

December 19, 1994

**D.C. Public Schools
Fact Sheet**

Major restructuring and downsizing efforts by DCPS in recent years:

- In 1993, the Board of Education accomplished the largest payroll reduction in the school system and authorized the largest number of school closings in two decades.
- The Board has cut 698 positions from central staff which reflects 175 more central and non-instructional support positions than recommended in the 1989 COPE Report.
- Since 1990 the Board has closed 13 schools - and not received any revenue from the city in return.
- Last year, DCPS generated \$4 million in new Medicaid dollars for services to special education students. Medicaid revenues projected for this year are between \$5 - \$6 million.
- For the past 4 years DCPS has absorbed \$21 - \$26 million in unfunded needs (i.e. step increases - \$ 4 million; health benefits - \$4.9 million; utility costs - \$4 million).
- DCPS was the first city agency to initiate a major downsizing effort and to offer retirement incentive programs to employees in 1991.

Explanation of increasing costs:

- DCPS' enviable 20:1 teacher/pupil ratio (through Grade 3) and 25:1 ratio (in higher grades) creates higher personnel costs in order to fund teachers.
- DCPS is the only school system in the region and one of the few nationwide which offers an all day prekindergarten program for four year olds and all day kindergarten.
- DCPS' older work force - 38% of District teachers have been in the system 20 years or more - means higher salaries.
- Increasing violence in the city translates into more dollars for security aides, metal detectors and training for personnel.

- DCPS has a growing language minority student population - currently 7,600 in 82 schools. These students must be provided with appropriate and often costly programming.

DCPS funding in relation to other city agencies and surrounding jurisdictions:

- Over 40% of the sacrifice from the 1991 furloughs came from education even though education represents only about 20% of the budget.
- DCPS has an excellent record of living within its budget since 1981 while other agencies overspend every year. (Last year DHS overspent by \$111 million, Corrections overspent by \$50 million, D.C. General overspent by \$30 million.)
- DCPS has been improving its budget format. It now provides more detailed budget information in easy-to-read format than other city agencies.
- DCPS' FY 1994 per pupil expenditure of \$7,430 is below that of several surrounding jurisdictions (Alexandria City - \$7,643, Arlington Co. - \$7,896, Falls Church - \$8,104) and only slightly higher than Montgomery Co. - \$7,228.
- DCPS is the only school system in twelve surrounding jurisdictions to decrease its per pupil expenditure in FY 1995.

What's Our Budget?

WP C8 1-28-96

Sandwiched between the arctic blasts of snow here, D.C. School Superintendent Franklin Smith and the Board of Education testified before the D.C. Council's education committee on its supplemental budget request for 1996. The first 30 minutes of the hearing involved a lengthy discussion about the amount of the D.C. school system's budget. This exercise would have been less painful if the budget being discussed was for next year. Unfortunately, the uncertainty and lack of clarification concerned this year's budget.

Indeed, the District government and its independent agencies have been inundated with a flurry of different budget numbers. This Congress (of balanced budget fame) has exacerbated this situation by refusing to pass a budget for the city this year. (Our current budget year began Oct. 1, 1995.) Now there is talk that there will be no approved budget; we will be forced to operate with a continuing resolution.

If you think digging out of the snow was tough try digging out of this budget mess. The school board and superintendent sought clarification of their budget mark. This is no easy task given the fact that there are five—count them, five—different budget amounts for the school system. The first amount is \$503 million, which was approved by the D.C. Council but not Congress. The second comes from the U.S. House of Representatives. The third comes from the U.S. Senate. The fourth comes from a congressional conference committee and the fifth from the mayor's new supplemental budget request, which has not been approved by the council.

For years I have urged council members and the mayor to develop a stable funding base for the school system. This year I would be happy just to know what our budget is! After all, the school system wants to balance its budget. Is that asking too much? Eighty

thousand students and 6,000 teachers are waiting for the answer.

When I explain my budget plight to school board members across the country, they are shocked that the D.C. public school system doesn't have an approved budget for the current year. Wait until I tell them that I probably won't get one and that we will have to operate under a continuing resolution—whatever that means.

Once again, I am asking Congress to bring resolution to the District of Columbia's current budget. After all, these are the very same members of Congress who envisioned making the nation's capital "an urban jewel" and its school system "a world class educational system."

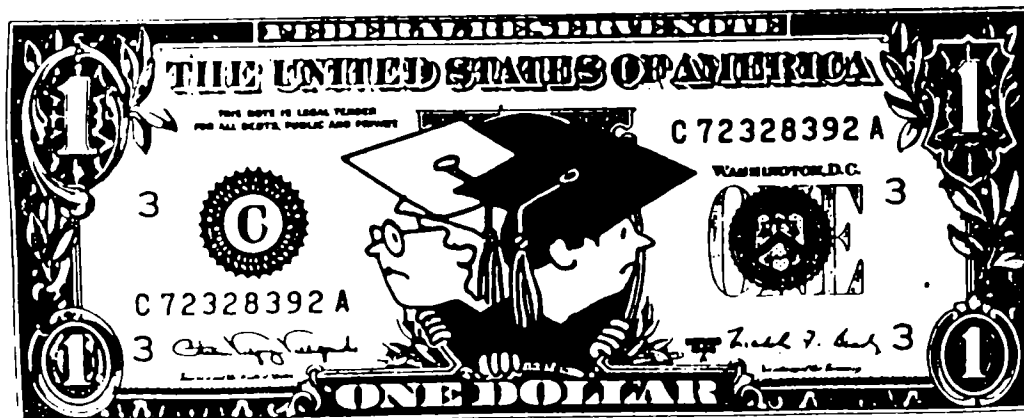
I am reminded of my subway adventure before the last blizzard arrived. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of us were crushed together on the platform waiting for overcrowded trains to arrive. As the trains came to a halt, we moved cautiously to the right, sometimes to the left—whichever way the doors were located. We separated our bulky mass to allow too few departing passengers to exit. Then the onslaught began, and folks squeezed into subway cars.

In like fashion, the superintendent and school board cautiously move to the right when one higher power determines a budget amount, then we move to the left when another number is recommended. Unfortunately the train has left the station, and we are still waiting for the next one.

Now schools are open, and the streets are clear—but what about the avalanche of budget uncertainty for D.C. students?

—Karen Shook

is president of the D.C. Board of Education.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1996

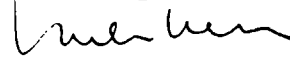
Mrs. Maureen Shuster
20 Windover Lane
Doylestown, PA 18901

Dear Mrs. Shuster:

Mrs. Clinton asked me to thank you for your thoughtful card and the newspaper clippings which she enjoyed receiving. The First Lady was delighted to learn about your experiences since the meeting at the White House. It was so kind of you to think of us.

Thank you for writing and best wishes in your important work.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
of the First Lady

where I was born & raised & now work in. Another reply was from a woman from Pa; the State I now live in. She w. carrying a tote bag" Working Women Count; "the idea of her boss, Margarie Marquiles-Morvinsky. "It's a small world after all!" I consider myself very fortunate to have been part of such an interesting day & to have met so many interesting people with interesting ideas.

Best wishes in the next few weeks & months. You must be looking forward to Chicago. How exciting! Maureen Shu

THE WILLIAM HADWEN HOUSES, 94 AND 96 MAIN STREET

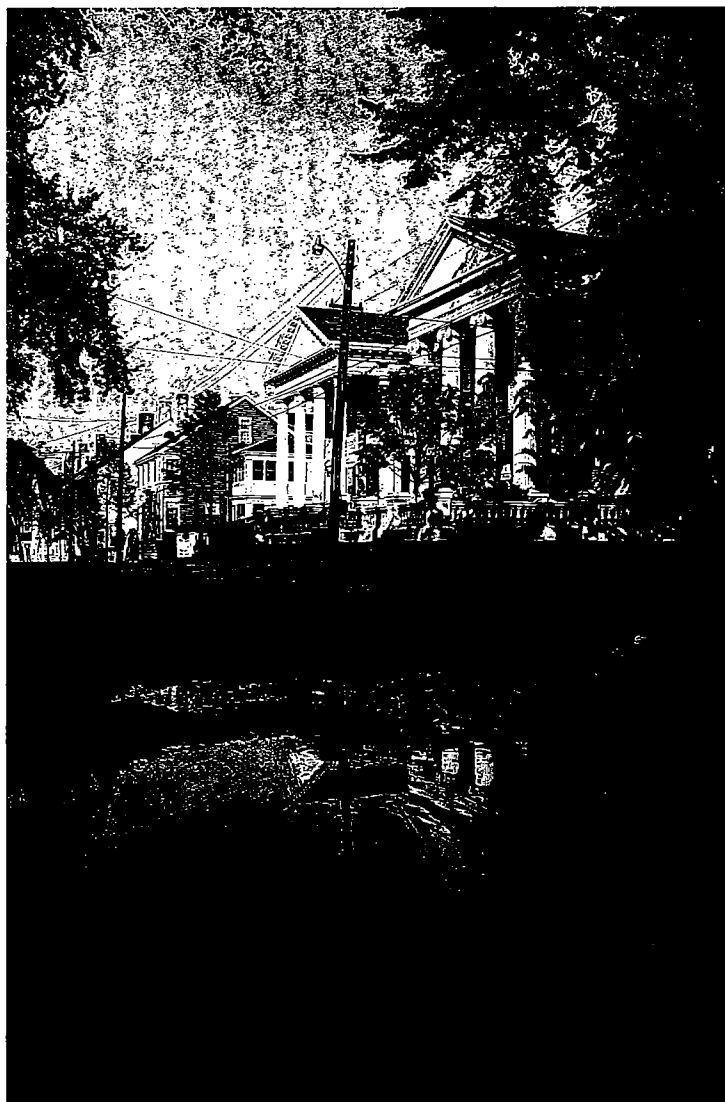
These Greek Revival houses, built by a wealthy silversmith and merchant, are the most dramatic of the Main Street homes. They were designed by Frederick Brown Coleman during 1840-1845, a period of unprecedented island whaling prosperity. No. 94 has a second floor ballroom with a domed ceiling that can be opened to the stars and a floor built with staves that spring under the weight of the dancers.

For other views of Nantucket see **Nantucket Island**, a profile with 430 photographs by Robert Gambee, W.W. Norton & Co., Publishers.

P.S. I'll be spending the 1st two weeks of Sept here on Nantucket)

a little of heaven

Best and



liked. The original article was typed on 8 1/2 x 11" page depicting the platform & mentioning keynote speakers - everything newsworthy! In any event, it did generate many compliments, questions, and one phone call from a Christian coalition group which I sent some literature to.

Over the past few months, I've received interesting replies from contacts I made while attending the "Circle Conference." One woman from Conn. ^{owns} helps direct an educational concept called "Above & Beyond." It turns out her husband comes from New Jersey; the state

20 Windover Ln.
Doylestown Pa 18901
Aug. 18, 1996

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

On the lighter side - I've enclosed an article you might enjoy reading, about Margaret Mead's home in Doylestown. My copy is now next to the forward in It Takes A Village. It makes for interesting conversation. One of the next books I'm reading is Composing A Life mentioned in The Choice which I've just started.

The other enclosed article was edited & slightly changed more than I would have

20 Windover La.
Doylestown, Pa.
18901



Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Room 100 - OEOB
Washington, D.C. 20500

Attention: Melanne Verwee
Chief of Staff to First Lady

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1996

Ms. Adelaide Smith
4711 Bayard Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15213

Dear Ms. Smith:

Thank you for your thoughtful card and for extending the invitation to Mrs. Clinton to speak to Pennsylvania Peace Links. She is very aware of Peace Links' important work and has participated in Washington events for Peace Links.

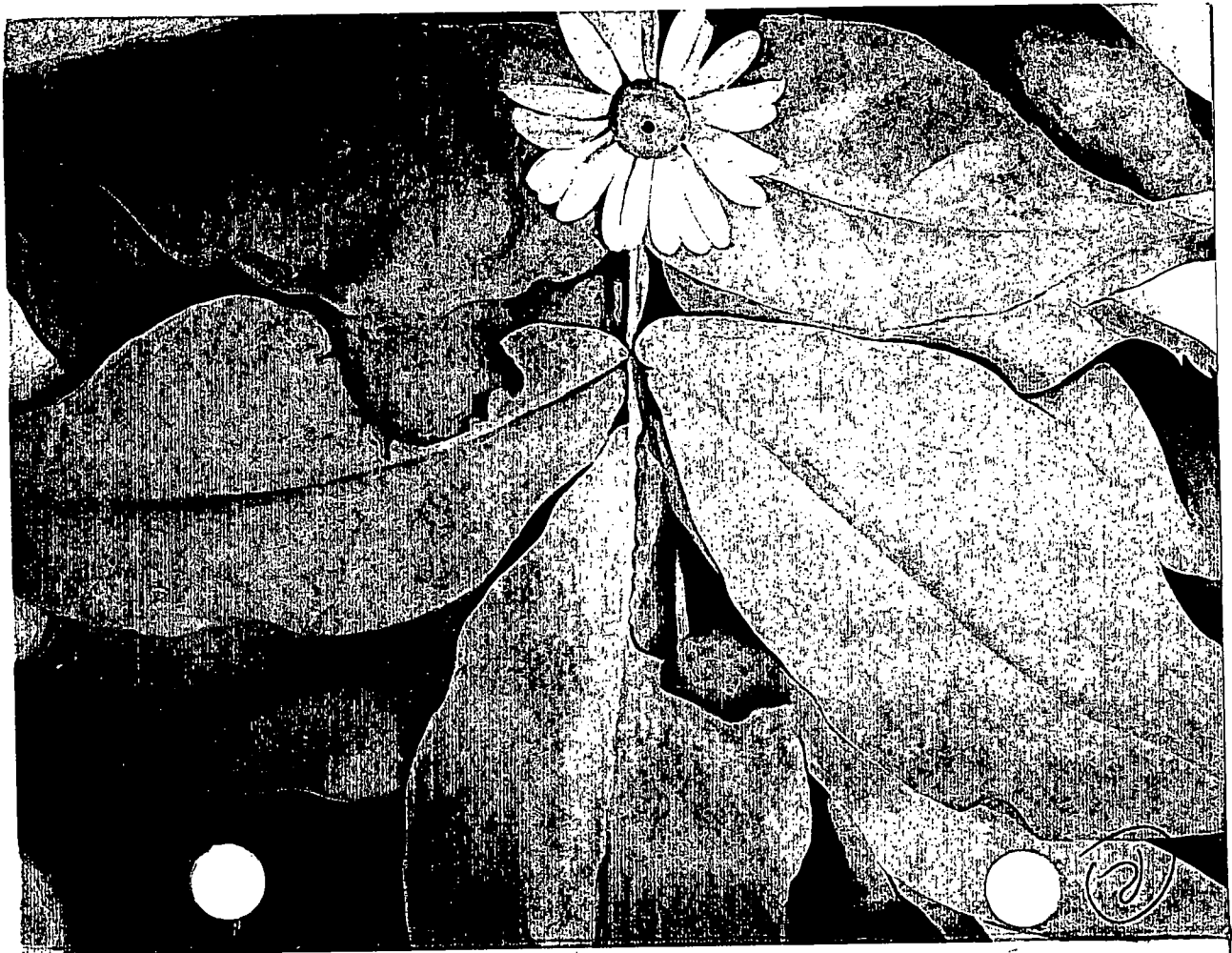
We have forwarded your request to Patti Solis Doyle, Director of Scheduling for the First Lady to consider should the First Lady have plans to visit Pittsburgh.

Thank you for writing and best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
of the First Lady



Yellow Hickory Leaves with Daisy
Georgia O'Keeffe, American, 1887-1986
Detail of an oil on canvas, 76 x 40 in., 1928
Gift of Georgia O'Keeffe to the
Alfred Stieglitz Collection 1965.1180
Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago
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6540/150

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton to speak to a AA Peace
Links' audience. He recognizes
it is difficult for her to schedule
every invitation she receives.
However, our participation in the
NSO Forum and our program in
Conflict Resolution for Young
Children make her a "Natural"
for us - anytime she may
want a forum in Pittsburgh.
Sincerely,
Linda Smith

August 19, 1996.

Dear Melanne,

This is a personal note
of thanks for doing whatever
you could to process our
request (via my brother, Jack
Briley) and invitation to Mrs.

Adelaide Smith, President

4711 Bayard Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
Tel (412) 687-1730

Pennsylvania Peace Links
305 Wood Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15222, USA
Tel (412) 471-0302
Fax (412) 471-4545



PEACE LINKS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 9, 1996

Ginetta Sagan
The Amnesty International Fund
500 Sansome Street No. 615
San Francisco, CA 94111

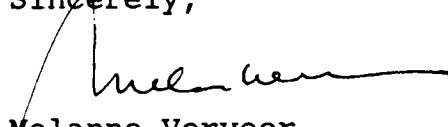
Dear Ms. Sagan,

On behalf of the First Lady, thank you for your invitation to Mrs. Clinton to speak at the opening reception of the "Bambi di Guerra" photography exhibit sponsored by the Ginetta Sagan Fund and Amnesty International USA.

Regrettably, due to the First Lady's demanding schedule she will be unable to attend the reception.

Thank you for writing and best wishes for a successful event.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady



THE
Ginetta Sagan
FUND
Amnesty International

R

August 2, 1996

Honorary Committee

Joan Baez
Julian Bancroft
Bernard M. Bour
William F. Buckley, Jr.
Susan Burke
Hon. Thomas Campbell
Lawrence Chickering
Jane Crocker
Hon. Paula Dobriansky
Jules Feiffer
Nancy Folger
Barbara French
Caroline Fromm-Lurie
Alan Gleitsman
Nat Hentoff
Charles Henry
Hettig
Howell
Penny Howell
William Kimpton
Hon. Tom Lantos
Elliott Levinthal
Frank Mankiewicz
Herb McLaughlin
Serena Mondavi
John G. Morris
Julian Price
Hon. Dana Rohrbacher
Claude Rosenberg
Leonard Sagan, M.D.
William F. Schulz
Stanley Sheinbaum
Rose Styron
Chuck Winner

Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Hillary:

In an effort to promote public awareness of the suffering of women and children who are the victims of human rights abuses, the Ginetta Sagan Fund and Amnesty International USA are sponsoring a photography exhibit here in Washington for two weeks in early September. The exhibit, "*Bambini di Guerra*" or *Children of War*, was created in Italy and was shown there under the auspices of UNICEF.

