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BEYOND RHETORIC

A New American Agenda for
Children and Families



FINAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON CHILDREN

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CHAPTER TEN

Protecting Vulnerable Children and Their Families

Children need strong, stable

families and enduring, supportive relationships. But as author Lisbeth Schorr observed, in families experiencing severe stress, love often turns into neglect, affection withers into hostility, and discipline becomes abuse.¹ Poverty, single parenthood, mental illness, drug abuse, and social isolation can weaken families and impair some parents' ability to care for their children. When families are in turmoil, children are often the helpless victims of their parents' frustration and despair. In the absence of adequate support and services, these children are frequently removed from their families and placed in the custody of the state.

Some children are removed from their families to protect them from physical, emotional, or sexual abuse. Others are removed when parents or relatives are unable or unwilling to care for them. Still others are placed in out-of-home care because their behavior problems make them difficult to care for. The majority of these children are in foster care — foster family homes, group homes, and emergency shelters. Some are in juvenile justice facilities and mental health institutions.

Wherever they go, however, these children face grim futures. All of them are scarred by the separation from their parents, siblings, schools, and communities. Thousands move from one placement to another, effectively denied a permanent home and family. For many children, foster care, which is intended to protect them from neglect and abuse at the hands of parents and other family members, becomes an equally cruel form of neglect and abuse by the state.

The human and financial costs of America's failure to support and strengthen families and to provide intensive assistance in times of stress and crisis are high. These costs are measured in the wasted lives of children stranded in foster care, in disintegrating families that could be helped, and in the extraordinary financial burden of sustaining a growing population of children in settings outside their families, sometimes far from their homes.

Accordingly, the National Commission on Children recommends a comprehensive community-level approach to strengthen families and provide essential supports and services to alleviate the need to place children in protective custody. We urge that programs for vulnerable children and their families be restructured to include three tiers of services:

- community-based family support networks offering access and referrals to a broad range of services to strengthen families and foster healthy child development;
- comprehensive intervention to strengthen and preserve troubled families who voluntarily seek help before their problems become acute; and
- comprehensive child welfare services for families in crisis to keep children in their own homes whenever possible or to provide permanent placement for those who must be removed from their families.

Children Living Outside Their Families

William, at age 18, had spent most of his adolescence in foster care. In testimony before the Commission, he described his experiences and those of thousands of other foster children better than we ever could. He said:

Hello. My name is William. For those who don't know me, my case number is J-957439. That way you can look me up....

Let me project an idea in your mind. Imagine you're 12 or 13 and you're walking home from school one day with your best friend and you notice about five police cars, a bunch of other cars at your house.

Now, being curious, and also being a youth, you wonder what's going on. So you run home and you see your little brother and sister in the back of a police car, crying.

Most judges have 35 to 40 cases on their individual calendars [every day], and they have an average of 10 minutes to spend on each case. Five years from now, with double the caseloads, the judges will have not 10 minutes, but five minutes to determine each child's fate and each family's future.

— THE HONORABLE
PAUL BOLAND
Presiding Judge at Los
Angeles County Juvenile
Court,
Los Angeles, California

You see your mother and elder sister sitting on the porch. Your mother says, "I failed you. I can't have you any more."

And then a stranger comes, a police officer, and tells you to leave with them. Now, you being a youth, and not knowing what's going on, you reject it, and you struggle, and you run. But then the police officer handcuffs you and puts you in back of the police car, and then you take a long trip, not to a relative's house, not to a friend's house, but a place like [an emergency shelter], a place you never even heard of before.

And your first thought is, "Am I in jail? Is this juvenile hall?" Someone explains what foster care is. No one explains it's okay, you didn't do anything, until you go to a courtroom one day and you see a man sitting behind a bench and you see a lot of secretaries and clerks. But no one still explains it to you. But you're a 13-year-old, sitting, wondering what happened to you.

Two days later they tell you you're a foster kid for the first time. What is a foster kid? So you look it up in the dictionary and it's a substitute for something. So...you're 13, you're thinking, "I'm a substitute for a kid." I mean, I'm not a kid anymore, I'm only a substitute for it.

It is not difficult to understand why children who are removed from their homes and families feel helpless. Most come from highly stressful family environments in which they were powerless to protect themselves from abuse or neglect. Removal from their families represents yet another event beyond their control. While in substitute care, some children suffer repeated unanticipated moves; contact with their parents and siblings is controlled by others. As a result, many develop a profound sense of powerlessness. Their immediate situation and their opportunities for the future appear to be beyond their control.

Many children who spend part of their childhood in out-of-home placements become able and productive adults despite their traumatic experiences. Too many others, however, develop an impaired self-image, encounter difficulty in establishing emotional intimacy, and suffer an unresolved sense of loss.² Some remain sensitive to their former status as foster children and compare themselves to the persons they believe they might have become had they been reared by their biological families.³

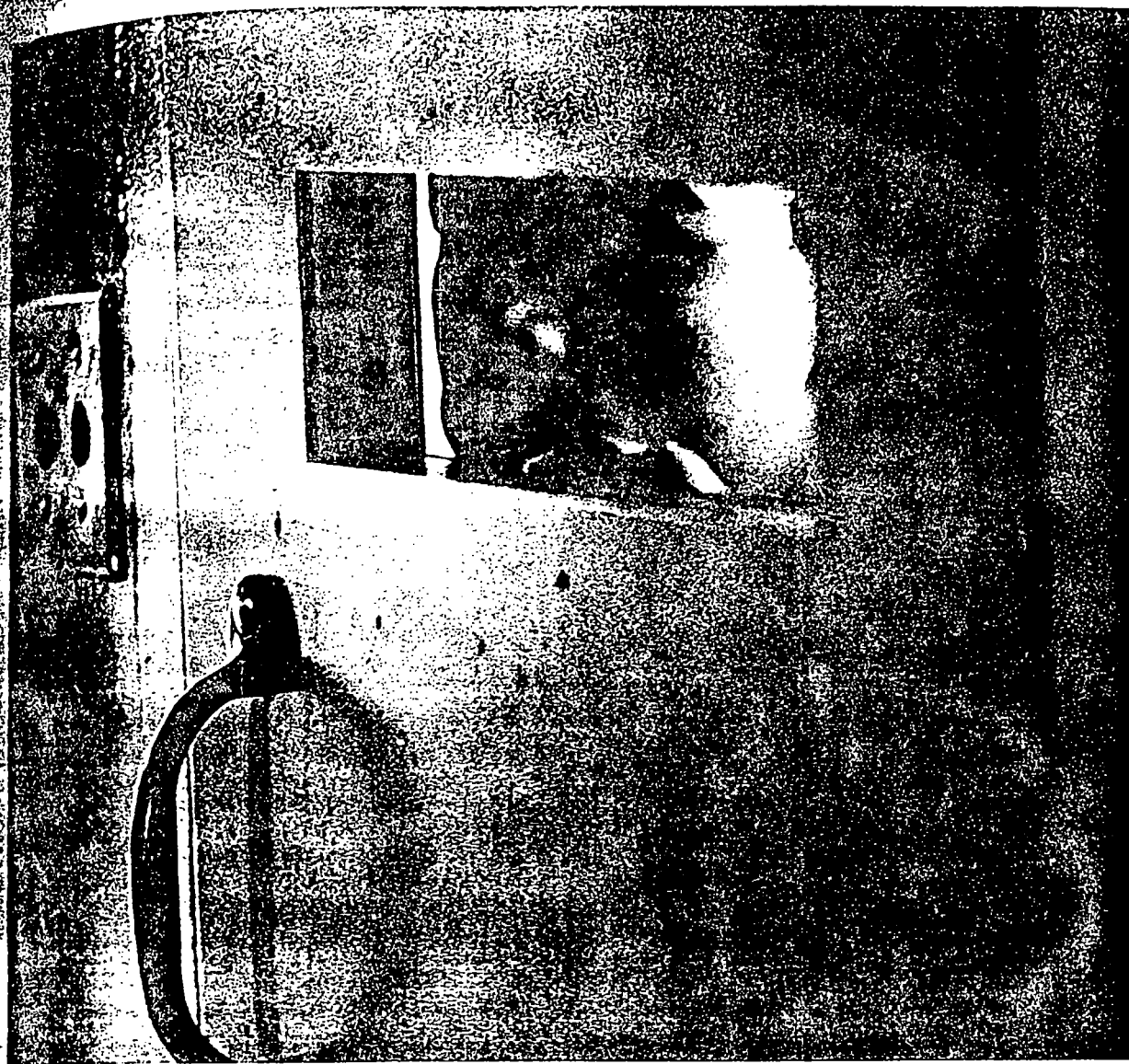
Although information on the population of children living apart from their families is limited by inadequate data collection, existing estimates indicate that the number of children in foster care has increased over the past several years, reversing declines in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In 1977 an estimated 502,000 children were in foster care.⁴ By 1980 this number had dropped to 302,000⁵, and it declined further to a low of 275,000 in

1983.⁶ During the mid-1980s, however, estimates of the number of children in foster care began to increase, reaching approximately 340,000 by the end of 1989.⁷ Recent projections estimate that 550,000 children will be in foster care by 1995.⁸ This rapid increase in the number of children living outside their families has overwhelmed the capacity of the judicial system, which has legal authority for foster children. It has also overwhelmed the child welfare system, which is responsible for investigating reports of abuse and neglect, recommending and overseeing out-of-home placements, and providing follow-up counseling for the growing number of children who require protective services.

In addition to the children in foster care, an estimated 91,646 children live in public and private juvenile justice facilities,⁹ and another 54,472 receive mental health care as inpatients in hospitals and residential treatment centers.¹⁰ The problems that precipitate the removal of these children from their families generally resemble those of foster children.

Reports of child abuse and neglect rose 259 percent between 1976 and 1989,¹¹ and more than 50 percent of all out-of-home placements today are for children who need protection from adults in their own homes.¹² Several factors contribute to the recent increase in the number of children in out-of-home placements. As discussed in earlier chapters, the number of single-parent families has skyrocketed; family poverty and homelessness are growing; births to teenagers remain at a high level; and drug use continues to flourish in large cities and small communities nationwide. However, a recent analysis of the factors that place children at risk of maltreatment suggests that only family income is consistently related to all categories of abuse and neglect. When other factors, such as single parenthood and race, are controlled for income, there is no positive correlation with heightened risk of abuse or neglect. In fact, this analysis suggests that when the same resources are available to families headed by single mothers as to two-parent households, children are actually at lower risk of maltreatment.¹³ While poverty does not always or automatically lead to child abuse and neglect, it can contribute to stress and a lack of emotional control that can result in violence or an inability to meet a child's basic daily needs.

Although children living apart from their families come from all racial and ethnic groups, all income levels, and all types of families, children from minority and single-parent families are overrepresented in the child welfare population. Many of these families are poor.¹⁴ At the end of fiscal year (FY) 1986, 49 percent of foster children were minority,¹⁵ more than twice the proportion of minority children in the population



nationwide. Among black children in foster care, nearly 46 percent were from single-parent families.¹⁶

Increasingly, the foster care population is made up of seriously troubled adolescents at one end of the age spectrum and medically fragile infants and young children at the other. Growing numbers of adolescents in foster care are youth who have dropped out of school, are unable to find jobs, and are pregnant or already have babies of their own. Policies mandating the deinstitutionalization of children with mental health problems and the decriminalization of status offenders — that is, young people charged with running away, ungovernability, truancy, or liquor law violations — have increased the number of emotionally disturbed, mentally ill, developmentally disabled,



and delinquent children in foster care. For many of these troubled adolescents, the future holds little hope of reunification with their parents or adoption into another family.

At the other end of the age spectrum is the growing population of infants and very young children born to or being raised by drug-abusing parents. Many of these children were exposed to drugs in utero and born to mothers who did not receive appropriate prenatal care. As a result,

many have physical, psychological, and developmental disabilities, as well as serious health problems. Some are at risk of developing AIDS because their mothers are infected with the HIV virus. Many children of drug-abusing parents will never have a normal family life. Substance abuse renders their parents unable to care for them, and these children's need for specialized medical attention, housing, and education often makes it difficult to find adoptive families for them. In addition, the shortage of well-trained and well-supported foster families means that many of these children will begin their lives as "boarder babies," spending much more time in hospitals than is medically necessary because they have no homes.

Frequently, children who enter the child welfare system do not receive needed health and social services. The majority have multiple physical, emotional, behavioral, and developmental difficulties that require specialized supports and services. Yet the services they need are fragmented and uncoordinated. Cooperation among agencies (e.g., child welfare, public health, mental health, juvenile justice, special education) is typically hampered by conflicting eligibility requirements, rigid funding mechanisms, staff who guard institutional boundaries to ensure their share of federal, state, and private funding, and specialized professionals who tend to focus on the isolated problems they are trained to address rather than on the interrelated needs of children and families.

Because of this fragmentation, children are often served on the basis of their most obvious condition or problem. When they enter one health or social service system, they tend to receive only the services that system offers, regardless of whether such assistance is responsive to their multiple needs. Thus, for example, emotionally disturbed children are served by the mental health system, delinquent children by the juvenile justice system, and abused or neglected children by the protective services system. Yet the needs of these children are often the same and are often broader than the mission of any single agency.

The child welfare system is intended to provide coordinated diagnostic and treatment services for troubled children and families in order to reunify children safely and permanently with their natural families, place them in long-term foster care, or arrange for their adoption. However, some children linger in foster care or in institutions for extended periods of time; an estimated 14 percent of foster children stay in the system five or more years.¹⁷ Despite widespread knowledge that children do best in settings that provide continuity and stable, caring relationships with adults, they are often moved from one placement to another.

Approximately 55 percent of children in foster care experience two or more placements; 8 percent of children experience six or more placements,¹⁸ in part because there are too few foster parents trained and willing to care for troubled children and children with special needs. In addition, foster children rarely have just one caseworker who tracks their case and monitors their progress. High rates of turnover among caseworkers make it difficult for children to receive continuous personal attention and may amplify their feelings of being lost in an uncaring system. Caseworkers themselves are often inadequately trained, inexperienced, poorly paid, and expected to manage too many cases to permit them to give any single child or family sustained and thoughtful attention. They, too, feel unappreciated and adrift in a bureaucratic system that forces them to spend as much or more time on paperwork as working directly with children and families who need help.

In recent years, an increasing number of children have left foster care before age 18, only to reenter the child welfare system later. Between 1983 and 1985, the number of children with multiple placements in foster care rose from 16 percent to 30 percent.¹⁹ Recent longitudinal studies of children in foster care found that in New York 27 percent of the children reunited with their families returned to placement some time later; in Illinois, the comparable figure is just under 30 percent.²⁰ Many critics argue that this reflects the child welfare system's inability to meet the complex needs of highly stressed and disorganized families.²¹ It also reflects the increased difficulty of addressing comprehensively the needs of vulnerable and often troubled children so that they can return to their parents or thrive in settings outside their own homes.

