread opposition by many professors who objected to the scientist's role in a dispute over whether a colleague committed fraud in a paper that Dr. Baltimore had helped write.

The university's board, which Mr. Rockefeller headed, pushed through Dr. Baltimore's appointment, and he served a tumultuous year-and-a-half reign that saw the departure of at least three prominent faculty members who opposed his leadership.

"It's easy in hindsight to say he should have left earlier, but I don't believe in turning against someone the moment they get in trouble," Mr. Rockefeller said. "It may be the truth that in the end I err on the side of giving people the benefit of the doubt, but I don't think that's such a terrible thing to do."

After his retirement from Chase, Mr. Rockefeller took over his family's affairs just as the family was beginning to grapple with its increasing diversity and size. The wealth that trickled out of the Rockefeller trusts was being spread increasingly thin, and many of the family's assets were in real estate that generated a low return.

Rockefeller Center was one of the family's biggest assets, but with its high maintenance costs and long-term leases, it made very little money. The family, led by Laurance, began agitating to cash out of the center and put the proceeds in more lucrative and liquid investments. In 1985, the trusts, which were the actual owners of Rockefeller Center through the family holding company, the Rockefeller Group, sold a mortgage on a portion of the center to the public, realizing \$1.3 billion, \$250 million of which was put to work earning hefty returns for the family.

Four years later, the trusts decided to sell the property outright, offering the Mitsubishi Estate Company an 80 percent stake in Rockefeller Group for \$1.4 billion.

From the family's vantage point, their timing was impeccable. "The trustees were shouldering a heavy responsibility: was it prudent to have so much of the family's wealth invested in real estate and in New York City real estate at that," David Rockefeller Jr. said. "Their move to sell the center turns out to have been quite good, especially in terms of timing when you consider that the bottom fell out of New York City real estate shortly thereafter.

"If I could roll back time, however, maybe I would give up some of the profits to avoid the outcome of the deal," he added.

Friends say Mr. Rockefeller was loath to sell Rockefeller Group and the center, but he was outvoted by his brother Laurance and many of the other family members, who were lobbying the trust committee to turn it into more liquid assets. "It pained him to see the family so willing to abandon it," said one

The New York Times, December 10, 1995

longtime friend, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The notion that the family abandoned Rockefeller Center and, by extension, New York City, was raised in articles and editorials after the property went bankrupt. The accusation outrages many family members. After all, they point out, one is hard put to find a corner of New York where they have not left their mark. Without the Rockefellers, the city's financial district would have evaporated, and the United Nations would have ended up in San Francisco. Morningside Heights would have remained a slum, the World Trade Center would not have been built and the Museum of Modern Art, erected on the site of their parents' mansion, and Lincoln Center, built with the support of John D. 3d, would be vastly different places.

Mr. Rockefeller and David Jr. both stressed the family's commitment to the center and to the city. The impression that the Rockefellers no longer cared about the city because they did not ride in on a white horse made of money to save the center, they say, is a mistaken one. They note that the final decision on family finances lies in the hands of the five trustees -- including mutual-fund giant George Putnam and the former Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volcker -- who administer the trusts.

The family is often blamed for decisions made by the trustees, over whom they have little if any control, they say. "We can give advice and so forth, but it is the holders of the shares of the trusts, the trustees, who make the decisions," said David Rockefeller Jr., speaking of Rockefeller Center's recent travails. Some say that in the aftermath of the Rockefeller Center debacle, some members of the family feel that Mr. Bowen allowed an opportunity to save the property from bankruptcy to slip away by trying to secure a few extra points of interests for the family's investment in a joint rescue plan with Mitsubishi Estate.

Mr. Bowen, who did not return calls to his office seeking comment, had previously said that his fiduciary responsibilities to beneficiaries of the trusts forced him to drive a hard bargain. And Mr. Rockefeller, who, friends say, does not have the warmest feelings for Mr. Bowen, said there was more at issue than a few points of interest.

But Mr. Rockefeller doesn't find fault with the trustees. Rather, he lays the blame for the debacle at the feet of Mitsubishi, which, he said, spurned the trust's offer to lend money to a rescue package at well-below market returns.

Nonetheless, the trusts also did not come to Mr. Rockefeller's aid when he began working as part of a group led by Goldman, Sachs & Company to buy the property out of bankruptcy. Instead, two other wealthy families whose patriarchs are friends of Mr. Rockefeller, the Agnellis of Italy and the Niarchoses of Greece, put up more than \$180 million while he contributed \$20 million.

Mr. Rockefeller and his friends plan to use the money to buy a 45.45 percent stake in the property.

Both Mr. Rockefeller and his son bristle at the suggestion that the family did not back him up in his fight to keep at least a piece of the center in the Rockefeller fold.

The New York Times, December 10, 1995

But if the Rockefellers are putting on a show of public unity about the outcome of the Rockefeller Center drama, some shareholders in the company that holds the mortgage on the center, Rockefeller Center Properties, are not so unforgiving.

Mr. Rockefeller and his fellow investors will gain control of the property by buying up all the shares of Rockefeller Center Properties, which is slated to take ownership of the center in what will be an effective foreclosure on its mortgage. The investors will pay shareholders \$8 apiece for their shares, or about \$12 less than the shares were worth a decade ago when the Rockefeller trusts sold the mortgage. The upshot of their complaint is that they ended up taking the hit for the decline in New York City real-estate values over the last 10 years, while the Rockefellers cashed out in the late 1980's for more than \$2 billion and are now getting a big chunk of ownership back for a song.

Mr. Rockefeller declined to discuss any aspect of the pending deal to buy the property out of bankruptcy while it is awaiting the review of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

But it is clear he feels his character has been unfairly questioned, and his friends say he is troubled by that. "He's annoyed as anyone would be when somethings get about that are really untrue or unfair," said Mr. Lindquist, his longtime friend. "People are very apt to, on little or no information, make up motives or intentions that are completely unrelated to the truth, and anyone saying David Rockefeller is only looking out for his self-interest and the interests of his family is just wrong."

Mr. Lindquist met Mr. Rockefeller in Paris after World War II, when they both worked for the American military attache there. "I didn't quite know what to expect," Mr. Lindquist recalled. "I had been briefed at the Pentagon and told I would be working with David Rockefeller. I asked whether he was one of the Rockefellers, and they said yes. I thought about it a minute and then said, well, so what?"

If Mr. Lindquist was at all concerned a Rockefeller might make a less than ideal colleague, Mr. Rockefeller put him at ease from the start, as he does with most people. "The general and David met me when I got off the bus from Orly in front of the Ritz," Mr. Lindquist recalled. "Captain Rockefeller shook my hand and picked up my bag and began carrying it."

His easygoing manner has helped Mr. Rockefeller collect an impressive network of contacts, all of whom he calls friends. Asked how many "friends" he has, Mr. Rockefeller said it would depend on how the word was defined. "If you include all the people I've shaken hands with over the years, well, then it would be quite a few," he said. "My card file records about 100,000 names that I update with each new meeting, but a certain percent -- and more and more now, I have to say -- are in the morgue."

On a recent morning, he was jotting down notes from a recent trip to "places where I have friends" on behalf of Chase so that his secretaries could update the card file. Asked which friend he met in Thailand, Mr. Rockefeller smiled a little apologetically. "Well, in Thailand, surprise, surprise, it was the King and Queen," he said.

The New York Times, December 10, 1995

That friendship dates back to the early 1960's, when Mr. Rockefeller helped the Thais set up the National Institute for Development Administration.

"It was just one of those fortunate moments when he asked for something, and I was able to help," Mr. Rockefeller said. He did so by tapping an economist who was working for his brother Nelson; the economist conducted an exhaustive study of the Thai economic system and suggested a development plan.

Despite his modesty on the subject, it is for his efforts to use private means to influence public policy that Mr. Rockefeller would like to be remembered. "I would like to be thought of as having seen that there was an important role for the private sector in world affairs and cooperating with governments for the benefit of both parties," he said. "That's what I've tried to demonstrate with my activities on behalf of the Chase and with things like the Council of the Americas and the Trilateral Commission," two public service organizations he helped establish.

George Ames, a partner at Lazard Freres & Company who was involved in some of Mr. Rockefeller's real-estate deals, said his sense of public obligation usually outweighed the profit motive.

"I believe they all inherited a very strong sense of public responsibility from their father," Mr. Ames said. "The whole Rockefeller Center development was created with that in mind. I doubt it ever turned a significant profit until after World War II. It was more that this was a place in the middle of a city that everyone could enjoy and be proud of and, in some way, feel an ownership in it."

Today, at an age when most men might be content to relax in the memory of their achievements, Mr. Rockefeller attends numerous functions each week, travels frequently and continues to seek out new business opportunities. "I'm enjoying what I'm doing," he said, perplexed by a question about why he keeps pushing on. "I like what I do. It's fun."

And there's no indication that he intends to slow down, extending an invitation to "come back and see me in 20 years."

CORRECTION-DATE: December 17, 1995, Sunday

CORRECTION:

An article last Sunday about David Rockefeller misidentified the organization on whose behalf he presented an award to King Hussein of Jordan. It is the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, not the American Committee for Foreign Policy.

GRAPHIC: Photos: 1965 The Brothers, as their generation of Rockefellers is known. From left, John D. 3d, Nelson, Laurance, Winthrop and David, who is the family's leader. (The New York Times); 1971 David Rockefeller opening an art exhibit at Chase Manhattan. It was one of the first corporate modern art collections. (The New York Times); 1995 Fidel Castro, President of Cuba, and Mr. Rockefeller at the 50th anniversary celebration for the United Nations. (The New York Times); 1992 Margaret (Peggy) Rockefeller dances with her husband at a

The New York Times, December 10, 1995

spring party of the Americas Society. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Family); Mr. Rockefeller keeps detailed file cards on 100,000 people. At right are his notes on Yitzhak Rabin. (pg. 13); 1930 The once and future patriarchs. David Rockefeller at 15 with his grandfather John D. Rockefeller. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Family) 1938 With a thesis that called monopoly a "social evil," Mr. Rockefeller got a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. (The New York Times); 1940 Mr. Rockefeller was an unpaid intern at New York City Hall during Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia's administration. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Family); 1936 Touring Versailles, where Louis XIV built his palace, Mr. Rockefeller was joined by his sister, Abby, and his father, John D. Jr., who built Rockefeller Center. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Family) (pg. 12); David Rockefeller's office is the nerve center of his family's activities. (Fred R. Conrad/The New York Times) (pg. 1)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 10, 1995

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The New York Times

April 15, 1985, Monday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section B; Page 8, Column 2; Style Desk

LENGTH: 872 words

HEADLINE: GUARDING THE WILDERNESS: A LIFETIME JOB

BYLINE: By BARBARA GAMAREKIAN

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, April 14

BODY:

When Margaret E. Murie packed her trousseau 60 years ago for her wedding on the Yukon River, it consisted of a fur parka, fur boots, flannel pajamas, knickers, wool shirts and hiking boots.

