

Welfare Roles

Welfare reform chopped a key plank from the GOP platform and put Democrats on equal footing in the debate over spending vs. tax cuts for the first time in a generation.

COULD IT REALLY BE—THE 1996 welfare bill hasn't produced cataclysm? This is the finding of no less an authority than the Urban Institute, the Washington-based officially nonpartisan (but basically kinda liberal) think tank.

The report found that most mothers who've left the rolls since the act was passed are working, and they're working, on average, for an hourly wage of \$6.61, which for the period studied was higher than the minimum wage by almost \$2. President Clinton pounced on the report's release to make the obligatory appearance with former welfare recipients in Chicago and declare the law a triumph.

Substantively, it's still too early to say that. The report also details the various problems former recipients face and suggests that nearly a quarter of the people who've moved off the rolls since the bill became law have, as the phrase goes, fallen through the cracks. The bill was merely the first stage of a gut renovation of federal policy on poverty that won't be finished for years.

The political ramifications of the bill, though, are clear enough: Welfare reform has been bad news for Republicans and good news for Democrats. This may sound odd, since the bill sprang up from the wells of the conservative think tanks in the first place and since most Democrats had seizures when Clinton announced he was signing it. But there's no question that (1) the bill has taken a huge club out of the hands of the right, and (2)—and this is the really interesting part—it's started moving the debate about poverty in America to a place where the Democrats, who've been losing that argument for the better part of 30 years, can now actually win it.

"There's no question that it's taken an easy applause line away from the Republicans," says Robert Borosage of the Campaign for America's Future, a leading liberal policy group in Washington.

Borosage, I'm certain, would very much like it noted that he thinks the bill was an outrage, and praising anything emanating from it didn't come easily to him.

But the point is irrefutable. Look at the recent tax-cut debate. House majority leader Dick Armey insists that Americans will rally to his side en masse over the next month and demand passage of the GOP tax package with the fervor of *les citoyens* storming the Bastille. He may know something we don't, but it sure seems unlikely. A majority of

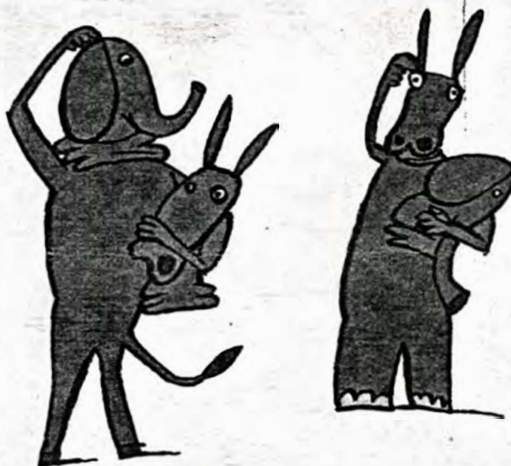
South will no longer be solidly Republican. Clinton carried five southern states in 1992. By 1996, after the GOP triumph of 1994 and the 200 or more state and local officials (many of them southern) who changed their party affiliation from Democratic to Republican, Clinton was in danger of doing worse there. But he won five states again. He did so mainly because Bob Dole was weak and the economy was strong, but I suspect that if Clinton had vetoed the welfare bill, the Dole campaign would

have pounded him on it and he'd have lost two or three of those states. American politics' most poisonous regional divide—the South went and stayed Republican over race, and welfare is at bottom about race—has narrowed considerably. One doubts George W. Bush, a son of the South, would be using "compassionate conservatism" as his mantra if this wheel hadn't been set a-spin, and the welfare bill is a large part of what did it.

Welfare reform, in other words, has put the GOP on the defensive. "The burden shifts to the Republicans," says George Stephanopoulos, who was against Clinton's signing the bill at the time, "to say what they are going to do for the poor."

It's simple: There was no public support for spending more money on welfare, small though the amount always was in reality. But there is public support for helping people who are trying to work. So providing health care and child care for poor people, and transportation subsidies for people who have to make long commutes to their jobs, as poor people often do, now has a political life that it just didn't have before. Borosage: "We have a much stronger argument about poor people on child-care and living-wage agreements and things like that than we did on welfare payments."

Specific legislation toward those ends hasn't made much progress yet. It's coming—Clinton's announcement two Saturdays ago that he'll press governors to get more poor children enrolled in health-



Democrats seem Republicanish (kill welfare), Republicans sort of Democratic (kinder, gentler, compassionate conservatism).

Americans recognizes that the choice here is really between a tax cut that, to most people, won't amount to much actual cash, and investing in Social Security and Medicare—the historic and still-popular entitlement programs that most people insist the government spend money on. This means that government spending, all of a sudden, is a good thing, which means in turn that the right can no longer carry on about the gov't taking your hard-earned money and throwing it at people who don't work. That has been, at least since Ronald Reagan's time, probably the most effective rhetorical anti-tax missile in the GOP silo. It has been disarmed.

We still haven't seen all the ramifications of this, but to name one: The

care programs is an example—but it will be a fight: round two of welfare reform, if you will. Ed Kilgore of the centrist Democratic Leadership Council argues that even though the 1996 bill represented a centrist consensus, the coming welfare debates will be intense. "I think a partisan divide is opening back up on it," he says, "because now that welfare is gone, the debate is about the overall economic status of poor people. And that's a pretty sharp partisan difference."

Kilgore points to an effort by Minnesota's Paul Wellstone—when the DLC is pumping Wellstone, you know the Democrats are feeling pretty flush—to pass legislation under which states would get bonus payments from the federal government not only for reducing the rolls but for providing former recipients with food stamps and Medicaid and child-care subsidies. After years of trying to get this through the Senate and failing, Wellstone finally succeeded in tacking it onto a Treasury-and-postal-appropriations bill that passed. It still must survive final ne-

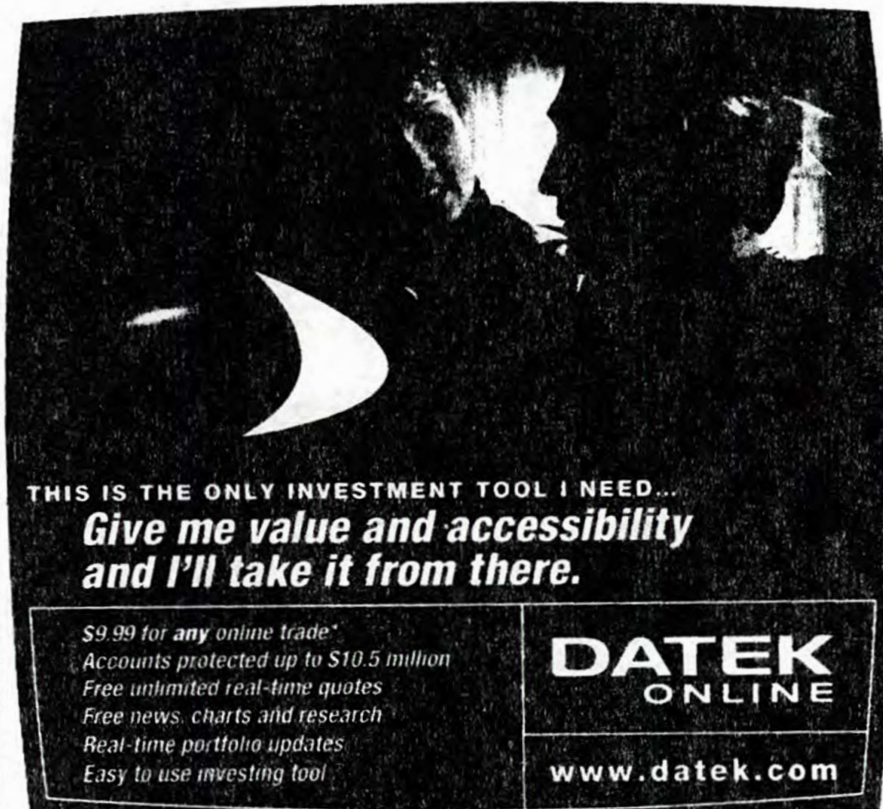
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gotiations to become law, but even if it fails this time, it represents the kind of argument around which Democrats can build support. "The end goal was not just to remove people from the rolls," says Wellstone spokesman Andy McDonald. "The end goal was to reduce poverty." Democrats have a better opportunity to sell this idea than they have in 35 years.

Correction: LAST WEEK, I WROTE THAT Charles Gargano, head of the state's Department of Economic Development, had been on the outs lately with the governor and had been kept in the dark about Pataki aide Brad Race's appointment to a state commission. Both Gargano and Race say that was wrong. I apologize for the error.

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BY DAVID GERGEN

To have and have less

Don't look now, but the gap between rich and poor is widening

When Bill Clinton recently visited "pockets" of poverty in America, the surprise was not that a Democratic president was focusing on people left behind in good times. It came instead from two of his men who had tart words for their old boss. Their message deserves a broad audience.

In the *New York Times*, Peter Edelman pointed out that despite the economic boom, poverty rates have dropped only a smidgen and the number of people living in extreme circumstances—less than \$6,750 a year for a family of three—has actually increased from 13.9 million in 1995 to 14.6 million in 1997. One in every 5 youngsters is still poor, compared with 1 in 7 in the 1970s.

Both he and his wife, Marian Wright Edelman, were strong supporters of Bill and Hillary Clinton. Peter Edelman later joined the administration, hoping it would transform the social landscape; he resigned in frustration after Clinton signed the welfare reform bill of 1996.

Now, Edelman says, the president cannot admit the true extent of hardship "because he has a vested interest in the notion that welfare reform has been a success." It has in fact cut welfare rolls by 40 percent, but those who left welfare are, in Edelman's words, "on balance, worse off." A third to a half of them, depending on the state, haven't found jobs. Many others who have are still poor, their pay low, their benefits cut.

Edelman is far from alone among disgruntled alumni of the administration. Earlier this month, when he resigned after six years as director of the Agency for International Development, the government's principal dispensary of foreign assistance, J. Brian Atwood rebuked the White House as well as the Republican Congress for their complacency toward people left behind in other lands.

Just as in the United States itself, the world is experiencing a "growing gap between the rich and poor, and that is a poisonous mix. That is going to create a crisis in the future," Atwood said, warning of potential

anarchy in Africa as well as Russia.

Since Clinton came into office, the budget for foreign aid has been slashed—with more cuts in the offing. AID staff has been pared by a third. Atwood says the administration let itself be "pushed around" by Republicans. "We rationalized that the developing world wanted 'trade, not aid.' Yet as time went on we saw virtually no increase of trade with the poorest nations. These nations simply could not afford to buy anything."

Since Atwood's resignation, the United Nations has issued a stinging report supporting his charges. It says that even as corporate executives, scientists, entertainers, and others are now forming a "global professional elite," inequality is rapidly increasing within many countries. The United States, the United Kingdom, Eastern Europe, and China are prime examples. According to the United Nations, the income gap between the top and bottom fifth of the world's population has more than doubled since 1960.

It's too late for Bill Clinton to do much anymore. But Edelman and Atwood will still have performed a large service if their words spark a national conversation about the kind of country and world we want to live in during the coming century.

Since the Reagan revolution began 20 years ago, America has created an extraordinary "new economy" that is yielding benefits beyond the imagination of even Bill Gates. An efficient market, however, does not ensure an equitable society. Those on top are now rising at accelerating speeds while below them many are struggling and some at the bottom are falling even deeper in a pit.

The industrial revolution opened similar gaps in the late 19th century. America responded with a progressive movement—led by a Republican, Teddy Roosevelt, and a Democrat, Woodrow Wilson—that gave a working family a better shot in life. They saw that basic morality as well as political necessity demanded a better way.

Where now is the Teddy Roosevelt of the information revolution? Where now are the progressives? Those are the real questions that Edelman and Atwood are posing. ■

Those on top now are
rising faster and faster
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The New York Times

Late Edition

New York: Today, warm with less humidity, high 85. Tonight, breezy and cooler, low 60. Tomorrow, partial sun and cool, high 69. Yesterday, high 87, low 70. Weather map is on page 43.

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Leftover Money for Welfare Baffles, or Inspires, States

*Fewer People on Rolls
but Many Dollars
Going Unspent*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Battles, or Inspires, States

Fewer People on Rolls but Many Dollars Going Unspent

By JASON DePARLE

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 — Critics of the watershed welfare law of 1996 forecast any number of problems, from starving children to dwindling benefits to Depression-era soup lines. But virtually no one imagined the strange new condition startling the experts coast to coast: states have more Federal money, literally, than they know how to spend.

That is because the welfare rolls have dropped significantly while Federal financing remains, by law, fixed at historic highs.

Consider Wisconsin's version of the new welfare math. Five years ago, the state received about \$317 million from the Federal Government, or \$4,100 for each family on the rolls. Last year, the state still got \$317 million, even though its rolls had fallen by more than 80 percent. That pushed the Federal aid to nearly \$22,000 per case, and with the rolls still shrinking this year it may grow to \$35,000, a bit more than the cost of a year at Harvard.