The stated goal for every child in foster care is reunification with his or her natural parents or placement in an adoptive home. For about two-thirds of children, that goal is ultimately met. In 1986 slightly fewer than 60 percent of children in foster care were either reunited with their families or placed with a parent, relative, or other caregiver. Another 7 percent were adopted or relinquished for adoption. Approximately 20 percent were no longer in care for other reasons, including running away, incarceration, marriage, death, discharge to another public agency, or acquiring a legal guardian. Another 8 percent reached age 18 and were no longer eligible for care. No information is available for the remaining 6 percent of children who left the foster care system in 1986.²²

In the past, child welfare services for foster children generally ended when children reached age 18 or completed high school, regardless of

The biggest problem that I see is a lack of teamwork. The social worker, the educators, the foster parent, the psychologist, the mentor or outreach advisor, need to sit down with [the foster youth], speaking the same language, and help him plan for the future.

— LENZY STUART
Outreach Advisor,
Community College
Foundation,
Los Angeles, California

whether they were emotionally and financially able to care for themselves. Although an independent living program is now in place to help foster youth acquire daily living skills, many 18-year-olds who leave foster care face uncertain futures. Many must work full-time to support themselves, dropping out of high school or forgoing college or other professional training. Some end up homeless.

In 1990 Congress responded to growing concern over the future prospects of older foster children by expanding (at state option) independent living programs to serve these young people until age 21. Federal and state programs enable participants to seek a high school diploma or its equivalent or to receive vocational training. The programs also offer training in daily living skills, such as budgeting, career planning, and locating housing, and they provide outreach, counseling, and coordination of relevant services.

The Child Welfare System

In 1980 Congress enacted the Child Welfare and Adoption Assistance Act (P.L. 96-272) to reform the child welfare system and prevent children in the states' protective custody from being "lost" in substitute care. This law was intended to prevent the removal of children from their homes except when absolutely necessary and, through "permanency planning," to return children to their families or place them in relatives' homes, adoptive homes, or other permanent living arrangements. Initially, the law succeeded in meeting its major goals. From the late 1970s to 1985, there were significant decreases in the number of children in out-of-home care, reductions in the average time children remained in the child welfare system, increases in the foster care turnover rate, and more intensive in-home services for vulnerable children and their families.²³ These trends were reversed in the mid-1980s, however. The growing number of troubled families — largely because of drug use — has overwhelmed the child welfare system. Children today are typically placed outside their homes, with few accompanying supports and services to strengthen and reunify their families.

The growing number of children in out-of-home placements is also the product of misguided federal and state funding incentives. Federal funding for preventive and family support services is fixed each year and has barely grown in the past decade, while funding for out-of-home care is supported by an open-ended entitlement that grows automatically according to need. As a consequence, the federal government makes significantly more

money available to states for out-of-home placement than for support services to strengthen families and prevent removal of children from their homes.²⁴ This encourages states to place children in out-of-home care rather than to help troubled families overcome their problems and maintain custody of their children.

Title IV-B of the Child Welfare and Adoption Assistance Act provides funds to states for family support, prevention, and reunification services. Federal appropriations (that is, funds actually provided) consistently fall short of the program authorization (the maximum amount of funding that may be provided), which itself has historically underestimated the actual demand for these services. Between 1977 and 1989, Congress maintained the authorization for Title IV-B at \$266 million, and the program grew only 10 percent in constant 1981 dollars during this period. In 1989 the authorization was increased to \$325 million;²⁵ however, Congress appropriated only \$273 million for FY 1991.²⁶

In contrast, under Title IV-E of the act the federal government provides open-ended matching funds to states for out-of-home placement. Congress recently budgeted \$1.8 billion for foster care services for FY 1991.²⁷ Funding for Title IV-E increased dramatically during the 1980s, in response to the rising number of children placed in alternative care and growing claims for state and local administrative responsibilities. Between 1981 and 1991, administrative and program-related expenses increased from \$30 million to \$882 million.²⁸ In this case, however, administrative expenses include more than just record-keeping and reporting tasks. As defined by P.L. 96-272, administrative expenses include referral of troubled families to child welfare services, preparation for and participation in judicial determinations of child placement, initial development and continued review of a foster child's case plan to determine when reunification with the family or adoption is appropriate, and recruitment and licensing of foster homes and institutions.

The scope and structure of Title IV-E funding gives states a strong financial incentive to place children in foster care rather than to provide intensive family preservation and support services to keep families together. As a result, children are often removed from difficult or potentially dangerous families prematurely or unnecessarily. The Commission heard from many child welfare caseworkers who felt they had little alternative but to remove children from their homes, even in cases where their best professional judgment suggested that intensive support might enable a family to weather a crisis and begin to build stronger, healthier relationships. In the absence of



appropriate supportive services in many communities, caseworkers are forced to take drastic steps to protect children from the dire consequences of severe abuse and neglect. Tragically, although they are out of immediate physical danger, children who are removed from families often do not receive the love and nurturing they need in out-of-home care either.

In some cases, the removal of a child might have been prevented by intensive, home-based prevention or intervention services, commonly known as family preservation services. Family preservation services are available in 17 states²⁹ to help parents cope with the practical problems that contribute to family stress. They teach parenting skills and strategies for resolving conflicts and they link parents and children to other community supports and services. Family preservation also provides concrete services, such as transportation, purchase of essential and sorely needed household items, and emergency assistance.³⁰

Family preservation appears to be a promising vehicle for helping troubled families, although rigorous long-term studies of its effects and effectiveness have yet to be done. Several program models illustrate the basic approach. Homebuilders, established in Tacoma, Washington, during the mid-1970s, was the first large-scale family preservation program. Its counselors provide practical assistance to help families resolve immediate crises that can precipitate abuse or neglect, such as imminent eviction, sudden or prolonged unemployment, or the need for homemaker services and respite child care, and then use individual and group therapy to teach families more effective styles of conflict resolution and parent-child interaction. Since 1974 Homebuilders has served 4,500 children and their families.³¹

Another family preservation initiative is Maryland's Intensive Family Services program, which employs teams composed of a social worker and a parent aide to provide home-based services to a family after a protective services investigation has been conducted but prior to removal of a child. Social workers have some discretion to purchase services for families that will help them manage their daily lives and avert out-of-home placement. Among the services available to families are counseling, advocacy, parenting education, respite care, employment counseling, budgeting, and the purchase of emergency goods. Approximately 1,000 families receive services each year, at an estimated cost to the state of \$2.5 million in FY 1990.³²

While the National Commission on Children encourages states to explore ways to strengthen families and avert out-of-home placements, we also recognize that family preservation is not a panacea. For some children, especially those living in home environments that place them at imminent risk of severe physical or mental abuse or neglect, out-of-home placement is necessary and must be available. But outplacement should not be the first resort nor the only solution to troubled family situations. Children's own families are the single most powerful agent for ensuring their healthy development. "Removing children from their families for any but the most compelling reasons breaks the critical bond children need to develop their basic personal and social identities."³³ In light of this, the Commission strongly urges that over the coming decade all levels of government and the private sector redirect and increase resources — both financial and human — to develop systems that will build family strengths and relationships and support healthy child development, rather than continuing to focus primarily on family deficits and dysfunction. At the same time, explicit efforts must be made to improve the services offered to children who are removed from their families so that they can receive more individualized and comprehensive support

If there's not
someone out there
who's an advocate
who's working for
the good of the
families and the
children, then many
families fall in the
crack...You don't
understand the
problems kids have
until you go out
and visit in their
homes.

— SOCIAL WORKER
Charleston, West Virginia

while living in substitute care. To ensure that children do not languish for years in foster care, we urge a renewed commitment to permanency planning. This concept is at the center of the 1980 child welfare reform legislation. It requires states to establish and pursue stable, nurturing, and permanent arrangements for every child in their custody.

Toward Policies and Programs to Nurture and Protect America's Most Vulnerable Children and Their Families

If the nation had deliberately designed a system that would frustrate the professionals who staff it, anger the public who finance it, and abandon the children who depend on it, it could not have done a better job than the present child welfare system. The goals of family reunification and permanency planning remain paramount, but dramatic increases in the number of troubled families and misplaced financial incentives to the states make these goals nearly impossible to achieve. The National Commission on Children heard from virtually every actor in the system: child welfare staff and dependency court judges who want more manageable caseloads so they can give children and families the thoughtful attention they need; foster parents who need more training and support to meet the developmental needs of children who arrive at their homes with chronic illnesses, disabilities, and severe emotional problems; families who wish someone had reached out to them earlier; and foster children who want what all children want — a loving, safe, and nurturing family and a stable, secure home.

Marginal changes will not turn this system around. Instead, we need comprehensive reform based on fundamental restructuring of our efforts to help troubled children and protect vulnerable children.

Many research and advocacy organizations have expressed similar frustration and concern about the child welfare system.^a Organizations and individuals familiar with the system tend to agree that fundamental reform is necessary to reduce the number of children who must be removed from their families and to ensure safe, nurturing, permanent homes for children who cannot live with their parents. The Commission recommends a framework for a comprehensive, community-based, family-focused system that will lessen the need to place vulnerable children in substitute care by ensuring that their families have the necessary supports to raise them.

^aThose organizations are the American Public Welfare Association, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Center for the Study of Social Policy, the Child Welfare League of America, the Children's Defense Fund, the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, and others.

In concurrence with the recent report of the American Public Welfare Association's Commission on Child Welfare and Family Preservation, we recommend a three-tiered approach to strengthen families and reduce the number of children placed outside their homes. This approach focuses substantially more attention on family support to promote the health and well-being of vulnerable children and families before serious problems develop. Recognizing the value of prevention, the first tier focuses on supporting *all* families by providing them with easily accessible, community-based, family-oriented services that enhance parents' ability to care for their children. The family support programs described and recommended in the previous chapter are the core of this first tier.

The second tier calls for restructuring and expanding family services so that they are more comprehensive and cohesive and can address the pressing needs of families before and during a crisis. The third tier, which most closely resembles the current child welfare system, focuses more on family preservation, reunification, and, when these are not possible, permanent placements for children living apart from their families. The overarching goal of this new approach is to provide families with appropriate and adequate supports, in this way reducing the number of children who will need to be removed from their families. If more effort and resources are not directed toward prevention and early intervention, the child welfare system will continue to fail the children and families most in need of help.



The National Commission on Children recommends a comprehensive community-level approach to strengthen families. We believe that early family support and the availability of preventive services will ultimately lessen the need for children to be removed from their homes. We therefore urge that programs and services for vulnerable children and their families be restructured to include three complementary approaches:

1. Promoting child development and healthy family function through locally controlled and coordinated, community-based family support networks that offer access and referrals to a broad range of services, including health and mental health care, education, recreation, housing, parenting education and support, employment and training, and substance abuse prevention and treatment.

This first tier is designed to promote healthy child development, strengthen families, enhance parents' childrearing skills, and build the capacity of communities to support families. To achieve these goals, community organizations, agencies, and individuals must join forces to provide a mix of prevention programs and services that are easily accessible to all families and are offered in a manner that is sensitive to differences in family structure, culture, and ethnicity. This approach also requires additional training for social workers, caseworkers, and other service providers to recognize, understand, and cooperate in addressing the multiple needs of children and their families.³⁴

This first tier should offer families information, eligibility determination, and referral to a broad range of local programs in health, education, mental health, income support, housing, and substance abuse treatment. Specific services that should be available at the community level include quality child care, prenatal care, parenting education, parent support services such as parent aides and visiting nurses, early childhood screening and developmental services, literacy and employment programs, and recreational activities for children and youth.³⁵

2. Assisting families and children in need in order to strengthen and preserve families that voluntarily seek help before their problems become acute. Human service programs, including health and mental health, juvenile services, substance abuse programs, education, and economic and social supports, must collaborate to provide prevention and early intervention services that offer practical solutions to problems faced by families in crisis.

This approach has two goals: to strengthen and preserve families who seek help for existing problems and to improve the ability of service agencies to

deliver coordinated, family-focused services that are nonpunitive, voluntary, and culturally responsive. To achieve these goals, communities must ensure that families facing problems such as poverty, unemployment, ill health, homelessness, substandard housing, adolescent pregnancy, or delinquency have access to more intensive services than those provided in the first tier. In particular, the growing relationship between parental substance abuse and child abuse and neglect highlights the need for community-based drug and alcohol treatment programs for parents, pregnant women, and children. All of these problems must be addressed as family problems, rather than as conditions that affect only a child or only a parent. Specialized services, such as respite care, child and family mental health care, crisis intervention, voluntary family preservation services, and short-term voluntary placement of children outside the home, should be made available. All of the services in this second tier are transitional; they are provided to families based on need and end when problems are resolved.³⁶

Helping families before their problems become acute requires coordination among federal, state, and community programs and providers to reduce conflicting eligibility criteria, administrative barriers that prevent families from receiving assistance, and duplication of services. In the next chapter, we discuss coordination and collaboration among programs and services in more detail and offer recommendations to build a more cohesive service delivery system for families with multiple needs. In essence, a more coordinated and collaborative system would encourage service providers to help families locate and receive the full range of services they may need in order to establish or restore healthy family functioning. One way to do this is to use case managers to help a family secure the services that address immediate needs, build family strengths, and reduce the likelihood that children will have to be removed from their homes.

3. Protecting abused and neglected children through more comprehensive child protective services, with a strong emphasis on efforts to keep children with their families or to provide permanent placement for those removed from their homes.

This approach has three goals: to protect children who have already suffered or are at imminent risk of suffering serious harm; to ensure that reasonable efforts are made to maintain children safely in their own homes once a finding of abuse or neglect is substantiated; and to provide permanent placement for children who must be removed from their families. This tier most closely resembles today's child welfare system; however, as

the third tier in a pyramid of family support and child welfare services, it would focus only on those families in which children have suffered or are at risk of suffering serious harm.³⁷

While services in the second tier would be voluntary, those in the third tier would be mandatory. For example, families in crisis that are likely to benefit from intensive in-home family preservation services would be offered this option as the only alternative to having their children placed in



foster care. When a child must be removed from his or her family, reunification services would be provided to prepare both the child and the family for a return home. Finally, children who remain in foster care would have a sustained, supportive environment enriched with education, therapy, recreation, and other developmentally appropriate services to help them become independent, productive adults.³⁸

For children, sudden removal from their homes — even destructive or neglectful homes — is a traumatic experience. Like William, they are taken from familiar surroundings by strangers, often with little if any explanation,



and they are placed in crowded emergency shelters or foster homes with few resources to address their medical and psychological needs. Siblings are frequently separated, and children have little or no contact with family members or social workers who can help them understand what is happening.

Children who have been removed from their homes and are awaiting court hearings need special care and support to help them through this

painful and frightening experience. They should always be placed in safe, home-like shelters where their medical and psychological needs can be met. Whenever possible, siblings should be kept together, and when appropriate, families should be encouraged to visit.