It was the beginning, she says, of a great adventure. For more than 30 years she shared her husband's life as a wildlife biologist, first on the trail in Alaska and then in the wilderness of Wyoming.

Mardy Murie, as she is known, met Olaus J. Murie as a young girl growing up in Fairbanks, Alaska. As his collaborator and companion she raised their three children in the wilderness, at times with little more than a backpack, a campfire and a tent.

'We cooked over the coals of the fire and washed clothes in the creek and stood the children in the creek and scrubbed them up,' she recalled. With a chuckle, she added: 'But think of the things I didn't have to do. I didn't have to talk on the telephone or go to a bridge party or wax floors.'

Mrs. Murie was in Washington recently for the 50th anniversary celebration of the Wilderness Society. She has been a member of the society's governing council since 1976; her husband, who died in 1963, was its president for 17 years.

Skis Cross-Country

Mrs. Murie, now 82, lives in Jackson Hole, Wyo., in a log house in the middle of Grand Teton National Park. She skis cross-country each day, cooks on a wood stove and feeds the furry martens that come to her kitchen door.

She is still on the lecture circuit, having appeared recently in Washington, and she speaks vigorously about the continuing necessity to protect the wilderness.

'If man is to survive happily he must have some wilderness,' she says. 'Wilderness has some right to exist, and right now we have only 2 percent of our land protected.'

The New York Times, April 15, 1985

"In many ways Mardy is kind of the spiritual godmother of the environmental movement," says the society's president, William A. Turnage. "People admire and revere her as kind of a guru, and the only other woman who can match Mardy's stature in the history of the American conservation movement is Rachel Carson."

The first woman to graduate from the University of Alaska ("I was it - I was the senior class" of 1924, she said, "and we had a big commencement with a band, and the Governor came"), Mrs. Murie has lectured, written and lobbied on behalf of wilderness preservation. She was present in the White House Rose Garden when President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the 1964 Wilderness Act, and conservationists say she was instrumental in the passage of the 1980 Alaska Lands Act, which set aside millions of wilderness acres.

Mrs. Murie has also received two of the most prestigious awards of the environmental movement: in 1980, the Audubon Medal, and in 1981, the Sierra Club's John Muir Award. And she is the author of three books: "Wapiti Wilderness," written with her husband; "Two in the Far North" and "Island Between." "Two in the Far North" was reissued in 1978 by the Alaska Northwest Publishing Company, and went into a fourth printing in 1983.

Olaus Murie's work with the Government's Biological Survey studying caribou in Alaska would take him into the wilderness for months. His wife frequently traveled with him.

"Olaus had supreme confidence that I could do anything," she said. She traveled by dog team and snowshoe, trying, she said, to keep up with her husband, who "people used to say must be half caribou." She told tales of the Yukon and Lobo Lake and the mining camps where she would wear her one dressy flannel shirt to dances and "dance all night, because I was only 1 of 5 women with 70 men." And she told of taking their 10-month-old son, Martin, on a four-month expedition up the Old Crow River.

"I wonder about it now," she said. "We had some adventures, but the baby never suffered at all. He learned how to crawl on the gravel bars, but the gravel hurt his knees, so he crawled around like a little bear, on his hands and feet."

In the 1930's her husband was sent by the Biological Survey, a forerunner of the Fish and Wildlife Service, to Jackson Hole to study the elk there.

The Murie family lived in Jackson during the winter, when the elk would migrate to the national elk refuge on the edge of town. Each spring the family followed the herd to the hills, living in tents and cooking over campfires, while Mrs. Murie worked with her husband, cataloguing his botanical and small mammal collections.

Students Drop By

Students from the Teton Science School, an environmental education institution, frequently drop by her Jackson Hole home for tea, cookies and conversation. "The one thing that really encourages me," she says, "are the young people - they have such a real interest in preserving the environment."

The New York Times, April 15, 1985

'But what bothers me is that so many people feel complacent now that Mr. Watt is gone,' she added, referring to the former Secretary of the Interior, James G. Watt. 'We have to remain alert. I fear that nothing is going to happen in this country over the next four years unless the people do it - it's going to have to come out of the grass roots. The conservationist organizations are important, but their strength is from the people themselves.'

GRAPHIC: photo of Margearet E. Murie (NYT/George Tames)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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The Boston Globe

February 20, 1996, Tuesday, City Edition

SECTION: METRO/REGION; Pg. 13

LENGTH: 957 words

HEADLINE: Her story is history;
Former chief of Cherokee Nation takes mission to Dartmouth

BYLINE: By Judith Gaines, Globe Staff

DATELINE: HANOVER, N.H.

BODY:

Wilma Mankiller's longtime friend Gloria Steinem likens her to "a large, wise, calm tree, ageless and sheltering."

Another friend describes her as someone who "likes to dance along the edge of the roof," a fearless risk-taker who has been through so many near-death experiences that nothing can rattle her now.

But when asked to describe herself, Mankiller - former Cherokee chief and the first woman to head any major Indian tribe, now a visiting fellow at Dartmouth College - quotes a thought attributed to Geronimo. If you want to know about me, the great Apache leader reportedly said, "first let me tell you about my people."

And so she said in an interview recently: When she lectures to classes, when she meets with students, "whatever they ask me, I'm going to talk about history," the history of her Cherokee tribe, their land, their values.

The Cherokee tribe is the second largest in the United States, with a population of 175,000 and an \$ 185 million budget.

The tribe's successes are due in part to Mankiller, whose personal story is one portrait, in microcosm, of Cherokee struggles.

Part of her mission at Dartmouth, she says, is to spread the optimism about Native Americans that those struggles have inspired in her.

The Cherokees are people of the pawpaw and sassafras and birch, originally located in Georgia, Tennessee and North Carolina but forcibly removed by the US government in the 1830s to so-called Indian Territory in northeastern Oklahoma. That territory was then parceled out in individual allotments in 1907 - an act that "caused an incredible decline" in the tribe's sense of itself, its common goals, she said. The tribe's central government ceased to exist.

When tribal leaders began rebuilding the Cherokee Nation in 1971, operating from a small storefront, they had no marketable natural resources, no funds, nothing but will power and a tradition of what Cherokees call gadugi, or sharing and working collectively.

The Boston Globe, February 20, 1996

She is a large and dignified woman, with wavy black hair flowing to wide shoulders, big hands and large, knowing eyes. She looks like someone who has known a lot of pain. She also looks like someone you would want on your side in a fight.

Nationally known as a tribal leader, she was Ms. Magazine's "Woman of the Year" in 1987, when she also received the prestigious Harvard Foundation Citation for Leadership. In 1994, when tribal leaders met with President Clinton, they chose her to moderate the meeting.

Her name, Mankiller, is an honorary Cherokee title, similar to Major or Captain, often bestowed upon successful Indian military leaders. She carries it with pride - and a more peaceful approach to fighting.

"I've always thought you can say the most radical things if you say them softly - not in a blameful way that makes people feel guilty," she said, in her lilting voice.

Born at the edge of the Ozarks, Mankiller moved to San Francisco with her family at age 10, as part of another federal attempt to uproot tribal communities and help Native Americans join "the mainstream." She married a wealthy Ecuadoran and was raising two daughters when Indian protests at Alcatraz in the 1960s ignited her Native American consciousness.

She became increasingly involved in tribal affairs, divorced her husband, and in 1976 moved back to Oklahoma, where she got a job as tribal planner and program developer.

In 1979, tragedy struck. She was chatting with friends one evening when she became aware of "a presence" outside her home. She discovered owls everywhere - a Cherokee sign of impending bad luck.

The next morning, she collided with her best friend in a head-on automobile crash. Her friend was killed, Mankiller's right leg was crushed, and her body was so badly mutilated that rescuers "did not know if I was a man or a woman," she wrote in her autobiography, "Mankiller: A Chief and Her People."

She was just recovering from the pain of her friend's death and 17 surgeries, when she was hit by myasthenia gravis, a muscle-weakening disease that can lead to paralysis.

After she survived another operation and doctors said the disease was in remission, "I knew I could survive anything," she said. She began boldly tackling community development projects, evolving a bottom-up, grass-roots style of organizing that was to become her trademark.

In 1983, Ross Swimmer, a candidate for tribal chief, asked her to be his running mate. She quit her job and spent every dollar of her savings for campaign expenses.

Surmounting sexist attacks, Mankiller was elected deputy chief of her tribe, and when Swimmer was appointed head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1985, she became Cherokee chief, at age 41. Despite kidney failure, which she survived only after a brother donated a kidney to her, Mankiller was reelected in 1987 and 1991. In 1995, she decided not to run again.

The Boston Globe, February 20, 1996

Her life has been "like a fast train going from one thing to another," she said last week. "I've gone to work in a wheelchair, on crutches. I've signed major agreements from a hospital bed." Now a Montgomery Fellow at Dartmouth College, she's "taking time to reflect."

Among her current projects is a book she's editing with Steinem and others featuring more than 400 stories of women's history - previously untold, they say, because these women's roles have been overlooked or misunderstood.

Musing over the changes she observed during her 18 years in tribal government, Mankiller says she's happy to see more Native American women assuming leadership positions, and she feels confident that tribes will enter the 21st century "on their own terms."

"We have tenacity," she says. "Who could look at the future and not be hopeful - when you see what we've been through?"

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, GLOBE STAFF PHOTO/JANET KNOTT / Former chief of Cherokee Nation Wilma Mankiller says her mission at Dartmouth College is to spread optimism about Native Americans.

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October 16, 1995, Monday

SECTION: ECONOMY; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 510 words

HEADLINE: Corporations Can Take Tips From Nonprofits

BYLINE: Shelley Donald Coolidge, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: BOSTON

HIGHLIGHT:

Foundation head says business executives must learn management style of charitable organizations

BODY:

FRANCES HESSELBEIN will defend nonprofit organizations down to the last dime. In fact, she believes corporations can learn a thing or two from the more than 1 million nonprofits in the United States.

"Social-sector organizations have to be better managed than for-profit organizations ... because they have no margin of error," says Ms. Hesselbein, who is president of the Peter F. Drucker Foundation for Nonprofit Management in New York.

In the future, she says, corporations are going to have to learn to manage the work force the way today's nonprofits manage volunteers - by leading workers and not containing them.

As the former head of Girl Scouts USA for 14 years, Hesselbein disagrees with the notion that nonprofits are less efficient or less professional than for-profit corporations.

"Some corporations are extremely well managed, some nonprofit organizations are," she says. "It has nothing to do with the sector. It has to do with quality of management."