We would like very much to have you speak at the opening reception for the exhibit, which is scheduled for Tuesday, September 10, 1996, from 5:30 to 7:30 p.m. on Capitol Hill. All of us would benefit from hearing you speak about children and war. John Shattuck, Assistant Secretary of State, and Mariam Wright Edelman, President of the Children's Defense Fund, will be speaking as well.

I will be in touch with your office to check your schedule. I enclose a catalog and an article about Ginetta for your interest. Thank you for considering this request.

Sincerely yours,

B. B. B.



THE
Ginetta Sagan
FUND
Amnesty International

FOR RELEASE 8/2/96

CONTACT: SUSAN BURKE 202-662-5372
LEONARD SAGAN 415-323-4056

PRESS ADVISORY

Human Rights Commemorated

American Premiere of the *Bambini di Guerra* photography exhibit

Dates: September 10 - 21, 1996

Time: Open to the public 8 a.m. to 6 p.m, daily; free admission

Place: Cannon House Office Building Rotunda; 1st and Independence Ave., S.E.

Honorary Committee

Joan Baez
Juliana Bancroft
Bernard M. Bour
William F. Buckley, Jr.
Susan Burke
Hon. Thomas Campbell
Lawrence Chickering
Jane Crocker
Hon. Paula Dobriansky
Jules Feiffer
Nancy Folger
Barbara French
Caroline Fromm-Lurie
Alan Gleitsman
Nat Hentoff
Charles Henry
David Hettig
James Howell
Penny Howell
William Kimpton
Hon. Tom Lantos
Elliott Levinthal
Jing Lyman
Frank Mankiewicz
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Julian Price
Hon. Dana Rohrbacher
Claude Rosenberg
Leonard Sagan, M.D.
William F. Schulz
Stanley Sheinbaum
Rose Styron
Chuck Winner

We wish to believe that the ravages of war are not visited upon children. But they are. And nowhere is this truth more vividly displayed than in the *Bambini di Guerra* (*Children of War*) photography exhibit, which documents the impact of war on our children over the past 80 years. Never before shown in the United States, the exhibit, created in Italy by Patrizia Nuvolari, was discovered there by human rights activist Ginetta Sagan and her husband, Dr. Leonard Sagan.

Ginetta Sagan, a remarkable woman who was imprisoned for her resistance activities during WWII, and subsequently devoted her life to abolishing violence and torture, was determined to bring the Children of War exhibit to the United States. (Ginetta was the subject of a Washington Post article in April, 1996, which is attached for your convenience.) Ginetta's efforts to bring the exhibit here were successful, thanks to sponsorship by Amnesty International's Ginetta Sagan Fund, the Italian Cultural Institute of Washington, D.C., the American Academy of Pediatrics, North American Vaccine, Inc., Leonard Sagan, Bitsey Folger, and many other generous individuals and institutions.

On opening day, September 10, the sponsors, in cooperation with the Congressional Human Rights Caucus will host an invitation-only reception in the Rayburn Building featuring speakers John Shattuck, Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor; Marian Wright Edelman, President and Founder of the Children's Defense Fund; Staffan de Mistura, UNICEF; Morris Mistvra, Maurice E. Keenan, President, American Academy of Pediatrics; and HE the Italian Ambassador, Ferdinando Salleo. Members of the media are invited. The reception will feature a display of an original series of paintings by artist Francie Hester, who was commissioned by the Ginetta Sagan Fund to create an original piece. Hester's series, in her words, "builds upon the beauty and integrity of these young lives...to suggest the freedom of spirit, the lyrical energy of children..."

For more information about the Children of War exhibit, please contact Susan Burke at 202-662-5372 or Leonard Sagan at 415-323-4506.

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BY PAUL KURODA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Ginetta Sagan: "Silence . . . is complicity with the oppressor."

Amnesty International's Freedom Fighter

Ginetta Seeks to Spare Others the Pain She Suffered

By Colman McCarthy
Special to The Washington Post

ATHERTON, Calif.—On a kitchen clipboard next to copper pasta pots hangs a two-page handwritten letter. The writer tells of a relative jailed as a political prisoner in Argentina between 1976 and 1983—a time known as "the dirty war," when abductions and killings by the secret police were common. The letter ends with "*gracias*."

This is a home into which such letters come routinely. File cabinets brim with thanks on behalf of lost,

tortured and silenced people. It is the home of Ginetta.

Known universally by only her first name, the Italian-born Ginetta Sagan, 70, helped establish Amnesty International as a major human rights group in the United States nearly 30 years ago and is now its honorary chairwoman. She is of the rare breed who devote themselves to an issue and stay with it. They persist in dry times when all seems futile and exult in heady moments when, after a few decades of toil,

See GINETTA, C2, Col. 1

Ginetta Sagan's Mission

GINETTA, From C1

awards and honors are given.

Among her recent honors: the Grand Ufficiale award, given by the Italian government—a government that, 50 years and many leaders ago, tortured and nearly killed her. The citation reads: "Ginetta Sagan has dedicated her entire life with incomparable dedication and intelligence to liberate political prisoners, regardless of ideology or political alignment, throughout the world. Her humanitarian work, recognized and appreciated at the highest international levels, has and will continue to give distinction to Italy, her native land to which she holds great attachment."

Ginetta's involvement with Amnesty International dates to the mid-1960s, when the London-based organization was only a few years old. Its work included educating the public about governments that torture prisoners of conscience, or that subject them to sham trials. Abuses were documented in annual country-by-country reports, a literature of depravity.

Today Amnesty is a Nobel Peace Prize winner, with more than 1 million members, donors and subscribers in more than 150 countries. Some 4,300 local groups meet regularly. In addition to standing against torture, Amnesty has consistently opposed the death penalty, whether in the United States or under such dictatorships as those in Iraq, China and Cuba.

Not long ago, Amnesty began a new initiative, the Ginetta Sagan Fund. The goal is to build a \$2 million endowment—\$150,000 has already come in—to help women and children jailed or tortured as political prisoners. "In a world racked by violence," the 1995 Amnesty report states, "women face rape, mutilation and death at the hands of armed men. Yet all too often these women remain invisible. Their tales are not heard. Their plight is hidden by the sheer scale of the tragedies."

Ginetta has something more than a theoretical knowledge of such things.

The Little Mouse

In 1942 in Milan, Ginetta joined the Italian resistance, delivering papers among underground groups and to the clandestine press. She was dar-



BY PAUL KURODA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Coraggio: Ginetta Sagan's key to enduring torture, decades of hard work for a cause sometimes ignored, and now, a battle with cancer.

ing—one venture involved dressing as a cleaning lady to enter government offices to snatch letterhead on which documents of safe passage to Switzerland could be written. She was a schoolgirl of 17, the daughter of a Jewish mother and Catholic father. Both were physicians and actively anti-Fascist. They knew the risks of opposing the Mussolini regime.

They knew also that their daughter—nicknamed "*Topolino*" ("Little Mouse") by her underground friends—was taking chances with her life. So why shouldn't they take risks, too? Her parents refused chances to escape through the Alps. In 1943 they were taken from their Milan home, one to be shot, the other to die in Auschwitz.

Ginetta continued her dangerous work, and in February 1945 she was captured by Mussolini's Black Brigade. Torture—including rape and beatings—followed. In her autobiography, now nearing completion, she recalls: "My greatest fear, greater even than the fear of death which seemed almost a certainty, was that I would betray [my comrades] to the Black Brigade. But to all the torturer's questions I had managed to answer, 'I don't know, I don't know.' Somehow, I had gotten my mind into the groove of 'I don't know, I don't know,' even after the Black Brigade 'nurse' injected me with sodium pentothal."

Two months later and near death, Ginetta was miraculously rescued by two Germans—former Nazis—disguised as Gestapo agents. They took her to a Catholic hospital and turned her over to the Mother Superior and freedom.

One recent Sunday evening—with

her husband, Leonard, a physician, beside her—Ginetta spoke of those distant days of bravery. And she spoke of more recent turns from oppression to freedom, in South Africa, parts of Latin America and Eastern Europe. She has a melodious voice, slightly accented and surprisingly deep for a woman not five feet tall. Her hands reach out to touch your arm when she comes to the point of a story.

She has many stories, including her favorites of dictators pressured to free political prisoners and of joyous meetings with men and women she has helped to save. "When the military regime fell in 1974," she says, telling a story of repression conquered in Greece, "Leonard was part of a group of Amnesty people who had a conference in Athens on the medical effects of torture. For me, it meant going back to meet all these wonderful people—former prisoners, their families, friends. There was particular person who said, 'Ginetta, we have never forgotten the day when you said, "One day there will be freedom in Athens."'"

"That was very emotional for me."

A Helping Hand

Not surprisingly, Ginetta's allies include folk singer and activist Joan Baez. Their friendship goes back to 1972, when, uninvited and unannounced, Ginetta showed up at the front door of Baez's home a few miles from here.

"I had all these cases of political prisoners coming in," Ginetta remembers, "and very few people to help at that time, to develop the organization.

I thought, who is going to help? Nobody is going to listen to me.

"I thought I would bring to Joan Baez the case sheets and the Amnesty material and ask her, would she please help. I think she was a little overwhelmed. I had lots of cases. She looked at them. We sat outside and talked. She said, 'Yes, I will help you.'"

Baez began promoting Amnesty's mission in her concerts, and gave Amnesty a year of full-time work. Inspired by Ginetta, Baez became a willing menial in the Sagan home, addressing envelopes, taking phone calls, running errands and caring for the overflowing files of documents, case sheets and Amnesty literature.

"Sometimes people would call me and say that my secretary has such a beautiful voice," Ginetta says with a smile.

In her memoir, "And a Voice to Sing With," Baez recalls those times: "Ginetta was a fireball of energy and compassion and a European intellectual, eager to share her knowledge and experiences with me. She had three sons; perhaps she would have liked a daughter."

In 1975, Ginetta found another key ally. On a July morning, she rose before dawn to go to a friend's house in the neighborhood where a relatively obscure Georgia politician was staying. He was trying to persuade Californians that he should be the next president. At 6 a.m., Ginetta met with Jimmy Carter.

"I spent half an hour in the living room telling him about the work of Amnesty. . . . After our meeting, he spoke to about 300 people who were in the garden to hear him talk about his views. He said that if he became president he would make human rights a major part of his foreign policy," she says.

But not everyone was an ally.

In the years after the war in Southeast Asia, she spoke out against human rights violations by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. In 1979, Ginetta and her husband joined a group of Americans who signed an open letter to the Vietnamese government calling for it "to end the imprisonment and torture" of thousands of political prisoners.

Other voices on the left, who had opposed the war and who believed that North Vietnam had been wronged by U.S. military intervention, objected—loudly and indignantly. Jane Fonda refused to sign the let-

ter, which had been drafted by Baez. William Kunstler called the criticism of Vietnam a "cruel and wanton act," adding: "I do not believe in public attacks on socialist countries, even where violations of human rights may occur."

Ginetta was not deterred. During the 1980s, she gathered information from more than 800 former Vietnamese prisoners. She published a 150-page report on Vietnam's human rights violations. The most recent Amnesty report states that "at least 60 prisoners of conscience and possible prisoners of conscience remained imprisoned in 1994."

"As in the past, it is not the evidence of injustice that is lacking," Ginetta says, "it is the courage to believe in and act upon this evidence to help these victims that is missing. We can truly help. Silence in the face of injustice is complicity with the oppressor."

Another measure of her inner steel is on display now. Ginetta has colorectal cancer. She has had surgery and chemotherapy but is no longer taking treatment of any kind. Instead she is using what time remains to carry on her volunteer work for Amnesty. She cites these grim statistics relentlessly: 80 percent of the world's 20 million refugees are women and children. And 80 percent of war casualties in the 1990s have been civilian.

"We must—we must—abolish violence and torture as a means of resolving conflict," she says.

Finding Her Muse

For Ginetta, it wasn't always certain that human rights would be her mis-

sion. At war's end in 1945, Ginetta entered an Italian convalescent home to recover her physical and mental health. Her godfather—a friend of her late father's who was living in Paris—found her and suggested that she come to study at the Sorbonne. There she met Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre, and her professors urged her to study in the United States.

Ginetta enrolled at the University of Chicago in 1951. On her first day, in a cafeteria line, she said hello to another new student. He was Leonard Sagan, a San Franciscan and Stanford graduate beginning his first year of medical school. Six months later, they married.

Together now 44 years, they have three sons and, in 1994, published a jointly written Italian cookbook. In the introduction, which is spiced with recollections and anecdotes, Leonard Sagan tells of his wife's wartime captivity: "Her spirits were devastated. Did any of her comrades know where she was? Would she ever see them again?"

"The door to her dark room was flung open one night, and a bread roll thrown in. It was the same kind of large roll you see all over Italy today, baked with a sort of cavity in the center of it. When Ginetta tore open the roll to eat it, she discovered a matchbox. . . . She slid apart the matchbox, and inside was a slip of paper with a single word on it: *Coraggio*, the Italian word for courage. . . . She was not alone. Ginetta's despair was lifted in that moment, and she had the strength and the courage to go on."

CHILDREN OF WAR

A review of a photographic exhibit: Children Of War - 100 Years Of Atrocity, Loneliness And Fear. written by Furio Colombo, published in Repubblica (translated from the Italian)

This remarkable and powerful exhibit of 90 photographs, taken by the most renowned international photographers and reporters, recounts in vivid detail the innocent victims of wars of this century. One sees here the beautiful but terror stricken eyes of Jewish children, the hunger of Spanish and French children, the horror of Italian children. There are Koreans, Palestinians, Hungarians, Iraqis, all trying to escape the bullets, guns and tanks.

People of future generations who interest themselves in our century will probably be most puzzled by our relationship with our children; What did we do to our children? Where do we put them when they are not in the family or school? If this problem is evident in peacetime, this view explodes in a brutal way when a situation of violence occurs. This is why these photos are so important.

I'd be tempted to say that this paradox - not knowing what to do with children, the little ones - adults of our period kill them. They are killed. Adults use the children. Adults make them an active part of our conflicts. Someone told me that these things have always happened. But in our time, which these photos represent, there are two important differences. The first is that we believe that we live in a civilized period. Yet it is clear from these children's' pictures that this is not true. Secondly, because of mass communications, we cannot deny that we know everything, including all the details.

The involvement of children is proof that a situation of violence is definitely imposed on the whole community, and the people who bring and practice this violence fully intend to sink to the very depths to carry out their violence. They see no reason for caution, and do not concern themselves with forgiveness. The world has never forgotten the photo of the little Jewish child in Warsaw with a little French beret and short pants who walks towards the photographer with his hands raised, followed by German soldiers who have their guns trained on him during the war as if the child were a dangerous enemy. The Nazi exterminators have always given great importance to children as victims. They never neglected anyone and went to seek them out as

one would do with the most dangerous enemy. When you see images of children who appear as indirect victims of the war, the children who are starved, the children hiding like little groups of wolves, you don't want to believe that this was deliberate. However they are, without any question, calculated victims.

No one could have been so stupid, during the war in Somalia, not to know the consequences to the civilian population, 1/2 of them children, of the systematic destruction of the harvest. Each image of a Somali child has to be placed in the calculated context of the strategy of a horrible event of killing children, for the purpose of frightening the rest of the population into submission.

The Generals in Mogadishu, the so-called rebels of Rwanda, the murderers of Angola, the Generals of ex-Yugoslavia - they all knew very well what they were doing. To kill, starve, exterminate, or terrorize children is a top military priority.

One must deny any acceptance of political reasons for killing, not only for today, but forever. One has to work to prevent the eradication from history of these atrocities, to be replaced with the feeling that all is well in the world. This is not the case.

Those who have done these horrible things must remain forever tied to the memory of the outrage. I believe that to this, at least, the horrible, horrendous images of children and war, seen in these photographs, will serve that purpose.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 9, 1996

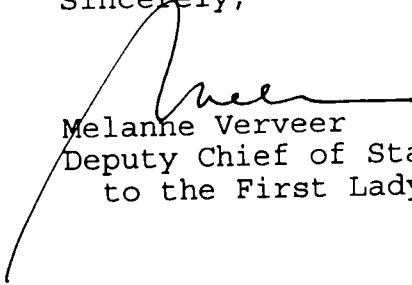
Mr. Leslie B. Samuels
Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton
1 Liberty Plaza
New York, NY 10006-1470

Dear Les:

Congratulations on your return to
Cleary, Gottlieb. You will be missed
in government for so many reasons,
including your support for the arts.

With best wishes, regards and
happy holidays.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

WE TAKE PLEASURE IN ANNOUNCING THAT

LESLIE B. SAMUELS

HAVING RESIGNED AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY
FOR TAX POLICY OF THE
UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT

HAS THIS DAY REJOINED OUR FIRM AS A PARTNER

CLEARY, GOTTlieb, STEEN & HAMILTON

NEW YORK WASHINGTON PARIS BRUSSELS LONDON
FRANKFURT HONG KONG TOKYO

OCTOBER 1, 1996

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 5, 1996

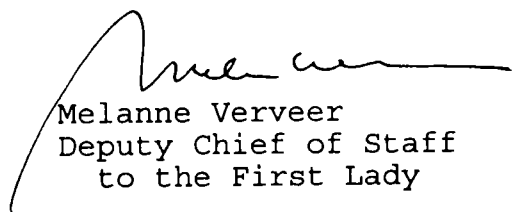
Ms. Laura Scanlon
1 Lombard Terrace
Swampscot, MA 01907

Dear Laura:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter and wonderful photographs. I enjoyed meeting you on my trip to Lynn.

Thanks for writing and best wishes.

