

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

TALKING POINTS

SPACE SHUTTLE LAUNCH

LAUNCH CONTROL CENTER

CAPE CANAVERAL, FLORIDA

JULY 20, 1999

- Thank you, Dan [Goldin], for that kind introduction, and for all you have done to lead NASA and America's space program into the 21st century. It is an honor and a privilege to be here for this historic launch of the Space Shuttle Columbia -- and to have this opportunity to thank all of you for this remarkable achievement. You are the ones who make all of this happen -- and I congratulate every one of you for your contributions.
- I had the pleasure of being here last October -- for the launching of the Discovery -- but tonight holds a special meaning for me.
- We're here together in a moment of celebration -- but also in a moment of sadness, as our thoughts and prayers are with the families of John Kennedy and Carolyn and Lauren Bessette. As the President said this morning, "It is at times like this that we really stop to recognize that, as big and diverse as our country is, we can come together as a national family. We can come together in sorrow or in joy -- if it reflects the values that we honor most." Thank you for giving us so much to celebrate tonight.

- On behalf of the President and the American people, I want to say how deeply grateful we all are for your dedication, talent, and limitless energy. Appreciation also to your families, who I know have sacrificed as well to help make this day possible.
- You make it all look so easy. But we know how hard you've worked over the past hours, days, weeks, and months, to prepare the crew and shuttle for this lift off. And of course, it's not just tonight's launch that you have to be proud of. But launch after launch that has been both safe and successful.
- This entire day has been a celebration of milestones. This morning, we honored the Women's World Cup soccer champions at the White House – and it's wonderful and particularly fitting that they are here with us here tonight. I joined the President, the Vice President, and Mrs. Gore in singing their praises on the South lawn today. We all had our favorite memories and stories about this world-class team. But we all agreed on one thing: it's what these remarkable athletes did as a team – how they worked together – that enabled them to win the World Cup – and secure a place in our hearts forever.

- That same spirit of team work is the key to what all of you do here at the Space center. I know that this beans and cornbread tradition began many years ago, when NASA's chief test director Norm Carlson wanted to make sure his office didn't go hungry on launch day. And since then – as you know so well – the food's grown, and the party's grown. But the teamwork required to make a successful launch possible has never changed.
- You make history every time the space shuttle lifts off. But tonight – history is being made in other ways as well. Not only are we commemorating the 30th anniversary of mankind's first walk on the moon. We are also celebrating the first time in history that a woman has been commander of the space shuttle. I know how proud you all are of Colonel Collins and the entire crew – and I want to join you in wishing them a successful journey and a safe return.
- [As some of you may have heard, I dreamed of becoming an astronaut – and I even wrote NASA to find out what I needed to do to see the stars up close. Unfortunately, I got one of those really thin envelopes back, which is never a good sign. NASA thanked me for my interest, but said that women weren't being considered for the job.

- Well, times have certainly changed. The dreams that many of us had as girls have now orbited the universe – with women like Sally Ride – and today with Eileen Collins.
- There are a lot of young girls today whose lives and aspirations have been transformed forever because of these new role models around us. Whether they are watching women compete on the athletic field or explore the stars – these girls know that they are capable of going as far as their dreams and talents will take them.]
- So I want to thank all of you tonight – not only for making a successful launch. Not only for giving us – and the world -- a new window on the universe with the CHANDRA [SHAN-dra] telescope. But also for reminding all of us that we must continue to stretch beyond our boundaries; to dare to take the next step; to break down the next barrier. Thank you for the hard work – and the team work – that we, as Americans, value so highly.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(John F. Kennedy Space Center, Florida)

For Immediate Release

October 29, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE STAFF OF THE LAUNCH CONTROL CENTER
AT THEIR POST-LAUNCH GATHERING

Lobby of the Launch Control Center
John F. Kennedy Space Center, Florida

3:13 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. I want to just add one little factual element to what Dan Goldin said about Hillary wanting to be an astronaut as a little girl. I just told a group up in the control room this. About a year ago we sat down and Hillary said, you know, we're just going to be here three more years and we need to make a list of every place we'd like to go and everything we'd like to do before we leave office. I said, okay, what's the first thing on your list? She said, I want to go to Cape Canaveral and see a launch. (Laughter and applause.)

I want to thank Dan Goldin and Roy Bridges, the Director of the Kennedy Space Center, all of you who work here. I want to thank Bob Cabana and Eileen Collins, two astronauts who accompanied us today, along with my science advisor, Dr. Neil Lane. I want to thank this crew. And I'd like, with all the press here, one more time to call their names: Commander Brown; Pilot Steve Lindsey; Mission Specialists Stephen Robinson and Scott Parazynski; the two international astronauts, Dr. Mukai of Japan and Mr. Duque of the European Space Agency -- the first Spanish citizen ever to fly in space. (Applause.)

I want to thank all of you who work on this, not just in that moment we all see on television or, in this case, we all saw from the rooftop, and we felt the ceiling rumble beneath our feet -- (laughter) -- because I know there are hours and weeks and months and years behind all this. I want to thank you. And of course I want to thank John Glenn, my good friend and a genuine American hero.]

You know, a few days ago, I was in the White House working on something entirely different and the phone rang and they said -- no, no, no, that's not true -- I was down at the Wye Planation working on the Middle East peace talks. (Applause.) And we hadn't had a lot of sleep since then -- (laughter) -- but that's where I was. And one of my staff members came up and said, John Glenn wants to talk to you. I thought, oh my goodness, something happened, he said he can't go.

We had a break, so I went and took the phone call. John said, Mr. President. I said, John -- I said, what's up? He said, I just called to make sure you're not going to chicken out on me. I want you down there when I go up -- true story. (Laughter and applause.) He said I want you down there when I do it.

So I said that wild horses couldn't keep Hillary or me away and we would be there. And we just left Annie and John's family and the other family members of the crew, thanking them.

Let me say to all of you, I feel profoundly indebted

to all of you who work at NASA because I know the changes through which this agency has gone in the last five years, I know the challenges this agency has faced, I know how, more than any other agency in government, I believe you have embodied the ideal of the reinventing government mission of our administration that the Vice President has headed.

You have truly done more with less. We're now sending eight missions up a year as opposed to two before. We are doing it in much less time at much lower cost -- all thanks to you. And I am profoundly grateful.

I also want to thank you for the next big mission and the opening of the next new chapter in our history in space when the international space station begins to go up, first in Kazakhstan and then here, in the first two installments.

And the last thing I'd like to say is, this mission is going to give America a chance to see what you do through new eyes -- not only to experience the adventure, the spirit, but to understand the extent to which what we find out up there helps us live better lives down here. It has broadened the frontiers of medical research. It has helped us to understand how to cope with all kinds of physical conditions that otherwise were not manageable. It has helped us to learn about environmental trends and how to deal with them. It has helped us to see our future on Earth.

And these experiments in aging, which I'm getting more interested in with every passing day -- (laughter) -- what happens to muscle and bone under the stress of space and in conditions of weightlessness; the sleeping disorder test, which I'd very much like to be a part of since I have suffered from chronically for the last 30 years or so. (Laughter.) This is very important. And the American people will now know this about what you do.

So I just want to say to all of you, I hope that the labors that you've made the last five years, culminating in the stunning excitement of this day -- but also including the marvelous discoveries of the Hubble telescope, the breathtaking action of Sojourner on the Mars Pathfinder mission, all the other things that have been done -- I hope that it will all crystalize here in your 40th anniversary year with this mission, with the intense public attention, with the ordinary citizen's interest at an all-time high, so that from now on into the future on every block in every street corner in every community large and small in America, there will be people from all races and all walks of life who will be proud to support as American citizens our space program as an integral part of our march into the 21st century.

Thank you and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

3:20 P.M. EST

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR DISCOVERY LAUNCH
CAPE CANAVERAL, FLORIDA
OCTOBER 29, 1998

you make it look like we all have done so different }
Acknowledge: NASA Administrator Dan Goldin; Kennedy Space Center Director Roy Bridges, the NASA Launch team and their families, the crew and their families, who carry with them our gratitude and dreams.

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR ANNOUNCEMENT OF FIRST WOMAN COMMANDER
THE ROOSEVELT ROOM
MARCH 5, 1998

Welcome to the White House and the Roosevelt Room. The President and I are honored to be joined today by so many people who have made this historic announcement possible. I especially want to recognize NASA Administrator Dan Goldin; Sally Ride; Jennifer Harris, who at age 28 was the flight operations director of Mars Pathfinder; and our guest of honor, Colonel Eileen Collins, who is here with her husband Pat Youngs.

In December, 1998, when the Shuttle Columbia takes off, Colonel Eileen Collins will take one big step forward for women -- and one giant leap for humanity. She will become the first woman ever to command a space shuttle. Her mission will launch the most advanced x-ray telescope ever flown so we can examine some of the most distant and powerful objects in our universe. I can think of no better way to celebrate Women's History Month.

Tonight, we will be previewing an HBO series which looks back at our journey to the Moon and shows how our exploration of space has always inspired us as individuals and united us as a nation.

When I was 14, I dreamed of becoming an astronaut. I even wrote NASA to find out what I needed to do to see the stars up close. Unfortunately, I got one of those really thin envelopes back -- which is never a good sign. NASA thanked me for my interest, but said that women weren't being considered for the job. Well, times have certainly changed. The dreams that many of us had as girls have now orbited the universe with women from Sally Ride to Eileen Collins.

I first met Eileen three years ago at another Women's History Month event. She had just become the first woman pilot of a space shuttle -- and she gave me a red shirt she'd worn on that mission. What I saw in that shirt was not only her remarkable accomplishment, but also the courageous road she'd traveled to reach her every goal. As a small child, Colonel Collins would go to the airport with her father and her siblings, sit on the hood of the car and watch the planes take off. She would look up at the sky and imagine traveling into space. And now she is doing just that -- for many of the same reasons that women have always made history.

She made history because of her skill and determination -- to be **not** the best woman for the job -- but simply the best. She's made it because of parents who always told her she could do anything she put her mind to. She made it because she ignored those who said it wasn't cool or feminine to study math or science -- and demanded a first-class education in both. She made it because of the doors of opportunity that NASA has increasingly opened to women and minorities.

And she made history because of the countless other women upon whose shoulders all of us stand. I think of Amelia Earhart, disguising herself to reach her dream. I think of Mae Jemison, the first African American woman to fly in space. I think of Shannon Lucid, who just last year, broke the record for the longest time spent in space by an American. And I think back to 1978, when Shannon Lucid, Sally Ride, Rhea Seddon, Kathryn Sullivan, Judy Resnick and Anna Fisher became the first women to join the astronaut corps.

That was the same year Eileen Collins graduated from college and entered Air Force Pilot Training. Her first week there, the six women astronauts came to do a parachute training. She looked at them and thought, "Wow, this is what I'm going to do." This afternoon, when Astronaut Collins and I go to Dunbar Senior High School to talk about the importance of studying math and science, students will be able to look at her and say the same thing, "This is what I'm going to do." And when her mission launches next December, the next generation of girls -- and boys -- will be able to look to the heavens and think, "There's nothing I can't do."

Children have always gazed at the sky with wonder. And so has our nation. Especially in the aftermath of Sputnik, we have looked to space as the next frontier in our never-ending journey of discovery...and our advancements there have brought us closer together as a country...and, more and more, as a world. In the last year alone, we were riveted by the Mars Pathfinder landing. We received stunning photographs and information from other planets courtesy of the Hubble Space Telescope. And, as Stephen Hawking will point out in his lecture tomorrow night, we can look forward to new scientific discoveries and greater human understanding in the Millennium.

None of these achievements would have been possible without our continuing investments in science, space, and technology. And none of it would have been possible without the leadership of our next speaker.

NASA Administrator Dan Goldin is truly bringing our space program into the next century. By making it "faster, better, and cheaper." And by ensuring that NASA's workforce looks like America and its work reaches all of America. It is my great honor to introduce Administrator Dan Goldin.

PAGE 2

3TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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July 17, 1999, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 10; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 500 words

HEADLINE: Woman Leads Shuttle Crew For History-Making Mission

BYLINE: Reuters

DATELINE: CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla., July 15

BODY:

The crew of the space shuttle Columbia arrived here today, led by Col. Eileen M. Collins, slated to be the first woman to command a space flight when the shuttle blasts off on Tuesday.

Thirty years to the day after Apollo 11 left the Kennedy Space Center for the Moon, Colonel Collins began her own historic mission with a ceremony known simply as crew arrival.

After flying here from Houston, Colonel Collins, of the Air Force, taxied her jet to a stop and playfully pretended to fix her hair after removing her helmet. Then she stood before a battery of cameras and spoke the traditional words of shuttle commanders, "This crew is ready to fly."

"I'm really proud to be part of this important and historic mission," Colonel Collins said. "We're going to have a great launch, a great mission and we'll be back five days later for a great landing."

Colonel Collins was accompanied by her crew: the pilot, Jeffrey Ashby, and the mission specialists Cady Coleman, Steve Hawley and Michel Tognini, who is a French astronaut.

The shuttle's mission is to deliver the mammoth Chandra X-ray Observatory to orbit. Chandra is a super-telescope, built to observe events millions and billions of years old as light and energy from far-away galaxies reach the solar system.

At more than 20 tons, the telescope and its two-stage rocket booster are the heaviest payload ever carried by a shuttle.

Although the presence of women in space has been routine since the mid-1980's, Colonel Collins is the first to command a crew.

A Russian, Valentina Tereshkova, became the first woman in space in 1963 when the Soviet Union put her aloft in the one-person Vostok 6 spacecraft. Although nominally the mission commander, Ms. Tereshkova, unlike male cosmonauts, was never allowed to take manual control of the spacecraft.

The first American woman in space was Sally K. Ride, who took part in a 1983 mission.