What differentiates the well-managed from the not-so-well-managed? A well-managed organization, she explains, has three characteristics. It is:

*Mission focused. The mission statement should be short, compelling, and revisited every three years. "Changes are rushing us into the future with such velocity that we cannot just keep the mission as it was 20 or 50 or 100 years," Hesselbein says.

*Values based. The values of the organization should be articulated to and embodied by the staff and volunteers.

*Demographics driven. The organization should know who its customers are, where they are, and how they think and feel. And it should understand the rapidly changing demographics of the US and its communities.

The Christian Science Monitor, October 16, 1995

One of the most exciting developments that is emerging, she says, is the partnership between corporations and nonprofits.

It's not the usual "I write the check, and you do the work," Hesselbein adds. In many cases, the corporation is supplying not just the money, but corporate volunteers.

The nonprofit sector has taken a few hits of late from increased reports of the misuse of funds and skyrocketing salaries of some top executives (which Hesselbein says are an "aberration" and "not the norm"). In addition, giving and volunteering have been on the decline in America over the past few years.

In 1989, 54 percent of adult Americans volunteered. By 1993 that number had dropped to 48 percent, according to Independent Sector, a Washington-based coalition of voluntary organizations. During the same period, household giving declined 11 percent.

"Today there is a new kind of [public] scrutiny of - a very critical look at - nonprofits and the financial support [they receive]," Hesselbein contends.

Nonprofits are stewards of public trust and public money, she says. As a result, they have to "manage for results, and those results equal what they have done to change lives." Then they have to learn how to communicate those results to donors.

"It's a fact that donors no longer reward good intentions," she adds. "They reward good results."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: FRANCES HESSELBEIN: The president of the Drucker Foundation finds that the best nonprofits constantly review their mission., BILL GRANT - STAFF; Chart, Showing giving patterns for charitable giving in the US, JEWEL BECKER SIMMONS -- STAFF

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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April 6, 1997, Sunday, ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: DIXIE LIVING; Pg. 03M

LENGTH: 1495 words

HEADLINE: A LIFE ON THE FRONT LINES;
Ending racism has been an epic battle for James Farmer

BYLINE: Scott Shepard; WASHINGTON BUREAU

DATELINE: Fredericksburg, Va.

BODY:

The body is weak, but the voice is strong, the ideas even stronger, as James Farmer, the last of the "Big Four" civil rights leaders of the 1960s, talks about battles ---past, present and future.

His voice is steady and determined, like the wheels of the Freedom Ride buses he organized and led into the Deep South in 1961 ---an act that fundamentally altered the balance of forces in the civil rights struggle by pushing the federal government off the fence and into an alliance with the movement.

But at 77, blind and having lost one leg to diabetes, Farmer is keenly aware that he, too, will not get to the Promised Land of racial harmony in America.

"We killed Jim Crow ---buried it forever," Farmer said. "Never again will you see 'White Only' and 'Colored Only' signs. But we came to realize that while we destroyed segregation, racism was still here --- alive and well, in fact. We expected things to be substantially better by now. But our perception of the race problem was too simple."

And that is where Farmer is hopeful, believing that only a sustained effort at educating today's children will move the country toward eliminating racism once and for all.

That education, of course, must include lessons of the past. Lessons to be learned from Farmer and his co-leaders in the civil rights movement of the 1960s: the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Whitney Young of the National Urban League.

But it also includes the thousands of unsung volunteers who marched against segregation in the land of the free.

And during a recent interview in his room at Mary Washington Hospital, many of them seemed to come alive again as Farmer reminisced about the hopes and fears of those who forced America to make good on its promises.

He's been doing the same thing for the past 12 years at Mary Washington College, a state school of about 3,800 students, where he teaches a course titled "The History of the Civil Rights Movement."

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No one alive today can speak with Farmer's authority on the subject. King, Wilkins and Young, the other members of the movement's "Big Four," are dead.

Only Farmer, who was director of the Congress of Racial Equality during the height of the movement, is still around to tell what it was like at the vanguard.

"The first question my students ask is how well did I know Dr. King and how closely did we work together," Farmer said. "The sum total of their knowledge of the civil rights movement is there was a man named Martin Luther King who had a dream, made a speech and was killed. We try to broaden that knowledge to the many aspects of the movement and the different personalities who were involved in it."

Farmer matter-of-factly expressed the opinion that history had given short shrift to his own role in the movement.

"It's understandable. Dr. King was a highly charismatic leader, an orator, and he was assassinated, which always makes a difference. Look at how Malcolm X's fame grew and spread after his assassination. Of course, it happened with Dr. King, too."

Nearly lost in history, in fact, is that it was Farmer who adapted the nonviolent techniques of Gandhi to the civil rights movement, organizing restaurant sit-ins in Chicago in 1942. That was nearly two decades before the famous Woolworth's lunch counter sit-in in Greensboro, N.C., that sparked a wave of student protests in the Deep South in 1960.

It was also Farmer who helped organize desegregated bus trips into the upper South in 1947 to test a U.S. Supreme Court decision earlier that year that declared segregation in interstate bus travel unconstitutional.

"This all received very little publicity," he said.

But the news coverage of the Freedom Ride in 1961 ---the grainy television images of white Southerners beating the bus riders unconscious, the haunting newspaper photographs of burned-out bus hulks -- -stunned not only the nation but its political leaders.

At one point in the bloody conflict, then-Attorney General Robert Kennedy asked King to prevail upon Farmer to call off the Freedom Ride to allow a cooling-off period.

"My reply was that we couldn't have a cooling-off period, that we had been in a cooling-off period for 350 years and that if we cooled off any more, we would be in a deep freeze," Farmer said. "So the Freedom Ride would have to go on."

And they did, with Kennedy working around the clock to make sure the riders would not be murdered. Never again would the federal government sit on the sidelines in the struggle.

The Freedom Ride of blacks and whites began in Washington and ended in Jackson, Miss., where Farmer and the other Freedom Riders were arrested and eventually jailed.

The Atlanta Journal, April 6, 1997

But the Freedom Ride succeeded in accelerating the pace of the civil rights movement, in dramatizing that segregation was a national concern and in taking nonviolent direct action deep into the enemy camp.

It wasn't supposed to be that way for Farmer, however. His father, James Leonard Farmer, was a clergyman and professor, and the son was to follow in those footsteps.

But after finishing divinity school at Howard University in Washington, the son refused to be ordained because his church was racially segregated.

"I did not feel I could preach the gospel in a segregated church," he said. "Others chose to use the segregated church in the fight against segregation. But I declined to go into the ministry as a sign of protest."

While at Howard, he had been introduced by his favorite professor, Howard Thurman, to the writings of Mohandas K. Gandhi and the philosophy of nonviolent protest.

It wasn't long after that that he went to work in Chicago for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a Quaker-based anti-war, anti-violence group. A year later, in 1942, at the age of 21, he founded CORE and began organizing sit-ins at segregated restaurants, hotels, skating rinks and swimming pools.

But it was at the age of 3 1/2 that Farmer's path was set. Because it was at that age that he learned of racism for the first time ---in the blinding heat of the downtown square of Holly Springs, Miss.

His father was a teacher at Rust College, and he and his mother went shopping downtown.

"I wanted a Coca-Cola, and I saw another boy go into a drugstore and get one," he said. "But my mother said I couldn't get one. I asked why he could get one and I couldn't. She said, 'Because he's white and you're colored.' "

Mother and son walked home in silence, and once home, the mother fell on her bed and wept.

"I walked out and sat on the steps of the front porch and thought and brooded," Farmer recalled. "And I thought that when I grow up, my kids are going to be able to get a Coca-Cola in downtown Holly Springs if they want to. I'll see to it. I'll change this thing."

Farmer has two daughters, Tami and Abbey, both married, who live near his countryside home in Fredericksburg. His wife, Lula, died of Hodgkin's disease in 1976.

Farmer thinks a lot about his encounter with racism in Holly Springs. It was chief among his thoughts as he crossed into Mississippi on the Freedom Ride to Jackson. He mentions it frequently in his lectures. He tells about it again and again in interviews.

Because he wonders ---"If I had gotten that Coke as a 3 1/2-year-old, would I be here now? Would I have challenged segregation? Would I have risked my life? I think not. But what I did, I did to keep the faith with that little kid."

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As for the children today, Farmer calls them the key to overcoming racism in America.

"We've got to work on the schools, on the curricula, teaching our children that such differences as skin color, shape of features and texture of hair are just differences and don't say anything about the character of the individual."

Another remedy is ending residential segregation.

"Children see this and wonder if society is right in keeping people separated. Children reason that colored people don't live among us so there must be something wrong with them ---we don't see them around in this community and this is where good people live."

Farmer does not envy the new generation of civil rights leaders and political leaders in trying to move America away from what President Clinton has called a "great racial divide."

"It's a different period, one that is much more complex than in the 1950s and '60s," he said. "Things were simple in those days. The front seat on a bus ---what could be simpler than that? Either the person should be allowed to sit there or those who made the decisions not to allow the person to sit there are bad people."

But today, as in the debate over affirmative action, "it's a case of both sides having right on their side," he added.

Even so, the political leadership has no choice but to attack the racial divide in the country, he says. "There's no backing away from it."

GRAPHIC: Color Photo: (Appeared on M/01 with reference to this M/03 story)

James
Farmer

Photo: Slowed but not silent: Activist James Farmer talks with his personal nurse Carolyn Cotton, who normally cares for him at his home. Farmer, the last of the "Big Four" civil rights leaders, is suffering from diabetes and is hospitalized in Fredericksburg, Va.

/ Rick McKay / Washington Bureau

Photo: Demonstrations didn't just take place in the South, as evidenced by this march in Harlem, N.Y., in 1965. / DIANA J.M. DAVIES / SITES

Photo: Organizer James Farmer (Front, center) leads Freedom Riders from the Hinds County Jail in Jackson, Miss. / Associated Press

LOAD-DATE: April 7, 1997

52ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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SECTION: LOCAL OLYMPICS; Pg. 04B

LENGTH: 908 words

HEADLINE: PARALYMPIC GAMES;
Longer life spans mean disabilities may hit home for every family

BYLINE: Doug Cumming; STAFF WRITER

BODY:

Justin Dart, chairman and a keynote speaker for the Third Paralympic Congress that opens today, grew up in a family that could not have been more indifferent to disabilities - until it hit home.

His father - also named Justin - was a Northwestern University football hero in the 1920s who controlled the huge Rexall-Liggett-Walgreen conglomerate before he was 40. He would storm through offices with such energy that, as one writer put it, "papers blow off desks, doors slam and minor executives jump." But a later hip problem and a heart problem left him in a wheelchair for much of his life, until he died in 1984.