Sincerely,



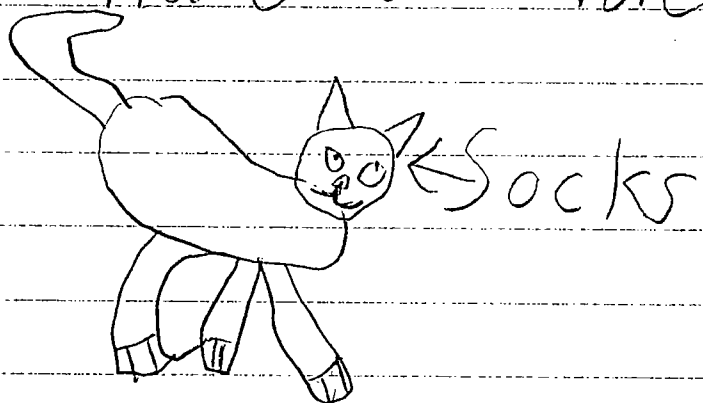
Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

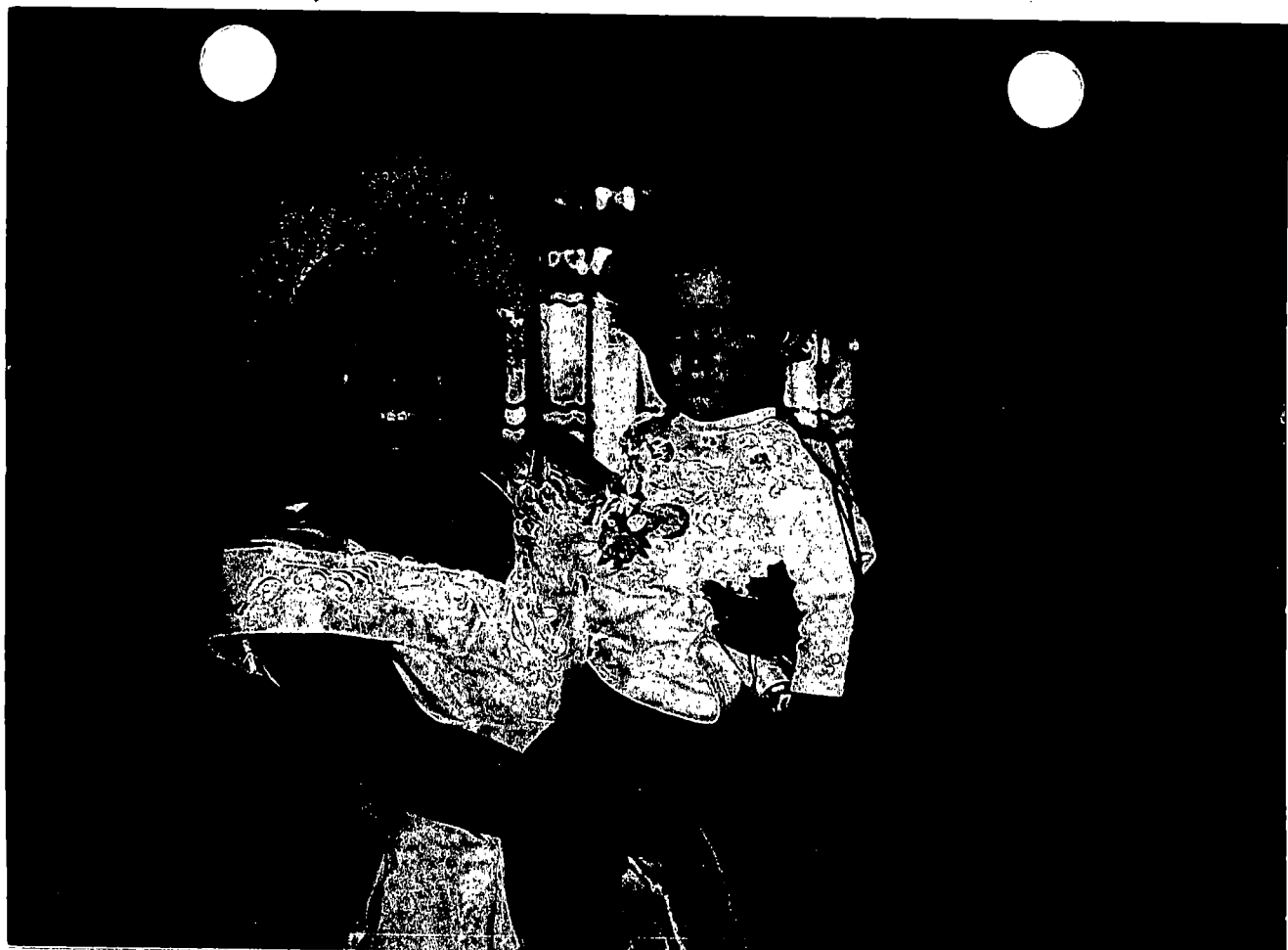
10-3-96

Dear Mrs. Clinton,
I am thrilled
to meet you. How is
Mr. Clinton and Chelsey?
You are my favorite
First lady. REALLY!!!
Hope you have fun coming
to Lynn. At my school
we have the internet
and I got a letter
from socks.

Love,
Laura

P.S. You have our vote!!!





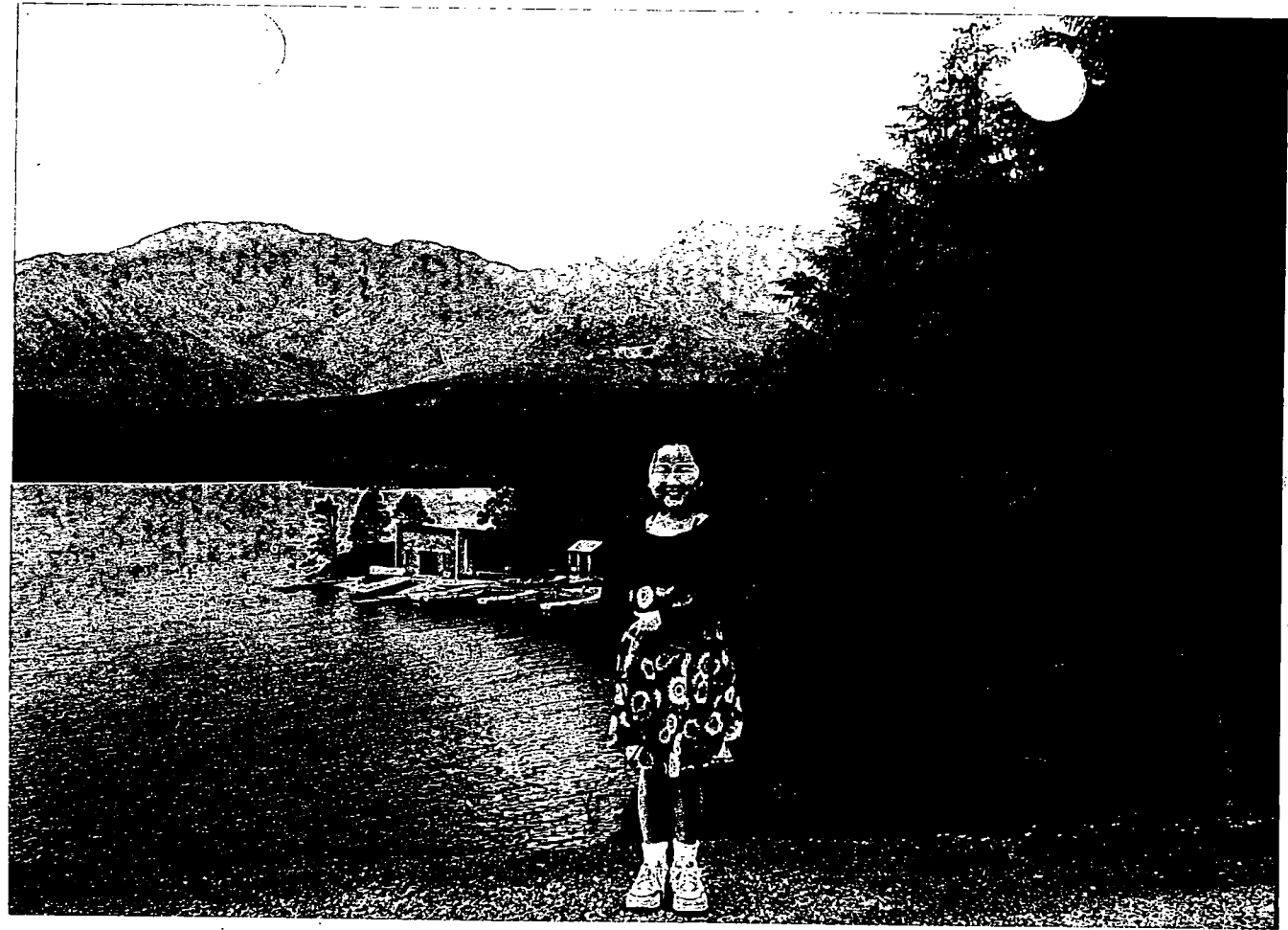
Laura Scanton
1 Lombard Ter
Swampscott, MA
01907

6/96 - Laura at Glenveagh National Park
County Donegal

during visit to Ireland with the Mayor of Lynn, MA
Pat McManus

Laura Scanton
1 Lombard Ter
Swampscott, MA
01907

Laura on her First Holy Communion Day. May 12, 1996
with her cousin Lauren Levere



Laura Acharon
1 Lombard Ter
Swampscott, MA
01907

Cornmura, Ireland during visit with Mayor Pat McManus
of Lynn, MA.
6/96

Mr. Clinton



From



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 29, 1996

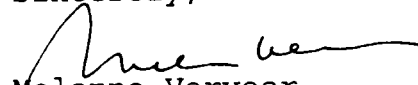
Ms. Ginetta Sagan
Amnesty International, USA
177 Toyon Road
Atherton, CA 94027

Dear Ms. Sagan:

The First Lady asked me to thank you for your thoughtful letter, the most interesting articles and videotape. Mrs. Clinton found the Medal of Freedom ceremony most inspiring and was grateful to have had the opportunity to personally thank you for your extraordinary leadership on human rights.

Thanks for writing and best wishes in the critical work you do.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady



R

Ginetta Sagan, Honorary Chair
177 Toyon Road, Atherton, CA 94027
Phone: (415) 323-4506 • Fax: (415) 323-6144

October 11, 1996

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I very much enjoyed having had the opportunity to meet you on the occasion of the awarding of the Presidential Medal of Freedom. I have for a long time admired your concern and dedication on behalf of women and children, and I am grateful that you wrote the book, *It Takes a Village*.

Eleanor Roosevelt, whom I know you admire, was a great influence in my life because of her work in making possible the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I thought you might be interested in the enclosed copy of an article written by William Korey in the early 1970s describing the work of Eleanor Roosevelt in preparation for this declaration. William Korey was a member of the Board of the then fledgling Amnesty International USA.

As a woman interested in the betterment of society, I thought you would also like to see a copy of some articles published in 1945 in the clandestine newspaper of the "Women's Movement of Justice and Liberty" in Italy. This was the resistance group I belonged to and where my work in human rights began. These articles embody the vision of our group and our faith in the courage, ability, and power of women working together to improve society. We were, in effect, a forerunner of today's women's movement.

In addition, as I promised, I am enclosing a videotape of an important event in Poland in 1985 when I brought Joan Baez to Gdansk to speak and sing on behalf not only of the prisoners of Solidarity but of all the prisoners of conscience worldwide adopted by Amnesty International. It was a moving performance and an important moment in our struggle for human rights.

William Shultz, the Executive Director of Amnesty International USA, mentioned to me that you kindly offered to help Amnesty, and I was thrilled.

Thank you for your gracious presence at the Presidential Medal of Freedom ceremony. I was so touched to receive this great honor, which I share with all my co-workers in the field of human rights and with all prisoners of conscience throughout the world. It was an occasion I will always cherish.

Respectfully yours,

Ginetta Sagan

Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

By Dr. William Korey

It was three o'clock in the morning of December 10, 1948, at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, when the exhausted delegates to the third session of the United Nations General Assembly by a unanimous vote—with only 8 abstaining and 2 absent—adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. What U Thant would call the "Magna Carta of Mankind" and what Alexander Solzhenitsyn would characterize, in his brilliant, undelivered Nobel lecture in 1970, as the "best document" ever produced by the United Nations, was in large measure the product of the energy and imagination of that extraordinary "First Lady of the World," Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. The delegates, though weary with fatigue in that early hour twenty-five years ago, were even then acutely aware of how much they—and mankind—were indebted to her leadership. In a tribute, rare in United Nations annals, they rose as one to give her a standing ovation.

Immediately after the Assembly vote, Mrs. Roosevelt jotted down the words "long job finished." Indeed, it had been a lengthy journey upon which she first embarked early in 1946. For almost three years, through endless meetings and interminable debates, she had steered the historic document to its final destination. It had by no means been an easy task. Differences in legal, philosophical and cultural outlooks inevitably generated enormous obstacles. Determined prodding combined with tactful persuasion and boundless graciousness were the assets she would use in the search for consensus on a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But if compromise was required—as was often the case—it could never be at the expense of principle. And when a principle was at stake, she could assume an adamant posture and justify it in often eloquent oratory.

The "long job" began on April 29, 1946, at New York's Hunter College campus. It was the opening meeting of the so-called "nuclear" Commission on Human Rights that was appointed by the U.N. Economic and Social Council to make recommendations about a permanent U.N. human rights body and, more significantly, to consider an "international bill of rights." Mrs. Roosevelt was a logical choice for membership on the nuclear Commission: she was already widely known throughout the world for her deep respect and concern for human dignity. She was promptly chosen by acclamation as its chairman.

The idea of an international bill of rights was virtually inherent in the U.N. Charter, which required of member states "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." But it did not specify the human rights and the fundamental freedoms. President Harry Truman, in his speech at the closing of the San Francisco Conference that created the United Nations, stated that under the Charter "we have good reason

to expect the framing of an international bill of rights acceptable to all the nations involved."

The nuclear Commission, composed of nine members, held a three-week session that advanced proposals on the structure and membership of a permanent body, then proceeded to assign it the task of preparing an international bill of rights. This first group may have accomplished what Mrs. Roosevelt called "a helpful piece of work" but a critical obstacle remained to be hurdled. The "real work," she noted, would begin "when the actual writing of an international bill of rights will have to be undertaken."

The newly formed Commission on Human Rights, composed of eighteen governmental representatives chosen by the Economic and Social Council, began its deliberations in January, 1947. Mrs. Roosevelt, as the U.S. Representative to the Commission, appointed by President Truman for a four-year term, was elected its chairman. At three long sessions over a two-year period it wrestled with the task assigned to it. The second and third sessions were each preceded by meetings of a Commission-selected Drafting Committee. Mrs. Roosevelt was also chosen chairman of this group. It was a testimonial to her profound commitment to human rights and to her masterfully effective leadership of the Commission that the members of the body never resorted to the usual practice of rotating the chairmanship.

Mrs. Roosevelt relished the role. In her autobiography she later recalled: "During my years at the U.N. it was my work on the Human Rights Commission that I considered my most important task. . . ." She plunged into her work with an overabundance of enthusiasm and a fierce determination to complete the Commission's assignment as quickly as possible. Meetings were always begun on the scheduled hour. (Once she had been four minutes late to a meeting of the nuclear Commission. She explained that she got "mixed up on the subway" but "it won't happen again.") And the sessions were extended into late hours, even weekends. Commission members, at times, referred to her as "a slave driver," and one of them pleaded with her to remember that the members were entitled to certain rights as human

Mrs. Roosevelt with Mr. P. C. Chang of China and Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon.



beings. But she always drove herself as hard, if not harder, than the others to fulfill what she called "a grueling schedule."

During the sessions of the Commission, three broad issues emerged. First, what should be the form of an international bill of rights? Was it to have a legally binding character, or was it to be principally a kind of moral manifesto, declaratory in nature? The second issue turned on the classic question of the relationship between the individual and the state: did the individual have natural rights independent of and transcendent to the state, or were these rights derivative from and therefore dependent upon the state? A related question was: what obligations do individuals have to the state and vice versa? The third issue focused on the type of rights that were to be dealt with in an international instrument. Were they to be the civil rights already incorporated in the key documents of the British, French and American revolutions or in the basic principles that flowed from these revolutions? Should attention be paid—if so, how much attention and in what way—to the new type of social or economic rights?

Mrs. Roosevelt played a critical and probably decisive role in the resolution of each of the issues. The first of them—the form of the international bill of rights—was to exert an immediate impact upon the Commission's work. The issue surfaced sharply when the Drafting Committee met for the first time in June, 1947. Mrs. Roosevelt must have sensed that the form in which the rights would be cast was vital, for she cautioned the Committee that they must prepare a draft that stood some chance of acceptance by all the fifty-eight governments of the U.N.

Especially important were the attitudes of the two biggest powers—the U.S and the U.S.S.R.—neither of which was likely to accept immediately a binding treaty obliging them to recognize and protect a host of human rights. The U.S.S.R. had already revealed itself to be a jealous guardian of the principle of absolute state sovereignty, and it was clear to Mrs. Roosevelt that the U.S. Senate, whose approval of a treaty by a two-thirds vote was required, might not prove to be too enthusiastic about international human rights obligations. Yet a number of smaller nations wanted the U.N. to adopt binding obligations regarding human rights. Panama, for example, during the proceedings of the San Francisco Conference had proposed that an international bill of rights actually be incorporated in the U.N. Charter. Somewhat similar views had also been advanced at the time by Colombia, Uruguay, Mexico, Cuba, Ecuador, Chile, Norway and New Zealand.

Compromise was essential if progress was to be made at all and Mrs. Roosevelt bent her energies in this direction. The Drafting Committee decided that instead of one document there would be two: a Declaration that would constitute a broad set of principles establishing "a common standard of achievement" for all states and a binding Convention (or Covenant) together with measures of implementation. She won the U.S. delegation's backing for the compromise and, by implication, therefore, its support of the proposal for a treaty carrying precise legal obligations. Convincing the State Department on the need for explicit support of the Covenant was quite another matter, but by 1948 Mrs. Roosevelt was to prevail over powerful

resistance. She could tell the Drafting Committee in May that "my Government wants a Declaration and it wants a Covenant."

Discussion now centered on which of the two documents to begin a concentrated effort. The Australian delegate would have preferred giving emphasis to the Covenant, with the Declaration to be considered simply as a kind of preamble to the "Bill of Human Rights." In his view a Declaration, by itself, would entail no legal obligations and therefore could not in any way affect the lives of men. The United Kingdom delegate held a similar opinion. But Mrs. Roosevelt was keenly aware that the drafting of a treaty with precise technical language would consume a lengthy time period. There were not only the fears of the two major powers to be overcome: equally difficult was to harmonize in one binding document views reflecting a variety of legal systems. Were the world to wait for a treaty to be adopted and then to wait further for the treaty to be brought into force by sufficient ratification, all immediate progress in the field of human rights would be brought to a halt.