The New York Times, July 17, 1999

In a celebration of the 30th anniversary of Apollo 11, the first mission to land men on the Moon, astronauts, space program workers and hundreds of others gathered here today.

Apollo's first and last commanders, Walter M. Schirra and Eugene A. Cernan, took part in a ground-breaking ceremony for a monument dedicated to the hundreds of thousands of men and women who worked on the project.

"It was probably the greatest singular human endeavor, certainly in modern times, maybe in the history of all mankind," Mr. Cernan said.

Neil A. Armstrong, who lifted off on Apollo 11 with Buzz Aldrin and Michael Collins, said today that he composed his "one small step" proclamation the day he became the first man to step onto the Moon, on July 20, 1969.

"After landing, actually having been somewhat surprised, the fact that we were able to make a successful touchdown, I realized I was going to have to say something," Mr. Armstrong said at a rare news conference for him. "But it wasn't anything very complicated. When you just think about stepping off, why, it seemed to follow."

GRAPHIC: Photo: The former astronauts Neil Armstrong, left, and Buzz Aldrin talked yesterday about their Moon mission on the flight's 30th anniversary. (Reuters)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 17, 1999

PAGE 4

8TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1999 The New York Times Company
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July 10, 1999, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

NAME: Pete Conrad

SECTION: Section C; Page 15; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1572 words

HEADLINE: Pete Conrad, 69, the Third Man to Walk on the Moon, Dies After a Motorcycle Crash

BYLINE: By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

BODY:

Pete Conrad, who flew to the Moon nearly 30 years ago and became the third man to walk upon it, died Thursday evening after crashing his motorcycle near Ojai, Calif.

The former astronaut and Navy captain, who had survived more than 1,100 hours of often perilous space exploration, was 69.

Mr. Conrad was traveling from his home in Huntington Beach, south of Los Angeles, to Monterey along with his wife, Nancy, and several friends. About 80 miles into the journey, he apparently lost control on a bend of Highway 150 and was flung from his Harley-Davidson.

Mr. Conrad, who was wearing a helmet and obeying the 55 mile-an-hour speed limit, did not look badly hurt, but he complained of chest pains and difficulty breathing. Though doctors at Ojai Valley Community Hospital worked to save him, he died more than five hours later.

James Baroni, the deputy coroner of Ventura County, told The Associated Press that Mr. Conrad had suffered massive internal bleeding.

During his four space missions, Mr. Conrad logged 49 days, 3 hours and 37 minutes in space, a record at the time. He not only walked on the Moon but also set what was then a space endurance record of 28 days on the Skylab. And his associates say he did it without ever losing his sense of humor or his enthusiasm.

Three weeks ago, Mr. Conrad flew his private plane east to the Berkshires to be honored as an outstanding alumnus of Darrow School, a small preparatory school in New Lebanon, N.Y.

"He was incredibly energetic, not a man of 69 in his attitude about life or the space industry," Darrow's headmaster, Laurence R. Van Meter, recalled. "There was nothing cynical about him at all."

Charles Conrad Jr. was born on June 2, 1930, in the affluent Main Line suburbs of Philadelphia. His father, who served as a balloonist in World War I, was an investment broker. The future astronaut, who was always called Pete because his mother liked the name, was intrigued by flying and engines. As a

The New York Times, July 10, 1999

child, he built model airplanes. As a teen-ager, he hung around local garages and airfields, neglecting his schoolwork. He swept up in a machine shop to finance flying lessons, and flew solo when he was 16.

To buck up his academic performance, Mr. Conrad was sent to Barrow School, where he became an excellent student, graduating with honors in 1949. Though he weighed barely 135 pounds and stood 5 feet 6 inches tall, Pete Conrad also played center on the football team so feistily that he was voted its captain. "He was a very tough boy, and we won our share of games," said Charles Broadhead, the school's assistant headmaster at the time.

At Princeton, Mr. Conrad studied aeronautical engineering. Upon graduation in 1953 he joined the Navy, where he became an aviator, test pilot and flight instructor. In September 1962, he was selected as an astronaut.

In August 1965, he was a pilot on the Gemini 5 mission, which circled the Earth for eight days, a record at the time. In September 1966, he commanded the Gemini 11 mission, which set an altitude record of 850 miles and docked with another orbiting spacecraft.

In November 1969, Mr. Conrad commanded the Apollo 12 mission to the Moon, and repeated the lunar walk of Neil Armstrong and Edwin E. (Buzz) Aldrin Jr. Mr. Conrad spent seven hours and 45 minutes on the Moon's surface with Alan L. Bean, setting up a nuclear generator to power later experiments.

"Pete squeezed the most out of every opportunity to expand our knowledge and operating skills," Mr. Aldrin said yesterday.

Mr. Conrad went on, in May 1973, to set a record at the time of 28 days in space as commander of Skylab 2, the first manned space station. He considered that accomplishment as significant as his Moon landing.

After one solar-power wing blew off the orbiting Skylab and the other jammed, threatening to cut short the mission, Mr. Conrad and his crewmate Joseph P. Kerwin crawled out of the space station and for four hours floated on loose tethers, trying to pry the retracted panel free with a 25-foot pole. Even under such stress, Mr. Conrad's heart measured a relatively cool 100 beats a minute.

Mr. Conrad became as familiar to Americans for his gap-toothed grin and puckish sense of humor as for his courage in space. "If you can't be good," he said, "be colorful."

When Mr. Armstrong first stepped on the lunar Ocean of Tranquility on July 20, 1969, he delivered his now-famous remark, "That's one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind."

Four months later, Mr. Conrad, the shortest man in the corps of astronauts, made his walk on the Moon's cratered Ocean of Storms. "Whoopce!" he exclaimed when his foot touched the dry lunar dust. "That may have been a small one for Neil, but that's a long one for me."

When Mr. Conrad returned from Skylab with Mr. Kerwin and Comdr. Paul J. Weitz, President Richard M. Nixon presented the trio to the visiting Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev. The astronauts went without the face masks they were supposed to wear to protect them from germs.

The New York Times, July 10, 1999

"If we catch a cold," Mr. Conrad told Nixon and Brezhnev, "it will be an honor to catch a cold from you two gentlemen."

After 20 years in the Navy, Mr. Conrad retired as a captain in 1973 to begin a business career, first as vice president for operations of the American Television and Communications Corporation, a cable television company based in Denver. He moved to the Douglas Aircraft Company in 1978 as vice president for international sales and, later, marketing. When Douglas merged with McDonnell in 1986, he was named a vice president of the new McDonnell-Douglas Corporation, where he worked on a reusable launching vehicle, called the Delta Clipper, that NASA later turned down.

Though Mr. Conrad appeared in a tongue-in-cheek commercial for American Express credit cards, he was not caught up in his celebrity. "My name may get me through some doors," The Orange County (Calif.) Register quoted him as saying. "But I'd better know what I'm talking about in order to stay in the room."

Mr. Conrad's fascination with space never waned. He started one aerospace company, Rocket Development, to build reusable spaceships, another, Universal Space Lines, to launch them, and a third, Universal Spacenet, to track them.

When a letter writer asked whether there was life in space, Mr. Conrad told The Los Angeles Times, he called it a definite possibility. "After all, there's plenty of unearthly looking things moving around in my refrigerator," Mr. Conrad said, "so there's always a chance of life springing up almost anywhere."

He also talked about starting a space airline. "I predict that people will be flying to space routinely for vacation," he told an audience in Washington two years ago.

Mr. Conrad's awards included the Congressional Space Medal of Honor, two Distinguished Service Medals from NASA, two Distinguished Service Medals from the Navy and two Distinguished Flying Crosses.

Mr. Conrad's first marriage, to Jane DuBose, ended in divorce. He is survived by his wife, Nancy Fortner Conrad, of Huntington Beach, and three sons, Peter, Thomas and Andrew. A fourth son, Christopher, died of bone cancer in 1990.

When Mr. Conrad returned to Darrow for his 50th class reunion last month, he wrote in its yearbook, "I would not have gone to the Moon if I had not gone to Darrow."

While at the reunion, he talked not only about his life in space but also about a vintage motorcycle he was restoring.

"It was clear," said Mr. Van Meter, the headmaster, "that flying and motorcycles were, as they always had be for him, two major loves in his life."

CLOSE-UP: Walkers on the Moon

By The Associated Press

Following is a list of the 12 men who walked on the Moon, their missions and their later lives:

The New York Times, July 10, 1999

Neil A. Armstrong. Apollo 11 (1969). Now 68, a businessman in Lebanon, Ohio.

Edwin E. Aldrin. Apollo 11 (1969). Now 69, president of three companies in Los Angeles and board chairman of National Space Society.

Pete Conrad. Apollo 12 (1969). Killed on Thursday in a motorcycle accident in California at 69. Founded and headed Universal Space Lines Inc. of Newport Beach, Calif.

Alan L. Bean. Apollo 12 (1969). Now 67, an artist in Houston who paints only space scenes.

Alan B. Shepard Jr. Apollo 14 (1971). The first American in space, he died in 1998 at 74.

Edgar D. Mitchell. Apollo 14 (1971). Now 68, founder and board member of an institute that researches the mind and nature of consciousness. Lives in Boca Raton, Fla.

David R. Scott. Apollo 15 (1971). Now 67, an aerospace consultant in Manhattan Beach, Calif.

James B. Irwin. Apollo 15 (1971). Died of a heart attack in 1991 at 61. Founded High Flight Foundation, evangelistic organization in Colorado Springs. Led six expeditions to Mount Ararat in Turkey in search of Noah's Ark.

John W. Young. Apollo 16 (1972). Now 68, the associate director for technical matters at the Johnson Space Center in Houston.

Charles M. Duke. Apollo 16 (1972). Now 63, a businessman in New Braunfels, Tex., and a self-described "committed Christian" who gives motivational talks.

Eugene A. Cernan. Apollo 17 (1972). Now 65, chairman and chief executive of the Johnson Engineering Corporation in Houston.

Harrison Schmitt. Apollo 17 (1972). Now 64, former United States senator and geologist living in Albuquerque, N.M. Teaches part time at the University of Wisconsin.

GRAPHIC: Photos: Pete Conrad, a test pilot, avid motorcyclist and astronaut, was known for his sense of humor, as well as his bravery. When he stepped on the Moon, in the Apollo 12 mission in 1969, his first word was "Whoopee!" (NASA, via Reuters); Pete Conrad in June (Associated Press)

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July 14, 1999, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: HORIZON; Pg. H01

LENGTH: 3117 words

HEADLINE: APOLLO 11 30TH ANNIVERSARY; Man on the Moon

BYLINE: Kathy Sawyer, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

July 1969: The moon rocket, towering 37 stories tall on its pad, began its skyward climb with 10 million pounds of thrust. Less than half a second later, a pump in one of its 43 engines drew in a stray metal shaving and blew up. The entire booster fell back to Earth and exploded with the force of a small nuclear bomb, wiping out the launch complex on the remote steppes of Central Asia. The catastrophe, unknown to most of the world but monitored by U.S. intelligence, effectively ended the "space race" for the Soviet Union.

Thirteen days after the failure of the Soviet N-1 rocket, half a world away, other men in other control rooms watched in an agony of suspense as their own fire-breathing monster rumbled and roared to life on a Florida launch pad. This time, the rocket didn't falter. Three Americans were on their way to a historic lunar landing and -- even though much of the competitive steam had puffed out of the race -- a stunning victory for their side.

The public focus since then has been mostly on the technology, the science and the sheer human audacity of it all, but the driving force behind the project was geopolitical.

More than a decade earlier, on Oct. 4, 1957, Russian engineers had fired the first round in the battle for the new "high ground" with the launch of a seemingly inconsequential 84-pound sphere: a radio transmitter hooked up to a thermometer, powered by a pack of chemical batteries. Once in orbit, Earth's first artificial satellite, or Sputnik ("companion"), emitted a benign signal: "Beep, beep, beep . . ."

Yet to then-Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson, entertaining guests at his ranch in the Texas hill country when he got the news, "in some new way, the sky seemed almost alien," he wrote later. Americans who had thought themselves technologically superior and safely isolated by two great oceans now suddenly felt vulnerable.

How could a primitive little space ball discombobulate a powerful nation? Science fiction enthusiasts had long dreamed of space travel for peaceful purposes, but the real Space Age dawned with more sinister meaning. Because Sputnik had been launched on an intercontinental ballistic missile, Soviet leaders hailed the feat as proof of their ability to deliver hydrogen bombs at will -- and of the superiority of communism over democracy. Prowess in space emerged as a Cold War propaganda tool, with astronauts as surrogate combatants.

The Washington Post, July 14, 1999

Even so, it wasn't until 1961, as the Soviets continued to taunt America with a string of "firsts" in space, that incoming President John F. Kennedy asked his vice president to find out quickly whether there was some way "we could win." As recommended by NASA and the Defense Department, Johnson proposed a lunar landing "to symbolize the technological power and organizing capacity of a nation. . . part of the battle along the fluid front of the Cold War." On May 25, 1961, when Kennedy issued his call to do it before the decade was out, the entire American experience in human space flight totaled just 15 minutes and 28 seconds, the duration of Alan B. Shepard Jr.'s suborbital flight three weeks earlier.

Kennedy himself had second thoughts, in 1963 proposing to the United Nations a joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. lunar project. But Johnson, succeeding the slain president, was determined to make the United States a leader in space.

"The hope that rode on Apollo was the hope for human adequacy in the face of awful challenges," wrote Walter A. McDougall in his Pulitzer Prize-winning history, " . . . The Heavens and the Earth."

But the sense of urgency drained from the space effort as the Soviets failed to keep up the pace of their own triumphs, and liberal advocates for the poor, the environment and other causes attacked the costs of the Apollo program (through 1972), which would amount to \$ 120 billionX in today's inflation-adjusted dollars.