Justin, the son, now 65, also was a college athlete before he was struck by polio in 1948, requiring him to use a wheelchair. His mother, a daughter of the Walgreen founder, took her own life. So did his brother, who also had contracted polio and seriously injured his head falling down stairs.

"When I was young, I never knew anybody with a disability; I didn't even know what a disability was," said Dart, one of the architects of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. "In my own family, eventually, the healthiest, strongest and most successful ones had serious disabilities, worse than mine. Sooner or later, it happens in every family."

As the head of the Tupperware division of Dart Industries in Japan, the younger Dart became active in disability causes there in the 1960s. Later, his bipartisan advocacy landed him five presidential appointments and a whirlwind role in lobbying for the ADA that took him to each state at least four times.

In a recent interview, he spoke of how today's longer life spans make it inevitable that every family will experience disabilities at some time, as did his family.

Q: You were part of the National Summit on Disability Policy in Dallas last April. What did that summit suggest for the future? Does the Americans with Disabilities Act need to be strengthened?

A: The feeling is that the ADA is a well-written law, that it does not need to be amended right now.

The summit had 300 representatives from every major constituency, people with disabilities and minority groups. And let me tell you, it was not a collection

The Atlanta Journal, August 12, 1996

of Uncle Toms or people who were going to agree. They came out of there with some real simple, common-sense policies. Health care for all. Special education for all. Now we have special education for certain kids with disabilities. Well, everybody should get special education, period.

They didn't define disability policy in terms of a few laws for people with disabilities. They pointed out that a majority of Americans will be disabled, at least for a fairly significant period, at some point in their lives. We are talking about a new situation where a public policy that does not meet the needs of people with disabilities does not meet the needs of anybody.

Q: Why do you call this a new situation?

A: Science and free-enterprise democracy have created what might be termed a new human being. We live twice as long, literally, as our smartest and strongest ancestors of only 200 years ago. Also, because of science and free enterprise, the average person, whether disabled or not, has the potential to be several magnitudes more productive and live immeasurably better than Julius Caesar.

But we still allow old attitudes and old systems to limit this magnificent potential for people with and without disabilities.

Q: What kind of attitudes do you mean?

A: You have stereotypical attitudes that certain types of people can work and certain people can't, so we have more and more people on welfare and we can't afford it. We've got people locked up in nursing homes who are potentially just as productive as Franklin Roosevelt.

Q: Can you give me an example of how science improves the potential of people?

A: One of my friends, Fred Fay, is head of the Clinton (re-election) campaign for the disabled constituency, which is 49 million Americans. Here is a person who lies flat on his back in his living room, 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, with three computers mounted above his head. He has some rare spinal condition, which is very delicate. He is brilliant. I don't do a thing without consulting him.

He's sitting there with a system he designed himself, and he's running the world. He opens and closes his curtains and looks at his garden, rolls his bed around with his computer, and I don't know anybody who knows him very well who thinks of him as being disabled.

There's a dramatic example of someone who is empowered by science to live a full life.

Q: What can you tell people in Atlanta who may be exhausted by the Olympics about why they should care about the Paralympics?

A: I think it has the potential to open up their eyes and their minds to a new vision of humanity, and if they will let it, to erase some of their fears about having to be perfectly healthy in the traditional sense and to look like a fashion model.

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They will be astounded at some of the things that they see. It's just hard to describe. If (spectators) go expecting to see these noble, tragic people gritting their teeth and overcoming the horrible situation, they're going to be surprised. They're going to see some people who are better off than they are, and have attitudes that transcend the average by a great deal.

And people should go to the Games also to see exciting, very good sporting events.

GRAPHIC: Chart: Third Paralympic Congress

What: A five-day international institute, held in conjunction with the 10th Paralympic Games.

Where: Marriott Marquis

When: Today through Friday

Who is attending: About 200 speakers and 1,000 conferees representing 50 countries. Registration is \$ 300, or \$ 75 a day. Call 404-547-0503.

Photo: Justin Dart, chairman and a keynote speaker for the Third Paralympic Congress

LOAD-DATE: August 13, 1996

LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 7 STORIES

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November 17, 1991, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

NAME: Brooke Astor

CATEGORY: Philanthropy

SECTION: Section 6; Page 40; Column 1; Magazine Desk

LENGTH: 4687 words

HEADLINE: Old Money, New Needs

BYLINE: By Judith Miller; Judith Miller is a staff writer for The New York Times Magazine.

BODY:

ONLY A FEW MONTHS AGO, Brooke Astor's cheerful expression would tighten when she was asked about her age. Now, she boasts, she knows just how she wants to mark her 90th birthday next spring. The nation's mayors have planned a demonstration in Washington, "and I'm planning to march to protest Federal budget cuts to New York," she says.

Mrs. Astor also knows what she does not want to do. City officials had proposed selling tickets to a birthday party at Grand Central Terminal. "Though the proceeds would be spent on renovating this magnificent structure," she says, "I just can't imagine celebrating my 90th birthday in a place that recently ejected the homeless."

Brooke Russell Astor is nothing if not a woman of firm ideas. Elegant but impish, boundlessly energetic, bursting with curiosity, she has been an anchor of New York society and philanthropy ever since Vincent Astor, her third and by far her wealthiest husband died in 1959, leaving her \$2 million outright, about \$65 million of investments, and most important, control of his personal foundation, whose \$67 million in assets were to be used "for the alleviation of human misery."

Since then, the Vincent Astor Foundation has donated more than \$170 million largely to New York-based institutions. Her determination to spend all of her fortune before she dies in the city where it was made has transformed her into New York's unofficial First Lady, a title she obviously relishes.

But as she approaches 90, Brooke Astor is deeply troubled about the city whose vitality she has nourished and reflects. "When I came to this city, men used to walk down Fifth Avenue in top hats," she reminisces in her youthful, melodic voice, while sharing iced tea and sandwiches at her foundation's modest headquarters on the Upper East Side. "Now when I go down the F.D.R. Drive along the East River, my heart just sinks. I see all these burned-out buildings and neighborhoods. I see the young men on drugs hanging around the streets without jobs and without hope. I see a city torn apart by racial hatred. And I think:



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there's not enough private money in all of New York to solve these problems."

IT IS A NEW YORK TRADITION TO bolster this unruly and demanding city with private money. Many of what Mrs. Astor calls the city's "crown jewels" -- the New York Public Library, to which her foundation has given almost \$20 million and with which she has been most closely associated, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Brooklyn Museum, the Metropolitan Opera and the other great cultural institutions -- were created by philanthropy and have largely been sustained by it.

But although giving and volunteerism are thriving -- last year, despite the recession, Americans donated a record \$122.57 billion -- the city's needs are soaring. New York is reeling not only from the Reagan and Bush Administrations' severe cutbacks on social programs and subsidies, but also from social problems associated with the steady erosion of its economic base and the harsh impact of the recession.

Less than 50 years ago, when New York was the world's greatest manufacturing center and one of its busiest ports, immigrants and the needy could turn to a great range of support structures -- unions and political associations, community and church-sponsored settlement houses and youth clubs. But as manufacturing and commerce have left the city, this safety net has frayed, leaving enormous gaps that the city and state are in no position to patch.

This has generated intense debate within foundations over how their money should be spent, and specifically, whether giving should be redirected to the programs and services the government has abandoned. "On one hand, a consensus is emerging that private philanthropists cannot, and should not, be expected to substitute for the government," says Brian O'Connell, president of the Independent Sector, an umbrella group of philanthropic and volunteer organizations. "On the other hand, donors are shifting priorities and doing everything possible to meet the excruciating needs."

The new needs are also fueling an intergenerational tug-of-war. "Many younger philanthropists, in particular, favor redirecting funds to the environment, AIDS, feminist and minority programs, and neighborhood-based groups that benefit mainly the poor in their own communities, away from the middle-class constituents of the great cultural institutions and hospitals that their parents and predecessors favored," says William D. Zabel, a lawyer who specializes in structuring family foundations.

The Astor Foundation was never among the largest in the United States. Today it ranks 607 on the list of the nation's 1,000 largest foundations, according to the Foundation Center, a New York-based clearing house. It distributed about \$12 million in 1983, its peak for giving. With only \$23.8 million in assets left, it gives away just about \$1 million a year. By comparison, the New York Community Trust, a collection of charitable funds created in 1924, gave away \$56 million last year. And the Aaron Diamond Foundation, named for the real-estate developer, who died in 1984, gave away about \$20 million, mostly to benefit the city's poor and minorities.

But in its philosophy, the Astor Foundation has become a model for contemporary urban philanthropy. From the outset, Mrs. Astor's foundation supported both the institutions that make New York a cultural mecca and the neighborhood and community-based development projects to which other charities



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are now turning their attention.

In 1961, for example, the Astor Foundation gave \$1.25 million, its largest grant that year, to the United Neighborhood Houses to support pre-teen-age programs at settlement houses, which few charities then supported. Subsequently, the foundation has given \$17 million to youth programs. In Harlem this year, the foundation is spending \$500,000 to renovate the porches of once-elegant town houses on Astor Row.

And unlike the Community Trust, the Astor Foundation bears Mrs. Astor's personal imprimatur. Almost everyone cites Mrs. Astor's intense involvement in each grant she awards -- she insists, for example, on visiting every recipient before a grant is made -- as the major distinguishing characteristic of her philanthropy. Her "hands on" approach has not only enabled her to gauge the city's problems close-up, it has also inspired many younger New Yorkers to do more than merely write a check.

"Both in her personal involvement with the people and causes she helps and in her choice of causes, she has been an inspiration to us," says David Saltzman, the 29-year-old co-director of the Robin Hood Foundation, which was founded in 1988 by Paul Tudor Jones 2d, a young commodities trader on Wall Street, and which will give \$3 million this fiscal year to grass-roots organizations and causes in the city.

IF THE ASTOR approach has turned out to fit New York, that is not surprising, for Brooke Astor is a distinctly New York phenomenon.

Perhaps because the Dutch ruled New York society until the early 19th century, the rigid, English-dominated class that led Philadelphia and Boston never created a comparable force in New York City. Indeed, as a great mercantile and financial power dependent on talented new people, New York has always offered relatively fluid access to the ranks of society.

"New York has always been a functional city," said E. Digby Baltzell, the Philadelphia-based historian and sociologist. "Those who do things lead."

Not until 1888 did Ward McAllister -- the John Fairchild of his day -- designate New York's "400," those who would be at ease, and not make others ill at ease, in the ballroom of Mrs. William B. Astor Jr., then the city's social doyenne.

Even the Astors were parvenus. The Astor fortune was made in a single generation by John Jacob, a German butcher's son who, according to Brooke Astor, "arrived in this country in 1783 with two suits of clothes, a pound in his pocket and seven flutes to sell." In 1848, he died the richest man in America, leaving the then-vast sum of \$20 million. Like so many modern-day New Yorkers, John Jacob made his money in real estate.