Children placed in foster care by the court should be cared for in settings that protect their health and safety and address their developmental needs. All children need close, one-to-one relationships with caring adults, yet foster children rarely have the opportunity to form and sustain these close ties. Family-like settings are more likely to encourage the development of nurturing relationships than are large, impersonal institutions. Placement with relatives is often a desirable arrangement for children who have been removed from their parents, since it enables children to retain links to their families and may be less stressful than placement with unfamiliar adults and children. However, placing a child with relatives does not abrogate the state's responsibility to protect his or her health and development. States must still provide necessary supports and services to children, their families, and the relatives who serve as foster parents. They must also continue efforts to reunify parents and children.

For children who cannot be placed with relatives — especially for infants and very young children — well-trained and properly supported foster families typically provide the most intimate environment.

Group homes that are properly staffed and supervised and that offer counseling, supervision, and discipline in small family-like settings can also provide supportive environments for children. These arrangements may be especially suitable for older children and for adolescents.

Children's centers that provide a home-like environment for small groups of children, are staffed by skilled professionals, and offer a complete range of services — or coordinate with other providers to meet children's needs — are another option for foster children of all ages. Their visibility can create opportunities for community support and involvement and heighten children's chances of adoption if they are unable to return to their biological families.

Regardless of the substitute care setting, people who work with vulnerable children and their parents, including child protective services caseworkers, foster parents, relatives, and employees of group homes, shelters, and residential centers, must be appropriately trained to recognize and understand the complex problems these troubled families face, and they must receive adequate support to provide the help that families need. States and communities should ensure that service providers are trained to properly

assess families' needs and help them gain access to the array of supports and services they may require. Foster parents, especially those caring for chronically or mentally ill children, also need specialized training and support. Finally, child welfare and protective services staff need appropriate training and professional support. They should not be expected to manage caseloads so large that they are unable to work thoughtfully and responsively with troubled families. When caseworkers are unable to spend sufficient time with their clients, they are less likely to provide supports and services in a timely fashion, and as a consequence, children are sometimes separated from their families for longer periods than would otherwise be necessary. Reducing caseloads is also likely to help lower the present high turnover rates among child welfare caseworkers. In Chapter 11 we discuss in more detail working conditions in the public child welfare field and make recommendations for recruiting and retaining talented individuals.

To ensure that children do not remain in out-of-home placements longer than necessary, state child welfare systems must redouble their efforts to develop permanency planning goals for *each* child living outside her or his family. Permanency planning goals can range from family reunification to adoption or placement in long-term foster care. For infants abandoned at birth and other young children who need the support of a stable, committed caregiver but who cannot be safely returned to their biological families, we encourage states to move faster to terminate parental rights, where appropriate. We recognize, however, that termination of



The social workers, it's hard for them to reach out to individual kids when they worry about 30 kids in one month. We have to cut down on caseloads and get more social workers. I had a social worker who had six, one lady, and she just gave me more attention than any of my other social workers.

— WILLIAM
Foster Child,
Los Angeles, California

parental rights may not be in the best interests of all children. For instance, it may not be the best alternative for adolescents, who have limited opportunities for adoption and who may have difficulty assimilating into new family environments. When termination of parental rights is not feasible, it is imperative that children are able to live in a single, stable placement and receive care that is responsive to their needs.

Adoption offers a new beginning to children whose parents are unable or unwilling to care for them. The adoption process itself and the supports and services provided to all parties must be sensitive to the emotional needs of the children, the biological parents, and the adoptive parents. Traditional counseling before and after birth with the biological parents, as well as counseling before and after adoption with the adoptive parents, should be supplemented with additional health and social services as needed, including health care for medically fragile children.

All three tiers of the proposed system are essential. Until the nation pays substantial attention to building the capacity of communities to support all families in their childrearing roles and provides an array of supportive services to those experiencing problems, the existing child welfare system will continue to be little more than "an emergency room for troubled families".³⁹

Steps Toward Implementation

Reform of the nature and magnitude described above will require substantial changes over the coming decade in policies and practices at all levels of government and in all service systems.

The Federal Level

We urge Congress to adopt the three-tiered approach outlined above and to legislate the changes at the federal level to enable states and localities to strengthen and support families and more effectively address the needs of vulnerable children and their families. The federal government should alter funding incentives that inhibit states and localities from providing essential preventive services, and it should restructure programs for children and families to improve coordination and collaboration among relevant health, education, and social service providers. It should require states to extend foster care services to youth up to age 21 and provide services to all foster youth to prepare them for independent living when they leave the foster care system. The federal government should also assist in collecting relevant data and training child welfare staff and foster parents.

Changes in Funding Incentives. Current federal funding structures encourage states to remove children from their homes rather than to provide intensive in-home services or prevention and early intervention efforts. The reforms proposed by the Commission would reverse the present pattern of spending and direct more human and financial resources to prevention and family preservation. Such a fundamental reordering of funding priorities should be implemented carefully. As a first step, we urge the federal government to create demonstration projects that channel additional funding to states to test preventive interventions. This additional funding would have neither the restrictions nor the incentives for out-of-home placement built into Title IV-E and Title IV-B funding.

Extending Foster Care to Age 21. Many children in foster care are behind in school. The psychological stress they experience before and after removal from their families often negatively affects their school performance. In addition, when placement in foster care requires that they change schools (for some children more than once), young people frequently are unable to complete course requirements for matriculation and are held back. As a consequence, many foster youth have not completed high school by the time they turn 18 and are not educationally or emotionally ready to support themselves independently. Historically, states have extended foster care services to children up to age 18. In 1990, recognizing that many foster youth need additional support to complete their high school educations, to pursue postsecondary education and training, and to acquire the necessary skills and knowledge to live successfully on their own, Congress extended federal support for foster care services to youth up to age 21 at state option. To ensure that all young people living outside their families are able to receive the support and services they need to make a successful transition to adulthood, the Commission urges the federal government to require all states to extend foster care to youth up to age 21, conditional on their enrollment in educational or job training programs, and to provide services to prepare them for independent living. These services should be financed under the provisions of Title IV-E, as are other out-of-home care arrangements for children in the protective custody of the states.

Greater Coordination of Federal Programs. Severely troubled and highly stressed families are often unable to get help to avert problems before they become crises. The bureaucratic maze of discrete, unrelated programs, each with its own administrative procedures and eligibility criteria, discourages many families from seeking help and delays the provision



of assistance to others. The unfortunate consequence is often to heighten parents' feeling of isolation and helplessness and to exacerbate problems that may lead to abuse or neglect. Once children have been removed from their homes, fragmented and narrowly defined programs make it difficult for foster parents and caseworkers to secure the array of health, educational, and social services many of these children desperately need.

Much of this fragmentation begins at the federal level. In Chapter 11 we offer several recommendations for federal actions to make it easier for states and localities to design and deliver comprehensive services to severely troubled families. These include mechanisms for greater coordination within the executive branch and across congressional committees; decategorization of selected federal programs to promote flexibility in service delivery; and uniform eligibility and a consolidated, streamlined application process for the major

federal means-tested programs. The Commission also recommends demonstration projects at the state and local levels to experiment with innovative strategies to coordinate services and promote greater collaboration among providers who work with troubled families. Meeting the needs of children and families in the child welfare system should be a top priority of these demonstrations.

Data Collection. The federal government also has a unique role to play in helping states design and maintain systems for gathering, integrating, and reporting data on children and families in the child welfare system. At present, there is no systematic method of accounting for children in substitute

care. Some children are "lost" in the child welfare system for months or years, making the provision of services, let alone permanency planning, impossible. It is even impossible to say how many children are wards of the states at any given time. We encourage the federal government to establish guidelines and provide start-up funding for a uniform data collection system in every state. At both the federal and the state level, this information is essential for program planning and monitoring.

Support to Child Welfare Staff and Foster Parents. To enhance the quality of care for the most vulnerable children and their families, the federal government should provide leadership and fiscal incentives to states to improve the recruitment, retention, and training of supervisory and direct service staff serving troubled children and their families.

Foster families should be eligible to receive the refundable child tax credit recommended in Chapter 5 as a component of the Commission's income security plan. In addition, the federal government should explore ways of allocating child support funds collected from absent parents to adults caring for foster children. Given the administrative complexity of coordinating the child support and child welfare systems, we urge the federal government to establish demonstration projects to develop effective mechanisms for ensuring that persons caring for children outside their homes receive adequate support to meet those children's needs.

The State Level

Governors and state agencies must adopt and implement the comprehensive child welfare reforms we have recommended at the federal level. States should also explore earlier termination of parental rights for children abandoned at birth and improve training and support for service providers who work directly and indirectly with the most vulnerable children and their families.

Termination of Parental Rights. Children need strong, stable, one-to-one relationships with their parents. When parents are unable or unwilling to provide consistent care and nurturing, children should have an opportunity to develop stable, trusting relationships with other caring adults. Accordingly, the Commission encourages states to review their judicial policies regarding termination of parental rights and take steps to accelerate the adoption process in cases where babies have been abandoned at birth and where repeated attempts to reunite older children and their parents have been unsuccessful. Some commissioners recommend terminating parental rights for abandoned infants after 90 days, in order to ensure that

these very young children are able to be placed in loving homes and to begin the process of bonding with their adoptive parents as early as possible. While the 90-day period may be used as a guideline, all commissioners believe that social workers and judges must review cases on an individual basis to account for special circumstances that may warrant longer or shorter stays in foster care. The Commission further urges the National Conference of Juvenile Court Judges to develop model statutes and administrative procedures to accelerate the termination of parental rights in cases where there is little hope of successfully reuniting children with their biological families and adoption is feasible.

Greater Coordination of State Programs. State legislative committees, subcommittees, and administrative agencies should take steps to coordinate health and social service programs for troubled families and for children in foster care. Breaking down bureaucratic and administrative barriers will first require clear, strong, and sustained state-level leadership. Governors must take steps to establish comprehensive, community-based, family-oriented service systems in their states, and they must hold all relevant agencies accountable for accomplishing it. Successful implementation will require substantial cross-agency budgeting and planning in order to move funds across agency boundaries and to achieve greater flexibility in organizing and delivering services to families in crisis. To begin this process, the Commission urges governors to launch demonstration programs within their states that build on federal initiatives.

Encouraging Local Initiative. We also encourage states to vest significant authority in local communities, creating incentives for local agencies and community-based service providers to design and implement their own networks of family support and assistance. Those closest to families experiencing problems are often the most motivated and most creative in finding solutions. States should encourage local creativity and initiative by providing necessary financial resources, offering technical assistance, and establishing standards by which to measure local progress.

Support to Child Welfare Staff and Foster Parents. With federal assistance, states must take steps to improve training and support for health and social service providers, including child welfare caseworkers, who work with troubled families and their children. States should provide incentives to colleges and universities, as well as public and private nonprofit agencies, to improve the recruitment, retention, and training of supervisory and direct service staff. States should also enhance and extend training for foster parents to prepare them to respond effectively to the needs of the increasingly

troubled children in their care. Finally, they should review their procedures and practices for monitoring foster family homes, group homes, and institutions to ensure that children receive appropriate care.

The Local Level

As local communities gain increased authority and autonomy, they must also accept increased responsibility for the well-being of children and families. The development of local networks of family support programs and the effective delivery of integrated services depend on the ability of communities to respond to the needs of their own families. Local communities can begin by assessing the status and needs of children and families, reviewing the resources available to respond to those needs, bringing existing service providers and committed individuals together to design a comprehensive support system for families, and providing training and support for the professionals, paraprofessionals, and volunteers who will staff the programs and work directly with parents and children.

Costs and Benefits

Without additional investments in prevention, intervention, and intensive family preservation, the federal and state governments will have little alternative but to spend ever larger sums to care for children outside their families. If present trends in out-of-home placement continue, the Congressional Budget Office projects that the federal government will spend a total of approximately \$9.24 billion between FY 1991 and FY 1996 under Title IV-E to maintain children in foster care.⁴⁰

The National Commission on Children believes that providing families with comprehensive prevention and early intervention services will enhance family functioning and, over time, significantly reduce the need for costly out-of-home placements. In the previous chapter, we recommended a first-year investment of \$400 million of federal, state, local, and private funds for community-based family support programs, increasing to \$2 billion (divided equally between federal and nonfederal sources) after five years. These programs and the networks they establish with other community programs and services will make up the first tier of a restructured child welfare system.

To provide the more intensive services that are part of the second and third tiers, the federal government will need to increase funding under Title IV-B. The majority of commissioners recommends changing Title IV-B to an entitlement, making funds equally available for the provision of family preservation services and for foster care. This will eliminate any



fiscal incentive for removing children from their homes unnecessarily by ensuring that states have adequate funds for prevention. Along with funding in tier one for family support, this step would represent a substantial investment in promoting child development, improving family functioning, and preventing family crises that result in children being removed from their homes. Over time, these commissioners believe, this investment will reduce the amount of federal and state funding needed for out-of-home

placement under tier three. As this transition occurs, federal savings from reductions in out-of-home placements should be used to cover the federal share of costs for prevention under the new entitlement provision.

Until Title IV-B is changed to an entitlement, most commissioners urge Congress to increase appropriations for prevention and family preservation services. The FY 1991 appropriation for Title IV-B is \$273 million. Over the coming five years, they believe funding should be increased by approximately \$215 million annually so that prevention and reunification services will be available to half the families with substantiated cases of abuse or neglect and two-thirds of families that already have a child in foster care. In this way, the FY 1992 Title IV-B appropriation would be \$488 million; by FY 1996, it would increase to \$1.075 billion, approximately the same amount that is currently spent on out-of-home placement under the provisions of Title IV-E.

A minority of commissioners believe that current problems in child welfare are not related primarily to inadequate funding. Indeed, total federal expenditures on child welfare services have increased from \$536 million in 1981 to \$2.385 billion in 1991. Rather, these commissioners believe it is difficult, if not impossible, to address current problems in child welfare because of the structural roadblocks states face in obtaining funds through Titles IV-B and IV-E. Consequently, these commissioners recommend that the relationship between Titles IV-B and IV-E be altered to allow greater flexibility in spending monies for preventive services. In doing so, these commissioners believe, it would not be necessary to appropriate additional monies for child welfare services.

Federal, state, and local governments, as well as private sector employers and the general public, will benefit from an increase in preventive services. In addition to the savings that should result from fewer out-of-home placements for children, strengthening families should enhance parents' ability to meet their children's physical, intellectual, social, and emotional needs.

While this new approach will require additional human and financial resources, we believe its long-term benefits significantly outweigh its costs. We project significant reductions in the number of costly interventions associated with removing children from their families. Further, strengthening the family will result in reductions in juvenile delinquency, school dropout, teen pregnancy, and other high-risk behaviors among children raised in troubled families. If we do not take these steps toward supporting vulnerable children and their families, the social and economic toll on this country will continue to rise.

We have to
look and listen to
the people that
we're trying to help.
I mean, we all have
the solution for
somebody else's
problem, but we're
not listening to them
to find out what
their problem is.
In a sense, we're
playing God with
other people's lives,
and we're not
even bothering to
ask them.