Sensing that men everywhere were expecting "the Commission on Human Rights to do something," Mrs. Roosevelt insisted that they begin by drafting a Declaration. At the Commission's second session she voted for a Soviet resolution to give priority to a Declaration. After approval by the Economic and Social Council and then formal adoption by the General Assembly, it would acquire the significance of a historic document with the seal of approval stamped thereon by the United Nations. Her decision was prescient: it was years before the Covenants were adopted by the General Assembly and most governments have not yet ratified them. Mrs. Roosevelt displayed a sharply realistic appraisal of the forces operating in the everyday world.

Her realism blended neatly, however, with an unquenchable idealism. A Declaration of Human Rights was an idea whose time had come. After the horrors of Hitlerism, mankind was ready to accept a set of universally agreed-upon propositions for assuring fundamental human rights. It was a measure of Mrs. Roosevelt's statesmanship that she insisted upon seizing the moment to press for enactment of a Declaration.

A Universal Declaration of Human Rights, besides, fitted more appropriately Mrs.

Mrs. Roosevelt welcomed by a colleague at a U.N. reception.



Roosevelt's temperament. She found legal debates difficult to follow. At one session on a discussion of the Covenant four lawyers sat behind her to provide advice. Afterwards she commented that "they all see different pitfalls in every phrase and I am sometimes in a complete daze!" Disputes over philosophical and legal abstractions similarly dazed her. Following an early drafting session by a few prominent Commission figures, Mrs. Roosevelt told readers of her column, "My Day," that she had felt "ill equipped" and that perhaps her major function was to put the "high thoughts" of her colleagues into words the average man can understand. In an aside she recalled: "I used to tell my husband that if he could make *me* understand something, it would be clear to all the other people in the country. . . ."

What she wanted and repeatedly insisted upon was that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should be a "ringing declaration" that could be memorized easily and recited by school children all over the world. Even when a draft of the Declaration, prepared by Professor René Cassin, was approved by the Commission in December, 1947, she found the language excessively legal and scholarly. She moved a resolution, approved by the Commission, that called upon the drafting committee to prepare a short text "which will be readily understood by all peoples." In the end, she would be disappointed. The adopted Universal Declaration was both too long and too lacking in striking prose to capture the imagination of the world's population. Yet it would have a far greater impact upon the world community than even she could have imagined possible.

The debate over substance inevitably generated far more heat than did discussions over the form of the international bill of rights. At issue were fundamental, at times seemingly irreconcilable, differences in outlook between antithetical societies. This was especially evident during discussions over the vital issue of the relationship of man to the state. If, on the question of form, Mrs. Roosevelt played the role of both compromiser and innovator, on the question of the traditional and historic rights of human beings she assumed a principled position that brooked no compromise on fundamentals. Yet she was always patient with her colleagues and rarely given to vindictiveness. Where it was necessary, she was prepared to make adjustments in formulation.

It was at the opening session of the Commission, in January and February, 1947, that controversy over what Mrs. Roosevelt called "the relationship of the individual to the state" initially burst forth. The Soviet delegate, V. T. Tepliakov, found the rights enumerated in various bills of human rights assembled by the Secretariat totally inapplicable. He would have wanted the deletion of the following: rights to life and of personal liberty; prohibition of slavery and compulsory labor; right to petition national governments and the U.N.; right of property and prohibition of unlawful expropriation; freedom of movement and freedom to resist oppression. The Russian declared that these rights were either superfluous or went beyond the power of the U.N. to establish or impinged upon local customs and the laws of national states.

The Soviet viewpoint found a more effective advocate in the Yugoslav spokesman. He said the Secretariat drafts reflected the social and political ideals of the middle classes and were therefore obsolete in the modern age. In his opinion, the contemporary world requires that the principle of collectivity rather than individuality be given priority. Individuals are but a part of the community. Existence has been socialized, he said.

The classic view was eloquently expressed by the rapporteur of the Commission, Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon. A profound Christian humanist who was steeped in Western thought, Dr. Malik contended that the "human person" is "prior" to any group or nation. His "mind and conscience" are the "most sacred and inviolable things about him." Thus any "social pressure" from whatever direction that compels his consent is wrong. The individual, like the state, can be in error but "in any case it is only the human person who is competent to judge."

Tepliakov vigorously rejected the Malik thesis. "You can't divide the individual from society or the society from the individual," he asserted. "We're living as individuals in a community and society and we're working for the community and society, and the community and society are providing materials for existence."

The representative of the United Kingdom, Charles Dukes, who was a trade unionist, also found the absolutist formulation of Malik excessive. "There is no such thing as complete personal freedom," he argued. If he avoided going as far as the Russian and the Yugoslav in endorsing collectivism and if he lauded "personal freedom," Dukes contended that "we must all pay the price for advantages resulting from calling upon the state to safeguard our liberties in the sense of personal freedom. . . ."

Mrs. Roosevelt and Senator John Sherman Cooper.



✱

Malik was effective in rebuttal: "I'm not arbitrarily setting the state against the individual or vice versa. But which, I ask, is for which? I say the state is for the individual." Mrs. Roosevelt was convinced that the Malik statement had "particular importance." She did not deny that the individual derived benefits from the state. But more significant, she argued, was the need to recognize that "in any society . . . the individual must have rights that are guarded."

The conviction of Mrs. Roosevelt flowed from a Western historical tradition that found its finest expression in the American Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights and in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. In these documents the rights of the individual are held as "anterior and superior" to the state and, as such, are inalienable. This basic premise requires that the state can do nothing more than recognize existing rights and create conditions favorable to their exercise.

The Soviet view stood in sharp opposition. As formulated by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky during the final debate on the Universal Declaration in the General Assembly, the thesis maintained that "the rights of human beings cannot be considered outside the prerogatives of governments, and the very understanding of human rights is a governmental concept." Implicit in this view is the total rejection of the notion that man has inherent or inalienable rights. It is the state that decides which rights, if any, shall be granted the individual. And the authority to grant rights implies the power to repudiate or deny rights.

The clash of viewpoints came to a head at the final sessions of the Commission's Drafting Committee and of the Commission itself in May and June, 1948. The drafting process had already gone through several stages. An "outline" of a Declaration—a

Mrs. Roosevelt talking with Israel's Golda Meir.



kind of preliminary draft—had been prepared by Dr. John Humphrey, Director of the U.N. Division on Human Rights. This outline was reworked into a finished draft by the Commission's most outstanding international legal scholar, Professor René Cassin of France, who later was to earn a Nobel Peace Prize for his work on behalf of human rights. The Drafting Committee examined, revised and approved the text, then went through the draft again on an article-by-article basis, approving a new text that consisted of thirty-three articles. The preamble was still to be prepared.

The text before the Drafting Committee in May, 1948, gave expression to the civil libertarian tradition. It recognized that human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Among fundamental rights are the right to life, liberty and security; the right to leave a country; freedom of thought, conscience and belief; freedom of opinion and expression; freedom of assembly and association. Proscribed are arbitrary arrest and detention; unreasonable interference with privacy; slavery, involuntary servitude, and cruel and inhuman punishment; arbitrary deprivation of property, and discrimination based upon race, color, sex, language, religion, political opinion, property and national and social origin. Equality before the law is emphasized as is the right of a fair public trial in which the accused is presumed innocent until proven guilty. Approximately two-thirds of the draft was devoted to the classic civil rights and liberties of the individual.

The newly arrived Soviet delegate to the Drafting Committee, Professor Alexei P. Pavlov, proposed the veritable scrapping of the project that had consumed almost a year and a half of labor. In his introductory speech, the voluble authority on Soviet jurisprudence called upon the Committee to debate anew the already approved basic principles. Of particular importance to him was the need to incorporate into the basic principles a definition of the citizen's duty toward the state, and he proceeded to submit a series of amendments to the adopted articles that fulfilled that objective.

Mrs. Roosevelt was somewhat taken aback by the suggestion that the Drafting Committee begin afresh. "We shall gain very little by discussing general principles at this session," she commented. The Committee composed, in addition to herself, of representatives from Australia, Chile, China, France, Lebanon and the United Kingdom (besides the U.S.S.R.) supported her. As for the spelling out of duties the individual owed the state, Mrs. Roosevelt reacted negatively and in a vigorous manner. In her view, the rights that had been asserted were rights against the state and the only duties that should be proclaimed were, in the main, duties that the state owed the individual. She was emphatic that there must be no compromise on the principle "that certain rights can never be granted to the government but must be kept in the hands of the people."

Since Pavlov's amendments were intended to water down these inalienable rights, they were found to be unacceptable. The Commission, at its last session, reduced the number of articles in the draft "International Declaration on Human Rights" from thirty-three to twenty-eight, added a preamble, and voted 12 to 0 for its adoption. One governmental representative was absent and another government was rep-

resented by an alternate who could not vote. Four representatives, comprising the Communist bloc—U.S.S.R., Byelorussia, Ukraine and Yugoslavia—abstained.

The vote constituted a personal victory for the distinguished American delegate and her uncompromising advocacy of the rights of the individual. She avoided, however, any form of gloating that might prove embarrassing to her Communist opponents. Indeed, throughout the numerous meetings of the Commission and its Drafting Committee over the course of the eighteen-month period that preceded the final adoption of the draft Declaration, she manifested a constant graciousness, warm humor and good will in dealing with the various Soviet delegates. If she was adamant in defending the rights of the individual, she was flexible in giving her opponents every opportunity to express their views, however irritating and insulting they might have been.

She would go out of her way in public to pay tribute to the Russians. On June 17, 1947, for example, she told the press that the term "obstructionist" as applied to the U.S.S.R. delegates was unwarranted. Their opposition reflects, she said, a "genuine interest to explain their viewpoint." On December 16, 1947, the press queried her as to whether the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. could agree on a Declaration. Her response was a model of propriety. "I think this is quite possible," she said. While the Russians place "greater emphasis on the authority of the state" and "rights and freedom of the individual . . . don't seem to them as important," nonetheless "certainly a balance can be achieved."

Composure in the face of considerable provocation was a hallmark of Mrs. Roosevelt's conduct during the Commission sessions. Afterwards she would joke about it. In a speech at the Sorbonne in Paris on September 27, 1948, she delighted her audience with the observation that she had been mistaken in thinking that the limits of her patience had been reached in bringing up a large family; in presiding over the Commission on Human Rights, an even greater measure of patience was demanded.

Only once did her self-discipline desert her. The episode is described in some detail in her autobiography:

Dr. Pavlov . . . delivered many long propaganda harangues. . . . He was an orator of great power; his words rolled out of his black beard like a river, and stopping him was difficult. Usually we had to sit and listen, but on one occasion it seemed to me that the rash accusations . . . against the United States and Great Britain were proving a real detriment to our work. Dr. Pavlov knew that most of us were getting tired of listening, but toward the end of one week when we were preparing to recess he began speaking again. He seemed likely to go on forever, but I watched him closely until he had to pause for breath. Then I banged the gavel so hard that the other delegates jumped . . . and, before he could continue, I got in a few words. . . .

"We are here," I said, "to devise ways of safeguarding human rights. We are not here to attack each other's governments, and I hope when we return on Monday the delegate of the Soviet Union will remember that!" I banged the gavel again. "Meeting adjourned."

The autobiography recounts several stories of her difficulties in developing a more than passing formal acquaintance with the Russians. Nonetheless, she insisted that "despite their difficult official attitude" Americans must "refuse to show unfriendliness toward representatives of the Communist bloc." Her patience and fortitude, combined with an openness and fairness, may very well have paid off in the end. The Soviet bloc members abstained rather than cast negative ballots against the draft Declaration. Perhaps it was their way of registering appreciation for the respect shown them. If political considerations were undoubtedly more critical in reaching the decision to abstain, the personal factor should not be discounted.

The third great issue that arose at the sessions of the Commission dealt with a group of rights that went considerably beyond the traditional rights of the individual.

In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, social and economic rights were pushed to the forefront of national and international discussions as a result of the democratic labor movement and the Russian revolution. A body of international social legislation had been adopted at a series of intergovernmental conferences held in 1905, 1906 and 1913 in Berne, Switzerland. Such legislation was significantly advanced by the establishment in 1919 of the International Labor Organization, which made signal contributions to the promotion of human rights.

During World War II, the question of promoting and protecting social rights became more sharply focused. In President Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous "four freedoms" message to Congress on January 6, 1941, "freedom from want" was included among "essential human freedoms." The January 1, 1942, Declaration by United Nations, announcing the war aims of the coalition of nations fighting the Axis powers, endorsed these freedoms. The various governments of the Americas joined in a Declaration of Santiago on September 16, 1942, which read: "To be able to enjoy the basic freedoms of thought, expression and security, every man and woman must be afforded physical and economic protection against social and economic risks through properly organized social action." At the San Francisco Conference in April, 1945, the United States Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius clarified what "freedom from want" encompassed: "the right to work, the right to social security, the right to opportunity for advancement."

If the classic rights of the individual require either the limitation of governmental intervention or the kind of intervention that will assure that civil rights and liberties are not infringed upon, the newer social and economic rights presuppose at least a certain degree of governmental intervention. Two vital questions arose: were these rights to be treated in an international document on the same level as individual rights, and to what extent should governmental intervention be sought in the realization of social and economic rights? Sharply conflicting views challenged Mrs. Roosevelt's resourcefulness as a harmonizer. She was at her best in resolving these taxing disputes.

A social humanitarian with a vast commitment to welfare programs, Mrs. Roosevelt was inclined to champion the view that social and economic rights must be incor-

porated in the draft Declaration. Moreover, she must have been aware that socialist principles were being advanced and implemented in numerous Western societies. To have resisted this trend would have abdicated leadership in the international community to the Soviet bloc, which was already trumpeting its strong advocacy of economic and social rights. Yet the State Department was lukewarm toward the inclusion of the newer rights in an international document.

Mrs. Roosevelt's insistence could not easily be rejected. Her stature on both the American and the world scene was too great and the State Department was anxious to placate her. It agreed to support her objective. In June, 1947, she declared that the U.S. backed the right to work, with governments called upon to "promote" full employment. On November 30, 1947, the State Department announced that she would call for "a decent living" and social security when the Commission assembled the next day. Her interpretation of the right to social security was notably broad: she declared it meant that "everyone had a right to a standard of living and social services adequate for the health and well-being of himself and family." Also supported were the right to a standard of living, to an education, to rest and leisure, and to participate in the cultural life in the community. Ultimately six full articles in the Commission draft of the Declaration would be clearly devoted to economic and social rights.

The central problem was whether the draft Declaration should specify that governments must guarantee these rights. This is what the Soviet bloc, with its exaltation of state authority, advocated. But to place so much power in the hands of the state might subvert the very principle upon which the entire Declaration rested the centrality of the individual, not the government. Compromise was essential. Mrs. Roosevelt saw it in terms of standards being set toward which entire societies, including their governments, would aspire.

Thus, on the crucial issue of the right to work, Mrs. Roosevelt opposed the state "guaranteeing" full employment, which the Russians demanded. She later defined the right as "the right of the individual to benefit from conditions under which those who were able and willing to work would have the possibility of doing" so.

Mrs. Roosevelt talks with Senator Arthur Vandenberg and U.S. Ambassador Warren Austin.



As for full employment, governments could “promote” it, not “guarantee” it. When the Soviet delegate ridiculed the U.S. position by asserting that the American “economic system” made “impossible” full employment, she responded with a powerful thrust: “A society in which everyone works is not necessarily a free society and may indeed be a slave society. . . .”

It was this view that prevailed in the Commission. The setting of standards, not the detailed specification of what governments must do, was the objective of the Universal Declaration. The Soviet bloc dissented, asserting that economic and social rights were more important than individual rights. The Commission, it was clear, could not agree. Instead it struck a careful balance between the two sets of rights and Mrs. Roosevelt, more than anyone else, would articulate the balance. She could hardly be challenged for lack of commitment to economic and social rights. Her credentials in the field of welfare, after all, were impeccable. Besides, she had succeeded in effecting what the Soviet bloc had recommended from the very beginning: inclusion of economic and social rights in the draft Declaration.

Common sense was at the core of Mrs. Roosevelt’s efforts at compromise, at achieving a consensus on issues that did not strike at fundamental and cherished principles. Typical was the flexibility she displayed in the extensive debates over the first article in the draft Declaration. As originally drafted it read—borrowing from the Declaration of Independence—“All men are created equal.” Mrs. Hansa Mehta of India objected that the phrase suggested the exclusion of women. She was firmly backed by the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women in what must have been an early expression of the women’s liberation movement. Though Mrs. Roosevelt felt the argument was without foundation, she bowed to the opposition. The opening words of the first article were changed to “All human beings.”

Another item in the originally drafted article that aroused strong opposition was the word “created.” To Communist representatives it implied the existence of a divine creator. She willingly accepted the word “born” instead. Later she explained her acquiescence: “. . . you try not to let the words interfere with getting as much agreement as possible and as much acceptance to obtain the ends you want.”

This strategy worked remarkably well on a variety of issues that plagued the Commission and that provided the basis for the deserved tribute accorded her leadership. Together with her infectious enthusiasm, her expeditious handling of proceedings and her persevering patience, the strategy enabled the Commission to complete in an extraordinarily short period of time the draft of a historic document. The official U.N. comment on June 18, 1948, recognized that it was Eleanor Roosevelt who had “guided and inspired the work of the U.N. in the field of human rights.”

The struggle was not yet over. Mrs. Roosevelt assumed that the General Assembly would quickly approve the draft Declaration. In her opening address to the Assembly’s Third Committee on September 30, 1948, she told the delegates that she was willing to accept the Declaration as unanimously approved by the Commission. Even though

the text was not perfect, she said, the United States, in the interests of reaching a quick agreement, would not press its objections to some draft articles if other countries gave the same commitment.

Her autobiography was to record a bitter disappointment:

As the session opened I was full of confidence that we would quickly get the Declaration through the formal hearings before Committee Three [Social, Cultural and Humanitarian Committee] and have it approved by the [General] Assembly. My confidence was soon gone. We worked for two months, often until late at night, debating every word of that draft Declaration over and over again before Committee Three would approve its transmission to the General Assembly.

Eighty-one sessions and countless sub-committee meetings were consumed during two and a half months in debating every article in the Commission's draft and examining 168 formal amendments. The President of the General Assembly, Herbert Evatt, was to announce that the Third Committee "spent longer on the Declaration of Human Rights than was spent on any single item by any other committee of the Assembly."