The free and easy money-loving history of New York helps explain the 1980's, a decade that produced enormous fortunes on Wall Street and minted dozens of social movers and shakers, who put a gaudy stamp on the city's charity-ball circuit. The style was flashy, but the pet charities of the city had never had it so good.

Perhaps New York relished the 80's so because only in the previous decade,



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the city had come close to fiscal collapse. Only a collective effort by city and state officials and the leaders of labor, business and the arts had saved New York from bankruptcy. When the stock market began soaring in the late 1970's, New Yorkers were more than ready to celebrate.

Soon after the Reagans were inaugurated and greed began to seem not only defensible, but downright patriotic, fast money from Wall Street began to make the Astors seem like paupers. "I can remember when a million dollars was a lot of money," Mrs. Astor observed.

Just as earlier generations of nouvelles had done, many of the newly monied women and their husbands wanted to show that they had truly arrived by joining the boards of the city's great institutions. And in keeping with the city's time-honored tradition of letting money talk, Brooke Astor helped some of them do it. But, she says, she always tried to insure that the aspirant's interest was sincere. "Motives matter," she declares. "Those who seek access to boards only to enhance their social standing will not serve the institution's interests in the long term."

WHILE BROOKE ASTOR MAY HAVE participated in the whirl of the 80's, her personal style has been unwavering for decades. Her designer suits were not acquired for lunches at La Grenouille. She wears them, along with expensive hats and jewels, to visit the city's poorest residents. "People expect to see Mrs. Astor, not some dowdy old lady, and I don't intend to disappoint them," she says.

She has a staff of 42 in three homes, in Maine, Westchester County and on Park Avenue. While she has a driver in the city, she loves taking the wheel in the country. "Don't you hate slowpokes?" she mutters, gunning the engine of her Mercedes and leaving an elderly motorist in the dust. She prides herself on discipline, the 1,000 strokes a day she insists on swimming in summer, her determination to climb a mountain in Maine even in a fierce downpour, and above all, her refusal to let herself feel down.

In the best of New York traditions, she invented herself, coming neither from money nor from New York. Brooke Russell was born on Easter Sunday, March 30, 1902, in Portsmouth, N.H., the only child of a career Marine officer who assessed a man's character by asking: "What was he like under fire?"

Evidence of the flirt and romantic she says she remains emerged as early as 13, when she visited her family in Santiago de los Caballeros, Santo Domingo, in the summer of 1914. "I have been listening to Russian music," she wrote in her diary, "and I want to marry a Russian peasant; a great strong beautiful brute, who would beat me, and pull me around by the hair!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!"

Only three years later, she got part of her wish. Her 10-year marriage to Dryden Kuser, a wealthy Princeton graduate who fell madly in love with her at a commencement prom, was a disaster from the start. A drunk and a womanizer, Kuser occasionally beat his young bride. She buried her sorrow in social and charitable activities and devoted herself to her only son, Tony.

Eventually Kuser fell in love with another woman and left his wife. She moved from Bernardsville, N.J., to New York and took up a career writing features and book reviews, and eventually became an editor at House & Garden. Though Mrs.



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Astor says the divorce hurt, she learned much from her first marriage -- among other things, the importance of good manners. According to "Footprints," one of four books she has written, she was appalled by the way in which Col. Anthony P. Kuser, her first father-in-law, abused and demeaned his staff. "The arrogance of big money is one of the most unappealing of characteristics, and it goes very deep," she wrote. "To see a grown man groveling in order to keep his job is a horrible sight."

Mrs. Astor describes her second marriage, to Charles Marshall, known as Buddie, as the happiest period of her life. The New York stockbroker, whom she calls "my greatest love," was comfortable, but not rich. In 1952, after almost 20 blissful years of shuttling between New York and Italy, Buddie suffered a heart attack and died in her arms. She was certain, she said, that she would never marry again. But within a year, she had become Mrs. Vincent Astor.

How that came about remains a source of speculation in New York society. Some say that the marriage to Astor, who was said to have a drinking problem, was virtually arranged by his family, desperate for someone to look after him. But that is not the way Brooke Astor describes it. In her books and interviews, she has said that Vincent, a businessman with interests in hotels and publishing, pursued her relentlessly, and finally persuaded her to marry him through humorous and ardent love letters, sometimes five a day.

Brooke Astor has never disparaged her former husband and benefactor. But her book and comments reflect the sharp difference in the feeling she had for Marshall and for the man who would eventually make her philanthropy possible. Soon after the marriage, she wrote, she discovered that "Vincent was extremely jealous," even of her son, Tony. Bowing to his request, she never telephoned friends when he was home. They rarely went out. "Sometimes I got depressed," Mrs. Astor allowed. "But I have a naturally happy and cheerful nature. I also knew that Vincent loved me deeply. It was his life that I had made up my mind to live, not my own." So she gave up her friends. She even saw little of her son. "I concentrated on Vincent."

In 1959, less than six years after the marriage, Vincent Astor died, leaving his wife his fortune. Though the will was bitterly contested by other members of the Astor clan, Brooke Astor won.

It was then and only then, she says, after years of "lying fallow," that Mrs. Astor came into her own. Her husband, she says, once told her: "Pookie, you're going to have a hell of a lot of fun running the foundation."

And so she has.

MRS. ASTOR MAINTAINS that she is still having fun, but less than she used to. "Ten years ago," she says, "we didn't even have names for the problems -- like AIDS and homelessness -- that are overwhelming the city today." Fifteen years ago, she would happily walk home from a dinner party. "Today I'm terrified to walk even a few blocks alone at night." And she lives on Park Avenue.

The New York of Brooke Astor's heyday is no longer. Demographic and economic changes have created heavy new burdens for the city, its philanthropists and its high society.



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Since Mrs. Astor moved to New York full time in the early 1950's, the city's class structure has changed dramatically. Since 1950, New York has lost 7 percent of its population, from 7.9 million to 7.3 million in 1990, with middle-class New Yorkers accounting for most of the loss. During that same period, the city's minority population increased by three million.

"This has been one of the most dramatic exchanges of population in New York history," said Samuel M. Ehrenhalt, regional commissioner in New York of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. "In 1950, New York was a white town. There were only a million blacks, Hispanics, Asians and others." Since 1950 the number of whites in New York has declined by more than 50 percent, whereas the nonwhite population has increased fourfold, he says.

The newcomers have faced a city less able to accommodate them economically than it was in past decades. For underlying the flight of middle-class New Yorkers has been not just high taxes and high crime, but the disappearance of the manufacturing base that enabled immigrants to climb out of poverty. Since 1950, New York has lost 700,000 manufacturing jobs, leaving it with only 330,000. It lost 150,000 of those jobs in the 1980's alone. While new jobs and vast wealth were created in the 80's on Wall Street, much of this employment has fallen victim to the recession.

In the short term, this new set of circumstances puts extreme strain on the city's social services and on private charity. Looking into the next century, however, the immigrants of today may well prove to be a philanthropic resource.

Kathleen McCarthy, director of the Center for the Study of Philanthropy at the Graduate School of the City University of New York, says more study needs to be done on philanthropy in the black, Asian and Hispanic communities, pointing out that the bulk of the giving in New York has always come from individuals who were not wealthy. "This giving from these people will become much more important in the next decade," McCarthy predicts.

WHAT TROUBLES MRS. Astor most about the city now is what she perceives as a "lack of political leadership." She recalls the fiscal catastrophe of the 1970's. "New Yorkers from all walks of life banded together to fight for the city. Governor Carey vowed he would not let the city die. So did Mayor Beame. So did the labor leaders and financiers, our artists and writers."

But today, she continues, when the city is even more deeply troubled, "one just doesn't see that kind of rallying together, I don't really know why."

The frustration over the city's problems is overwhelming the city's philanthropic sector, leading many, despite their resistance to the notion of replacing government, to question their priorities.

"The New York Philharmonic, the nation's oldest symphony orchestra, has launched a drive to raise a \$75 million endowment," says Rita E. Hauser, a prominent international lawyer and Philharmonic board member. "And I'm proud to be helping out," she says. "But I also feel guilty when I look around at the city's problems and the terrible conditions in which so many of our fellow New Yorkers live."

The tension is also reflected in mainstream foundations. Colin G. Campbell,



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The New York Times, November 17, 1991

president of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, says that the foundation decided last year to abandon its longstanding strategy of giving about \$1 million a year to what it calls New York City's vital institutions in favor of funding projects to reduce racial and ethnic polarization in the city. As a result, the foundation is now spending more on low-income and affordable housing and education programs in schools.

"We're responding to the need to address some extremely serious problems in New York," says Campbell. The foundation, he adds, would probably start giving an even larger share of its grants to New York.

Vincent T. McGee, executive director of the Aaron Diamond Foundation, says it is "a cruel joke to expect private philanthropy to service public obligations of society." Nevertheless, when the city wanted to distribute condoms in its schools to help prevent the spread of AIDS, it was the Diamond Foundation that picked up \$450,000 of personnel costs for the plan.

Or consider Mrs. Astor's favorite charity, the New York Public Library, which, contrary to its name, is a private institution intended primarily for researchers. When Andrew Carnegie agreed to build 65 branch libraries for the city in 1901, a written contract specified that the city would pay for them from then on. In other words, private funds would support the now four, nonlending research libraries, and government money would largely finance the now 82 branch lending libraries.

But according to Vartan Gregorian, president of Brown University and the former head of the Public Library, the city's inability in the previous decade to adequately finance the branches prompted the library's trustees to earmark for the branches some 35 percent of the \$300 million capital campaign of the 80's. "If the Public Library tries to replace the entire \$9.4 million in city budget cuts for the branches," he says, "all the private fund-raising for the library's operations would be swallowed up. What the library fears is that giving more to the branches will enable the city to cut back even further on its own contributions."

Linda L. Gillies, director of the Astor Foundation, agrees. "While Mrs. Astor and the foundation have always been willing to help meet city needs in difficult times," she says, "we are in partnership with, not a substitute for, the government. New York has far too many needs and problems for that."

IN ADDITION TO ITS impact on philanthropy, New York's economic crisis has also triggered a shakeout on the social scene, which Mrs. Astor has dominated for so long. The early watchword of 90's society is understatement. While the charity circuit is still booming and "benefititis" persists, the functions are determinedly less extravagant.

The new austerity signals a dramatic turn from the New York of the 80's, when nouvelle society brought big money -- new, old and corporate -- and a flamboyant public style to the charity circuit. While the financial decade began to shut down with the stock market crash of October 1987, its social equivalent came two years earlier, when Felix G. Rohatyn, the investment banker whose financial legerdemain helped rescue New York in the 70's, attacked the lavishness of New York charity.