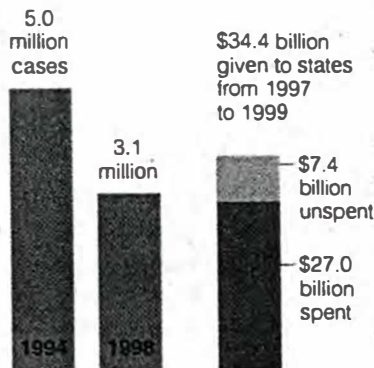
Awash in Federal dollars, the state has raised its welfare benefits 20 percent, created thousands of subsidized jobs and offered poor women door-to-door rides to mandatory motivation classes. It has also used the money to bring new support to needy families outside the welfare rolls, as the Federal law permits — offering them child care, car loans, counselors and annual cash bonuses of up to \$1,600.

Still, it had enough Federal anti-poverty money left over to shift more than \$100 million, through some creative accounting, into a tax cut for the decidedly nonpoor.

By contrast, Idaho and Wyoming have let their millions gather dust as their safety nets for the poor contract. Mississippi and Texas made modest increases in their notoriously low benefits.

New York is increasing the wage supplements it offers low-wage workers. But it has also used \$1 billion of its Federal welfare money simply to sustain existing programs it once financed itself, a trade that frees state and local dollars but offers no new services to the poor. While many states have pursued similar budgetary swaps, few have done so as brazenly as Minnesota, where Gov. Jesse Ventura of the Reform Party drew arrows in his budget and spelled out the goal: "Replace state spending with Federal

Welfare cases have plunged while Federal financing stayed fixed, leaving the states with a large amount of Federal welfare money unspent.



Source: New York Times analysis of data from the Department of Health and Human Services

The New York Times

LIFE AFTER WELFARE

Spending the Savings

dollars."

This flood of Federal dollars has created a rare, perhaps even unprecedented, moment of opportunity in programs for the poor. And it is almost wholly an unintended one — a rich new financing stream for anti-poverty efforts created by the most conservative Congress in a generation.

Seeking to revamp welfare and restrain its costs, a newly Republican House and Senate reached a grand bargain three years ago with the nation's governors. The states got new flexibility to run welfare programs as they choose. In exchange, they accepted five years of flat Federal financing. In the phrase of the time, the governors, predominantly Republicans themselves, promised to do more with less.

Instead they wound up with more — much more, on a per-case basis — than anyone predicted as a combination of a strong economy and tough new rules have pushed welfare rolls to stunning lows. Last year alone, Federal payments to the states were \$6 billion higher than they would have been under the old law, when falling caseloads meant smaller subsidies. Now in another twist, there is an intramural Republican dispute between Congressional leaders who want to reduce the windfall and conservative governors who, protecting their budgets, find themselves in the unusual posture of championing welfare money.

On the ground, the new financing is altering the anti-poverty landscape

Continued on Page 30

States Face Decisions on Leftover Welfare Money as Rolls Decline

Continued From Page 1

in surprising ways. It has created the potential for new services in pockets of poverty long starved for cash and helped Florida find a prominent new place among the nation's innovators. It has left a startling financial imbalance across the Wisconsin-Illinois border, where welfare disputes have long raged. It has defined a new Western Mountain regionalism, from Idaho to New Mexico, where Federal financing has brought new bounty but state services are notably few.

With vast new freedom to use the money as they see fit, states can intensify services for those left on welfare or extend a new hand to the working poor, by drug treatment in the inner city or build bus lines to job-rich suburbs. But much of this opportunity is passing by unseized, according to an analysis of state spending records conducted by The New York Times. While some of the windfall has brought some new services, at times in the innovative ways predicted by the proponents of state control, nearly a quarter of the Federal money awarded to the states remains unspent.

That leaves a pool of idle anti-poverty money totaling more than \$7 billion, a figure that current trends would push to \$22 billion by 2002 when the welfare law expires. And billions more of the Federal grants have merely replaced state spending, bringing no new benefits or services to the poor.

Of course, progress against poverty cannot be measured solely by the number of Federal dollars spent. Some states have deliberately created reserves, exercising what they say is appropriate caution in case of economic downturns; others have squandered new opportunities through inertia and political infighting. Many say the unspent money is not as idle as it looks, arguing that large portions have been earmarked for programs still being developed. Still, the magnitude of the surpluses is commanding increased attention.

The Times analysis is based on the quarterly financial reports each state must file with the Federal Department of Health and Human Services, interviews with state officials and an in-depth look at three states with markedly different experiences. The financial reports, the most recent available, cover state spending through the end of last year.

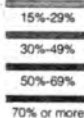
The analysis yielded four significant findings:

On average, the Federal Government now awards states 64 percent more per family than it did five years ago, before the new law took effect. In 1994, the average Federal subsidy per family was about \$3,200 a year. Last year, with the same amount of money but far fewer people on the rolls, the average subsidy rose to nearly \$5,300 a year. While the money can be spent on any needy family — not just those on welfare — the magnitude of the increase is a measure of the new opportunity states have to expand anti-poverty programs.

In 12 states, the Federal payment per case more than doubled. Six of those states are in the South, creating the potential — as yet little-realized — to significantly expand

A Dramatic Drop in Caseloads ...

Percentage decrease in the number of welfare cases in each state from 1994 to 1998.



Federal financing for welfare programs from 1997 to 1999 Dollar amounts in millions

	TOTAL GIVEN	AMOUNT UNSPENT	PERCENTAGE UNSPENT
Wyoming	\$ 42	\$ 38	91%
Idaho	57	43	76
Arkansas	106	48	45
Indiana	465	208	45
Wisconsin	793	349	44
Ohio	566	648	41
Mississippi	90	78	39
Montana	93	35	38
Louisiana	324	122	38
Kansas	306	113	37
Oklahoma	332	121	36
Tennessee	491	169	34
Minnesota	447	151	34
Maryland	469	158	34
New Jersey	751	242	32
West Virginia	220	69	31
New Mexico	214	67	31
Oregon	502	156	31

Source: New York Times analysis of data from the Department of Health and Human Services

new services in some of the nation's poorest regions. In Mississippi, the nation's second-poorest state, the Federal payment per family rose 158 percent. In Louisiana, the third-poorest state, the payment rose 86 percent.

While every state's Federal subsidy per family has grown, the politically volatile disparities between the states have grown as well. That raises the potential that bitter new fights will erupt in 2002, when the current financing formula expires.

In 1994, the states with the largest subsidies, New York and Alaska, received about \$5,000 per case, while the state with the smallest subsidy, Mississippi, received about \$1,460. That is a ratio of just over 3 to 1.

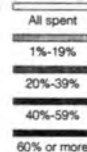
Federal financing at the time depended in large part on how much of its own money each state spent on welfare.

Now with each state's rolls declining at a different pace, the historic differences built into current arrangements have been amplified. By last year the state with the highest subsidy, Wisconsin, received \$21,600 per case.

That is more than six times the amount the Government pays Mississippi.

... Left States With Money Unspent

Percentage of Federal money given from 1997 to 1999 for welfare programs that has not been spent.



	TOTAL GIVEN	AMOUNT UNSPENT	PERCENTAGE UNSPENT
South Dakota	\$ 46	\$ 14	31%
Florida	1,291	375	29
Alabama	228	66	29
Texas	1,147	326	28
Colorado	215	53	25
Pennsylvania	1,318	302	23
Dist. of Columbia	177	40	22
South Carolina	219	48	22
Washington	794	171	21
California	7,812	1,673	21
Arizona	507	93	18
Iowa	268	49	18
North Dakota	43	8	18
North Carolina	617	104	17
New York	5,036	762	15
Kentucky	391	55	14
Alaska	99	14	14
Nebraska	122	17	14

	TOTAL GIVEN	AMOUNT UNSPENT	PERCENTAGE UNSPENT
Georgia	\$ 682	\$ 93	14%
Rhode Island	164	19	12
Vermont	107	11	10
Utah	177	18	10
New Hampshire	87	9	10
Virginia	296	29	10
Michigan	1,745	167	10
Massachusetts	1,034	75	7
Missouri	459	29	6
Hawaii	152	6	4
Illinois	865	0	0
Connecticut	590	0	0
Maine	165	0	0
Nevada	90	0	0
Delaware	55	0	0

U.S. TOTAL \$34,374 \$7,414 22%

The New York Times

bers of Congress argue that states now have more money than they need, and they are talking of reducing the grants. Speaker J. Dennis Hastert made a brief pass at cutting the program during Congressional budget deliberations last month.

In response, a coalition of unlikely partners has emerged, serenading the governors (31 Republicans, 17 Democrats, 1 independent and Mr. Ventura) with a use-it, don't-lose-it refrain. That group includes liberal advocates with long wish lists of programs for the poor, Clinton Administration officials, from the President on down, who want to protect domestic spending, and some of the Congressional Republicans who wrote the 1996 law and are eager to see it produce tangible benefits.

"The time is rapidly approaching where it will not be possible to protect these funds," wrote Representative Nancy L. Johnson, Republican of Connecticut, in a March letter to all 50 governors. "Spend the money."

While last year's figures are the most recent available, some analysts say spending has risen in recent months as states have grasped the size of the surpluses and

often broadening eligibility to all low-income families. Florida has gone even further, adding \$66 million in other services for families not on welfare, including drug and mental health treatment. "It's a new way of thinking about welfare — getting into more of a preventive mode," said Don Winstead, the state's director of welfare reform.

While expanding services, Florida now spends only 30 percent of its welfare money on monthly grants to the poor, and it has not raised the payment, \$303 for a family of three, in seven years. Nationally the average welfare grant for a mother with two children has risen by about 5 percent since 1995, to \$408 a month, about a third of the amount the Federal Government says a family needs to escape poverty.

While states promised to do more with less, some are doing less with more.

Six states have cut grants, including Idaho, which now offers an average payment of \$3,300 a year. Meanwhile, its Federal subsidy per case soared to more than \$17,000 last year, and more than three-quarters of its money remained unspent.

In 50 state budgets reside 50 different

went behind closed doors and divided the money in a deal that delighted them both.

Ms. Moore got nearly \$100 million over the next two years for new benefits and services for the poor.

Mr. Gard got just over \$100 million for a cut in property taxes.

The agencies that run the largely privatized program got nearly \$65 million in profit. And still there was enough left over to keep nearly \$100 million in reserve.

"It was a love fest," Ms. Moore said.

Oddly enough, the program generating these surpluses, Wisconsin Works, or W-2, is known for its willingness to spend. Virtually everyone receiving cash assistance is required to work. But the state has expanded job-placement services, hired new counselors, offered guarantees of child care, created thousands of community service jobs, and raised benefits to \$673 a month, higher than anywhere outside Alaska or Hawaii.

Cost per case have risen accordingly, to about \$21,000 a family last year, from \$7,000 in 1996.

Wisconsin has also increased its spending on other needy families, to reward them for

The New Welfare Math

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The New Welfare Math

Though the welfare rolls are plunging, Federal grants to states remain fixed at historic highs. As a result, every state has more money per family than it did in 1994. The states can spend the money on welfare recipients or on other low-income families.

	1998 FEDERAL FINANCING PER WELFARE CASE	PCT INCREASE FROM 1994
Wisconsin	\$21,674	428%
Idaho	17,624	380
Wyoming	17,272	385
Oregon	8,826	122
North Dakota	8,081	79
Utah	7,329	70
Arkansas	7,326	116
New York	7,252	46
Massachusetts	6,917	66
Colorado	6,574	101
Illinois	6,429	37
Montana	6,415	77
Alaska	6,393	28
West Virginia	6,350	135
Michigan	6,268	83
New Hampshire	6,129	83
Oklahoma	6,126	96
New Mexico	6,054	67
Hawaii	5,807	29
Connecticut	5,654	25
Arizona	5,637	85
South Dakota	5,535	75
Tennessee	5,530	30
Pennsylvania	5,330	56
U.S. AVERAGE	\$5,285	64
California	5,279	51
Iowa	5,226	37
Indiana	5,212	86
Washington	5,200	32
Florida	5,190	126
Ohio	5,189	78
Maine	5,096	55
New Jersey	4,946	50
Rhode Island	4,942	20
Maryland	4,817	71
West of Columbia	4,355	28
Georgia	4,344	89
Nebraska	4,339	30
Nevada	4,322	65
Delaware	4,267	52
Kansas	4,206	95
North Carolina	4,073	79
Alabama	4,034	118
South Carolina	3,952	109
Mississippi	3,764	158
Virginia	3,705	75
Missouri	3,613	53
Louisiana	3,508	86
Kentucky	3,444	59
Tennessee	3,440	99
Texas	3,436	112
Illinois	3,423	47

Source: New York Times analysis of data from the Department of Health and Human Services

The New York Times

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While last year's figures are the most recent available, some analysts say spending has risen in recent months as states have grasped the size of the surpluses and the range of programs they can create. "States are recognizing there's money there and they can do things they never imagined before," said Jack Tweedie, a welfare specialist at the National Conference of State Legislatures.

But paradoxically, the exhortations to spend have made some state officials even more reluctant to create new programs, for fear they will be left to finance them alone.

"Everybody's afraid the money will be taken away," said State Representative Garnet Coleman of Texas, a Democrat from Houston who sits on the appropriations committee. "We didn't want to fund things where we'd have to cut off individuals when we ran out of surplus."