The debates were repetitive, interminably long and tedious, and frequently irrelevant (leading Mrs. Roosevelt to complain about the "wordy atmosphere"). Yet they did perform a valuable function. Delegates from differing backgrounds and traditions became involved in a process that fostered a greater understanding of, if not some sympathy for, varying viewpoints. Moreover, the process itself had the effect of assuring a more positive commitment by the representatives of the fifty-eight U.N. members to the principles of the Universal Declaration than might have been the case had there been little or no debate. Assembly President Evatt noted the impact of the discussions in a perceptive comment:

A real enthusiasm gripped all its [Third Committee] members. Even those who began their work rather skeptical of the possibilities of action in this field were before long caught up in the spirit of the undertaking and began to take an active and genuinely interested part.

The "real enthusiasm" was of considerable importance in countering strongly critical attitudes displayed by Soviet bloc delegates (and, to some extent, by the delegates from the Union of South Africa and Saudi Arabia). But when confronted by the enthusiastic "spirit of the undertaking," as shown by most delegates, the minority felt obligated to avoid a totally negative posture. Carlos Romulo of the Philippines was to comment just before the vote on December 10 that "in this session, the United Nations has been on trial for its life." Justification for its "continued existence" was at stake, he said. To the extent that this mood had seized the delegates it was all the more difficult to erect insuperable roadblocks to the final adoption of the Universal Declaration.

For Mrs. Roosevelt, the General Assembly debates constituted not merely a test of her patience; at issue was the question of whether the decisions upon which she and her colleagues in the Commission had labored for so long and with such intensity would be validated. Of necessity, she was cast in the role of defender of the Commission's draft Declaration. Once again, proposals for state encroachment upon or infringement of civil rights had to be resisted. Once again, detailed obligations upon states to guarantee economic and social rights had to be opposed. And, always, it was essential to avoid provocation. In the face of an incessant verbal assault by the U.S.S.R. delegate upon racial and economic practices in the United States, Mrs. Roosevelt eschewed vituperation, appealing instead for courteousness in debate. "Remember," she told her opponents, "no one who lives in the world is perfect."

In the end the text of the thirty-article Declaration that finally emerged, as Dr. John Humphrey has observed, "was surprisingly like the one that had been prepared by the Commission on Human Rights." Soviet opposition continued until the final vote. Just before the balloting in the Third Committee, on December 7, the Soviet delegate urged that the adoption of the Declaration be postponed until the next session of the General Assembly on grounds that most of the U.S.S.R. amendments had been rejected. His motion was voted down 26 to 6 with 1 abstention. The Third Committee then approved the Universal Declaration 29 to 0 with 7 abstentions.

A final effort to scuttle the human rights document was made by Deputy Foreign Minister Vishinsky in the General Assembly plenary. Calling the Universal Declaration a "generally unsatisfactory document" comprised of a "collection of pious phrases," he proposed either a year-long delay before the Declaration should be adopted or approval of a series of Soviet amendments that would have fundamentally revamped the character of the articles that had been approved.

Mrs. Roosevelt rose to reply. With her usual restraint, she pleaded with the Russian to "bow to the majority" in the interest of cooperation. The United States delegation, too, could not agree with every article but, as a whole, the Universal Declaration is "a good document—even a great document" and it "may well become the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere." In a rare burst of eloquence, she called attention to the "significant fact" that some fifty states that ordinarily "find it difficult to reach a common basis of agreement" on so many issues nonetheless "found such a large measure of agreement in the complex field of human rights." The consensus had sprung from "man's desire for peace" and offered "testimony of our common aspiration."

The Soviet proposal calling for delay was rejected 45 to 6 with 3 abstentions. Similarly rejected were almost all Soviet amendments. The Universal Declaration was then adopted 48 to 0 with 8 abstentions. The abstentions included the Soviet bloc—U.S.S.R., Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia—joined by South Africa and Saudi Arabia. (The delegates from Yemen and Honduras were absent.) South African opposition to the Declaration had already been made clear when the Commission on Human Rights was nearing completion of its deliberations. The government of the white-dominated country then complained that many of the articles of the

Declaration "go beyond the elementary essential rights which are indispensable for physical and mental existence as a human being and with which alone the United Nations are called upon to concern themselves." The abstention of Saudi Arabia was justified by its representative on grounds that a provision in the Declaration permitting a person to change his religion violated the Koran. The argument had been rebutted by the distinguished international lawyer who was the Pakistani Foreign Minister, Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan. He had told the Assembly delegates that the Koran permitted one to "believe or disbelieve". The only unforgivable sin," he added, "is to be a hypocrite."

The President of the General Assembly, following the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, called attention to its historic significance:

It is the first occasion on which the organized community of nations has made a Declaration on human rights and fundamental freedoms, and it has the authority of the body of the United Nations as a whole, and millions of people—men, women and children all over the world—many miles from Paris and New York, will turn for help, guidance and inspiration to this document.

Mrs. Roosevelt chatting with U.S. Ambassador to India Chester Bowles.



His statement echoed the comments of the U.N. Secretary-General Trygve Lie who, in his Report to the General Assembly, described the draft submitted by the Commission on Human Rights as the "first attempt in history to write a 'Bill of Rights' for the whole world. . . ."

But how much weight would the Universal Declaration actually carry? How binding was it supposed to be upon the community of nations? Debate on the issue had run through the entire proceedings of the Third Committee with a host of contradictory interpretations advanced. In a sense, it was a replay of the discussions in the Commission on Human Rights concerning the relative merits of a Declaration versus a Convention. And, as in that debate, Mrs. Roosevelt's role was decisive.

The brilliant Professor Cassin considered the Universal Declaration as "an authoritative interpretation of the [U.N.] Charter" and, though the Declaration did "not possess coercive legal power," its provisions did not detract from the Charter, which compelled states "to recognize the competence of the main bodies of the United Nations in the matter of human rights. . . ." The Belgian delegate, Professor Fernand Dehousse, held a similar opinion. In his view, the Declaration would have an "undeniable legal character," which while without "obligatory value strictly so-called," nonetheless "would place an obligation on Member States to consider the action which should be taken on that recommendation of the General Assembly." The Chilean delegate, Hernan Santa Cruz, agreed, observing that "violation by any state of the rights enumerated in the Declaration would mean violation of the principles of the United Nations."

It was precisely this type of interpretation that aroused anxiety among the Soviets and the South Africans. Most delegations, however, saw the Declaration as having "moral authority" but no legally binding character. Mrs. Roosevelt, shrewdly practical and always cultivating the art of the possible, underscored this point of view. In her famous speech on the eve of the Assembly vote, she stressed:

It [the Declaration] is not a treaty; it is not an international agreement. It is not and does not purport to be a statement of law or of a legal obligation. It is a declaration of basic principles of human rights and freedoms to be stamped with approval of the General Assembly . . . and to serve as a common standard of achievement for all peoples of all nations.

It was a reflection of her statecraft that she reached for a common denominator in order to achieve a universal consensus and avoid a single negative vote.

Professor Hersch Lauterpacht of England's Cambridge University, the most eminent authority on international law at the time, was critical. He noted that "the United States, a country whose standing in the world and the perseverance of whose representatives were largely instrumental in bringing about the speedy adoption of the Declaration . . . [had] insisted repeatedly and emphatically . . . that the Declaration . . .

possessed no legally binding force." It led him later to conclude—mistakenly—that there was no way "to kindle sparks of legal vitality" in the document. But if Mrs. Roosevelt had pursued any other course, it is extremely doubtful whether a Universal Declaration would have come into existence at the time. This is perhaps why Adlai Stevenson once said of her that "she would rather light candles than curse the darkness. . . ." By her tactics, she had neutralized opponents of the Declaration and attained the greatest amount of support for it. The Assembly's Third Committee Chairman, Dr. Malik, was to comment quite correctly: "I do not see how without her presence we could have accomplished what we actually did accomplish."

In the course of time the Universal Declaration has come to be more than a "declaration of basic principles." A number of legally binding international Conventions on human rights and various peace treaties have incorporated direct reference to the Declaration. In the legislative work of the United Nations, it has become a final arbiter and standard of reference to which every new text on human rights must conform. Equally significant is reference to the Universal Declaration and its provisions in the constitutions of many new states, as is the case in close to twenty African states. Human rights provisions are clearly inspired by the Declaration in the constitutions of a number of other African states as well as new states like Cyprus, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. Even national courts have made reference to the Declaration and, in several instances, have juridically applied it.

Mrs. Roosevelt talking with Sir Zafrullah Khan, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.



The more recent legislative history of the General Assembly has eroded much of the conception that categorized the Universal Declaration as a mere "declaration of basic principles." In December, 1960, the Assembly adopted—by a vote of 89 to 0 with 9 abstentions—the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which specifies that "all States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provision of the . . . Universal Declaration of Human Rights." (Significantly, the moving force in the adoption of this Declaration was the Soviet Union.) The Declaration on Colonialism was adopted not as a "standard of achievement" but as a statement of present necessity and of law. The following year the Assembly demanded again, this time by a vote of 97 to 0 with 4 abstentions, that all the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights be faithfully applied and implemented without delay. In 1962 it reaffirmed the objectives of the Declaration on Colonialism. That same year the United Nations Office of Legal Affairs issued an official definition of the term "Declaration":

It may be considered to impart, on behalf of the organ adopting it, a strong expectation that Members of the international community will abide by it. Consequently, in so far as the expectation is gradually justified by State practice, a Declaration may by custom become recognized as laying down rules binding upon States.

Based on these developments, a body of leading world authorities on human rights, meeting in Montreal, Canada, in March, 1968, declared that "the Universal Declaration of Human Rights constitutes an authoritative interpretation of the Charter of the highest order, and has over the years become a part of customary international law."

Mrs. Roosevelt must have sensed from the very beginning that the Universal Declaration would become ~~what~~ Dag Hammarskjöld later called "a living document." In referring to it as a "Magna Carta," she surely had in mind more than a moral manifesto. The Declaration, like the Magna Carta, would take on a vitality and force that transcended a purely legal definition and defied precise formal description. As early as 1953, she recognized that its "impact on people throughout the world has been of very considerable magnitude, much greater than most Americans suspect."

Significantly, the great Soviet physicist Andrei D. Sakharov (who would found on November 4, 1969, the Soviet Committee on Human Rights), in his groundbreaking samizdat document of June, 1968, *Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom*, would demand that "the goal of international policy is to insure universal fulfillment" of the Declaration. And Soviet democrats, in their invaluable journal of dissent, *The Chronicle of Current Events*, have formally taken as their point of departure key clauses of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The vision of Mrs. Roosevelt, in its mixture of idealism and realism, anticipated these recent developments. On December 7, 1948, just after the affirmative vote was taken in the Third Committee, she spoke about a "curious grapevine" that would carry the words and the significance of the Universal Declaration to all peoples,

even to those shielded from it by the censors of totalitarian regimes. Her subsequent remarks, even if vaguely formulated, were pregnant with revolutionary implications:

All the Governments, even the totalitarian regimes which completely control the means of information, are affected by what their people want. This information [the Universal Declaration of Human Rights] may seep in even when Governments are not so anxious for it.

After a quarter century, the "curious grapevine" continues to transmit the message of human rights. Adlai Stevenson remarked that the glow of the candles that Mrs. Roosevelt lit "has warmed the world." It still does.

Mrs. Roosevelt at a Commission meeting.



Articles from The New Reality, Newspaper of the Women's Movement of 'Justice and Liberty,' February 27, 1945 (La Nuova Realta, Organo del Movimento Femminile "Giustizia e Liberta," 27 Fabbraio 1945)



Courtesy of Ginette Sagan

Ginetta con le compagne del gruppo 'Giustizia e Libertà'.

The New Reality

translation by Pamela Shaver

The New Reality is the one that we all -- men and women -- must create from the current ruins, ruins for which we are all -- men and women -- more or less responsible, not for having provoked but for not having known how to avoid.

Awareness of this responsibility is an indispensable condition for any possible reconstruction. Today's terrible experience will not have been in vain if it has taught us to recognize yesterday's deficiencies and to understand tomorrow's duties.

We must convince ourselves that private virtues have neither value nor sense in modern life, if not grafted onto public activity and a healthy collective consciousness.

The society founded on the figure of the exemplary head of household, good factory worker, clerk, salesman or professional, who minds his own business, steers clear of politics because he 'doesn't want trouble,' and thus allows an unscrupulous minority to seize power and bring the country to ruin; the society that exalts the woman as 'angel of the hearth,' thus giving her the right -- at times imposing upon her the obligation -- to shut herself up inside her family shell, deaf to the riotous forces that shake the world and threaten to break that fragile shell; this society has been definitively swept into the chasm created by its own indifference and egotism. It is a society in decline. We cannot and we must not attempt to make it rise again, even if to some it might still nostalgically appear like a lost paradise.

A new era begins today, an era of autonomy and responsibility, and all women and all men of good will must face it with courage.

Women especially must face it, women, for centuries deprived of the practice of every public activity, who find themselves today less technically prepared than men, but at the same time and for the same reasons, free from preconceptions and prejudices, with all their energies, feelings and ideas intact. These months of clandestine struggle have demonstrated what women can do when political imperative coincides with personal necessity. We must not permit this enthusiastic momentum to exhaust itself with the fight for liberation. We must combine the momentum with a maturing political understanding that leads women to assume precise responsibilities in the job of reconstruction. We firmly believe that with such an attitude, Italian women will not only know how to make our society rise again from poverty, dejection and discouragement, but will also give life and warmth to essentially feminine initiatives, organisms and reforms, capable of creating a balance to the existing institutes and organisms forged only by the minds and determination of men. And perhaps this new society, animated by women and by men, guided by men and by women, will prove worthier than the old society of yesterday, and will direct humanity toward a new and better reality.

I. The Women's Movement of 'Justice and Liberty,'

a. aware of the important part that organized women can play in the life of their country for the purposes of peace or of war, for example in the development and confirmation of those values of civility that the spirit of violence has nearly eclipsed in present-day Europe, particularly in Italy which was delivered by a dictatorial regime into the service of nazi-fascism;

b. believing in both the possibility and the necessity for all Italian women to join a vast association that weighs the national effects of a methodology based on respect for the political and social liberties of individuals and groups, liberties that assure an environment of peace in national and international life;

c. considering that the goal -- making women's right to the control of the civil development of national life a reality -- will require a cultural and moral promotion of Italian women, not attainable until their work in all fields is justly recognized and given adequate judicial and political expression;

propagates and supports the union of all Italian women into Women's Defense Groups for the conquest and practice of political and social rights.

II. Specifically the Women's Movement of Justice and Liberty

a. convinced that a multiplicity of outlooks does not hinder but rather stimulates the growth of united democratic movement, plans to maintain the Women's Defense Groups in a single united structure, overcoming all individual and group differences that arise;

b. finds the inspiration for its political and ideological actions in the inseparable principles of individual liberty and democratically promoted social justice -- and invites all women to participate fully in the democratic revolution of the customs and the institutions of this country.

c. supports the direct link between the Italian Women's Defense Groups and the women's organizations of all other countries, especially European

countries, intended to create the foundations for peace in Europe, based on the desires of the people, each country taking its place within an environment of international solidarity, united in the defense of civility and common liberties.

III. In practice, the Women's Movement of Justice and Liberty, aiming to form women's political education through democratic process as much as possible, will focus its attention:

a. on the inclusion of women's delegations in local and national councils of public administration, with compulsory deliberating vote on all questions that particularly involve women (maternity and infancy, public hygiene, public services for domestic use, etc.)

b. on the immediate inclusion of women on the boards of factories and companies wherever there are female workers and clerks;

c. on cultural and practical social support for all its members, giving rise to initiatives and promoting the organization of autonomous agencies -- for culture, for work, for women's services -- that create new conventions and build a new awareness of the dignity of women's work.

The working woman.

The long-awaited days, the goal of our labors, draw near: soon we will have the grave and delicate job of reconstruction.

All the vital forces of the nation will need to cooperate in this rebirth, and by all we mean to include even those whom tradition has systematically excluded from active participation in the most important social problems.

We are talking about women; this newspaper exists for women, even though it is not limited to purely 'feminine' issues.

A fundamental condition of the life that we intend to remake is the formation in each of us of a political conscience, a sense of social responsibility, that allows us to see beyond our egotistical personal and family interests. For women particularly it is essential to foster such an unfamiliar way of thinking.

In these pages we propose to awaken this new sensibility from the latent state in which it hides in each of us; once developed it will contribute enormously to the material and spiritual rebirth of our country. We want to speak to all women, from the housewife to the factory worker, from the craftswoman to the clerk, from the farmer to the professional, because all are capable of mutual understanding, all are capable of giving their spiritual contributions to the reconstruction, just as they gave their material contributions in the year of struggle against the nazi-fascist oppressors. We will attempt to discuss and resolve the most pressing problems of all women; only the sensation of being an indispensable part of the society in

which we live can nurture in all women an interest in the events of that society.

Much will be asked of women, demands more spiritual than material: we will need therefore be able to distinguish, analyze and judge the facts that surround us. Equal rights with men will pose problems that we alone must know how to solve.

Work is the first field in which women's new spiritual abilities will need to manifest themselves. In the social and economic order that will be created by the on-going revolution, with the resulting nationalization of companies, it will be necessary for the new managerial organizations (commissions, factory boards) to represent proportionally all their workers. In many companies the majority of female workers will be mirrored in the make up of the board; a greater integration, both spiritual and practical, into the working process will therefore be required of women. This new, vaster vision of one of society's most diffuse phenomena will be the first step in the gradual formation of political understanding.

But such vision will not be possible if we have not clarified the fundamental underlying premise: *women's understanding of the importance of their own work.*

It may seem superfluous to speak of this premise, given the calamitous times in which we live, but it is in fact necessary, after twenty years of Fascist misgovernment which tried by every possible means to inculcate a sense of the worthlessness of our endeavors and a desire for a return to the past, which told us we were called only to the sublime duty of motherhood.

Many of us -- those in whom a strong social conscience was already formed -- rejected the blandishments and abuses used by the past regime in its politics of female oppression; others -- the great majority -- lazy more in spirit than in body, lay down and comfortably awaited the better times promised by clumsy fascist rhetoric, without realizing that Fascism had prepared quite a different and harsher tomorrow.

We are now at the threshold of that tomorrow, and we will see its real face if we learn to look with changed eyes, knowing that we are more than simple reproductive instruments, knowing that we are a vital part of the spiritual life of the society in which we live.