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The New York Times, November 17, 1991

Presaging the debate that would take hold in the 90's, Rohatyn and his activist wife, Elizabeth, said wealthy New Yorkers were concentrating on prestigious institutions that benefit mainly the rich and upper middle class and that the extravagant dinners and balls had become virtually an end in themselves. Settlement houses, literacy programs and other unglamorous charities were being deprived, he argued.

The Rohatyns were denounced in the pages of John Fairchild's *W. Seething* rebuttals came from the sharp-tongued Pat Buckley and Annette Reed, now Mrs. Oscar de la Renta. Although Brooke Astor ran one of the leanest foundation offices in New York and had long supported unfashionable programs for the poor, she, too, took the Rohatyn critique personally. Though she refuses to discuss the incident in any detail, friends say that she was offended both by its public nature and by the pain it caused some of her dearest friends.

Today, she says, she holds no grudge, although Mr. Rohatyn no longer serves on her foundation's board. "He didn't come to meetings, and we have strict rules about that," she says. But the Rohatyns' continued support of the library -- which included a \$200,000 donation after the "flap," as it now known, and Liz Rohatyn's active role on the Public Library board -- has restored calm. The Rohatyns are friends, says Mrs. Astor. "I like them both and love talking to them," she says, "but I think the remarks they made have troubled them to this day."

Rohatyn now calls the controversy "silly." His comments, he stressed, were never aimed at Mrs. Astor, whom he admires. "But I have no regrets about what I said," he added, "because I think I've been proven right."

The fall of John H. Gutfreund, who resigned in disgrace as head of Salomon Brothers in August for failing to report financial misdeeds at his firm, and the glee it inspired in certain quarters, reflects the full-blown backlash that has taken hold against the buccaneer spirit of the 1980's. His contribution to the Public Library board and the hard work of his wife, Susan, for the Citizens Committee for New York City are discounted; what is remembered is the chartered planeload of flowers she recently sent to a friend on her birthday, the Concorde flights to Paris for dress fittings and a \$2.5 million marble staircase she installed in one of the most expensive apartment renovations in New York history. Since the scandal, she has been shunned in some social circles. "I feel terribly sorry for her," Mrs. Astor says.

Whatever personal sympathy Mrs. Astor harbors for the Gutfreunds, however, has not affected her views about the best interests of the library. At a board meeting in late September, Marshall Rose, chairman, announced that Gutfreund had just sent them a letter stating that although he intended to remain on the board on which he had served since 1974, he was resigning as head of the finance committee. An embarrassed silence followed, until Mrs. Astor rose to express her approval of his resignation, which had not been requested. He had done "the honorable thing," she said softly but firmly. "I'm very proud of him."

THE QUESTION OF WHO will succeed Mrs. Astor is no longer even raised. When Brooke Astor goes, an era of New York life will also go, say her fans. "You'll just have to turn another page," said Jerry Zipkin, a native New Yorker and fixture on the social scene.

New York society is even more muddled today than it was at the turn of the



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century, when several sometimes overlapping circles of social and financial power competed for prominence. Old New York society included such names as the Rockefellers, the Astors and the Morgans; another establishment was made up of the great Jewish names of "Our Crowd" -- the Lehmans, the Loebes, the Warburgs and the Schiffs. But both circles, as such, barely exist today, though individual members are very active. Many of those families had no heirs, or have children who are either unwilling or unable to play the role their predecessors did.

Many luminaries of the 80's Nouvelle Society -- the Kravises, the Steinbergs, the Perelmans, and the Gutfreunds -- have lowered their social profiles, sensitive to the new climate and after years of overexposure.

Moreover, the circumstances that permitted a Brooke Astor to emerge would be difficult to replicate today. Durable fortunes of the Astor size are more difficult to create and pass on, given tax laws that seize more of inherited money. A successor would hardly be able to maintain her own career, and women today, even the very wealthy, often have them.

"I think you'll see several women emerge, not just one," said Bill Blass, the dress designer and a friend.

And maybe it won't be a "her." "Society is changing and you're seeing a lot more younger men involved in philanthropy, the backbone of society," said Chappy Morris, the organizer of many junior committee events at the city's prestigious cultural institutions. The Robin Hood Foundation, for example, is headed by Paul Tudor Jones 2d, who made his money on Wall Street. Joshua Mailman, a wealthy young investor, has created a network of heirs of family foundations to share information about the environment and other new causes. Since its inception in 1982, their Threshold Foundation has given away \$7 million in grants to what were once considered nontraditional causes. More than 20 of the younger Rockefellers, including the men, are socially active and big givers to ecological, feminist and other up-to-date causes.

Mrs. Astor is bemused by speculation about her successor. "I hope you're not burying me just yet," she says. "I have a lot more life in me."

In fact, she has decided to celebrate her 90th birthday at the Seventh Regiment Armory. The party in her honor will gather what she calls her "friends of the heart" -- Nin Ryan, daughter of the late Otto Kahn, John (Jackie) Pierrepont, Louis Auchincloss and Barbara Walters -- along with her favorite writers, artists, journalists, dress designers and decorators, members of New York's old society and what's left of its nouvelle establishment, and many of the unacclaimed people whom she has helped over the years.

The party will be vintage Astor, cutting across social lines as the entertaining in her own elegant homes has always done. And it will be a fund-raiser, of course, for the Citizens Committee for New York City, the public service group the foundation help found in 1971. "And there'll be dancing!" Mrs. Astor exclaims. "I, for one, intend to dance till dawn."

GRAPHIC: Cover: Brook Astor en route to an East Harlem housing project that had sought a grant from her foundation. Photos: Brooke Astor, still indomitable at 89. (Photograph by Joyce Tenneson); Vincent Astor, her third husband, who left



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her in charge of a \$67 million foundation when he died in 1959. (pg. 41); From high society to Harlem. Mrs. Astor with Kitty Carlisle Hart and Barbara Walters at the reopening of the St. Regis Hotel. Exiting the hotel. (pg. 42); At a housing project that applied for a foundation grant. (pg. 43); Philanthropy in motion. Mrs. Astor on the way to P.S. 151, a recipient of Astor Foundation funding. With her second husband, Charles Marshall, and her son, Tony Kuser, in Central Park, 1932. (pg. 42) (Photographs by Mark Peterson/JB Pictures for THE New York Times); Philanthropy Victorian style: A charity benefit held in Gramercy Park in 1895. (pg. 68) (Photograph by Bettmann); Brooke Astor in 1941. Her elegant style hasn't wavered through the decades. "People expect to see Mrs. Astor, not some dowdy old lady," she says. (pg. 72)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: November 17, 1991



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LEVEL 3 - 5 OF 36 STORIES

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The Ethnic NewsWatch
Northwest Nikkei

June 30, 1996

SECTION: Vol. 8; No. 6; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 879 words

HEADLINE: From welder to civil rights defender: **Fred Korematsu** speaks to law students in Seattle

BYLINE: Taniguchi, Sandee

BODY:

From welder to civil rights defender: **Fred Korematsu** speaks to law. students in Seattle

Fred Korematsu did not set out to make history in 1942.

When he deliberately defied the government's evacuation order that sent his family and 110,000 West Coast residents of Japanese ancestry to "relocation centers" in 1942, the 23-year-old was simply following his heart.

Korematsu, now in his late-70s, was in Seattle on May 14 with his wife, Kathryn, to speak to University of Washington law school students about the personal side of his arrest, conviction, Supreme Court case and the coram nobis case. Lorraine Bannai, one of the attorneys in his coram nobis case, also appeared with **Korematsu** to speak on the legal issues.

"I had a Caucasian girlfriend at that time, and I didn't think she should go to the internment camps," **Korematsu** stated as his reason for resisting the evacuation order. "Also I didn't want my parents to be upset, so I made the excuse that I was going to try and get into Nevada before the evacuation occurred."

But he never made it outside the West Coast military area to Nevada and instead was working as a welder in the San Francisco Bay Area when he was arrested.

"The headline in the San Leandro newspaper read 'Jap Spy Caught,'" **Korematsu** recalled. "That was me, you see."

Except that **Korematsu** was not a spy, he was simply a young man in love.

In his personable Nisei manner, the soft-spoken **Korematsu** candidly recalled events with deadpan humor to an audience of more than 60 law students.

While jailed in San Francisco for violating the Military Exclusion Order, **Korematsu** said he was surprised to see three other Japanese in the federal prison.



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"I was amazed," he said at seeing the three. "I though I was the one that was stupid."

One was a merchant marine from Hawaii. One was a student in the Bay Area who was halfway to to Arizona before he realized he forgot his typewriter and was arrested when he returned home to get it. The third was a cook for a family who tried to hide in the pantry to escape the evacuation.

After a few weeks in prison, **Korematsu** received a visit from attorney Ernest Besig of the American Civil Liberties Union. Besig wanted to represent **Korematsu**.

"I turned to him (Besig) and said, 'Is that right?'" **Korematsu** remembered with a smile. "I felt like I was an American again with someone on my side like him."

Korematsu was released on bail and was taken to Tanforan assembly center. When he arrived, he found his "room" to be a horse stall with huge gaps in the floor, cracks in the walls, dust blowing everywhere, with a single light bulb and a cot.

"I looked around and thought, 'Gee, jail was a lot better than this," he joked.

He was eventually found guilty of violating military orders, sentenced to five years probation and ordered to the Topaz, Utah relocation center. Attorney Wayne Collins appealed **Korematsu's** conviction in 1944 to the Supreme Court. It upheld the lower court's decision. When the decision came down, **Korematsu** said he was despondent. He worried about the impact the ruling would have on other Japanese Americans.

"This can happen to my children," he said of his thoughts at the time. "Are they Americans or not? Are they citizens of this country? They can put them away without a hearing. If you look like the enemy they can put you in a box."

Since 1994, **Korematsu** said he has received calls from students, professors and lawyers wanting information about his experience, but no one offered assistance.

"All these years I was waiting for someone to say, 'I want to help you,' but I thought I was dreaming because it costs so much money to just hire an attorney."

In 1983 political science professor and attorney Peter Irons uncovered evidence that the government had suppressed and altered military documents provided to the Supreme Court and destroyed other crucial evidence. Irons gathered a team of about 10 attorneys to file a writ of error coram nobis, which allows a conviction to be challenged after the sentence has been served on the grounds of manifest injustice, according to Bannai.

Korematsu recalled the first time he met his team of attorneys.

"When they came to my house and I looked at them, they looked like they were all high school kids!"



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In 1984, U.S. District Court Judge Marilyn Hall Patel vacated the 40-year-old conviction. He remembered that the San Francisco courtroom was overflowing with spectators, many of whom were Japanese American former internees. When the verdict was announced, **Korematsu** said he couldn't believe it.

"I thought I had won, so I asked Dale (Minami, his lead attorney), 'Hey, what happened?'"