But the push of people and machines toward the moon, for the moment, had an independent momentum. The program had mushroomed into one of the most complex undertakings in human history, engaging a workforce of almost 500,000 people around the country. The fledgling American space program gradually built an understanding of new technologies and human reactions that space flight entails, through the six one-man flights of the Mercury program, which grew from suborbital to orbital missions up to 34 hours and 20 minutes duration, and the ten two-man flights of the Gemini series, which featured the first spacewalk, the first rendezvous and docking of two spacecraft, the first emergency landing, once reaching a (then) record altitude of 739 miles and extending mission duration up to almost 14 days.

But the space program also grew huge and impersonal and, under the pressure of the Kennedy deadline, cut corners. Its most painful lessons emerged from the fire that blazed up inside a prototype command module at the Florida launch complex in January, 1967, killing the crew of Apollo 1. The tragedy led to reforms in management practices and spacecraft design that, according to astronauts and others, were essential to Apollo's later successes. These included four manned flights between October 1968 and May 1969 that paved the way for the lunar landing.

For the men on point, the adventure of Apollo 11 was by turns tedious, exhilarating, exhausting, noisy, eerily quiet, cold, sweaty, smelly, heart-pounding and at times almost beyond comprehension. History had selected them to live out a fantasy that had dominated science fiction for centuries. And perhaps to die.

"I think we will escape with our skins, or at least I will escape with mine, but I wouldn't give better than even odds on a successful landing and return," Apollo 11 crewman Michael Collins would write of his pre-launch mindset. "There are just too many things that can go wrong." Sitting wedged into the right

The Washington Post, July 14, 1969

seat of the command module atop the Saturn V moon rocket, flipping switches. in the final hour or so of the countdown, he mused, "Here I am, a white male, age thirty-eight, height 5 feet 11 inches, weight 165 pounds, salary \$ 17,000 per annum, resident of a Texas suburb, with black spot on my roses, state of mind unsettled, about to be shot off to the Moon. Yes, to the Moon."

On launch day, an estimated one million people assembled at along Florida beaches and causeways to witness the departure of the 363-foot-tall Saturn 5, the master work of the German rocket builder Wernher Von Braun and his team at NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala.

After the four-day transit, Collins remained alone in splendid isolation in lunar orbit while Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin made the historic descent in the insectile lunar lander. Suddenly computer alarms began to sound. The mission might have been aborted then, flight officials say, if not for the foresightedness of Gene Kranz's ground team at mission control -- and the astronauts' steel nerves. A similar situation had prompted Kranz to abort the landing during a simulation, or dress rehearsal, a few weeks back. As a result, Kranz and a group of computer experts had spent long hours familiarizing themselves with each type of alarm, what it meant and how to respond rapidly. Now the decision to proceed, or not, rested with the team's expert on the lander computer, Steve Bales, age 26. As Aldrin and Armstrong, hurtling toward the lunar badlands 240,000 miles away, pressed urgently for information, Bales took just seconds before he decided the system was suffering a task overload but would continue functioning, and blurted, "We're--we're 'go' on that, Flight." He was later decorated, along with the crew, at a White House ceremony.

When the distracting alarms finally quit and Armstrong focused on the intended landing site looming out his window, he suddenly realized the computer navigation was steering them into a field of potentially lethal boulders along a crater. He took control and began to fly the lander like a helicopter, searching for a clear spot. [See illustration, A6.]

The anxious ground team in Houston was now out of the decision loop. They knew the landing had departed from the plan and was in the hands of the pilots. Reading the telemetry, the ground team saw that instead of hovering slowly, the craft was speeding horizontally over the surface. They didn't know why, or what was taking so long. Hearing only Aldrin calling out the numbers, they instinctively kept quiet except to alert the pair that the lander was running low on descent fuel. When the Eagle finally settled into the Sea of Tranquility, it had less than a minute's worth of landing fuel remaining.

The first lunar tourists spent only about two and a half hours actually walking around outdoors. There, they spent a cold, damp and virtually sleepless rest period curled up in their spacesuits, kept awake by adrenalin, spacecraft noises and the light of the long lunar day leaking in.

Orbiting above, Collins had mastered a nightmarish checklist that included 18 versions of emergency rendezvous with the ascent module after it left the surface. "My secret terror for the last six months has been leaving them on the moon and returning to Earth alone," he thought. However, less than 22 hours after landing, the Eagle's ascent stage shot itself back into orbit for a successful reunion with the craft that would carry the travelers home to global acclaim.

The Washington Post, July 14, 1999

An undertaking that had been born out of the divisions of Cold War had, for a fleeting moment of history, united much of the world in celebration of the human spirit. Even the official Soviet newspaper reported the event on page one -- though not at the top.

A BIG BOOST

Multi-staged rockets increase a spacecraft's launch speed. In Saturn V, three successively smaller rockets, called stages, are positioned on top of one another. As each stage burns and exhausts its fuel, it falls away and reduces the weight of the remaining craft. Then the next stage fires and the rocket continues to accelerate.

* First stage

Engines: Five F-1s

Thrust: 7.6 million pounds

Fueled weight: 5.02 million pounds

Burn time: 2 minutes, 41 seconds

* Second stage

Engines: Five J-2s (The J-2 was the largest hydrogen-fueled engine ever built)

Thrust: 1.2 million pounds

Fueled weight: 1.07 million pounds

Burn time: 6 min. 27 sec.

* Third stage

Engines: One J-2

Thrust: 200,000 pounds

Fueled weight: 262,000 pounds

Burn time: Two burns. The first: 2 min. 27 sec. The second: 5 min. 45 sec.

SATURN V's FUEL

For liftoff, a rocket's thrust must be greater than its weight. A rocket's weight is mostly made up of fuel, so it takes a great deal to launch even a small payload. The ratio of propellant to payload in Saturn V is 50 to 1.

SATURN V

The largest operational launch vehicle ever produced.

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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July 14, 1999, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: HORIZON; Pg. H06

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HEADLINE: EIGHT ANXIOUS MINUTES; The Descent of the Eagle; After Eager Wait and
'One Giant Leap,' Astronauts Scoop Up Special Souvenirs for Science

BYLINE: Brenna Sink, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

The Eagle had landed, but the Earth men were forced to maintain their discipline. What followed the tense landing was nearly two hours of systems checks. Having determined that Eagle had not been damaged during the landing, Neil Armstrong and Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin were scheduled to eat a post-landing meal.

Stealing glances at the lunar surface through Eagle's triangular windows and gnawing their way through reconstituted ham, potatoes and fruitcake, the men unilaterally agreed that they did not need the scheduled five-hour rest break before suiting up to walk on the moon. To their relief, Houston concurred.

It would take another 3A hours for them to prepare for mankind's first Extra Vehicular Activity (EVA) on the moon. As Armstrong made his way down the ladder, he activated a black and white camera poised to catch his first step and transmit it to the world. His foot sank into the finely powdered soil, leaving an indelible print. "That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind." He took several more steps, testing his balance and the effects of the moon's gravity.

Armstrong's most immediate task was to collect a small sample of lunar soil. In the event that the EVA was suddenly cut short, he would at least have a sealed sample in the pocket of his spacesuit. Having done so, he began an external inspection of Eagle while he waited for Aldrin to join him. Eighteen minutes later, Aldrin took his first step. "Beautiful view," he said. "Magnificent desolation."

Before their television audience, Armstrong read from the plaque mounted on the strut of Eagle's landing gear:

HERE MEN FROM THE PLANET EARTH FIRST SET FOOT UPON THE MOON

JULY 1969, A.D.

WE CAME IN PEACE FOR ALL MANKIND.

After repositioning the television camera (1), the astronauts turned to the work at hand. They had only a limited amount of time on the surface to perform specific tasks. Aldrin began by deploying the solar wind composition

The Washington Post, July 14, 1999

experiment (2). It looked something like a flystrip -- a sheet of aluminum foil hanging from a pole -- but the data it gathered would help determine the composition of gases and other elements in the solar wind.

Together, the astronauts erected a small United States flag (3). They did not, as explorers on Earth had done before them, claim this new territory, this moon, in the name of their country.

Aldrin proceeded to test his moon legs by attempting to run and hop like a kangaroo, with Armstrong faithfully recording the awkward movements for posterity. This experiment was interrupted, however, by a call from President Richard M. Nixon. In a White House-to-moon call the president told the astronauts, "For every American, this is the proudest day of our lives."

Armstrong replied, "It's a great honor and privilege for us to be here representing not only the United States but men of peace of all nations."

After the call, the astronauts refocused their attention and divided up their work. Armstrong began collecting samples of soil and rock, carefully documenting the exact location from which they were removed and sealing them in vacuum-tight containers.

Aldrin activated the Passive Seismograph Experiment (PSE) (4), which would monitor and record any lunar seismic activity and detect any meteor impacts. Next, he positioned the Laser Ranging Retroreflector (5). Among other things, this device, left on the lunar surface, helped scientists obtain precise Earth-to-moon measurements by reflecting laser beams from Earth back to their point of origin.

To obtain core soil samples, Aldrin hammered short tubes into the lunar surface. As he did so, Houston reported that the vibrations were being recorded by the sensitive PSE.

Meanwhile, Armstrong had ventured off to inspect and photograph Little West Crater (6), a rough spot in the direction of the original planned landing site. Completing their work outside, the astronauts stowed most of the experiments and samples in the ascent stage of the lander. Armstrong loaded the last of the equipment as Aldrin reentered Eagle. At 1:09 a.m. EDT on July 21, 1969, Armstrong climbed aboard and closed the hatch, thus ending man's first exploration of the moon.

DID YOU KNOW . . .

Instant diet: The moon's gravitational pull at the surface is about one-sixth as strong as Earth's. So an astronaut and space suit that together weighed 350 pounds here weighed only 60 pounds during the moon walks.

Landing facts:

- * Total time on lunar surface: 21 hours, 36 minutes
- * Total time spent outside of Eagle: 2 hours, 31 minutes
- * Total surface distance traveled: 3,300 feet

The Washington Post, July 14, 1969

* Farthest point from Eagle reached: 200 feet

* Samples collected: 47.5 pounds

After circling the moon more than a dozen times at an altitude of about 68 miles, the lunar lander called Eagle separates from the Command and Service Module. An hour later, the lander's engine fires for 30 seconds, braking the craft and starting its descent to the lunar surface. The lander takes an hour to descend to an altitude below 50,000 feet. The descent engine begins a continuous 12-minute burn, taking it to touchdown. During this final phase, the lander is flying with its engine leading. Astronauts Neil Armstrong and Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin are cravelling feet first and looking straight down at the lunar surface through the lander windows.

* 'We're go on that alarm' -- Mission Control

4:10 p.m. EDT July 20

33,500 ft.

Five minutes into the burn, Armstrong reports "Program Alarm," the first of five alarms. This one signals a computer overload. Moments later, Houston gives Eagle the go-ahead.

* 'Attitude control is good'

-- Armstrong

4:13 p.m., 5,000 ft.

A second computer overload alarm sounds. Houston gives another go-ahead. Dropping to 2,000 feet at 100 feet per second in automatic landing mode, Armstrong checks out the window and sees a large field of boulders ahead.

* 'Pretty rocky area'

-- Armstrong

4:14 p.m., 600 ft.

Armstrong determines the designated landing area is too rough, takes manual control of Eagle and slows the descent.

* 'Ease her down'

-- Aldrin

4:15 p.m., 300 ft.

Armstrong has found a flat space beyond Little West Crater. A radar warning light flashes. Surface dust is being blown around by Eagle's engine, hampering visibility.

* 'I got a good spot'

The Washington Post, July 14, 1999

-- Armstrong

4:16 p.m., 150 ft.

A warning light flashes, telling the astronauts they have 5 percent of their fuel remaining. Armstrong has 94 seconds, after which he must land immediately or abort.

* 'Picking up some dust. . .'

-- Aldrin

4:17 p.m., 40 ft.

Visibility becomes obscured again due to the lunar dust.

* 'Houston, Tranquility Base here. The Eagle has landed'

-- Armstrong

4:17:40 p.m.

The lunar module lands on the moon with approximately 45 seconds of fuel remaining. Inside the Lunar Module

The Apollo lander design consisted of two major components. The lower stage, containing the engine and fuel for the descent, would remain on the surface. The lighter upper stage, containing the crew area, navigational equipment and a smaller engine, would propel the astronauts back into lunar orbit where they would rendezvous with the Command and Service Module.

GRAPHIC: Illustration

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 14, 1999

Revised

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WOMEN'S WORLD CUP CHAMPIONS EVENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
JULY 19, 1999

I want to join the President in saying how much our thoughts and prayers are with the Kennedy and the Bessette families at this most difficult time. I also want to join him in welcoming the U.S. Women's World Cup Soccer champions to the White House. Welcome and congratulations to our "Girls of Summer." Not only have you captured the World Cup. You've captured our imaginations and you have definitely stolen our hearts. And by creating the largest women's sporting event in history, you've exploded the myth -- once and for all -- that women's sports can't attract the phenomenal fans and public attention that men's sports have always enjoyed. It's about time.

I want to acknowledge some of your fans who wanted to be here to help you celebrate your remarkable achievement. I want to welcome our Cabinet officials, and our distinguished members of Congress who are with us today. [And just a few of our White House staff.] And I'm so pleased to see so many young people here -- from soccer teams and boys and girls clubs across the city. They are our future champions -- in whatever field they choose to compete -- and now they have these 20 new superstars to look up to.

I was lucky enough to attend the quarter finals with the President and Chelsea a few weeks ago and watched our world champions win over Germany. And I can't tell you what a thrilling experience that was for all three of us. The speed. The agility. The courage. The sheer joy of the game that all of you exhibited. And who could forget the final brilliant save – and that remarkable shot to the upper right corner of the net – that won the championship before 90,185 cheering fans? As one commentator put it: “All heaven broke loose.”