When states do spend, they are much more likely to expand services — like job placement or especially child care — than to raise cash benefits. Many states have doubled or even tripled spending on child care,

and, in seven years, nationally the average welfare grant for a mother with two children has risen by about 5 percent since 1995, to \$408 a month, about a third of the amount the Federal Government says a family needs to escape poverty.

While states promised to do more with less, some are doing less with more.

Six states have cut grants, including Idaho, which now offers an average payment of \$3,300 a year. Meanwhile, its Federal subsidy per case soared to more than \$17,000 last year, and more than three-quarters of its money remained unspent.

In 50 state budgets reside 50 different stories. The bold spending in Wisconsin, the paralysis in New Mexico, and the deal-making in Texas offer a representative three.

Wisconsin

A Windfall Provides Something for All

No one would accuse Wisconsin of ending welfare on the cheap. But even the state's famously expensive program finished last year with an eye-popping surplus — nearly \$350 million in unspent Federal money.

The moral of the story that followed is that surpluses can make strange bedfellows. In the Legislature, the program's harshest critic, State Senator Gwen Moore, and one of its authors, State Representative John Gard,

finally enough, the program generates these surpluses, Wisconsin Works, or W-2, is known for its willingness to spend. Virtually everyone receiving cash assistance is required to work. But the state has expanded job-placement services, hired new counselors, offered guarantees of child care, created thousands of community service jobs and raised benefits to \$673 a month, higher than anywhere outside Alaska or Hawaii.

Costs per case have risen accordingly, to about \$21,000 a family last year, from \$7,000 in 1996.

Wisconsin has also increased its spending on other needy families, to reward them for staying off the rolls. It has doubled the size of its child care program, in part by tapping its welfare money. And using other pools of state and Federal money, it offers low-wage workers subsidized health care and annual wage supplements.

"I've told Congress, and I've told taxpayers, you can't do this cheaply," said Tommy G. Thompson, the state's four-term Republican Governor, whose support for spending has often raised eyebrows among his Republican colleagues. "You have to spend more in the beginning to save on the back end."

But even Mr. Thompson has been surprised by the caseload declines; when forced to work for welfare, most recipients have chosen to fend for themselves. By the end of last year, the state had spent only 56 percent of the Federal money awarded to date.

Among those most alarmed by the falling rolls is Ms. Moore, a Milwaukee Democrat who represents many former recipients and

Surplus Puts New York at Center of a Debate

By RAYMOND HERNANDEZ

ALBANY, Aug. 28 — With New York's public-assistance rolls at their lowest in more than a generation, the state has built up a \$762 million surplus in Federal welfare money over the last three years, spurring a fierce debate over how best to spend it.

The administration of Gov. George E. Pataki is determined to set aside some of the money in a reserve fund to provide a cushion for the next economic downturn, when the welfare rolls will most likely grow again. But advocates for the poor say that more money should be spent on job training, transportation, child care and other programs that would help make the transition from welfare to work permanent for recipients.

The surplus is largely the result of widespread changes that the Federal Government made to its welfare program in 1996. Under those changes, the Government stopped paying states according to the number of welfare recipients they have on their rolls. Rather, the Government now gives states an annual allocation based on previous years when their welfare caseloads were high — and before a booming economy and stiffer eligibility requirements pushed hundreds of thousands off the rolls.

The new welfare law allows states to carry over the unspent portion of their grant from one year to another. But unlike New York, other states in the metropolitan region have either spent all their Federal welfare money or say they plan to do so.

New Jersey, for example, has received \$751 million since the new welfare law

was enacted in 1996. By the end of last year, it had \$242 million left in Federal account, or roughly 32 percent of its total grant. But state officials there say they have plans to spend the entire reserve on various programs for the poor, such as expanding child-care for low-income workers.

In Connecticut, state officials have spent all \$590 million they have received since 1996, making the state one of just five that have used all their Federal money. The other four are Illinois, Nevada, Delaware and Maine.

New York has spent 85 percent of the welfare money it has received since 1996, but \$762 million remained in its Federal account at the end of 1998. New York officials point out that about \$280 million of that reserve has been earmarked for new programs like an expansion of child-care subsidies for the poor.

Like other states, New York contends that the number of people on welfare had dropped much faster than it expected, making it difficult for the state to use all the Federal money it was entitled to. That said, state social service officials point out that the state continues to make large investments in anti-poverty programs.

Indeed, the budget that was recently approved by Governor Pataki and the Legislature includes a \$125 million expansion of a tax credit for 1.1 million low-wage workers. The budget also nearly doubled the amount that the state spends to subsidize child care for low-income working parents, to \$839 million this year from \$460 million last year.

But at the same time, officials say, the state has been able to accomplish two

other important goals: providing additional money to local governments so that they can reduce the amount they spend on services to the poor, and establishing a reserve fund to increase benefits during an economic downturn.

"It's a prudent use of the money," said John Madden, a spokesman for the state's Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance. As it is, he added, "New York State spends more than \$6 million a day on services for people on public assistance."

But advocates for the poor say the state is squandering an opportunity to invest in programs aimed at helping recipients enter the work force. They say that such investments are particularly important now that the state and Federal governments have set strict limits on the amount of time people are allowed to receive cash assistance under the welfare program.

Anne Erickson, the legislative coordinator for the Greater Upstate Law Project, an advocacy group for the poor, was pleased that the state had made some investments in expanding child care and tax credits for the poor. But, she says, she is troubled that the state is using much of its money — about \$1 billion by the state's estimates — to help counties reduce the amount they spend on poverty programs.

"These funds were intended to help the poor make a solid transition to employment," Ms. Erickson said. "By investing it in fiscal relief for local governments, the state is clearly missing an opportunity to make long-term improvements in the lives of poor people."



Nicole Bengiveno/The New York Times

works program, Tanya Moore found a part-time job and got day care for her daughter, Michaela, 1.

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Though the Legislature set aside \$4.5 million to subsidize employers who hire recipients, the department has scarcely tapped the fund, creating just eight jobs. And it has yet to extend its job-placement services to the poor not on welfare, as the Legislature directed a year and a half ago.

Alex Valdez, the department's new secretary-designate, said the idea remained under consideration. "That has not been implemented yet," he said, declining further explanation. "That's as far as I can go."

The state did use its Federal money to expand its subsidized child care program, raising the number of children covered to 20,000, from 7,000 just two years ago.

But by last spring, the department was facing new turmoil in the form of escalating rolls. Many of those who had been pushed off welfare were streaming back in. While the caseloads were still well below their historic levels, the state suddenly forecast something unheard of in the new age: a coming welfare deficit. The Legislature then canceled most of the benefit increase it had passed the previous year.

New Mexico finished last year with \$67 million in unspent money and a record of missed opportunity that few are eager to defend. "The money's been available but no program's been implemented," said State Senator Manny Aragon, a Democrat who

serves as the president pro tem. "I don't think we've done a very responsible job."

Texas

Modest Programs In Poverty Aid

Welfare has not grabbed the headlines in Texas that it has in other states. Though Gov. George W. Bush broadcasts his identity as a "compassionate conservative," he has left less personal imprint on his program than many other governors have left on theirs.

The program was devised in 1995 by a Democratic Legislature, which vested much of its control in 28 local boards, made up of business leaders, educators and social workers appointed by elected officials. Their development has been impeded by political fights, and two are still being formed. As a result, the availability of social services varies widely from place to place.

Still, caseloads are plunging nearly everywhere. Like most of the country, the program emphasizes a strict, "work-first" philosophy, seeking quick placements in low-skilled jobs as opposed to education or training. And it makes an energetic effort to

dissuade new applicants from coming on the rolls. Would-be welfare recipients must first attend an orientation talk — often requiring a second trip to another office — before they can get benefits.

The state actually has more families seeking aid each month than it had four years ago. But with welfare harder to get and harder to keep, the rolls have fallen 60 percent.

For State Representative Rob Junell, the chairman of the House appropriations committee, that has created the kind of problem an appropriator loves to mull: a projected two-year welfare surplus of nearly \$600 million. Huddling with his committee, Mr. Junell, a Democrat, spent the spring devising something-for-everyone plan.

About 40 percent of the money went to social programs previously financed with state dollars. (Some of the freed-up state money was then reinvested in health programs.) Another 20 percent got placed in reserve, in case of an economic downturn. That left about 40 percent — or \$200 million — for new benefits and services.

Some were of the kind that many states have emphasized — more child care (Texas has nearly doubled the number of children getting subsidies) and counseling for especially troubled families. But the package also contained a surprise: \$62 million, over two years, to finance the state's first increase in monthly benefits in 16 years.

To be sure, it was a modest one. The Legislature raised the monthly benefits of a mother and two children to \$201, from \$185. That is lower than any state but Alabama (\$164), Mississippi (\$170), Tennessee (\$185) or Louisiana (\$190). Texas also added an annual back-to-school payment of \$60 for every welfare child.

Small as the raise in benefits was, Mr. Junell said, it survived only by avoiding publicity in an anti-welfare state. "It was very quiet, which is how I like it," he said.

A windfall for the state, a modest expansion of aid to the poor — the Texas experience seems a telling example of the country's experience as a whole.

Patrick Bresette, associate director of the Center for Public Policy Priorities, an Austin research and advocacy group, contends that the state has missed a historic opportunity. "I do want to give them credit for some of the things they did," he said. "But they had the chance to dramatically fix things for low-income families, including working families. In a state with as much poverty as Texas, we could have done a lot more."

The new welfare law is doing wonders for the state budget — but is it also helping the poor?

Mr. Junell, a Democrat who represents the rural area around San Angelo, gives a refreshingly candid answer. "I'm out here in sheep and goat country — I may not be the best person to ask," he said. But with the state now getting \$300 million a year more than it would have under the old system, he is firm in one conviction: he does not want Congress to take any of it back.

"We're gonna fight 'em tooth and nail," he said. "Out here in Texas, a deal's a deal."

who once was on welfare herself. In her view the costly program makes harsh demands that drive troubled families away while enriching social workers and subcontractors. "The people we kicked off the rolls are still out there," Ms. Moore said, "and they're not getting served."

Spying the surplus, she wanted more money for a long list of causes, and she won most of them — child care, drug treatment, job training, youth services and higher payments for relatives who care for abandoned children. (Many of the new services had been proposed by Mr. Thompson, who continues to talk of the need to invest.)

Ms. Moore's longtime adversary, Mr. Gard, is a north woods Republican from a county with a caseload of one. What he wanted was a tax cut. "I just believe the average working family needs to see some benefit," he said. Mr. Gard argues that more money actually harms the program, by encouraging too much social work and too little self-reliance. "The only way to keep the program from getting out of control is to pull out money when you can," Mr. Gard said.

He backed a plan that uses \$108 million in Federal money to replace previous state spending on wage supplements for the working poor. The state money was then converted into a tax cut for property owners. The deal, embraced by leaders of both parties, awaits final ratification by the Legislature. "We both left the room smiling," Ms. Moore said.

Congressional budget hawks will no doubt frown at the size of the state's windfall. But Governor Thompson said any reduction in the state's grant would punish it for its success. "We're getting results," he said. "Isn't that what the Federal Government wanted?"

New Mexico

Political Fights Yield Little Action

While Federal money soothed old fights in Wisconsin, it brought new ones to New Mexico. And the poor have paid the price.

Three years into the new welfare age, the state newly ranked as the nation's poorest is still recovering from a constitutional showdown between a defiant governor, who tried to seize control of the program, and the state Supreme Court, which found him in contempt of its order to relent.

Welfare directors have come and gone, leaving the department without direction. And millions of Federal dollars have gone unspent, while thousands of jobless New Mexicans have been dropped from the rolls.

The conflict began in the spring of 1997, when the Democratic Legislature passed a welfare bill that contained an expansion of employment services. Gary E. Johnson, the state's two-term Republican Governor, vetoed it and unilaterally imposed one of the nation's most restrictive programs. It cut off thousands of families already on the rolls — not by helping them find jobs, but by chang-



After joining the Wisconsin Works program, Tanya Moore found a part-time job and g

ing the formula used to determine their eligibility.

Angry Democratic legislators sued, arguing that the Governor needed their vote to make such changes. The state Supreme Court agreed in a unanimous decision, ordering him in September 1997 to end the program. When Mr. Johnson defied their order, the justices returned three months later and cited him for contempt.

Mr. Johnson ended the program. But the rolls had already been cut in half and surpluses were mounting — though much of the state was still lacking rudimentary employment services. The Legislature met in the spring of 1998, and with the Governor's help, designed yet a third program.

On paper, it is rich in new services. It extends job-placement programs beyond the welfare population, to any poor New Mexican family. It creates lucrative subsidies for employers who hire welfare recipients. And it raises welfare benefits by offering a \$100 monthly increase to any family not receiving a housing subsidy.

But with the Department of Human Services now on its third secretary in three years, bureaucratic progress has been painfully slow. It took until last October just to hire a job-placement agency along the state's southern border, where county unemployment rates are as high as 33 percent.

Though the Legislature set aside \$4.5 million to subsidize employers who hire recipients, the department has scarcely tapped the fund, creating just eight jobs. And it has yet to extend its job-placement services to the poor not on welfare, as the Legislature directed a year and a half ago.