Since then, **Korematsu** has been doing speaking appearances even though he says he's "shy, and not much of a speaker." His speaking and lobbying efforts, with those of many others, helped to push the redress bill through Congress and to the president in 1988. As he travels around the country, he says he encounters many people who are not aware of the internment.

"No matter how many times it's on TV, or comes out in the paper, still there are a lot of people who do not know that the internment happened," he said, "so that's the reason why I try to make as many appearances as possible."

ETHNIC-GROUP: Asian/Pacific Island

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: August 6, 1996



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LEVEL 2 - 36 OF 128 STORIES

Times Publishing Company
St. Petersburg Times

July 29, 1990, Sunday, City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL; NEWSMAKERS REVISITED; Pg. 11A

LENGTH: 919 words

HEADLINE: Elliot Richardson continues public service role

BYLINE: JAY HORNING

BODY:

Elliot Richardson is a man who long ago decided that any satisfaction in the private practice of law fell short of that gained from public service.

His long career is ample evidence that he has never altered his opinion.

Since his first venture outside private practice in 1953 to serve as an aide to Massachusetts Sen. Leverett Saltonstall, Richardson probably has held more high-level government positions than any other modern-day public servant.

Four of those have been at the Cabinet level attorney general, secretary of defense, secretary of health, education and welfare, secretary of commerce. He also has served as this country's ambassador to Britain and as the special representative of the president to the Law of the Sea Conference.

And in his native Massachusetts, he was elected lieutenant governor and attorney general.

Richardson is descended from early New England settlers, and although many of the Richardsons were physicians, politics was his chosen field from the beginning.

His studies at Harvard were interrupted by World War II, during which he received a Bronze Star and two Purple Hearts for his service in Europe with the 4th Infantry Division. He returned to Harvard after the war and became associated with a Boston firm in 1949.

But it was to be only four years before he made the first of his moves to Washington to begin his public service as a Saltonstall aide. His first presidential appointment came in 1959 from Dwight Eisenhower, who named him U.S. attorney for Massachusetts.

Ten years later he was back in Washington, this time called by Richard Nixon to serve as undersecretary of state. A year later Nixon chose him to head the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Nixon later appointed Richardson secretary of defense and then attorney



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general. Then, in an ironic twist of fate, **Richardson** resigned from the latter office rather than obey Nixon's order to fire Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox. That triggered what became known as the "Saturday Night Massacre," with Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus also resigning rather than carrying out the order.

Today, **Richardson** looks back on the Watergate era and talks of what might have been. He still believes that President Gerald Ford was wrong in pardoning Nixon.

"If I could have gotten to President Ford in time, I think I could have convinced him there was a better way to handle the situation," he said. "I would have recommended that first of all, special prosecutor Leon Jaworsky be told to complete the investigation, evaluate the evidence and give conclusions as to charges that could have been brought. He could have concluded that no useful purpose would be served by prosecution. . . "

"Then he could have invited the judgment of the House and the Senate leadership and the advice of the attorney general and they could have agreed to decline to prosecute. The word 'pardon' never would have been used.

Richardson's contacts with Nixon have been practically nil since those Watergate days. "We had one brief encounter at the Chinese Embassy," he said. "He was friendly."

Richardson's reputation was bolstered considerably by his Watergate stance, and some Republicans began talking of him as a presidential candidate in 1976. But **Richardson** ruled himself out when Ford announced that he would seek the office.

Richardson did make one more bid for elective office, unsuccessfully seeking the GOP nomination for a Massachusetts seat in the U.S. Senate in 1984.

Today, **Richardson** continues to give more than 100 percent. "I work a long week," he said, "60 to 70 hours." About half of that, he said, is for the Washington law firm with which he is associated.

"My latest public assignment," he said, "is representing President Bush in the Philippines in connection with a broad-based development assistance program. I've taken three trips to the Philippines in that role."

He says he also is "still somewhat involved in the work of the National Commission on the Public Service," serving as chairman of the task force on relations between career services and political appointees. And he is active in the United Nations Association of the United States.

Looking back on his career, **Richardson** says of his assignments, "They were all challenging roles, all interesting. I gave all that I could give to them and more. I enjoyed them all, and I never willingly left any of them."

Of his accomplishments, he says it is difficult to pick out individual things of which he is proud. "But in terms of helping people," he said, "the program I initiated on public education had a more direct impact than any single thing."



St. Petersburg Times, July 29, 1990

Richardson and his wife Anne have three children and four grandchildren, and live in suburban Washington.

Now 70, **Richardson** says he has no plan to cut back on his overall activity. "But I do plan to get rid of some things to take more time for writing," he said. "I wrote a book after I resigned from the government. This time I don't plan to write a book. If it turned into a book that would be okay, but I simply want to get some of my reflections and observations down on paper as a way of thinking them through."

GRAPHIC: BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO; **Elliot Richardson**

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: November 13, 1992



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MARIO G. OBLEDO

MARIO G. OBLEDO has been active in civil/social affairs for over 30 years. His leadership is recognized throughout the country. He co-founded the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) and the National Hispanic Bar Association. He secured the tax-exempt status for the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project. As Secretary of the Health and Welfare Agency in California (1975-1982), he was instrumental in bringing thousands of Hispanics into state government work. As National President of the League of United Latin-American Citizens (LULAC) (1983-1985), he extended the influence of the organization into the international arena. As the Chairman of the National Rainbow Coalition (1988-1993), he sought to unify the various ethnic, racial and religious groups into a progressive political force in order to change the character and condition of America.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

[001]

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(b)(6)

FORMER:

- * Secretary, Health and Welfare - State of California
- * Member of Faculty - Harvard School of Law
- * President and General Counsel - Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF)
- * Assistant Attorney General - State of Texas
- * Chairman - National Rainbow Coalition, Inc.
- * National President - LULAC, the largest Hispanic membership organization in America

PRESENT:

- * President - California Coalition of Hispanic Organizations (CCHO)

I. Present Activities:

Consultant in labor law, personnel management, federal and state equal opportunity compliance laws and regulations, civil rights matters, community and public affairs, government relations, health planning-organization, environmental health issues, state and federal legislative and administrative advocacy, western hemisphere trade.



II. Personal:

- * [REDACTED] (b)(6)
- * Korean War Veteran - U.S. Navy

III. Education:

- * Attended public schools in San Antonio, Texas
- * B.S. Degree in Pharmacy, University of Texas, Austin
- * J.D., St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas
- * Completed various institutes in pharmacy and law

IV. Special Qualifications:

A. Management and Administration

- * Supervised the largest agency in California State Government - 11 Departments, 45,000 employees, 500 programs, \$14 Billion annual budget (larger than the individual budget of 46 states and most countries of the world).
- * Consultant in personnel management
- * Knowledge in drafting, processing, and implementation of legislation and regulations

B. Community Activities

- * Member - League of United Lation American Citizens (LULAC); American GI Forum; Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA); California Coalition of Hispanic Organizations

C. Bilingual

- * Speak, read, and write Spanish

D. Writing Skills

- * Author of several published articles

E. Public Recognition

- * Subject of hundreds of news articles and numerous radio and television commentaries, including live appearances

F. Professional and Community Recognition

- * Distinguished Urban Service Award - Urban Coalition
- * 1982 Hubert Humphrey Award, American Pharmaceutical Association
- * Recipient of over 1,000 honors

V: Conclusion:

- * Details and references furnished upon request.

////

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Membership: -Immediate Past Chairman, Board of Directors,
National Rainbow Coalition, Inc.
-Chairman, California Coalition of Hispanic
Organizations
-Immediate Past National President - LULAC
-Member - Board of Directors, LULAC Foundation
-Honorary Member - Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal
Holiday Commission
- Member - Legal and Pharmacy Professional
Organizations
-Former Secretary, Health and Welfare Agency,
State of California
-Co-founder - MALDEF, Hispanic Bar Association

Awards: 1) Distinguished Urban Service Award - National
Urban League
2) American Pharmaceutical Association Hubert
Humphrey Award
3) National Hispanic University - Don Quixote
Award
4) Distinguished Service Award - Mexican
American Opportunity Foundation
5) Outstanding National President - California
State LULAC. Numerous other LULAC awards.
6) Received hundreds of awards, plaques,
resolutions, certificates, etc., while
Secretary of Health and Welfare for
California for seven years (1975-82).

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HEADLINE: Albert Shanker, 68, Combative Leader Who Transformed Teachers' Union, Dies

BYLINE: By JOSEPH BERGER

BODY:

Albert Shanker, who rose from being a substitute mathematics teacher to become a tough, canny labor leader who in the 1960's transformed New York City's United Federation of Teachers into one of the nation's most powerful unions, died on Saturday at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in Manhattan. Mr. Shanker, the longtime president of the American Federation of Teachers, the parent organization of the United Federation of Teachers, was 68 and lived in Mamaroneck, N.Y., and Manhattan.

He died after a three-year battle with bladder cancer, said Janet Bass, a spokeswoman for the American Federation of Teachers.

Sandra Feldman, who succeeded Mr. Shanker as president of the U.F.T. in 1986, on Saturday called her predecessor a teacher's teacher who was "deeply committed to both public education and the labor movement as a means of creating a better life for all Americans."

"He could be passionate about his beliefs," she said, "yet at the same time he had the rare ability to rethink issues and come up with fresh approaches as times changed."

Although he became a respected thinker on national educational issues, Mr. Shanker is best remembered for his combative role as the head of the 85,000-member U.F.T., the New York City teachers' union, during the turmoil of the city's school decentralization experiments in 1968, turmoil that resulted in the closing of most schools for 55 days during the fall term and which were so racially and religiously divisive that the effects are still being felt three decades later.

The dour Mr. Shanker became so widespread a symbol of stubborn combativeness that Woody Allen included a reference to him in his 1973 comedy "Sleeper." A character played by Mr. Allen is frozen in 1973 and awakens in the year 2173 to learn that civilization was destroyed because "a man by the name of Albert Shanker got hold of a nuclear warhead."



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Undoubtedly Obstinate, But a Solid Negotiator

At times Mr. Shanker was undoubtedly obstinate. But he was also an artful negotiator and organizer who built the federation from a feeble association into perhaps the state's most powerful union, one that could virtually veto appointments to the Board of Education and determine the makeup of the city's 32 local school boards.

He was also a pragmatist willing in 1975 to put \$150 million of his union's pension funds at risk to save the city from defaulting on its debts.

In the second act of his life as president of the American Federation of Teachers, with 900,000 members concentrated in large cities, he was widely regarded as a champion of rigorous educational standards. In a column that he wrote weekly for years as an advertisement in the Week in Review section of The New York Times, he called for a national competency test for teachers, pay increments tied to teacher quality and more rigorous requirements for high school graduation.