How things have changed. I've heard that in 1985, you had to sew the letters USA on your team jerseys yourselves. Today, girls across America proudly wear your names on their soccer jerseys. Eight years ago, when you returned victorious from your first women's world cup match – I believe you were greeted at the airport by 3 people – one of whom was the airline representative. Today, more people show up for your practices than the championship games you played only a few years ago.

What all of us – but particularly the youngest fans -- have learned is that this Women's World Cup was about more than soccer. It was about character – getting up after mistakes and moving on.

It was about the fearless determination with which this team competed – overcoming chronic injuries and fatigue – day after day. It was about teamwork and solidarity – supporting each other on and off the field – including baby sitting for each other's children.

This World Cup was also about changing the rules. Instead of eating steaks to prepare for the championship game – this team would put on their favorite dancing CD; sing at the top of their lungs; and paint each other's finger nails.

But perhaps most of all, this World Cup was as much about the girls in the stands as it was about the women on the field. Girls who wore their hair in pony tails, painted their faces, and screamed and cheered for the role models they had never had before. Girls everywhere who for the first time were watching a major world sports event and were able to say: That could be me.

As some of you of my vintage may recall, girls didn't play soccer when I grew up. And in high school we only played half court basketball. I remember that game very well – two dribbles and in certain districts, a juggle afterwards.

But you couldn't cross the center line. We were told we couldn't play full court like the boys, because our hearts couldn't take that much exertion.

So today, we celebrate not only your remarkable victory nine days ago. We celebrate a true milestone in the history of women's sports. A journey that began when Title IX opened the floodgates of opportunity to women college players – swelling the ranks of women competing at the intercollegiate level five fold over the past 25 years. And enabling this first generation of women athletes – like the champions standing here today – a chance to compete like their fathers and brothers did. A journey that continues today every time a young girl is encouraged to join a youth sports team, and learns that she can go as far as her skills and dreams can take her.

The history of America is the history of people who have stepped beyond the lines that have been drawn for them. Who have refused to limit their dreams. Who have faced the nay-sayers, and said yes. I can do this.

Who would have imagined, for example, that a human being would ever walk on the moon? Yet tomorrow, we commemorate the 30th anniversary of those famous footsteps. And in celebration of that milestone, we will witness another: Lt. Eileen Collins will become the first woman in history to be commander of the space shuttle.

This morning, we not only honor today's world cup champions – and the pioneers who continue to lead the way. We salute tomorrow's champions as well. It is my great pleasure to introduce to all of you someone who already knows she can go as far as her dreams and talents will take her. She's part of a program called D.C. Scores, which helps kids achieve on the soccer field – and in the classroom. She's not only the leading scorer on her soccer team. She's a champion essayist as well. Let's welcome 6th grader Stefaney Howell of Aiton [Ay-ton] Elementary School in Northeast Washington.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

REMARKS AT EQUAL PAY EVENT

450 OEOB, THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

APRIL 7, 1999

I want to welcome all of you to the White House -- and thank you for being here to commemorate Equal Pay Day, which is tomorrow. Now, as glad as I am to see so many old friends and new faces this afternoon, I can't help but look forward to the time when we no longer mark this day...because equal pay will not be a goal -- but a given.

We know that women who walk into the grocery store aren't asked to pay 25 percent less for milk. They're not asked by their landlords to pay 25 percent less for rent. And they should no longer be asked to make ends meet with 25 percent less in their paychecks.

When that goal is realized, it will be because of the people who have been on the frontlines of the continuing struggle for equal pay -- from the legislatures to the workplaces. Many of them are here today.

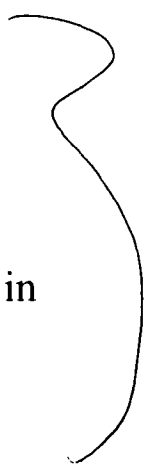
I want to thank our extraordinary Secretary of Labor, Alexis Herman; Senator Harkin; Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton; EEOC Chairwoman Ida Castro; Lewiston Mayor Kaleigh [Call-ee] Tara; Georgia Representative Sharon Beasley.

I want to thank our four panelists, whose victories and challenges mirror those of women and families all over the country -- Professor Nancy Hopkins, Sanya Tyler, Carolyn Gantt, and Patricia Higgins.

We are also fortunate to be joined today by two leaders who were present the day President Kennedy signed the Equal Pay Act in 1963 and have done so much to help us fulfill its promise -- Dorothy Height and Evi [Ev-vee] Dubrow.

And I want to thank Linda Chavez Thompson and the AFL-CIO; Gail Shaffer and Business and Professional Women; and Susan Bianci Sand and the National Committee on Pay Equity. Together these groups have helped lead the fight for pay equity -- and they will be organizing hundreds of grassroots events around the country tomorrow.

Recently, I ran across a cartoon that really captures why we're here. It shows six people sitting around a conference room table. They're all in suits. They're all wearing glasses. And, yes, they're all men. One of them announces, "Gentleman, we must cut our expenses in half. So, I'm replacing each of you with a woman."



Now clearly things have improved. As the recent Council of Economic Advisors report makes clear, the gap between women's and men's wages has narrowed since 1963. But, women still bring home only about 75 cents for every man's dollar.

And, despite this longtime inequity, there are still those who say this is a made-up problem -- that any wage gap between men and women can be explained away by the choices women make to pursue, for personal reasons, professions with limited advancement and low pay. But studies that look at the entire picture -- and at women of all ages make it clear that: Even when you adjust for differences in education, experience and occupation, there is still a sizable difference between men's and women's salaries that can only be explained by one phenomenon -- discrimination.

In fact, recently there was an important report issued by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology -- which we'll hear more about during our discussion. It looked at pay equity among its tenured faculty and found that women at the School of Science were discriminated against in diverse areas including hiring, awards, promotions, committee assignments and the allocation of resources such as lab space and research dollars. They showed that even women who supposedly break through the glass ceiling and reach the highest echelons of their professions still bump up against a wall of gender discrimination.

As a whole, these studies tell us we have a long way to go to correct these inequities. Because we are not just talking about a wage gap -- but rather a gap in our nation's principles and promises.

When women don't earn equal pay for equal work, it hurts their struggle for full equality. And it threatens the security of their children and families. When women don't earn equal pay for equal work, it affects single mothers and couples, old and young, men and women alike. It disproportionately hurts people of color. And it undermines our economy -- and our nation's foundation of equity and fairness.

In this country, we have said that people who work hard should never get less or be treated worse because of the color of their skin or place of worship, because of where they live or whether they were born boys or girls.

And no one has done more to make that possible than this President. Day after day, hour after hour, I have seen him work tirelessly on behalf of those Americans too often left behind or altogether forgotten.

It is my great honor to introduce my husband and our President, Bill Clinton.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

TRANSCRIPT IN PROGRESS

Women's Equality Summit National Education Association

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
March 15, 1999

Thank you so much. I am delighted to be here in front of all of you. As I look around this room I see so much energy and commitment and leadership, and it is a very exciting sight to behold. I want to thank Laura not just for that introduction, but for the work she does every day on behalf of issues that affect women and men, but affect people who deserve to have their voices heard to make sure that how they live and the needs of their lives are taken into account and in our political system. And what Laura and her organization have done over the last 20 or so years now is to help give low-income women the tools they need to become their own best advocates. That is really our goal here -- to see how we can continue to work together to empower women to make decisions that are best for them and their lives.

And there are many people who we have to thank for in this gathering: **Susan Bianchi-Sand**, I want to thank you for your hard work and your leadership; **Ellie Smeal and Pat Reuss**, for their tireless work in organizing this Women's Equity (**Equality?**) Summit. And we are grateful to the NEA, Bob Chase, and the entire leadership for letting us meet in this beautiful auditorium.

It is very fitting that we would be gathered here at the end of this century. We have seen so many changes in women's lives, I'm just marveled when I think back about what women's lives were like at the beginning of this century. We couldn't vote. We were likely to die in childbirth or earlier from an infectious disease or some other kind of ailment. We were not permitted to hold many professional positions or jobs that were available to men. We were not given the full range of educational opportunities that we now take for granted.

Although the laws were slowly changing, they had not changed enough. So women were, in many respects, living in the worst of both worlds when it came to work because the women who did work outside the home worked very, very hard. There is a great myth that women have only begun working recently, and until that African American women who...(inaudible).

There are many changes that we can all be grateful for, and we can thank those who came before us. I was privileged to speak in Seneca Falls for the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Sentiments. And when you think about the work that those women did -- knowing that they would probably not see the profits in their lifetime, that they were advocating for such radical changes: the right to vote, to inherit property, to be able to be the custodian of one's children in the event of divorce -- the things that we now can look back and thank them for.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

But they were doing it not for themselves, but for the next generation and generations of women and men to come. Because these issues that we are talking about -- which we will be addressing in this next year and particularly in this Congress -- which have brought us together in this gathering today, they do have a disproportionate effect on women. But I want to make it very clear that these are human issues. And I say that because there is a recent trend of political commentary claiming that, you know, talking about child care or after-school care or the **empolishment???** of women on Social Security -- that addressing those issues somehow leads to the feminization of politics. Now I'm not against that, but I think it is fairer to say that we are attempting to bring about the humanization of politics -- for women... (inaudible)

Now you will here from three women in a minute who have a lot of expertise and who will address specifically some of the issues that I'm going to just touch on. And they are three women whom I admire and call my friends: Secretary of Health and Human Services -- the longest serving secretary -- Secretary Shalala -- and, of course, those who follow what happens in Washington, we know also crimebuster; Secretary of Labor, who has done a superb job in bringing to the table issues that affect pay equity and workers' rights and safety, occupational health -- a woman who served a great position in (inaudible) democratic administration, but particularly in the White House during the first term of the President and then the Secretary of Labor-Elect Herman; and **Barbara Kennelly** -- I don't know if there is anyone here that is lucky enough to be represented in Connecticut by Congresswoman Kennelly, but for our first contingent, I'm sure it's represented here. But Barbara Kennelly served many years on the Ways and Means Committee, and while there she was a very strong advocate for fairness in government programs, particularly Social Security. And I'm delighted that she has been asked and that she has accepted the very important position in these times to be the counselor to the Social Security Administration. So we're delighted to have her expertise here... (inaudible).

I believe that some of you participated in the 1997 Women's Economic Leadership Summit held at the White House, and to date those of you who were there and those of you who have come to this meeting are building on that blueprint that many of you laid out at that important gathering. And the participants that are here represented by the National Council of Women's Organizations have a special responsibility because you are really standing in for (???) women who couldn't be here -- certainly women whom you know, who you work with, who are in organizations that are part of your advocacy network -- but you're also standing in for women who will never know your name, will never know the name of your organization, will probably not know much about the debate that's going on here because they are struggling vitally to keep body and soul together. You know, they're getting up, getting kids off to school, getting to clock in on time, getting to the office on time, trying to figure out what happens when their child care arrangements fall apart, struggling to be paid equitably for the work that they do. They are there on the job, building America and taking care of the next generations of Americans, but they are not fully participating in the political process and they therefore -- as we always have in America - are going to rely on people who can understand them, empathize with them, and can represent them as you do so well. So this is an important gathering for those who are here, but it may even be more important for those who are not here, because many of the issues that we are talking

about here today are ones that hold special meaning for people who are really struggling, who are trying to make sure that they have their shot at the American dream in the years to come. And the decisions that are made in Washington will, in very large measure, impact on how well they are able to do.

You know, sometimes I am a little bit taken aback and even bewildered when I hear people talking about politics as though it were the problem of somebody else, somewhere which... -- we know it is grassroots activism, it is citizen participation, it is the voices of all of us that have to rise in a crescendo of chorus to be heard by people who make decisions, that really has always made America move forward. If politically elected leaders were left to themselves, we wouldn't have suffrage, we wouldn't have a lot of the changes that happened at the end of this last century and the beginning of this next. Those were not ideas that flowed from the very closely held power of the elected office; those were ideas that came from the grassroots by people just like us. And it is because of that that it is critical that we once again re-energize the women of America and the men to understand what it will take to move into this next century with the kind of confidence and energy that we should have. Because just think about the relative handful of women and their male allies, at the end of last century, who made so many of the reforms possible that we have come to take for granted.

I recently read (**book name?**), a new biography of the early years of Jane Adams. She forged a new pattern, along with other women who were like-minded who fought and struggled and advocated for legislation that would get children out of factories, give women a decent shot at a 40-hour week, not a 60- or a 70-hour week. They cleaned up the slums of Chicago or New York or a lot of our other cities where immigrants were just herded in and tried to be kept in their places. So there was a lot of work -- important work -- that was led by, that was given voice by women at the end of this last century.

I think we have just the kind opportunity to do that again now. Because look at the situation we're in. We have a lot of blessings to be grateful for in our country. I'm very pleased that we have the kind of economic recovery that has made it possible to create many new jobs. I am pleased at how we are beginning to see the profits of those economic changes really spread into the lives of people who are left out or marginalized. I'm delighted by what I hear about the expansion of health care to children that was passed through the balanced budget. I rejoice in the declining of crime throughout our country because we adopted new strategies and people work together at the community level. So we have a lot to be grateful for, but that is not just a time to rest on our morals, that is a time to say, "What do we do with those blessings? How do we make sure that they are truly, really, once and for all embedded in the bedrock of our society, and then made clear that they are available to everyone?"

Well, there are some particular issues that we have to be addressing right now, and we finally have the tools and the resources if we can summon the political will to address. Now what are some of those issues? Well, clearly, the debate about the Social Security system is going to be one that will have profound effects on how we live into the next century. Social Security was,

first and foremost, not a legislative program, not an economic decision; it was a statement of values. How will we treat people as they age? How will we take care of them in their later years? What kind of society will we be if we turn our backs on our mothers and fathers and our grandmothers and grandfathers?

