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001. letter	Richard Murphy to Melanne Verveer [partial] (1 page)	09/30/1997	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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Melanne Verveer
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Verveer, Melanne Correspondence: July to December 1997 - M-N [3]

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RESTRICTION CODES

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P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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UNOFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT: FIRST LADY AT NEONATAL CENTER, UKRAINE
(Speaks at Neonatal Resuscitation Center in Lviv Nov. 17) (650)

Lviv, Ukraine -- U.S. First Lady Hillary Clinton visited the Neonatal Resuscitation Center in Lviv and noted that the center "represents a partnership between the government, the private sector, and the voluntary sector of your country and my country. Since the partnership here began, infant mortality has been reduced by 30 percent. Clearly, this model works."

She pointed to the ties between the center and the Henry Ford Hospital in Detroit, Michigan, as well as support from the American International Health Alliance, the U.S. Agency for International Development, Operation Provide Hope, Nadya Matkiwsky and the Children of the Chernobyl Relief Fund, the Anastasia Fund, the Toledo Sister Cities Organization, and the Ford motor company, which recently donated an ambulance.

"I am very pleased to learn that the Ministry of Health is working with USAID, AIHA, and the Henry Ford Hospital to establish centers like this one throughout Ukraine," Mrs. Clinton added.

Following is an unofficial transcript of her remarks.

(Begin transcript)

REMARKS OF FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON AT NEONATAL
RESUSCITATION CENTER, AS PART OF ROUNDTABLE WITH CENTER OFFICIALS
Lviv, Ukraine
November 17, 1997

I want to thank Mrs. Kuchma for being here with me during this visit. And I want to thank the people of Ukraine for the warm welcome that I feel and that my party has already received.

I have come to Ukraine on behalf of my husband, the President of the United States, and the American people, to see firsthand the progress that you are making as you transform your country into a strong democracy with an economy that will make it possible for all the Ukrainian people to be prosperous.

I hope my visit also reinforces the strong ties between the American and Ukrainian peoples. One of the examples of those ties is found right here at this hospital in the partnership between the Henry Ford Hospital in Detroit [Michigan], and the doctors and nurses here at this hospital. I am also very pleased about the role that the American International Health Alliance and the United States Agency for International Development have played in supporting this partnership since 1993. This center represents a partnership between the government, the private sector, and the voluntary sector of your country and my country.

Since the partnership here began, infant mortality has been reduced by 30 percent. Clearly, this model works, and I am very pleased to learn that the Ministry of Health is working with USAID, AIHA, and the Henry Ford Hospital to establish centers like this one throughout Ukraine.

I also want to acknowledge some of the other partners in this effort. I am delighted that the United States government's Operation Provide Hope, working with Nadya Matkiwsky and the Children of the Chernobyl Relief Fund, this week delivered a major shipment of donated pharmaceuticals, medical supplies and equipment to the center, including an ambulance. The airlift from project Provide Hope also came with winter clothes and relief supplies gathered by Representative Marcy Kaptor of Ohio through the Anastasia Fund and the Toledo Sister Cities Organization. I also want to thank Ford, both here and in the United States, for the ambulance which Ford donated.

I look forward to working with and learning more about other partnerships between my government and yours to advance health care. For example, the Ukraine Breast Cancer Assistance Program which will provide screening, diagnosis, and treatment for the women in Ukraine.

So I come to thank and congratulate the Americans and Ukrainians who have done what we have seen, Mrs. Kuchma and I, in our visit here, and will continue to do so much for the children and the people of this country and in cooperation and partnership with the American people. Thank you very much.

(End transcript)

**UNOFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT: FIRST LADY'S SPEECH IN LVIV, UKRAINE 11/17
(Speaks at monument to victims of communist repression) (1270)**

Lviv, Ukraine -- The U.S. First Lady honored the victims of communist repression in Ukraine with a speech here November 17 at the monument dedicated to their memory.

"Even in face of unspeakable horrors, the people of Ukraine and others living under Soviet domination did not give up. Instead, you found the best shield against oppression, you started down the road to democracy," Hillary Rodham Clinton said.

In Ukraine "we have found them, those citizens who work in the name of truth, those who push forward with strength, and those who fought for and sometimes died for freedom."

Mrs. Clinton added that "there is no freedom when you cannot speak your own language, practice your own religion, choose your own leaders, or make your voice heard without fear. There is no freedom if you use your power only to protect yourself. If the history of this century teaches us anything, it is that if the human dignity of any person or group is compromised, then the human dignity of us all is compromised as well. "

She told the Ukrainians that "the American people will stand with you, and as you undergo the hardships of this historic transition that you are accomplishing here in your country. We know that the road you have chosen is a difficult one, but it is the right road and we will walk that road with you, now and into the next century and millennium."

Following is an unofficial transcript of Mrs. Clinton's speech:

(Begin transcript)

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON SPEECH AT THE MONUMENT TO THE
VICTIMS OF COMMUNIST REPRESSION
LVIV, UKRAINE, NOVEMBER 17, 1997**

Thank you very much to the Mayor, to the Minister, and to Mrs. Kuchma.

I am honored to join you today. I have come here in the spirit of one million Ukrainian-Americans, who even when it was hard, always had faith that one day freedom would triumph in their homeland.

And I have come here on behalf of my husband, the President of the United States, to send a message embodying the flags of our two countries. In your fight for freedom, your fight for democracy, the American people will stand with you.

Just 18 blocks from the White House in Washington there is a monument to your great poet and national leader, Shevchenko, built at a time when Ukraine was still a captive nation.

This morning I visited another monument of Shevchenko, this one built in your free nation.

It was Shevchenko who wrote, "In your house you will find them, truth and strength and freedom." In your home of Ukraine, we have found them, those citizens who work in the name of truth, those who push forward with strength, and those who fought for and sometimes died for freedom.

Because you know that there is no freedom when you cannot speak your own language, practice your own religion, choose your own leaders, or make your voice heard without fear. There is no freedom if you use your power only to protect yourself. If the history of this century teaches us anything, it is that if the human dignity of any person or group is compromised, then the human dignity of us all is compromised as well.

We must always listen to the voices of those who this extraordinary, powerful memorial honors. One of them is a 36 year-old man, shot and killed more than 50 years ago at Prison Number 1, which was once just behind me. Next to the monument is a wreath addressed to him. The wreath reads: "Our dear father... grandfather... great-grandfather.. and brother."

These are the voices of entire generations. But I also heard the voices of freedom when I visited the Gilad Synagogue earlier today. The Nazis turned that holy place into horse stable and left a signature of bullet holes in the ceiling. The Soviets used it as a warehouse.

Today it is a beautiful synagogue where the people can once again worship freely and where the Jewish community and the freedom of religion have been reborn, as all of Ukraine has been reborn.

I hear these voices of freedom in the legacy of the millions of Ukrainians who lost their lives in the famines imposed by Stalin, those "harvests of sorrow."

I hear these voices of freedom in the story of an infant whose family was banished to Siberia, her three uncles killed, simply for advocating an independent Ukraine. Today Larysa Krushelnyska directs the Stefanyk Scientific Library, where the best literature, once banned for many of us, is now accessible to all people.

We hear these voices of freedom when we look at the memorial, here in this square -- a noble gift from the victims, their families and community groups. We see a body twisted by communist oppression, but we also see a courageous spirit that seems to say "I will not give up, I will carry on."

Even in face of unspeakable horrors, the people of Ukraine and others living under Soviet domination did not give up. Instead, you found the best shield against oppression, you started down the road to democracy -- including free and fair elections. But the journey is far from over.

Because democracy does not end with a constitution or the right to vote. As we have learned in my country for more than 200 years, democracy is a never- ending struggle that we must grapple

with every day. Yes, government can have laws to protect our most cherished institutions and freedoms. But if we, in Ukraine and in the United States, want democracy and freedom to thrive,¹ then we must build a civil society where democratic values live in our hearts and minds, where people stand up for what is right, and where the rule of law, not the rule of crime and corruption, prevails.

Democracy will thrive also only if we use our ethnic diversity as a force not to pull us apart but to bring us together, as you have done in Ukraine. And democracy will thrive if women are full participants in every aspect of society and if the people of Ukraine continue to forge an alliance of values of the democratic community of nations.

And ultimately, democracy will thrive if we act now to invest the next generation, because it is our young people in both of our countries who will determine whether we honor the past by creating a different kind of future for the next generations.

It is our young people who will determine whether you create a free and prosperous Ukraine, a Ukraine that allows all citizens to reach their God-given potential, and a Ukraine that brings our countries together, the way we stand here today and will stand tomorrow.

I want you to know that the American people will stand with you, and as you undergo the hardships of this historic transition that you are accomplishing here in your country. We know that the road you have chosen is a difficult one, but it is the right road and we will walk that road with you, now and into the next century and millennium. Because America has faith and confidence in the people of Ukraine, and as we have learned from the many contributions of Ukrainian-Americans, we have seen that you will be successful in creating a democratic, prosperous, stable Ukraine.

As my husband said the last time we were in Ukraine "God Bless America" and "Slava Ukraini."

(End transcript)

UNOFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT: FIRST LADY AT GILAD SYNAGOGUE, LVIV, UKRAINE
(Speaks November 17 at Synagogue) (390)

Lviv, Ukraine -- U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton visited the historic Gilad Synagogue November 17, noting that "just as we are here with a revitalized, very strong Jewish community, we are here in a country that is rebuilding itself as well."

She stressed that freedom of religion is "one of the most important values of any democracy.... I'm very impressed at the attitude of the Ukrainian government and people who are supporting such a strong commitment to religious freedom in this country."

Following is an unofficial transcript of Mrs. Clinton's remarks:

(Begin transcript)

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON REMARKS AT GILAD SYNAGOGUE
LVIV, UKRAINE, NOVEMBER 17, 1997

Let me begin by thanking the Rabbi, his wife and the entire congregation for this very warm welcome. I am pleased to be joined by dignitaries from both the American and Ukrainian government. I particularly thank the Mayor and the Minister of Justice for being here with us this morning. Because as the Rabbi said, this is an historic place, both for the Jewish community and for the entire Ukrainian people.

Just as we are here with a revitalized, very strong Jewish community, we are here in a country that is rebuilding itself as well. One of the most important values of any democracy is the freedom of religion and respect for people of different religious faiths. I'm very impressed at the attitude of the Ukrainian government and people who are supporting such a strong commitment to religious freedom in this country. And so we can see the enthusiastic faces of the children who are learning and studying here -- and as the Rabbi so profoundly said, becoming both Jewish and Ukrainian, with great pride.

I come on behalf of my husband, the President of the United States, and the American people to strengthen the bonds of friendship and partnership between the United States and Ukraine so that together we can build a future that is worthy of the children of my country and the children of Ukraine. I thank you for the many contributions and efforts that all of you are making to make that better future a reality.

Thank you for inviting me here.

(End transcript)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 30, 1997

Ms. Elizabeth Mehren
Los Angeles Times
37 Whitcomb Avenue
Hingham, MA 02043

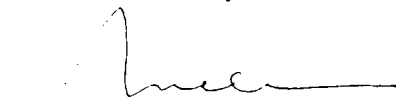
Dear Elizabeth:

Thank you very much for your note and for the copies of your publications and the *Los Angeles Times* series. Your work is so thought provoking.

I am so glad you persisted in reaching me and I hope we will be able to collaborate on topics of interest to you.

Best wishes and happy new year.

Sincerely,

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

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

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— (P)
Thank

Dear Melanne —

I'm glad we were finally
able to connect, sort of. I'll look
forward to a real meeting in the future.

Meanwhile, here's the stub
I mentioned. The paperback is the
newest book — it came out in May.

all the best
Elizabeth Mehren

Los Angeles Times

80 inches: 2853 words

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FAX page #20

The Throwaways

■ We're seeing a small but growing new wave of criminals: girls. And no one is really sure what to do with them—or for them.

By ELIZABETH MEHREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

She is a California golden girl, swimsuit-model slender and supremely self-assured. Her eyes are the icy blue of a mountain lake on a cool, cloudless day. Her hair is tawny, pulled back with a scrunchie in the haphazard high fashion of adolescence. The pearly pink polish on her nails is a shade a younger girl might have chosen, probably the only choice there at the San Francisco juvenile detention center. Penny is 16 and doing time for murder, 25 years to life.

The victim was 15, another runaway, a girl from Klamath Falls, Ore. Police say Penny was asleep when they came to arrest her in the burned-out San Francisco church she and the victim shared with other vagrants. On the wall above her was a splash of graffiti: "There's nothing like senseless violence to snap you out of a depression." Penny acted, a police officer recalled, "like there was absolutely nothing wrong."

Penny insists the teenager wanted to die. She says that by helping to strangle the girl, she participated in an act of assisted suicide. Her conviction is on appeal, leaving Penny to shake her head mutely when asked about what happened. But she swiftly becomes animated when describing incarceration. She sheds her prison-issue plastic sandals and paces, catlike, in heavy sweat socks emblazoned: DO NOT REMOVE, SAN FRANCISCO YOUTH GUIDANCE CENTER.

Penny is a witness in the forthcoming trial of an adult male who is charged in the killing, and so is barred from discussing details of the crime. Recounting what has gone on in her head since the 15-year-old was found with a cord around her neck, Penny's hands fly out

in exuberant gestures of emphasis. When she talks about the future, her gaze freezes solid.

"For the first few months in here I was ready to hang myself. I made a rope out of the rug in my room. I braided it. I kept it hidden. I kept it ready. I thought about using it. I thought about it all the time."

Penny's eyes take in the mud-toned walls, the endless halls, the iron bars. "I got rid of the rope," she says. "But I still think about it."

Killers, like Penny, are the exceptions. Most of the growing number of girls who find their way into a juvenile justice system that is ill-equipped to deal with them are busted for less flamboyant offenses.

Assault and/or battery is increasingly popular among young girls; so is shoplifting, petty theft or robbery; also, myriad infractions involving automobiles, stolen or otherwise. If in the past

GIRL TROUBLE AMERICA'S OVER- LOOKED CRIME PROBLEM. FIRST IN AN OCCASIONAL SERIES

many have been mules for their drug-dealing boyfriends, these days more girls are dealing drugs themselves—figuring, apparently, that if they're going to run the risk, they might as well reap the profit.

Nationally, most girls in the 10- to 18-year-old range are still brought in on so-called status offenses, transgressions peculiar to their age group—and, many experts argue, to their gender as well. Running away from home is a status offense, as are incorrigibility and some forms of sexual licentiousness.

"In the last five years, there's a definite change, yes," said Barry Nidorf, chief probation officer for Los Angeles County. "It's the seriousness" of offenses that brings girls into the system, "not just the numbers" that is noteworthy, Nidorf remarked.

Girls may carry handguns—a "little .22-caliber" weapon fits nicely in a bra,

one California high school student reports—but use them less frequently than boys. But getting physical is definitely no boys-only domain. Some middle and high school girls practice an art called "banking," in which three, four, even five of them form a wall and take down whichever lone target they select. Increasingly, girls use their fists to fight with each other. They fight with boys. They fight with strangers.

This troubling "equalization" of delinquent behavior has profound implications, said Dr. Deborah Prothrow-Stith, who specializes in youth violence at the Harvard School of Public Health. "Our epidemic of youth violence in America, which is about a decade old, has now reached girls," she said, predicting that if present trends continue, girls may one day catch up with boys in homicide rates.

Bands of marauding girls do not roam the streets, nor does the sight of tough-looking teenage girls inspire the kind of discomfort that boys with a certain swagger inevitably invite. Girl gangs work the streets in some cities but tend to aim their aggression at their own rivals. But for girls between 10 and 18, statistics from the National Center for Juvenile Justice for 1993 (the most recent year for which data were available) show a 23% increase over four years in the number of female juveniles arrested. This figure contrasts with an 11% increase in the arrests of male juveniles over the same period.

At the Orange County probation department, research director Gwen Kurtz said the involvement of juvenile females has been creeping steadily upward as well. In the first nine months of 1994, 16% of referrals to the county's juvenile justice system were female. In the same period in 1995, the figure was 17%. Among juveniles whose cases went on to court, in the first nine months of 1994, 11% were girls—against 13% in the first nine months of 1995. In both cases the increase is small—but significant, Kurtz said, because "there is a growing group of girls involved in some very serious stuff. That's what's

changing."

Comparable figures were unavailable from Los Angeles County, spokesman Craig Levy explained, because budget cutbacks a decade ago eliminated positions that were considered luxuries, including statisticians. But Levy said the 7,106 juvenile females who had contact with at least two county justice programs in 1993 represented a broad spectrum of offenses—as well as communities. "You see a lot of the same things in South-Central that you see in the Valley," Levy said.

Yet what is not changing—not much, anyway—is a widespread failure to acknowledge or accommodate the growing presence of young girls who break the law. Girls in the juvenile justice system "have always been an afterthought, if they've been a thought at all," said Ilene Bergsmann, the assistant superintendent of the Cook County Juvenile Detention Center in Illinois. Institutions have never been prepared to deal with these girls, Bergsmann said, "because everything has been designed for boys, and girls have been expected to fit into the mold."

Male and female juvenile offenders alike are subject to paternalistic attitudes, said Bergsmann—that, or a compensatory notion that impartiality should translate to excessive harshness. But girls, when they are considered at all, labor under a separate set of conflicting stereotypes. Girls who commit crimes are seen either as "sweet little things gone awry or as predators," Bergsmann said. Either image is detrimental to serious attempts at intervention.

"I was at a management information systems meeting and everybody was talking about race," Bergsmann recalled. "I brought up gender, and they all started shaking their heads, like, 'Oh? you think that's important?'"

That sense of dismissal turns girls into invisible delinquents. They're out there, on the streets, running into trouble with the law. They're in the system—albeit a system that often wonders what to do with them. But in terms of public awareness, or concern, they're not even on the scope. As Bergsmann put it, "These really are the throwaway girls."

Girls are consistently overlooked in discussions of youth crime, and even some serious academic studies have an unapologetic and exclusive focus on young male offenders. As is the case at the juvenile jail Bergsmann oversees,

girls are usually incarcerated in makeshift facilities carved out of boys' institutions. A double standard in the very understanding of youth crime is only exacerbated by a cultural discomfort with the subject of girls and delinquency.

"We're still living in a society where we think of boys gone astray as dangerous and girls gone astray as blameworthy," said Heather Johnston Nicholson, director of the national resource center for Girls Inc. (formerly the Girls Clubs of America) in Indianapolis. "The level of judgment is very different."

With juveniles as with adults, "we either ignore women's violence entirely or we demonize it," said Meda Chesney-Lind, director of women's studies at the University of Hawaii and author of "Girls, Delinquency and Juvenile Justice" (Brooks/Cole, 1992). Summoning up the American folk heroine who may or may not have given her mother 40 whacks a century ago, Chesney-Lind added, "I call it the Lizzie Borden syndrome."

Drawn Into the Circle of Violence

Today the weapon of choice for many young women is the razor blade, properly carried during school hours under one's tongue. At the Southern Oaks Girls School, a high-security girls' prison in Union Grove, Wis., 15-year-old Renee reveals a more creative alternative. Renee, a minister's daughter, says she used to store razor blades in the gravity-defying pigtails she combs straight up, like rockets headed to the moon.

"This girl made fun of my hair. She kept touching it," says Renee, who, like all the young women in this story, chose the name by which she wanted to be identified. "So I put razor blades in my pigtails. She don't make fun of me no more."

Girls also favor knives. "Cut" is the term they use to describe what happens with a knife, as in, "You cut him?"

Brittany, a strapping 14-year-old from a grim neighborhood in Baltimore, packed a long, fearsome blade into her backpack when a boy at her middle school began bothering her. Brittany says he was stalking her. No point in telling school authorities, Brittany decided. They wouldn't do anything anyway. When the boy crossed Brittany's mental Maginot line, she cut him.

"One day, he was in the hallway as I was going to music, and he pushed me. I

just surely jumped right in," Brittany explains. "My friends were holding me back. They were like, 'You should have ignored it.' I did ignore it, long enough. I had my protection in case he got a little crazy. We just got crazy together."

Brittany was convicted of assault with a deadly weapon, a relief since it might have been attempted murder. She got a year's probation, and to her amazement, actually enjoys the after-school program her probation officer sent her to.

So Brittany, had you used that knife before?

Brittany snorts. What a stupid question.

"Course I had."

Oh yeah? When'd you use it?

"In the kitchen. To take the skin off the potatoes."

In Boston's Dorchester district, 14-year-old Makesha's skill with a knife is almost as impressive as her rap sheet. She remembers well how she felt the first time she cut someone.

"I felt fitted in," Makesha says.

The theme of belonging through bad behavior threads through a culture that struggles on the one hand to preserve an image of girls as ruffly little creatures, clad of course in pink, who may occasionally be duplicitous and conniving but who remain for the most part sweet and preferably passive. On the other hand, the same culture tunes into a show like "Melrose Place," where girls blow up buildings or plot to kill each other. In a popular Aerosmith video, fresh-faced Alicia Silverstone cons a store owner into letting her steal whatever she wants, and deposits an uncooperative boyfriend in the middle of the desert. Juliette Lewis didn't exactly go along only for the ride in "Natural Born Killers," and the gang girls in "Mi Vida Loca" frightened fully grown men.

But none of these fictional anti-heroines can compete with real life. One night not long ago, at a small residential detention center in a defunct Massachusetts women's hospital, half a dozen girls are conducting an informal seminar on drive-by shooting.

"Wear black," 17-year-old Marie says. "Makes you harder to see."

"Aim low," counsels 15-year-old Annette.

Sandra, a 16-year-old, has her left arm in bandages, the result of stab wounds.

But while they are coolly comparing

guns, two other girls sit huddled under a single pastel afghan. They sit so close, they might be Siamese twins. Annette, the 15-year-old who knew where to aim, is sucking her thumb. All the girls are in pajamas, scrubbed clean after their evening baths. For one weird moment it might be a slumber party.

"Terrible criminals," says Carol Lee Pepi, director of the program that administers their detention. Her voice oozes irony, then softens. "They're babies, these kids. They've been play-acting adulthood for so long."

Working in New York as director of Harlem's Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families, community specialist Geoffrey Canada has observed "growing involvement among young ladies 16, 17, 18 years old—and sometimes much younger." Many of these girls seem pulled into criminal behavior as a "fringe activity for the guys," Canada said. "Increasingly, they are being drawn into the circle."