What had the freedom to work, one of the basic liberties for which we had so bitterly fought in the last century, become for women? Glance for a moment at your field of work, be it manual or spiritual, and ask yourself: was there perhaps one act of the ignominious regime that attempted to better your state, to reduce the difficulties of combining domestic labors with the toils of the factory, the office or the school? No, there was not. Unfortunately you have felt for yourself the comfort of the Fascist vision, when hunger was at the door and you were obliged to look for work in the few and fallow fields that men had scorned.

Work for women is a given, a fact, that in today's world no one can deny nor hope to suppress, and this is so for two reasons, one demographic, the other moral.

In the first place, the number of girls and mature women is greater than in corresponding groups of men, with the inevitable result that a similar

proportion of young women are fatally condemned to spinsterhood and will have to provide for themselves; it would be illogical to insist that they -- just because they are female -- must burden their fathers first, and their brothers and brothers-in-law later. Even among married women, many are obliged to work because the salary earned by the head of household alone is not enough to support an entire family. And to our list of working women we must add widows with children.

The importance of learning, and of teaching our daughters, a trade or profession should now be clear to all women. This does not mean emancipation in the old and embattled sense of the word, but rather an exact understanding of the economic future, and a remarkable moralization of society, because a woman, regardless of class, will no longer be obliged to choose her partner according to economic requirements -- as so often occurs today -- but will be motivated only by the desire to tie her life to someone able to fulfill her spiritually and physically.

The other, moral, reason for the undeniable fact of working women has a more restricted range (because it refers to intellectual labor), but is equally important.

A woman's calling, it is maintained, is maternity: vocation assigned to her by nature itself. But we object to this theory. No one will deny that the general destiny of the male sex is marriage and paternity, the general destiny of the female sex, marriage and maternity. But destiny is not vocation. Neither women nor men are spouses and parents from birth, some never become either, or do not remain so until death. To claim, then, that marriage is the only purpose of life, would place a portion of the human

race in the awkward position of ignorance of its own essence and its own responsibilities. And this is not, in fact, the case. Alongside the classic conjugal life, there is another, no less sociable, hardworking and useful.

Both women and men have the right to dedicate themselves to this other life, and it would be unjust to preclude them from the enjoyment of the fruits of the vocation to which they are called.

The immense destruction caused by the war will make the employment of all possible human energies, without any sort of discrimination, indispensable.

Nor should we fear demographic damage; the rational use of female labor will eliminate every inconvenience.

In addition, the freedom to choose between fields of endeavor will make a woman's work most productive, to the advantage of both the worker and the economic reconstruction of the nation, and reduce the harshness of work itself.

This is the exact understanding that the Italian woman should have of work, an understanding that will guide her away from other doctrines and other solutions which deny her liberty. An overview of social realities and the resulting creation of our political conscience will be presented in future issues.

6735

no photos enclosed

TR 17



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Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington D.C.
U S A

no photos will return

19. 7. 1996

Dear Mrs. Clinton !

I would like to express my appreciation of you visit to our hospital and Children's home. We were more than happy to wellcome you on our grounds so that we could also present some of the results of the activities of our hospital, which have been influenced by the US organisations.

I hope that you enjoyed your visit at least as much as we did. The children from our Cildren's Home keep mentioning „the beautifull American aunt that brought them the nice presents“.

I would like to ask for your permission to save the memorable day of your visit by giving our Children's Home the eponym „Children's Home of Hillary R. Clinton“. We would be extremely honoured if you would agree.

Please find enclosed some of the photographs taken during your stay.

Kindest regards.

Your Sincerely.

Dr. Zuzana Roithová
Director General

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1996

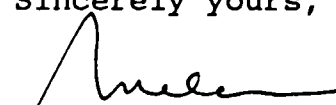
Bill Rothbard
12424 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 900
Los Angeles, CA 90025

Dear Bill,

Thank you for writing, we appreciate your comments on the welfare legislation. This was a difficult decision. I have enclosed a copy of the President's remarks upon his signing of the welfare bill on July 31, 1996.

I hope all is well with you and the family. Thank you again for writing and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,


Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

*Thanks for your
heartfelt comments
not on every issue*

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July 31, 1996

VIA TELECOPY

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Melanne:

If the President signs the congressional welfare "reform" bill, California could come back into play for Dole. I have spoken to many Democrats who have told me that if the President signs the bill, even with the so-called "improvements," they will not vote for him in November. Instead, they will either vote for Nader or just not vote at all in the Presidential race.

These are middle-of-the-road, at most slightly left-of-center Democrats who are saying this -- not the hard-core liberals or party activist types who could easily turn away from the President if he signs the bill.

There's a real concern out here, Melanne, that the President will be committing an act of unconscionable moral betrayal (and could be disgraced by history eventually) if he signs this bill. Many moderate as well as liberal Democrats feel so strongly that they will not vote for him if he does so. Whether the numbers will be great enough to erode his huge lead and cost him California, only time will tell. But it's a risk he should not discount.

I wanted to let you know this because I think it is information the President and First Lady should have as he makes his fateful decision.

I hope all is well with you, or at least as well as it can be given the pressures and strains of your life these days.

Good luck in the critical months ahead, and please give my warm regards to Phil.

Best wishes,

Bill
Bill Rothbard

P.S. I had lunch this week with a friend who was a Carter White House official and is very knowledgeable on health and welfare policy. He thinks this bill is worse than anything Nixon ever did in domestic policy.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 24, 1996

Dr. Zuzana Roithova
Director
Fakultni Nemocnice Vinohrady
Srobarova Ul. 50
100 34 Prague 10
CZECH REPUBLIC

*affiliated
with Vinohrady
University Hospital*

Dear Dr. Roithova,

on behalf of Mrs. Clinton
on behalf of the First Lady
Thank you very much for your kind letter expressing your desire to name ~~a~~ Children's Home in honor of the First Lady. Mrs. Clinton is ^{the very} pleased to accept your gracious offer.

Because White House policy restricts the use of the First Lady's name, we would like to be able to review any printed materials, including press releases, which mention the "Children's Home of Hillary R. Clinton." My office can assure prompt review, but please allow two weeks prior to press time. All materials for review should be sent by mail or facsimile to Alice Pushkar, Director of First Lady's Correspondence. You may contact Ms. Pushkar at the White House by phone at (202) 456-2941 or facsimile at (202) 456-5199.

Please do not hesitate to contact our office if we can be of further assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret A. Williams
Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff
for the First Lady

*who accompanied her
+ our staff have
Mrs. Clinton has found memories
of her visit to the Children's Home
and she wishes to see me best to
you and your colleagues
at Vinohrady who work with the children*

6735

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Andy Sens -

The writer wishes to name a children's home
in honor of Mrs. Clinton. Is this appropriate?
If we do accept who should sign the letter?
Maggie W. normally signs acceptance letters for
honorary chairs, etc.

Thanks.

Alice

Alice Pushkan
This is good to
do. See note
to me from our
serv. Andy Sens

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

6735

October 21, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW SENS

FROM: DANIEL FRIED *DF*

SUBJECT: Naming Czech Children's Home for First Lady

You asked for views concerning a proposal by the Czech Kralovske Vinohrady University Hospital to name its affiliated Children's Home for the First Lady (Tab A). Our Embassy in Prague confirms that the First Lady visited the hospital during her trip to Prague last July and that the institution is legitimate. They recommend accepting the proposal. I also recommend accepting the proposal. Mrs. Clinton's CEE trip was well received in the region and here. One institution (a Romanian elementary school) was named for Mrs. Clinton already as a result of the CEE trip.

Because this proposal entails use of the First Family's name, Jamie Baker conferred with the White House Counsel's Office. Counsel's Office concurs, provided the First Lady is apprised of the request and agrees to it.

Therefore, we recommend you raise the matter with the FLOTUS office. We would be happy to provide any additional materials the First Lady's Office may need.

Concurrences by: James Baker *DF*

Attachment
Tab A Incoming

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1996

Ms. Sharon Percy Rockefeller
President & Chief Executive Officer
Public Television & Radio
P.O. Box 2626
Washington, DC 20013

Dear Sharon:

Thank you for sending us WETA'S annual report which documents an impressive record.

We appreciate the important work you do and we value your efforts and leadership, not just at WETA, but to advance our national commitment to public broadcasting.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
of the First Lady



SHARON PERCY ROCKEFELLER
PRESIDENT AND
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

August 6, 1996

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

I am happy to present you with a copy of WETA's newly created annual report. The report highlights our exceptional 1995 programs and services and provides a guideline for our future endeavors.

The past year was challenging for public broadcasting, but it was also one of WETA's most exciting, productive years ever as we continued our tradition of creating programs and services that celebrate learning, cultural treasures and civic pride.

We look forward to another year of sharing with the nation the adventure of lifelong learning.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 7, 1996

Dr. Zuzana Roithova
Director
Fakultni Nemonice Vinohrady
Srobarova UL. 50
100 34 Prague 10
CZECH REPUBLIC

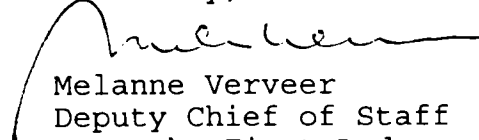
Dear Dr. Roithova:

On behalf of Mrs. Clinton, I would like to thank you very much for your kind letter expressing your desire to name Children's Home, affiliated with Vinohrady University Hospital, in honor of the First Lady. She is very pleased to accept your gracious offer.

Mrs. Clinton and our staff who accompanied her have fond memories of our visit to the Children's Home and she wishes all the best to you and your colleagues at Vinohrady who work with the children.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

*Dear Mr. Secretary
We were as hard to bring
this to your attention.*

MELANNE VERVEER
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT, AND
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE FIRST LADY

United States Department of State

Assistant Secretary of State for
South Asian Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20520-6258

August 8, 1996

THE WHITE HOUSE

(202) 456-6206

The Honorable Richard Riley
Secretary of Education
U.S. Department of Education
555 New Jersey Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208-5520

Dear Secretary Riley:

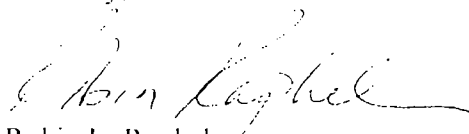
I am writing to endorse the invitation from the principal of Long Branch Elementary School to the October 15 "homecoming" to their newly renovated building in Arlington, Virginia. As a member of the PTA and mother of two children at Long Branch, I have been extremely impressed by the fine example this school has set for public education. The school administration and families of the community have done a remarkable job of molding a widely diverse school population into a spirited and active student body. Combined with the high standard of academic excellence, and the dedication of the teachers and staff, this makes Long Branch the school of choice for my family in an area where there are many private options.

Mrs. Clinton visited the school last year in connection with the school lunch program, and I know she found the same remarkable spirit and sense of community participation that I so highly value there.

I believe strongly that we should do all we can to support public schools that are promoting the values of equal educational opportunity for diverse communities. I know the school administration and parents want very much to spread the message far and wide that public education can work. Your presence at the homecoming celebration would go a long way in demonstrating the support which this administration wants to give to the cause of public education. It would also pay tribute to a job well done by the Long Branch leadership and the Arlington County School Board. I hope you will be able to make it, and that we will have the opportunity to meet.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,


Robin L. Raphel

ARLINGTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

LONG BRANCH SCHOOL

TELEPHONE (703) 358-4220

33 NORTH FILLMORE STREET
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22201*"SUCCESS FOR EVERYONE"*

August 6, 1996

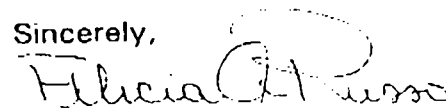
Mr. Richard Riley, Secretary
United States Department of Education
555 New Jersey Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20208-5520

Dear Mr. Riley,

I would like to take this opportunity to cordially invite you to Long Branch Elementary School on Tuesday, October 15th. Two years ago, Long Branch students, staff, and parents had the privilege of meeting you and Senator Robb on the first day of school. Your timely comments left a lasting impression on all who heard them. Since your visit, Long Branch Elementary School has been completely renovated. We will be returning to the building on Tuesday, October 15th at 8:45 a.m. and would be honored to include you in our "homecoming" program.

I appreciate your consideration of this request and hope that you will be able to attend.

Sincerely,



Felicia A. Russo
Principal

cc: Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1996

Mr. John J. Roberts
The Starr Foundation
Trustee
70 Pine Street
New York, NY 10270

Dear Mr. Roberts:

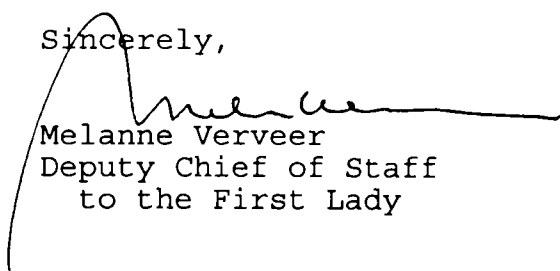
On behalf of the First Lady, I would like to thank you for your letter as well as for a copy of the IREX Annual Report with its description of an impressive array of significant programs IREX has undertaken throughout the CEE and NIS.

We also appreciate your sharing your views about the ways US assistance in this area can be improved.

We hope that you will continue to keep us informed of the Foundation's work in this area.

Thank you for your commitment and leadership.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

R

THE STARR FOUNDATION
70 PINE STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10270

September 11, 1996

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Old Executive Office Building, Room 100
Washington, D.C. 20500

copy
attached

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Thank you for inviting us to the Roundtable yesterday concerning assistance to Central & Eastern Europe and the NIS. I found the meeting most interesting.

As you may remember, my remarks on The Starr Foundation's contributions to organizations concerned with Central Europe, Russia and the NIS have been mainly directed to the Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX) and the Institute For EastWest Studies (IEWS), all of which have been very helpful in providing the opportunity to meet with not only the heads of state in the countries and regions concerned, but also with their various departments of government and the entrepreneurs. As a result, these organizations have been of material and substantive help to the US Government, the host countries, and the private sector.

The private sector contribution, we believe, is the sustaining force for a civil society. There are several interesting examples of this type of coordinated effort. In the case of Poland, the assistance received from the US public and private sectors is helping the Polish government to convert the social security system, in large part, to private pensions. This process is now taking place, and hopefully before the year is out the Polish government will have adopted and written into law provision for private pensions. IREX, IEWS, and CSIS greatly assisted this effort. Changes in the life insurance laws were amended, and continue to change so that today there is a thriving life insurance development in Poland, which is nation building, as funds from life insurance are invested in the country itself. Hence, the terminology that life insurance is nation building.

In Russia, CSIS inaugurated several years ago a St. Petersburg Commission which brought together the Russian government, the St. Petersburg municipality; American, Finnish and Russian entrepreneurs in order to establish the beginnings of a market economy. The various sectors of the Commission ranged from explaining a market economy to the 20 million people of the area, to construction plans for the improvement of the St. Petersburg airport, seaport, business educational facilities at the St. Petersburg University, and a host of other areas which the St. Petersburg and Russian authorities endorsed and which are being carried on today.

In the case of Uzbekistan it is interesting that through the IREX educational programs in the US, the Uzbek government has endorsed and has seen to it that a number of scholars have attended US universities and have subsequently been hired by US companies for operations in Uzbekistan. In this regard, President Karimov has asked IREX to provide advanced education for his diplomatic core so that they better understand the market economy and become trade literate. IREX is also furthering this concept to the other Central Asian states.

As a matter of interest, I am enclosing an IREX Annual Report which I think you may find interesting in view of its long-term accomplishments and present operations throughout the CEE and NIS. It may be of interest that from reports we have received, other than AID, there are a dozen other US agencies providing aid to the transition economies under the same act of 1989.

Our government provides assistance somewhat differently from that of other countries in two respects:

- 1) The use of four assistance consortia each put together by a major accounting firm. Each consortium consists of several provision service groups and humanitarian NGOs, who in turn subcontract field consultants. These consultants are often selected on the basis of the lowest cost to the respective consortium member;

September 11, 1996

- 2) The establishment of a network of enterprise funds with the total authorized capital of over \$1.5M.

The major criticism of the process provided by US consultants has been the low qualification of some of the people in the field and the irrelevance of their work product. Eastern Europe government officials and businessmen have privately commented that a lot of the paperwork produced by these consultants is second rate and unnecessary. This criticism particularly concerned the area of privatization. However, consultants in antitrust and securities legislation and Treasury advisors get very high marks for the quality of their work.

Some of the training programs and study tours by some contractors are often regarded in Eastern Europe as little more than tourist opportunities. When the US government has actually designated the specific person as the assistance provider, according to the GAO report of 1994, the results seem remarkably better.

The one enterprise fund that receives the most favorable comment is the Polish Enterprise Fund.

It is our belief that the US assistance which is so needed in the area should involve the private sector of the US and the developing private sector groups in the Eastern Europe business community with the proper investment legislation. It is for this reason that our support for the IREX, IEWS and CSIS remains one that is positive and has resulted in an effective contribution to the emerging democratic societies in the East.

Sincerely,



John J. Roberts
The Starr Foundation
Trustee

THE STARR FOUNDATION
70 PINE STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10270

September 11, 1996

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Old Executive Office Building, Room 100
Washington, D.C. 20500

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September 11, 1996

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September 11, 1996

- 2) The establishment of a network of enterprise funds with the total authorized capital of over \$1.5M.

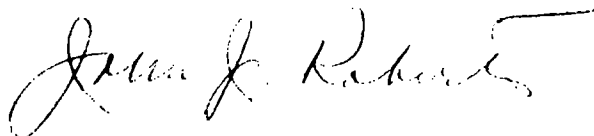
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Sincerely,



John J. Roberts
The Starr Foundation
Trustee

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 29, 1996

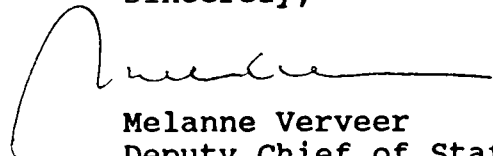
Paula Robinson
12 Fairmount Street
Brookline, Massachusetts 02146

Dear Mrs. Robinson,

Thank you for your letter recommending Ms. Blanche Moyse for the Presidential Medal of the Arts. We have forwarded your letter to the National Endowment for the Arts, where the initial decisions are made by the NEA council.