In yesterday's column, he discussed the flaws of the self-esteem movement in schools. Educational authorities like TheodoreSizer called him a "towering figure."

"I'm proudest of the fact that I've confounded people by being honest," Mr. Shanker said in a July interview with Joyce Purnick of The Times. "I believe in traditional discipline and that history should not be distorted for current purposes. But I also believe that smaller schools where teachers and kids know each other's names are more effective. I called things as I saw them, so in certain ways I could be viewed as a progressive educator and in other ways as a traditionalist."

Mr. Shanker, a former junior high school mathematics teacher, had a quicksilver intellect and was a powerful debater, blessed with a memory for anecdotes and metaphors. But he rose to fame as a fighter more than a thinker, in his iron-willed battle against efforts by local black groups to take control of their neighborhood schools.

In the late 1960's, many blacks in New York City were frustrated by the sputtering drive for integration and the school system's poor record in educating their children. They pressed for school decentralization in their communities, believing it would give parents a greater voice in the education of their children.

Some members of the city's central Board of Education opposed such community control, fearing for their authority. Mr. Shanker, the son of European Socialists who himself had marched in civil rights protests in Selma, Ala., was originally amenable to the first experiments in community governance.

In March 1967 an agreement was reached between the State Legislature and Mayor John V. Lindsay for an extra \$54 million in state aid to education if New York City would present a school decentralization plan by the end of the year.

Three experimental school districts were set up in three poor districts with large minority populations -- East Harlem, the Lower East Side and Ocean Hill-Brownsville in Brooklyn. Mr. Shanker's union gave advice to Rhody McCoy, a



black teacher who was named administrator of the governing board of the the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district. Mr. Shanker even arranged for voluntary transfers of some teachers out of Ocean Hill and their replacement by more ideologically congenial professionals.

But in a turnabout in April 1968, Mr. McCoy summarily transferred 13 white teachers, assistant principals and one principal out of the district against their will. Mr. McCoy offered no specific pedagogic reasons, but it was believed he thought that the professionals in question were trying to sabotage the decentralization experiment.

"He called me and said, 'Something is going to happen and I'm afraid it's going to hurt our relationship,' " Mr. Shanker recalled. "It was absolutely impossible to fathom except on the basis that he was threatened or something had happened there" in the district.

A Testing Ground For Community Control

To Mr. Shanker and his union, the transfers were illegal, a violation of civil service laws and union contracts involving the right of workers to hold jobs unless charges of incompetence were proven. They also worried that the action in Ocean Hill would spread to other communities where local figures who Mr. Shanker called "vigilantes" would try to seize control of the schools.

To supporters of the Ocean Hill district, the matter was a test case of community control. Coming after the urban riots that followed the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and a wave of upheavals by students on college campuses, the conflict seemed to crystallize the nation's social fault lines.

The union prevailed in court but could not get political leaders like Mayor Lindsay to use police to restore the teachers.

"Lindsay told me dozens of times during the strike: 'Al, you're absolutely right, but do you want the city to burn down?' " Mr. Shanker recalled. "I said, 'Where's it going to stop? That's blackmail.' "

In September, Mr. Shanker called the first of three citywide strikes that crippled the nation's largest public school system. The walkouts succeeded in closing 85 percent of the city's 900 schools for a total of 55 days into November, putting more than a million children out of classrooms and forcing tens of thousands of working parents to scramble for child care arrangements.

During the days when schools were open, union teachers had to endure angry crowds outside many schools. Inside the Ocean Hill schools, members of the Black Panthers and militant local leaders like Robert (Sonny) Carson, who had been invited in by Mr. McCoy, delivered antiwhite diatribes and threatened the teachers' families. The atmosphere was also poisoned by anti-Semitism directed at the many Jewish members of the U.F.T. Anti-Semitic catcalls were shouted by protesters and appeared in newspapers put out by the Afro-American Teachers Association. A student's anti-Semitic poem was read on the radio.

Each time the Board of Education gave in to Mr. McCoy's governing board, Mr.



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Shanker ordered the teachers to walk out. He did this in the face of opposition voiced in many of the city's editorial pages, the Ford Foundation and the prestigious Public Education Association.

The strikes did not end until the State Education Commissioner, James Allen Jr., suspended the Ocean Hill board and appointed a trustee to oversee the return of the union teachers.

Mr. Shanker spent 15 days in jail for calling the strikes. For years afterward, he was often demonized for tarnishing his union's reputation for idealism and leaving a legacy of tensions between blacks and Jews.

The accusations were deeply wounding to Mr. Shanker, whose integration efforts began when he was a college student at the University of Illinois and picketed segregated movie houses and restaurants in Urbana. But he always defended his decision, comparing the expulsion of teachers to Nazism.

"To me, what was going on here was the same thing," he said. "Pushing a guy out of a principalship because he's white. Taking a bunch of teachers and calling them all sorts of anti-Semitic names and threatening to kill their kids or their husbands or wives. Somebody has to stand up to this and say you're not going to profit by this."

In the aftermath of the 1968 strikes, the State Legislature passed a law that decentralized the city's schools into 32 districts and gave elected boards the power to run elementary and junior high schools. Behind the scenes, Mr. Shanker made sure the law had strong protections for teachers' jobs.

A Changing View Of Decentralization

"We wrote the decentralization law," he said.

With turnouts in school board elections as low as 6 and 7 percent, the union's endorsements proved pivotal and it became evident in a few years that the strongest force in decentralization was the United Federation.

But in 1996, Mr. Shanker was critical of decentralization in his interview with Ms. Purnick. Agreeing with many in education, he said that local school board elections continued to produce corrupt board members, very low voter turnout and confusion over unnecessarily complex ballots.

"It's all a shame and it's a moral outrage," Mr. Shanker said. "But how much does that have to do with whether the kids are going to read on grade level or not? There's some correlation, but I would say not much. Because you're still not going to educate kids, because you have no educational plan out there."

The leader of the strike that changed New York was, for most of his life, a tall, lanky and ungainly intellectual with black horn-rimmed glasses and a mournful cast, like Eeyore's in "Winnie the Pooh." He loved ideological debate and developed a pincer wit that enabled him to excel at it. An introspective man who read widely in history and biography, he also became a sophisticated baker of bread, a winemaker, an aficionado of African art and a seeker of the best stereo equipment.



The New York Times, February 24, 1997

Albert Shanker was born Sept. 14, 1928, into a family that was hardly uncommon on the Lower East Side, Yiddish-speaking Russian immigrants with Socialist passions.

His father, Morris, delivered newspapers. He rose at 2 A.M. seven days a week, pushed a cart stacked with bundles of the city's half-dozen morning newspapers through a five-mile area of Queens, then returned at 10 A.M. to deliver the afternoon newspapers. The young Mr. Shanker hardly ever saw him and knew him, he once said, as "this angry, disgruntled guy who grabbed a roll and coffee and went out to work again."

His mother, Mamie, was a sewing machine operator and a member of Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers. So grueling was her work that Mr. Shanker once visited her factory and could not recognize her as she sat bent in sweaty concentration at her machine.

If both parents bequeathed a sympathy for workers, it was his thrifty mother who taught him how to negotiate. "I'd have to wait half an hour while she bought three tomatoes," he once said.

The family moved to the Ravenswood section of Queens and he remembered his childhood as miserable there. Many of his neighbors listened on radio to the anti-Semitic preachings of Father Coughlin and the younger ones sometimes took their venom out on Mr. Shanker.

"At the age of 12, I was 6 foot 3 and 110 pounds," he recalled. "I was Jewish and living in an Irish Catholic neighborhood, so everybody took turns beating up the biggest kid."

As a result, he mostly stayed indoors, listening to radio or collecting stamps. But at 14 he joined the Boy Scouts. When the scoutmaster was drafted into the Army, the teen-age Mr. Shanker ran the troop on his own and persuaded boys to join with the same zeal he would later employ to enlist teachers into his union.

Mr. Shanker attended Stuyvesant High School and the University of Illinois. He started a doctoral program in philosophy at Columbia University, but running out of money and patience, he took a year off in 1952 to teach at an elementary school for a salary of \$38 a week. He never finished his doctorate.

Moving to a junior high school in Astoria, he found he liked teaching intellectually gifted classes. But after a run-in with a principal over what Mr. Shanker felt was lax discipline, he was assigned to the bottom classes in the school.

His relief came in union activities. Teacher unions then were astonishingly ineffective. There were 106 of them, in part a result of bitter divisions over Communist loyalties and over pay differentials that rewarded high school teaching more than elementary teaching.

The anti-Communist Teachers Guild was a weak group of 2,400 members. Mr. Shanker edited its newspaper, which was then delivered in unmarked envelopes, an indication of how suspicious authorities were of leftist unions.



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Along with colleagues like David Selden, he organized individual schools, visiting three out of every four in the city. One person he signed up was Edith Gerber, a Queens teacher, who became his second wife in 1960 and who went on to head a mentoring program at the City University of New York.

In 1960, a merged body of teachers' unions, the United Federation, won the right to bargain for all teachers. Mr. Shanker, then the union's secretary, became its star. He had a knack for running meetings, letting opponents vent so much steam they infuriated the majority, who would vote against them.

In 1964, while in his mid-30's, Mr. Shanker was elected president. Three years later, he shocked New Yorkers unaccustomed to strikes by white-collar professionals by leading a teachers' walkout over issues of disciplinary procedures. The action resulted in the first of two jailings.

Focusing Efforts On the National Scene

After the upheaval of the 1968 strike, he began turning his attention to the national labor scene, and in 1974, in an action that fractured their friendship, he succeeded Mr. Selden as president of the union's parent, the American Federation of Teachers, but also retained leadership of the U.F.T. for another 12 years.

"When he moved to Washington, he became an education statesman and began thinking about things that needed to change," said Diane Ravitch, a former Assistant United States Secretary of Education. "How do kids learn best? What is the best way to organize a school? How do we maintain standards?"

Ms. Ravitch said he was a voice of common sense. "This is a field consumed with trends and fads and people get carried away with the newest thing," she said, "and he never gets carried away."

With time, Mr. Shanker's confrontational attitudes seemed to mellow.

"We got to the 1980's and we had too much of an adversarial relationship," he said in a 1992 interview of relations between unions and school boards. "You don't get much done through conflict."

Mr. Shanker is survived by his wife; four children, Carl, of Gaithersburg, Md., Adam, of Mount Vernon, N.Y., Jennie, of Philadelphia, and Michael, of Tarrytown, N.Y., and a sister, Pearl Harris of Cleveland.

GRAPHIC: Photos: Albert Shanker at a rally in City Hall Park in September 1968 during the teachers' strikes. The walkouts closed most of the city's schools for 55 days, putting more than a million children out of classrooms. (William E. Sauro/The New York Times); Albert Shanker. (Associated Press, 1990)

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