— LUPE ROSS
Foster Parent,
Los Angeles, California

Conclusion

Most American children are raised by their parents in supportive and nurturing environments. However, recent social and economic changes have put new pressures on families, pressures that in some cases overwhelm parents' ability to protect and care for their children. As a result, a large and growing number of children have been removed from their families in recent years. For these children, the child welfare system has become the caregiver of first and last resort. Too many remain faceless and forgotten in crowded institutions and poorly supported foster homes. As a society, we should not continue to remove children from their families when efforts to provide support — particularly early support — hold such promise for strengthening families and reducing the need for out-of-home placements.

The National Commission on Children recommends a plan for comprehensive reform to support and strengthen the ability of parents to care for their children. This plan must involve all sectors of society: at one end, the federal government must establish a framework and provide support to states and localities; at the other end, local communities and service providers must tailor programs to meet the needs of children and families. We recognize that reform takes time and that success does not occur overnight. But we know enough now to begin. Further delay will continue to place many children and their families at unnecessary risk and cost the nation billions of dollars in costly interventions that could have been avoided.

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Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton,
First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C., 20500

14 Teakwood Lane
Fairport, NY 14450
June 11, 1993

Dear Ms. Clinton:

I am writing this letter of support for you and the President to accomplish enormous tasks ahead of you, in order to bring about change for the betterment of the American people. It is a very difficult task to ask people to change and at times it is very frustrating. I know this past week, it was a difficult time for the President to face unsubstantiated criticism and hostility from self interest groups, the Washington politics, the unsympathetic media feeding negatives to the public, and trying to undo what you and the President are trying very hard to accomplish and make life better for all Americans. As far as I am concerned, you and the President have accomplished a great deal since he took office. I think you are on your way to accomplish great things and because of you America will continue to be the Greatest nation on earth.

Last night, I watched you on national television interview. You are excellent communicator and I was very impressed the way you handled the most sensitive and personal situations about you and the President. I believe you were very truthful in your response about Health Care the economy and jobs. I will say that you articulated the President's position in these matters. I agree with the President's choice selecting you to lead the National Health Care group and I hope you will continue to be involved other important issues that affect this nation.

I hope you will share this letter with the President.

Keep up the good work and God bless you.

Than you.

Respectfully yours.


Semie Lechebo



THE WHITE HOUSE

Dear Friend:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter. Your kind words of encouragement mean a great deal to me.

This is an exciting and challenging time for the President and me. He is honored to have the opportunity to lead our country in a new direction. Your continued support will be invaluable as the administration works to make meaningful changes in government and in people's lives.

I hope that you will join with us in any way you can to make the coming years a time for renewed opportunity in America.

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

417 E 300 S #9
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111
June 11, 1993

Hillary Clinton
64 Pennsylvania Ave
Washington, DC 20335

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

After seeing the television special about you on June 10, I felt compelled to express my respect for you and appreciation for your and your husband's sincere concern for our country. While I am not one to keep up on current events and I possess a very limited understanding of politics and all that they imply, I do care about our nation and the decisions that must be made, and I do vote.

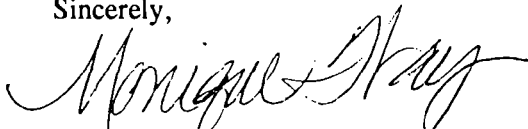
Being conservative, I am concerned and, quite frankly, a bit frightened about some decisions and ideas that liberal leaders support and enact.

I am a single parent living on public assistance and financial aid while I endeavor to gain a secondary education in the health care field and I am anxious to see how upcoming reforms will affect me and those in situations similar to mine. While I am sure I will be one who will not see immediate benefits and may even be caused to feel the negative effects of future reforms, after watching your interview, I feel that I can trust the judgment and intentions of your husband to improve the nation in the long run. I hope that I am able to continue to feel this trust and that if "hard times" come my way as a result of decisions that must be made, this trust will not be betrayed.

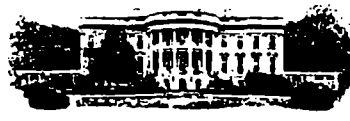
I realize that this letter, if even read in its entirety, will be read by one of your aides, and I hope that if one letter a day or week is selected for you to view, maybe this will be one of them. I'm sure you understand the importance of being heard.

Thank you for your time and commitment. I hope that I am able to continue to respect and appreciate all that you and President Clinton are striving to accomplish. You are in my prayers.

Sincerely,



Monique Way



THE WHITE HOUSE

Dear Friend:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter. Your kind words of encouragement mean a great deal to me.

This is an exciting and challenging time for the President and me. He is honored to have the opportunity to lead our country in a new direction. Your continued support will be invaluable as the administration works to make meaningful changes in government and in people's lives.

I hope that you will join with us in any way you can to make the coming years a time for renewed opportunity in America.

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

5919 Evergreen
St. Louis, Missouri
June 11, 1993

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I appreciate your appearance on NBC Television last night. Usually, I don't look forward to this event by First Ladies, not since Jacqueline Kennedy. However, this time, I waited with much anticipation for your debut. And it was worthwhile. Needless to say, you were charming, delightful, and you excelled in your desire to "want people to see me as a whole person."

You are one of a few first ladies in my lifetime, who has demonstrated the ability to play such an important role in her husband's administration. Coincidentally, your choice of first ladies is also mine (Eleanor Roosevelt and Jacqueline Kennedy). Incidentally, thanks for referring to the "Rose Garden" as "The Jacqueline Kennedy Rose Garden," which gives it a special meaning.

Moreover, I really feel fortunate to have grown up during the Franklin D. Roosevelt era. I was 5 when he took office, and 18 when he died. We, of that generation are referred to, by some, as the "silent generation," from which no president emerged. Yes, we were not noise-makers; we had a president whom we admired and trusted him to move our nation in the right direction. He was like a king.

The political side of your interview (particularly the questions), wasn't as interesting as the brilliance with which you answered. I felt that the questioning was trite, having heard them bandied about on numerous television and radio "talk shows." At one point, the interviewer asked how you felt about taking up residency in the White House. Believe me, you are certainly not "off-base," as she intimated

in a light-hearted way, in ^{your} ~~you~~ role as the president's wife. To the contrary, you are well-suited to it, even though you sometimes have to "pinch myself" because it's hard to believe you are there.

As you took us through the tour, I noted a very cordial, elegant First Lady, who is right on target in assisting the President in moving our nation toward a fairer, more promising future for all of us. Thanks for sharing with the public. I learned much.

God Bless you always,
Mildred T. Kirk
Mildred T. Kirk



THE WHITE HOUSE

Dear Friend:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter. Your kind words of encouragement mean a great deal to me.

This is an exciting and challenging time for the President and me. He is honored to have the opportunity to lead our country in a new direction. Your continued support will be invaluable as the administration works to make meaningful changes in government and in people's lives.

I hope that you will join with us in any way you can to make the coming years a time for renewed opportunity in America.

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

PROSKAUER ROSE GOETZ & MENDELSON

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55, AVENUE DE TERVUEREN
B-1040 BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

June 11, 1993

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

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

After watching your magnificent presentation on C-Span given at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine on Thursday, June 10, I must write to compliment you on both the content and tone of your presentation. It was exhilarating to hear your pronouncements.

As someone who has been involved in the health care industry for 30 years, first as the chief financial officer of a major tertiary medical school hospital, and most recently, as an attorney practicing the specialty of health care law, I thought that your remarks regarding the need for change; the need for the recognition of the diversity of the health care delivery system; and the recognition of the important role of our teaching hospitals were most appropriate.

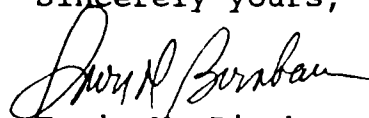
I look forward to the announcement of the President's national health care reform proposal, and I sincerely hope that the principles outlined by the President during the election campaign will be readily evident in the final product. We must guarantee all the citizens of this country have appropriate, affordable health care coverage. To achieve that critical goal we must make all necessary changes to assure an effective and efficient health care system. Without an appropriate delivery system, I fear that we will see only increased costs without the attainment of better health care.

PROSKAUER

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
June 11, 1993
Page 2

I congratulate you on your efforts to date.

Sincerely yours,



Irwin M. Birnbaum

IMB:kh

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1993

Irwin Birnbaum, Esquire
Proskauer Rose Goetz & Mendelsohn
1585 Broadway
New York, New York 10036

Dear Friend:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter. I appreciate your sharing your thoughts with me about health care.

As you know, the Health Care Reform Task Force has completed its charge from the President. Your comments will be useful as he works toward advancing this important national initiative.

Thank you again for taking the time to write. Your confidence and support are greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

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

Hillary Rodham Clinton

(Report) child abuse
February 6, 1993

The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear First Lady Clinton,

I am writing to you on behalf of a group of Americans that have few champions and even fewer heroes, please, become a champion for us. I hope and will continue to pray that this letter reaches you and that you will have the time to read it.

There is one area of health care that is shamefully neglected, that if properly addressed, could save our country billions of dollars. We would reduce untold suffering.

Undoubtedly, with your background in law, politics, and education, you are aware of the figures concerning child abuse. We are becoming more aware and taking excellent steps to prevent abuse of our children. One group so ignored and shut off by the health care industry are those of us adults that were abused many years ago. We are the people that go on to become the abusers of the next generation. We are the addicts and the alcoholics, the prostitutes and the people that fill our prisons. We frequently, intentionally and unintentionally, create situations that destroy our lives and hurt those we love and who love us. Our suicide rate is alarming.

Purposely and accidentally, we wreak havoc on society in great and small ways. The direct and indirect cost to families, businesses, and ultimately, to our country, is beyond grasp. The "people cost" is staggering.

Most insurance plans have very high limits applied to physical conditions but for the abuse of childhood requiring extensive therapy we are offered token help. Too often, twenty visits. Twenty visits to undo years of rape and torture. A great many of our people are unable to afford insurance of any kind and consequently go without help.

Physically, our young bodies heal rapidly. Mentally, we work very hard for our entire lives to heal our souls. No one, not even our mighty nation can give back to us what was taken from us, but a good healthy care system could provide meaningful help. Costly? Absolutely, but considering what we cost society in the long run, proper care is the less expensive cost.

The last study I am aware of concerning mass murders found that nearly every one of the murderers was sexually abused before the age of six. Male and female prostitutes are most always practicing what they were taught as children.

I am one of the fortunate ones. Divorced once, bankrupt twice, had to overcome addiction to alcohol and sleeping pills. For so many of us, night-time was a time of terror.

I was fifty years of age and well into therapy before I enjoyed my first night of uninterrupted sleep.

Several years ago, I began the process of trying to discover why I was unable to remember most of my childhood, the first twelve or thirteen years. That process led to me being fired as the minister of a growing, prospering church. In the words of the board president, 'Ward, every time I look at you, all I can see is what your parents did to you as a child.' Post traumatic stress disorder and major depression and being totally disabled for a time and bankruptcy were part of the process, almost entirely paid for out of my own money.

We are now in the process of forming a new, independent church. I am on my way back up and will reach higher levels than ever before. I am luckier than many of my fellow survivors, lucky because several people believed in me and their love and support got me through. My wife, our four sons (none of them abused) and an AASECT certified therapist allowed me to run up very large bills for my therapy. Having her belief in me and believing that I would make it to pay her back was a key factor in me and believing that I would make it to pay her back was a key factor in my survival.

It will take a lifetime to return the love given me by my family, especially my wife. I can only imagine the pain and fear they experienced as they watched a strong six foot two inch man set motionless in a daze and struggle some days to stay alive. On good days, while my wife was at work, I could fix a meal for them or do laundry. On bad days, they watched flash backs reduce me to a terrified, crying child in a corner, rocking back and forth.

There is no doubt in my mind that I will take the difficult experiences of my childhood and adult life and turn it all into something good and meaningful. I would like an opportunity to meet with you personally and talk with you about this crisis in America. I believe that I can help make a difference, I offer my services if you can use me. I am a powerful and moving public speaker that speaks from personal experiences. I have a passion for establishing health care and laws to benefit survivors of abuse, both as children and as adults as we struggle to build meaningful lives. We were victimized as children, we should not be victimized by our health care industry. We need your help to establish laws and health care benefits.

I would like to share with you some of my personal experiences, not to shock you nor to gain your sympathy but so that you know I speak from first hand knowledge. I was sexually, physically and emotionally abused by my mother and my father, their friends and some of my extended family. I was raised in the KKK of the 1940's and also in deep ritual abuse. as a child I witnessed many murders, including my mothers own admission of my baby sister's. I have been beaten with clubs, hung by my arms down inside a well, have had shotguns stuck in my mouth and was often threatened with death. I was placed

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. letter	To First Lady Clinton from constituent re: child abuse (partial, p. 3) (1 page)	03/06/93	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 4106

FOLDER TITLE:

[Misc. Correspondence] [2]

2013-0359-S
ry1430

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

and secured inside of the carcass of a dead animal, have been run over by a car, had polio, and from the treatment I described to my doctor, probably had cancer. There is more, but there is no need to share the worst details with you.

I am not nor have I ever been an abuser, am not schizophrenic, nor do I suffer from multiple personality disorder, and I did not become a murderer. I thank God frequently, I know I truly was watched over and through it all, was brought through still able to love.

My certified therapist is affiliated with the University of Michigan Medical School and is also a supervisor for the American Association of Sex Educators and Therapists (ASSET). In as much as is humanly and professionally possible I would be willing to have her verify what I have told you

When a parent has sex with their own child or an adult with any child, they label it incest or child abuse. It is so, so much more than that. It is the most violent of all rapes that truly "kills" the child! We need help from our nation, no one can restore to us the childhood we were denied, but proper health care could help to re-establish a belief in ourselves and restore a sense of personal value. So many of us believed that if the parents that gave birth to us couldn't love us and treat us with dignity then we must be worthless. We can become adults capable of love and of having meaningful relationships. We can also become productive workers, contributing to America rather than being a drain on society.

We, the survivors, are a people capable of great compassion. Most of us are very creative and resourceful, we had to be to survive. We are for the most part tough as nails. Imagine a child, beaten and raped, going to school acting as an innocent child, just like everyone else. Those of us that are still alive, are extremely tenacious and some of us burn with inspired desire to make a real difference. Please hear our voices, some of us must and will speak for those who are unable.

I will pray steadily for you and your family. You all have entered into an immense responsibility and a wonderful opportunity. I sincerely believe you and the president can really make a difference. I know what a husband and wife can accomplish when they stick together and work toward a goal. I want to thank you for taking time to read this. May you all know the love of God and the peace of Christ.

Sincerely, _____

(b)(6)

[001a]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001b. letter	To constituent from Hillary Rodham Clinton re: letter (1 page)	06/30/93	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 4106

FOLDER TITLE:

[Misc. Correspondence] [2]

2013-0359-S
ry1430

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1993

(b)(6)

[0016]

Dear (b)(6):

Thank you very much for your thoughtful and compelling letter. I am honored and touched that you chose to share your personal experiences with me. The courage and strength you have shown in overcoming a difficult and painful situation is an inspiration.