Part of what concerns Canada, who explored youth violence in his book "Fist, Stick, Knife, Gun" (Beacon Press, 1995), is that delinquent behavior has become "more acceptable" among girls. At the same time, little effort is made to divert or dissuade them.

"I'm worried," Canada said. "We as community service providers are losing these girls. No one has gone out and tried to connect with them. The kind of interventions that we have for boys don't exist for girls. There's no midnight basketball for girls."

Special Circumstances for Some Girls

Young female offenders come equipped with one particular gender-specific accouterment that makes many juvenile justice officials sweat bullets. In a country where a teenage girl becomes pregnant every 90 seconds, a girl in the system is as likely as not to show up pregnant, or to confront a judge with a baby she will leave behind if the judge sends her away. Prenatal medical care means that a pregnant girl costs more to incarcerate, and complicated pregnancies are lawsuits waiting to happen. A baby born to an imprisoned mother must be placed with a relative or housed in foster care.

"I'm frequently confronted with institutions that say, 'If she's pregnant, we won't take her,'" said David Mitchell, chief judge of the Baltimore City Juvenile Court. As a consequence, he said, "I often have to make community

treatment decisions that I would not make for a boy. That can lead to reverse—or if you will, softer—treatment for girls."

In turn, girls in the juvenile justice system have learned that pregnancy can be an advantage. "You know, a lot of girls fake that they're pregnant so they can get out," says Elena, a 15-year-old who lives south of Mission in San Francisco and has had frequent run-ins with the law. "Or if they keep you in, you get more food."

But well before they considered having kids of their own, most of these girls have had the darkest qualities of adulthood foisted upon them. Intake surveys in detention centers around the country show that between 50% and 70% of girls in custody have experienced some form of physical or sexual abuse. Many place the figure higher still.

"We have 85% sexually and/or physically abused, with the high end sexual," said Marion Daniel, director of Baltimore's FIT (for Female Intervention Team) program. After 22 years in the field, Daniel said she is uncertain whether that figure has grown or merely reflects improved documentation. Boys who enter the juvenile justice system are less likely to be asked about sexual abuse, though some experts believe a history of sexual abuse to be rampant among them as well.

"We just didn't talk about it in the past. We didn't know how to address the problem," Daniel said, noting that sex education programs for juvenile offenders increasingly include segments aimed at victims of abuse. "We thought girls were running away because they were wild. No one stopped to ask, 'Why are you running away, honey?'"

Adolescence is difficult enough, but throw sexual abuse into the raging hormonal equation and a chemical explosion is easy to understand. At the Wisconsin penitentiary, 17-year-old Sarah, for example, says she was 12 when her recurring nightmare began. Every night, Sarah would wake up, sometimes screaming, with the image of her favorite uncle on top of her. Troubled, Sarah's mother confronted the uncle, who confirmed that he had raped the child repeatedly from the time she was 2 until she was 4 years old.

Because the statute of limitations had elapsed, the uncle was not prosecuted. Sarah began to drink, heavily. She started using marijuana and cocaine. She

became an accomplished truant: "I never went to school, never." In their hometown in northern Wisconsin, Sarah and a friend stole a car, cracked it up and destroyed the transmission. To raise money for drugs, she pawned her grandmother's wedding ring. Then, when another girl called her an unpleasant name, Sarah cracked her skull open with her bare hands. Sarah was 16, the same age as her victim.

Sarah says her sexual abuse does not excuse her behavior, but it does provide an explanation. "Sometimes I think you need to go way, way back to know what caused your problem," she says. "I was mad. I was so mad. But I never admitted it. I never let it out. I acted it out instead."

The extent of physical and sexual abuse among girl delinquents stuns even those who study this field. "This is astonishing, when you think about it," said Chesney-Lind, at the University of Hawaii. But she cautioned that once again, the long-standing stereotype would not fit this population.

"Don't expect the plundered waif, because that is not how she has survived," Chesney-Lind said. "The defiance, the excessive peer orientation—that's one way she can survive."

At a busy Baltimore street corner, one such survivor, Tanya, recently waited for a bus with her little sister Teresa. Tanya just turned 17. But rail-thin, in jeans, wearing no makeup and with her hair combed in a Mom-approved page-boy, she easily looks three years younger. By contrast, 15-year-old Teresa is sturdy, with a powerful body that could handily bench-press a Harley-Davidson.

Teresa has spent hours braiding her hair into elaborate spirals that snake into a cone-shaped crown. Tanya is shy, prone to an embarrassed giggle before she speaks. Teresa says what's on her mind, loud and clear. Anyone seeing them together would guess her to be Tanya's senior.

Teresa finds it embarrassing that her older sister agreed to go for a ride with Teresa's boyfriend at 2 o'clock one morning. Teresa said no way when her boyfriend called up from the street. It was late and she wanted to get some sleep. Besides, her boyfriend was only 13, and what was he doing with that car, anyway? Tanya went out. She says she wanted to get some ice cream. She also

says she didn't notice that Teresa's boyfriend was: a) driving; b) driving a car that didn't belong to him; c) using a screwdriver to power the ignition, not a key.

The girls' mother, Rochelle, says she was mortified when the police called at 4 in the morning to say Tanya was in custody. "You think of juvenile delinquency as a boys' problem," says Rochelle, a real estate broker who takes college courses at night.

But then Rochelle amplifies her family's story. "You see, part of Tanya's problem—Tanya was molested at the age of 14 by a close family member," Rochelle says. Rochelle considered killing the abuser. She thought about it night after night, plotting just how she would take his life and what she would tell him as she did. But Rochelle is a single mother; she knew that if she killed her daughter's molester, she would go to jail and her girls would have no one. They sought family counseling: "We went through hell, let's put it that way."

Tanya began skipping school and acting out with minor misdeeds such as trespassing. Her grades plummeted. It was a familiar turn of events to Rochelle, who says she herself was sexually abused. "I'm still being chased by my demons."

To give her sister moral support, Teresa now accompanies Tanya to weekly meetings of the girls-only FIT program at Baltimore's juvenile justice center. Mother and daughters agree that Tanya's attitude has changed. She goes to a new school and no longer cuts class. Her grades have skyrocketed and she is talking about college, says she wants to be a pediatrician.

But deep down Tanya knows that the rules of being a girl today have changed from when her mother was young. "If they hit me," Tanya says in a near-whisper, "I'm going to fight back."

(BEGIN TEXT OF INFOBOX / INFOGRAPHIC)

Rise in Female Juvenile Crime

Stable until the late 1980s, arrests of juvenile girls have jumped.

Chart:

Rise in Female Juvenile Crime, Los Angeles Times

Photo:

Girls who have modeled good behavior and remorsefulness are moved into a group home, called Sunset, at top,...

Photo:

...at the Southern Oaks Girls School. The prison grounds are surrounded by razor-wire. Nationwide, the juvenile justice system is ill-equipped to deal with girls.

Photo:

Playing card games is one diversion for the young inmates at the Southern Oaks Girls School, a high-security girls' prison in Union Grove, Wis. Watching prime-time television, however, is not one of the entertainments the teens are allowed.

Photo:

A girl peeks through her locked room, top:...

Photo:

...handcuffs and leg chains in a staff office:...

Photo:

...a typical inmate's room at the Southern Oaks Girls School prison, center:...

Photo:

... wash up time before lights out at 9 p.m. Although Southern Oaks is a high-security facility, most of the growing number of girls incarcerated are locked up for assault and/or battery, shoplifting, petty theft or robbery, and automobile infractions.

Photographer:

GINA FERAZZI / Los Angeles Times

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FAX page #17

As Bad as They Wanna Be

■ Girls aren't immune to the cycle of violence afflicting many homes. When the family fails, they turn to delinquency.

By ELIZABETH MEHREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

At Harvard not long ago, a group of prominent social scientists was mapping out a vast study on the roots of violence in children. It would be a massive, 10-year undertaking, centered in Chicago and focusing on the factors that steer young males toward delinquency.

Girls seemed somewhat incidental, the team led by child psychiatrist Dr. Felton Earls unapologetically maintained. In 1994, after all—the most recent year for which the National Center for Juvenile Justice has compiled statistics—girls accounted for only one-quarter of all juvenile arrests.

In context, however, that figure took on different significance. Between 1989 and 1993, the center reported, arrests of girls rose by 23%, double the increase for boys. For violent crimes, arrests for young females increased by 125% from 1985 to 1994. In the same period the increase for young males was 67%.

To fully understand the pathology of youth crime, the Harvard researchers finally decided to include girls in their study. "We came to our senses, you might say," Earls explained.

These investigators were no less perplexed than much of the culture at large. To many people, "girl delinquency" sounds like a contradiction in terms. The notion of girls pounding other students—and, for that matter, teachers—as early as middle school seems more shocking, somehow, than when the same thing is said about boys.

But logically, that double standard makes no sense, for many girls are raised in the same atmosphere of poverty, hopelessness and family disintegration as boys. For girls, the miasma is

compounded by widespread physical, sexual and emotional abuse. Some girls are also living out a troubling interpretation of feminism that contends, basically, that girls can do anything boys can do, and just as well. Including breaking the law.

"We can compete with boys, even for the bad things, absolutely," said Mary Dederick, Los Angeles County probation director. "Girls are holding their own in sports and in schools. Half the population in medical schools and law schools is female now. We should be grateful that half of our delinquent population isn't girls."

At birth, male children are greeted with an adage, boys will be boys, that excuses all manners of misbehavior. But girls who challenge social norms—not to mention the law—present puzzling paradoxes. And if the experts are confounded by what propels them, the girls are frequently just as nebulous.

GIRL TROUBLE: AMERICA'S OVER- LOOKED CRIME PROBLEM / SECOND IN AN OCCASIONAL SERIES

They are like Carla, a heavy, dark-haired 16-year-old who appropriated an assortment of underwear from a JCPenney store in the San Fernando Valley. "I wasn't thinking anything," said Carla, wedged between her parents as she waited to meet her probation officer. "I just took it."

Or they are like Christina, who removed a car parked in San Francisco of its radio—not a very good radio at that. Willowy and blond, Christina spent her 17th birthday in the spartan confines of San Francisco's Youth Guidance Center. She took the radio, she said, "because it was there."

Most studies of delinquency continue to focus on boys—whose numbers, and whose violence, make them more of a threat to society. As a consequence, however, "We really don't know how to deal with these girls," Earls said.

But experts agree that objectively,

girls are no less vulnerable than boys to the factors that experts say drive boys to crime. Poverty, drugs, violence and family disintegration obey no gender lines as they surround record numbers of American children. "There's nothing on the X chromosome that prevents us from engaging in behavior that boys do rather routinely," said University of Hawaii criminologist Meda Chesney-Lind, author of "Girls, Delinquency and Juvenile Justice" (Brooks / Cole, 1992). "There's not an inoculation that we take at birth."

As small children, girls and boys alike are raised in homes and communities that Jane Knitzer, a psychologist at the National Center for Children in Poverty in New York, points out are themselves increasingly perilous. "Most of the research, the attention, starts looking at violence in adolescence," Knitzer observed. "But as children from birth to age 6, these kids are walking over dead bodies, hearing gun shots, witnessing stabbings."

In observations, "we watch girls playing funerals in the doll corner," Knitzer said. "These children are in a violent environment, and increasingly, they are becoming violent themselves."

For girls, the violence is likely to have intensely personal implications. The great majority of delinquent girls reveal histories of physical, emotional or sexual abuse—with the high end on sexual. Intake surveys of young female offenders show a background of abuse in 50% to 70% of cases.

Those in the field, such as Dederick, say the rate is far higher. "Sex is always an overlay," Dederick said. With so much mistreatment around them, "I think the girls are getting tougher," she remarked. "Because they have to."

A Personal Violence

Day in and day out, San Francisco public defender Patti Lee said she represents girls who "if they're not getting beat up by their moms, they're getting abused by their dads—maybe both." Trite as it sounds, said Lee, whose office is in the basement of the Youth Guidance Center, "I think a lot of the girls end up here because they just haven't

had any love in their lives."

Counseling girls at Camp Scott, the L.A. County probation department's residential work camp in the Santa Clarita Valley, social worker Cheryl Morris said she is stunned repeatedly by the backgrounds of mistreatment she encounters. "For me, the most striking thing is the extent to which they have been victims before they become victimizers," Morris said. "Even in intact, middle-class families, you scratch the surface and you find alcohol abuse, drug problems, terrible marital discord."

One of Morris' clients at Camp Scott, 17-year-old Nicole, said her mother's boyfriend began molesting her when she was 3 years old. The abuse continued until she was 5, when the boyfriend moved on to another woman. Nicole said she was too young then, and too scared, to say anything about what she knew was wrong, and painful as well. Then at 9—the same year her real father died of a heroin overdose—Nicole saw a movie in which "some little girl was being molested." She began screaming and throwing things around.

Nicole's mother went to the police, but the child chose not to press charges. The ex-boyfriend had threatened her with death if she reported him. Nicole believed he meant business. A "GTA," or grand theft auto, charge brought her first to L.A. County's Kirby Center, a small residential facility for girls in the city of Commerce that emphasizes treatment. Later, a probation violation sent her to Camp Scott for nine months.

On the outside, Nicole said, she never attended school. Most of her friends smoke marijuana, "but that's all they do. To be honest, that's not a big deal where I live." Nicole's own habit was more dangerous—rock cocaine—an illustration, she said, of the temptations that drive girls to crime.

"You got 13-year-olds standing on street corners slinging drugs," she said. "You got girls prostituting themselves to support their parents' drug habits."

Did you ever do that, Nicole?

"No way! I did it to support my own habit."

Breaking the law may offer girls a peculiar form of credibility, suggested Harvard University professor Carol Gilligan, whose landmark examination of moral development in women, "In a Different Voice" (Harvard University Press, 1982), has become a feminist classic. "When girls act like boys, they are taken

more seriously," Gilligan explained—"as if, 'Omgod! They are not doing what some people think girls do, which is sit home, get depressed and eat.'"

Rather than fighting physically, girls traditionally have excelled at verbal hostility. Girls fight with words "far more effectively than boys," said Earls, of Harvard. By adolescence, Earls said, many girls are experts at using words for "the systematic demeaning of a person's reputation and personality."

Diversifying into the broader realm of criminal activity has apparently not compromised this skill. Bill Smith, a teacher at the Midvalley Community Education Center in Van Nuys, an alternative school for kids in the county probation system, said verbal defiance is one clear symptom of equal-opportunity toughness. "The girls, they compete with the boys to see who can be more verbally gross," he said. "The girls hold their own quite well."

Experts say that in the past, girls also have been more likely than boys to act out through self-destruction. Waging war on their internal hearths and homes—themselves—many girls choose the early years of adolescence to starve, to submit sexually and to endure abusive relationships with partners who may be no older than they are. Early adolescence also remains a peak time for girls to attempt suicide. Boys, too, may seek to end their lives in the turbulent years of adolescence. But the motive for the effort seems to vary with gender.

In a study of teenage girls who were at risk for early motherhood and dropping out of school, Gilligan said the suicide attempts were less a cry for attention than for credibility. "When they actually resorted to violence, in this case against themselves, other people took them seriously," Gilligan said. "Families Are Failing"

Girl delinquency was not even on the agenda when an anti-violence program called the Omega Boys Club was established in San Francisco 10 years ago. But girls soon began showing up—numerically, on the charts of criminal offenders and in person—at the club's Potrero Hill headquarters. While the original name remained, the focus broadened.

"The girls have been a very vocal part of what we've been doing," said Jack Jacqua, an Omega founder who runs meetings for boys and girls incarcerated at the city's juvenile jail. With girls, Jacqua said, "We see more

numbers—and we see more attitude."

Counseling girls in middle and high school, and responding to their calls on a violence prevention radio show, the club's academic director, Margaret Norris, said she has come to believe that "the destructive behavior of girls often follows a pattern which has been set by older women." Girls see the women around them caring too much for everyone else, Norris said—especially men who may not deserve this level of attention.

"They see women in abusive relationships, putting up with all kinds of abuse just to hold on to a man," Norris said. "Our young girls have interpreted this to mean, 'Let me do everything I have to do to get the eye of this boy. Even if that means I have to carry his gun, beat up some kids, whatever it takes to attract him.'"

Besides, Norris said, girls are just as susceptible as boys to crime's perverse glamour. "It's the same adrenaline rush that the boys get from it," Norris said. "The girls like the excitement—the fast cars and the money—just as much as the boys."

Again like boys, girls tend not to reflect on the potential consequences of criminal activity. "I don't think they even think about it," Norris said. "When they begin to think about it is after the fact, when they are in their bunk, in their cell. Maybe."

Crumbling community resources and social services have taken a toll on young women and young men alike, said Maria Casey, head of the Urban Strategies Council, a think tank based in Oakland. "Increasingly, the systems that are set up to support young people and families are failing," Casey said. "So that what plagues our young men also plagues our young women—a circle of factors that keeps our young people entrapped, if you will, in a web of adversity."

The problems of parents who are unemployed—or parents who because they are employed are absent from the home—are only exacerbated by weakening neighborhoods, agreed Jeanne Dager, the assistant principal at the Midvalley Center. "We've sort of lost that neighbor-down-the-street mentality," she said. "Now, if a neighbor tried to help out with a family problem, they'd tell him to mind his own business."

About a quarter of her students at any one time are teen-age girls, Dager

said. Like her male students, they are characterized by a powerful sense of hopelessness. It is not so much despair that besets them when they think about the future as it is denial.

"If they're not in school, they're on the streets, and they're either shooting up drugs and we'll find them dead in some alley—or they're shooting each other and we'll find them dead in some alley," Dager said. "Just in the last week I've had a grief counselor out here three times to talk to kids whose friends got killed."

As in the adult population, drugs drive more and more young women to crime as well. For many Southern California youth, much of the drug traffic centers around gangs. But even without gangs, drugs are so much a part of teenage culture that at one high school in the San Francisco area, the students say the security guard is a well-known dealer. Drugs also cleave families, said Chris Davenport, a psychiatric nurse at San Francisco's Juvenile Hall.

Many of the girls in county custody have drug-addicted parents. "parents who are absent in a very profound way," Davenport said. Drugs come to rule the family, moving the parents to go wherever they need to go and do whatever they need to do to satisfy their habits. That pattern leaves little room for parenting.

The influx of crack cocaine has proved particularly ravaging, said Davenport's colleague Marynella Woods, a social worker. "A heroin addict can still parent, badly," Woods said. But the urge to use crack and the drug's super-potent high so dominate a user that even if the mother or father is physically present, for a child, that parent might as well be on the moon.

Too often, girls imitate the example, Davenport said. Fourteen-year-old Ayisha all but shrugged when she was busted for selling drugs, Davenport said. Her parents were substance abusers and so was her boyfriend, Ayisha told the nurse. "Her attitude was, 'If they can do it, I can do it too,'" Davenport said.

Girls today also fall prey to the fabled cycle of violence, where generations of family members may be locked up at any one time. If more and more boys in the juvenile justice system are the sons of men who are or have been in prison, the record numbers of adult women behind bars today are just as likely to have daughters who may follow

their example.

Tim Busby, warden at the California Rehabilitation Center in Norco, where inmates are treated for substance abuse, said most of the women in his facility are mothers. While little research exists specifically on the mother-daughter connection, Busby said that 63% of the children whose mothers are in custody end up in jail themselves. He added that "multi-generational situations"—where a grandmother, mother and daughter are all locked up—are increasingly less rare.

Having a father in jail also affects a daughter. Carlita, a 15-year-old at Camp Scott, said her father did time for robbery when she was a little girl. Two years after he got out, he was dead from an overdose.

Carjacking sent Carlita to Camp Scott. But, she joked, that's not the only crime she committed—just the only one she got caught for. Three dots are tattooed below Carlita's left eye, the symbol of "Mi Vida Loca"—my crazy life—that marks her as a gang member. She's lost track of the number of drive-bys she's participated in.

"My little sister, she's 11, she just wrote to me," Carlita said. Her face lit up with a grin of big-sisterly pride. "She said she wants to be just like me."

Photo:

Public defender Patti Lee talks with a client inside the Youth Guidance Center in San Francisco. "I think a lot of girls end up here because they just haven't had any love in their lives," Lee says.

Photo:

At Camp Scott, Kim, above, sits handcuffed and shackled. Experts agree that girls are no less vulnerable than boys to the factors that drive teenagers to crime.

Photo:

Carla, left, sits with sister Norma and dad John as she waits for probation officer. Carla was arrested for taking underwear from a JC- Penney store. "I wasn't thinking anything, I just took it," she says.

Photographer:

GINA FERAZZI / Los Angeles Times

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FAX page #14

Badge of Honor

■ They're Scouts, complete with uniforms and badges, yet they are like no others. The Beyond Bars troops take outings past metal detectors and barbed wire to visit their mothers in prison—and learn how not to make the same mistakes.

By ELIZABETH MEHREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Before they could recite the Girl Scout promise, before they could salute the flag, before they could dig into a box of thin mint cookies, the members of Troop 2000 lined up to pass through a metal detector. They presented their birth certificates and signed their names. This last activity posed a special challenge for Camille, a 5-year-old Daisy Scout, who has not yet learned to write.

But Girl Scouts are known for perseverance. A troop leader guided Camille's hand while the child scrawled a giant C. Troop 2000 wasn't about to let a little thing like prison bureaucracy stand in the way of its monthly meeting with mothers who are incarcerated at the California Rehabilitation Center, a medium-security jail and treatment program in Norco.

Racing up the steps two at a time, 10-year-old Faylyn embraced her mother, Michelle, jailed for drug possession and sales. While the pair squeezed each other tight, Faylyn bubbled over with the news of the toy poodle she is caring for at her grandparents' home in San Bernardino. They stood out in the sunshine, Michelle in prison denims, Faylyn in the bright aqua T-shirt her troop chose as a uniform.

"This is great," Faylyn said. "I get to see my mother here every month. We talk, we color, we do crafts." Michelle, heavily made up for her daughter's visit, dabbed at her eyes.

The meeting began on the patio of what must be one of the only penal institutions where bougainvillea blooms abundantly, and in primly trimmed

arrangements. That is not the only surprising decorative feature of a prison built nearly 70 years ago as a luxury retreat.

Armed guards and the menacing, double-wire fence that encircles the property are reminders of the prison's current purpose. So if at first glance, as Michelle conceded, Norco may be a disconcertingly beautiful jail. "It's still jail."

The monthly Scout meetings are more focused than visiting sessions, which can be stilted and tense, Michelle observed. "In Girl Scouts, we've talked a lot about my old behavior, and why we dislike it," she said.