Alex Valdez, the department's new secretary-designate, said the idea remained under consideration. "That has not been implemented yet," he said, declining further explanation. "That's as far as I can go."

The state did use its Federal money to expand its subsidized child care program, raising the number of children covered to 20,000, from 7,000 just two years ago.

But by last spring, the department was facing new turmoil in the form of escalating rolls. Many of those who had been pushed off welfare were streaming back in. While the caseloads were still well below their historic levels, the state suddenly forecast something unheard of in the new age: a coming welfare deficit. The Legislature then canceled most of the benefit increase it had passed the previous year.

New Mexico finished last year with \$67 million in unspent money and a record of missed opportunity that few are eager to defend. "The money's been available but no program's been implemented," said State Senator Manny Aragon, a Democrat who

the sandlot's been filled in by a four-bedroom Cape Cod with a two-story atrium. To pay for the

Cape Cod, Mom and Dad are both working, and with Mom and Dad both working, the kids are signed up for extended-day sessions at school. And by the time extended-day is over, it's dusk. And even if Mom and Dad were home, they'd never let the kids wander alone to the neighborhood park. You never know who they'll find at the neighborhood park.

So what's a parent to do? We do what Americans have always done. This is, after all, a country that systematizes: we create seminars on how to make friends, teach classes in grieving and make pet walking a profession. In that light, Gregg Heinzmann's praise of unstructured play seems almost un-American. Any activity, no matter how innocent or trivial or spontaneous, can become specialized in America. So if our children are to have sports, we will make leagues and teams, write schedules and rule books, publish box scores and rankings, hire coaches and refs, buy uniforms and equipment to the limit of our means. We will kiss our weekends goodbye—and maybe more than our weekends.

To most parents involved in kids' sports, all the criticisms sound like the dreariest party-pooper. There are joys that can't be organized, pleasures that resist the rigors of systematization. And these remain unextinguished, even in the overwrought world of kids' sports today. In Morristown, N.J., at the Beard School gym, Kelly Donnelly is whiling away the last moments before a soccer clinic. Dad Pat has driven her there, of course. He watches as Kelly spends a minute or so keeping a soccer ball suspended by bouncing it lightly off her knees, in a kind of airborne dribble—a bit of magic that only the rarest adult could pull off.

"It's quite a commitment from the parents as well as the kids," Pat Donnelly is saying. Suddenly Kelly lets the ball fall to the polished wooden floor and with a deft kick sends it the length of the gym till it narrowly misses a basketball hoop at the far end. The kid's good. Donnelly beams and says, "I think I enjoy it almost as much as she does."

—Reported by William Dowell/New York, Tamala Drummond/Orlando, Julie Grace/Chicago, Maureen Harrington/Denver, Sylvester Monroe/Oakland and Elaine Shannon/Washington

Poor Kids Need a Sporting Chance

WHILE SUBURBAN AND SMALL-town parents often worry about their kids being overscheduled with sports and not having enough free time, many inner-city families say they would love to have such problems. When kids pour out of school each day in scores of lower-income urban communities, all that awaits them is the street—no soccer, baseball or ice skating. They just hang out, while their parents pray that dead-end afternoons won't lead to sex or drugs or violence. "Most teenage pregnancies happen between 2 and 5 in the afternoon," says Les Franklin, founder of the Shaka Franklin Foundation for Youth, a nonprofit group based in Denver that provides counseling and other services for urban youngsters. "In our neighborhoods, the concept of 'soccer mom' doesn't exist."

Millions of less fortunate families bemoan the scarcity of such basic resources as recreation centers with a staff or basketball hoops with nets on them. In many of their neighborhoods, public money for after-school activities has declined, even in a time of plenty. Instead governments are directing resources toward law enforcement, education and other

means of curbing such social ills as teen pregnancy, drug abuse and gang violence.

The result is that many traditional extracurricular activities, from basketball leagues to math clubs and choirs, have all but disappeared from inner-city schools. "If you're a child growing up in a poor community, your chances of being involved in an after-school activity are almost none," says Geoffrey Canada, president of the Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families in New York City.

Consider the contrast between two suburbs of St. Louis. In upscale Clayton, Mo., the after-school menu is crowded with leagues and summer-camp activities ranging from baseball and martial arts to tennis and volleyball. But travel 15 minutes northwest to Clayton's working-class neighbor, the town of Jennings. There the recreation department is understaffed, lacks a gymnasium and relies largely on local public schools and other facilities, creating transportation problems that keep many kids sidelined. "There are some definite barriers," says Cindy Tharp, director of recreation in Jennings. "But if parents want to get their child involved, they'll find a way to do it."

Happily, some of them are getting help. Three years ago, when the U.S. National Park Service was ready to tear down an aging ice-hockey rink in a lower-income section of southeastern Washington, D.C., some parents from more affluent communities banded together and raised enough private and corporate dollars to save it. Today Fort Dupont Ice Arena provides free skating instruction to some 2,500 local kids, with its \$500,000 annual budget funded through admission fees, fund raisers and sale of ice time for practicing hockey teams from private schools and local colleges. Says rink general manager Fred Wilson: "The greatest reward we get is seeing the expression on the faces of these kids when they step out on the ice for the first time." It's a step that no child or parent should take for granted. —By Ron Stodghill II/Chicago

TIGER WOODS TEACHES schoolkids to swing at a public golf course in Detroit



NICO TOUTENHOOF—DETROIT FREE PRESS

Lance Morrow

Don't Cry for Me, Oneonta

Can it be that Bill Clinton is merely a prequel, the horse she rode in on?



THE ELECTION RESULTS COME TO ME IN DREAMS. MY kitchen table hops and thumps like a flamenco dancer. I ask it, "How do you think Hillary Clinton will do against Giuliani? What about the presidency in 2004?" The table tells me Hillary is a great American story forming. I seem to hear the distant voice of Madonna singing the lead.

Perhaps the table is talking me into something. I am a sucker for the opinions of agitated furniture. Sometimes I believe my television set when the Sunday-morning fortune-tellers are on. But it comes to me that with the Clintons, like it or not—and I do not, much—we are in the middle of a primal American saga and the important part is yet to come. Bill Clinton may be merely the prequel, the President of lesser moment—except, so to speak, as the horse she rode in on.

Do not underestimate Hillary Clinton's ambition, or her destiny. It is no small thing. At the moment, condescension droppeth as the gentle rain upon Hillary. Last week Jack Newfield, in the *New York Post*, wrote an "imaginary secret diary entry" in which poor Hillary wonders, "Am I running to solve a mid-life crisis? To get even with Bill? ... I'm not sure who I am anymore ... Where did I get so lost?" When the idea of a New York Senate race first surfaced in February, George Stephanopoulos gave Hillary a pat on the head and advised her not to run: "You don't need to prove anything."

Such smugness lacks imagination. The polls have Mrs. Clinton (not yet formally announced but house hunting in Westchester County and running hard) just about even with New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. She heads into upstate New York this week on a five-city swing (Oneonta, Utica, Syracuse, Albany, Cooperstown). But forget early polls. Over time, all great stories are subject to transformation, surprise, sudden unexpected bloom.

Hillary Clinton has good instincts and is, I suspect, a lightning-fast learner. My *séance* informs me:

► The carpetbagger issue hurts Hillary now but will matter less and less as her media presence saturates the state in the months to come—Hillary everywhere on local news, wearing that Yankees cap, kissing babies, talking to mothers, posing with pigs at the state fair in September.

"We New Yorkers," she'll say. The very acerbity of the fight will neutralize the carpetbagger issue—you're not a foreigner if you're in there getting beaten up. If it were a race for Governor, Giuliani would win. New Yorkers would not elect an out-of-stater to run the executive branch in Albany. But Senator is a Washington job, in the oratorical branch of government.

► Rudy Giuliani will play disastrously as a candidate. He has performed well, if autocratically, as mayor of New York City, but rarely has a mayor of New York ever amounted to any-

thing outside the five boroughs. Giuliani has alienated approximately 99.9% of the black vote (and the old pols' sneer "blacks don't vote" may not apply anymore). People upstate may admire the man who cleaned up Sodom and Gomorrah, but he will not wear well, I'd guess. With his combed-over death's-head countenance, his bullying instincts and his bizarre lack of self-awareness (he seems to entertain an idea he might be President), Giuliani makes a perfect heavy. If he gets rough with Hillary, it will backfire so violently that she will pick up 10% of the vote on sympathy.

► The nasty New York press is said to be ready to eat Hillary alive. Nonsense. The New York press is a scarecrow. Its famous brutality is mostly saloon bragging by tabloid drunks on their 10th beer. Whitewater, Filegate, the commodity trades—old business, forget it. After all, Ted Kennedy ran off a bridge a long time ago, and a woman drowned, and he's had 30 happy years in the Senate since then.

► Gender will play heavily in Hillary's favor. A lot of upstate Republican women are confessing to friends that while they would not normally think of voting for the Democrat, the feminist appeal overrides their traditional loyalty. Hillary Clinton recapitulates, in her life, the origin myth of liberated white American woman—the journey from the Friedanish frustrations of domesticity, from the shadow of the husband to the promised land of independence, power, autonomy as a woman.



In New York: Archetype between Eleanor and Evita

Yet Hillary's victory will result mainly from this: she has Celebrity. In the politics of turn-of-the-millennium America, Celebrity trumps all else, even when it may be disreputable. In this case most voters judge it is the lady's husband who is disreputable; she gains shine from the contrast and, at deeper levels of our psychology, accrues a fascinating power (the power of hardened martyrdom) from her stolid—not to say classy and somewhat mysterious—endurance of the lout's squalors.

Admittedly, a certain Clinton-in-Kosovo logic is at work. Outsider Hillary, like NATO, violates state borders (New York's) in the interests of morally imperative do-gooding—a form of moral colonization, what the French used to call *une mission civilisatrice*. The transgression will offend some. But, as in Kosovo, it will succeed.

I think I see a sort of Celtic mist forming around Hillary as a new archetype (somewhere between Eleanor and Evita, transcending both) at a moment when the civilization pivots, at last, decisively—perhaps for the first time since the advent of Christian patriarchy two millennia ago—toward Woman.

It may all be hallucination, of course (in which case I will bolt my kitchen table to the floor). But Hillary Clinton amounts to something more than herself, and anyone who underestimates that something is a fool.

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A private university in the public service

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September 28, 1999

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20050

Dear Melanne:

I'm sure you know of the excellent work Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR Metro) does with kids in New York City schools. ESR Metro is on the cutting edge here in addressing anger and violence, easing intergroup tensions, creating afterschool programs and also early childhood programs. It's also on the President's list of best practices for the Race Relations Initiative.

The attached pages from one of their newsletters (pgs. 1 and 4) gives a short summary of what they do. A fairly recent speech by the Executive Director, Tom Roderick is also attached (pgs. 1-2) for your information. He is a bit to the left of the Administration, but dedicated and caring.

Anyway, might be good for a visit, now that visits to local sites have begun to unfold? Just a thought.

Take care.

All best,

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

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Action News

Inside
this
issue:

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year:

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after-school
early childhood
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economics
diversity
new research
RCCP
Project STOP

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celebrate!
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page 7

Our year in review

This year marks a turning point for ESR Metro, as we launch a number of exciting new projects and our major research project nears completion. Below is a brief overview of our year.

consultant in the teaching of reading and writing began meeting to develop our approach and identify pieces of literature and writing lessons we can use in the project.

Continued on page 4

We developed several new conflict resolution initiatives in 1998-99.

Our new **4Rs Project** (Reading, Writing, Respect and Resolution), aims to integrate conflict resolution and intercultural understanding into the language arts curriculum for grades K-5. We are very excited about enhancing our conflict resolution work through literature and writing — and enhancing literature instruction by integrating the themes of conflict resolution.

This spring, a "4Rs working group" made up of ESR Metro staff, experienced RCCP teachers, and a



CAROLINA KROON, IMPACT VISUALS

Teachers talk at a Project STOP training in October.

STEADY WORK

On May 27, ESR Metro Executive Director Tom Roderick was awarded an honorary Doctorate from the Bank Street College of Education. Below is a slightly abridged version of the speech he made that day.

Once in Chelm, the mythical village of the East European Jews, a man was appointed to sit at the village gate and wait for the coming of the Messiah. He complained to the village elders that his pay was too low. "You are right," they said to him, "the pay is low. But consider: the work is steady." The same is true of my work of teaching for justice, teaching for peace, teaching for social responsibility.

Thirty-three years ago this spring, I was finishing up my year in the Master's program at Bank Street. At that time, the college was actually locat-

ed downtown on Bank Street. The big issues of the day were racism, violence, and war. The summer of 1965 had seen the first major escalation of the Vietnam War and the riot in Watts, Los Angeles, in which 34 people died, all African-Americans killed by the police. Charlotte Winsor taught a course called "Cultural Trends." I was part of a group of students who worked with Charlotte to organize a series of forums on the Vietnam War. A high point was getting SDS activist Tom Hayden to speak, fresh from his controversial visit to Hanoi.