I share your concerns about abused children and the crippling legacy they carry into adulthood. President Clinton and I both appreciate your thoughts and prayers as he works to make the interests of children a national priority.

Thank you again for taking the time to make your voice count for children.

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton

LAW OFFICES
DEMPSEY & ASSOCIATES
PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION

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1031 W. MORSE BLVD
WINTER PARK, FLORIDA 32789
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TELECOPIER (407) 740-0911

DAY BUILDING
609 EAST ROBINSON STREET
POST OFFICE BOX 1980
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32802-1980
TELEPHONE (407) 422-5166

REPLY TO:
WINTER PARK

June 15, 1993.

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Office of the White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

As civil trial attorneys, we believe you would want to know - and as an attorney yourself, could appreciate - a serious problem regarding the area of employment discrimination. Regardless of the law's initial admirable intent, in application, it has evolved into a hurdle, if not uninsurmountable barrier, for redress to deserving people.

As you may know, before anyone can file an action in court for employment discrimination (which includes a charge for sexual harassment, or one based on pregnancy, age or other disability), a claimant must file a charge with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Further, there is an exceptionally short 300 day statute of limitation.

While there are certainly individuals who make false claims, our experience has been that the overwhelming majority of claimants have legitimate complaints. Unfortunately, they often feel victimized a second time by the EEOC process. Files sit for months without being assigned an investigator or even a case number. A case often takes three to four years to conclude. Telephone calls go unreturned, and many times the phones are not answered in the Miami office, which handles Florida's claims. The information eventually extracted is often contradictory and legally inaccurate or misleading. As relatively persistent, assertive attorneys, we are generally able to eventually receive a response that is of some help, although we cannot overstate the frustration. It is a certainty that thousands of individuals simply give up. In our experience, unless an attorney aggressively assists in an investigation, little is done and a "no cause" determination is reached because the merits of the situation were unknown.

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
June 15, 1993
Page 2

Many claimants, particularly sexual harassment victims, are in a terrible emotional state. Unfortunately, as I am sure you are aware, very few individuals have access to medical care, particularly for an emotional condition. We have seen women diagnosed as clinically depressed, even suicidal, as a result of harassment who have no - or have exhausted - insurance coverage. Such claims are not compensable under Florida Worker's Compensation laws. A lawsuit against the culpable party is often the only remedy to obtain the care needed. Yet, it seems that the federal government has made that remedy almost impossible to obtain. To correct this problem, either the EEOC needs much more funding to add staff and adequately train them or the law needs to be changed to remove this roadblock.

We thank you for the opportunity to bring this to your attention. As members of the Florida Association of Women Lawyers, we hope to see you at our luncheon on June 25, 1993, in Orlando, during the Florida Bar Convention. It is our understanding you may speak to our group. We would be honored.

Yours truly,



M. SUSAN SACCO



LORI R. BENTON

MSS:pws

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1993

Susan Sacco, Esquire
Lori Benton, Esquire
Dempsey & Associates
1031 West Morse Boulevard
Winter Park, Florida 32789

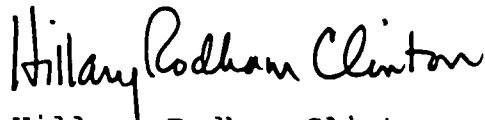
Dear Ms. Sacco and Ms. Benton:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter regarding the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's procedures for handling employment discrimination claims. I appreciate your bringing this issue to my attention.

Your comments, and those of others, are an important source of information for President Clinton. Your continued involvement will be invaluable as the administration works to make meaningful changes in government and in people's lives.

Thank you again for writing.

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

9652 Hefner Village Blvd.
Oklahoma City, OK 73162
June 20, 1993

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

Dear Mrs. Rodham Clinton:

On April 25, I wrote to you requesting assistance in forming a state and national organization for women in funeral service. To date I have not had a response. I did not expect to receive a direct reply from you; however, I did expect some sort of a reply from someone on your staff. I must say that I was very disappointed when my request was not acknowledged.

On November 20, 1992 I was removed from my \$60K plus position as Regional Sales Director for the Loewen Group. I was the only female employed with the Loewen Group in the US to hold this position. (The Loewen Group is the second largest owner of funeral homes in North America.) The U.S. Vice President informed me that I was being removed from this position due to the fact that I was of the female gender. He said that the funeral industry was a male dominated, male oriented, chauvinistic industry. Eight other females who worked for this company during the last two years are no longer with this company due to sexual harassment or sexual discrimination.

This is not an isolated incident with this particular company. The funeral industry still exists in the dark ages. It is definitely a profession that discriminates against women.

Someone has to speak up and try to make a difference for future generations. I am dedicated to changing the attitude of the funeral industry even if it jeopardizes my husband's current employment and my future employment. Something has to be done to stop discrimination against women in the funeral industry.

I will be in Washington, D.C. on July 6, 1993. If there is anyone on your staff that I might visit with regarding this matter, I would greatly appreciate the opportunity.

I know this seems like a minor incident, but it affects so many lives both now and in the future. The women in the funeral industry are looking to you and your administration for support.

Sincerely,

Barbara J. Tucker
Barbara J. Tucker
(405) 947-7077

FUNERAL SERVICE

Vol. 18, No. 24 • June 21, 1993

Dear Subscriber:

Amid increasing debate over the future of women in funeral service, the nation's second-largest chain has been hit with charges of sexual discrimination. Three women have filed complaints with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, alleging unfair treatment at the Loewen Group's Oklahoma City-area operations.

During interviews with the Insider last week, the women -- all former pre-need employees -- claimed they were passed over for promotions, relieved of duties and even terminated because of their gender, allegations that Loewen officials deny.

"Loewen, through counsel, is vigorously defending all three claims," writes Peter Hyndman, the company's general counsel. He declined to discuss particulars of the three cases. "There is a very full and complete story that Loewen management looks forward to presenting to the commission."

"Had I been a man, I would still be working for Loewen," says Barbara Tucker, who filed her EEOC complaint last Friday. Until her termination last December, Tucker worked for nearly two years as Loewen's pre-need sales director for Oklahoma and Kansas, a job that put her in charge of as many as 11 counselors serving up to 30 funeral homes. Tucker, whose husband was formerly Loewen's regional manager for Oklahoma, claims she boosted the pre-need department from about \$100,000 in monthly sales to \$250,000. She expected to earn \$100,000 this year.

Tim Hogenkamp, Loewen's senior operations vp, told Tucker she would be terminated during a meeting last Nov. 20. "He gave me no reason whatsoever other than the fact that I'm a female. He said, 'The managers here in Oklahoma City...have told me they don't want to work for a woman,'" Tucker alleges Hogenkamp told her. "He said, 'If you were a man, this wouldn't be happening to you,'" Tucker continues. "He said, 'This is a male chauvinist, male-dominated industry, and if I had 10 years to wait, it might be different. But I don't have 10 years to wait.'"

"Her claims are meritless, that any decision was based on gender," Hogenkamp responds. "Ms. Tucker was dismissed for lack of performance in working toward a team effort....There was an enormous amount of conflict in the Loewen Group's overall operations due to the uncooperative efforts of the advanced planning area to work with our funeral directors for the common goal," he says. Two female employees had complained to Loewen management about Tucker last year, alleging she had discriminated in favor of friends and relatives, Hyndman adds.

Tucker says she secretly recorded her conversation with Hogenkamp and plans to introduce a transcript of it in future legal proceedings. She refused

to provide us with a copy of either the tape or the transcript. Tucker says she's also contacted an attorney about filing a class action suit on behalf of all female Loewen employees. "I want for women to be treated differently in the funeral industry," she says.

Heather Snavely, who filed her EEOC complaint April 21, says she quit last February after being forced to resign as a telemarketer and pre-need sales counselor and re-interview for the job. The explanation, Snavely says, was, "There was a new [pre-need] manager and he would clean house as he saw fit." But a male counterpart, she claims, was not required to re-interview.

Snavely also claims encountering pervasive sexism from males -- including remarks like "women don't belong in funeral service" -- during her seven months at Loewen's Oklahoma City-area firms. "It made me feel very inferior. It made me not want to come to work," says Snavely, a college student majoring in elementary education.

"It was very apparent that they did not want any female in any type of authoritative position, especially over any of the men," says Tucker's cousin Judy Merrell, who had worked as Loewen's pre-need manager for Eastern Oklahoma. She claims she was fired last Feb. 22, five days after filing a complaint with the EEOC. Merrell alleges she was passed over last December for a chance to temporarily fill Tucker's position.

Instead, she says, the spot was given to a male who'd been with the firm a year-and-a-half less than her; the man she had trained was suddenly her boss. When Merrell asked for an explanation, she claims management told her, "The funeral directors could work better with him because he was a man." Merrell says she was demoted from her management position shortly after the arrival of Barbara Tucker's permanent replacement; Loewen had interviewed two men for the job. Merrell also claims Loewen owes her \$7,667.15 compensation.

Loewen's record is strong on gender issues, vp says

Prior to the Oklahoma City complaints, none of Loewen's 3,700 employees at 400+ locations had complained of sexual harassment or discrimination to the EEOC, senior vp Peter Hyndman says. Harassment and discrimination topics are major emphases of Loewen's employment law training classes for local managers, and the company's employee manual includes a commitment to "provide a workplace free of any semblance of discrimination," he adds.

"They have put out manuals, they have put out constant data on this," says Honorine Flanagan, president of Custer Christiansen Covina (Calif.) Mortuary and one of two women on Loewen's 19-member board of directors. "These people go out of their way to educate staff." Women supervise pre-need operations in two of Loewen's key states -- Florida and Texas -- and at the time of Tucker's firing, 40% of Loewen's Oklahoma City employees were women, including two apprentice FDs, Hyndman says.

Burial mound builder gets few takers, but still plans expansion

The future's unclear for Bessemer, Alabama's Memorial Mound: Will it be viewed in coming decades as a watershed in American interment, or as an obscure curiosity, an option that failed to catch on with the consumers? "It's going to be the way in a few years," boasts Clyde Booth, who says he spent \$750,000 building his mound. It opened just outside Birmingham last August, with room for up to 3,000 caskets.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1993

Ms. Barbara Tucker
9652 Hefner Village Boulevard
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73162

Dear Ms. Tucker:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter concerning equal opportunity for women. I know this issue is important to you and many others.

The President believes in equal opportunity. He urged Congress to pass the 1991 Civil Rights Act to ensure workplace fairness rules for all Americans. In addition, he has worked to empower people who have been excluded from political, economic, and educational opportunities. He remains committed to achieving that goal.

Thank you again for bringing this issue to my attention.

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1993

Ms. Trissie Casanova
8325 Southwest 132 Street
Miami, Florida 33156

Dear Trissie:

Senator Graham kindly sent me a copy of your report. I am honored that you consider me a role model.

Thank you for sharing your concern for children and families. It is always encouraging when young people are concerned about important issues facing our country. I wish you much success and hope you will continue to work hard in school.

Thank you again for sharing your report with me.

Sincerely yours,

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

Hillary Rodham Clinton

#406 WESLEY WOODSTOCKS
(RETIREMENT CENTER)
1825 Clifton Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
30329

DEAR Mrs. CLINTON

Surprise! From way down in
the Deep South, the land of
Methodists, Democrats, and Odd
Balls, comes one with ALL three
qualifications. She is a harm-
less one, though, with a little free
time on her hands; one who enjoys
doing handwork and who likes
worthwhile people. That's where
you come in.

I live in a lovely Retirement
Home in Atlanta, with 200 of
the nicest people, all about
the age of your grandparents.
We often discuss religion
and politics, and most of us
are Democrats and Methodists,
the latter mainly because this
facility is sponsored by the
North Georgia Methodist Con-
ference.

The other day, when
I was straightening
out my work basket, I
found one lone nine-inch
square of imported Irish
linen, so cut for my mak-
ing a lady's dress handker-
chief (a hobby of mine), and it
occurred to me that you
might like such a ker-
chief, since you go to many
formal affairs.

So - here it is - design-
ed for you and you alone.
It reflects my admiration
for you in your position
and your accomplishments
as a worthwhile lady. It
also reflects England
(where the embroidery
thread was made), France
(the lace), and Ireland
(for the linen) - three

Countries the United States depends on as good friends. It also speaks for a Methodist American, and there are surely many of those who are supporters of the Clintons, as wonderful leaders and friends. (They also admire growing girls and Baptists!)

This little hand-made token and this message bring to you many good wishes, in your home and with your family and its place of leader-

ship for all of us here in America.

You and President Clinton will find a world of good friends here in Atlanta. Come to see us.

Sincerely,

Therese H. Fugitt
(The Handkerchief Maker)
- Age 92 -

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1993

Mrs. Warrenne Fugitt
H406 Wesley Woods Towers
1825 Clifton Road, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia 30329

Dear Mrs. Fugitt:

Thank you very much for the beautiful handkerchief.
You are certainly quite talented, and I am honored that you
shared your work with me.

Please accept my apology for the delay in writing you.
The unprecedented volume of mail I have received in the
past few months has made it difficult to respond as
promptly as I would like.

Thank you again for remembering me in this special
way.

Sincerely yours,

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

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Heidelberg, GE
June 10, 1993

Dear Mrs Clinton -

I think you and the President can use a little encouragement from a person who believes in you both. I think you are exactly right when you espouse a "politics of meaning" as a cure for a "sleeping sickness of the soul" of America. I am a 64 year old WASP male who has worked most of his life for the U.S. Federal government. I characterize myself as an "Eleanor Roosevelt Liberal" who has lost some of his belief in what government can achieve in the way of social engineering.

I believe that the tragedy of modern America is that what President Johnson started in the mid-sixties to eliminate poverty & racism got derailed by Viet-Nam, recession, high energy prices and that a pack of mean spirited rascals were able to move the country toward the right by playing the racial card.

So I rather despaired of us having a Democrat in the White House for a long time and was happy that your husband won the election.

You do not have to be told that the people who can help you get elected are rarely the people who can help you govern in Washington. You are discovering this to your dismay & are taking steps to include a few people who know their way around Washington on your staffs. I also hope that, much as you may deplore their intellectually & ethical minimalist tendencies, you ^{realize that you} cannot go over the heads of the media. If you try they will crucify you as they are now doing.

I firmly believe that, if the Clinton administration starts to make a reasonable dent in the public finance deficit and if you are able to get a reasonable solution to the public health problem, toward the end of your first administration, the media will be writing stories about the miraculous salvation of the Clinton presidency. In the next term, the President should have enough of a mandate to start to do something to fix our cities and to ~~install~~ install a ^{real} politics of values in America.

In addition to "It's the Economy, Stupid" - your husband needs a mental sign "It's the long haul" to be ever present in his thinking.

Meanwhile, I think you should continue to challenge the American people intellectually + ethically. I suspect that with high class leadership, we can become a high class people.