With members from as far as West Los Angeles and Riverside, Troop 2000 is part of a small but burgeoning effort to intercede in a continuum of crime that too often sees children of incarcerated moms and dads follow in their parents' footsteps. The Norco unit represents the

**GIRL TROUBLE:
AMERICA'S OVER-
LOOKED CRIME PROBLEM.** Third in an Occasional Series.

first venture into California by the Girl Scouts Beyond Bars, a novel partnership between law enforcement and the country's largest and oldest voluntary service program for girls. Four years into its existence, Girl Scouts Beyond Bars—an imposing name that might have leaped right off a tabloid headline, its founders agree—is in place in 13 states and 18 correctional institutes.

In-prison Scouting sessions reflect a steady wave of social awareness measures that include troops for homeless girls, pregnant teens, the daughters of migrant workers and girls in foster care. Girls Inc., another large organization that was formerly known as the Girls Clubs of America, also has branched into juvenile justice intervention.

With just 2,000 girls per year, the Beyond Bars units remain a tiny fraction of the Girl Scouts' 3.3 million membership. But criminal science researcher

Anna Laszlo, of Washington, D.C., and Buffalo, N.Y., said the drop-in-the-bucket argument does not detract from the benefits of almost any effort to work with children of incarcerated parents.

"My general sense is anything to save one child is worth it," Laszlo said. No data exists on a mother-daughter crime connection, but national figures show that children of incarcerated parents are six times as likely to end up in the juvenile justice system as children whose parents have never been in jail. Bureau of Justice Statistics studies further indicate that 70% to 80% of women in jail are mothers, most often of young children.

The intergenerational link is not dwelt on at Girl Scouts Beyond Bars. But mothers who are in the system are only too aware of the risks and temptations that put them there. On the sunny patio at Norco, a flag-and-pledge ceremony begins each meeting of Troop 2000. Mothers and daughters stand in a circle, holding hands.

"I have five kids," said Charlene, 26, as she gripped the hand of her 7-year-old daughter, Sherica. Charlene is doing time for crack possession. "I worry," she said. "I worry about them all the time."

"Crime is just so easy," agreed Ellen, 38, who was convicted of petty theft in conjunction with her heroin addiction, and whose three children include 5-year-old Camille. "It's way too easy."

A Baltimore city judge had seen one set of mother-daughter criminals too many when, in frustration late in 1992, she contacted the U.S. Department of Justice and urged that something be done for these forgotten females. Even the much-villified midnight basketball leagues proposed by the Department of Health and Human Services to help combat male delinquency—and summarily laughed out of the budget by Congress—represented a well-intentioned, proactive attempt, the judge lamented. That particular day, she had sentenced a mother in the morning and her daughter in the afternoon.

At the National Institute for Justice, the Justice Department's research arm,

program manager Marilyn C. Moses began scouring the country for intervention programs aimed at children of incarcerated parents. She found them to be few and far between, generally short-lived and almost always dependent on one dynamic leader—who usually burned out, fast. Someone happened to mention Scouting, and a collective light-bulb went on.

The infrastructure for dealing with girls from a variety of backgrounds was solidly in place, Moses realized. A value system and work ethic also existed. Not only that, but Girl Scouts were good at transportation, another obstacle.

Girl Scout officials accepted her proposal before she finished making it. To her amazement, the warden of the nearest women's prison in Maryland was equally enthusiastic. With an initial grant of \$15,000, the program was in place in less than three months—a nanosecond on the government stopwatch. Moses said her agency approached at least one major boys' organization, but with no success.

At the Spanish Trails Girl Scout Council in Montclair, field executive Gloria J. Miller jumped at the opportunity to introduce the Beyond Bars program to her region last May. She found a ready ally in Norco warden Tim Busby.

"I think this program is a potential deterrent," Busby said. "Anything we can do to keep these kids on the right path has got to be a good thing." He cast an approving glance in the direction of the 5- to 13-year-old members of Troop 2000, who by now were laminating place mats with their mothers. One mother who regularly attended meetings was in the hospital, leaving just three moms and an equal number of daughters. Active membership varies, hovering around a dozen.

Discouraging the girls from repeating their mothers' mistakes is definitely one purpose of the program, Miller said. "We try to tell them that they have a choice," she said. "They can make a choice to end up like their mothers, or they can make a different choice. They know their moms did something wrong to get where they are. With the older girls especially, we try hard to work with them on this point."

At Norco, mothers who choose to participate in Girl Scouts Beyond Bars must first complete a parenting course. Mothers who break prison rules are yanked out of the program. Conversely,

membership becomes a badge of honor. The mothers of Troop 2000 took special pride in earning more than \$1,000 for troop activities by selling cookies to fellow inmates.

Transportation is so cumbersome that prison meetings are held just one Saturday a month. But each week that the girls do not see their mothers, they meet locally. They do crafts, they discuss a tough social issue and they talk about their moms.

"I think this gives the girls an important perspective," Miller said. "A lot of them, their mothers never spent any time with them before they went into prison because they were into drugs or other problems. But you know what, those daughters love their mothers in spite of whatever they've done."

In a wish circle where the mothers and daughters shared their secret hopes, Ellen said she has been lucky—so far. Her oldest daughter, who is 22, is in school. At 15, the middle girl also is faring well. Camille, the baby, misses her mother horribly, but seems to understand that her mother is in a kind of protracted timeout because of her misdeeds. Ellen said the prospect of serving as an example to girls—a role model in reverse, as it were—was part of what drew her to the prison Scouting program. "My first thought was, now I can be of some help."

'She Can Take the Right Route'

Much more serious crimes bring inmates to the California Institute for Women at Frontera. As members of Girl Scout Troop 2001 assembled alongside the big electric fence for their first meeting, for instance, 11-year-old Jennifer said her mother had been sent to jail for hitting a man over the head with a metal pipe. Jennifer shrugged. "Well, she got to defend herself," she said.

In anticipation of the visit, Jennifer went to the beauty parlor and had her hair arranged in a mass of thick ringlets. But during the two-hour drive from West Los Angeles, she nervously and methodically pulled each curl straight. Nearly three years had passed since Jennifer last saw her mother. Since her mother's incarceration she has lived with her father and her grandparents. Jennifer explained, and none of the adults has a car.

Wearing their aqua T-shirts, Jennifer and four other girls waited with patience well beyond their years as bureaucratic complications kept them outside the gates for close to three hours. With

her eyes closed, Jennifer folded her hands in prayer. Sometimes, as she prayed, she paced beside the prison entrance.

"Stay on the path!" boomed a stern voice from the elevated guard's booth.

The girls remained preternaturally calm. It was clear that for them, deferred expectations were the norm as often as not. Making the scene all the more surreal, the girls' mothers could watch their daughters from a meeting room a few hundred yards away. When at last the fences opened, girls and mothers flooded together.

"Me, I stayed out of trouble just for this, just to see my kid," said Karen, Jennifer's mother. She alternated between embracing her child and holding her at arm's length, gazing at her in wonderment.

When at last they sat next to each other, knees as close as possible, Hollice described why she wanted her 10-year-old daughter, Shalease, to be part of the Girl Scouts Beyond Bars. Recently her daughter has done poorly in school, Hollice said. She blames herself.

"I feel real bad because this is a bad influence on her," said Hollice, who came to Frontera in 1994 for second-degree burglary. "Now maybe she'll see that she can take the right route, that this is not the way to go." Years ago, Hollice remembered, "I was a Girl Scout myself. I had to come here to get her into it."

Learning Lifelong Lessons

Far away, in the center of the country, it was a special day for Girl Scout Troop 344. Despite its somewhat highfalutin name, the Southern Oaks Girls School in Union Grove, Wis., is a high-security prison for females age 18 and younger. Scouting is a required activity for the inmates here—the only girls' prison in the country to have its own Scout troop—and today the girls were at last receiving the blue trefoil pins that mark them as Girl Scouts.

Adapting the design for the blue-enameled pin, an accessory for generations, required special consultation from headquarters in New York. Traditional pins have sharp points; in a prison, such jewelry easily doubles as a weapon. After countless meetings, a harmless snap-on design was approved.

"I want you to know how proud we are of you, and how happy we are to present these badges," said Mary Charles, executive director of the Girl Scout council in nearby Racine. Despite

themselves, most of the girls—who on the outside might cringe at the dorky image of a Girl Scout—smiled in return.

"When we initiated it, just the term 'Girl Scouts' turned them off," Charles said. But addressing contemporary life issues soon became a welcome pursuit, along with such daily miracles as growing a garden.

"I think you need to look beyond the simple activity to what the activity is trying to teach them—which is how to grow things, how to work together and that it takes a long time for a seed to grow," she said. "What we're looking at is teaching them the processes of life, that you have to wait to reap the benefits."

While many of the inmates at Southern Oaks bear the tattoos that mark them as gang members, "we are finding that they have not before come together in a positive setting," Charles said. As a consequence, many have missed out on what Charles called "basic lifelong lessons—how to share, how to care, how to be nice—that most kids learn in kindergarten."

Troop 344 started at Southern Oaks a year ago, around the time the prison began operation. Charles said her council is only beginning to do follow-up that tracks whether girls continue with Scouting after they leave the jail.

Gender-Specific Intervention

A gathering of Girl Scout Troop 310 in Baltimore added yet another stripe to the rainbow of girl-crime prevention attempts. Today's topic, "Abstinence Methods of Contraception," seemed a spectacularly clear example of just how far Scouting has traveled since the days when girls learned where on the table to place a doily.

"All right," said Bobbie, the troop leader. "Which one shall we start with? Withdrawal?"

The two dozen teenagers at the table were all under the supervision of Maryland's Female Intervention Team, or FIT. The 3-year-old program is unusual in its gender-specificity and team approach to juvenile females who break the law. About 150 counselors collectively oversee 450 girls so that "if you are a young lady having problems, there's always someone there who is familiar with your case, someone who has a relationship with you," said FIT originator Marian Daniel, an official with the Maryland Department of Juvenile Justice.

"I'm only here because they make me be here," Alondra said. Alondra, her hair dyed nearly scarlet and piled to skyscraper proportions, was on probation for aggravated assault.

"What are the possible side effects of not having sex?" asked Bobbie.

"You get real cranky!" Alondra cried out.

Merely getting together and girl-talking like this once a week shows the value of gender-specific intervention, Daniel said. "Girls need relationships, they need affiliation," she said.

In Maryland, as in other parts of the country, the rate of crime by girls was rising too quickly, and the seriousness of the offenses was growing too steadily, Daniel said. In 1994, crime among girls rose nationally by 23%. These days, Daniel noted, "girls are being arrested for the more traditional male crimes": breaking and entering, assault, auto theft, and drug sale and possession. The one-size-fits-all approach of applying a program for delinquent boys to girls just wasn't working, Daniel said, adding: "You can't continue to paint a wall pink and call it a girls program."

Mentors, motivational guest speakers and highly structured after-school activities were first steps, Daniel said. Bringing in the Girl Scouts was another cost-free move. "I mean, these girls, the Job Corps hardly wanted them," Daniel said.

Daniel knows that behind her back, some of the girls consider merit badges too stupid to merit contempt. Yet at the same meeting, another girl swells with pride as she displays a project that earned her a badge—in this case, in geography.

"Many of these families have just disintegrated so much. We're seeing the end results of families that may have fallen apart years ago," Daniel said. "There's no way we can wave a magic wand and erase the years that these girls have missed out on caring or on nurturing. But we can teach some values. Our children need them."

Photo:

Jennifer, 11, folds her hands in prayer, top, after bureaucratic complications kept her troop waiting outside the electric fence at Frontera for almost three hours.

Photo:

After nearly three years separation, Jennifer and her mother, Karen, finally see

each other.

Photo:

At the California Rehabilitation Center in Norco, Scouts and moms make a "wish circle."

Photo:

Faylyn, 10, and mom Michelle, at left, spend a close moment together,...

Photo:

...as do Charlene and Sherica, 7, during a session at the California Rehabilitation Center in Norco. "In Girl Scouts, we've talked a lot about my old behavior, and why we dislike it," says Michelle.

Photographer:

GINA FERAZZI / Los Angeles Times

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FAX page #11

Camp Crackdown

■ Life is strict here at L.A. County's Camp Scott. Every move regimented. For some girl offenders, the stringent structure may be just what they need. But after their release, does the military-style training stick with them?

By ELIZABETH MEHREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

No one said it would be fun, rising at 6 every morning, saluting the flag half an hour later and sitting in silence while you and 99 other girls hastily scarf down breakfast before morning formations or before you hunker down at a desk and grapple with the school subjects that bored you on the outside. (Remember, since you can't talk at meals, rap twice on the table if you want the water passed in your direction; three times for salt and pepper.)

This is jail, after all—and a military-style boot camp at that—not a cruise ship. Instead of air conditioners, there are swamp coolers in the barracks. You live and sleep in four units that veer out from a central command post. You share common bathing areas, communal toilets. You change clothes alongside everyone else. You are very close together, all the time. The people who run Camp Joseph Scott keep talking about teamwork, about collaboration and cooperation. This is not a good place to be enemies.

Several months ago, before she was arrested for possession of rock cocaine, Ivonne, 16, got into a fight with a rival gang member in East Los Angeles. Ivonne was stabbed 15 times, leaving her with scars that make her midriff look like a dartboard. Now her cot is maybe 50 feet from Nadia, the girl who stabbed her.

"I have some self-control, like I think, this girl is here, there's nothing you can do about it, and you just got to obey these people here who are telling you what to do," Ivonne says, sitting on

her cot for a required respite of "rest or meditation." "That's kind of hard. I hardly listen to my mom, and now I got to listen to them?"

"When I think about her"—Ivonne gazes in Nadia's direction—"I think, someday I'll get her. Someday I'll catch her sleeping."

Nadia, far tougher than she is tall, sounds impressed when she learns the extent of Ivonne's injuries. "Fifteen times? I didn't know I stabbed her that much." Nadia first stabbed another girl three years ago, when she was 14. She used a screwdriver then but later switched to a pocket knife. "Stabbing someone, when I'm doing it, I feel a lot of anger. And then it feels good, because I know I'm doing something with that anger." Nadia's brother died at 15 in a gang shooting. Her father succumbed to a drug overdose in 1990. Her mother works in a factory. Everyone Nadia knows is in a gang. From jail, she

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corresponds with her gang, as if she were away on a little vacation.

"I like my life on the streets, even though it's hard," Nadia says. "And I know one thing, I don't want to get old."

Just outside the fence at Camp Scott, a sign warns, "Cuidad con las Viboras: Beware of the snakes." Remote, and heavy with the scent of dry earth, the dusty terrain here in the Santa Clarita Valley is covered with vines, low brush and trees that droop to form bridal canopies over sun-baked clearings. It is reptile heaven.

It is also home to an unusual approach to this country's growing problem of female juvenile delinquency. About a year and a half ago, Camp Scott was quietly transformed into a military-style boot camp for girl offenders, one of only a handful around the country. On any hot afternoon—and afternoons are almost always hot in the easternmost

quadrant of Los Angeles County—this means squadrons of girls in combat boots and khaki uniforms are out on a concrete exercise field, marching in strict drill formation. Their hair is pulled back in tight knots or cropped to the female equivalent of a crew cut. Their eyes are straight ahead, and if they don't want their entire company to earn demerits, their faces had better be expressionless. One misstep and they drop to the ground for 150 push-ups.

Commissioner James Ballew, a judge with the L.A. Superior Court in Pomona, was one of those who "yelled very loud" in the spring of 1994 to turn the 40-plus-year-old work camp into a rigidly disciplined facility for girls. Sentencing discretion—deciding where a youthful violator is jailed or what level of punishment he or she receives—rests with juvenile judges, and Ballew and others simply had too few places to send the girls who were showing up in their courtrooms with growing frequency, and for increasingly serious offenses.

"I was one of the many who kept moaning about no place to send the girls," Ballew says. The 5- to 7-year-old trend of girls carrying and using concealed weapons, committing severe property crimes and honing their skills at crimes involving bodily injury was more than just disturbing, in Ballew's view: "To me, it's outright frightening."

Boot camps mushroomed for adult offenders during the late 1980s. Adaptation of the concept for juveniles lagged because of questions about their appropriateness for young people—and many of these questions remain unanswered. But as frustration with rising juvenile delinquency grew among the public and within the juvenile justice system itself, the spartan strategy of the boot camp began to be applied to boys at a scattering of facilities. Extending this rigorous doctrine to girls was "one of those trendy things," says Camp Scott Director Cristina Diaz. With seed money from a federal grant, the girls' boot camp was launched as a pilot program. It will be officially dedicated in several weeks, nearly two years after it began.

A similar but much smaller boot camp opened for juvenile girls in Polk County, Fla., not far from Tampa, a year ago. The 20 beds set aside for girls are constantly filled in a high-security facility where sentences average 120 days. While contending that the entire program is too young to evaluate, Capt. Danny Drew has praise for one aspect of the regimen.

"We don't let the juveniles talk here," Drew says. Most juvenile detention centers are cacophonous places where residents spend a great deal of time glorifying their own exploits. "At least we're not further educating the criminals here," he says.

At Camp Scott, officials say the high returnee rate—sometimes more than 50% of the population has been there before—reflects the overworked probation department. Girls also come back because so few other incarceration or rehabilitation options exist for young females.

But doubts continue about the efficacy of boot camp for boys or girls. In an essay in a book called "Crime" (Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, 1995), Rand Corp. criminal justice researcher Peter W. Greenwood says juvenile boot camps have risen to popularity, "apparently satisfying the need to be both humanitarian and tough." But, Greenwood continues, "few if any corrections practitioners believe that strict discipline and harsh living conditions on their own will lead to lasting behavioral changes." Learning to withstand peer pressure and to harness group spirit may enhance rehabilitation, Greenwood goes on, but without after-care and community-based programs, those benefits may be lost.

Even the U.S. Department of Justice's own research arm, the National Institute of Justice, has challenged the military approach. "What appeared to be a promising prognosis for youths' adjustment during the residential phase changed when they returned home," a May study of three boot camps states. "Without the 24-hour surveillance and regimentation of boot camp, youths soon reverted to old behavior." Again, after-care was stressed—and found to be woefully lacking.

An Increasing Curve of Seriousness

Instead of talking about boys, this Camp Scott foursome is discussing entrepreneurialism, albeit not the kind of capitalism the culture condones. On a

sunny break between afternoon classes, 16-year-old Charlene, from Pasadena, says she sold marijuana from her own garden. Patricia, 16, had a profitable trade in Pacoima in rock cocaine. She also practiced carjacking. Angel, 15, was sent to Camp Scott from West Covina for grand theft auto. She also sold speed and PCP. At 15, Marta was a successful LSD merchant in Los Angeles.

Marta also stole a car and a car stereo, the crimes that finally sent her here. "I wanted to sell them for drugs, heroin," Marta says. "That's what I like to use most of all."

Along with significant ventures in the drug trade, girls in recent years have turned increasingly to violence and to more serious crimes. They strike back: against each other; against enemies, real or imagined; against family members or other authorities who attempt to discipline them; against boys.

In outlook and in actions, this represents a shift. "Most of the time, in the past, you used to see girls who were runaways or maybe in for shoplifting," says James Petty, an L.A. County probation supervisor who helps run Camp Scott (which is named after the late attorney and civic leader). "When I worked in Juvenile Hall in the late '70s and '80s, we didn't even have a unit for girls, because, I'll tell you, girls weren't in that kind of trouble."

Now, Petty says, the population at Camp Scott nearly always approaches its 100-girl capacity. Ages range from 12 to 18, averaging about 15. The camp is divided into four tracks, based on age, the severity of the crime and the level of sophistication a girl shows. Juvenile sentences are far shorter than adult confinements; most girls are sent to Camp Scott for six to nine months. The crimes that bring them here show an increasing curve of seriousness. For example, armed robbery—often with assault involved—is a common offense.

More so than in other parts of the country, gang crimes land many Southern California girls in jail. As a result, the jail is a museum of gang tattoo artistry: X marks between the fingers; tear-drops beneath the eyes; three dots beside the earlobe, signifying "mi vida loca," my crazy life; five dots in the same place, the gang symbol for "I don't give a [expletive]." Other designs are more elaborate, though not necessarily correctly spelled. In the Camp Scott kitchen, a 16-year-old proudly displays

the curlicue script that wraps around her neck, an inky dark tattoo necklace. She is unconcerned that her street name is written "WISPER."

The Camp Scott Code

In an attempt to instill discipline in the out-of-control lives of delinquent girls, inmates are taught the code they are expected to follow the moment they arrive at Camp Scott: "I will not lie, steal or cheat—or tolerate others who do." The theory, Petty says, is that the new standard will replace the less lofty law of the street. Criminals, Petty scoffs, "have no honor that I recognize. Period."

Petty, a lean Vietnam veteran in military camouflage, explains that each new arrival begins as a private, "just as I did in the military." Good behavior brings advancement through the ranks. Bad behavior is punished according to an escalating scale, culminating in a day or more in "the box," a solitary confinement unit at another prison camp in Lancaster. Some girls make frequent trips to the box. Others avoid it entirely.

At Camp Scott, every minute is tightly structured, filled with work, exercise or classroom learning. No foul language is permitted, ever. After 6 a.m. wake-up, there is a bed, dress and fingernail check for all inmates. There is revelry and a flag salute. Everyone works at assigned jobs in the kitchen and the grounds, and works out in drill sessions right out of U.S. armed forces basic training. Even girls who are pregnant go through the repetitive series of exercises, remaining at the camp until their eighth month, when they transfer to a medical facility.

Meals are basic, served on metal trays and silent—an eerie sight in a dining hall packed with 100 normally garrulous adolescent girls. Rest periods are so regimented that girls must lie on their backs, perfectly still on metal cots that are later smoothed to a state of creaselessness. Pre-approved books or magazines are held directly in front of each girl's face, just so. Eyes are not permitted to dart off the page, least of all at a neighbor.

Gang animosities persist within the camp, though officials downplay them. Fighting is generally swiftly broken up by the 35-member camp staff—and always sternly punished. Some girls comment on sexual tensions, saying a long look can easily be misread.

Even "head calls," or bathroom breaks, are stringently orchestrated. An

entire platoon of up to 25 girls gets just two minutes to use the semiprivate facilities. Each girl is issued six squares of toilet paper and a slender chip of soap. Towels are folded in thirds and carried on the left shoulder.