So we took that value statement and put into effect a program. The Social Security program is our nation's solemn pledge that Americans can and will grow older with dignity. It's a commitment that our parents and grandparents have been able to rely upon. But it is not just a retirement program, and this is a particular point that I wish to stress today -- almost one-third of the beneficiaries of the Social Security system are not retirees, but they are severely disabled workers, they're children, survivors of workers who've died in an untimely manner, including millions and millions of young people.

So in a very real sense that statement of values should be expanded beyond what we usually say -- namely, that it is a pledge to our older citizens -- to really be seen as a pledge that there will be a family protection system to guard against what a wonderful man some of you may have known and worked with, Arthur Fleming, used to say, "...to guard against the hazards and vicissitudes of life." And whenever I would hear Arthur say that in his **inexorable** manner as he stood on the front lines of social justice for 90 plus years before his death a few years ago, he used to think about how, as you're younger, you don't think about hazards and vicissitudes so often; as you get older you think more about hazards and vicissitudes. And there are so many young people who have been protected by and can benefit from -- in the event of a tragedy or catastrophe -- that may not even know that.

One of the messages that I would like to see us get out through our grassroots efforts is that this Social Security system, this family protection system, is just as important to someone in their 20's as someone in their 80's. There are more of you, as I look out, who are more in the category of 20's than 80's, and you and your friends may not know what the Social Security system means to you. I've heard many stories about young people who have suffered serious accidents, or the death of a parent, who have been able to go onto college, been able to have a decent standard of living because of the Social Security system. Just today I met a woman from Silver Spring, Maryland, (**inaudible**) as a widow whose husband died when she was only 39 years old -- something she certainly never expected -- leaving her with two small children to raise. She now receives her own retirement benefits as well as a portion of widow's benefits. She's been able to send both of her children through college.

I met a young man, just 31, who had a debilitating stroke -- something he never could have dreamed of -- and thanks to Social Security, he was able to piece together enough resources to keep his family in his home and to keep living as they had lived pretty much before the stroke.

Now I would imagine that there are many such stories in this room, and those stories should be told because it is really by stories that we identify more and learn more about what it is that we are trying to save or promote or protect. Just saying Social Security may not ring a bell;

talking about an elderly relative or a young friend who has had a disaster, by whom then we can make Social Security seem alive, is a much clearer way to make the points.

There is another way which Social Security is a family protection, and that is that if it were not for Social Security, half of all American women over 65 would be poor. Now think about that. What I try to do is -- as I travel around or even sometimes as I look out the window of the car I'm in -- I look at women and I think to myself every time I see a woman over 65, and then another one, that one of those two, were it not for Social Security, would be in poverty. That's a stunning statistic. And it means -- as I know it would mean in your life -- that were it not for Social Security, many of us would be supporting our parents. We would take them in, we would do what we needed to do to try to provide the resources they required to stay above poverty, to live as comfortably as we could afford -- and that would cause a lot of difficult decisions in our lives, wouldn't it? There would be many families that would have to choose between supporting a parent, an elderly parent, and sending a child to college.

It becomes even more pronounced if we add Medicare into that equation, because most families already try to do everything we can emotionally and financially to support an elderly relative in whatever way is necessary, and particularly when it comes to health care we would certainly do all we could to make sure that a mother or a father or a grandparent had the health care that was needed. And that would be an economic responsibility and an economic burden that we would feel required to shoulder.

So in a very real sense, Medicare is Social Security. Say it to our older people: We're going to help you remain independent, and by helping us support you because of what you've done for our country -- the families you've raised, the jobs you've held, the incomes that you've contributed to the United States, the wars you fought -- we're going to help, as a nation, to support you. And by doing so, we're going to free up the resources that might otherwise have to come directly to you from your family, so that they can do what you did -- raise the next generation, send their children to college, hold down the jobs that enable them to move forward.

So this is in a very real way, a totally interdependent system. And it needs to be seen in that way, because once it is seen in that way, then the debate about Social Security is not some abstract discussion that affects older people, the debate about Medicare is not somebody else's health care needs; it is how we all take care of each other and how we each fulfill our obligations to both the younger and the older generation.

And when the President proposed in the State of the Union that he wanted to set aside a large portion of the budget surplus to preserve and strengthen Social Security well into the 21st century, it was a way of saying, "Let's take this money which we have been able to save because of budget decisions -- tough budget decisions which were made earlier in this Administration -- and let's use it to start solving a problem that if we solve now, will be easier and less expensive to address, and if we wait, will become more difficult and more costly to address." That 62 percent figure that the President said would be necessary to take from the surplus and use for Social

Security would go a long way towards strengthening the system.

With respect to Medicare, he proposed 15 percent of the surplus to help expand and extend the life of Medicare. And that too is a way of saying to older Americans, "We want to ensure that your health needs are met." Because, after all, if we are able to expand and extend Medicare, we will be providing health care to older Americans who are the most expensive people in the system -- which is just a natural cause of aging -- but for whom the provision of Medicare is getting increasingly more cost-effective. Thanks to HHS under Donna Shalala's leadership, we are beginning to really see tremendous progress in getting the fraud and the abuse and the waste out of the Medicare system. But we already have a very low administrative cost in Medicare. So a dollar in Medicare actually goes further in providing real services to patients than a dollar in private insurance where money has to go to overhead, profit, and things like that. So Medicare -- if it is handled correctly -- can be there well into the future for all of us.

Now that is not the place to stop, however -- although that will be probably the most contentious and difficult of the debates we face as we close out this century. But I see it is a continuum of the work that Jane Adams and others started a hundred years ago to get to that point where Social Security remains safe and secure, and where Medicare is there for all of us as we reach our older years.

But one of the ways that we could make life easier for women and families right now is to do more to close the pay gap between men and women. The AFL-CIO just released a report that highlights the critical importance of equal pay, and makes clear that we all pay a high price when that equity is denied. According to the study, an average working family loses more than \$4,000 a year because of the wage gap between men and women. Now that not only hurts women, it hurts single mothers, it hurts working couples, it hurts families, and it hurts our nation's economy. And then, in this interdependent web that we are all part of whether we admit it or not, it hurts our Social Security payments. Because if we don't get paid what we're entitled to get paid, then when we retire, our Social Security payment is less than it should be. So all of this is connected with the very fundamental goal of providing economic security to working people and retired people.

The study also found that over half of the two-earner and single mother households across the country now living in poverty would be lifted out of poverty if equal pay policies were enacted and enforced at the state level. Now that is a stunning statistic. Again, let's just put a mental picture in our heads. I have stood at factory gates with people coming to work at five o'clock in the morning with little babies -- and pick-up trucks that had to be then driven somewhere -- until they could be taken to day care or school. I've been in lots of offices where young women and older women are working very, very hard, and I've seen a lot of people who are working hard -- 40 hours a week -- and still below the poverty line. Now that is something that should be unacceptable in America. Everybody who works full time should have a wage that is above the poverty line, and we could get closer to that goal if we enforced equal pay. Now that is just a simple question of fairness and equity with great economic consequences.

Now there's another piece of this economic security pie, and that is what do we do to make sure that women and men who are raising families have the supports they need so that they're able to do the best job they can at home and at work?

Now just a few weeks ago, I was in Brooklyn at a YMCA where I had a fascinating and moving roundtable with six women. There was a single mom there who has really worked her way up in the corporation where she is employed. She now makes \$30,000 a year -- she gets no child support from the father of her child -- so that is the income that she uses to raise her son and support herself. Now after she pays taxes and rent and utilities and food and all the things we have to pay for, she has no money left to afford child care because she makes too much money to qualify for subsidized care. I see lots of head nodding. And that is the case of literally millions of women around our country. And so this woman is in a state of constant anxiety as she tries to juggle where to put her son and make sure that her child care doesn't fall apart, because she can't afford to lose this job which she has worked so hard to achieve.

Now we need to do more in this country to make sure that every working parent has access to good quality, affordable child care. And I'm pleased that tomorrow there will be the introduction of some pieces of legislation. I believe Representative Alan **(last name?)** of California and Representative **(name?)** of Maryland will be introducing important child care legislation and holding the first child care hearing. Now I hope that these initiatives signal that we are going to get some action on this issue.

We're also fighting to dramatically increase after-school programs so that working parents don't have to worry where their children are in the hours between 3 and 6 p.m., when so many problems arise with kids -- the times when more crimes are committed and more other kinds of difficulties occur.

We're also committed to expanding and extending the Family and Medical Leave Act so that more working families can take time to care for their sick child or aging parent -- and still keep their jobs. **(Next sentence inaudible.)**

Now this is just part of a broad agenda for working men and women, and for working families, so that they could begin to make good on the promises that the end of this century hold out to us. I am so pleased that I could be standing here in 1999 before this audience of advocates and people who understand what's happening in the lives of Americans, and talking about what we have to be grateful for. But I hope that in the next couple of years we could have a similar meeting where we talk about what we've achieved on the rest of this agenda, so that we will be able to look back and say we have made good on the promise of Social Security and Medicare -- we finally have a system of affordable, quality child care and after-school care; we have paid attention to our public schools; we have given our public schools and their teachers the support, the dignity, and the respect they deserve to have to do the most important job.

Now it is never easy, and this is an ambitious agenda. But I am very confident we can

achieve these goals. I'm also very sure that it will be difficult. But as I look back on this century and I think about the achievements that have really moved us forward as women, as Americans, as human beings, I know that it takes a concerted effort. I know that it takes a lot of people making their contributions.

As I read this Jane Adams' biography, I encounter the names of women whom I have not heard of before, women who are critical to doing things like the first garbage inspection tour of a ward in Chicago to force the political leadership to clean the garbage up out of the alleyways and off the street corners; and there was a woman who got into a cart every day and she went around and took notes about where the garbage was. Well, that led to changes in how garbage was collected. It led to public health changes about how we understood what spread disease and what hygiene meant. And so I saw the names of people that may not ever have their own biographies written about them, but who were part of a movement that made a difference in our lives.

Now we're having at the White House a series of Millennium lectures and events under the theme of "Honor the Past -- Imagine the Future." Well, yes, we can and should honor the past. We should especially honor the men and women who were on the forefront of change, often at great cost to themselves. Think of the names that they were called, think of the **(inaudible)** that they suffered, think of the fingers that were pointed at them because they stood up for women's suffrage or they were the first to try to get a job that others had held before and only men were permitted. Think of all those people and, yes, let us honor the past. But we also have an equal and, I would argue, an even greater obligation to imagine a future where the work of the past and the work of the present combined to create changes that will truly set the stage for the kind of country and world we want to adhere in and live in. Each of you is playing a role in that, and I am grateful and thankful that you are standing in the shoes of those who have come before. And who knows? In a hundred years someone may be standing here, or probably in a virtual room somewhere, talking about some of you and also talking about all of you -- some by name -- but all because you have made a decision to help set us on the right course for the future.

Thank you all for having me.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR LONG ISLAND WOMEN'S AGENDA
WOODBURY, NY
APRIL 21, 1999

Thank you, Erica [Garay] for that wonderful introduction, and for all that I know you've done over the past few months to breathe life into this wonderful new Long Island Women's Agenda. It's a pleasure to see so many distinguished guests here today; New York's First Lady [Mrs. Pataki]; my friend Muriel Seibert, president of New York City's Women's Agenda; women activists from across Long Island.

I also wanted to thank the members of the Girl Scouts of Nassau Country who did such a wonderful job during their flag ceremony.

Before I came here, I heard the story of how the Long Island Women's Agenda got started. How the leaders of a handful of women's organizations decided to meet and find out who else would be interested in working together on the issues they cared about. And how, before long -- through no advertising, just word of mouth -- 400 women -- and two brave men -- came to your first dinner. You discovered very easily that the reservoir of civic activism among the women of Long Island was deep and more than ready to be tapped.

If you think about it, how the Long Island Women's Agenda got its start is not so different from how so many groups of women throughout history came together to make a difference. Last summer, I traveled to Seneca Falls to help celebrate the 150th anniversary of the first Women's Rights Convention. Like you, it began when a handful of New York women decided to hold a convention "to discuss the social, civil and religious condition and rights of women." Word spread quickly. And before long, in the summer of 1848, hundreds of women from all walks of life -- glove makers, abolitionists, housewives and mothers -- were heading to Seneca Falls to call for such radical things as the right for women to own property, the right to keep custody of children in cases of divorce, the right to vote.

Today, we take these rights for granted. And as women continue to make their mark in so many fields -- from politics to professional sports to NASA -- it is sometimes difficult to imagine a world without them. Today, few parents would look at a talented daughter and sigh -- as Elizabeth Cady Stanton's father had done more than 150 years ago -- "if only you were a boy."

This is a great time to be a woman in America. We are living in a time of unprecedented prosperity and abundant opportunity. Over the past six years and a half years -- in no small part because of the hard work of the American people -- we have 18 million new jobs and the lowest inflation and unemployment rates in a generation. More families are moving from the dependency of welfare to the dignity of work. More families are moving into homes of their own. Teen pregnancy is falling. More young people are going to college. Crime is down and our neighborhoods are the safest they've been in decades.

So, why do we need organizations like the Long Island Women's Agenda? And why do we need to encourage more women to become active in their communities, and in what I like to call "politics with a small 'p'?" In these good times, it would be easy for the women in this room to say, "I'm fine, my family's fine, my business is fine, I don't have to worry about anybody else."

But, I believe the continued leadership and involvement of women is more important than ever.

Over the past six years, issues of vital importance to families -- issues such as health care, education, family leave, child care, breast cancer research -- have risen to the top of the political agenda. Some critics call this the “feminization of politics” -- as if finding good child care or affording good health care for a sick child were not the concern of fathers as well as mothers. I think a more accurate term would be the “humanization of politics” -- the effort to make the political system work for all people -- to help families meet the challenges of their day-to-day lives and reach their greatest potential.