Despite the grim events in the wide world, I had a wonderful year at Bank Street. I enjoyed my teachers, advisors, and fellow students, some of whom became friends for life. I can't imagine a better introduction to New York City and to my chosen

Continued on page 2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 10, 2000

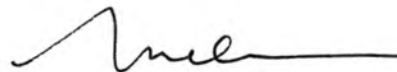
Susan M. Anderson
Professor of Psychology
New York University
6 Washington Place, Suite 468
New York, NY 10003-6634

Dear Susan:

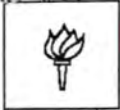
Thank you for your reflections on important topics. I've read them carefully as we are preparing for the State of the Union and I have sent Jerry Edmunds, the chief speechwriter, a set as well. I forwarded the Mandela book and your letter to the President, as I'm sure he will be most interested.

Very best New Year wishes to you and thanks so much for all you do.

Sincerely,

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

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



New York University
A private university in the public service

Faculty of Arts and Science
Department of Psychology
Doctoral Program in Clinical Psychology

6 Washington Place, Suite 468
New York, NY 10003-6634
Telephone: (212) 998-7979
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Susan M. Andersen
Professor of Psychology
(Social Psychology and Clinical Psychology)
Tel: (212) 998-7799
e-mail: anderson@psych.nyu.edu

January 4, 2000

To: Melanne Verveer

FAX: 4 pages total

FROM: Susan Andersen

I hope you received the fedex box set to
be delivered to you this morning.

Enclosed is a follow-up on that.

Happy New Millennium to you, Susan



New York University
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Susan M. Andersen
Professor of Psychology
(Social Psychology and Clinical Psychology)
Tel: (212) 998-7799
e-mail: andersen@psych.nyu.edu
January 4, 2000

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20050

Dear Melanne:

Following up on my letter, sent to you in a fedex box yesterday, for receipt this morning, and in light of the upcoming State of the Union, I respectfully send along some additional thoughts on freedom, the economy, and the New Markets Initiative.

As we seek to build a better society, we take to heart messages the modern age delivers -- the staggering power of human freedom and ingenuity. When people have hope and opportunity, and are allowed to reach toward their own aspirations, they have a remarkable ability to shape their own destinies, to choose how they wish to live, to vote with their feet, economically, and in so many other ways. This is modernity. And it is our great responsibility -- to make sure all people in all communities are provided with these tools to make the most of their own lives.

This is why the time has come to turn our attention to the seemingly intractable problem of poverty in our country, and also abroad, to the growing gap between rich and poor. We now know how to develop new markets that build on local strengths and needs. We now know more than ever before about how to spur individual motivation and initiative. We now know how to make wise investments.

This is the legacy of the new economy, a legacy that carries with it great moral responsibility.

The key to economic empowerment always comes in seeding and developing people's individual capacity, their capacity to help themselves, based on any and all skills they currently have. This is not simply "providing for needs," although we must do that in crisis. It is extending the safety net in such a way that we equip people with the skills they need to get ahead. This is true at the high end of the economy and at all other levels as well.

The most innovative achievements of the Clinton/Gore administration all reflect this profound shift in political philosophy -- that success comes in seeding individual capacity. This is the Third Way thinking the President has worked so hard to cultivate and promote. Reciprocity, at least at some level of analysis, is what best solves social problems. As people give something in return,

they develop their own competencies and initiative, and their own human potential. This is now the consensus insight in community development worldwide.

This also requires of us the capacity to look each other in the eye, face to face, or through our computers or phones or faxes, to find common ground, our common humanity, together. We must listen, even though we are different, rise above suspicion, hatred, vengeance, and despair, if we can, and work tirelessly on behalf of inclusion — for all who have a stake in decisions and also for simple civility, even if sometime noisy — as we work to fashion solutions.

This is democracy. And it democracy that wins in the 20th century.

In the 21st century, we accept that we have cultural and other differences, and we must pledge to find ways to work together, along with our differences, to uphold each other's basic human dignity, to forge a path forward together, emphasizing mutual rights and responsibilities. In doing this, we will create caring communities amid our diversity, and form new levels of shared understanding, shared narratives of the reality in which we now live and would like to live in the future — both as local communities and as a nation.

There is always a tension between liberty and responsibility at the heart of democracy. We must celebrate it, and work with it, in all its forms. It is our life blood. It gives us the freedom -- our ability to dream, to imagine what is possible and to turn our visions into reality. And it also gives us a shared destiny, the ability to look out for the common good, to feel for one another, to respect each other's dignity and rights. Our constraint is also our gift — our responsibility to one another. We must stand for what is humane and must stand for social justice. Our reciprocal gift is that nearly anything is possible in America if we can but dream it. This is America. It is also modernity.

Part of freedom, of course, is the freedom to reconcile, to forgive, and move to a new level of discourse, as we define, together, our ever evolving narrative. This is the basis of peacemaking and all negotiation between opposing sides. What we seek to become as a people in the next century, what we wish to achieve — as a nation, as communities, as families, as individuals — will depend on our skills as peacemakers. The onus will be on us to choose to use our liberty wisely, in each of our lives, not to throw out what we've accomplished, to cherish it, and to ever strive toward our aspirations, while working as well to build bridges across the divides in our society, to unhardden our hearts. We can work to be open-hearted with one another, while we are also pragmatic, making steady progress, keeping feet to the ground, eyes on the stars, living up to our moral responsibilities.

And with all this freedom and responsibility, as Americans, we have the ultimate privilege to continue to grow and develop as human beings throughout our lives in myriad ways, to develop more sides of ourselves, to gain more knowledge, to reinvent our careers, at the differing stages of life, to take on new challenges, to develop spiritually, and to achieve our dreams. Never has human kind seen such freedom and opportunity. Never have we had such responsibility.

And we hope, for each one of us, that our personal growth curves are not simply about growth for growth's sake, but that they reflect growth toward goodness, depth, wisdom, a slow, steady evolution toward our better natures. One thing we know is that this involves generativity, leaving something behind. So too does it involve a recognition of our interdependence with one another, with all peoples and all countries, and with the whole of biodiversity on the planet and in the universe. This is among our great responsibilities that comes with freedom.

Bringing these tensions down to earth: Doris Kearns Goodwin said recently that FDR, so known for regulating capitalism and free markets, in fact saved capitalism by regulating it. And this delicate balance goes on, finely tuned, and ever being refined. How is this related to the new economy? Regulation is contentious as a term. But regulation of some kind is necessary for the common good; capitalism alone is amoral, as we know. We provide the human face for this new economy, as is so often said. How will we foster shared understandings of the common good in communities in the coming century? How will we foster personal responsibility while we continue to maximize our freedoms? What role will we accord to incentives for valued societal outcomes?

Lessons can be found about community development in the President's New Markets Initiative, deriving from the accomplishments of community development banks and empowerment zones. People need to hear specific details about how these models have been used and now can be used more extensively to develop new markets and to promote empowerment of people in disadvantaged communities, including people of color, from all backgrounds and language groups, and generally people in poverty, in rural areas and urban areas, to encourage entrepreneurs, business activities, to provide people with the tools to pull themselves out of poverty in a way that is profitable and creates jobs. The comments the President made while signing the Welfare Bill in 1996 are a beginning and need elaboration based on the poverty tours and his more recent thinking.

It is important to describe exactly how this approach to spurring growth and job creation works in a locality and how it can be extended around the country — since it's an idea that works. Scaling it up so it touches more disadvantaged areas that have lost jobs over recent years, by opening new markets, is a pragmatic approach to poverty, growing the kinds of private-public partnerships and seeding individual responsibility and entrepreneurship that we know makes communities work. The consensus insight that social programs work best when they tap and promote individual initiative, and when people take responsibility for themselves. This is what needs to be communicated. And we must support efforts to tap and grow people's motivation and their belief that America is on their side, that they are welcome, are respected, are part of this grand continuing experiment called America, and that too can make it here. We can all make something of meaning and significance of our own lives if we are given the opportunity and work doggedly at it.

Just some thoughts for you, Melanne, which I hope you may find useful in some way. Thanks for your patience with me. At least I know these are matters to which you and all there are deeply committed.

Hope all's well with you personally.

Warmly,



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 4, 1999

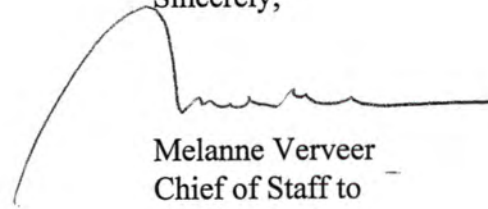
Kathleen Anderson
Leading Authorities, Inc.
919 18th Street, NW #500
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Ms. Anderson:

Thank you for your letter and the information about Leading Authorities, Inc.. The First Lady's official activities are coordinated through the White House and she does not accept fees for her speeches.

We appreciate your interest.

Sincerely,

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

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



"The World's Number One Resource for Great Speakers"

R

919 18th Street, N.W., Suite 500
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email: LA@Lauthorities.com

January 7, 1999

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Assistant to the President and
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Office of the First Lady
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Verveer:

At the suggestion of a mutual colleague, Janet Howard, I am writing to express our strong interest in working with you to manage and promote the First Lady's future lecture activity.

While we recognize that the First Lady's principal obligations are to the current administration, our clients have expressed interest in her future speaking availability. As an accomplished attorney, an expert in health care and an advocate of children's issues, the First Lady would be an excellent match for our clients.

As background, Leading Authorities is America's fastest-growing speakers bureau and among the largest worldwide. Our mission is to help the world's leading organizations produce the highest quality meetings using the very best speakers. Some of our clients include premiere organizations such as Arthur Andersen, Dell Computer, Delta Airlines, Hewlett Packard, Merck, Prudential Securities, Quaker Oats, Siemens, Unisys Corporation, and VISA, to name a few.

Our speakers include the "who's who" from the world's of business, media, politics, and sports, including President and Mrs. Bush, Zbigniew Brezinski, Patricia Schroeder, Jesse Jackson, Robert Dole, Sam Donaldson and Dan Rather.

I am certain that you are routinely flooded with speaking invitations. With this in mind, Leading Authorities is well equipped to help you evaluate these requests, negotiate fees, and perform the advance work and follow-up that is so crucial to a successful event.

I would welcome the opportunity to meet with you at your office to discuss the First Lady's speaking activity. In the meantime, I am sending you background information on our company. Arash Shirazinia, our speaker relations representative, will call your office next week to follow up and discuss scheduling a meeting.

Best regards,

Kathleen Anderson
Senior Vice President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 19, 1999

Susan Anderson
Department of Psychology
New York University
6 Washington Place #468
New York, NY 10003-6634

Dear Susan:

Thank you for your letter and many kind words in response to the President's proposal on Medicare. Your personal story made the case for the proposal better than any set of erudite talking points. Let's hope that Congress sees fit to address the needs of so many Americans.

Best wishes and hope all is well with you.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



New York University
A private university in the public service

Faculty of Arts and Science
Department of Psychology
Doctoral Program in Clinical Psychology

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FAX: (212) 995-4292

Susan M. Andersen
Professor of Psychology
(Social Psychology and Clinical Psychology)
Tel: (212) 998-7799
e-mail: andersen@psych.nyu.edu

June 30, 1999

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20050

Hi Melanne:

A personal note to applaud the President's proposal for prescription drug coverage within Medicare.

My mother, my best friend in the world, moved to Canada in 1987 because she could no longer afford to live in the U.S., a move due largely to soaring medical costs and her concerns about this, especially her elaborate daily regimen of prescription medicines. She needed more complete health care coverage -- health care security, as you all used to say. Until her death from a brain hemorrhage in 1996, leaving my siblings and me terribly bereaved, she lived in Canada. She subsisted on less than \$20,000 a year there, including a monthly contribution from me and one of my sisters, and was cared for fully by the Canadian health care system without being a Canadian citizen. Such are the disparities in care across our borders, as you know.

It's true her move was motivated as well by a desire to be near my brother who left the U.S. in the 60s (of course during the war), never returning to live here in spite of amnesty. But it was her declining health and financial strain that prompted her to leave the country.

So, just want to say that the President's announcement brought me to tears. My mother would have brimmed with pride and hope at this latest valiant effort.

Do hope life is treating you well.

As ever,

Susan M. Andersen
Professor of Psychology

SMA/s

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 25, 1999

John Andrews
2141 Wyoming Ave.
Washington, DC 20008-3916

Dear John:

Thank you for your thoughtful invitation for the First Lady to attend the night of Shakespeare and tribute to Judi Dench in New York on May 17. Regrettably, Mrs. Clinton could not accept your kind offer as she was just returning from Macedonia at the time. I trust the evening was a success!

Very best wishes and thank you for your many kindnesses.

Sincerely,

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

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

May 24, 1999

John Andrews
2141 Wyoming Ave.
Washington, DC 20008-3916

Dear John:

Thank you for your thoughtful invitation for the First Lady to attend the night of Shakespeare and tribute to Judi Dench in New York on May 17. Regrettably, Mrs. Clinton could not accept your kind offer as she was just returning from Macedonia at the time. I trust the evening was a success!

Very best wishes and thank you for your many kindnesses.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

WHO WILL BENEFIT FROM THIS GALA EVENING?

Your support for this gathering will strengthen the cultural and educational endeavors of THE SHAKESPEARE GUILD and of the other nonprofit organizations that have joined hands with the Guild for the occasion.