Along with many of their superiors in the County Sheriff's Department, Petty and Diaz hail the strict atmosphere at Camp Scott as an important step toward rehabilitation. "One of the important things is that here, they work toward something every day," Diaz says. Some girls strive to advance their rank at camp. Others, like 17-year-old Jeanie, set academic goals. Waiting, as camp rules require, to speak until she was spoken to, Jeanie fairly crows to report that she recently passed her GED exam. Fifteen months earlier, she also relates, she brandished a .38-caliber weapon as she robbed a Los Angeles liquor store of \$600.

Diaz also cites the value of working and living in platoons, where an individual misstep has ramifications for the entire group. "They develop a sense of community in the time they are here, even though this may be an artificial community," she says. "They know that whatever one person does affects the rest. We hope this is a lesson they take with them. We try awfully hard to make analogies to what the outside world is like."

'My Mom, She Just Threw Us Out'

Consider what the outside world means to a girl like Carla, 17. Soon after her dad was sent to prison, Carla's mother took up with a new boyfriend, who wanted no part of Carla or her sister. "My mom, she just threw us out," Carla says, way too matter-of-factly. When her dad got out of jail, he learned about his wife's boyfriend. He abandoned the whole family right then and there. Instead of her own family, "the people in my gang, they help me more than my parents."

At home in East L.A., Carla says she seldom ventures out without some kind of protection, usually a knife or a screwdriver. When she leaves Camp Scott when her term for robbery is finished, in three to five months, Carla reckons she'll go right back to her gang and her drugs.

For five years now, Cecilia, 17, has belonged to a gang in another part of Los Angeles. The gang has always been the biggest part of her life. Even inside Camp Scott, Cecilia says "there's lots of

gang activity here. Of course there is."

This is Cecilia's third "tour" at Camp Scott. First she was sent here for robbery, then for probation violation and, most recently, for possession of crack. With such a record, "a lot of the staff, they just think I'm a little thug," Cecilia says.

Nothing much has helped to straighten Cecilia out until now. "The [juvenile] halls, they're just like babysitting you in there," she sneers. Past stays at Camp Scott had little effect either. But in the last four months, three of Cecilia's "homeboys," members of her gang, have been killed. One was only 10 years old. And all of a sudden, Cecilia says, she is beginning to worry about the junior members of her gang.

"Those young girls now, they don't care. They start to have sex, and they don't care who with," Cecilia says. "They just care about fun."

Cecilia has begun to dislike the gang tattoos on her face. With teardrops below her eye and a triangle beside her ear, she can't get a job anywhere. Employers, especially those in fast-food places where a girl with no high school diploma might otherwise find work, fear reprisals from enemy gangs.

"I could be, like, honor roll, and these tattoos, that's all they'd see," Cecilia says. "I want them gone."

For the first time, she says she's beginning to take prison seriously. She hates Camp Scott, but recognizes that another serious offense might land her in an adult facility. She says she hopes things will be different when she gets out this time.

"But once I get out, I'll start getting those phone calls. People telling me to come to parties, have some fun," Cecilia stares straight ahead, idly folding and refolding a tiny strip of paper.

"I don't know," she says. "I just don't know."

Photo:

At Camp Joseph Scott, even bathroom breaks are orchestrated. A girl, with her properly folded towel on her left shoulder, waits for permission to cross the white line to use the semiprivate area.

Photo:

Tattoos, like Wisper's, are much in evidence.

Photo:

During rest periods, girls must lie on their backs, perfectly still, and keep their eyes only on pre-approved magazines or

books. They are not permitted to glance at a neighbor.

Photo:

Girls at Camp Scott, like this relaxing inmate, range in age from 12 to 18, averaging about 15.

Photographer:

GINA FERAZZI / Los Angeles Times

Photo:

Each girl is allotted six squares of toilet paper, left, and a small piece of soap for the two minutes that a platoon of 25 spends in the semiprivate bathroom facilities. The strict guidelines at Camp Scott include those for dress—the girls are required to shine their boots—for neatness and for good behavior, which brings advancement through the ranks.

Photographer:

GINA FERAZZI / Los Angeles Times

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FAX page #8

Jagged Justice

■ When it comes to juvenile delinquents, society tends to offer one-gender-fits-all services. And it's not usually the girls who benefit. With few programs available, they are sent to inappropriate jails or back to unstable homes. Now the need for more options is becoming clear.

By ELIZABETH MEHREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

It was "a wild and crazy thought," adolescent specialist Ruth Herman Wells of Woodburn, Ore., recalled, the notion that "maybe, just possibly, girls might have special needs." With sturdy, grass-roots support, Oregon's Equal Access for Girls Task Force was born, and in 1993, Oregon became the first state to enact legislation addressing the serious shortage of services for troubled girls.

That was the year Allen Hunt, then director of a residential treatment center for girls in Portland, warned that while girls in distress may not present the same level of terror to the community as delinquent boys, their troubles portend a perilous toll of their own. "It takes awhile for their problems to unfold," Hunt remonstrated. "In fact, these girls are like time bombs."

Sponsors of the Oregon bill—which required state agencies to document and correct funding disparities between boys and girls in human services, including juvenile justice—say its very existence was an acknowledgment of a gender-based double standard in juvenile justice. In June, that double standard was reaffirmed when the Justice Department's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention—along with Girls Inc., a nationwide membership organization formerly known as the Girls Clubs of America—released "Prevention and Parity," a report on delinquent girls.

The study offered clear examples of how delinquent girls receive unequal and unfair treatment because of gender:

* Girls are more likely to be detained for lesser offenses, and for longer periods of time. On Feb. 15, 1993, when the juvenile justice office conducted a one-day "Children in Custody" census, 12% of the girls—versus 1% of the boys—were in custody for so-called status offenses like running away.

* Girls are more likely to be incarcerated for violating a court order. Another 1993 census found 12% of incarcerated boys were detained on probation or parole violation, as opposed to 24% of females.

* Most correctional facilities and programs are designed for boys. As a result, girls may be inappropriately placed in adult facilities, in jails with girls who have committed more serious offenses or in mixed-sex facilities with girls and boys who have committed serious offenses.

"Prevention and Parity" also dwelt heavily on the connection between

GIRL TROUBLE: AMERICA'S OVER- LOOKED CRIME PROBLEM. Fifth in an Occasional Series

sexual abuse and delinquency in girls. And the report returned repeatedly to its central thesis: Boys are perceived as threatening the community with violent behavior, girls by flouting moral standards. Society therefore is presumed to need protection from boys; girls, in turn, from themselves.

For generations, this dual vision has remained largely unquestioned. On the contrary, the notion that young females required safeguarding formed the legal basis for the status offenses on which most girls still enter the juvenile justice system. But a slow but steady shift toward more violent crimes among girls, coupled with a cautious recognition of the long-term consequences of troubled girls who are left uncared for, has provoked a nascent and potentially profound reassessment of the separate-but-unequal treatment of delinquent girls and boys.

"There have been some changes," said Meda Chesney-Lind, the University of Hawaii criminologist who is widely regarded as this country's leading expert on delinquent girls. "Very slowly, some people have begun to realize that some of what was going on in this system was inappropriate."

Nearly three-quarters of the 678,500 girls arrested in 1994, the most recent year for which FBI statistics are complete, were charged with nonviolent or status offenses. The latter are infractions such as truancy, violating curfew, incorrigibility or running away from home that are peculiar to being a juvenile. Status offenses formed an integral part of the late 19th century notion of establishing a separate justice system for children, said Jan C. Costello, a law professor at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles. Gradually, she explained, courts began distinguishing between status offenses and criminal wrongdoings, "such as stealing a bicycle or blowing your mother away."

This gender-based line of demarcation went unchallenged for decades. "The idea was that if you were a juvenile, you were supposed to be protected," Costello said. "Girls, it was assumed, were notoriously in need of being protected, boys being boys and so forth."

Little has changed: The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention report found that in 1994, girls were twice as likely as boys to be detained for status offenses. Moreover, girls were detained an average of three to five times as long as boys for these crimes.

The discrepancy stems from a fundamental difference in cultural expectations of boys and girls, said Los Angeles public defender Lisa Greer. "I think there is almost a greater anger that the girls are disappointing the juvenile justice system in a way that the boys are not," Greer said. She noted a tendency for judges to incarcerate girls on repeat or chronic offenses more quickly.

But one reason for jailing girls is that so few other options exist.

"In terms of sentencing, my resources are very limited," said David Mitchell, who heads the crowded, chaotic Baltimore Juvenile Court. "I have a whole raft of possibilities for boys," intervention alternatives that range from work programs to boot camps to community-based support. For girls, "it's probation or incarceration." Again, Mitchell said the public fear of male delinquents reduces the choices for girls. Most girls' facilities are afterthoughts anyway, and "the pressure to have beds for boys is such that it takes from the girls," he said.

In Los Angeles, Greer also lamented the absence throughout the juvenile justice system of gender-specific developmental training. Judges, prosecutors, advocates are "utterly ill-equipped to derive sound decisions. They've had zero developmental training in general, and especially gender-specific," said Greer, whose caseload is almost exclusively juvenile. One consequence is that "you get extremes at both ends. You get girls prematurely and inappropriately jumped into secure, incarcerated settings—or returned to homes where they are not supervised. There are swings of the response pendulum in both directions, because there are not facilities for these girls."

The Thread of Abuse

Not surprisingly, the mere suggestion of gender differences in juvenile justice sends many within that system into stratospheric indignation.

"Not in my courtroom!" thundered Judge Roosevelt Dorn, who presides over the L.A. Juvenile Court in Inglewood. "I have very high standards for girls and boys. The same high standards."

Commissioner James Ballew of Pomona was equally adamant that "I do not treat girls and boys one bit differently." Peter Reinharz, chief prosecutor for the Family Court of New York City, insisted that girls are judged on precisely the same terms as boys. But he conceded that when it comes to some violent crime, "I think girls are less likely to get detained, because girls are less likely to be seen as threats to someone other than a peer."

At the L.A. County Probation Department, spokesman Craig Levy sidestepped the dual standard question. Cultural expectations for girls and boys are different, Levy noted. "We believe all along that 'boys will be boys,' " he

said. "When boys do something wrong, to some extent we say it's just due to being a boy. I think we hold out more hope of success for girls. We have higher expectations of girls to be good."

Society may expect girls to be good. Unfortunately, society is not always good to girls. Intake studies of girls in the juvenile justice system show that between 50% and 70% are sexually, physically or emotionally abused—with the high end on sexual. Many of those who work with delinquent girls place the figure much higher. Certainly, the abuse levels of delinquent girls vastly exceed the federal government's own estimate that 23% to 34% of young women in the general population have been sexually abused. Comparable figures for young males are more difficult to obtain, since intake surveys of male offenders have not routinely asked about abuse. Many experts believe that for boys, neglect is a more pervasive form of abuse.

Specialists say the rampant abuse plays a key role in crime among girls. Frequently, girls respond to abuse by fighting back or running away. They think with their feet, as more than one provider of social services has observed. Because these actions involve minors, they are categorized as status offenses. Fifty-seven percent of juvenile runaways are females, FBI figures show. A 1994 study by the American Correctional Assn. also found sexually abused girls to be at greater risk than either other runaway girls or runaway boys for engaging in prostitution.

"These are things that girls do that drive judges crazy. They run away and they have sex," said Laura Axtell, who works with delinquent girls in the Southern states through a group of private residential and treatment programs called the Associated Marine Institutes.

"What I constantly hear from well-intentioned juvenile judges is 'We have nowhere to send her,' " said Lawanda Ravoir, director of a nonresidential, therapeutic counseling program called PACE that serves 1,500 girls at nine locations in Florida. "Because the number of delinquent boys is so much greater, and there's limited funds, the tendency is to build more facilities for boys."

So girls who run from their homes are often returned to the very settings they fled. If they run again, they are found to be in contempt of court. In most states, this violation carries a mandatory jail sentence, normally about six months.

This kind of behavior can also earn girls charges of incorrigibility or ungovernability. Specialists say such terms are usually code words for excessive sexuality, a description that is virtually never applied to male juveniles.

But while the law interprets such acts as defiance, Axtell offered another perspective. Abused girls will run from anywhere, she said. "They will run in the middle of the night, with no shoes on, by themselves. They are absolutely so resilient—because they are survivors, survivors of abuse."

By defining repeated runaways as criminals, Chesney-Lind, author of "Girls, Delinquency and Juvenile Justice" (Brooks / Cole, 1992), said most states have "sexualized girls' delinquency and criminalized girls' survival strategies." The thread of abuse weaves through all layers of female delinquency, she said. "It's the constant theme that the white girls, the black girls, the Latina girls share," Chesney-Lind said. "Horrific situations of abuse and victimization which we as a society are reluctant to deal with."

Not Enough Options

Even some well-intentioned attempts to address damage to young women are rife with inequality. Lacking widespread, high-quality prevention programs for girls or rehabilitative efforts that actually rehabilitate, juvenile courts may refer girls to private mental health facilities. Treatment in these locked hospitals or clinics amounts to secure detention. In the vernacular of the justice system, this process is known as "transinstitutionalization." It is particularly available—and encouraged—for girls whose families have money or insurance coverage to finance their placements.

"We've just flipped how we deal with girls and women," Chesney-Lind said. "In the old days, we didn't imprison women, we put them in mental hospitals." Now, she said, adult women are more likely to be sent to jail than they once were, and girls—especially, Chesney-Lind said, white middle-class girls—are more likely to be "voluntarily" committed to private facilities.

In some cases, said Ruth Herman Wells, the mental health approach may be more appropriate than traditional incarceration. "I am not convinced the girls belong in the justice system per se," said Wells, who runs a program in Woodburn, Ore., called Youth Change that advises teachers and counselors on

dealing with troubled children. "They belong in a system that is responsive to girls. The problem with our society is we provide one-gender-fits-all services—and guess which gender that is?"

One result of the 1993 legislation in Oregon was a recent report comparing how various state agencies provide services to boys and girls. Pam Patton, a social worker who helped steer the legislation, said it was "no surprise at all" that the biggest discrepancies for adolescent girls were found within the juvenile justice system.

While numbering 55% of the state's "street kid" population, girls got fewer than 35% of Oregon's adolescent corrections and treatment beds, Patton said. "It is a double standard, in that you can't get in because you haven't done the 'right' crime, and if you do get in, you don't get the same level of services." The equal access bill lacks teeth for enforcement, but Patton and others say they are hopeful that state agencies will voluntarily seek to rectify such disparities. If not, Equal Access task force members say they are prepared to file lawsuits to compel equal allocation of state services.

With the public clamoring for tighter sanctions for delinquents, Patton said she hopes future data will strengthen support for early intervention programs for girls.

"There's a huge percentage of men in the corrections system who were born to teen mothers," she said. "There's a huge number of girls who were sexually and physically abused—and a huge number of girls who are runaways and who drop out. They then give birth to a child who ends up in the system. This perpetuates the syndrome. On and on. The best investment, we think, that you can make in public safety is to invest in these young women so you can stop these cycles."

The government's "Prevention and Parity," report also strongly advocated intervention as early as grade school, with the aim of helping girls resolve problems that place them at risk for delinquency. The report also urged that programs be designed specifically for girls. Coed or male-centered programs may shortchange girls' specific needs and strengths, the report said. Yet a recent survey of potentially promising programs identified just two for girls—and 24 for boys.

In Little Rock, Ark., some of these concepts were taken to heart when

voters passed a "Prevention Initiative" in 1993 designating a half-cent city sales tax for an aggressive menu of programs for at-risk youth. For every dollar that the city spends on law enforcement, said Ken Richardson, program specialist for the Youth Initiative Project, it spends a dollar on prevention. Initially, two community-based sites were developed, offering everything from family life health education to truancy prevention to student and parent support groups. One center was for boys, the other, as Richardson politely put it, "for young ladies." Soon the sites mushroomed, for both genders.

"Most times, we don't focus enough on the needs of the young ladies. We tend to be reactive, rather than proactive," Richardson said. "Some of these young people, these young ladies, the community doesn't give them the opportunity to do something positive. The adults are buying dope from these young people. They're paying these young ladies for their services as prostitutes."

At the PACE Center for Girls in Jacksonville, Fla., director Ravoira warned that "in failing to take responsibility for these girls, we are failing as a society as well." Girls in this culture are marginalized anyway, she said, "but then when you become a girl in the juvenile justice system, you're even more marginal. These are the girls who are labeled as 'bad girls.' They've gotten into delinquency, and they get pushed deeper into the system. It's part of becoming more invisible—and then we can become afraid of these girls."

"We continue to miss the point, that these girls are wanting to be heard. If we don't hear them in one way, then unfortunately the culture is very definitely pushing them to be heard in a more destructive way."

Photo:

Luwanda, 17, sits in the back of a probation officer's car, top, after her arrest on probation violations. A 1993 census found 12% of jailed boys were detained on probation or parole violations, as opposed to 24% of females. Girls were also more likely to be detained for lesser offenses and for longer periods of time.

Photographer:

GINA FERAZZI / Los Angeles Times

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FAX page #5

'Drop by Drop'

■ We are a nation flailing in ignorance when it comes to handling delinquent girls—a fast-rising population. But a few programs are making slight headway. And, so far, that is better than nothing.

By ELIZABETH MEHREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Our premise is pretty much that all girls are at risk in our society.

—Paula Schaefer, state planner for juvenile females in the Minnesota Department of Corrections

□

Chinese water torture is the only way we're going to make any changes. Drop by drop by drop.

—Judy Mayer, chair of the Maryland Department of Juvenile Justice's Female Population Task Force

□

Talking to the sprinkling of specialists around the country who are trying to develop policy for girls in the juvenile justice system, you are struck by the homespun nature of these endeavors. They are small and experimental, cooked up in someone's bureaucratic kitchen. It's easy to imagine a group of juvenile justice professionals standing over a giant caldron. Oh, why not? chorus the well-intentioned, mostly female and underbudgeted policy technicians. Throw in some mentoring. Add a dash of attitude realignment. Serve up some healthy, non-abusive authority figures. Then stand back and hope the pot doesn't explode right in your face.

In the meantime, lawmakers in Washington and state capitals have some ingredients of their own to toss in: They are on the verge of a wholesale rewriting of juvenile laws, which takes little notice of the special needs of girls that experts are just beginning to identify and understand.

The problem for policymakers is that until very recently, little attention was paid to girls who run astray of the

law. The 23% increase in the number of young women arrested between 1990 and 1994 caused some in the field to sit up—only to realize that on the policy slate, juvenile female criminals were one giant question mark.

"The phenomenon is so new that we really don't know about the careers of adolescent females who take part in crime," said Brian Wilcox, director of the Center on Children, Families and the Law at the University of Nebraska. "We know a lot about criminal males. We don't know a thing about the girls. We don't know who's going to pass through the system and who's going to stay. We are ignorant about the causal sequence of adolescent criminal behavior in girls. And policymakers—they have no clue whatsoever. We're all operating out of ignorance right now."

Yet legislators must confront public opinion polls that continue to rank juvenile crime as one of this country's

**GIRL TROUBLE:
AMERICA'S OVER-
LOOKED CRIME PROBLEM.** Sixth in an Occasional Series

major threats. In many sectors, regulations are seen as overly indulgent of delinquents. Juvenile laws that purport to rehabilitate young offenders are "out of date," according to Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), sponsor of a stern new juvenile crime bill that Congress will take up in the fall. "We've got to quit coddling these violent kids like nothing is going on."

That same compulsion to crack down was clear last month in the final days of the California legislative session, when a blizzard of nearly five dozen pieces of legislation aimed at toughening sanctions against young criminals crowded the calendar. None passed, but fervid rhetoric made it clear that patience with juveniles who break the law is fast running thin.

"It tears your heart out. These are kids. They come from homes where they might have a mother or father living

alone, or on drugs," said Rep. Jan Goldsmith (R-Poway), who sponsored some of the legislation. "You wish you could just cut them off. And that's what we ought to be doing, so we can save the next generation."

Goldsmith admitted, however, that most of the legislative anxiety was directed at the so-called super-predator juvenile criminals—young, homicidal males who make big headlines by committing horrifying crimes at seemingly younger and younger ages. In the feverish cry for stiffer juvenile laws, the needs of girls are largely overlooked—and advocates worry that wholesale changes now being proposed will make it even harder to rehabilitate nonviolent delinquent girls.

Policymakers, said David Steinhart, director of the Commonweal Juvenile Justice Program in Bolinas, Calif., seem oblivious to the notion that "when it comes to young women, the system may be the biggest mismatch of all. It's a system designed to impose control on criminals who are by and large men or boys. The system just can't do it right when it comes to the problems of young women."

Unlike boys, girls generally enter the juvenile justice system for non-violent offenses such as shoplifting or running away. A large proportion of girls are victims of sexual abuse. Once in the system, girls tend to respond to very different treatment methods than boys. But the cry for stiffer juvenile justice regulations is genderless. In an era of alarm over juvenile crime, the ideal policy seems for them not to be seen at all—that is, sentenced to longer, less comfortable periods of incarceration, possibly even in adult facilities.

Against this backdrop, only a few modest attempts at restructuring policy to accommodate girls are in place around the country. The problem of girls in juvenile justice is systemic, said Leslie Acoca, senior researcher at the National Council on Crime and Delinquency in San Francisco, and yet, "There is no national, systemic effort to address and identify the characteristics of these

girls."

Piecemeal efforts to improve the status of incarcerated girls should be applauded and encouraged, Acoca said, they're certainly better than nothing. But even the few girl-focused policies and programs that do exist, Acoca said, "are very hidden. The good ones, the very best ones, tend to be the most hidden. There isn't a national network. There's no strong constituency."

In Maryland, Judy Mayer, chairwoman of the Female Population Task Force, is congenitally optimistic. But she is also realistic enough to recognize that policy reform aimed at girls is doomed to be small and slow in the making. After four years of research, Mayer's committee has developed a gender-specific case management manual that posits the non-revolutionary premise that female juveniles respond to different modes of treatment and intervention than their male counterparts.

"It's boring, dry stuff," Mayer admitted, "but it's the stuff that if you don't do, you can forget everything." Mayer's group also advocates mentoring, community outreach and training sessions to explore the social pathology of girls who commit crimes. It's a low-budget, small-scale approach, she agreed, "but it's a start, and you have to have this kind of groundwork in place to build on."

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Lawmakers are debating much more sweeping ideas. On Capitol Hill, a pair of tough bills that challenge the notion of separate jail facilities for juveniles will be debated this fall. The House bill, championed by Rep. Bill McCollum (R-Fla.), would release states from federal rules requiring separation of youthful criminals and adult offenders. That bill and Hatch's Senate measure would eliminate the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, a Justice Department agency that focuses on averting crime among young people.