We’ve made our communities safer by putting nearly 100,000 more cops on the beat and taking deadly guns off the street. We’ve extended health care to up to 5 million uninsured children. We’ve helped expand after-school programs to keep children learning in the afternoons and safe from drugs and crime. We’ve put an end to drive-thru baby deliveries that forced new mothers out of the hospital within hours of giving birth. All this progress would never have been achieved if women had not organized at the grassroots, gotten involved -- and made their voices heard.

But we all know we have much more to do to make sure that no one is left behind in this time of prosperity. If women at the end of the 20th century -- women who are truly privileged to live in such prosperous times -- fail to act today to address some of our greatest challenges, then we would have the wasted opportunity of a generation, if not a lifetime

We must seize these good times to help parents meet their responsibilities at work and at home. Parents like the single mother I met in Brooklyn who works hard at her \$30,000 a year job, but still, after paying the rent and the bills cannot afford decent child care for her son. The President's balanced budget will help more working families pay for child care, boost the number of good after-school programs, improve the safety and quality of care, and promote early learning.

Child care is a concern for nearly every family in America -- an issue that should rise above partisanship and party politics.

Last week, in votes on the Budget Resolution -- Congress demonstrated that there is strong bipartisan support for taking action on child care -- and providing greater assistance to working families.

This is very good news. And I hope you will work with the President and Congress to build on this progress to strengthen child care for our working families.

We must seize these good times to ensure more Americans get the high-quality health care they deserve. That is why we must raise our voices and demand that Congress pass a Patients' Bill of Rights to protect all Americans in the age of managed care.

And I have another challenge for you. I know that the Long Island Women's Agenda is just beginning to choose specific causes to champion in the coming years. I ask you to work with our administration and your state to get the word out about the new Children's Health Insurance Program [CHIP]. Help us make sure that all eligible children in Long Island get the health care they need.

We must seize these good times to ensure that finally, men and women who do equal work get equal pay. Recently I ran across a cartoon that really captures the problem. It shows six people sitting around a conference room table. They're all in suits. They're all wearing glasses. And yes, they're all men.

One of them announces, "Gentlemen, we must cut our expenses in half. So I'm replacing each of you with a woman."

Wage discrimination shortchanges the average working woman and her family roughly \$4,000 a year. There is no reason why, at the end of the 21st century, women must make just 75 cents for every man's dollar. There is a bill, sponsored by Sen. Daschle and Rep. DeLauro, making its way through Congress that would strengthen our equal pay laws -- and I ask you to support it.

We must seize these good times to ensure that all children receive the world-class educations they need to succeed in our new information economy. In this time of prosperity, no child should have to learn in a crowded or crumbling classroom.

No child should be crippled by low academic expectations, or taught by teachers who have never had the opportunity to learn the subject matter they are teaching. So I ask you to work with the President to finish the job of hiring 100,000 new highly-trained teachers, to help modernize and rebuild 6,000 schools.

Most of all, help the President in his efforts to change the way we invest in education--to support more of what works, and stop supporting what doesn't.

And, most important, we must seize these good times to make sure that Social Security serves our children and grandchildren as well as it has served our parents and grandparents. Social Security is much more than an ID number on a tax form; more than a monthly check in the mail. Social Security reflects our deepest values -- our respect for our parents, our commitment to the disabled, and our belief that all Americans deserve to retire with dignity.

In many ways, it's a family protection system. When disaster strikes and a working parent becomes disabled, Social Security ensures that family does not fall into poverty. Social Security helps parents care for their disabled children.

And for millions of seniors -- including more than half of all elderly women -- Social Security provides the difference between aging with dignity and living in poverty. Medicare, too, is a crucial way we honor and care for our parents after a lifetime of hard work. That's why I ask you to support the President's plan to dedicate 77 percent of

our hard-earned surplus toward strengthening both these programs for future generations.

But we know that very few people can rely on Social Security alone in retirement. That is why the President is proposing Universal Savings Accounts to help more low and middle income Americans save for their retirement. Under his plan, a family with income of up to \$80,000 a year, can open a USA account and receive a refundable tax credit that will be deposited directly into that account. As they save more money, the government will match their contributions on a sliding scale, according to income. Aid on a reduced basis will be available to families with incomes between \$80,000 and \$100,000. This way we can make savings universal in this country. We can ensure that more families can enjoy peace of mind and financial security in retirement.

So I thank all of you for letting me be a part of the birth of this Long Island Women's Agenda. I look at this room of women who have come together to work in common cause -- and I see women who are destined to make a difference in this community. Margaret Mead said, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens

can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has." I know you will make her words come true here on Long Island and I look forward to working with you in the years to come.

Thank you.

Women's Leadership Forum

Speech on Women and Politics

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
New York, New York
March 3, 1999

Thank you very much. Thank you all. Thank you. You know, I was asked a few months ago if I would come to New York for a WLF event with a few of my friends, and it is just an amazing sight to behold all of you. And there is an overflow room that I will visit, and I want to tell everybody who's there, which is nearly as big as this room. It gives me just a great boost to see all of you here and supporting causes and concerns that we share. There are many people to thank. Like Laura [Ross], I wish that I could single out many of you whom I know personally and have worked with and have become friends of mine. But I want to start by thanking Laura for her extraordinary leadership and commitment. She is legendary in her willingness to work hard on behalf of causes and candidates that she believes in, and I am very grateful to her.

I also want to thank Roy Romer -- the DNC General Chair, the former long serving governor of Colorado -- who is here. I am delighted that Chuck Schumer could have been with us, and I understand why he needs to hurry back to Washington to be there for whatever vote needs to take place. I am also told that the attorney general, Landslide [Elliott] Spitzer, is here with his wife, Silva. And I am delighted they could be with us. I think that Judith Hope, the New York State party chair, is here as well, and I am glad to greet Judith. And also, I believe that public advocate Mark Green is here and Mark, somewhere. The city council speaker, Peter Valone. I think Peter is with us as well. There are other members of the New York City Council, I don't have names but I want to thank you and maybe you could stand and we could recognize you and express our appreciation that you would come today.

The Manhattan Borough president, Virginia Fields, is here. Thank you, Virginia, for coming. And the Bronx Borough president, Freddie Ferrar, is here somewhere and I want to thank President Ferrar for being with us. The DNC vice-chair, Bill Lynch; DNC finance chair, Beth Dozoretz, I think the first woman to hold that position which makes me very pleased indeed. The WLF national chair, Cynthia Friedman. I want to thank Cynthia and their board members, including my friend Shahara Ahmad-Llewellyn, who is here in the crowd. And the WLF Connecticut Chapter chair, Ronni Ginott, is here as well.

As I said though, I could identify and point out so many of you in this room. There is one person I want especially to thank. Her tireless commitment and her vision about the kind of country we want to be as we move toward a new century has helped to fill this room with people who are both activists and donors. She is a remarkable woman and a real example, and I want to thank Pat Pepper for her leadership and her friendship over the years.

(END OF TAPE 1 -- UNSURE IF ANY REMARKS WERE CUT OFF.)

You might ask, "Why is this an important event? Why are we all gathered here?" Well, I was told that there were some who thought that I might have an announcement to make.... But I don't. But I do have a lot on my mind that I'd like to share with each of you because your being here speaks volumes to me about the kind of politics and the sort of society that we all want to see.

It has been an interesting time in the last six years to see the progress that we have been able to make as a nation. And that is progress that is really the result of the hard work and dedication of countless millions of Americans. Every time a businessman or woman made a decision to reach down deep and take a risk and employ more people and try to expand, to go into new markets and really make a mark for him or herself, that was a decision that helped move us forward. Every time a teacher looked out at a diverse group of students and said, "You know, I'm going to do everything in my power to give these young boys and girls the chance they deserve," that was also a decision for the kind of future we want. Every time a doctor or a nurse said to themselves, "You know, I'm just going to do what I need to do for this patient and I'm going to fulfill my obligations and I'm going to try and make this health care system work for people and not just for accountants or bureaucrats." And that moved us forward as to the kind of country we want to be.

There are countless examples -- people whose names might be in a headline and people who would never be in the newspaper, but you and I know, people who are doing the very best they can every single day to make a contribution and to try to make a difference. Now I know that some people, when we talk about politics or public service, you know you can see that they are put off, they don't know quite how to think about what it is that makes our democracy vibrant.

And I am often asked, as I've told some of you before, "You know, what do you really think about politics?" Or in a slightly more biased tone, "How can you stand politics?" And whenever someone asks me that, I pause for a minute and I say, "Well, you know, have you ever been a member of a family or a church or a synagogue or a civic organization or anything else where you had to work with people to make decisions by consensus, by majority vote, by working out the likes and dislikes of all the people who you were working with?" Because really politics -- with a small "p" -- is how in a democracy we get along with one another. And we make decisions that we think are in our best interest as well as the larger society's or a family's or a group's. And when we think about it that way, more in the line of de Tocqueville and others, we can see how unique this great American experiment is, how lucky we are that we have for more than 200 plus years now understood that politics, in the good times and the bad times, is really the life blood of a democracy.

And so when I stand before all of you, I am really impressed that you are willing to make a contribution, not only of your financial resources, but of your time and your energy to

something political, something that really, we hope, stands for something greater than each of us could achieve on our own. And it is especially important, and the reason why the WLF was formed in 1993, it's especially important that women feel connected to the political process. Because there are so many decisions made at the local, state and national level that truly do affect how we live: how good the schools are that we send our children to, the kind of health care that's available to our parents.

I was especially reminded of that last summer when, with some of you, I took a bus trip that led me from Newburg, New York, to Seneca Falls. And I was able to see a lot of places and visit with people because we were attempting to, in the spirit of the Millennium, think about saving America's treasures. And you know, it's not just the big treasures that we know about -- the Star Spangled Banner -- it's the quieter places. It's the monument in a city center, it's a building that has stood the test of time, it's a document that might be in an attic somewhere. But as I traveled on that bus, stopping and talking and listening, I could see and feel that maybe we don't think often enough about all of the sacrifices that have gone before and all of the blessings we take for granted.

Now I couldn't help but be reminded of that by the time I got to Seneca Falls for the 150th anniversary of the first Women's Rights Convention. Think for a minute of the courage it took -- some of you were there, thousands of people were there -- to pay tribute to these women and some hardy men who thought differently about what was possible.

And I read some of the individual stories about some of the participants. And one young woman in particular made an impression on me. She was a glove maker. You know, I am always a little bit taken aback when people in today's world talk as though women have only worked for the last 10 or 15 years when we know that women have always worked both in the home and outside, sometimes for wages, sometimes and mostly not, but have always made a contribution through their hard work. And certainly in Seneca Falls and in the surrounding area with the industrialization that was building up in the early part of the nineteenth century, there were a lot of women who were working. And one young woman, just 19 years old, heard about this convention that was aimed at talking about the rights that women should have. Because then women couldn't own property in their name; they had no rights to their children if there were a divorce; there were many, many ways in which they were legally prevented from claiming their full citizenship.

And this young glove maker read about this convention and went from door to door in her community encouraging people to come with her, and they did. And they met like-minded women and men who understood what the convention was attempting to do, which was to claim the rights of women to be full human beings, to make the choices that were the ones they thought were best for them.

Now advocating for those rights at that time caused a lot of controversy, and the women who were there were called all kinds of names -- fanatics and old maids and everything else you

can imagine. But they understood something that we also have to understand, and that is that those who advocate for progress and change will often pay a price, but if we persevere, if we see that kind of commitment through the changes that can happen, will benefit maybe us but more likely our daughters and our granddaughters.

Now today when we think about what is happening in the world around us, we can see that women have begun to take their rightful places in the political landscape, not only as candidates who run for or hold office but as contributors, as people who actively participate in the political process as many of you do. And for all of us who are able to participate, who can be here in this glorious room just like those first women at Seneca Falls, we are standing in for countless other women who cannot be here, who couldn't afford the ticket, who wouldn't think they had anything to wear or anything to contribute, who wouldn't see themselves as a political person at all.

And one of our great challenges in the next years is to make sure that our society doesn't split apart along income lines, so that there are some who feel entitled and able to participate in politics and public service and others who feel that there is no place for them and, because of apathy, indifference, fear and insecurity, don't. One of the goals of the last six years has been to try to open up politics and make public service available to as many people as possible. That is part of the reason the WLF began. And for all of us who are asked the question I'm often asked - "Why would we be involved in politics?" -- let me give you a few answers from just the last six years.

It makes a difference in the lives of men and women, but particularly women for whom the Earned Income Tax Credit and the minimum wage have helped to lift their families and children out of poverty. That didn't happen by accident. It happened because people like the President and the Vice President and others in the Administration and members of Congress understood that if we were a society built upon individual initiative, then we needed to reward work, not penalize it. And for all the people who are working at minimum wage, all the people who are striving to make ends meet, we wanted to send them a message that your work is not in vain. You can get a stake in this society if you are willing to pay the price, if you are willing to work hard.

Our streets are safer in city after city and in neighborhood after neighborhood throughout America. The Crime Bill of 1994 helped to put a strategy for dealing with crime in the forefront of our national consciousness. All during the 1980s people gave speeches against crime, didn't they? They pointed their fingers, they built more prisons and the crime rate kept going up. But when this Administration came into office there was a different attitude. We needed to do something about guns, we needed to put more police on the street, we needed to encourage ideas like community policing. And as a result, crime has decreased for five years in a row around our country.

Now that is the kind of difference, that is the kind of difference that politics can make.

That was a bitterly fought battle in Washington. One of the untold stories about the 1994 elections and all the Democratic losses is that many Democratic members of Congress who were persuaded to vote for the Crime Bill and the Brady Bill lost their seats because of the incredible lobbying of the gun lobby against them when they were up for election. But they did the right thing, and every time. We can breathe a little easier. We should thank people who had the courage to make that decision.