Sincerely
Benton G. Moeller

P.S. ITS SMART TO STROKE THE MILITARY. THEY HATE IT WHEN YOU TAKE THEIR TOYS AWAY.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1993

Mr. Benton Moeller
US Army Europe
CMR 420 Box 2401
APO, AE 09063

Dear Mr. Moeller:

Thank you very much for your words of support and encouragement. I appreciate your taking the time to share your thoughts with me and your concern for the future of our country.

The President is working hard to lead our nation in a new direction. Your continued help and support will be invaluable as the administration works to make meaningful changes in government and in people's lives.

Thank you again for your thoughtful letter.

Sincerely yours,

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

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary,

Enclosed are clippings as you
see of past history, thinking you
might enjoy reading of Mrs.
Roosevelts time at the white
house, will pass it on to you.

With

Blessings

&

Success

Sincerely

Mrs. William Wolf

Streator

Ill

Route 3

61364

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1993

Mrs. Cora Wolf
RR #3
Streator, Illinois 61364

Dear Mrs. Wolf:

Thank you very much for sharing with me your newspaper clippings about Mrs. Roosevelt. Your thoughtfulness and support are greatly appreciated.

Mrs. Roosevelt was a truly exceptional woman and First Lady. It is especially enjoyable to learn about her life and time at the White House.

Thank you again for sharing these clippings with me.

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

KEN MALONEY
JULIE FORD-MALONEY
7051 Ellis, #31
Huntington Beach, CA 92648
714 848-1308

May 27, 1993

Letters to the Editor
Los Angeles Times
Times Mirror Square
Los Angeles, CA 90053

Re: Clarence Page and "Psychobabble"

The usually able and articulate Clarence Page was way off target in his attempts to label Hillary Clinton's search for the "politics of meaning" as outdated.

Fortunately for humanity, it will never be outdated. There are many of us who agree with her that, indeed, "We need a new ethos of individual responsibility and caring." We have also, as have others down the ages, concluded that life is somewhat meaningless without the search for something outside that which we can touch, see, hear and buy. The fact that this "sounds like something you have heard before" detracts not a whit from its validity. Have we not heard the Sermon on the Mount and Buddha's Eight Noble Truths a time or two?

We will be blessed if Mrs. Clinton is able to turn our hearts and minds beyond the purely material aspects of our existence.

Sincerely, *K. Maloney*

Ken Maloney and Julie Ford-Maloney

~~KEN MALONEY~~
~~JULIE FORD MALONEY~~
~~7051 Ellis, #31~~
~~Huntington Beach, CA 92648~~
~~714 848-1308~~

*Sent Card
Support*

May 27, 1993

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Atta girl!!!

Sincerely, *K Maloney*
Julie Ford Maloney
Ken Maloney and Julie Ford-Maloney



THE WHITE HOUSE

Dear Friend:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter. Your kind words of encouragement mean a great deal to me.

This is an exciting and challenging time for the President and me. He is honored to have the opportunity to lead our country in a new direction. Your continued support will be invaluable as the administration works to make meaningful changes in government and in people's lives.

I hope that you will join with us in any way you can to make the coming years a time for renewed opportunity in America.

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Follow-up letter

Paul Gheorghiu
2-23 17th Street
Fair Lawn, New Jersey 07410

June 20, 1993

Mrs. Kelly H. Carnes
Acting Director of Correspondence for the First Lady

Re : Your letter of response, June 10, 1993

Dear Mrs. Carnes,

I deeply appreciate the attention Mrs. Clinton and yourself are giving to my case, at a time when the First Lady is dedicating most of her time to the process of changing and improving the health care system for the benefit of the American people.

I hope that my situation is resolved satisfactory, and I am firmly convinced that, a little later then expected, justice will be done in my case too. It is very difficult to be patient when kept separated from your wife and children for more than 2 and a half years knowing that my Request for asylum has a valid and real motivation. Yet, I have little choice but to confidently wait for the Department of Justice's response.

I would like to express again my admiration for the intelligent work the First Lady, as well as Mr. President too, is putting into helping the American society to hope for and to built a better and a more secure tomorrow. Leaving aside my understandable, I believe, feeling of frustration regarding my personal situation, I do love this country, and I am happy America has, at last, a President and a First Lady who really work for the interest of every American citizen. As a journalist, in the weeks prior to the November 4, 1992 elections I wrote an article for a newspaper published by the Romanian-American community emphasizing how important was for America's future to have Bill Clinton as President. It was also before November 4, that I made a very pertinent, I believe, prediction : That in the year 2 000, Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton will be the first woman to become the President of the United States of America. I would like to add that never in my life have I failed in my predictions.

I appreciate your willingness to help in resolving our situation.

Sincerely,

Paul Gheorghiu



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 30, 1993

*Example of
type of response
Used for Casework*

Mr. John Doe
123 First Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 12678-4444

Dear Mr. Doe:

Thank you very much for your recent letter. Mrs. Clinton greatly appreciates your expression of trust and confidence in her.

To give your concerns the special attention they deserve, I have referred your letter to the following agency for review:

I have asked the agency for a prompt reply, but please bear in mind that it may take several weeks to look thoroughly into the concerns you raised. If you have any questions after reviewing the agency's response, you may write to the address listed above.

I appreciate your patience and hope that your situation is resolved satisfactorily.

Sincerely,

Kelly H. Carnes
Acting Director of Correspondence
for the First Lady

P.O. Box 1412
Hemingway, So. Carolina 29554
June 15, 1993

Kelly H. Cairns
Acting Director of
Correspondence for
The First Lady
The White House
Washington D.C.

Dear Ms Cairns

Just received your communication of
April 26, 1993 regarding Mrs. Clinton not
being able to utilize my services at
the time.

I would appreciate your response upon
being able to let me that I have relocated
to Hemingway, South Carolina.

Sincerely
Dorothy L. Smith

9

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Example of our
response*

May 6, 1993

Mr. John Doe
123 First Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 12678-4444

Dear Mr. Doe:

Thank you for offering your professional services to Mrs. Clinton. Your generosity and support mean a great deal to her. Although we are grateful for your interest in assisting the First Lady, we cannot accept your offer at this time.

I know Mrs. Clinton would want me to convey her appreciation for your thoughtfulness, along with her best wishes.

Sincerely,

Kelly H. Carnes
Acting Director of Correspondence
for the First Lady

New York Yankees

GEORGE M. STEINBRENNER III



TAMPA OFFICE
SUITE 890
2502 ROCKY POINT ROAD
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33607
(813) 281-9001

May 13, 1993

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

Dear Hillary:

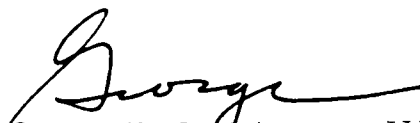
Thank you for your letter of April 5, 1993 concerning the Faces of Hope. I appreciate very much your taking the time to write.

I was very impressed when our mutual friend, Marshall Cogan, came to me with the program and I was happy to help along with Marshall and his wife. I am totally committed to the premise that if we do not protect and develop our greatest natural resource, the children of this nation, we will not as a nation be able to cope with the problems that face us in the future. I also feel very strongly that your commitment to the care and education of young people in this nation will bear great dividends in the future for all of us.

You can count on my continued support and assistance as you and the President work to make the interest of children a top priority for this country.

Good luck and thanks for wearing the Yankee cap in the T.V. Guide, even though I realize you're probably a true Cubs' fan. If you are in New York and want to see a good team, don't hesitate to notify me and I'll look forward to having you at Yankee Stadium.

Best regards,


George M. Steinbrenner III

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 5, 1993

Mr. George Steinbrenner
Suite 890
2502 Rocky Point Road
Tampa, Florida 33607

Dear George:

I want to thank you for your generous contribution to the **Faces of Hope** Inaugural activities.

The **Faces of Hope** program was particularly meaningful to President Clinton and me because it brought together some of the wonderful people who inspired and motivated us during the campaign. Because of your generosity, many people have memories of the Inauguration which they will cherish for years to come.

I understand that your contribution to the program was motivated by your deep commitment to children. President Clinton and I look forward to your continued help as he works to make the interests of children a national priority.

Thank you again for your support.

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton



Bosnia-Herzegovina Information Centre

63 Sparks Street, Suite 301, Ottawa, Canada K1P 5A6

Telephone: (613) 230-5656

Facsimile: (613) 230-1291

TO: JOANNE ANDERSON

FIRST LADY'S CORRESPONDENCE DIRECTOR,

THE WHITE HOUSE,

WASHINGTON D.C.

FAX: (202) 456-2806

FROM: DJENANA CAMPARA

VICE-PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON PHONE: (202) 544-7010

FAX : (202) 544-7015



Bosnia-Herzegovina Information Centre

63 Sparks Street, Suite 304, Ottawa, Canada K1P 5A6

Telephone: (613) 230-5656

Facsimile: (613) 230-1291

Washington, DC

May 18, 1992

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

My dear Mrs. Clinton,

As Vice-President of Bosnia-Herzegovina Information Center in Canada, I am taking this opportunity to write to you about the life or death crisis of the Bosnian people. The world has watched as Serbian Chetniks slaughter innocent Bosnian men, women, and children. The Serbian Defense Ministry in Belgrade has made the rape of women and girls into a deliberate strategic policy which has claimed over 40,000 victims, many of whom have died. This has been amply documented by Amnesty International, Helsinki Watch, and other noted European and American human rights organizations. Larry Hollingworth, the senior U.N. refugee official in Sarajevo, said of the Serbs: "I hope that their sleep is punctuated by the screams of the children and the cries of their mothers".

The world has done nothing to prevent this brutal act of mass murder. History repeats itself. Twice in the last fifty years we have witnessed the rise of fascist ideology and the deliberate targetting of innocent civilians. The community of nations must intervene to stop this slaughter, and it is now clear that only the United States can combine the military forces and the political resolve to defend civilization.

One day in June 1992, I was sitting in my home in Ottawa watching television when a news broadcast began to show footage of a cemetery in my home town of Sarajevo. As the camera panned across a row of freshly dug graves I saw the name of my uncle on one of them. He had been like a second father to me during my youth.

You may have seen news reports about the brutal assassination of my first cousin Hakija Turajlic, a playmate of my older brother who was like a second brother to me. When our country declared its independence from the communists, our family was so proud when the first democratically elected president of our new nation, Mr. Izetbegovic, asked Hakija - who had become chief executive of one of the largest electrical companies in Europe - to serve as Deputy Prime Minister. Last January, we got the news that Hakija had been shot to death while he was riding through a Sarajevo suburb in a French armored personnel carrier of the United Nations Protective Forces. Because Sarajevo was under siege, I could not attend my cousin's funeral, but I watched Hakija's burial on CNN television and could see members of my family lowering his coffin into his grave.

I have seen reports in the American media that describe the war waged against my country as the result of centuries-old ethnic hatred. The world must be told that in 1992 Bosnia was a highly cultured and highly civilized society in which ethnic integration was an everyday reality. I was a member of a company with 50,000 employees that I worked for in



Bosnia-Herzegovina Information Centre

63 Sparks Street, Suite 301, Ottawa, Canada K1P 5A6

Telephone: (613) 230-5656

Facsimile: (613) 230-1291

Serbian vice chairman, and a Croatian as executive vice president. Ethnic slaughter in my country has been brought by invading Serbian armies.

I have come to Washington in the hope of meeting you because I am convinced that the fate of my country and its people will be determined by the decisions that your husband will make. I am a private citizen, but I have visited the war zone during the last several months, and I have been in daily contact with the government in Sarajevo. Although I know that you are very busy with your work of reforming American health care, I hope very much that you will be able to find time to listen to a direct personal appeal for help from a Moslem woman whose beloved country is now the scene of the greatest human tragedy of our time.

Very truly yours,

Dženana Campara
Mrs. Dženana Campara

(202) 544-7010

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1993

Mrs. Djenana Campara
Bosnia-Hercegovina Information Centre
Suite 301
63 Sparks Street
Ottawa, Canada K1P 5AG,

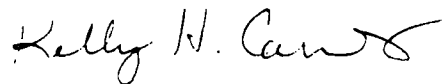
Dear Mrs. Campara:

On behalf of the First Lady, I want to thank you for sharing your family's story and your views regarding the situation in the former Yugoslavia. Please accept my condolences on the deaths of your uncle and your cousin.

I sincerely regret that your request for a meeting with the First Lady cannot be accommodated. However, I want to assure you that bringing peace and stability to the Balkans is one of the Clinton Administration's highest priorities.

Thank you again for your thoughtful letter to Mrs. Clinton.

Sincerely,



Kelly H. Carnes
Acting Director of Correspondence
for the First Lady

From

To

Hillary Clinton

~~Other~~
Park Ridge

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

Dear Hillary,

Greetings from feminists of your old hometown, Park Ridge, and of Des Plaines, Illinois.

For the past three years, the Des Plaines/Park Ridge NOW Chapter has been sponsoring a Feminist Writers' Contest. Last year Teresa Yunker, Los Angeles, entered her essay

"To Be or Not To Be a [Hillary] Factor"

prior to the November election. The judges awarded it an Honorable Mention.

The Chapter published her entry in the April, 1993 issue of its monthly newsletter. (See page 5 of the enclosed copy.) We hope you enjoy Teresa's lightly-humorous, gravely-serious essay as much as we do.

Sincerely,

Clara Johnson

Clara Johnson
Contest Director
DesPlaines/Park Ridge Chapter
National Organization for Women

Enclosure

To Be Or Not To Be A Factor

Writer Teresa Yunker won honorable mention in the 1992 Des Plaines/Park Ridge NOW Feminist Writers Contest, essay category. Yunker writes both fiction and non-fiction. Her fiction has been anthologized in *Hot Type: America's Most Celebrated Authors Introduce the Next Word in Contemporary Fiction*, an anthology of short stories in which T. Coraghessan Boyle introduced her story, and EQUATOR, MINDSCAPES, THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA ANTHOLOGY, and MODEL magazines. Her non-fiction has appeared in THE LOS ANGELES TIMES and THE ADJUNCT ADVOCATE. Teresa Yunker lives in Los Angeles.

To Be Or Not To Be A Factor

Recently *Newsweek* along with other various forms of the media, once again reported on the "Hillary Factor." Supposedly Hillary has become a "burden" to her husband's campaign, a "problem." There seems to be a remarkable consensus among the media that there is a "Hillary Factor" to consider.

I am, of course, talking about Hillary Clinton, wife of Bill Clinton. I apologize to Ms. Clinton for using her first name in a way that would suggest easy, and superior, familiarity—rather like the way in films servants are always addressed by their first name. I don't see articles about the Clintons referring to "Bill," but then again, perhaps such distinctions are the tiresome nitpickings of a feminist.

Whoops—another problematic word. Certainly not one, we are told, that Clinton's campaign advisors want to be associated with Hillary Clinton. After all it's such a provocative term.

And perhaps an outdated one. Aren't women like Hillary Clinton herself proof positive that the United States is a country truly committed to the concept that "All men are created equal"? (Now don't get fussy about that word "men," ladies, as you know very well it includes you too.) Not, of course, that I am in any way suggesting that Hillary Clinton is a "feminist"!