California is only one of many states that have considered potent new legislation to waive young criminals into adult penal and court systems.

All the while, girls are all but ignored, said retired Florida Juvenile Court Judge Frank A. Orlando, head of the Center for the Study of Youth Policy in Fort Lauderdale. At an American Bar Assn. meeting on violent kids that he attended just last week, Orlando marveled that there was "never any reference

whatsoever" to girls.

Testifying in the frenzied final hours of California's legislative session, with a raft of juvenile justice bills under consideration, Loren Warboys, managing director of the Youth Law Center in San Francisco, also said he heard not one word about girls. Even in offering a plea to examine the needs of young women as she reluctantly voted to pass the state budget, Sen. Diane Watson (D-L.A.) offered no specific policy recommendations for dealing with girls who break the law.

The atmosphere of oversight makes for a mood of frustration and beleaguement among some of the very people who are spearheading efforts to reform policy aimed at girls. At the Coalition for Juvenile Justice in Washington, D.C., special projects director Pam Allen said girls "are not even on the radar screen."

Female juvenile arrests are increasing at a higher rate than those of male juveniles, Allen said, and yet "not enough people are really paying attention. Clearly there are an increasing number of young women in the system. Some of the reasons they are there and the ways to work with them while they are there are enough different from the young men that we feel that particular attention needs to be paid to them."

The new gender-specific "how-to" manual that will target Maryland's juvenile justice staff stresses that distinct issues must be incorporated into any policy that deals with delinquent girls. It points out that at least 70% of girls entering the juvenile justice system have been sexually abused—as opposed to about 20% of boys.

"People don't always equate this with the delinquency piece, but we do," Mayer said. "We say this is one of the reasons they are in the system."

□

Around the country, very few jails, prisons or other incarcerative settings are designed to house girls only. Instead, girls are frequently assigned to a portion of a facility intended for boys. Just as often, the division is crude, making the girls all too aware that they are living in a carved-out area of a boys' jail. In most sites, the girls and boys are kept separate—sort of—but occasionally delinquent girls and boys may be assigned to joint work forces. The Maryland task force found that girls consistently fare more poorly in coed residential

treatment facilities than boys.

For girls, "feeling safe is essential," Mayer said. This means separating them from elements in the community that they find threatening—namely, in many cases, their own families or males who have abused them. As a consequence, the Maryland report emphasizes that girls need to be exposed to male case-workers, probation officers or others "who present a model of a man who will respect them for themselves and not just use them."

Again following the theory that any small policy change is better than no change, regional training programs for Colorado state workers who deal with female delinquents are expected to begin early next year, said Pat Cervera, a juvenile justice specialist. A similar effort early this year for the state's juvenile court judges was enthusiastically received, Cervera said.

Cervera's office has also hired a youth advocate, a paid staffer who is available 24 hours a day to girls placed in 30-day residential treatment programs. "We think it's kind of a model policy," she said, as well as an important step toward institutional recognition of girls' special needs.

In Minnesota, the idea of adapting policy to accommodate adolescent girls arose six years ago when an advisory panel began looking into problems peculiar to women in detention. It soon became clear that "you can't talk about adult women without talking about girls," said Paula Schaefer, state planner for juvenile females in the department of corrections. Schaefer said she has yet to hear of a similar position elsewhere in the country.

Schaefer said her office functions on the assumption that "pretty much all girls are at risk in our society." But the current political mood makes that idea a hard sell. "Everywhere you look there are counter-reforms and backlash," Schaefer said. "You see what happened to affirmative action, the fact that the federal government eliminated funding for the gender-equity piece of the Civil Rights Act, and so forth. The worst part of all this is that these systems are sending a collective message that any gains that we've made in the area of addressing the needs of women and girls—that we're taking those advances away."

Photo:

Probation Officer Robby Robinson makes a surprise visit to a former inmate, top. Another girl, Rita, who is under house arrest, gets a hug from her aunt. "You've got to work with the whole family," says her probation officer, Morgan Drew. Story, E5.

Photographer:

GINA FERAZZI, Los Angeles Times

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FAX page #1

Mixed Messages

■ Be tough yet feminine. Belong but be yourself. The conflicting pressures that girls must face can be crushing. And experts say we are just beginning to discover the price that our society must pay.

By ELIZABETH MEHREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Thirteen-year-old girls steal cars. Fourteen-year-old girls stab each other with screwdrivers. Fifteen-year-olds fight with their hands until one ends up in a coma, all because she slept with the other's boyfriend.

If more girls are committing crimes today, even more are tempted to do so. Life for many young American females is a rough pale echo of what their mothers experienced. The pressures they feel, the traps they avoid or succumb to are in fact greatly different and more dangerous than what even their older sisters faced as adolescents. Teetering between childhood and womanhood, they confront demands—to be tough but feminine, to be cool but an individual—that leave little latitude for error. "At-risk youth" is not just a hackneyed phrase for many of these young girls. It's a cultural understatement.

Equal-opportunity badness—the increased presence of girls in the juvenile justice system—is only one indication of how the lives of young women are changing. Pressures mount even for those who will never confront a cop or a judge. Revisions in welfare law will, for example, greatly affect their status if they are single mothers.

Many of these girls, moreover, are having children. If their own lives lack boundaries of control, how can they possibly be expected to care for a new generation?

A surprising number of criminally inclined young women have been sexually abused, experts are learning. Even more often, because they live in a society where children are highly eroticized, they know far too much about sex

and far too little about its potential consequences.

They may wear baby-doll dresses. But look out. When some well-intentioned authority figure tells them to "be strong," they take that entreaty seriously.

Taking note of the quiet, largely overlooked outbreak of law-breaking girls, it seemed appropriate to take a cultural thermometer reading: to check in with some thoughtful observers on the social health of young women.

Michele Serros

At the California Youth Authority prison in Camarillo, Michele Serros' inmate-students had to be persuaded that poetry had anything to do with their lives. But by the end of Serros' 10-week class, there were tears of joy as the girls watched their names typed onto the anthology of their work. Mostly, Serros says, they wrote about redemption. Serros, a 29-year-old short story and poetry writer who lives in Culver City,

GIRL TROUBLE:
America's Overlooked
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remembers the surreal occasion when she first addressed the prisoners.

"It was odd, because I was one of five women who were there to speak. The other women, I felt, were very patronizing, telling them to act like young ladies, because once they leave this place, they'll be in the job market—telling them to make sure they wash, wear nice clothes, nobody likes to see a girl in ratty jeans. I was so embarrassed, because I was there in jeans with big holes.

"After I spoke, this group of eight Chicanas—really tough looking, no eyebrows, lots of tattoos—called me over. They said, don't take this wrong, but are you gay? I realized that they thought that in order to read my works aloud, I'd have to have a lot of confidence, be very masculine and that I must be a lesbian. One girl said, 'I write poetry, but I would never share it with anybody.'

"That made me think why there were so many young Latinas there. The only reason I could think of was that there was such a strong communications gap within the family. Things just aren't discussed. My own father, very much machismo, is very tight-lipped. Talking is embarrassing. It brings shame. So a lot of these young girls are getting all their information right on the street. I had one girl in my workshop, she was 13. I found out she was in for killing her grandmother. I thought, wow, she can do something like that, but she could never show me her poems.

"Some girls would shove little hand-written notes at me. Same thing when they would give me their poetry, it was like last-minute, shoved into my hand, with a look that said: Don't show nobody else.

"I remember there was an elderly Anglo woman speaking to this hard-core Chola girl—and she was just listening. That would be wonderful, if more people would just listen to these girls—not be so biased, not make assumptions. When I held up my book [a collection of short stories called 'Chicana Falsa,' published in 1993 by Lalo Press], it was a very big deal to see the Spanish surname on the jacket. The girls who were clicking their tongues and rolling their eyes when I was introduced as the poetry teacher, those were the ones who at the end of the 10 weeks were sending me notes saying please come back, we don't have a lot of women like you. I think they were just happy because I was Latina, and I wasn't a security guard."

Lisa Krueger

Sixteen-year-old Laurel likes to be known as Lo. For her own nom de la rue, 11-year-old Amanda has chosen the name Manny. The two are sent to separate foster homes following the death of their mother; their fathers are absent, and apparently irrelevant. The two girls run from their foster homes, a cinematic acknowledgment that many girls enter the juvenile justice system as runaways. "Manny and Lo," a new film from director Lisa Krueger, offers a madcap portrayal of the two sisters who

believe they are fugitives. As it happens, Manny and Lo are so marginalized that their disappearance matters to no one.

From her home in Sacramento, Krueger talks about her movie:

"In order to find a girl to play this tough, overcautious 16-year-old who likes to beat her chest and says she was never the family type anyway—I knew I was not likely to find that girl among actresses, who are incredibly aware of their image.

"The casting director went to Washington Square Park in New York. She would find these girls who were the exact embodiment of Lo. She'd go up to them, say, 'So how'd you like to be in a movie?' And they'd say forget it. I think this is because for teenage girls, there is an incredible pressure to indulge and exploit issues of their image, things that they have very little control over in reality. Their own image of themselves is kind of nonexistent except in how it is reflected in others. The girls who manage against all odds to become their own image, their own definer—these girls had no desire to go green in front of the camera.

"We had an instinct that we would find the girl we were looking for more in music than in movies. With music, you see Liz Phair, Courtney Love, Alanis Morissette. They all have a kind of bravery and self-definition that just is not about waiting around for the guys to say oh, she's so cool. Sure enough, Aleksa Palladino, who plays Lo, had never been in acting. She's 14, and she had started her own band called 'Ugly.' She had patterned her style after that of Courtney Love. She came in to read for us dressed in a baby-doll dress, with tattered lace tights and barrettes in her hair.

"When she read for us, there was nothing, no gesture that bespoke flirtation or ingratiation. It was an amazing contrast—the lace, the baby-doll dress, the barrettes, all of which said: I'm cute, I'm innocent. Then she began wailing her lungs out. It was completely about subverting the usual posture of girlhood. That posture is so much about being a receptacle: a receptacle of looks for somebody else, a receptacle of cultural expectations. In some ways the baby-doll dress was her disguise.

"What I was trying to get at with the character of Lo is that yes, she can survive, she can move from house to house—all the while believing, because she has to, that she is 'wanted,' that

people are trying to find her. It turns out that people are not looking for her. That kind of survival spirit seems strong in many young girls today. And it seems to me it creates—well, it's almost like when you break somebody's arm. It does grow back, it does heal, but it grows back very strange. You can be at once in awe of their ability to grow the arm back, and also feel an incredible sadness for the ensuing deformity."

Mary Pipher

Cultural anthropologist / psychologist Mary Pipher's book about female adolescence, "Reviving Ophelia" (Grosset / Putnam, 1994), was considered so unmarketable that 13 publishers rejected the manuscript that later spent more than two years on national bestseller lists. Pipher's new book, "The Shelter of Each Other: Rebuilding Our Families" (Grosset / Putnam, 1996), argues that the very culture of this country has become toxic to families. Pipher, based in Lincoln, Neb., explains:

"On the one hand, young women get all the traditional messages: Be a beautiful, passive object; be a sort of quiet, well-behaved people-pleasing person. On the other hand, they get the message that strong women aren't that way. Particularly for younger women in their early teens, what 'strong' means isn't what you and I are. It means 'able to hurt people.' Particularly if these girls aren't terribly bright or subtle in their thinking, 'strong' becomes a very literal term.

"Some parents inadvertently send their daughters the message that we approve of that ability, the ability to be aggressive, when we tell them it's good to fight back, it's good to be aggressive, like a boy.

"They join gangs because they need community. If they can't have good community, they will find bad community. I think that's what gangs are: children's pathetic attempt to have community. But if you look at why girls join gangs as opposed to why boys join gangs, it comes back to the way we socialize boys and girls. The very succinct way to say it is that we socialize women that relationships are everything. Men define real wealth as being powerful. So with gangs, girls are in it for love and boys are in it for power.

"Something else is that all children have been so desensitized to violence. That makes anybody of either gender more likely to be violent. The experience of being sexually abused makes

girls so angry. Trust is everything for young people. Once trust is broken, things get messed up so quickly. I'm guessing that there are more and more girls who are essentially unsocialized. They have virtually no contact with adults. They have never had the experience of anybody caring if they learned right from wrong.

"Here is one prescription: They must have at least one person who cares for them when they are young. So we need to have some sort of review system when children leave a hospital that says children do not go into an environment that does not love them, period. Essentially we don't have any kind of safety net for children in this country. I think the judgment is there, and I think frankly the resources are there. The issue is really, does this country have a commitment to children?"

Dr. Alvin Poussaint

In creating the media center for children at the Judge Baker Children's Center in Boston, one of Dr. Alvin Poussaint's aims was to foster the social and physical health of young people through media. The center's first television pilot, a comedy / drama called "Willoughby's Wonders" that's aimed at 6- to 9-year-olds, is in production. The series uses soccer as a metaphor for managing conflict.

Poussaint, a child psychiatrist on the faculty of Harvard Medical School, has consulted for all the major television networks, as well as PBS.

"Just as one example, if you look over the past decades, young women were not even supposed to use four-letter words. Now they use every four-letter word that was ever invented. It's on the air, it's in the movies, it's on the streets and it's in homes. Then there are the kind of role models where you see women as action-adventure heroines, where they use violence and shoot 'em up and so on. It shows they can shoot people and choke people, just like the guys.

"It's kind of a leveling with men that means women are being the victims of the same kinds of models in movies and TV as guys are. Most of these movies are so incredibly violent and profane. If you get dosed up high enough, there's a message there: like strike out, protect yourself. We know that young teenage girls often tend to imitate behavior styles in movie and TV, more than boys do. I don't know exactly

why. But surveys show that young girls say that TV and the movies encourage them to have sex, be sexual.

"Then you have the music—the rap music and the rock music—that is more profane than ever. So I think that crime, violence, dealing with some of the antisocial behavior has become more culturally implanted in young girls than ever before in the history of the country. The other thing that's an element here, think of the emphasis on domestic violence and fighting back, not accepting brutalization. Again, you have another message about fighting back, being more assertive, more aggressive.

"With more and more young mothers going to jail, there are big implications for child-rearing. Traditionally we saw the woman as the stabilizing force in the home, even when the fathers went to jail. When mothers go to jail, you have a double impact: first as a dangerous and negative role model, then with separation.

"But this whole problem is systemic. You have something that is happening now with the welfare bill. You're going to force a lot of these young women into more antisocial behavior, stealing more, into an illicit underground economy. My prediction is that these elements will continue to push forward, and that criminal behavior in young girls is going to continue to increase."

Jennifer Grossman

Twenty-nine-year-old Jennifer Grossman borrows from Republican vice presidential nominee Jack Kemp to characterize herself as a "bleeding-heart conservative." Grossman is a freelance Washington speech writer who formerly worked for President George Bush. Her office is in the Cato Institute, a conservative Washington think tank. She is disturbed by the roughness she sees among young girls.

"I think de Tocqueville was the first to point out that the strength of American democracy relied on the superiority of its women. Women in America have always played a very strong role in maintaining mores, and as custodians of community values and personal virtues.

"I saw the change even as I was in third grade at a public school. I was actually threatened and bullied a lot more by my female classmates. The most teasing I would get from boys was pulling my pigtails. The girls would threaten to bring in knives.

"To paraphrase Pink Floyd, we've

become comfortably numb. Take a look at [former Secretary of Education] Bill Bennett's cultural indicators: What the PTA saw as the chief problems in the '50s—chewing gum, dress code infractions, running in the halls—now it's bringing guns to school, violence against teachers, violence against other student, drugs.

"I think this problem of eroticizing our children is one of the chief causes of the violence and aggression and vulgarization among young girls. The whole approach to sexuality among our children has been one of management.

"I remember hearing [about] one school, where they were teaching kids how to use condoms, and they decided the policy would be to learn to do this on a banana. A lot of the teachers said the little girls don't like this. They pull back. But the conclusion was, well, they must be encouraged very firmly to do this. The focus was that girls must be armed, equipped with these weapons against pregnancy. Actually what you need to do is strengthen that reticence, strengthen that feminine virtue—and not just make girls like boys.

"In formulating policy, you should remove those bureaucratic and economic incentives that encourage self-destructive behavior, such as subsidizing illegitimacy, or marriage penalties—not just in taxation but in the welfare system. Another area would be to enact those reforms that strengthen family cohesiveness and parental authority, such as school choice. This would enable parents to feel more involved in their children's education.

"Third, we need to recapture as a society that sense of awe that comes from knowing that each life is a precious gift from God. We need to as a society end our hostility to religion, and also just really from a very practical, unromantic point of view, we need to recognize that programs which have spiritual orientation can really make a difference in encouraging restraint and giving people a sense of dignity. Otherwise it becomes easy to say, we'll just build more gated communities, we'll just keep you people over there."

Sapphire

To her astonishment, poet and novelist Sapphire sometimes has to explain that her novel "Push" (Knopf, 1996) is no exaggeration. Sapphire's protagonist, 16-year-old Precious, is based on the very real girls Sapphire encountered

teaching and living in Harlem for a dozen years. Once, her school organized a "Save the Black Male" day. Sapphire wondered, what about the black female?

"Basically what I was told was that the women weren't hurting anybody but themselves. And if they wanted to have a baby by themselves, so what? The black boys were going to hurt each other, or other people. They will hurt the rest of society, whereas a girl's activities marginalize herself, which in some sad way fits in with what the culture expects.

"In talking to young people, I'm learning how much of this was not consensual sex. The media gives this image of a hot little thing. More often, it seems that young girls are the victims of people constantly, from puberty on, pressuring them to have sex, often with men who are considerably older.

"The sexism of African American culture—there was a way that the boys were being put ahead of the girls. It's just as important that Johnny doesn't pick up a gun at 14 that Johnetta doesn't get pregnant at 14. If that's happening, then the education needs to start at 7 and 8. Just as you see your mother getting up and going to work in some parts of the culture—for you, early sexual activity is the norm if it is not counteracted.

"All kids want freedom. But they think freedom is an apartment and a separate welfare check from your mother."

Photo:

Equal-opportunity badness—the increased presence of girls in the juvenile justice system—is only one indication of how the lives of young women are changing.

Photographer:

GINA FERAZZI / Los Angeles Times

Photo:

"I remember there was an elderly Anglo woman speaking to this hard-core Chola girl—and she was just listening. That would be wonderful, if more people would just listen to these girls—not be so biased." Michele Serros. Poetry and short story writer

Photographer:

GARY FRIEDMAN / Los Angeles Times

Photo:

"They join gangs because they need community. . . . I think that's what gangs are: children's pathetic attempt to have community. . . . With gangs, girls are in

it for love and boys are in it for power.'
Mary Pipher, Cultural anthropologist /
psychologist

Photographer:

BOB CARY / Los Angeles Times

Photo:

'I think this problem of eroticizing our
children is one of the chief causes of the
violence and aggression and vulgariza-
tion among young girls. The whole ap-
proach to [their] sexuality . . . has been
one of management.' Jennifer Gross-
man, Freelance Washington speech writ-
er

Type of Material

Top Story

Series

Descriptors

JUVENILE CRIMINALS;
JUVENILE DELINQUENTS;
WOMEN;
YOUTH;
JUVENILE INSTITUTIONS;
JUVENILE JUSTICE;
CRIME STATISTICS

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1997

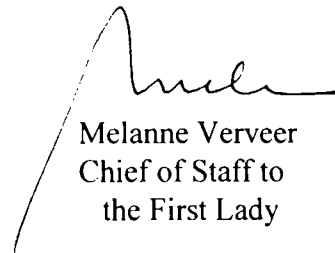
Ms. Maurine Murtagh
Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton
2000 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20006-1801

Dear Maurine:

Congratulations on the new job. You're with a great firm. It is, of course, wonderful to learn that you have relocated here. I do hope we will have a chance to get together.

Wishing you all the best.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

12

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TOKYO 100

November 14, 1997

Writer's Direct Dial: (202)974-1628

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

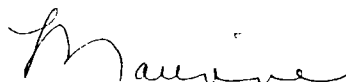
Just wanted to drop you a quick note to let you know that I have relocated to Washington, DC and I am currently practicing law at Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton. Our offices are at 20th and Pennsylvania Avenue, just a stone's throw from your office. Tom and I have rented a house in Georgetown at 1416 35th Street, NW (between O and P streets, and just two blocks from Georgetown's main gates). Now that we are both here, I hope that we'll have an opportunity to see you and Phil on occasion. It's fun being back in Washington after all these years.

I continue to have an interest in any opportunities in serving in the administration, especially at the White House. I recognize, however, that there are only a limited number of jobs to fill and many willing and qualified candidates. Nonetheless, please keep me in mind.

I hope you, Phil and the children are well and that you are continuing to enjoy your role as Chief of Staff. Although grueling at times, I'm sure, it is a unique experience.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



Maurine M. Murtagh

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 2, 1997

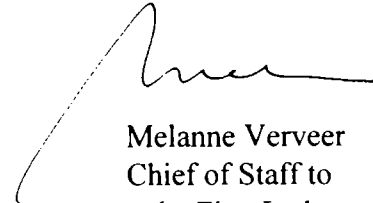
Ms. Karen Mulhauser
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW
Suite 712
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Karen:

Thank you for your kind comments about The Washington Post Magazine article. I'm relieved to have survived the experience!

Wishing you all the best.

Sincerely,

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

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



Karen Mulhauser

1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Suite 712
Washington, DC 20036
Phone 202-463-0180 -- Fax 202-463-0182
kmulhauser@consultingwomen.com

FAX MESSAGE

TO: Melanne, The First Lady's First lady!
ORGANIZATION: The First Lady's Office
FAX: 456-6244
RE: Starting the Capitol Hill Branch of your fan club
Date: November 24, 1997

Just had to drop a quick note to say it was the first part of the Post I read yesterday. I hope you felt good as you were reading it. I know I felt proud to know you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 2, 1997

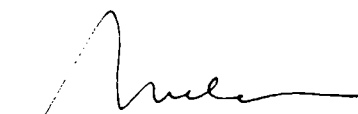
Ms. Kati Marton
211 Central Park West
New York, NY 10024

Dear Kati:

Thank you very much for your letter and for the press coverage from your trip to Bosnia, which I have shared with the First Lady. We look forward to seeing you and Dick next week.