Another set of issues that have been a real problem for us in our country is the economic front. Think about where we were in 1992 when there were other countries lecturing the United States about our economic house not being in order. Now here we are after some tough decisions and some tough votes that cost a lot of good people their jobs, including a very brave congresswoman from outside of Philadelphia. I don't know if you remember this, but remember when the President's deficit reduction plan was being voted on? It won by one vote in the House and one vote in the Senate -- thankfully the Vice President's vote. But in the House, Marjorie Margolis Mezvinsky, who came from an affluent district and who knew that it would be a tough sell for her, because we all know that the taxes were raised as well as spending was cut and other things were done that had to be done. When Marjorie walked up that aisle and the Republicans on both sides were waving at her "goodbye, Marjorie," she knew she was putting her seat at risk and she did it anyway because it was the right thing to do. And now we can look back at that historic vote and we can thank her and the other brave members of Congress who stood with the President to do something about our economic situation in this country.

We've also seen some good news on some of the social indicators. We've seen both teen pregnancy rates and abortions finally going down. And that was under a pro-choice president who refused to back down on a woman's right to choose.

You know, it is one thing to deplore a problem and it is another thing to try to solve it. And sometimes it is a lot easier just to point fingers, isn't it? Not to take responsibility but to just keep saying, "Look at what those people are doing," or "Look at that problem." And what we've tried to do, and what I think you can fairly say has happened in the last six years, is that this Administration and many citizen allies like you out in the country have tried to deal with problems, not put them under a rug, not ignore them, but to try to come up with strategies to solve them.

And there are many more examples that I could point to, but the issue is not, as we stand here on the brink of a new century, what we have done but what we will do. What kinds of decisions are we willing to make now as we move forward? We are living in good times and we're proud that we are.

We see the United States as the indispensable nation. We see our economy continuing to grow. We see a lot of progress being made. And so we have to ask ourselves, "Is now the time that we retreat into our own worlds where we say, 'I'm fine, my family's fine, my business is fine, I don't have to worry about anybody else.'" Or do we take these good times that we have

carefully created and have the resources to continue and make good decisions about and try to continue confronting problems and making it possible for us to say that we are together creating progress in our country?

Well now, obviously I believe it's time for us to deal with remaining problems that we confront. I think what drew many of us into the WLF or into politics in general is that we do believe we have a social contract with one another; that we do believe that our country can continue to become better and better if, but only if, a critical majority of people are willing to do what needs to be done when the times arise.

You know, I'm always amused when occasionally I hear that the President or I or someone in the Administration advocating issues that are women's issues or that are not really big, significant issues -- issues like child care, or issues like choice, or issues like education, or issues like health care. And you know, I've always been amused when I hear somebody say that all of this talk about these issues was leading to "the feminization of politics." Now, the commentator who said that, I think, *meant* it as maybe insulting. I don't want to make any conclusions about that, but I've never considered issues like health care, education, child care as women's issues.

I've met lots and lots of fathers and husbands and sons who were just as concerned. The point is that we are attempting to humanize politics. We are attempting to give people the belief that the political actually can work for them. And so when someone asks you to get involved with the WLF or the Democratic Party, think about what it means for all of the people who aren't here today that you would have made a contribution and staked yourself out on the side of issues that are humanizing American politics.

You know, a few weeks ago I was in Brooklyn at a wonderful event at the YMCA there, and I met with a group of women who talked to me very personally about their lives. A single mom who makes \$30,000 a year, which is too much for any kind of subsidy. But after she pays everything she has to pay she doesn't know where to leave her son while she goes to work -- and we all want her to work, and \$30,000 is a good salary. But she can't figure out what to do about child care.

I met another mom who's working with three small children and she doesn't know what to do with them after school. And for her that is not a trivial issue, it's a critical one about how she can have peace at work and try to make sure that her family has a good income, but knows that her children are well taken care of. And she needed after-school programs, and thanks to increased funding in the President's budget, she now has a place for at least one of her children to go after school.

I met a woman whose daughter was in a very serious automobile accident last spring. And if it were not for the Family and Medical Leave Act, she doesn't know what she would have done. She was able to take 12 weeks of unpaid leave and have a job waiting when she went

back. Imagine how you would feel: you're a working mom, your child's in an accident, that child needs to be in a hospital then needs rehabilitation and physical therapy, and you have to make a choice between taking care of your child or losing your job. This mom understood clearly how important the Family and Medical Leave Act is, and I would like to see its provisions -- which, remember, are unpaid leave -- extended to even more employers so that more employees would have a right to do that.

So just there in that one encounter, child care, after-school care, family and medical leave. Those were not abstract issues to the women I spoke with. They were the stuff of real life. And because of politics each of them had better options than they ever could have had before.

And we are also confronting some very big issues when it comes to Social Security and Medicare. And again, these are not just concerns for a certain group of Americans but should be concerns for all of us. If we have older parents, as I am still fortunate to have my mother, we know that Social Security and Medicare are essential. But we sometimes forget that Social Security is also available to young people who suffer diseases or accidents and can't go on working.

I remember hearing about one young man who had an incapacitating stroke in his early 30s -- something we don't imagine happening to young people. His health problems left his wife and his children to fend for themselves. But because of Social Security he was able to have disability insurance for the children and he knew that they at least would have some measure of financial security.

It truly is a family protection system for America's families. It's also the single reason why half of all American women over 65 are not living in poverty. That is a stunning statistic, and I've taken in my own mind -- as I travel around or go to church or go visit people or look out the window of a car as I drive by -- I'm thinking to myself that for every woman, every two women over 65 whom I see on the street, one of them would be impoverished were it not for Social Security. So this debate about Social Security that is going on in the Congress, and I hope throughout the country, is important for every American, but it is especially important for women and it has special meaning for those millions of Americans who depend upon SSI and other benefits that we often don't think of and we just say Social Security.

It's also critical that we look at what to do to save Medicare. And this is also a problem not just for older Americans but for those of us who have older relatives or feel responsible for someone over 65. I don't know how many friends of yours have had to quit a job or cut back on hours or go to extraordinary lengths to take care of an older relative or friend or in some way make a contribution to the well-being of somebody over 65, but I've met countless Americans who are in that position.

A few weeks ago in the White House, we had a woman whose mother is in a very

advanced state of Alzheimers. They couldn't afford to put her in a home, and they really didn't want to. So she quit her job so she could become the full-time caretaker. That meant that her husband had to take on more work to try to maintain their standard of living. You know, one of the hopes that we have in this session of Congress is that the President's proposal to help families with long-term care will be successful. Because especially when families are trying to do the right thing -- keep somebody at home, make the sacrifices -- let's give them the support that they need so that they can continue doing what they know is right for themselves and their families.

There are many examples of where political decisions have made a difference in the lives of real Americans. And this decision that we are confronting about Social Security and Medicare will be one of the most important we face. I happen to think that the President's proposal to dedicate the surplus, 77 percent of it to Social Security and Medicare, is the responsible action to take.

I told a group earlier today that a friend of mine had a great line. She said, "You know, if Roosevelt's line was that 'This is a generation that has a rendezvous with destiny,' ours is a generation which has a rendezvous with responsibility." And that means that for all of these issues, if we don't confront them and try to deal with them now, they will only get worse. And as those of us in the so-called "baby boom generation" age, the choices we face will be incredibly draconian. And people like you and me, most of us in this room, we can probably figure out a way to take care of ourselves, but do we really want to live in a society where the vast majority of Americans are rendered insecure, where their health care is up to the choice of whatever insurance company gets their business? I think not.

I think part of what we have to face is how we in this time of dynamic change have enough security and confidence in the future that we are able to encourage every American to live up to his or her God-given potential. As we look at the future, one of the efforts we are trying to make in the White House to help frame our thinking is through the Millennium Council that we've set up. We've adopted a slogan -- "Honor the past and imagine the future." And if one thinks about it, that's a pretty good idea that we can bring not only to saving America's treasures or thinking about the great accomplishments of the past and what might happen in the future, but it's a pretty good definition for citizens of any democracy.

We honor the past when we recognize the sacrifices that went before us. We honor the past when we recognize that my mother was born before she could vote. We honor the past when we say to ourselves that this country, for all of its difficulties, has gone further in giving to every person who is a part of the American experience an opportunity to be whatever that person has the guts and the hard work and the willingness to make of himself or herself. So we can honor the past in lots of ways. But we do a disservice to ourselves, our children, and our future if we think we can live in the past.

There are many people who believe they can turn the clock back, shut our borders, tell people how to live, point fingers at one another, instead of extending a helping hand and saying,

“I will help you on your journey if you help me on mine.” And what we as Americans have to recognize is that we cannot drop out of the political process and leave the arena to those with very specific agendas. We cannot say, “I won’t be involved in politics because I don’t like the negativity, I don’t like all of the ads on television, I don’t feel comfortable thinking about or talking about politics and the way it has become.”

I can certainly understand why someone might feel that way, but it is not a feeling that you should act on. It is a feeling that should be tangent. You could say all you want about the flaws of our political system, but when it comes right down to it, somebody is going to make the decisions. Will we or will we not fund the \$100,000 to bring down class size? Will we or will we not build the schools and repair them that our children need? Will we or will we not pass a patient’s bill of rights? Will we or will we not be fiscally responsible with the surplus and begin to deal with Social Security, Medicare, and our savings deficit through USA accounts?

Those are not decisions that we should leave to someone else, some other organized group. Those are decisions each of us have a stake in. And so I begin to think about the future in political terms because I’ve always believed that we are at our best as a nation when everybody understands their obligations as a citizen. And that is what you are doing here today.

I’ve had a lot of wonderful experiences in the last six years. I’ve been able to travel around the world representing our country, both with my husband and on my own. I’ve looked into the faces of countless people here and abroad, I’ve listened to their stories, I’ve shared their hopes and their anguish -- from everything that might happen in their families here in the United States to the political dilemmas they face abroad. And every time I do go out, either to another country or to another part of our country, I am struck time and time again by how blessed we are at this point in our history.

The women at Seneca Falls could never even have imagined the freedoms and the rights we take for granted. The real challenge for us is to decide whether all the sacrifices that were made in the past should just be honored by rhetoric or honored by action. And whether we can be part of imagining a kind of future for our country that keeps faith with all the people who went before. This is a great, great time to be a woman in America. We are so blessed and we should be so grateful, no matter what our personal circumstances are, that we live at a time in a society where we do have the opportunities that we have before us today.

But among our obligations and among the debts we owe to those who came before are to be involved in the political process that makes the American democracy work. And I want to thank all of you for being part of making that happen. Thank you very much.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT WLF NEW YORK EVENT
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
MARCH 3, 1999

Wow. Thank you very much. What an amazing room full of people. I am just delighted to be here. I want to thank everyone who made this the most successful WLF event since 1996. And I especially want to thank Pat Pepper. It was her vision and tireless commitment that filled this room today with so many members who are both activists and donors. All of us owe Pat a debt of gratitude -- for that, and so much more.

And, I want to thank Laura Ross -- not only for her leadership at WLF, but for all she did to send Chuck Schumer to the U.S. Senate. I don't have to tell any of you how much it has meant to be able to say those two words together: Senator Schumer.

And so I am very pleased to be here with my friend, Senator Schumer...as well as all the other elected officials. [fill in] I am also delighted that so many members of the DNC and WLF leadership are here [fill in].

And I want to thank everyone here for helping to reach our goal of actively enlisting 100,000 more women in the Democratic Party by they year 2000.

Now, why is this so important? Why should we come here? Why should we contribute? Each of us probably has a slightly different answer to those questions. But, at the end of the day, we all agree on this: getting women involved in the Democratic party is not a luxury. It's an absolute necessity.

It was women who elected Chuck Schumer to the Senate. It was women who made sure that the last President of the 20th century was a Democrat. And it will be women who will ensure that the first President of the 21st century

will be a Democrat as well.

When we talk about enabling more women throughout our country to feel connected to politics, it's not something where we say, "Yeah, that would be nice if it happened." It is critical if we're going to have the kind of vibrant democracy that is truly responsive not just to some people -- but to all people's voices as we move into this new century.

Last July, I traveled up to Seneca Falls for the 150th anniversary of the first women's rights convention. Think about the courage it must have taken for the women to come there so many years ago to demand their social, economic and political rights. They came at a time when women had no hope of going to school or owning property, when the minute you married, your children and even the clothes on your back would belong to your husband. And they came at a time when advocating for even the most basic of rights caused them to be called "mannish women," "fanatics" and "old maids."

Certainly, because of when and where all of us were born, and because of good upbringings, good educations, good health, and plain old good luck, we have opportunities that the women in Seneca Falls could have never dreamed of. And we have a lot of blessings to be grateful for as a country as well...more security and prosperity than anyone would have dared predict just six years ago.

So when someone asks you why it matters, why they should get involved in democratic politics, remind them of the significant difference this Administration has made in the lives of people.

Because of the Earned Income Tax Credit and the minimum wage we've lifted families and children out of poverty. Because of the Crime bill, more people are living free from the fear that plagued our country just a few years ago. Because we tackled this issue from every angle, we are finally seeing both teen pregnancy rates -- and abortions finally going down. And it happened under a pro-choice President who refused to back down in his support of a woman's right to choose.

But it is precisely in good times like these that we face a fundamental choice. Do we just retreat into our own world? Say, "My family is O.K., my job is great, no need to worry about anything or anyone else?" Or do we say, "This is not the time to turn away from young people who need someone to believe in them. This is not the time to turn away from families that are still reaching for, but not quite touching the American Dream."

What drew me into politics and what I think brings many of you to this room today is that we believe it is possible to provide the tools of opportunity for every American if he or she is willing to work hard and take responsibility for their lives. We believe we can have a society where everyone has a stake...and a chance to be the best parents and the best workers they can be

And we believe that whether we succeed in giving people these opportunities will determine what kind of nation we are...and what kind of nation we're going to be.