Thank you again for writing and best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
of the First Lady

PAULA ROBISON

22 May 1996

Dear Mr Verwee —

I write in support of the nomination of Blanche Horreger Mayse for the President's Medal of Arts.

— How I wish that there were more artists like Blanche in our great Country, working tirelessly, with passion and joy, to awaken musicians — listeners — young and old — (and middle aged too!) to the beauty of great music! She has been an inspiration to me for over 30 years.

I hope you will consider her.
Yours Sincerely —

Paula Robison

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1996

Mr. Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
Chairman
Shandwick Public Affairs
Metropolitan Square
655 15th Street NW, Suite 475
Washington, DC 20005

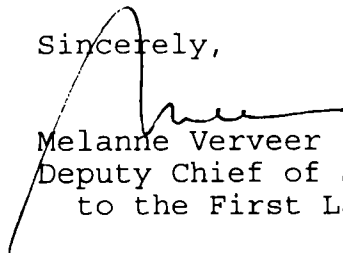
Dear Don:

Thank you for your letter and invitation for the First Lady to speak on the 50th anniversary of Kelly Services on October 7, 1996. It sounds like a fine opportunity to underscore important issues.

I have forwarded your request to Patti Solis Doyle, Director of Scheduling for the First Lady. However, the October schedule appears to be quite hectic and we cannot tell you at this time if the First Lady can be in Michigan in early October.

Thank you for writing and best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

655 15th Street, NW; Suite 476
Washington, DC 20005
Telephone: 202/383-9700
Fax: 202/383-0070

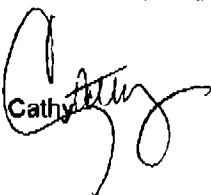
Shandwick Public Affairs

Fax

To: Melanne Verveer's Asst.**From:** Cathy Alix/Asst. to Don Riegle**Fax:** 202/456-6244**Pages:** 2**Phone:** 202/456-6266**Date:** September 16, 1996**Re:** Revised letter**CC:**

☒ **Urgent** ☐ **For Review** ☐ **Please Comment** ☐ **Please Reply** ☐ **Please Recycle**

• **Comments:** Attached please find a corrected page one to the attachment letter to Mrs. Clinton that was sent accompanying a cover letter to Melanne on Friday. There was an undetected grammar error that came to light over the weekend and I am requesting your assistance in replacing the original attachment with this corrected one. Thank you in advance.

Cathy Alix


R

Shandwick**Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
Chairman****Shandwick Public Affairs
Metropolitan Square
655 15th Street N.W., Suite 475
Washington, D.C. 20005
202-383-9700
Facsimile: 202-383-0079****September 13, 1996****12935 W. Bayshore Drive, Suite 290
Traverse City, MI 49684
616-933-0200
Facsimile: 616-933-0639****The First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Office of the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500****Dear Mrs. Clinton:**

As a recent Clinton delegate from Michigan, I wanted to say how much Lori and I were moved by your speech in the Chicago convention hall. We are now both making use of those themes in surrogate speaking roles across Michigan. It feels like a big win is coming – Dole's perpetual sourness is helping.

Let me bring to your attention and underscore a special invitation you have received to appear and speak on October 7th in Michigan. The occasion is the 50th anniversary of Kelly Services – the world's largest temporary employment company with some 600,000+ employees.

Covering as they do, every professional field – fully 75% of Kelly Services workforce is comprised of women – nearly half who are married with families – and who overwhelmingly have chosen temporary work for reasons of personal and family flexibility.

We are not aware of any American company that employs more women professionals than Kelly Services – or that has facilitated the ability of so many women to blend a "temporary career" with their other personal and family requirements.

The anniversary ceremony will begin at 11 a.m. and will be hosted by TV personality Tony Randall – with an expected attendance exceeding 1200, including employees, special guests and other notables. Kelly Services would like you to keynote the event, perhaps with your thoughts about the challenges and realities facing today's workers and their families.

Kelly Services, of course, will to everything possible to accommodate your schedule and personal convenience should you be able to attend.

Shandwick**Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
Chairman****Shandwick Public Affairs
Metropolitan Square
655 15th Street N.W., Suite 475
Washington, D.C. 20005
202-383-9700
Facsimile: 202-383-0079****12935 W. Bayshore Drive, Suite 290
Traverse City, MI 49684
616-933-0200
Facsimile: 616-933-0639****September 13, 1996****Ms. Melanne Verveer
Office of the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500****Dear Melanne:**

I have faxed this invitation to you because this event opportunity fits so directly with the families theme -- especially working women who are balancing work careers with all the other demands of personal and family life.

This would be a natural high visibility event in the Detroit metropolitan area which would receive saturation television and general news coverage -- both locally and statewide.

I think this is a valuable opportunity to consider. I will be present that day and would help facilitate all the necessary arrangements and details should Hillary be available to attend.

Thank you for your consideration and assistance.

Warm personal regards,

**Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
Chairman****DWR:cda
0913962.ltr**

Shandwick

Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
Chairman

Shandwick Public Affairs
Metropolitan Square
655 15th Street N.W., Suite 475
Washington, D.C. 20005
202-383-9700
Facsimile: 202-383-0079

12935 W. Bayshore Drive, Suite 290
Traverse City, MI 49684
616-933-0200
Facsimile: 616-933-0639

September 13, 1996

The First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Office of the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Hillary
Dear Mrs. Clinton:

As a recent Clinton delegate from Michigan, I wanted to say how much Lori and I were moved by your speech in the Chicago convention hall. We are now both making use of those themes in surrogate speaking roles across Michigan. It feels like a big win is coming – Dole's perpetual sourness is helping.

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Kelly Services, of course, will to everything possible to accommodate your schedule and personal convenience should you be able to attend.

The First Lady Hillary Clinton
September 13, 1996
Page 2

I believe Kelly's 600,000 employees – and all citizens – will be keenly interested in any thoughts that you wish to share with them at this celebration event. I will follow-up with Melanne Verveer in your office to see if it is possible for you to attend. As I will be attending the event that day I would be available to help facilitate all the necessary arrangements and details should you be able to join us.

Warm personal regards,



Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
Chairman

DWR:cda
091396.ltr

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 12, 1996

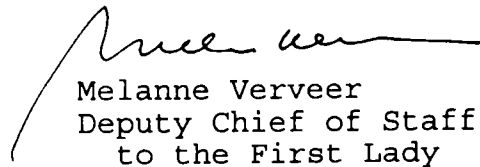
Dr. Kathleen Kelley Reardon
School of Business Administration
University of Southern California
Bridge Hall 307H
Los Angeles, CA 90089-1421

Dear Dr. Reardon:

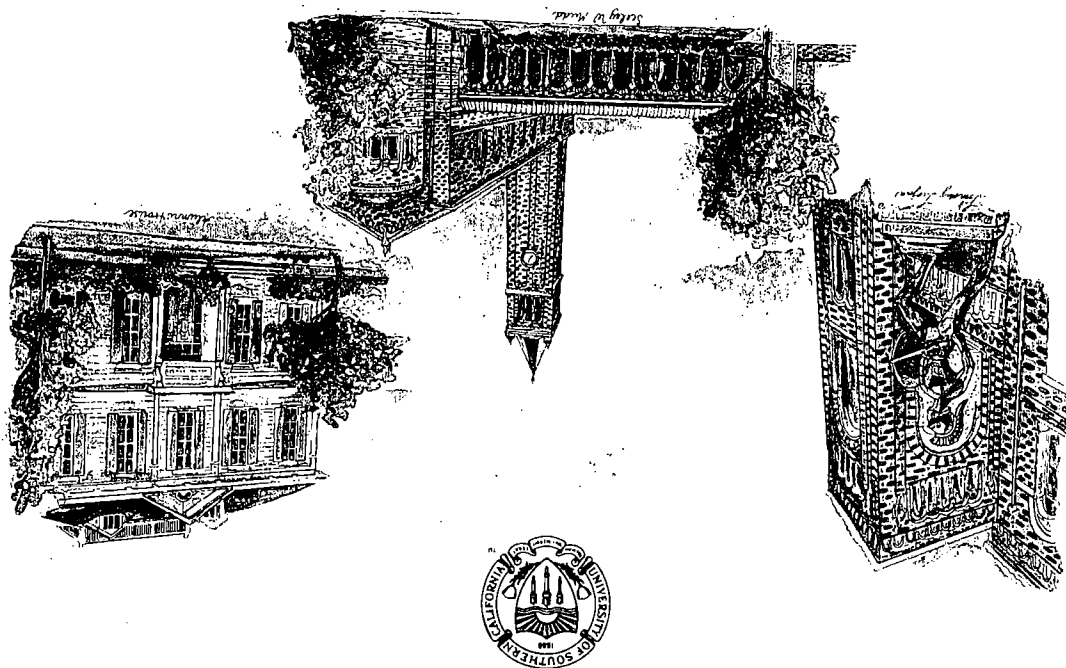
On behalf of the First Lady, thank you very much for your thoughtful letter and for They Don't Get it, Do They?. We look forward to reading it.

Thank you for your comments about Mrs. Clinton's book and her work. Your support means a great deal. With best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady



more *Lines* of the book! My best to
you and the First Lady. May it be a
wonderful, productive few more years.
My card is enclosed should you or
Mrs. Clinton ever need my assistance.

my very best regards

Kathleen Kelly Learden

Dear Ms Verveer:

Nov 3, 1996

On what is nearly election eve,
my good wishes to Mrs Clinton.
It's been over a year since Betty
Friedan suggested I send my book
and breast cancer video to you. Since
then, I've been on sabbatical and working
to be promoted to full professor. During
my trips back and forth between Los
Angeles and Dublin's Trinity College, I
read It Takes a Village and loved it.

I'm sure the First Lady receives
countless notes and I don't know if
either of you have had a chance to read
They Don't Get It, Do They? but I want
to convey my admiration for Mrs.
Clinton's work as an author and as the
First Lady. as the saying goes, "The tall
tree catches the wind." She has weathered
the inevitable storms with considerable
strength and poise. She has helped more
people "get it." If she could use a little
help with Congress, I'll send along a few

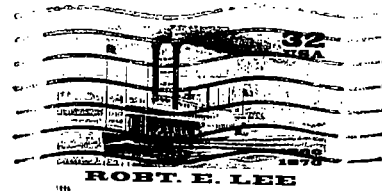


Kathleen Kelley Reardon
Professor
Management and Organization

School of Business Administration

University of Southern California
Bridge Hall 307H
Los Angeles, California 90089-1421
Tel: 213 740 0175
Fax: 213 740 3582
e-mail: kreardon@sba.usc.edu
dcreardon@aol.com

(R)



Melanne Verover
Deputy Chief of Staff to the
First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C.
20501

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 25, 1996

Mr. Stuart Rees
Director, Center for Peace
& Conflict Studies
The University of Sydney
Macki Building K01
NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA

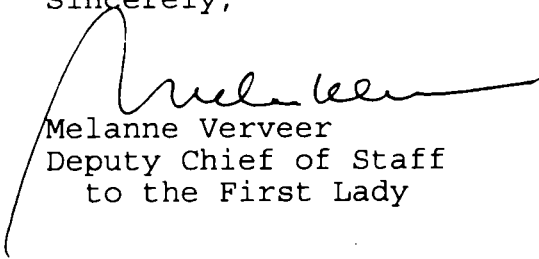
Dear Mr. Rees:

Thank you for your kind invitation to the First Lady to speak at the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies conference at Sydney University on November 21, 1996.

Regrettably, the First Lady is not able to accept your invitation.

Thank you for writing and best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady



Centre for Peace and Conflict
Studies
The University of Sydney



Telephone 000-0002
or 9351 4091
Fax 9351 3783

Mackie Building K01
NSW 2006 Australia

From: Professor Stuart Rees

Attention: Ms. Melanne Verveer,
Deputy Chief of Staff to the First Lady,
The White House,
Washington DC

Fax No: 0011 1 202 456 6244

Fx. 2 9660 0862

October 20th 96

Dear Ms. Verveer,

DESPERATELY SEEKING HILLARY

Invitation to Hillary Clinton to speak in

The Great Hall of Sydney University,

Managing Creatively: Human Agendas for Changing Times

November 21st from 9:00 am to 5:30 pm

With reference to my fax of October 7th and October 10th I am writing again to highlight our invitation and to emphasize that the President of the World Bank James D. Wolfensohn has suggested that we should write to you direct. Although it must be an incredibly busy time for the First Lady, I have also asked Mr. Wolfensohn if he would speak to you or Mrs. Clinton. I also want to mention again that Ambassador Edward Perkins - now back in Washington - has been an important supporter of the innovative work of this Centre.

I am happy to provide any further information about this conference: audience, topics of other speakers, rationale for emphasizing human agendas of peace with justice in diverse contexts. (My fax of October 10th elaborates these issues).

Mrs. Clinton would be guaranteed a wonderful reception - in Australia's oldest University- in association with a Centre which is international in its outlook and

cosmopolitan in its programs, hence this invitation.

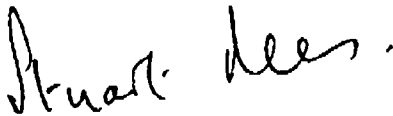
Notwithstanding Mrs. Clinton's schedule - before and after the Presidential election - I do hope you can use your influence to encourage acceptance of this invitation for The First Lady to speak at any time between 9:00 am and 5:30 pm on the 21st.

I realize that November 5th looms but I'd be very grateful if you could let me know as soon as possible regarding Mrs. Clinton's response. For our own publicity purposes an early reply would be very helpful.

Thanks for your consideration.

In solidarity and in peace,

Yours sincerely,



Stuart Rees,
Fellow of Senate,
Director, Centre Peace and Conflict Studies,
Professor Social Work & Social Policy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 15, 1996

Alan R. Read
39487 Gallaudet Dr. #238
Fremont, CA 94538

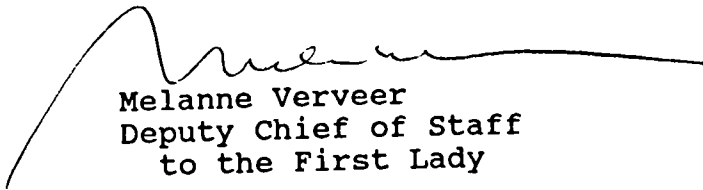
Dear Mr. Read,

Thank you for your letter about the importance of providing medical patients with the right of access to information needed to make informed choices about physicians.

We appreciate hearing from you on this important topic. I will share your letter with key health officials.

Thank you for writing and best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

R

39487 Gallaudet Drive - #238
Fremont, CA 94538
510-353-3120 (day); 510-713-7489 (home)
6/30/96

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Verveer:

I would like to take a moment of your time to offer a suggestion on the important topic of HEALTH-CARE REFORM that also could provide valuable human-interest material for Clinton's speech to the convention. Although Mrs. Clinton's energetic efforts to produce a comprehensive health-care reform package did not succeed, this does not mean that smaller but focused improvements and changes cannot be proposed and carried out.

Did you know that careful statistical studies of hospital and clinics have proven that OVER 100,000 AMERICANS ARE KILLED every year due to medical malpractice, medical mistakes, incompetent and impaired physicians? This is TWO VIETNAMS a year! Yet who among us has heard of this gruesome but true statistic? And why not? Because the medical profession has used all the political clout that money can buy to keep their mistakes buried and the incompetent/impaired physicians among them protected from public disclosure.

Did you know that the FORGERY OF MEDICAL RECORDS, which a physician would be strongly motivated to perpetrate to cover up evidence of malpractice, is not a crime? Why are physicians allowed to commit forgery and thus deprive their patients, with no fear of any criminal penalty, of accurate and true medical records? Any medical malpractice attorney can tell you that this kind of forgery is widespread and flagrant.

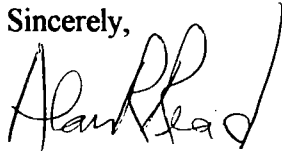
Nothing is as intimate or vital to our lives than the physician to whom we trust our bodies, both when we are well, but particularly when we confront a serious illness. Yet as you can see from the inclosed Parade article (and I highly recommend reading Dr. Wachsman's book "Lethal Medicine" for another shocking exposee on this same subject) a wall of secrecy prevents the patient from making informed judgments on the competence of the physician. This wall of secrecy combined with state medical boards devoting more energy to protecting the doctor's right to practice instead of the public's right to safety means that an incompetent or impaired physician can cause numerous injuries and deaths to innocent people over many years before the privilege (not the right!) to practice is revoked. Why do we tolerate this!! A small but very valuable reform in health-care law would empower the medical consumer to obtain information on malpractice judgments (including those settled out of court!), disciplinary actions by hospitals, medical specialty boards, and state medical boards.

I believe a statement from President Clinton that he supports the right of access by

patients to the vital information they need to make an informed choice of physician would strike a very sympathetic chord with the American people. It would be in the long tradition of a Democratic Party that opposes privilege and secrecy.

Hope these suggestions can be of some use.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Alan R. Read". The signature is fluid and stylized, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Alan R. Read

Why Some Doctors May Be

BY BERNARD GAVZER

THROUGHOUT AMERICA there are thousands of doctors—working in hospitals, clinics and private offices—who hurt and even fatally injure patients through incompetence or carelessness yet remain in active practice. It is almost impossible for the typical patient—you and me—to find out who they are.

"There are between 620,000 and 650,000 licensed physicians in the country," says Dr. Ted Lewers, a kidney specialist in Easton, Md., and a board member of the American Medical Association (AMA). When asked how many of them could be categorized as incompetent, unscrupulous or impaired, Dr. Lewers replied, "Very few—5 to 10 percent." But that could mean 31,000 to 65,000 physicians who pose a significant risk to patients.

The risks are very real: In Denver, Richard Corbett Leonard, died during a routine ear operation because the anesthesiologist allegedly fell asleep.

- In Tampa, a surgeon amputated the wrong lower leg of Willie King, 52, a diabetic.

- The wrong lung was removed from 59-year-old Benjamin Jones Jr. in Fort Worth, Tex.

- Guadalupe Negron, 33, bled to death after her uterus was cut by a doctor who was still operating while appealing the revocation of his license.

- In Boston, Betsy Lehman, 39, was killed when a doctor prescribed a dose of an anticancer drug that was far too high.

"You can go into the offices of two different doctors, side by side, and see an impressive wall of framed diplomas," says Dr. Sidney M. Wolfe, co-creator with Ralph Nader of the nonprofit Public

Citizen Health Research Group. "But you have no way of knowing whether one is supremely competent and the other has a pattern of misdiagnosis, mistreatment, incompetence. Information that might guide you exists, but much of it is secret, even to doctors."