Thanks and best wishes in your important work.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

(P)

Kati Marton
211 Central Park West
New York, New York 10024
212-496-1106 (Tel) • 212-496-0274 (Fax)

Nov 6, 1997

Dear Melanne,

Thought you and Hillary might
be interested in press pay following
my recent trip to Bosnia /FRY
on behalf of independent media.
(How is your Serbo-Croat?)

Looking forward to seeing
you soon

Affectionately
Kati

Ms. Melanne Verwee
Office of the First Lady
The White House

КАТИ МАРТОН, ПРЕДСЕДНИЦА АМЕРИЧКОГ КОМИТЕТА ЗА ЗАШТИТУ НОВИНАРА, О ПОСЕТИ БИХ И СУСРЕТУ СА ПРЕДСЕДНИКОМ СРЈ

„Милошевић подржава Биљану Плавшић и сматра да Крајишник треба да оде“

На молбу новинара да прецизира да ли је Милошевић обећао Крајишников одлазак, Кати Мартон је рекла: „Не, није. Али је рекао да то мора дефинитивно да се догоди“

Београд. – Председник СРЈ Слободан Милошевић рекао је да у земљи постоји велики степен слободе медија, иако ја знам да се ви са тим не би сложили. Али, важно је да је Милошевић свестан да амерички медији питање слободе медија сматрају основним питањем за демократизацију СРЈ и Босне и Херцеговине и да не истрајати док се тај циљ не оствари – рекла је на јучерашњој прес-конференцији Кати Мартон, председник Америчког комитета за заштиту новинара која је после прејучерашње посете Босни разговарала са Слободаном Милошевићем.

Милошевић о сарадњи са Трибуналом

Одговарајући на питање да ли је приликом разговора о спровођењу Дејтонског споразума са Милошевићем било речи о изручивању оптужених за ратне злочине хашком Трибуналу, Кати Мартон је рекла да је председник СРЈ нагласио да се залаже за сарадњу са Хашким судом али да је изразио жељу да се оптуженима суди у њиховим земљама.

„Са Милошевићем сам такође разговарала о примени Дејтонског споразума и ситуацији у Републици Српској. Он је рекао да је против дељења БиХ и да будућност Босне као и Европе није у поделама већ интеграцији. Такође је рекао да члан Председништва БиХ из РС Момчило Крајишник треба да оде са те

функције и да подржава Биљану Плавшић“, изјавила је госпођа Мартон, додавши да јој је Милошевић рекао да ствари нису баш црно-беле као што их Американци виде „и да Биљана Плавшић није ни црна ни бела, али да је он

медија не могу да се зацеле ратне ране. „Све док медији преносе поруке рата не постоји начин да све три стране изграде заједничку државу. То је и основни разлог што је Амерички комитет за заштиту новинара подржао акцију

ставницима свих страна. По њеним речима, и Биљана Плавшић се залаже за објективне, професионалне и слободне медије „без којих нема ни слободних и фер избора“.

Кати Мартон је истакла да ни медијска слика у Федерацији БиХ није задовољавајућа „али да треба имати разумевања за медије који се годину дана после рата покушавају ослободити утицаја национализма и заосталих кому-



Кампања против политичке контроле медија: Кати Мартон на јучерашњој конференцији за штампу

ФОТО: Н. Стојановић

ишак подржава“. У то сам се приликом разговора и лично уверила јер је Милошевић са председником РС разговарао телефоном и за време нашег сусрета, истакла је Кати Мартон.

На молбу новинара да прецизира да ли је Милошевић обећао Крајишников одлазак, она је рекла: „Не, није. Али је рекао да то мора дефинитивно да се догоди“.

Гојорећи о резултатима њене посете Босни, она је истакла да је ситуација у БиХ критична јер без независних

Сфора у заузимању четири предајника Телевизије Пале“, објаснила је Кати Мартон. Према њеним речима, ТВ Пале су станица оптуженог ратног криминалца Радована Караџића „која је националистичким порукама тровала становништво РС и била основни извор неспоразума“.

„Не смете да то схватите као антисрпску кампању већ као кампању против политичке контроле над медијима“, нагласила је Кати Мартон. Она је додала да се током боравка у БиХ срела са пред-

ТВ Пале поново емитује програм

Кати Мартон је обавестила новинаре да је ТВ Пале јуче успела да емитује програм и да је из паланског студија поново од становништва сакривено да програм није емитован зато што је Сфор заузео предајнике. „ТВ Пале су обавестиле становништво да је емитовање прекинуто због штрајка запослених. Надам се да ће убрзо поново бити ушуткани“, закључила је Кати Мартон.

нистичких навика из периода пре тога“. Што се тиче медија у Хрватској, они су, како је рекла, велики проблем јер су под контролом шефа државе Франје Туђмана.

На питање новинара да ли је са Слободаном Милошевићем разговарала о ситуацији у Студију Б, Кати Мартон је одговорила да је забринута за Студио Б али да је обавештена да је то проблем локалних политичких неспоразума и да је то један од разлога што Студио Б није помињан.

О. Мамузић

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BBC Summary of World Broadcasts

October 20, 1997, Monday

SECTION: Part 2 Central Europe, the Balkins; BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA; PALE
AUTHORITIES; EE/D3054/A

LENGTH: 146 words

HEADLINE: President Plavsic expresses satisfaction with Yugoslav president's
support

SOURCE: Source: Beta news agency, Belgrade, in Serbo-Croat 1350 gmt 18 Oct 97

BODY:
[9]

Text of report by the Yugoslav news agency Beta

Doboj, 18th October: [Bosnian] Serb Republic (RS) President Biljana Plavsic
today assessed the decision by Federal Republic of Yugoslavia President
The British Broadcasting Corporation, October 20, 1997

Slobodan Milosevic to support her as positive and "right" .

"I think that Milosevic's decision is right. One could not have expected
anything else from such an intelligent and important politician," Biljana
Plavsic told Beta after the founding session of the Serb National Alliance in
Doboj.

Kati Marton [name as received], chairwoman of the US committee for the
protection of journalists, said after her talks with Slobodan Milosevic
yesterday that he had told her that he supported Biljana Plavsic and that
Momcilo Krajisnik, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency from the RS,
should resign, "which will be the result of the RS people's vote" .

October 18, 1997, Saturday

SECTION: Part 2 Central Europe, the Balkins; BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA; BOSNIAN
SERBS;
EE/D3053/A

LENGTH: 367 words

HEADLINE: President receives wife of US envoy Holbrooke

SOURCE: Source: Bosnian Serb radio, Banja Luka, in Serbo-Croat 1000 gmt 16 Oct
97

BODY:
[2]

Text of report by Banja Luka radio on 16th October

[Announcer] The president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, Biljana Plavsic,
held talks in Banja Luka today with the chairwoman of the US committee for the
The British Broadcasting Corporation, October 18, 1997

protection of journalists, Mrs Kati Marton. The talks focused on Sfor's
[NATO-led Stabilization Force] seizure of [Bosnian] Serb Radio-TV transmitters
and further democratization of the media in the Serb Republic and
Bosnia-Herzegovina. Velimir Bozic reports:

[Reporter] The US organization for the protection of journalists is also
concerned with the status of journalists throughout the world, Kati Marton
said after the talks with President Biljana Plavsic. Kati Marton is the wife
of US diplomat Richard Holbrooke.

President Plavsic is willing to offer full support for the Dayton Agreement,
but she noted that it was a complex process and that one had to proceed one step
at a time, Mrs Marton said, and added that they had also discussed elections and
the media. She said that changes regarding the minister of information were to
be expected in order to make the media more professional, as she put it.

It is also clear, Mrs Kati Marton said, that efforts concentrating on the
media will contribute to creating the single multiethnic state of
Bosnia-Herzegovina on democratic foundations. Kati Marton said that the moment
was right for further democratization of the media in Bosnia-Herzegovina. She
added that she had held talks with all those who could use their influence in
further democratization. As a results of the talks, Mrs Marton was in a

position to say that all political players in Bosnia-Herzegovina had expressed
their willingness to give up political control over the media.

Kati Marton criticized broadcasts by Serb Radio-TV Pale studio because it
hindered the implementation of the peace accord. She explained the seizure of
Serb Radio-TV transmitters by Sfor in these terms.

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BBC Summary of World Broadcasts

October 18, 1997, Saturday

SECTION: Part 2 Central Europe, the Balkins; BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA; MEDIA
DISPUTE;
EE/D3053/A

LENGTH: 173 words

HEADLINE: Belgrade news agency Beta describes Pale studio reappearance as
"mystery"

SOURCE: Source: Beta news agency, Belgrade, in Serbo-Croat 1821 gmt 16 Oct 97

BODY:
[10]

Text of report by the Yugoslav news agency Beta

Pale, 16th October: After a 12-day break, the [Bosnian] Serb Radio Television
(SRT) studio in Pale has this evening broadcast its first evening Dnevnik
The British Broadcasting Corporation, October 18, 1997

[daily news] newscast.

The Pale studio programme can be seen in the eastern parts of the Serb
Republic, from Bijeljina to Hercegovina. The Dnevnik newscast was broadcast on
the frequencies on which over the last 12 days the Banja Luka SRT studio
broadcast its programmes.

It is still a mystery how the Pale studio managed to "get into" the programme
broadcast via transmitters under Sfor [NATO-led Stabilization Force] control.

The first report in this evening's programme was an interview with Momcilo
Krajsnik, the Serb member in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, and the second
was a report on the meeting in Banja Luka between Serb Republic President
Biljana Plavsic and Kati Marton, the chairwoman of the US committee for the
protection of journalists [and wife of US diplomat Richard Holbrooke].

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Agence France Presse

October 16, 1997 16:16 GMT

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 321 words

HEADLINE: NATO seizure of Bosnian Serb transmitters was "right move": Marton

DATELINE: BANJA LUKA, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Oct 16

BODY:

NATO troops' seizure of four key Bosnian Serb radio-TV transmitters was "a right move," Kati Marton, representative of the US-based Committee to Protect Journalists board of directors, said here Thursday.

"It was a right move, the (Pale) television was propaganda," and "the mouth of one political party," Marton told reporters after meeting Bosnian Serb President Biljana Plavsic in her power-base in Banja Luka.

The NATO-led Stabilisation Force (SFOR) seized the transmitters on October 1 after a request by Bosnia's top international official Carlos Westendorp, who accused the Pale-based branch of Serb Television (SRT) of screening biased programmes.

Broadcasting on SRT's network since October 1 has been handled by a breakaway, comparatively liberal faction of the SRT in Banja Luka.

"There is no possibility of a healthy state and life without the free press. Propaganda is not journalism, that is why we support the end of SRT," Marton said.

Marton's trip to former Yugoslavia is part of a campaign for effective press freedom guarantees for local journalists and the development of independent media throughout former Yugoslavia.

On Friday, Marton is due to meet Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade.

Meanwhile, employees of the SRT in Pale, who staged a strike on October 4 protesting against the NATO takeover of their transmitters, decided Thursday to stop the strike, a SRT statement said.

They asked the Bosnian Serb government to "settle the crisis," the statement said.

The government served notice Saturday that it would not bow to demands by the international community to replace officials running the ultra-nationalist SRT.

Prime Minister Gojko Klickovic said there would be "no replacement of managers," even if this meant that the Bosnian Serb administration would not

Belgrade

Press Conference of Kati Marton
Milosevic said: "Krajisnik needs to leave"

**KONFERENCIJA ZA
NOVINARE KATI MARTON**
Milošević rekao:
***„Krajisnik
treba da ode“***

Beograd • Predsednik SR Jugoslavije Slobodan Milošević izrazio je uverenje da član Predsedništva BiH iz Republike Srpske (RS) Momčilo Krajisnik treba da ode sa funkcije, izjavila je juče u Beogradu predsednica Američkog komiteta za zaštitu novinara Kati Marton posle susreta sa Miloševićem.

- Milošević mi je rekao da Krajisnik treba da ode sa funkcije, što će biti rezultat volje naroda u RS. On je rekao da podržava predsednicu RS Biljanu Plavšić, izjavila je Marton na konferenciji za novinare posle susreta sa predsednikom SRJ.
- Ona je rekla da je Milošević odgovorno potvrdno na njeno pitanje da li i dalje podržava Dejtonski sporazum i da je naglasio da je protiv deljenja BiH, jer budućnost Bosne i Evrope nije u podelama, već u integraciji.
- Tokom današnjeg ručka Plavšićeva ga je zvala telefonom, a on je prekinuo ručak i odgovorio na poziv, kazala je Marton i dodala da „to nešto govori“.
- Predsednik SRJ je još rekao da predsednički izbori u RS „ne treba da budu onda kada to Krajisnik želi“, već treba da budu pod kontrolom Organizacije za evropsku bezbednost i saradnju, rekla je Marton. Beta-

Kati Marton
Silencing of Hatred

This was not the question of freedom of speech. This was the question of silencing hatred speech.

Kada sam bila u Beogradu, mislila sam da sam u jednom od najsigurnijih mesta u svetu. Ali, kada sam se vratila u svoju domovinu, otkrila sam da sam u jednom od najopasnijih mesta u svetu.

Godinama sam mislila da sam u jednom od najsigurnijih mesta u svetu. Ali, kada sam se vratila u svoju domovinu, otkrila sam da sam u jednom od najopasnijih mesta u svetu.

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Kati Marton

Ућуткивање мржње

Ово није било питање слободе говора. Ово је било питање ућуткивања једног говора мржње.



Ово није било питање слободе говора. Ово је било питање ућуткивања једног говора мржње.

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Kati Marton, President of American Committee to Protect Journalists
Milosevic Needs to Adjust

Banja Luka

Kati Marton, predsednica
Američkog komiteta za zaštitu
novinara

Milošević mora da se prilagodi

Predsednica američkog Komiteta za zaštitu novinara Kati Marton ocenila je juče u Beogradu da u Srbiji nema slobode u medijima, jer vlast u Srbiji "još ima potpunu kontrolu nad medijima preko manje ili više suptilne manipulacije".

"Predsednik Milošević mora da se odrekne takve prakse manipulisanja i priuska na medije. To ne samo da nije dobro za zemlju, to nije dobro ni za njega", rekla je Kati Marton u intervjuu Radiju B-92.

Kati Marton je najavila da će u razgovoru sa Miloševićem insistirati na okončanju "kontrole i manipulacije medijima, ukoliko Srbija želi da postane deo evropske porodice".

"Predsednik Milošević mora da se navikne na činjenicu da, ukoliko želi da ima zdravo civilno društvo, mora omogućiti višeglasje. Ukoliko toga nema, osiguran je put ka ekstremnom nacionalizmu, što vodi ka fašizmu. Milošević to ne želi, a narod Srbije zaslužuje bolje", rekla je Kati Marton.

Predsednica Komiteta za zaštitu novinara, koja je prethodno boravila u Republici Srpskoj, podržala je akciju Sfora, koji je zauzeo predajnike Srpske radio televizije sa Pala, ali je rekla da ne voli "vojne intervencije kada su u pitanju mediji".

"Paljanska televizija nije javno glasilo. To je gebelsovska televizija. To je propaganda koja nema ničeg zajedničkog sa izveštavanjem, to je paravan ratnim zločincima. Akcija Sfora bila je očajnički poslednji korak koji smo podržali i ja, ali i američki novinari", rekla je Kati Marton.

Бача Лука

**ПЛАВШИЋ И МАРТОН О
МЕДИЈИМА**

**ПОДРШКА
НЕЗАВИСНИМ**

БАЊА ЛУКА, 16. окто-
бра (Бета) - Председник Ре-
публике Српске Биљана Пла-
вшић разговарала је данас у
Бањој Луци са председником
америчког комитета за за-
штиту новинара Кати Мартон
о демократизацији медија на
целим простору Босне и
Херцеговине.

„Ово је прилика да се по-
могне у циљу демократизације
медија у БиХ“, изјавила је
Мартон после данашњег сас-
танка са председником РС
Биљаном Плавшић.

Мартон је изјавила и да
сматра да је заузимање преда-
јника од стране СФОР-а био
исправан потез, јер је студио
Српске телевизије на Палама
„био пропаганда, односно
предајник само једне поли-
тичке опције“.

Она је додала да „жели да
чује од свих политичких фак-
тора у БиХ да желе да се
одрекну контроле над медији-
ма, пошто они морају бити
слободни и независни.“

Politika, October 17
Page 16

Banija Luke

Biljana Plavsic Received Kati Marton Give Up Control of Media

The President of American Committee to Protect Journalists emphasized that the results from all the meetings she had in B-H are encouraging

БИЉАНА ПЛАВШИЋ ПРИМИЛА КАТИ МАРТОН

Одређи се контроле над медијима

Председница америчког Комитета за заштиту новинара истакла да су охрабрујући резултати свих разговора које је обавила у БиХ

Бањалука, 16. октобра (Бета) Председница Републике Српске Биљана Плавшић разговарала је данас у Бањалуци са председницом америчког Комитета за заштиту новинара Кати Мартон о демократизацији медија на читавом простору Босне и Херцеговине.

„Ово је прилика да се помогне у циљу демократизације медија у БиХ“, изјавила је Мартон после данашњег састанка са председницом РС Биљаном Плавшић.

Мартон је изјавила и да сматра да је заузимање предајника од стране Сфора био исправан потез, јер је студио Српске телевизије на Палама „био пропаганда, односно предајник само једне политичке опције“.

Она је додала да „желим да чује

од свих политичких фактора у БиХ да желе да се одрекну контроле над медијима, пошто они морају бити слободни и независни“.

Председница америчког Комитета за заштиту новинара изјавила је да је у Сарајеву разговарала и са председником Председништва БиХ Алијом Изетбеговићем и копредседником Савета министара БиХ Харисом Силјаџићем и оценила их охрабрујућим, као и разговоре са Биљаном Плавшић.

Мартон је истакла да је председница РС Биљана Плавшић спремна да пружи путу подршку Дејтонском споразуму и обећала јој да се у будућности могу очекивати промене на месту министра информација у РС.

Kati Marton, representative of American Committee to Protect Journalists
Healthy Society With The Freedom Of Media

**Кети Мортон, представник Америчке организације за
заштиту новинара**

Здраво друштво уз слободно новинарство

После Сарајева, где је разговарала са представницима Федерације БиХ и јучерашњег сусрета са председником РС Биљаном Плавшић конференцију за новинаре у Међународном прес-центру у Бањој Луци одржала је Кети Мортон, представник Америчке организације за заштиту новинара.

Како је госпођа Мортон нагласила, у свим овим сусретима домаћинима је пренела поруку америчких новинара: - не може постојати здраво друштво ако не постоји независно и слободно новинарство у том друштву.

Као пример вида пропаганде, у којем се врши ревизија чињеница Мортонова је навела Студио СРТ -а на Палама.

Речи мржње, како је истакла Мортонова, не смеју бити поруке медија, напротив, после ратних страхова, у којима су медији допринели етничком чишћењу, неопходно је да делују независни медији, који ће афирмисати повратак избеглица и примену Дејтонског споразума - нагласила је Кети Мортон.

Упознала је новинаре да ће се на наредном састанку Контакт-групе, а путем Међународног комитета за медије формирати два одбора за развој и унапређење међународних стандарда у медијима БиХ.

На новинарско питање како коментарише став Српског интелектуалног форума из Бање Луке, који је у свом саопштењу за јавност, а поводом писма Карлоса Вестендорпа Момчилу Крајишнику, оспорава пра-

во да високи представник међународне заједнице именује прелазног генералног директора СРТ-а и да су неке ингеренције над медијима изнад Дејтонског споразума, Кети Мортон је одговорила да су медије у ентитетима БиХ политичари злоупотребили. Додала је да све треба учинити, поготово у телевизији као најмоћнијем медију, да се онемогући утицај политичара на рад медија.

А на питање новинара о раду медија у Хрватској, који стално емитију победничке покличе над Србијом, те да више од сто хиљада Срба живи у РС, а не могу да се врате у Хрватску, Мортонова је рекла да Пале нису једини пример пропагандног деловања и да је управо о раду хрватских медија у том смислу прошле године разговарала са председником Хрватске, Фрањом Туђманом.

Најавила је јуче и сусрет са председником СР Југославије Слободаном Милошевићем и разговор о његовом утицају на медије у Србији. Подсетила је бројне новинаре на велику част коју треба да избори и носи професионалан и објективан новинар.

Мортонова је врло успешним оценила свој сусрет са председником Биљаном Плавшић, која је сагласна да се у борби за слободне медије у РС иде корак по корак, али да ће у том послу сигурно много помоћи имплементација изборних резултата и наредни избори.

Н. ПУВАЧИЋ

BELGRADE MEDIA COVERAGE OF KATI MARTON'S VISIT

THE BELGRADE MEDIA EXTENSIVELY COVER THE OCTOBER 17 PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY THE CHAIR OF U.S. COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS, MS. KATI MARTON. WHILE THE INDEPENDENT AND SEMI-INDEPENDENT DAILIES PUT THE EMPHASIS ON MS. MARTON'S QUOTING PRESIDENT SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC AS SAYING THAT THE MEMBER OF B-H PRESIDENCY FROM REPUBLIKA SRPSKA, MOMCILO KRAJISNIK, (QUOTE) WILL HAVE TO GO, (END QUOTE) THE OFFICIAL, PRO-GOVERNMENT PRESS CARRIES TANJUG'S REPORT WHICH FOCUSES ONLY ON MARTON'S REMARKS REGARDING THE FREEDOM OF THE MEDIA. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE HEADLINES IN THE BELGRADE DAILIES ON OCTOBER 18-19:

- OFFICIAL DAILY "POLITIKA": "MARTON: THERE IS NO REAL DEMOCRACY WITHOUT AN INDEPENDENT MEDIA"
- PRO-GOVERNMENT, NATIONALISTIC "POLITIKA EKSPRES": "ON MEDIA -- WITH CRITICISM"
- INDEPENDENT NASA BORBA: "MILOSEVIC SUPPORTS BILJANA PLAVSIC AND DEEMS KRAJISNIK HAS TO GO"
- INDEPENDENT "DANAS": "MILOSEVIC TOLD ME THAT KRAJISNIK HAD TO GO"
- PRIVATELY-OWNED "BLIC": "MILOSEVIC THINKS THAT KRAJISNIK HAS TO GO"
- PRIVATELY-OWNED "GRADJANIN": "MILOSEVIC MUST ADAPT HIMSELF"
- PRIVATELY-OWNED "DNEVNI TELEGRAF": "MILOSEVIC SAID: 'KRAJISNIK HAS TO GO'"

"NASA BORBA" (OCT 18-19) CARRIES THE MOST THOROUGH ACCOUNT OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE, AS FOLLOWS:
(BEGIN TEXT)

"THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRY, SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC, SAID THAT THERE WAS A GREAT DEGREE OF FREEDOM OF THE MEDIA IN THE COUNTRY, ALTHOUGH I KNOW THAT YOU WILL NOT AGREE WITH THAT. BUT, WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THAT MILOSEVIC IS AWARE THAT THE U.S. MEDIA CONSIDER THE FREEDOM OF THE MEDIA THE MAIN ISSUE IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE FRY AND BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, AND THAT THEY WOULD PERSIST UNTIL THIS GOAL HAS BEEN ACHIEVED."