She is a wife and mother. And she is very fulfilled by those roles, thank you very much.

But to give a nod over to our enlightened times, she also happens to have a little career on the side.

The media, when discussing the "Hillary Factor," reports that Bill's campaign is now taking that perspective, seeing as how we, the American people, have been reportedly thrown into confusion when faced with a candidate for President who has a wife who has other things to do than stand by his side.

Which, of course, brings me to the famous Hillary gaffes: Stand By Your Man (really, Ms. Wynette, where is

your sense of humor?), and the infamous tea and cookies remark that so offended that Bill's image advisors have clamped down on the "Hillary Factor" posthaste lest she become too much of a problem, a burden, a factor.

But what is meant by that word—factor? It has such official status. Is it suggesting that Hillary Clinton might actually turn out to be a factor in her husband's campaign?

But, of course, haven't all wives of candidates been factors to consider? Why, look at Tipper (as in Mrs. Tipper Gore). Don't people review what Tipper Gore has to say, what Tipper Gore has done in the past, Tipper Gore and her views, and thus, make a decision about Al Gore?

Well, with all due respect to Mrs. Gore, maybe not. Some are angered by her views on censorship for pop music, others admire her for it—but her activism in that particular area is seen as quite separate from her husband. Like all political wives, Tipper Gore has a pet project of her own. But unless Tipper Gore does something really outrageous, like make a flippant remark about the kitchens of America, our attention will be more focused on what Al Gore has to say about the Really Important Things. Meanwhile, Mrs. Tipper Gore can concentrate on—what is it?—oh yes, her censorship thing.

But, reportedly, we as a nation are having trouble processing Hillary Clinton, despite the hasty attempts to make her more palatable to us, despite the heavy-handed emphasis now on her role as Wife and Mother.

Well, I've also been told that the Clinton campaign isn't reaching college-educated voters, which confuses me seeing as how I am a college-educated voter who intends to vote for Bill Clinton, along with many other of my college-educated friends, and including my college-educated colleagues who have to be college-educated because we teach at a college. But even as I write this paragraph I am uncomfortably aware of how possibly elitist it sounds, how, in plain English, snobby, and am once again struck by the Byzantine intricacies of campaign strategies that have to take our American sensibilities constantly, vigilantly, into consideration. Gosh! No wonder, according to the media, Hillary Clinton is constantly putting her foot into it!

I humbly realize I am a mere drop in a seething sea of statistical information meant to chart our American pulse, but I have to say that, among the women I know anyway, the supposedly problematic factor of Hillary Clinton is not a problem at all.

Hillary Clinton is a reality of the nineties, and a very successful reality at that. If I am to have any negative

(continued next page)

To Be Or Not To Be A Factor

(cont. from previous page)

emotion towards Hillary Clinton at all, it would be envy, frankly. She is a woman with a demanding career in which she has achieved true professional heights. And yes, she is a wife. And yes, she is a mother. Welcome to many women in the United States.

Not all of us are high-powered lawyers while also being wives and mothers, of course. Many more of us are legal secretaries while also being wives and mothers, a statistical fact that should suggest nothing more than what anyone with logic knows is true—it's very hard to find the time to

manage all three roles, and the preparations in one's life all three roles require. In addition, there are those of us with careers who are also married, but who have no children. There are those with children who have no husbands. And, something I am sure Hillary Clinton will never forget while campaigning with her husband, there are those of us whose careers are being wives and mothers.

So is Hillary Clinton such a problem for us? Is she a burdensome factor in Bill Clinton's campaign? If he wins, it is true that for the first time in American history, there

will be a First Lady—her own, whatever she may do while he is actually in office. But we really think that Hillary Clinton is such an anomaly that a similar situation won't happen again in the years to come? That such a woman, as a factor in a campaign, isn't going to start being a probability, rather than a possibility?

Perhaps it is time to admit that Hillary Clinton is more representative of women in the United States than discussion over the "Hillary Factor" implies.

As for her role as Bill Clinton's wife, whether or not our country truly practices the principle that all people are created equal, the Clintons seem to have a marriage of equals. And, that, I suspect, is a factor most of us can relate to.

Freedom of Choice Act, Military Ban

by Ellen Yearwood

Calls and letters are needed to our representatives in Washington asking

them to support the Freedom of Choice Act but to pass it without restrictive amendments. Both the

FOCA House version and the FOCA Senate version contain restrictions like *Casey* not the language of *Roe*

Calls and letters are also needed to Washington supporting the lifting of the ban on open homosexuals in the military.

Book Discussion: *Jazz* April 25

The next book to be discussed on April 25, Sunday, 5 p.m., is *Jazz* by Toni Morrison, available in hardcover from Knopf for \$21 or in paperback from Penguin for \$10. Meet at Prairie Moon, Ltd., 8 N. Dunton, Arlington Heights. RSVP to Linda, 342-9608 or 427-8464.

On May 27, Thursday, at 7:30 p.m., the group will discuss *Women Who Run with the Wolves* by Clarissa Estes, available from Ballantine for \$23.

Any interested feminist who has read the book is welcome to participate.

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20500
(202) 456-1414

U.S. Rep. Henry Hyde
50 E. Oak street, Suite 200
Addison IL 60101
(708) 832-5950
2104 Rayburn House Office
Building
Washington DC 20515
(202) 225-4561

U.S. Sen. Paul Simon
462 Dirksen Senate Office
Building
Washington DC 20510
(202) 224-2152

U.S. Sen. Carol Moseley
Braun
708 Hart Senate Office Bldg
Washington DC 20510
(202) 224-2854

Prairie Moon Bookstore Opens April 12

by Linda Wagner

Prairie Moon, Ltd., will open a feminist bookstore in the northwest suburbs. Conveniently located in downtown Arlington Heights at 8 North Dunton, Prairie Moon will also offer children's books, and gifts, cards, and magazines of special interest to feminists.

Hours for this woman-friendly space will be 10-7 Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, 10-8 Thursday, Friday, 10-6 Saturday, 10-5 Sunday. Opening is scheduled for April 12th, with special grand opening events in early May. Congratulations to the many chapter members involved in this exciting venture!

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 12, 1993

Ms. Clara Johnson
Des Plaines/Park Ridge Chapter
National Organization For Women
Post Office Box 2440
Des Plaines, Illinois 60018

Dear Ms. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter. It means a great deal to me that you and many others from Park Ridge have written to offer me your encouragement.

I enjoyed reading Teresa Yunker's essay, and I appreciate your taking the time to share her work with me.

Sincerely yours,

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

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Tina Dickey
P.O. Box 2875
Boston, MA 02101
(508) 349-9254 (to 4/1)
February 6, 1993

MAR 2 - 1992

Hillary Clinton
White House
Washington, DC

Dear Ms. Clinton,

You have worked with children and you must know that kids are violent when they have no voice.

The arts would give inner city children a voice in a way that nothing else could. An apprenticeship program, in addition to support of existing arts organizations, would give kids mentors as well as voices and expand their lives immeasurably while simultaneously supporting and recognizing community artists.

No studies show that the arts revitalize a life, a community, and a community's economy -- but everyone who pays attention knows that this is true.

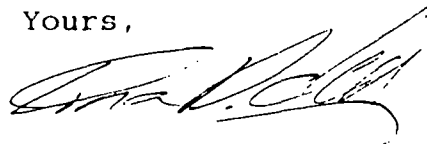
By placing some financial muscle behind existing programs, the government could produce the greatest effect with the least money and complication. By tapping into the network of organizations, individual artists could be chosen to begin apprenticeship programs. No bureaucracy is necessary. One person could probably administer the whole thing-- because those who have already been working to save their communities won't need management.

These kids are dying now. The revolutionizing of the inner city schools and economy will take too long. These kids would not thrive in the school system as it exists; nor would some menial labor lift them out of the cycle of poverty. The arts can make an immediate effect in terms of getting kids off drugs, out of the street, and giving them some reason to live. Never mind talent and artistic excellence: the creative arts, dance, music, painting, writing, poetry, sculpture awaken the creative spirit and will. Once that spirit is awakened, good things begin to happen.

I'm sure it will be difficult to sell the prospect of inner city art to Congress. But you could try to present the prospect of saved lives.

Thank you for your attention. And keep up the good work. The silent majority of women are cheering you on like crazy -- silently, of course!

Yours,



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1993

Ms. Tina Dickey
Post Office Box 2875
Boston, Massachusetts 02101

Dear Ms. Dickey:

Thank you for writing to me about the benefits of art programs for inner city youth. I appreciate your sharing with me your ideas about this important issue.

This is an exciting and challenging time for the President and me. He is honored to have the opportunity to lead our country in a new direction. Your continued involvement will be invaluable as the administration works to make meaningful changes in government and in people's lives.

Thank you again for taking the time to make your voice count.

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

May 26, 1993

DEAR Mrs. Clinton:

I URGE YOU TO REJECT THE CENTER FOR DISEASE CONTROL'S RECOMMENDED CASE SURVEILLANCE DEFINITION FOR LYME DISEASE. THIS DEFINITION DOES NOT SERVE THE PUBLIC GOOD AND SHOULD BE REJECTED IN FAVOR OF THE MORE INCLUSIVE DEFINITION WHICH WAS DEVELOPED BY PHYSICIANS, SCIENTISTS, AND PUBLIC HEALTH OFFICIALS, AND IS ACCEPTED BY THE NATIONAL LYME DISEASE FOUNDATION.

Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

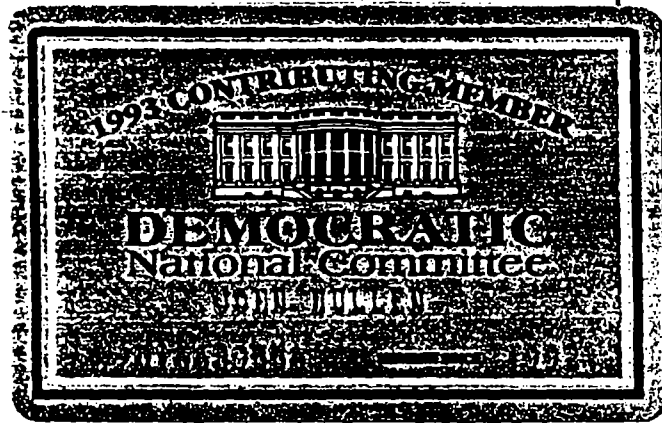
Rett Syndrome is a devastating neurological disease that strikes only girls between the ages of eighteen months and four years, leaving them profoundly mentally retarded for life. One in every 10,000-15,000 baby girls in America is diagnosed with Rett Syndrome, yet researchers are sure that the numbers are much higher. Because of the incredible lack of publicity surrounding this syndrome, it is usually misdiagnosed. How could a disease like this exist that causes such devastation, yet so few know about it and embarrassingly little is done about it?

Rett research programs need firm financial support from the National Institute of Health. Two leading molecular geneticists at Baylor University, Huda Zoghbi and Dawna Armstrong, are on the forefront of the research in this area yet their work is threatened constantly by limited funding. Not only must NIH funding to Baylor continue, but grant applications should be actively solicited as the NIH does when it identifies an area of need. This is clearly an area of need. These girls are silent sufferers. They cannot march in the streets, demonstrate or talk to the press. No one speaks for these precious defenseless girls. I hope that their plight touches your heart. Please help us give these girls a voice.

Virginia Maury Jensen

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Thanks for your encouragement
and support. Bill and I
appreciate your help as
he implements his agenda
for change in America.
Best wishes, Hillary



5-27-93

Dear Hillary -

When I received above note I
had great expectations -
now I am thoroughly disappointed

This month's readers digest had an article
entitled: why do smart people do dumb
things? I think you should read it. The
answer was arrogance.

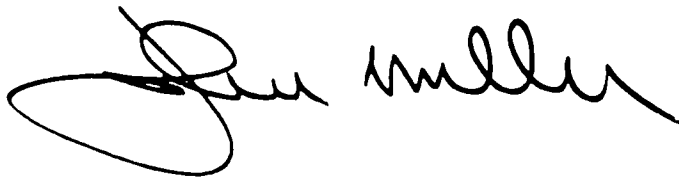
The hair cut episode & hurting those
workers in the travel office is unforgivable
& indefensible. Please do what you

Can to straighten out that bunch
of insensitive clods before its too
late.

First make them all read
a biography of Harry Truman. Then
inoculate them against "Potomac
fever."

Then get some people with
a room temperature I.Q. who have
read a page & a half of history.
& have some life experience.

I'm addressing this to you as
person you to be the only one
with any brains.



John Mullen

Attorney At Law

2631 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 15, 1993

John Mullen, Esquire
2631 K Street
Sacramento, California 95816-5178

Dear Mr. Mullen:

Thank you for sharing your ideas and suggestions with me. I appreciate your candor.

Your comments, and those of others, are an important source of information for the President. I hope you will continue to keep in touch.

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

Dear Hillary

I'm writing you because I don't believe Bill isn't get my letters. I'm serious in what I'm going to tell you. I want Bill to succeed. But the way he is going the Republicans think they know Bill's weak spots. This is what the Republicans are good at. They use repetition - Bill will hear about 200 hairs forever. This is what they are good at - always keep it alive.

The forcing of the schedulers. This is what Bill should of done. Never give in, like Stephopolis did when he gave 5 of them money. What he should of said we are correct in the forcing and getting the FBI to come in and I'll do it again if something like this happens again. Stephopolis has no guts. Never show weakness. Then came the 200 hair cut. Bill should of said yes I got a hair cut and I'll do it again when ever I see fit - because I'm a busy man. Here again Hillary Bill shows no guts - never give in. Republicans think they got him in their pocket.

The only ones in Bill's camp that have guts is Rene and I think you have guts too Hillary. And I'll show you

How to get your Health Program now

to give Congress a chance to tear your Health plan apart.
And you don't have to wait till the middle of June to have
started on your plan, and you don't have to have the money
before hand, surprise the whole bunch Republicans get the
program going without them.

Did Bush ask Permission from Congress when
he invaded Panama - did Reagan when he invaded Grenada.
So you can do this without Congress's OK. everyone knows
how Congress is.

So Hillary I know you got guts because the
Republicans are afraid of you. Don't worry about the money
it will come in Time - because the people will be on
your side. You'll be a Hero like Rine.

103 Clarion Rd
Johnstown Pa 16521 94 Phone

Your Friend
Edward J. Flannery

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 14, 1993

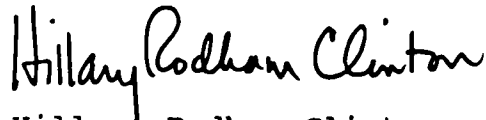
Mr. Edward Flacinski
103 Clarion Road
Johnsonburg, Pennsylvania 15845

Dear Mr. Flacinski:

Thank you for sharing your ideas and suggestions with me. I appreciate your candor, and your interest in helping the President.

Your comments, and those of others, are an important source of information for the President. I hope you will continue to keep in touch.