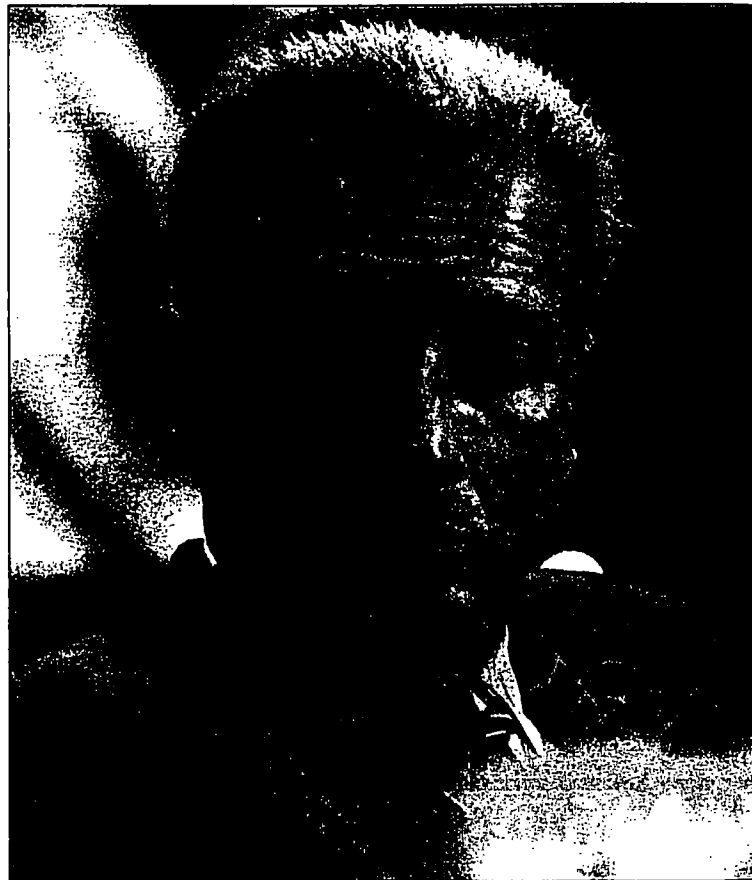
How, then, can you figure out if a doctor is okay or questionable? Who has the information? Is it secret? Why?

The route to finding answers is complex. We'll lead you through the maze. But please keep in mind that this report focuses on incompetent, impaired doctors. It is not an indictment of the vast majority of physicians, who are conscientious, hardworking, trustworthy, reliable and dedicated to fulfilling the Hippocratic Oath to "abstain from harm." Day after day, they provide patients with medical treatment that meets the highest standards of care.

Still, it is in the public's interest, as well as the medical profession's, that the questionable doctors be identified. That goal is supported in varying degrees by such groups as the AMA, the American Board of Medical Specialties and "watchdog" organizations such as the Public Citizen Health Research Group.

HOW BAD IS THE PROBLEM?

How likely are you to be hurt by a physician? A detailed report about doctor-caused injuries was contained



Dr. Rolando Sanchez, the surgeon in Tampa who amputated Willie King's left leg by mistake: The Florida Board of Medicine fined Sanchez \$10,000 and suspended his license. It has now put him on probation. He began practicing again in February.



Dr. David Benjamin allowed Guadalupe Negron to bleed to death following surgery at his Queens, N.Y., clinic. He was convicted of her murder in 1995.

in *The Harvard Medical Practice Study*, published in 1990. Dozens of expert researchers in medicine, law, economics, statistics, policy analysis and peer review analyzed health care in New York State in 1984. Their findings were based on patient and physician and surgeon interviews, hospital records, peer reviews, insurance claims and malpractice suits. The results showed:

- Of an estimated 2.7 million patients hospitalized in New York State at the time, 98,609 (or 3.65 percent), suffered injury attributed to medical intervention rather than their underlying disease. (An example would be a cancer patient dying from an overdose of chemotherapy.)
- Of those medical injuries, nearly 28 percent resulted from negligence. (An example would be if a physician failed to order a biopsy after seeing a chest

X-ray with a detectable lesion).

- Of the medical injuries, 69 percent were caused by errors.

- More than 13,000 (about 0.5 percent) of the total 2.7 million patients died at least in part as a result of those injuries.

This means that for every 1000 patients who entered the hospital, five died at least in part as a result of poor care. Although these findings do not encourage confidence, the situation can be reversed, according to Dr. Lucien L. Leape of the Harvard School of Public Health. He contends that most doctor-related injuries "are due to errors and are, therefore, potentially preventable."

But, again, the dilemma for patients lies in how to detect which doctors to avoid. Isn't there some list or a government agency keeping an eye on bad doctors?

Hazardous To Your Health

WHO HAS THE NAMES?

The government does have a very restricted file with the names of more than 80,000 physicians who were involved in malpractice suits, were disciplined by state medical boards, lost hospital privileges or had adverse reviews regarding membership in professional societies. It is the National Practitioner Data Bank (NPDB). Only hospital medical boards and similar health-care providers can check the information in the data bank. Doctors can check on themselves but not other doctors.

"The NPDB was developed because it was very difficult to get information about bad doctors and hospital mishaps," says Stephen B. Perschke, deputy director of the Health Resources and Services Administration, which oversees the data bank. "Medical boards, medical societies and insurance companies clammed up."

Even if you had ac-

cess to the NPDB, there is no guarantee that it has the full story on questionable doctors. The law says that all of the nation's 6374 hospitals are required to supply the NPDB with the names of any doctors whose privileges have been suspended for 31 days or more. But more than half of the nation's hospitals have *never* listed a single doctor.

How is it possible that so many hos-



Sen. Ron Wyden (D., Ore.) with his wife, Laurie: He wants the public to have access to data on questionable doctors.

Doctors take an oath to "abstain from harm." Occasionally, however, serious mistakes are made. Can more be done to identify potential risks?

pitals have not made a single report? Dr. Jack Lord, the American Hospital Association's senior adviser for clinical affairs, says there is a valid reason: "Hospitals have quality-assurance programs in which the behavior of physicians and clinical outcomes are monitored," he explains, "and the issues have been adequately addressed before getting to a stage which would require making a report."

On the other hand, Thomas C. Croft, director of the Division of Quality Assurance of the Health Resources and Services Administration, says: "When suspensions are put at less than 31 days, they do not have to be reported. We do not have the legal authority to get hospital quality-assurance records to determine how many 30-day or less suspensions there may have been to avoid reporting to the data bank. It would be

valuable to see what the trend in suspensions has been over a 10-year period. Right now, all we can do is speculate."

CAN YOU GET THE NAMES?

Sen. Ron Wyden, the Oregon Democrat who introduced the legislation that created the data bank when he was a member of the House of Representatives, is preparing legislation to open it to the public. "When our citizens get into HMO programs," he says, "and have to choose between doctors, I think they should be able to get information from the data bank to help them make a sound choice."

But the American Medical Association, in a 1995 policy statement, said it "opposes all efforts to open the NPDB to public access." Why? "There is information the public can't use or interpret," explains Dr. Lewers. "It does not really tell you anything about a doctor other than he's listed, and you might jump to an unwarranted conclusion."

Dr. Ciro V. Sumaya, administrator of the Health Resources and Services Administration, supports some limitation of access to the information. "It could lead to pandemonium, misperception, to a lot of confusion for the public working with pieces of information," he says.

But two consumer advocates—Richard E. Vuernick, legal policy director



Dr. Sidney M. Wolfe, director of the Public Citizen Health Research Group. Today, he says, we have no way of knowing which doctors are competent.

AVOIDING A BAD DOCTOR

Here are some questions to ask when choosing a doctor:

- 1) Has the doctor been disciplined or formally charged with malpractice? You can find out by calling or writing the state medical board.
- 2) Has your doctor lost hospital privileges? Ask the doctor.
- 3) Is the doctor board certified? Check with the American Board of Medical Specialties. Call 1-800-237-8 Monday through Friday, 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. Eastern time.
- 4) Has your doctor's malpractice insurance ever been canceled? State medical boards will tell you if a doctor has had insurance, but most doctors who get it don't matter how bad their record is.
- 5) What does the AMA have to say about your doctor? The American Medical Directory, published by the AMA, lists the affiliations of doctors. It should be available at a public library. For the latest information, as many as four physicians in the AMA Department of Professional Services, Dept. P, 535 N. Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60610.

of Citizen Action, a 3 million-member organization based in Washington, D.C., and Mike Donio, director of projects for the People's Medical Society in Allentown, Pa.—say there is a strong public interest in having access to the data bank.

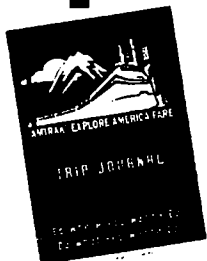
"We are not interested in sensationalizing or witch-hunting," says D. Vuernick adds: "What we want is to have the profession take the responsibility of removing bad doctors from patient contact. If a physician has an alcohol or drug problem, get him out of the arena, dry him out and get him to where he should be. If he's a surgeon fouling up operations, retrain him. Don't wait until it happens for the 42nd time."

IS THERE A CODE OF SILENCE?

The AMA Code of Ethics says that doctors are obliged to report evidence of incompetence, substance abuse or unethical conduct. But critics such as Sandra Gainer—a registered nurse who is the associate director of the National Center for Patients' Rights, an organization based in New York City with more than 4000 members who believe they have been injured by doctors—say there is another code that comes in to play: Silence.

contin

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Go Where You Wanna Go. Do What You Wanna Do.



HAZARDOUS DOCTORS/continued

"It is part of the medical establishment culture," says Gainer. "Doctors rarely report other doctors, nor do nurses and interns and pharmacists or anyone else in the entire profession. Those who do blow the whistle on other doctors risk retaliation."

In a Dec. 21, 1994, editorial in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Dr. David Blumenthal of Harvard referred to doctor errors and wrote: "Concerning medical error and its prevention, the profession has, with rare exceptions, adopted an ostrich-like attitude."

WHAT ABOUT THE MEDICAL BOARDS?

Medical Boards in most states license and certify physicians and also have the responsibility and power to discipline them by revoking licenses.

Presumably, a private citizen can ask a state's disciplinary agency to reveal the names of doctors who have been disciplined and for what reason. But Public Citizen reports that there are wide differences between state boards and the manner in which they respond. The best state boards keep a vigilant eye on doctors' behavior and performance. However, a doctor who loses a license in one state can move to another in which he also may be licensed without that board learning about any disciplinary action for months or longer, if ever.

(Public Citizen can provide a list of physicians in any state who have been disciplined by the state medical board or the federal government. It's available for \$15. Specify the state you are requesting and write: Public Citizen Health Research Group, Dept. P, 1600 20th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.)

WHAT'S AHEAD?

The American Hospital Association's Dr. Lord acknowledges that a better job has to be done. "Are we perfect in what we do in terms of taking care of people?" he asks. "No. But we're getting better."

"If physicians, nurses, pharmacists and administrators are to succeed in reducing errors in hospital care," says Dr. Lucien Leape of Harvard, "they will need to fundamentally change the way they think about errors and why they occur."

Meanwhile, as health-care consumers, we have to stay vigilant and do our homework. Remember that in dealing with the health care profession you have rights—including the right to ask questions and to expect and get answers. Your health may depend on it.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 20, 1996

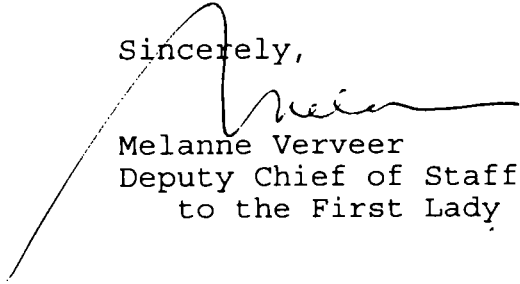
Mr. Kailas J. Rao
Chairman & President
Indus, Inc.
777 East Wisconsin Avenue
Suite 1900
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

Dear Kailas:

The First Lady asked me to thank
thank you for your thoughtful letter
and kind invitation to visit your home
in Milwaukee. Unfortunately Mrs.
Clinton could not rearrange her
schedule to accept your thoughtful
offer.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,


Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

*Hope all is
well!*

INDUS, INC.

ALLIANCES FOR BUSINESS, TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND FRANCHISING

777 East Wisconsin Avenue
Suite 1900
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202
414-283-0080
Fax 414-283-0090

*R + Thank
for invitation*

September 12, 1996

VIA TELEFAX: 202/456-6244

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

Greetings from Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In conjunction with your upcoming visit to Milwaukee, Wisconsin on Tuesday, September 17, 1996, I am writing to invite you to visit our house. With great personal respect and admiration, my wife Becky and I open our home to use as you may need, during your stay here in Milwaukee. We would be delighted and honored to accommodate you and your staff for the night.

Our home, the Uihlein Mansion, was built in 1917 by German immigrant industrialist and brewing family heir, Herman A. Uihlein. The mansion includes 20,000-plus square feet and 47+ rooms, including seven bedrooms, two living rooms, six full bathrooms, six staircases, six fireplaces, 145 windows and French doors, a mile-long pedigree and a permanent spot on the National Register of Historic Places. Our house sits on a bluff overlooking beautiful Lake Michigan, offering a magnificent and spectacular view and making this an ideal location for a relaxing visit or meeting.

Our home has been the location of several community fund-raising events over the last year, most recently to raise money for the Milwaukee Boys & Girls Club in June of this year.

Mrs. Clinton, your belief that our society plays a critical role in the development of our children, and the belief that this responsibility belongs to each one of us is shared by both Becky and I. With the high priority and personal emphasis you place on the critical need to strengthen family values, perhaps you may have a few minutes to share some thoughts during your visit here to Milwaukee.

INDUS, INC.

Mrs. Hillary Clinton
September 12, 1996
Page Two

As a strong supporter of President Clinton since 1991, I am now a Trustee of the DNC as well as a member of the DNC Business Council. This Saturday, September 14, 1996, I will be having dinner with President Clinton in Washington, DC, as Co-chair of the Indian-American White House Conference. Our organization will raise \$750,000 to \$1,000,000 for President Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton, it would be an honor to visit with you during your trip to Milwaukee, if your schedule will allow. Please advise me of your final agenda so that I may plan accordingly.

May you have a successful and enjoyable visit to Milwaukee and my very best regards to you. I look forward to seeing you in Milwaukee.

Most sincerely,



Kailas J. Rao
Chairman and President
Indus, Inc.

KJR:smk

Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 7, 1996

Mr. Kailas Rao
INDUS, Inc
777 East Wisconsin Avenue
Suite 1900
Milwaukee, WI 53202

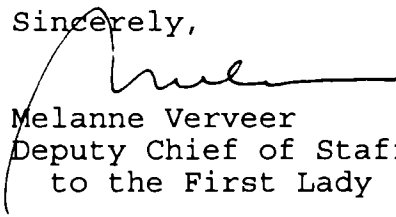
Dear Kailas:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter updating us on your recent activities.

Thanks, also for the invitation to the First Lady to attend UNICEF's centennial celebration in 1997. I have forwarded your request to Patti Solis Doyle, Mrs. Clinton's Director of Scheduling. We cannot say at this time what will be possible.

Thanks for writing and best wishes in all you do.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

INDUS, INC.

ALLIANCES FOR BUSINESS, TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND FRANCHISING

777 East Wisconsin Avenue
Suite 1900
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202
414-283-0080
Fax 414-283-0090

November 3, 1996

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20050

Dear Melanne,

Thank you for your note in response to my invitation to Mrs. Clinton during her recent trip to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. I was very excited to hear from you. Since I haven't had the opportunity to personally talk to you in a while, I thought I would drop you a note and update you on my recent activities.

As a Trustee of the Democratic National Committee, I have been very involved in fund-raising events for President Clinton. I co-sponsored a major supporters brunch during the Democratic National Convention, in Chicago, IL and, also co-sponsored an Indian American fund-raising event in Washington, DC, held at the Mayflower Hotel on September 13-14, 1996. Our fund-raiser was successful in raising nearly \$750,000 for President Clinton.

During dinner with President Clinton on September 14, I had the opportunity to speak with the President about a friend of mine, Doc Severinsen, a nationally known jazz musician. Doc is a strong supporter of President Clinton and would like to perform a concert at the White House to help the President's campaign. When I presented this idea to President Clinton, he seemed very interested and I am hopeful that Doc's idea may become a reality. I am hoping to hear from the White House Social Secretary regarding my request.

Melanne, at our lunch in Washington, DC, at the Hay-Adams Hotel with Sue Bailey, you may recall we spoke about the possibility of Mrs. Clinton coming to Milwaukee, Wisconsin to do a fund-raiser in connection with UNICEF. At that time, you indicated that Mrs. Clinton's schedule for 1996 was extremely busy. You also indicated there may be more time in 1997.

UNICEF will celebrate their centennial in 1997 and I am asking if you would assist us in encouraging Mrs. Clinton to attend as the honored guest. With Mrs. Clinton's strong interest in the welfare of children, this would be a wonderful opportunity for her and certainly UNICEF would benefit tremendously from Mrs. Clinton's association. Melanne, would you consider bringing this request to Mrs. Clinton for me? I would sincerely appreciate it. When I have the exact dates, I will forward them to you.

INDUS, INC.

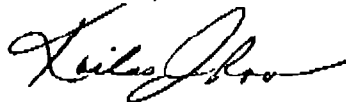
Melanne Verveer
November 3, 1996
Page Two

For the past four years, I have been unsuccessful in convincing you and Phil, as well as the President and Mrs. Clinton to come to visit us here in Milwaukee. Becky and I again extend an invitation to you and Phil, and President Clinton and Mrs. Clinton, to come to Milwaukee and visit us. If your schedules will allow, please give us some possible dates.

On December 13, 1996, Becky and I will be in Washington, DC. Richard Sullivan phoned and has invited us to attend a sit-down dinner with President Clinton. Do you think that you and Phil may have some time on Friday, to visit with us? I will call you and perhaps we can arrange a mutually convenient time to meet. If you prefer, I can be reached at my office at (414) 283-0080.

I look forward to hearing from you soon. Please give my regards to Phil.

Sincerely,



Kailas J. Rao
Chairman and President
Indus, Inc.

KJR:smk