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY
THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF SADLER'S WELLS
THE BRITISH COUNCIL U.S.
CHICAGO SHAKESPEARE THEATRE
THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNION
THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB
THE ROYAL SHAKESPEARE COMPANY
THE SHAKESPEARE THEATRE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
THEATRE FOR A NEW AUDIENCE
WGBH/BOSTON

The Guild will earmark 15% of its net proceeds for a charitable trust that Dame JUDI DENCH is creating in order to relocate and to maintain, for use by aspiring drama professionals, the Rose playhouse set that MIRAMAX constructed for its award-winning film SHAKESPEARE IN LOVE.

ACCOMMODATIONS IN NEW YORK CITY

Rooms have been set aside at discounted rates for the HOTEL INTER-CONTINENTAL (call 212-906-3201) and for the WALDORF-ASTORIA (call 212-685-1095); you should refer to THE SHAKESPEARE GUILD when you inquire about reservations. For less expensive accommodations at the MAYFLOWER HOTEL (call 800-223-4164), you should request the corporate rate available to members of THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNION, one of the Guild's partners for this year's Gielgud ceremony.

A Night for the Love of Shakespeare

MONDAY, MAY 17TH, AT 8:00 P.M.
THE ETHEL BARRYMORE THEATRE + THE SUPPER CLUB



Sponsor + \$10,000 for twelve tickets
Golden Quill Circle + \$5,000 for six tickets
Patron + \$1,000 for one ticket
Benefactor + \$500 for one ticket
Donor + \$350 for one ticket
Contributor + \$150 for one ticket

Tickets in the above categories will secure choice seats in the orchestra section, admission to the Supper Club reception following the Barrymore festivities, and listings in the printed souvenir program for the evening.

Please reserve _____ ticket orders at the _____ level.

I cannot attend, but please accept a donation in the amount of \$ _____.

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Phone _____ Fax _____ Check enclosed _____

Please charge _ MC _ VISA _____ (/).

All but \$75 of the price for each ticket is tax-deductible; contributions are fully tax-deductible. Please return this form to The Shakespeare Guild, c/o 111 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016. If you prefer, you may fax your response to (212) 685-0062. For more information, call (212) 685-1095 or (202) 483-8646.

For \$25 tickets to the Barrymore event only, call (212) 239-6200.

JOHN F. ANDREWS

If by chance you and the First Lady are planning to be in New York on May 17th, we'd love to welcome you to this event as our very special guests. We thoroughly enjoyed the White House reception two years ago when Sr. Derek Jacobi was our honoree.

Sincerely, John Andrews
(202) 483-8646

A Night for the Love of Shakespeare

A TRIBUTE TO DAME JUDI DENCH

c/o 111 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10016

This has no
address but
shall be
acknowledged

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A Gala Tribute to "Her Majesty
the Queen"



A GALA TRIBUTE TO “HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN”

*A sprightly Broadway evening at which
Dame Judi Dench will be honored
with the 1999 Gielgud Award*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 21, 2000

Hon. Sirkka-Liisa Anttila
First Deputy Speaker of Parliament
Parliament of Finland
Helsinki, FIN-00102 Finland

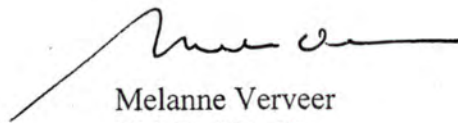
Dear Ms. Anttila,

On behalf of the First Lady, thank you for your invitation for Mrs. Clinton to participate in the 2nd Baltic Sea Women's Conference in Helsinki on March 11.

Regrettably, Mrs. Clinton will not be able to attend the conference, as her schedule in March is full and will not allow a trip to Finland. But please accept Mrs. Clinton's appreciation for you and your colleagues' vital work to convene this important international forum, along with her best wishes to the conference participants.

Thank you for your leadership and all you do to encourage the participation of women in politics.

Sincerely,

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

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 7, 2000

H.E. Corazon C. Aquino
Patron
Global Forum of Women Political Leaders
Philippines International Convention Center
Manila, Philippines

Dear Mrs. Aquino:

I wish I could be with you and all the participants who are gathered in Manila for the Global Forum of Women Political Leaders. Mrs. Aquino, you are an inspiration to women around the world who have struggled for freedom and democracy.

I also want to salute Irene Santiago, who did such a magnificent job leading the NGO Forum in Beijing in 1995, and who has dedicated herself to advancing women's progress. Those of us who were in Beijing remember clearly the banners created by women from every part of the world. They spread those banners across the Great Wall. Although the languages of the women represented were different, they spoke the same mother tongue – the language of freedom and hope.

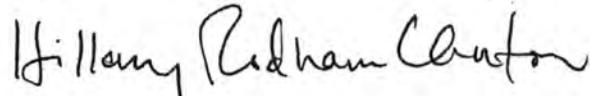
And, I will remember always my visit to the Philippines in 1996 and the opportunity to speak to 15,000 women who had traveled from all over the country to celebrate the Beijing Agenda. Just as you are doing today, they came to renew their commitment to women's rights and to re-commit themselves to work for a better life for themselves and their families.

The women who gathered at the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing five years ago, the women around the globe who struggle for progress every day, and the women participating in this global forum all send the same clear message: the political process must be open to all, because a nation's progress depends on the progress of women and the strength of political systems depends on the inclusion of women. We know democracy will never be fulfilled while women are still barred by law or tradition from making their voices heard at the ballot box or in public office. As a female official from Kuwait – where women are fighting for the right to vote and stand for office – said at a Vital Voices conference recently, "Women don't want a skim milk democracy. We want a full cream democracy." This conference is part of the ongoing effort to transform women's lives and societies and create full cream democracies.

Today we can take heart knowing that democracy has replaced dictatorship around the world. But women still find their voices silenced, their potentials stymied, and their contributions hindered. Promoting democratic values and the importance of participation in the political process by voting and standing for office is critical to sustaining democracy.

For all of the challenges that confront us in this new century, I am optimistic about our future and our capacity to meet those challenges. And I thank you for your leadership in meeting that challenge through your political participation and activism. I wish you much success in this meeting.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Hillary Rodham Clinton". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Hillary" being the most prominent.

Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 2000

Mr. Pino Arlacchi
Executive Director
UNODCCP
Vienna International Centre
PO Box 500, A-1400 Vienna
AUSTRIA

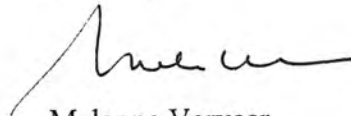
Dear Mr. Arlacchi,

On behalf of the First Lady, thank you for your letter and invitation for Mrs. Clinton to keynote the high level segment of the Tenth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders on April 14 in Vienna.

Regrettably, Mrs. Clinton will not be able attend the conference this April as her schedule is full. But please accept her appreciation for the UNODCCP's vital work to promote international cooperation in the fight against crime, along with her best wishes to you and your colleagues for a productive meeting.

Thank you for your leadership and all you do.

Sincerely,

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

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



The President's Interagency Council on Women

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Honorary ChairSecretary of State Madeleine K. Albright
ChairSecretary of Health and Human Services
Donna Shulala, Immediate Past ChairDATE: 2/23/00TO: Melanne Verveer / Katy Button
ORGANIZATION: Office of the First Lady
PHONE: _____ FAX: 456 6244FROM: Anita Botti / Kristin Soroka
PHONE: (202) 647 - 6227 FAX: (202) 647 - 5337

MESSAGE:

Have you seen this? Came through via
cable... FYI
K.S.

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): (4)

Soroka, Kristin M.

Heading:

UNVIE 336 SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED ROUTINE

SUBJECT: CRIME: INVITATION TO HILLARY CLINTON TO THE TENTH UN CONGRESS ON THE PREVENTION OF CRIME AND TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS, TO BE HELD IN VIENNA, AUSTRIA, APRIL 10-17

1. (U) MISSION HAS RECEIVED A LETTER (PARA 3) DATED FEBRUARY 1 FROM THE UNITED NATIONS OFFICE FOR DRUG CONTROL AND CRIME PREVENTION (UNODCCP) EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, PINO ARLACCHI, REQUESTING ASSISTANCE IN TRANSMITTING AN INVITATION TO HILLARY CLINTON TO SUBJECT CONGRESS. IN THE INVITATION, MR. ARLACCHI ASKS FOR MS. CLINTON'S PARTICIPATION AS A KEYNOTE SPEAKER AT THE OPENING OF THE CRIME CONGRESS HIGH-LEVEL SEGMENT APRIL 14-15 IN VIENNA. ATTACHED IS THE ANNEX TO UN DOCUMENT A/CONF.187/1 WHICH LAYS OUT THE PROPOSED ORGANIZATION OF WORK FOR THE CONGRESS. MISSION FAXED THE INVITATION WITH ANNEX AND POUCHED THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS TO INL/AP-ROBERTSON ON FEBRUARY 15. TEXT OF THE INVITATION FOLLOWS IN PARA 3.

2. (SBU) AT THE REQUEST OF THE OF THE OFFICER-IN-CHARGE OF THE UN'S CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION (CICP), MISSION DELAYED TRANSMISSION OF THE LETTER TO ALLOW THE CICP TO PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING COVER NOTE: "FOR OBVIOUS REASONS SOME POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS MAY, IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, BE HESITANT TO TRAVEL TO VIENNA. IT MUST BE MADE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT IS IN NO WAY INVOLVED IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS. WE MAY ALSO WANT TO COMMUNICATE THE IDEA THAT THE CONGRESS IS A SUITABLE PLATFORM FOR THE ELABORATION AND ADOPTION OF A STRONGLY WORDED STATEMENT BY THE HIGH LEVEL SEGMENT CONDEMNING ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF XENOPHOBIA AND INTOLERANCE TOWARDS FOREIGNERS. THE DRAFT DECLARATION DOES IN FACT ALREADY CONTAIN TWO ARTICLES TO THAT EFFECT. SUCH A STATEMENT COMING FROM A HIGH LEVEL UN MEETING IN VIENNA WILL RECEIVE AMPLE MEDIA COVERAGE WORLDWIDE. IT WOULD CONVEY A STRONG SIGNAL TO THE WORLD THAT POLITICAL MOVEMENTS CAPITALIZING ON AND/OR FOSTERING XENOPHOBIA SUCH AS MR. HAIDER'S FPO ARE UTTERLY REJECTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THIS MAY YIELD POLITICAL GAINS BOTH FOR THE POLITICIANS INVOLVED AND FOR THE UNITED NATIONS."

3. (U) BEGIN TEXT OF LETTER OF INVITATION.

DEAR MS. CLINTON,

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO INVITE YOU TO DELIVER A KEYNOTE STATEMENT AT THE OPENING OF THE HIGH-LEVEL SEGMENT OF THE TENTH UNITED NATIONS CONGRESS ON THE PREVENTION OF CRIME AND THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS, TO BE HELD AT VIENNA, AUSTRIA, FROM 10 TO 17 APRIL 2000.

THE TENTH CONGRESS WILL BE ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY 3000 PARTICIPANTS INCLUDING HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT, MINISTERS, POLICY MAKERS, ACADEMICIANS, WORLD EXPERTS AND PROFESSIONALS IN THE FIELD.

AS INDICATED IN THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA, THE FOLLOWING FOUR

*Kristin:
Send to
WH*

*Have they
seen this?*

ATT

*Katie /
Melanie*

SUBSTANTIVE TOPICS OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA WILL BE ADDRESSED BY THE TENTH CONGRESS: I) PROMOTING THE RULE OF LAW AND STRENGTHENING THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM, II) INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN COMBATING TRANSNATIONAL CRIME: NEW CHALLENGES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY, III) EFFECTIVE CRIME PREVENTION: KEEPING PACE WITH NEW DEVELOPMENTS, AND IV) OFFENDERS AND VICTIMS: ACCOUNTABILITY AND FAIRNESS IN THE JUSTICE PROCESS.

IN ADDITION, FOUR PRACTICALLY ORIENTED WORKSHOPS WILL BE HELD ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS: (A) COMBATING CORRUPTION, B) CRIMES RELATED TO THE COMPUTER NETWORK, C) COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME PREVENTION AND (D) WOMEN IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.

THE HIGH-LEVEL SEGMENT OF THE TENTH CONGRESS WILL BE HELD ON 14 AND 15 APRIL 2000. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS ASKED THAT GOVERNMENTS BE REPRESENTED BY HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OR GOVERNMENT MINISTERS TO FOCUS ON THE MAIN THEME OF THE TENTH CONGRESS, ENTITLED "INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN COMBATING TRANSNATIONAL CRIME: NEW CHALLENGES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY".

YOUR PARTICIPATION AT THE OPENING OF THE HIGH-LEVEL SEGMENT, SCHEDULED TO BE HELD ON FRIDAY, 14 APRIL 2000, AT 10.00 AM, WOULD BE A GREAT HONOUR FOR THE CONGRESS AND ITS PARTICIPANTS.

COMPLIMENTARY CLOSE.