"I ALSO TALKED WITH MILOSEVIC ON THE DAYTON AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION AND THE SITUATION IN REPUBLIKA SRPSKA. HE SAID THAT HE WAS AGAINST PARTITIONING OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND THAT THE FUTURE OF BOSNIA AND EUROPE WERE NOT IN DIVISIONS BUT RATHER IN INTEGRATION. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE MEMBER OF THE B-H PRESIDENCY FROM RS, MOMCILO KRAJISNIK, SHOULD GO FROM THAT POSITION AND THAT HE SUPPORTED BILJANA PLAVSIC."

MS. MARTON ADDED THAT MILOSEVIC TOLD HER THAT THINGS

WERE NOT SO BLACK-AND-WHITE AS THE AMERICANS SAW THEM, AND THAT "BILJANA PLAVSIC IS NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE, BUT THAT HE STILL GIVES HER SUPPORT." ASKED WHETHER MILOSEVIC PROMISED KRAJISNIK'S WITHDRAWAL, MARTON REPLIED: "NO, HE DID NOT, BUT HE SAID THAT IT DEFINITELY HAD TO OCCUR."

TALKING ON THE OUTCOME OF HER VISIT TO BOSNIA, MARTON STRESSED THAT THE B-H SITUATION WAS CRITICAL, BECAUSE WITHOUT A FREE MEDIA, THE WOUNDS OF THE WAR COULD NOT BE HEALED, AND ADDED: "AS LONG AS THE MESSAGES OF WAR ARE RELAYED BY THE MEDIA, THERE IS NO CHANCE THAT THE THREE PARTIES MIGHT BUILD A COMMON STATE. THIS WAS THE MAIN REASON WHY THE U.C. COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS SUPPORTED SFOR'S ACTION OF TAKING OVER THE FOUR TRANSMITTERS OF PALE TELEVISION."

ACCORDING TO HER, TV PALE BELONGED TO WAR CRIMES INDICTEE RADOVAN KARADZIC, "AND ITS NATIONALISTIC MESSAGES HAD POISONED RS'S CITIZENS AND HAD BEEN THE MAIN SOURCE OF MISUNDERSTANDING."
"YOU SHOULD NOT UNDERSTAND THIS AS AN ANTI-SERBIAN CAMPAIGN, BUT AS THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLITICAL CONTROL OVER THE MEDIA."

KATI MARTON STRESSED THAT THE STATUS OF THE MEDIA IN THE B-H FEDERATION WAS NOT SATISFACTORY, BUT THAT "ONE SHOULD MAKE ALLOWANCES FOR THE MEDIA WHICH ONE YEAR AFTER THE WAR ARE TRYING TO BECOME FREE FROM THE INFLUENCES OF NATIONALISM AND REMNANTS OF THE COMMUNIST HABITS FROM THE PREVIOUS PERIOD." AS FAR AS THE MEDIA IN CROATIA IS CONCERNED, THEY HAVE A BIG PROBLEM, BECAUSE THEY ARE UNDER PRESIDENT FRANJO TUDJMAN'S CONTROL.

ASKED WHETHER SHE HAD DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN STUDIO B WITH GLOBODAN MILOSEVIC, KATI MARTON REPLIED THAT SHE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT STUDIO B, BUT THAT SHE WAS INFORMED THAT THIS WAS AN ISSUE OF LOCAL POLITICAL MISUNDERSTANDINGS, AND THAT IS WHY SHE HAD NOT MENTIONED STUDIO B.
(END TEXT)

"GRADJANIN QUOTES EXCERPTS FROM KATI MARTON'S INTERVIEW WITH B92 RADIO. EXCERPTS FOLLOW:
(BEGIN EXCERPTS)

PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS KATI MARTON ASSESSED YESTERDAY IN BELGRADE THAT THERE WAS NO FREEDOM OF THE MEDIA IN SERBIA YET, BECAUSE THE REGIME IN SERBIA "STILL HAS CONTROL OVER THE MEDIA THROUGH MORE OR LESS SUBTLE MANIPULATION."

"PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC MUST ABANDON THIS PRACTICE OF MANIPULATING AND EXERTING PRESSURE ON THE MEDIA. IT IS NOT ONLY BAD FOR THE COUNTRY, IT IS BAD ALSO FOR HIM... PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC MUST GET USED TO THE FACT THAT IF HE WANTS A SOUND CIVIC SOCIETY, HE HAS TO SECURE MULTI-SIDEDNESS. IF IT DOES NOT EXIST, THEN THE ROAD IS PAVED FOR EXTREME NATIONALISM, WHICH LEADS TO FASCISM. MILOSEVIC DOES NOT WANT THAT, AND THE PEOPLE OF SERBIA DESERVE BETTER.
(END EXCERPTS)

UNDER THE HEADLINE "I WOULD LIKE TO VISIT KOSOVO," "BLIC" (OCT 18-19) RUNC A SHORT INTERVIEW WITH MS. MARTON, AS FOLLOWS:

(BEGIN TEXT)

INTRODUCTION: "UNFORTUNATELY, I SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO VISIT KOSOVO THIS TIME, ALTHOUGH I VERY MUCH WANT TO DO SO," MS. MARTON SAID FOR "BLIC." "THIS IS WHERE MY VISIT ENDS AND WHERE MY WORK ENDS."

Q: WHAT WAS THE REAL GOAL OF YOUR COMING INTO THE REGION; WAS IT BOSNIA OR SERBIA?

A: THE MAIN GOAL OF MY VISIT WAS THE MEDIA SITUATION IN BOSNIA, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF THE COMING ELECTIONS.

Q: HOW DO YOU ASSESS THE SITUATION IN SARAJEVO?

A: OBVIOUSLY, THERE ARE NO BIG PROBLEMS THERE. I AM MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE MEDIA IN REPUBLIKA SRPSKA, WHICH HAVE JUST STARTED TO BE FREE. OBJECTIVE REPORTING IS STILL IN ITS INFANCY.

O: WILL YOU MEET WITH ANYBODY ELSE IN BELGRADE, OR DOES YOUR VISIT END WITH THE MEETING WITH THE FRY PRESIDENT?

A: I CAME TO BELGRADE ONLY TO MEET WITH MILOSEVIC.

(END TEXT)

THE INDEPENDENT AND SEMI-INDEPENDENT TV STATIONS (STUDIO B, BK TELECOM, TV POLITIKA) GAVE EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF MS. MARTON'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN THEIR RESPECTIVE PRIME TIME NEWS PROGRAMS ON OCTOBER 17.

IN ITS REGULAR COLUMN "PERSONALITIES," THE INDEPENDENT

BELGRADE DAILY "DANAS" (OCT 20) CARRIES A PORTRAIT OF KATI MARTON, ENTITLED "LADY WHO DOES NOT LIKE CHANEL" THE TEXT FOLLOWS:

(BEGIN TEXT)

"IF ANYBODY WANTS TO PROMOTE NATIONALISM, HE SHOULD TAKE THE FIRST BUS TO SARAJEVO AND SEE WHERE NATIONALISM LEADS. THE WORLD IS NOW SMALL, THERE IS NO ROOM FOR NATIONALISM. WE ARE ALL QUITE SIMILAR, NEITHER YOU ARE DEVILS NOR ARE WE ANGELS. ONLY SOMETIMES WE HAVE LEADERS WHOM WE DON'T DESERVE." THIS WAS KATI MARTON'S MESSAGE DURING HER FIRST VISIT TO BELGRADE AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS, AT THE END OF LAST YEAR.

ALTHOUGH OUR PUBLIC KNOWS HER BETTER AS RICHARD HOLBROOKE'S WIFE, IN AMERICA MARTON HAS A REPUTATION OF A SUCCESSFUL JOURNALIST, WHO HAS WON MANY AWARDS IN RADIO AND TV JOURNALISM. SHE VISITED YUGOSLAVIA FOR THE VERY FIRST TIME AS AN ABC REPORTER, REPORTING FROM TITO'S FUNERAL.

WITH THE ONES WHO SUCCEEDED JOSIP BROZ SHE MET ON MANY MORE OCCASIONS THAN HER YUGOSLAV COLLEAGUES, BUT ALTHOUGH MS. MARTON HAS A REPUTATION OF AN EXCEPTIONALLY INTERESTING, CHARMING AND NICE LADY, NO ONE CAN BELIEVE THAT TUDJMAN, MILOSEVIC AND OTHERS HAD HAPPY FACES AFTER HAVING HAD A "RENDEZVOUS" WITH HER.

HER SHARP LANGUAGE MADE THE CROATIAN PRESIDENT GET INTO HYSTERICS, WHILE OUR LEADER BEHAVED WITH STOICISM.

"PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC IS A PERSON OF DIFFERENT TEMPERAMENT. I THINK HE HAS A BETTER GRASP OVER HIMSELF," SAYS MARTON. SHE IS VERY PROUD OF HER HUNGARIAN ORIGIN. SHE WAS BORN IN BUDAPEST IN A FAMILY OF JOURNALISTS. SHE LEFT HUNGARY WITH HER PARENTS AFTER THE SOVIET INVASION IN 1956. HER PARENTS WERE SUCCESSFUL IN AMERICA AND WERE ABLE TO PROVIDE THEIR DAUGHTER WITH GOOD LIFE AND GOOD EDUCATION.

ALTHOUGH SHE HAS GOT SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS ON HER ACCOUNT, KATI MARTON DRESSES WITH MODERATION AND ELEGANCE. YOU WILL NEVER SEE HER IN OUTFITS AND DRESSES OF HAUTE COUTURE.

"I DON'T HAVE A CHANEL COSTUME, BECAUSE AS SOON AS I SEE THE PRICES I GIVE UP. TOP CREATORS ARE RIDICULOUSLY EXPENSIVE, AND THEIR DRESSES ARE FOR THE WOMEN WHO LIKE TO SAY 'OH, I HAVE A CHANEL COSTUME.' I LIKE TO BUY PRETTY THINGS RATHER THAN EXPENSIVE."

BUT DON'T THINK THAT MARTON IS STINGY. SHE IS ONLY SPENDING HER MONEY IN A SMART WAY, AND NOT BY ANY MEANS ON FOOD, BECAUSE RICHARD HOLBROOKE IS CONSTANTLY ON A DIET.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 8, 1997

Ms. Molly MacGregor
Executive Director
National Women's History Project
7738 Bell Road
Windsor, CA 95492-8518

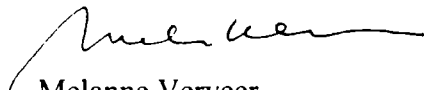
Dear Ms. MacGregor:

Thank you very much for your letter and invitation to the First Lady to deliver the keynote address to the 150th Anniversary of the Women's Rights Movement.

The First Lady would very much like to be in Seneca Falls for the 150th Anniversary of the Women's Rights Movement. However, it is too early at this time to be able to confirm Mrs. Clinton's participation.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



Copy to Patti
make 2 copies
for me & R

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Old Executive Office Building,
Room 100
Washington, DC 20500

November 27, 1997

Dear Ms. Verveer,

As you know, 1998 will mark the 150th Anniversary of the Women's Rights Movement. Our November 18 letter informed you that the main event of the year-long celebration will take place at the Women's Rights National Historical Park, in Seneca Falls. We hope the First Lady will accept this invitation to keynote the central program, which could be scheduled to accommodate her other plans. Ideally, this keynote would take place at 2:00 p.m. on Saturday, July 18.

This focal celebration will be hosted by the National Park Service. The First Lady's speech could be telecast to thousands of people who will be assembled for 150th Anniversary programs across the country. Her national address would most likely be highlighted by the print and electronic media as well.

Hillary Rodham Clinton has become America's ambassador for women's issues. It is our hope that she will assume a prominent role in the upcoming Women's Rights Movement anniversary celebrations at the Movement's birthplace. The July 18th event will be the centerpiece of this sesquicentennial year, presenting an important platform for the First Lady's ongoing work.

I thank you for your consideration of this request. We would appreciate being informed of the First Lady's response to the National Park Service so we could begin publicizing her appearance through our network of women's organizations. That response should be addressed to Superintendent Joanne Hanley, Women's Rights National Historical Park, P.O. Box 70, Seneca Falls, NY 13148, or (315) 568-2262.

Sincerely,

Molly Murphy MacGregor
Executive Director

cc: Ms. Sondra Seba, White House Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach
Supt. Joanne Hanley, Women's Rights National Historical Park

NATIONAL WOMEN'S HISTORY PROJECT

7738 BELL ROAD • WINDSOR, CALIFORNIA 95492-8518
PH: 707-838-6000 • FAX: 707-838-0478 • E-MAIL: NWHP@AOL.COM
VISIT OUR WEB SITE: WWW.NWHP.ORG

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 15, 1997

Ms. Susan Medalie
3113 Macomb Street, NW
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Susan:

Thank you for your kind comments about The Washington Post Magazine article. I'm relieved to have survived the experience!

Wishing you all the best.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Melanne', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

—

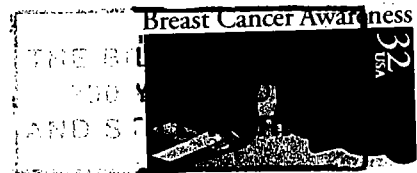
Dear Melany;

P

What a wonderful story
in the Washington Post you
have and continue to make
a difference. And that is so
important.

Hope to see you soon
my Best

Susan Medallie



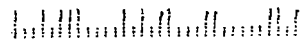
Melany Verwee
Chief of Staff of Lt Lady

Room 100

O E O B

Wash DC

205 00



Revised

Susan Medalie

3113 Macomb St NW

Wash DC

Long

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 15, 1997

Ms. Anne Murphy
OVATION - The Arts Network
201 N. Union Street
Alexandria, VA 22314

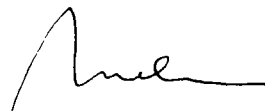
Dear Anne:

Thank you for your kind comments about The Washington Post Magazine article. I'm relieved to have survived the experience!

Thanks, also, for the tape from OVATION's ceremony, which I have shared with others here.

Wishing you all the best. Happy Holidays!

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

②

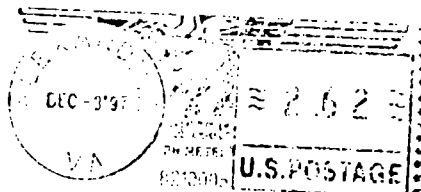
December 3

Dear Melanne,

The article in the Past reminded me of all the other "unsung" things you've done - including getting Arts + Humanities Month up and running. Enclosed is a copy of the tape OVATION produced of this year's ceremony. If you have need of additional copies, give me a call.

In the meantime, thank you again for all you have done - and will do.

Sincerely
Anne Moyer



HOW TO USE:



1. COMPLETE ADDRESS LABEL AREA

Type or print required return address and addressee information in customer block (white area) or on label (if provided).



2. PAYMENT METHOD

Affix postage or meter strip to area indicated in upper right hand corner.



3. ATTACH LABEL (if provided)

Remove label backing and adhere over customer address block and service area.

Agm / OVATION
201 N Union St
Alexandria, Va 22314

Melanne Vasser
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
OEB #100
Washington, DC 20500

OR PICKUP CALL
800-222-1811

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

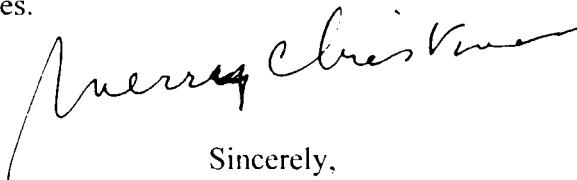
December 15, 1997

Ambassador George Moose
Department of State
2201 C Street, NW
IO Bureau, Room 6327
Washington, DC 20520

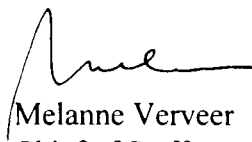
Dear George:

Congratulations on your appointment as Representative of the U.S. to the European Office of the United Nations. I regret that I was unable to join you, and I wish you all the best in your new challenges.

Best wishes.



Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



*George E. Moose and Judith R. Kaufmann
request the pleasure of your company
at his swearing-in
as Representative of the United States of America
to the European Office of the United Nations
Friday, December 19, 1997
at 4:00 P.M.
Benjamin Franklin Room
Department of State*

*RSVP by Noon, December 16
with date of birth and social security number
(202) 647-9431
Fax: (202) 736-4116*

*2201 C Street N.W.
Photo Identification Required*

*with
congrats*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 20, 1997

Mr. Richard Mintz
Managing Director
Burton-Marsteller
1801 K Street, NW
Suite 1000-L
Washington, DC 20006

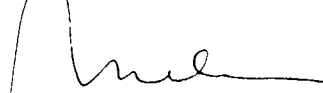
Dear Richard:

Congratulations on your new position at Burston-Marsteller. I wish you all the best in all your new challenges. Hope you and the family are well. It seems like ages since we've seen you.

Best wishes.

Love Hall

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Burson-Marsteller

(R)

is pleased to announce that

Richard I. Mintz

has joined the firm as

**Managing Director
Public Affairs Practice**

1801 K Street, N.W., Suite 1000-L
Washington, DC 20006
202-530-4555
Fax: 202-530-4500
richard_mintz@bm.com

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 9, 1997

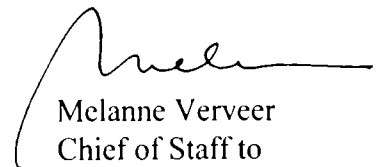
Mr. Richard Murphy
Senior Associate
Center for Strategic & International Studies
1800 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Dick:

Thank you very much for your letter and for the information on the important work being done by The Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research. We would be very interested in receiving publications and I will look into getting them through e-mail.

Thanks and best wishes in your work.

Sincerely,

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

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Richard Murphy to Melanne Verveer [partial] (1 page)	09/30/1997	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 12168

FOLDER TITLE:

Verveer, Melanne Correspondence: July to December 1997 - M-N [3]

2013-0534-S

rc1538

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]



②

Center for Strategic & International Studies
Washington, DC

30 September 1997

Ms Melanne Vermeer
Assistant to the President and
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

In view of Mrs Clinton's forthcoming visit to Ukraine, I thought that you would be interested in having a source of interesting information about women's issues in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research (UCIPR), an independent, nongovernmental think tank in Kyiv, has been issuing a series, *Gender Herald* (six issues published to date), and recently launched a new publication, *Gender Monitor*. Although the English is far from perfect, it is understandable, and both series provide some interesting insights.



If you are interested in receiving these publications, including back issues, by e-mail, you can request them by an e-mail message to Inna Pidluska (kam@political.kiev.ua). Feel free to use my name because Inna Pidluska and Slavko Pikhovshek, UCIPR's director, know me.

(b)(6)

[001]

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Richard W. Murphy
CSIS Senior Associate and Executive Director
American-Ukrainian Advisory Committee

Thomas Maier
20 Beacon Lane
E. Northport, N.Y. 11731
phone/fax: 516-368-8607.

sent to
Phil Caplan
10/2/97

September 29, 1997

Huma Abedin,
Office of the First Lady,
The White House,
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Abedin,

I would like to recommend that Dr. Benjamin Spock be awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his contributions to America's children, on the occasion of his 95th birthday this coming May 2, 1998.

This would be a richly deserved honor for Dr. Spock, who has done as much any one individual to improve life for millions of American children and their parents. It also would be a poignant gesture of support and recognition for Dr. Spock's early and often courageous advocacy of many of the family and childhood issues that this Administration has championed.

As you probably know, Dr. Spock is listed among the 100 greatest Americans of the 20th Century, according to Life Magazine, and he is widely considered the "father" of the baby-boom generation. His famous book, Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care, is the second greatest selling book of all time after the Bible and literally transformed American parenting during the past three generations. Last year, ABC anchor Peter Jennings devoted a "Person of the Week" honor to Spock, calling him one of the most influential Americans of our age.

Dr. Spock's remarkable life spans the entire century, reflecting much of what is great about our country. He was a gold-medal winner in 1924 Olympics, and served in the Navy during World War II. Since the 1960s, he has worked tirelessly for peace and better parenting, a remarkable person whom Jacqueline Kennedy consulted in raising her children, and who convinced Martin Luther King to speak out against the Vietnam War. Today, the new neurobiological evidence presented at the recent White House Conference on Children, hosted by the President and Mrs. Clinton, highlighted what Dr. Spock has said for years -- that "nurturing" in the first two years of every child's life is crucial to their emotional and intellectual future.

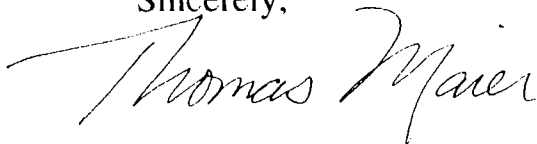
As his approved biographer, I have asked Dr. Spock and his wife, Mary Morgan, about this honor and they are supporting this request with their full knowledge and permission. (Dr. Spock's office number in Camden, Maine is 207-236-4616) Dr. Spock is such a modest and humble man that it would not come naturally for him to ask for such a public reminder of his legacy to America. But it seems to me that the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, should quite appropriately be given to Dr. Spock, who has championed the cause of America's young for so many years. If you would like, I will gladly ask Dr. T. Berry Brazelton and other longtime friends and associates of Dr. Spock to contact the White House with their own written letters of support for this Presidential honor for Dr. Spock.

This spring, a major retrospective will take place about Dr. Spock's impact on America, with the publication of a new biography as well as the new seventh edition of Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care (coming out in May, also to mark Spock's 95th birthday on May 2nd.) In addition, there will be a new television documentary about Dr. Spock to appear on A&E's "Biography" series. But much more importantly, an official recognition of Dr. Spock's lifetime achievements with the Presidential Medal of Freedom would highlight the importance of parenting and childhood issues for all Americans, and underscore President Clinton's determination to recognize those who serve this cause so well.