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

26 May 1993

The Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Clinton:

My reason for writing directly to you is because you are undoubtedly the closest person to the President and the person whose opinions he regards most highly. You surely know him better than anyone else. It is my hope that whoever gets your mail will at least pass on some of this information.

It is difficult for me to believe that a man as brilliant as President Clinton has allowed himself to be boxed in as badly as he is. Where are his loyal and clever advisors? It is one thing to be loyal to friends but another to have the best and most knowledgable people around you...and I feel changes must be made from the top down. I am very disappointed with Mac McLarty, who should be doing a much better job protecting and advising the President, and he has failed. The quality of the staff people must be upgraded, for a start.

How dare the members of Congress waste time criticizing haircuts and travel agencies when the country has so many more difficult problems to address. Since it is apparent that many Members would rather embarrass the President than find solutions to these problems. Is it because too many Republicans do not have any answers to what has been allowed to happen for the past twelve years?

We had better let Americans know they are being given a chance to help this country and themselves. Nothing is more infuriating than to hear Dole use his favorite and perhaps only expression - "tax and spend". We should be telling the nation that we have not survived very well the 12 years of cutting taxes for the rich and spending more and more. We have to repeatedly remind the nation that a healthy country, economically and with the largest favorable balance of payments was destroyed by cutting taxes for the chosen few in an effort to destroy the little man. We allowed two past presidents to be allowed to make the rich richer and spend us out of prosperity and healthy employment into the worst budget and the highest national debt in our history. And the 'advisors' should be telling the President to say this.

(MORE)

To: Hon. Hillary Rodham Clinton

-2-

05/26/93

I feel the President must take this opportunity, in lieu of his critics nonsense about his demeanor, to take the Congress to task about unnecessary spending and ask why there are so many tax dollars being wasted on junkets where these Members take their families and staff members on vacations under so many phony guises. Junkets serve no purpose except free vacations. Think about how many millions of dollars would be saved if these valueless trips were eliminated. And also, why has not the Congress offered to cut their staff and expenses to help save taxpayer dollars?

Why does the President have to make deals with Members in order to get their support. This is simple blackmail and if the constituents realized that their representatives are not thinking about the entire country but only their personal jobs and gains, perhaps we might be able to have a new set of decent, honorable representatives.

I sincerely hope the President takes a strong stand on his programs and ignores the stupidity of non-issues. I also hope he objectively reviews his staff and reevaluates their contributions. I want very much for President Clinton to ignore the shallowness of some of his critics and work on issues of importance - health care for all Americans, full employment, industries working full force and putting pride back to our country. His enemies will always be his enemies; why worry about catering to them.

I have watched President Clinton's career for many years. He and my daughter, Stefanie, were classmates at Georgetown, and have kept in touch over many years. We knew he would be a president some day. Our hope now is the choice he has to make - will he be a great president for the next eight years and he should be, or a not so great one for four years. I know it will be the former.

My hope and prayers are with you and the President.

Cordially,

Ruth P. Weldon

Ruth P. Weldon
712 Laconia Circle
Lake Worth FL 33467
(407-968-2631)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 14, 1993

Ms. Ruth P. Weldon
712 Laconia Circle
Lake Worth, Florida 33467

Dear Ms. Weldon:

Thank you for sharing your ideas and suggestions with me. I appreciate your candor, and your interest in helping the President.

Your comments, and those of others, are an important source of information for the President. I hope you will continue to keep in touch.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Hillary Rodham Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Hillary Rodham Clinton

TRI-COUNTY
COUNCIL
VIETNAM
ERA
VETERANS

1959-1975

257 Osborne Road Albany, NY 12211 (518) 459-2442

(518) 869 - 3206
(518) 432 - 7131
(518) 459 - 2442

Noonie Fortin
Belle Pellegrino
1 Midway Drive
Albany, NY 12205
12 April 1993

Dear Hillary,

First, we wish to extend to you our deepest regrets and our most sincere sympathy at your recent loss. The loss of someone so dear takes a terrible toll on the strongest and staunchest of people. Please know that our prayers are with you and your family in this trying time.

We are two, female, Vietnam Era Veterans who are deeply committed to securing National recognition, in the form of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, for a woman who has devoted her life and sacrificed much of her career for America's servicemen and women. A woman who frequently risked her life to be with "her troops" wherever they were, no matter how hostile the location. A woman who rarely received monetary or other compensation for her work except in the form of the thanks and appreciation of the men and women who served and their families. We refer to singer, dancer, actress, comedienne, theatre, movie and TV star: MARTHA RAYE.

Throughout the Republican years, various Veteran's organizations (including Special Forces Association) have attempted to get the White House to honor this wonderful Lady --- without success. We launched our project in November 1989 and the following Spring contacted Former First-Lady, Barbara Bush for help.

We have contacted every veteran's organization in the country and have their unanimous support for this effort. The American Gold Star Mothers and Canadian Veteran's have also endorsed this project as have numerous other types of groups. Still, to no avail.

Through the help of New York Congressman Michael McNulty (D), Congressional Resolutions requesting the President to honor Martha Raye have been introduced for the last four years as have Senate Resolutions. To date, all have died in committee.

The only one who seems to have taken any real notice of our efforts and Martha Raye's exceptional service was Barbara Bush. The only actual steps taken by the 'White House' came NOT from the President but from the First Lady who referred our documentation to the Pentagon where it was researched and endorsed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and former Secretary of Defense, Richard Cheney. We are still uncertain whether Former President Bush even knew our project existed.

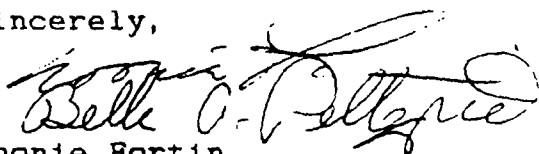
We are extremely pleased to know that, despite our need to begin anew with our documentation of Martha Raye's exceptional service and our request that she be honored by a grateful nation, at least we begin with the knowledge that Our new President, your husband, is aware of the lack of recognition for this lady. His thoughtful telegram on her 76th birthday (this past August) stated he would present her with the Medal of Freedom if elected.

We are acutely aware a new Presidential Administration entails many myriad tasks both large and small. The establishment of new committees and programs require more hours than each day holds. However, as the wheels of Government grind slowly onward, the sands of time charge rapidly by.

Martha "COL MAGGIE" Raye is in poor health, confined to a wheel chair since suffering several strokes and fast approaching her 77th birthday. We are two women reaching out to a woman in a strong leadership role concerning another strong woman who gave so much. We ask you to intercede on her behalf in order that we, as a nation, recognize this woman's gifts while she is alive. Let us remember MAGGIE while she is still around to receive her nations accolades.

Associated documentation is attached. Feel free to contact us should you require anything further. Our phone numbers and address are listed above. Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,



Noonie Fortin
Belle Pellegrino
Co-chairs - Medals for Maggie



CINDY ADAMS

ERALDO. Remember a week back he traded fistcuffs with me haters in Wisconsin? So he boards a plane out of Chi. His seatmate? Muhammad Ali. The ex-camp, not being well, was parked aboard by an associate and collected upon disembarkation by another. Whilst airborne he was alone except for bloodied Geraldo who t on with a bloody nose, a half bitten-off finger and a black eye. Mumbled Muhammad: "Heard u got into trouble."

Yeah." So, you get a good shot in?" Yeah." Proud of you, man."

GENNIFER FLOWERS. B. Clinton's ex-ladyfriend won't you should please pardon the ex-pression — lay down. Now she's n-ude in Nov's Playboy which is mid-Oct. CNN's Art Harris did story. Gen copped maybe 0,000 to show what the Dem con-der reputedly reportedly ru-uredly saw. But she's old news who cares now, right?

x-roomie Lauren Kirk says

Gen wants publicity. Limelight. Print. The — pardon the phrase — exposure. Lauren says Gennifer has a video Doing It with the wannabe Prez.

Gennifer always said she'd live in Dallas' Warrington Towers on Turtle Creek (equivalent to our Fifth Ave.). She's now there in a fifth floor, 3G-a-month flat with park view, downtown skyline, new furniture. She's busy with p-r people and the stock market. Fresh money's flowing.

Clinton's investigator Jack Paladino, who has sniffed out DeLorean, Patty Hearst, staked out Lauren Kirk. Came to her decorating office, dogged her nights in a row, finally nailed her for six

hours in her flat — with her husband. Lauren told Paladino that — true or false, truth or not truth — Gennifer said she had a video.

Gennifer plans a round of election-time talk shows except for Donahue whose ethics refused her access to questions beforehand. So does Lauren really believe Gennifer has this video?

"Don't know for sure. I only know what she told me. But I know that, knowing Gennifer, she'd save the dessert for last."

Meaning?

"She's the type who'd always save her ass. Always keep something in reserve. If she's got 'em, she'll wait until he's President to bring them out."

And a happy E Pluribus Unum to you, too.

ELIZABETH RAYE of D.C. lousy fame readying a stand-up comedy act... Kitty Carlisle Hart sporting a busted wrist... London tabs hunting info on topless shameless Fergie canoodler John Bryan... The Garden wants Nell Diamond for 15 shots in '93... Andy Rooney's 10th book will be "Sweet and Sour"... Bill Cosby at Le Cirque: "Someone asked me to explain ignorance and indifference. I said, 'I don't know and I don't care.'"... England's Royal Family doc asked aged Queen Mum how she felt. Her reply? "Brokenhearted."... Chess great Bobby Fischer might teach it for a thou an hour... Bush and Gore share a treadmill in common. George owns his White House one. Al rents from the Gym Source.

SAW Circle in the Square's "Anna Karenina" musical. Listen, Tolstoy ain't tuncful. At the premiere a messenger brought Ann Crumb (who played Anna) a letter. The pa of Melissa Errico (Kitty) brought a pal who swore Melissa would become a fall-down star. And able choreographer Jonathan Carullo who studied the period dances at Lincoln Center library had opening night flowers. I know. I saw him bring them.

SAW Joan Lunden's estranged husband Michael Krauss work



GENNIFER FLOWERS

Mamaroneck's China Lion on Boston Post Road. Food was delicious, my captain Albert super. the 15-piece ork with top guys sitting in was great, songs like "The Lady Is a Tramp" in a Chinese restaurant were terrific. Wendy Kimball singing goodies like "I Cried for You" to eggroll-chewing tempo was dynamite. Catch Krauss every Friday.

SPOKE to Martha Raye after Saturday's California Friars honor. She read me her Bill Clinton letter. If elected he promises she'll get the Medal of Freedom. Said ailing Martha: "I only voted twice in my life. Roosevelt and Kennedy. I plan to make every effort to vote for Clinton." Maybe Bush could send a similar note to Bette Midler?

DANIEL LUDWIG. Reclusive billionaire New Yorker. Periodically this world's richest man just passed on at 96. The obits don't mention he was divorced in the 1930s and resented paying alimony 50 years later when he could not remember his ex's name nor what she looked like. The obits do mention he wouldn't acknowledge her daughter as his and therefore as an heir. Me, I'm giving you the reason.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 14, 1993

Ms. Noonie Fortin
Ms. Belle Pellegrino
1 Midway Drive
Albany, New York 12205

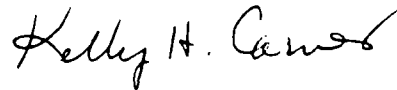
Dear Ms. Fortin and Ms. Pellegrino:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter to Mrs. Clinton regarding Martha Raye's important work on behalf of the men and women serving in the United States armed forces. Mrs. Clinton appreciates your support for Ms. Raye and your wish that she receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

We have forwarded your letter and the accompanying materials to the Office of Presidential Correspondence, which processes recommendations regarding the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Please be assured that your request will be given serious consideration.

I know that Mrs. Clinton would want me to convey her appreciation for your interest, along with her best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Kelly H. Carnes".

Kelly H. Carnes
Acting Director of Correspondence
for the First Lady

21 East Pleasant Street
Hamilton, New York 13346
24 May 1993

Letters to the Editor
"The New York Times Magazine"
The New York Times Company
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Editor:

I've been maintaining a hopeful neutrality about our First Lady, but Michael Kelly's profile of "Saint Hillary" ("The New York Times Magazine," 23 May 1993) has tipped the scales for me. His facile, mean-spirited cynicism only highlights the courage it takes in these times to venture a passionately idealistic utterance. iViva Hillary!

Then there is Kelly's sophomoric, naked manipulation of language in order to cast the First Lady in the worst possible light. I would expect something less crude from a correspondent for "The New York Times."

Sincerely,


Carol L. J. Bergen

copy

COLGATE UNIVERSITY

HAMILTON, NEW YORK

To Hillary Rodham Clinton
From Carol L. J. Bergen Date 5/24/93

This letter will probably
not get published, so I
am sending you a copy.
I hope it gives you a
lift to know that
Kelly's article only served
to expose his faults,
not yours.

Good luck!

MM
support

Carol Mackay Mertz
2102 Thomas View Road
Reston, Virginia
22091

May 6, 1993

Dear Hillary Rodham Clinton,

I just finished reading the article written about you by Martha Sherrill in the May 6, Washington Post. Thank you for voicing your hard earned life knowledge and integrating it into your everyday intent. You have an awesome opportunity to voice what woman know about life and to help integrate it into the values upon which this nation conducts its business. The Chalice and the Blade by Riane Eisler speaks of this challenge of changing our "mission statements" from profit motives to sharing motives which will very easily make tremendous change in what we value as societies and how we live each day.

Thanks for refusing to be put into categories...old ones. Thanks for being courageous enough to create new models of behavior and trying very hard to live them. All of us who are changing and growing into our whole selves cherish the companionship of like minded sojourners. Good Luck in your efforts to redefine, we so desperately need a strong voice in this area.

I felt compelled to write this note to you today, just to let you know that you are among a great many struggling souls who are striving towards a world where children are all wanted, cared for and loved; where each person's ability to live a congruent day is fostered by and not hindered by the institutions man has created; where all of life is held sacred and appreciated in its full interconnected context. I want you to hear from another woman, that your chosen course isn't easy, and its lonely sometimes. In the isolation of your position, I want you to remember that you are connected and cheered on by a great many others who really understand that the solutions of the future need to be forged with different stuff from the old, need to be defined by new definitions of love, respect, quality of life, and personal power.

So, thanks for choosing to voice. Have a great day!

In appreciation,

Carol Mackay Mertz

JACK E. HORSLEY

BOX 689

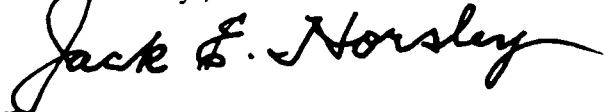
MATTOON, ILLINOIS

April 20, 1993

My dear Mr. Clinton:

What a rare thing to encounter a First Lady who would acknowledge so graciously a letter of condolence! Your reply touched me and I extend to you and your family my continued and prayerful support in this time of deep loss.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Jack E. Horsley". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping "J" and a long, horizontal flourish at the end.

Mrs. Hillar Rodham Clinton
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
WASHINGTON DC 20003