END TEXT.
FITZPATRICK

UNCLASSIFIED

~PAGE 01 UNVIE 00336 00 OF 02 151713Z

@INFO: CA(01) CIAE(01) D(01) DODE(01) E(01)
G(01) M(01) MA(01) NSCE(01) P(01)
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===== 151940Z FEB 00 STePS (TOTAL COPIES:000)

ACTION INL-01

INFO LOG-00 NP-00 DS-00 EUR-01 OIGO-02 UTEG-00 TEDE-00
INR-00 IO-00 L-00 OIC-02 PM-00 SS-00 ASDS-01
PMB-00 DSCC-00 SAS-00 /007W
-----338104 151754Z /38

R 151606Z FEB 00
FM USMISSION UNVIE VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO VIENNA CRIME COLLECTIVE
DEPT OF JUSTICE WASHDC
DEPT OF TREASURY WASHDC

USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS UNVIE VIENNA 000336

SENSITIVE

INL-BEERS, CHAMBERLIN, VERVILLE, BOONE, INL/AP-CALLAHAN,
PALA, ROBERTSON, INL/ENT-PULEO, CROKE, L/LEI-PROPP,
CARLSON, IO,IO/ESA-ZWEIBEN, EUR/AGS
JUSTICE FOR OIA-HARRIS, BULLWINKLE, HART
TREASURY FOR OGC-GLASER, ENF-PEREZ
TREASURY PASS ATF-CROKE, FICARETTA
TREASURY PASS FINCEN/IP-DONNELLS, FINCEN/LEGAL-MICHAEL
BRUSSELS EU FOR RICHARDS
USUN FOR GALLAGHER, RABBY
VIENNA FOR GOLLNER-SWEET

E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: KCRM, AORC, UN, AU

ROUTINE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: firstlady

SIT: Blinken NSC CLARKER CRESSEY Munter NOSS ROSA Schwartz

<PREC> ROUTINE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 151606Z FEB 00

FM USMISSION UNVIE VIENNA

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO RUCNCRI/VIENNA CRIME COLLECTIVE
RUEAWJA/DEPT OF JUSTICE WASHDC
RUEATRS/DEPT OF TREASURY WASHDC
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
UNCLAS UNVIE VIENNA 000336

SENSITIVE

INL-BEERS, CHAMBERLIN, VERVILLE, BOONE, INL/AP-CALLAHAN,
PALA, ROBERTSON, INL/ENT-PULEO, CROKE, L/LEI-PROPP,
CARLSON, IO, IO/ESA-ZWEIBEN, EUR/AGS
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USUN FOR GALLAGHER, RABBY
VIENNA FOR GOLLNER-SWEET

E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: KCRM, AORC, UN, AU

SUBJECT: CRIME: INVITATION TO HILLARY CLINTON TO THE TENTH
UN CONGRESS ON THE PREVENTION OF CRIME AND TREATMENT OF
OFFENDERS, TO BE HELD IN VIENNA, AUSTRIA, APRIL 10-17

1. (U) MISSION HAS RECEIVED A LETTER (PARA 3) DATED FEBRUARY
1 FROM THE UNITED NATIONS OFFICE FOR DRUG CONTROL AND CRIME
PREVENTION (UNODCCP) EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, PINO ARLACCHI,
REQUESTING ASSISTANCE IN TRANSMITTING AN INVITATION TO
HILLARY CLINTON TO SUBJECT CONGRESS. IN THE INVITATION, MR.
ARLACCHI ASKS FOR MS. CLINTON'S PARTICIPATION AS A KEYNOTE
SPEAKER AT THE OPENING OF THE CRIME CONGRESS HIGH-LEVEL
SEGMENT APRIL 14-15 IN VIENNA. ATTACHED IS THE ANNEX TO UN
DOCUMENT A/CONF.187/1 WHICH LAYS OUT THE PROPOSED
ORGANIZATION OF WORK FOR THE CONGRESS. MISSION FAXED THE
INVITATION WITH ANNEX AND POUCHED THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS TO
INL/AP-ROBERTSON ON FEBRUARY 15. TEXT OF THE INVITATION
FOLLOWS IN PARA 3.

2. (SBU) AT THE REQUEST OF THE OF THE OFFICER-IN-CHARGE OF
THE UN'S CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION (CICP),
MISSION DELAYED TRANSMISSION OF THE LETTER TO ALLOW THE CICP
TO PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING COVER NOTE: "FOR OBVIOUS REASONS

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R
Regel

PAGE 02 OF 03

SOME POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS MAY, IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, BE HESITANT TO TRAVEL TO VIENNA. IT MUST BE MADE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT IS IN NO WAY INVOLVED IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS. WE MAY ALSO WANT TO COMMUNICATE THE IDEA THAT THE CONGRESS IS A SUITABLE PLATFORM FOR THE ELABORATION AND ADOPTION OF A STRONGLY WORDED STATEMENT BY THE HIGH LEVEL SEGMENT CONDEMNING ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF XENOPHOBIA AND INTOLERANCE TOWARDS FOREIGNERS. THE DRAFT DECLARATION DOES IN FACT ALREADY CONTAIN TWO ARTICLES TO THAT EFFECT. SUCH A STATEMENT COMING FROM A HIGH LEVEL UN MEETING IN VIENNA WILL RECEIVE AMPLE MEDIA COVERAGE WORLDWIDE. IT WOULD CONVEY A STRONG SIGNAL TO THE WORLD THAT POLITICAL MOVEMENTS CAPITALIZING ON AND/OR FOSTERING XENOPHOBIA SUCH AS MR. HAIDER'S FPO ARE UTTERLY REJECTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THIS MAY YIELD POLITICAL GAINS BOTH FOR THE POLITICIANS INVOLVED AND FOR THE UNITED NATIONS."

3. (U) BEGIN TEXT OF LETTER OF INVITATION.

DEAR MS. CLINTON,

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO INVITE YOU TO DELIVER A KEYNOTE STATEMENT AT THE OPENING OF THE HIGH-LEVEL SEGMENT OF THE TENTH UNITED NATIONS CONGRESS ON THE PREVENTION OF CRIME AND THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS, TO BE HELD AT VIENNA, AUSTRIA, FROM 10 TO 17 APRIL 2000.

THE TENTH CONGRESS WILL BE ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY 3000 PARTICIPANTS INCLUDING HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT, MINISTERS, POLICY MAKERS, ACADEMICIANS, WORLD EXPERTS AND PROFESSIONALS IN THE FIELD.

AS INDICATED IN THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA, THE FOLLOWING FOUR SUBSTANTIVE TOPICS OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA WILL BE ADDRESSED BY THE TENTH CONGRESS: I) PROMOTING THE RULE OF LAW AND STRENGTHENING THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM, II) INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN COMBATING TRANSNATIONAL CRIME: NEW CHALLENGES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY, III) EFFECTIVE CRIME PREVENTION: KEEPING PACE WITH NEW DEVELOPMENTS, AND IV) OFFENDERS AND VICTIMS: ACCOUNTABILITY AND FAIRNESS IN THE JUSTICE PROCESS.

IN ADDITION, FOUR PRACTICALLY ORIENTED WORKSHOPS WILL BE HELD ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS: (A) COMBATING CORRUPTION, B) CRIMES RELATED TO THE COMPUTER NETWORK, C) COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME PREVENTION AND (D) WOMEN IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.

THE HIGH-LEVEL SEGMENT OF THE TENTH CONGRESS WILL BE HELD ON 14 AND 15 APRIL 2000. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS ASKED THAT

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PAGE 03 OF 03

GOVERNMENTS BE REPRESENTED BY HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OR GOVERNMENT MINISTERS TO FOCUS ON THE MAIN THEME OF THE TENTH CONGRESS, ENTITLED "INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN COMBATING TRANSNATIONAL CRIME: NEW CHALLENGES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY".

YOUR PARTICIPATION AT THE OPENING OF THE HIGH-LEVEL SEGMENT, SCHEDULED TO BE HELD ON FRIDAY, 14 APRIL 2000, AT 10.00 AM, WOULD BE A GREAT HONOUR FOR THE CONGRESS AND ITS PARTICIPANTS.

COMPLIMENTARY CLOSE.

END TEXT.

FITZPATRICK

<SSN> 0336

<MSGID> M4296095

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 26, 1999

Sue Armsby Armitage
2930 Golden Eagle Circle
Lafayette, CO 80026

Dear Sue:

What a surprise to hear from you and how wonderful to get all your news - many times blessed with Steve, and Rose's impending birth!

I sometimes think about your past work on hate crimes and English Only. Your commitment and determination to act against injustice have always stayed with me. You made such a tremendous contribution at People for the American Way and our nation is the better for it. Life here continues to be rewarding albeit hectic. The same motivation that we shared at PFAW to make a positive difference continues to inspire.

My best to you and yours. Thanks so much for your thoughtful letter.

Sincerely,

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

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Melanne Verveer
H.1kert

From nobody@www1.whitehouse.gov Wed Jan 20 19:30:31 1999
Received: (from uucp@localhost) by WhiteHouse.gov (8.7.1/uucp-relay) id TAA13010 for
<First_Lady@Whitehouse.GOV>; Wed, 20 Jan 1999 19:30:31 -0500 (EST)
Received: from storm.eop.gov/198.137.241.51 via smap
Received: from FCPWH-DAEMON by EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.2-29 #34437)
id <01J6RWW7RJ8G0001PQ@EOP.GOV> for First_Lady@Whitehouse.GOV; Wed,
20 Jan 1999 19:29:15 EST
Received: from www1.whitehouse.gov ([198.137.240.91])
by EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.2-29 #34437) with SMTP id <01J6RWVNO0US0001PE@EOP.GOV> for
first.lady@Whitehouse.GOV; Wed, 20 Jan 1999 19:28:48 -0500 (EST)
Received: by www1.whitehouse.gov (951211.SGI.8.6.12.PATCH1042/940406.SGI.AUTO)
for first.lady@whitehouse.gov id TAA18783; Wed, 20 Jan 1999 19:19:39 -0500
Date: Wed, 20 Jan 1999 19:19:39 -0500
From: Sue Armsby Armitage <suea@digitalcreators.com>
Subject: Inbound-White_House_WWW_MAIL => FIRST_LADY
Apparently-to: first.lady@Whitehouse.GOV
To: first.lady@Whitehouse.GOV
Errors-to: The Postmaster <postmaster@www1.whitehouse.gov>
Reply-to: Sue Armsby Armitage <suea@digitalcreators.com>
Message-id: <199901210019.TAA18783@www1.whitehouse.gov>
CLIENT: 199.45.245.44[199.45.245.44]
BROWSER: Mozilla/4.5 [en] (Win95; I)
URL: http://www.whitehouse.gov/WH/Mail/html/Mail_First_Lady.html

[Sender Information]

PERSONAL-NAME: Sue Armsby Armitage
EMAIL-ADDRESS: suea@digitalcreators.com
ORGANIZATION:
RELATIONSHIP:
STREET-ADDRESS: 2930 Golden Eagle Circle
CITY: Lafayette
STATE-PROVINCE: Colorado
ZIP-CODE: 80026
COUNTRY: USA

[Message Information]

PURPOSE: Other
TOPIC: Other
AFFILIATION: Private Citizen
SUBJECT: Message for Melanne Verveer

[Message]

↓
Eric, here's
response

Dear Sue -
What a surprise to
hear from you and how
wonderful to get all
your news - many
times blessed with
Steve & Rose's impending
birth.

I ~~often~~ sometimes
think about your
past work on heart
crises and English only.
Your commitment and
determination to act →

Please forward this message to Melanne Verveer.

Dear Melanne, I loved seeing you sitting next to Rosa Parks last night! You look great -- and I remain very proud to know you. Over the years, I have thought of you often and sent good thoughts your way.

I have been married for about three years to an incredibly wonderful guy, Steve Armitage. He is a fifth grade teacher and is one of those whose former students and parents stay in touch with him for years. He is also very active in local teacher union politics.

I am six months pregnant and we are expecting a little girl in April. Her name will be Rose Armsby Armitage. I am so curious about what she will look like and who she will become.

Now I work as a project manager for a company (my first for-profit!) called Digital Creators producing online educational courses. I use my writing, editing and organizing skills plus newly developed skills in graphic arts and Internet technology. In some ways it is similar to coalition work, and vastly different in other ways.

I love the Internet. I read the Washington Post online every morning to stay somewhat up to date. It was fun to read in the Reliable Source about another Melanne coming into the world and the holiday party at your house!

After Matthew Shepherd's death in Wyoming and the discussion about hate crime I was pleased to read quotes from my pal Michael Lieberman of the ADL. I'm glad he's still on the job! And, I'm very glad Clinton mentioned hate crime and helping newcomers learn English in the speech last night!

I hope you get the chance to meet Mark Udall, who succeeded David Skaggs. Steve and I first got to know Mark when he ran for the state legislature in '96. He is just the kind of person who ought to be in politics.

I hope you, Phil and your kids are well and happy. Take good care of yourself.