I would be happy to answer any question that you may have. I can be contacted at the above address or at Newsday, where I am a health and science reporter (office: 516-368-8607). For any further information, you may also contact Walter Bode, my editor at Harcourt Brace & Co, which will publish the upcoming biography of Dr. Spock's life.

There is a great amount of love and admiration throughout this country for Dr. Spock, and it would be wonderful if the President could recognize this public feeling with this honor. Thank you for your thoughtful consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Thomas Maier". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Thomas Maier

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1997

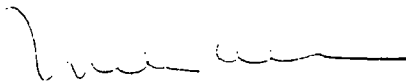
Ms. Kay McClanahan
Inter-American Institute for
Cooperation on Agriculture
1775 K Street, NW, Suite 320
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Ms. McClanahan:

On behalf of the First Lady, thank you very much for your thoughtful letter. We are delighted to hear that Susan Gregory, too, shall be participating in the upcoming First Ladies Conference in Panama, and we will look forward to seeing her. Mrs. Clinton appreciated your kind words

Thank you for writing and best wishes in your work.

Sincerely,

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

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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This marker identifies the place of a publication.

Publications have not been scanned in their entirety for the purpose of digitization. To see the full publication please search online or visit the Clinton Presidential Library's Research Room.



AE/US-1205
September 12, 1997

The First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Hillary,

I was very pleased to hear that you plan to attend the First Ladies Conference in Panama in October. As the new Representative to the United States for the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA), I look forward to your participating and thought you might be interested to know that Susan Gregory also plans to attend.

Last week I was in Little Rock visiting Susan and learned that her company, Global Link, has just been contracted to coordinate the Sister Cities World Conference in Little Rock in 1999. I am so happy for her and have convinced her that she should attend the First Ladies Conference for a number of reasons.

First, as IICA is the agricultural arm of the Organization of American States (OAS) for the Western Hemisphere it will present a Project for Rural Women on October 8. (The Sister Cities Conference will focus on issues concerning both women and agriculture.) Also, Donna Kay McLarty is planning to attend the First Ladies Conference and we believe it will offer a great opportunity for creative planning to benefit women. She and I agree that in our experiences throughout Latin America and the Caribbean the last few years we have met many outstanding women. We have also talked about the possibility of a small group of us getting together in Panama as old friends. In that regard, I would consider it a special privilege if you would join us. I know Susan would like that as well.

../..

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR COOPERATION ON AGRICULTURE

NORTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
TECHNICAL COOPERATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT DIVISION
1775 K Street, N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20005-1175
Telephone: (202) 462-4707 / (202) 462-4600 / (800) 455-1175
Electronic Mail: leandros@nrcs.iica.org

- 2 -

On a personal note, I have really empathized with you and Bill these last few weeks as Chelsea has prepared to leave for school. She is such a treasure, I can imagine how you will miss her, but also how pleased you are about the opportunities before her. I congratulate you on a job fantastically done.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kay', with a stylized flourish extending from the end.

Kay M. McClanahan
Representative in the United States

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 6, 1997

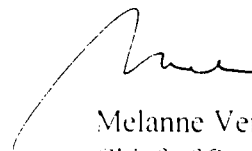
Ms. Ann Pleshette Murphy
Editor-in-Chief
Parents
375 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Dear Ann:

Thank you very much for your letter and for updating us on your activities, especially the childcare award.

It was wonderful to see you at the conference. Thanks and best wishes in your important efforts. We look forward to continuing to working with you and Parents.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Ann Pleshette Murphy
Editor-in-Chief
Telephone No.: 212-499-2050
Fax No.: 212-499-2288

375 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10017-5514
Telephone (212) 499-2000

October 27th, 1997

Hon. Melanne Vervecr
Assistant to the President & Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House, Rm. 100
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20500

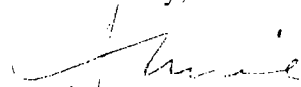
Dear Melanne:

Last week's conference on child care was so thrilling and inspiring that I rushed back to my office and launched the attached press release to signal our commitment to this issue. As the President and Mrs. Clinton suggested, we need a way of honoring the thousands of hard-working child care providers around the country, as well as the educators, business and religious leaders, and legislators who are working so hard and, in many cases, so effectively on this issue.

In our brief chat about a child care awards program, you indicated that you would be open to working with us. I am very excited about the PARENTS Magazine Child Care Awards, and will keep you abreast of what's happening. My hope is that we will host a gala awards ceremony in the fall of 1998 to correspond with a major article about our winners in the magazine and, perhaps, to some kind of broadcast presentation.

On a personal note, it was so nice to see you, Marsha Berry, Robin Dickey, Joan Lombardi, Jen Klein, and the other terrific people on the White House staff again.

Sincerely,



Ann Pleshette Murphy
Editor-in-Chief

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: Gabrielle Torello
212-849-8257

PARENTS MAGAZINE CHILD CARE AWARDS **ANNOUNCED**

New York, NY—October 27, 1997—The first-ever *Parents* Magazine Child Care Awards has been announced by Editor-in-Chief Ann Pleshette Murphy. The awards will be the first recognition program to honor individuals and organizations dedicated to caring for America's children.

The *Parents* Magazine Child Care Awards program will spotlight the true, unsung heroes and heroines of the child-care industry. Awards will be given in the public and private sectors. Honorees will include child-care providers as well as legislators, educators, business leaders and religious leaders.

"Excellent child-care providers don't get the recognition or respect they deserve," states Ann Pleshette Murphy, Editor-in-Chief of *Parents* Magazine. "We are hearing so much about the shortcomings of child care in America but last week's White House Conference on Child Care provided superb examples of individuals and organizations across the nation who are doing a fabulous job taking care of children. With the *Parents* Magazine National Child Care Awards, we hope to bring their work to national prominence in the same way teacher awards programs identify and honor the country's best educators."

Entry information will be available online in early November on *Parents.Com*, the magazine's Web site. Those interested in the program can write for entry forms to The *Parents* Magazine Child Care Awards at 375 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10017, or look for information in the February issue of *Parents*.

For eight decades, *Parents* Magazine has been the voice of parents for parents. The first and largest magazine in its category, *Parents* reaches a total audience of more than 13 million mothers and fathers, providing up-to-date information, practical advice, and emotional support.

#

November 6, 1997

Dr. Christopher McGraw
Center for Health Policy Research
The George Washington University
2021 K Street, NW
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20006



Dear Dr. McGraw:

Thank you very much for your letter and invitation to the First Lady to the *Packard Roundtable for Children* on December 11, 1997.

Regrettably, the First Lady will be unable to attend due to schedule conflicts, but sends her best wishes for a successful and productive event.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

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C

October 28, 1997

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
West Wing, 2nd Floor
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Verveer:

At the suggestion of Melissa Ludtke, I am sending to your attention the enclosed invitation to the First Lady to speak at an upcoming meeting of the *Packard Roundtable for Children*. The dinner meeting will be held at the Hay-Adams Hotel here in Washington on Thursday evening, December 11.

The *Packard Roundtable for Children* is a unique, on-going forum comprised of a national network of prominent professionals in fields related to children's health—pediatrics, nursing, mental health, health administration, nutrition, obstetrics, family practice and disability. In addition to being prominent in their fields, all *Roundtable* participants have had some kind of Washington policy experience, as well. With both professional and policy expertise, they are well positioned to advocate for the needs of children and families. The purpose of the *Roundtable* is to foster those policy activities at the national, state and local levels.

The *Roundtable* is sponsored by the Center for the Future of Children of The David and Lucile Packard Foundation and is coordinated by the Center for Health Policy Research of The George Washington University.

While we would be honored if the First Lady could address the dinner meeting on December 11th, we realize the potential conflicts of the Holiday season. The *Roundtable* will continue to meet during the day on Friday, December 12, also at the Hay-Adams, and we would be more than happy to accommodate Mrs. Clinton's schedule should that be more convenient.

If you have any questions, please give me a call at 530-2308. I understand that Melissa has forwarded a copy of the enclosed letter directly to Mrs. Clinton, as well. Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Christopher DeGraw, M.D., M.P.H.
Center for Health Policy Research
The George Washington University



CENTER FOR HEALTH POLICY RESEARCH

October 28, 1997

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

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

On behalf of Dr. Richard E. Behrman, Director of the Center for the Future of Children, The David and Lucile Packard Foundation, and Sara Rosenbaum, J.D., Director of the Center for Health Policy Research, The George Washington University Medical Center, I would like to invite you to address a dinner meeting of the *Packard Roundtable for Children*. The dinner will be held on Thursday, December 11 at 6:30 P.M. at the Hay-Adams Hotel, here in Washington.

The *Roundtable* participants would be very interested in hearing your perspectives on quality child care and child health. To accommodate your busy schedule, your remarks can be made before, during or after dinner—anytime between 6:30 P.M. and 8:30 P.M. If your schedule permits, we would be honored if you would join the *Roundtable* for dinner, as well.

The *Packard Roundtable for Children* is a national, nonpartisan network of senior level professionals in disciplines representing pediatrics, obstetrics, family practice, nursing, disabilities, health services administration, nutrition and mental health. The participants are further distinguished by having had significant federal or state level policy experience, many having served as Congressional Fellows or Congressional staff, as members of federal commissions, or in some other capacity. Participants currently hold leadership positions in academia and health care practice, and they bring to the table a significant network of political and professional contacts at the national level, as well as within their own states.

The goal of the *Roundtable* is to facilitate the development of sound policies and programs to improve the health and well-being of children by fostering participants' involvement in the policymaking process. The *Roundtable* was established in 1993 under the auspices of the Center for the Future of Children of the David and Lucile Packard Foundation and is coordinated by the Center for Health Policy Research of The George Washington University Medical Center.

The *Packard Roundtable for Children* meets periodically in Washington for discussion of policy issues affecting the health of children and families and meetings with policymakers. Senator Christopher Dodd addressed the most recent *Roundtable* dinner, which was held last spring.

Letter to Mrs. Clinton, page 2

I am attaching a list of *Packard Roundtable for Children* participants. If you have any questions, please have your staff call me at (202) 530-2308, or my colleague, Anne Markus, at (202) 530-2339.

On behalf of the *Packard Roundtable for Children*, I hope you can join us on December 11. We look forward to your favorable response.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Chris DeGraw". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized "C" and "D".

Christopher DeGraw, M.D., M.P.H.
Senior Research Staff Scientist
Project Director

Enclosure

Packard Roundtable for Children

PARTICIPANT LIST

Richard E. Behrman, M.D.
Managing Director, Center for the Future of Children
The David and Lucile Packard Foundation
300 Second Street, Suite 102
Los Altos, CA 94022
Phone: 415-948-3696
FAX: 415-948-6498

Jay E. Berkelhamer, M.D.
Chairman
Department of Pediatrics
Henry Ford Health System
2799 West Grand Boulevard
Detroit, MI 48202-2657
Phone: 313-876-2657
FAX: 313-876-1771

Richard L. Bucciarelli, M.D.
Professor of Pediatrics and Chief
Associate Chairman, Department of Pediatrics
Associate Executive Director, Institute of Child Health Policy
University of Florida College of Medicine
Department of Pediatrics, Box J-296/JHM Health Center
Gainesville, FL 32610
Phone: 352-392-3337
FAX: 352-392-0481
E-mail: rick.peds@mail.health.ufl.edu

Peter P. Budetti, M.D., J.D.
Director, Institute for Health Services Research and Policy Studies
Northwestern University
629 Noyes Street
Evanston, IL 60208-4170
Phone: 847-491-5643
FAX: 847-491-2202
E-mail: p-budetti@nwu.edu

Louis Z. Cooper, M.D.
Professor and Director of Pediatrics
St. Luke's-Roosevelt Hospital
1000 10th Avenue
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 7, 1997

Mr. Thomas Maier
20 Beacon Lane
E. Northport, NY 11731

Dear Mr. Maier:

On behalf of the First Lady, thank you very much for your letter and for your recommendation that Dr. Benjamin Spock be awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. I have forwarded your letter to the appropriate officials.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Melanne Verveer", written in a cursive style.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Thomas Maier
20 Beacon Lane
E. Northport, N.Y. 11731
phone/fax: 516-368-8607.

September 29, 1997

Hillary Rodham Clinton,
Office of the First Lady,
The White House,
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

I would like to recommend that Dr. Benjamin Spock be awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his contributions to America's children, on the occasion of his 95th birthday this coming May 2, 1998.

This would be a richly deserved honor for Dr. Spock, who has done as much any American to improve life for millions of children and their parents. It also would be a poignant gesture of support and recognition for Dr. Spock's early and often courageous advocacy of many of the family and childhood issues that this Administration has championed.

As you probably know, Dr. Spock is listed among the 100 greatest Americans of the 20th Century, according to Life Magazine, and he is widely considered the "father" of the baby-boom generation. His famous book, Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care, is the second greatest selling book of all time after the Bible and literally transformed American parenting during the past three generations. Last year, ABC anchor Peter Jennings devoted a "Person of the Week" honor to Spock, calling him one of the most influential Americans of our age.

Dr. Spock's remarkable life spans the entire century, reflecting much of what is great about our country. He was a gold-medal winner in 1924 Olympics, and served in the Navy during World War II. Since the 1960s, he has worked tirelessly for peace and better parenting, a remarkable person whom Jacqueline Kennedy consulted in raising her children, and who convinced Martin Luther King to speak out against the Vietnam War. Today, the new neurobiological evidence presented at the recent White House Conference on Children, hosted by the President and Mrs. Clinton, highlighted what Dr. Spock has said for years -- that "nurturing" in the first two years of every child's life is crucial to their emotional and intellectual future.

- 2 -

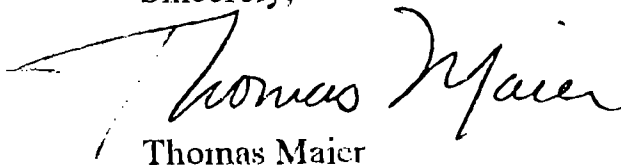
As his approved biographer, I can affirm that Dr. Spock and his wife, Mary Morgan, are supporting this request with their full knowledge and permission. (Dr. Spock's office number in Camden, Maine is 207-236-4616). Dr. Spock is such a modest and humble man that it would not come naturally for him to ask for such a public reminder of his legacy to America. But it seems to me that the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, should quite appropriately be given to Dr. Spock, who has championed the cause of America's young for so many years. If you would like, I will gladly ask Dr. T. Berry Brazelton and other longtime friends and associates of Dr. Spock to contact the White House with their own written letters of support for this Presidential honor for Dr. Spock.

This spring, a major retrospective will take place about Dr. Spock's impact on America, with the publication of a new biography as well as the new seventh edition of Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care (coming out in May, also to mark Spock's 95th birthday on May 2nd.) In addition, there will be a new television documentary about Dr. Spock to appear on A&E's "Biography" series. But much more importantly, an official recognition of Dr. Spock's lifetime achievements with the Presidential Medal of Freedom would highlight the importance of parenting and childhood issues for all Americans, and underscore President Clinton's determination to recognize those who serve this cause so well.

I would be happy to answer any question that you may have. I can be contacted at the above address or at Newsday, where I am a health and science reporter (office: 516-368-8607). For any further information, you may also contact Walter Bode, my editor at Harcourt Brace & Co, which will publish the upcoming biography of Dr. Spock's life.

There is a great amount of love and admiration throughout this country for Dr. Spock, and it would be wonderful if the President could recognize this public feeling with this honor. Thank you for your thoughtful consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Thomas Maier". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Thomas Maier

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 27, 1997

Ms. Julia Moffett
Vice President
Communications
NBC News
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10122

Dear Julia:

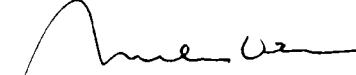
I received your note and the letter from Planned Parenthood of Connecticut inviting the First Lady to the 75th anniversary of the birth control movement in Connecticut.

I have forwarded the request to Patti Solis Doyle, Director of Scheduling for the First Lady, and she will be in touch with them as to whether or not it will be possible.

Best wishes.

*I hope all is
going well for
you.*

Sincerely,


Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

©



Melanne -

These are great
people and a great
organization. They asked
if I could make
sure their invitation
got to the right
people.

All the best -
Julia

Wiggin & Dana

Counsellors at Law

Offices in New Haven,
Hartford and
Stamford

One Century Tower
New Haven, Connecticut 06508-1832
Telephone 203-498-4400
Teletax 203-782-2889

Penelope I. Bellamy
203-498-4341

October 6, 1997

Julia Moffett
Vice President, Communications
NBC News
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10112

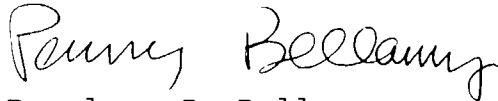
Re: Planned Parenthood of Connecticut

Dear Julia:

It turns out a letter to Mrs. Clinton went out on September 25th. I enclose a copy. Please do whatever it takes to get her to come to New Haven on April 30th.

Thank you for your help and let us know when you will next be in Stony Creek.

Sincerely,



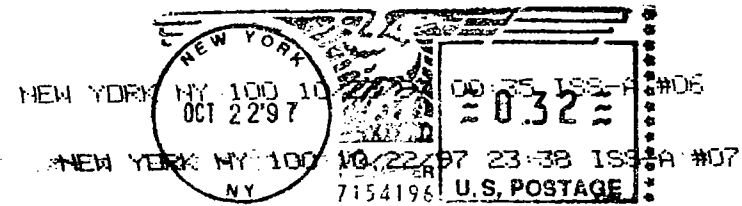
Penelope I. Bellamy

cc: Ms. Judy Tabar, PPC

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National Broadcasting
Company, Inc.

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10112



Melanne VERUEER
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

20500/0003

Kenny B.



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Joanne Woodward

Executive Director:

Judy Tabar

September 25, 1997

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Office of the First Lady
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

On April 30, 1998, Planned Parenthood of Connecticut will celebrate a milestone in American history--the 75th anniversary of the birth control movement in Connecticut. As you know, it was the courage of the women of Connecticut, rebuffed year after year by a hostile legislature, that led to the landmark 1965 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Griswold v. Connecticut*.

As the home of so many of the heroines and heroes of the family planning movement, many affiliated with Yale, New Haven will be the setting for an event we hope will both celebrate this significant date, honor a movement that has had profound worldwide impact, and place family planning for the future where it belongs: as a good and a given, not a debate.

It would be an honor both to Planned Parenthood and to the family planning movement if you were able to share this event with us by being our keynote speaker that day.

Our schedule is flexible enough, at this point, to accommodate whatever time of day you might find convenient. We are hopeful that the lure of a fine spring day in New Haven might be attractive enough to tempt you into saying "yes" this far in advance.

We look forward to your response, and to welcoming you to New Haven in April.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Judy Tabar'.

Judy Tabar
Executive Director

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 27, 1997

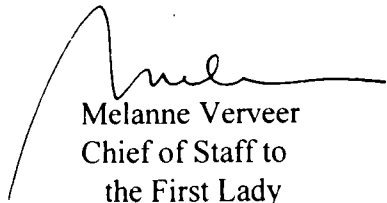
Rev. Martin Marty
The Public Religion Project
919 North Michigan Avenue
Suite 540
Chicago, IL 60611-1234

Dear Martin:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter and for Our Hope for Years to Come, which I greatly appreciate. I also sent Jane the materials you sent for her and the President and the First Lady. We were delighted about the "medal" and so enjoyed having you at the White House. We are all your fans.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Thank you
for copy I gave for
our 10 years to come from

THE
PUBLIC
RELIGION
PROJECT

©

Dear Ms. Verveer -

I'd be grateful to you
if you'd pass The Promise
of Winter to the Clintons -

Harriet and I enjoyed
the Newsweek picture of
you two being hilarious
in the limo -

I much enjoyed our brief
chat on what was a very
big day for me -

Warm regards

Wm E. King

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1997

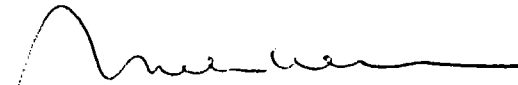
Ms. Molly Melching
Senegal, Africa

Dear Molly:

I am writing on behalf of the First Lady to thank you for your recent fax informing us of the important health decision made by some of the village women. TOSTON's work in basic education has clearly helped women understand why FGM poses serious health consequences. Your work also helps women to take responsibility and understand the role they have in decisions affecting themselves, their daughters and other women.

We will never forget our visit to Saam Njaay and we thank you for the work you do every day to help others. We greatly appreciated your news about the women's decision. It is a tangible illustration of the importance of your commitment to creating a better life for the people with whom you work.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Comments:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1997

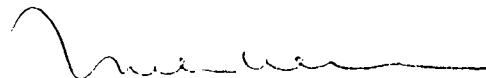
Ms. Molly Melching
Senegal, Africa

Dear Molly:

I am writing on behalf of the First Lady to thank you for your recent fax informing us of the important health decision made by some of the village women. TOSTON's work in basic education has clearly helped women understand why FGM poses serious health consequences. Your work also helps women to take responsibility and understand the role they have in decisions affecting themselves, their daughters and other women.

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Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

R

FAX

TO: AVIVA STEINBERG / 202-4565340
FOR: JAMES LOFTUS
FROM: MOLLY MELCHING / TOSTAN 221-51-34-27

AUGUST 8, 199

Dear James (and Aviva),

Hello from SENEGAL! I hope you got my phone message the other day. I just found this fax number among my papers from Mrs. Clinton's visit to Saam Njaay and hoped that Ms. Steinberg would not mind if I send this through her. It's the only way I knew to get it to you!

As I told you on the phone, something really important has happened here in one of the villages where TOSTAN has done our basic education program for 2 years. The women of the class of Malicounda Bambara decided to stop Female Genital Mutilation although it is a tradition their ethnic group (the Bambaras, originally from Mali) have performed on their young daughters for centuries.

I wanted Mrs. Clinton to know about this because it is a controversial subject much discussed around the world these days. For TOSTAN, it is truly a breakthrough in our education program because these women have "gone public" and are leading a campaign to get other communities to stop also.

I wanted to write Mrs. Clinton so that in her travels throughout the United States and the world, she may use this bold example of women taking hold of their destiny to inspire and influence other women who, because of tradition, are afraid to speak out on the subject.

I hope that you will read the letter and then I would greatly appreciate it if you could see that Mrs. Clinton gets the letter and understands how important it is.

Thank you and I hope that both you and Ms. Steinberg are well and in peace.

Warm greetings.
Molly Melching