Sue

Against
injustice
have always
stayed with
me. You made
such a ~~wonderful~~
friendship
contribution at PFAW

and our nation is the better for it.
Life here continues to be rewarding, →
albeit hectic. The future materialization
that we shared at PFAW to make a

positive difference continues
to inspire,

My best to you ~~and~~ and yours,
~~Let's~~ Thanks so much for your
thoughtful letter.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 14, 1999

Carole Artigiani Nichols
Executive Director
Global Kids
561 Broadway, 6th floor
New York, NY 10012

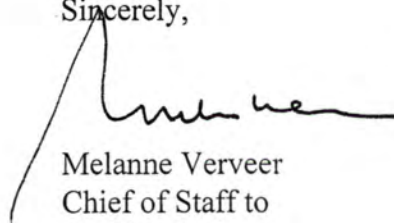
Dear Ms. Nichols:

Thank you for the information about Global Kids
and your kind invitation for the First Lady to speak in New
York on March 25.

Regrettably, Mrs. Clinton was unable to accept the
invitation as she was on a good will mission in North
Africa at that time. During the trip, she spoke on several
occasions about the importance of human rights around the
world. I know she would want me to convey her
appreciation for the efforts of Global Kids, along with her
best wishes.

Thank you for all you do.

Sincerely,

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

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

YOUTH

TURNING

HOPE

INTO

ACTION



*Register
only 9th
County*

March 3, 1999

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-0003

Dear Ms. Verveer:

Thank you for sending us a copy of Mrs. Clinton's Eleanor Roosevelt Lecture on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is inspiring and important.

As Mrs. Clinton points out, young people need to know about the Declaration and to be engaged in promoting human rights for all. Global Kids Leaders—public school teens from across New York City—have been studying the Declaration and are planning a major conference for 300 young people from the youth community. I am enclosing a flyer with the details of the event.

We would be honored and thrilled if Mrs. Clinton were to address these young people. She has remarkable experiences and first-hand knowledge of the impact of world issues on children. Her own efforts to draw attention to the needs of young people are notable indeed. The conference participants should know that someone in such a powerful position cares about their well-being.

On the chance that Mrs. Clinton will be back in New York on March 25, I am sending this invitation. Nothing would inspire her more than to see how deeply these teens care, how much they have learned, and how committed they are to making a difference, not only in their own communities but worldwide.

I would be happy to send more information at your request. I hope you will consider this invitation.

Sincerely,

Carole Artigiani Nichols
Executive Director

Global Kids, Inc.
in collaboration with the Wolfson Center for National Affairs of the
New School University
presents

The Tenth Annual Global Kids Youth Conference
The Power of Citizenry
Human Rights – Right On!

Designed and Led by Global Kids Youth Leaders

Thursday, March 25, 1999

8:00 AM – 4:00 PM

The New School University

Tishman Auditorium

**66 West 12th Street between 5th & 6th Avenue
New York, New York**

EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN

ETHNIC CONFLICT

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

CHILD SOLDIERS

WORKFARE

POLITICAL PRISONERS

INCARCERATION



PRESENT DAY SLAVERY

HOMELESSNESS

CRIMINALIZATION OF BLACK YOUTH

TIBET

HEALTHCARE

WORKER'S RIGHTS

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

AND MUCH MORE!

Participating Organizations Include:

Human Rights Watch • American Anti-Slavery Group • NYPIRG • Urban Justice Center
Police Watch • Students for a Free Tibet • Alliance for Justice • National Labor Committee
Campaign Against the Death Penalty • Audre Lord Project • Global Action Project
Center for the Study of Human Rights • GEMS • War Resister's League

Global Kids, Inc. is a nonprofit educational organization which prepares urban youth for global and community leadership. Our vision is a world in which people of diverse backgrounds can achieve leadership on all levels of society and have the knowledge, skills and experiences necessary to shape public policy and international relations.

This conference has been made possible by a generous grant from the
Stephen and May Cavin Leeman Foundation.

To register or for more information contact Global Kids at (212) 226-0130.

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Global Kids Today... World
Leaders in the 21st Century

Global Kids today... World Leaders in the 21st Century



***Youth Turning Hope
Into Action***



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 28, 1999

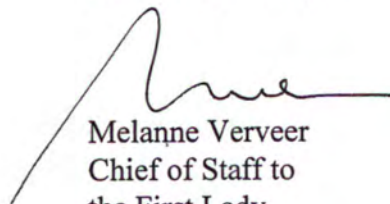
Alberta Arthurs
329 W. 108th St., PHC
New York, NY 10025

Dear Alberta:

Thank you for your note. It means a great deal because you and I have been partners in our collective endeavor for so long. My only regret is that we rushed out of the gala and I was unable to see you.

Hopefully, one of these days there will be time for a long conversation about all our mutual interests. At least, I can hope!

All the best always,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

ALBERTA ARTHURS

Dear Melanne -

I was so thrilled to hear Hillary credit you with inspiring the White House's interest in arts and culture at the Americans for the Arts gala. Your voice has been so important, your dedication so complete, that hearing your name in that context was just right. I loved it.

It was a great evening. All the greater for Hillary's generosity, but - most of all - for your genuinely determined efforts.

I hope to see you soon -

Fondly,

Alberta



Ms Milanne Veveer
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave
Washington D.C. 20500

PERSONAL



Arthur
329 W. 108th St PHC
NY NY 10025.

Ⓢ
Thanks

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 19, 1999

Pino Arlacchi
UN Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention
Vienna International Centre, PO Box 500 A-1400
Vienna, Austria

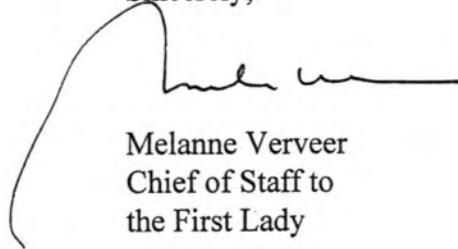
Dear Mr. Arlacchi:

On behalf of the First Lady, thank you for your letter and invitation for Mrs. Clinton to keynote the symposium "Illicit Drugs and Organized Crime: Stereotypes and Reality" in Venice, September 28-29. She was so pleased to meet you in Palermo.

Mrs. Clinton was very honored to have the opportunity to speak at the "Civitas Palermo World Congress." Regrettably, however, her schedule will not permit a return trip to Italy in September. But please accept Mrs. Clinton's appreciation for you and your colleagues' vital work, along with her best wishes for a successful conference.

Best wishes and thank you for all you do.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Melanne Verveer", with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right. A thin, curved line is drawn from the end of the signature, looping back up towards the word "Sincerely,".

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

UNITED NATIONS OFFICE AT VIENNA

OFFICE FOR DRUG CONTROL AND
CRIME PREVENTION

THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

VIENNA INTERNATIONAL CENTRE
P.O. BOX 500, A-1400, VIENNA, AUSTRIATELEPHONE: (43-1) 26060-5001 TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS: UNATIONS VIENNA FAX: (43-1) 26060-5819 E-MAIL:
ODCCP@ODCCP.ORG

9 July 1999

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

It was a great pleasure for me to make your acquaintance on the occasion of the "Civitas Palermo World Congress" last month. The key-note address you delivered at the Palermo event was very inspiring. It provided the audience with very valuable thoughts on the indispensable linkage between the rule of law and the advancement of democracy.

The United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, the Vienna-based organization I direct, will hold an international symposium on the theme "Illicit Drugs and Organized Crime: Stereotypes and Reality" in Venice, at the "Fondazione Cini" on 28 and 29 September 1999.

I have the honor to invite you to attend this event and, in particular, to deliver the opening address to the symposium, on a topic of your choice, on Tuesday 28 September at 10.10 am.

The aim of the two-day symposium is to provide a forum for reflection and discussion on some of the most pressing issues facing our society at the turn of the twenty-first century: illicit drugs and transnational organized crime.

It will bring together distinguished dignitaries, senior government officials, leading media personalities, experts in the field of drug control and organized crime, as well as print and electronic media journalists from developing and emerging countries. A preliminary programme is attached herewith for your reference.

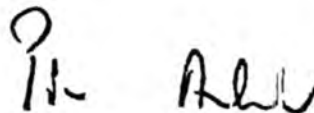
First Lady
Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
Attention:
Ms. Melanne Verveer
Assistant to the President
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500
USA

- 2 -

The symposium is, in part, a follow-up to the media forum held in June 1998 in New York, in conjunction with the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on Drug Control where President Clinton delivered the opening address.

It would be a great privilege for us to have your presence at this important event.

Please accept, Mrs. Clinton, my very best personal regards.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'P. Arlacchi'.

Pino Arlacchi

Rcv. 8/9.7.99

**United Nations Symposium on
"Illicit Drugs and Organized Crime:
Stereotypes and Reality"**

**Venice, Fondazione Cini, "Sala degli Arazzi"
28 & 29 September 1999**

Preliminary Programme

Tuesday, 28 September 1999

9:45 am **Arrival of Participants**

10:00 am **Welcome remarks by:** Prof. M. Cacciari, Mayor of Venice (*confirmed*)

10:10 am **Opening Statement:**

10:45 am **Key Note Address**

"Illicit Drugs and Organized Crime: Stereotypes and Reality"
Pino Arlacchi, Executive Director, ODCCP

11:15 am **Coffee Break**

Rev. 8/9.7.99

11:40am **First Session: Participants will review and discuss "Global Trends on Illicit Drugs: Supply, Trafficking and Demand"**

Moderator: Riz Khan, CNN

or

Christiane Amanpour, CNN

Cutting Down on Illicit Drug Production: Three case studies

The Golden Triangle: Laos and Thailand

The Golden Crescent: Iran and Pakistan

The Andean Region: Perú and Bolivia

*Panel Presentation: Michael Sheridan, The Sunday Times
Christopher Wren, The New York Times
Douglas Farah, The Washington Post
Robert Lessmann, Süddeutsche Zeitung
Michael von der Schulenburg, ODCCP*

20 mins.

Discussion

30 mins.

12:30 **Cutting the Supply Lines**

10 mins.

Guest speaker: Mr. Jesus Blancornelas, Awarded UNESCO Prize

or

Paul Williams, Irish Journalist

Discussion

30 mins.

13:15 pm **Lunch: Featured:**
Gen. Barry McCaffrey
The US Experience

15:00 pm **Second Session: Participants will review and discuss the Role of the Media in Communicating about Drugs.**

Moderator: Lilli Gruber, RAI TV

Drugs, Drug Barons and Journalism: The Case of Colombia 10 mins.

Guest speaker: Gabriel Garcia Marquez (El Cambio)

or

Enrique Santos (El Tiempo)

Discussion

35 mins.

Rev. 8/9.7.99

- 15:45 pm **Does an Audience Exist for "Serious" Programmes on Drugs?"** 10 mins.
Panel: *A. M. Rosenthal, The New York Times*
 Guy Talese, Writer
 Prof. Zaccaria, RAI TV
- Discussion** 35 mins.
- 16:30 pm **Coffee Break**
- 16:45 pm **Prevention and Treatment of Drug Abuse:** 10 mins.
 Role and problems in spreading message
Panel: *Ms. Letizia Moratti*
 Mr. Gautam Babbar
- Discussion** 30 mins.
- 17:30 pm **Round Table Among Participants**
- 18:45 pm **End of First Day**
- 20:30 pm **Dinner hosted by the City of Venice**

 Guest Speaker: *Eric Clapton*

 or

 Michael Douglas

Rev. 8/9.7.99

Wednesday, 29 September 1999

- 10:00 am **Third Session: *Participants will discuss the Growing Threat Posed by Transnational Organized Crime and the UN Response***
Moderator: E. J. Dionne, The Washington Post
- 10:00 am **Emerging Issues:**
The New Frontiers of Transnational Organized Crime 10 mins.
Guest speaker: Mr. Louis Freeh, Director, FBI
- 10:20 am **Coffee Break**
- 10:40 am **Panel on the subject "Transnational Crime and the Media"**
To be followed by general discussion
Proposed panelists:
Chief Editor of El Pais
Chief Editor of Le Monde
Chief Editor of The New York Times
Director General of Corriere della Sera
- 12:30 pm **The Convention; Towards the Palermo Conference** 10 mins.
Guest Speaker: The Minister of Justice of Argentina
- Discussion** 35 mins.
- 13:15 pm **Lunch:**
- Corruption: As a Major Obstacle to Development**
Featured Speakers: Mr. Enrique Iglesias, President IDB
Mr. James D. Wolfensohn, President, The World Bank

Rev. 8/9.7.99

- 15:30 pm **Fourth Session: *Attacking the Profits of Crime: Drugs, Money and Laundering*** 10 mins.
 Moderator: Professor Guido Rossi
- Emerging Global Issues on Money Laundering** 10 mins.
 Guest Speaker: Bill Allen, Minister of Finance, Bahamas
- 16:15 pm **Multi-lateral Initiative on Secrecy Laws** 10 mins.
 Guest Speaker: Ron Ranochak
- Discussion** 35 mins.
- 17:00 pm **Coffee Break**
- 17:15 pm **Round Table Among Participants**
- 18:15 pm **Closing Remarks by: Pino Arlacchi**

For additional information please contact:

Sandro Tucci	Tel.	431 26060 5629
Spokesman	Fax	431 26060 5875
	E-mail	Stucci@undcp.org

or

Valentina Vidali	Tel.	431 26060 4108
External Relations	Fax	431 26060 5931
Officer	E-mail	Vvidali@undcp.org