You know, I have always been amused when I hear or read commentators who have said, "That Bill Clinton and his wife, they're advocating all these women's issues." One even said it was all leading to 'The feminization of politics.' Now, I know he **meant** it as an insult...

I've never considered issues like health care, education, and child care women's issues. The fathers and husbands I've met care deeply about what happens to their children when they're in child care -- and what happens to their parents when they need medical care. Those are not women's issues. Those are people's issues. They're family issues. So, I prefer to think of it, not as the feminization of politics, but the humanization of politics. Because finally the issues that really matter to families are being addressed.

So, when someone asks why they should get involved with WLF...I hope you'll ask them to look at the President's recent budget, look at the agenda that he's laid out...and see how it tackles the daily challenges that I've heard so many parents talk about over the years.

I remember a single mom I met who can't find child care she can afford. She makes \$30,000 a year. That means that she is not eligible for any subsidies. And it means that after she pays her rent and her utilities and all the other expenses, she doesn't have the money to pay the child care costs that are being asked of her.

And there's another mom who told me about how she

too is working, has three small children -- and, like so many other parents, she worries everyday about whether her child is staying out of trouble. But thanks to increased funding for after-school programs, she now has at least a place for one of her children to play and learn safely after school.

I think of the woman whose daughter was in a very serious automobile accident last Spring. If it were not for the Family and Medical Leave Act she doesn't know what she would have done. She was able to take twelve weeks of unpaid leave and have a job waiting for her when she went back. And she was able to spend that time with her daughter in physical therapy, doing what any of us as parents would want to do, being there to make sure our child recovered.

I also heard about a young man who had an incapacitating stroke in his early 30s -- not something you imagine happening to young people. His health problems left his wife and children to fend for themselves. But Social Security was there to provide disability insurance for the children -- enabling them to grow up healthy and cared for. We know that social Security is not just a program for the elderly. It is -- in a very real sense -- America's family protection system, especially for women who often live longer with less lifetime earnings. When you go to the supermarket, when you go to church or synagogue, when you're walking down the street, every other woman you see who is over 65 would be living in poverty if it weren't for social security.

And I remember a young woman I met whose mother is now in a very serious state of Alzheimers. And they can't afford to put her in any home and they don't want to. So

instead she quit her job. Now all their household expenses fall on her husband's shoulders. He is working very hard at two jobs yet it's not enough to keep up the car payments -- and they don't have any help. So they were heartened to hear about the President's proposal to help families afford long term care for their parents.

I wish everyone would listen to the voices of these hardworking Americans, who are trying to do right by their children and families. These are the people my husband's budget would help. Because if we want to really support families, then we will answer his call to dedicate 77 percent of the surplus to save Social Security and Medicare for future generations. We will invest in the child care and after-school care that will ensure that parents no longer have to choose between the job they need and the child they love.

And we will make it possible for every child to be a success. Just this morning, I visited a school in Queens and met children whose creativity had been ignited, and whose learning had been enriched, through arts education. Every child should have that chance. Let's not turn our backs on children who are having trouble. But, if they're not doing well, let's not promote them either. Let's help them to do better. Let's help them succeed.

I'm glad that Congress is taking up education issues right now. And as they do, I hope they will, in a bipartisan way, make lowering class size a top priority.

I hope that with this and every other issue, that we don't

get caught up in the back and forth arguments about our differences -- and lose sight of what we have in common...and the real people's lives we all have a responsibility to protect.

And I hope that you always remember why what you're doing matters to people, why it makes a difference. People sometimes say to me, "Oh, I bet you'll be glad when the next two years are over." And I say on the contrary. Because every day I get to see first hand the results of this Administration and all of you who have supported it. When we look back six years ago, we are a better, safer, more prosperous country. We are a country where more Americans believe that people in the Administration care about people like them, that they understand their daily struggles to raise families and make a living. And we can be a country that continues to move in this direction.

But if that is going to happen, enough people must believe, once again, that as citizens of this democracy we have an obligation to be political. Not to see it as a bad word. There is nothing to be ashamed of, or apologize for, in being committed to the political process in a democracy. It's how we make decisions. How we work out our differences. And it's how we can communicate the values that are at the heart of the democratic party...and our agenda for the next century.

So, I hope all of you will stay involved -- whether it be by

contributing, organizing, speaking out, or asking others to do the same. Tell anyone who will listen how it really does matter who you elect and what they stand for. Help stop our democratic process from being hijacked by people who, with enormous funds and slick ads, can twist public opinion.

And as we do, we should all remember the women and men at Seneca Falls, and all those who came after, who fought for, marched for, were jailed for and even died for the rights and opportunities we have today. They helped give us a voice. Now, it is up to us to use it. On the soap box and at the ballot box, it is up to us to work on behalf of the issues that we know will make a difference in people's lives.

It is up to us to give voice to the kinds of families I talked about earlier -- the parents who are worried their children will come home hurt and they'll have no health insurance to help pay for their care -- the parents who are too often feel voiceless and powerless. And it is up to all of us to continue to demand a government and a political process that cares about people and responds to them on the issues that keep them up at night -- like health and retirement security, crime, education, and child care.

That's what we've had for the past six years. That's what the Democratic party really stands for. And, with your support and leadership, those are the candidates and issues that will win in 2000.

Thank you all very much.

TRANSCRIPT IN PROGRESS

Women's Equality Summit National Education Association

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
March 15, 1999

Thank you so much. I am delighted to be here in front of all of you. As I look around this room I see so much energy and commitment and leadership, and it is a very exciting sight to behold. I want to thank Laura not just for that introduction, but for the work she does every day on behalf of issues that affect women and men, but affect people who deserve to have their voices heard to make sure that how they live and the needs of their lives are taken into account and in our political system. And what Laura and her organization have done over the last 20 or so years now is to help give low-income women the tools they need to become their own best advocates. That is really our goal here -- to see how we can continue to work together to empower women to make decisions that are best for them and their lives.

And there are many people who we have to thank for in this gathering: **Susan Bianchi-Sand**, I want to thank you for your hard work and your leadership; **Ellie Smeal and Pat Reuss**, for their tireless work in organizing this Women's Equity (Equality?) Summit. And we are grateful to the NEA, Bob Chase, and the entire leadership for letting us meet in this beautiful auditorium.

It is very fitting that we would be gathered here at the end of this century. We have seen so many changes in women's lives, I'm just marveled when I think back about what women's lives were like at the beginning of this century. We couldn't vote. We were likely to die in childbirth or earlier from an infectious disease or some other kind of ailment. We were not permitted to hold many professional positions or jobs that were available to men. We were not given the full range of educational opportunities that we now take for granted.

Although the laws were slowly changing, they had not changed enough. So women were, in many respects, living in the worst of both worlds when it came to work because the women who did work outside the home worked very, very hard. There is a great myth that women have only begun working recently, and until that African American women who...(inaudible).

There are many changes that we can all be grateful for, and we can thank those who came before us. I was privileged to speak in Seneca Falls for the 150th

anniversary of the Declaration of Sentiments. And when you think about the work that those women did -- knowing that they would probably not see the profits in their lifetime, that they were advocating for such radical changes: the right to vote, to inherit property, to be able to be the custodian of one's children in the event of divorce -- the things that we now can look back and thank them for.

But they were doing it not for themselves, but for the next generation and generations of women and men to come. Because these issues that we are talking about -- which we will be addressing in this next year and particularly in this Congress -- which have brought us together in this gathering today, they do have a disproportionate effect on women. But I want to make it very clear that these are human issues. And I say that because there is a recent trend of political commentary claiming that, you know, talking about child care or after-school care or the **empolishment???** of women on Social Security -- that addressing those issues somehow leads to the feminization of politics. Now I'm not against that, but I think it is fairer to say that we are attempting to bring about the humanization of politics -- for women... (inaudible)

Now you will here from three women in a minute who have a lot of expertise and who will address specifically some of the issues that I'm going to just touch on. And they are three women whom I admire and call my friends: Secretary of Health and Human Services -- the longest serving secretary -- Secretary Shalala -- and, of course, those who follow what happens in Washington, we know also crimebuster; Secretary of Labor, who has done a superb job in bringing to the table issues that affect pay equity and workers' rights and safety, occupational health -- a woman who served a great position in (inaudible) democratic administration, but particularly in the White House during the first term of the President and then the Secretary of Labor-Elect Herman; and **Barbara Kennelly** -- I don't know if there is anyone here that is lucky enough to be represented in Connecticut by Congresswoman Kennelly, but for our first contingent, I'm sure it's represented here. But Barbara Kennelly served many years on the Ways and Means Committee, and while there she was a very strong advocate for fairness in government programs, particularly Social Security. And I'm delighted that she has been asked and that she has accepted the very important position in these times to be the counselor to the Social Security Administration. So we're delighted to have her expertise here... (inaudible).

I believe that some of you participated in the 1997 Women's Economic Leadership Summit held at the White House, and to date those of you who were there and those of you who have come to this meeting are building on that blueprint that many of you laid out at that important gathering. And the participants that are here represented by the National Council of Women's Organizations have a special responsibility because you are really standing in for (???) women who couldn't be here -- certainly women whom you know, who you

work with, who are in organizations that are part of your advocacy network -- but you're also standing in for women who will never know your name, will never know the name of your organization, will probably not know much about the debate that's going on here because they are struggling vitally to keep body and soul together. You know, they're getting up, getting kids off to school, getting to clock in on time, getting to the office on time, trying to figure out what happens when their child care arrangements fall apart, struggling to be paid equitably for the work that they do. They are there on the job, building America and taking care of the next generations of Americans, but they are not fully participating in the political process and they therefore -- as we always have in America -- are going to rely on people who can understand them, empathize with them, and can represent them as you do so well. So this is an important gathering for those who are here, but it may even be more important for those who are not here, because many of the issues that we are talking about here today are ones that hold special meaning for people who are really struggling, who are trying to make sure that they have their shot at the American dream in the years to come. And the decisions that are made in Washington will, in very large measure, impact on how well they are able to do.

You know, sometimes I am a little bit taken aback and even bewildered when I hear people talking about politics as though it were the problem of somebody else, somewhere which... -- we know it is grassroots activism, it is citizen participation, it is the voices of all of us that have to rise in a crescendo of chorus to be heard by people who make decisions, that really has always made America move forward. If politically elected leaders were left to themselves, we wouldn't have suffrage, we wouldn't have a lot of the changes that happened at the end of this last century and the beginning of this next. Those were not ideas that flowed from the very closely held power of the elected office; those were ideas that came from the grassroots by people just like us. And it is because of that that it is critical that we once again re-energize the women of America and the men to understand what it will take to move into this next century with the kind of confidence and energy that we should have. Because just think about the relative handful of women and their male allies, at the end of last century, who made so many of the reforms possible that we have come to take for granted.

I recently read (**book name?**), a new biography of the early years of Jane Adams. She forged a new pattern, along with other women who were like-minded who fought and struggled and advocated for legislation that would get children out of factories, give women a decent shot at a 40-hour week, not a 60- or a 70-hour week. They cleaned up the slums of Chicago or New York or a lot of our other cities where immigrants were just herded in and tried to be kept in their places. So there was a lot of work -- important work -- that was led by, that was given voice by women at the end of this last century.

I think we have just the kind opportunity to do that again now. Because look

at the situation we're in. We have a lot of blessings to be grateful for in our country. I'm very pleased that we have the kind of economic recovery that has made it possible to create many new jobs. I am pleased at how we are beginning to see the profits of those economic changes really spread into the lives of people who are left out or marginalized. I'm delighted by what I hear about the expansion of health care to children that was passed through the balanced budget. I rejoice in the declining of crime throughout our country because we adopted new strategies and people work together at the community level. So we have a lot to be grateful for, but that is not just a time to rest on our morals, that is a time to say, "What do we do with those blessings? How do we make sure that they are truly, really, once and for all embedded in the bedrock of our society, and then made clear that they are available to everyone?"

Well, there are some particular issues that we have to be addressing right now, and we finally have the tools and the resources if we can summon the political will to address. Now what are some of those issues? Well, clearly, the debate about the Social Security system is going to be one that will have profound effects on how we live into the next century. Social Security was, first and foremost, not a legislative program, not an economic decision; it was a statement of values. How will we treat people as they age? How will we take care of them in their later years? What kind of society will we be if we turn our backs on our mothers and fathers and our grandmothers and grandfathers?

So we took that value statement and put into effect a program. The Social Security program is our nation's solemn pledge that Americans can and will grow older with dignity. It's a commitment that our parents and grandparents have been able to rely upon. But it is not just a retirement program, and this is a particular point that I wish to stress today -- almost one-third of the beneficiaries of the Social Security system are not retirees, but they are severely disabled workers, they're children, survivors of workers who've died in an untimely manner, including millions and millions of young people.

So in a very real sense that statement of values should be expanded beyond what we usually say -- namely, that it is a pledge to our older citizens -- to really be seen as a pledge that there will be a family protection system to guard against what a wonderful man some of you may have known and worked with, Arthur Fleming, used to say, "...to guard against the hazards and vestitudes of life." And whenever I would hear Arthur say that in his **ineminible** manner as he stood on the front lines of social justice for 90 plus years before his death a few years ago, he used to think about how, as you're younger, you don't think about hazards and vestitudes so often; as you get older you think more about hazards and vestitudes. And there are so many young people who have been protected by and can benefit from -- in the event of a tragedy or catastrophe -- that may not even know that.

One of the messages that I would like to see us get out through our grassroots efforts is that this Social Security system, this family protection system, is just as important to someone in their 20's as someone in their 80's. There are more of you, as I look out, who are more in the category of 20's than 80's, and you and your friends may not know what the Social Security system means to you. I've heard many stories about young people who have suffered serious accidents, or the death of a parent, who have been able to go onto college, been able to have a decent standard of living because of the Social Security system. Just today I met a woman from Silver Spring, Maryland, (inaudible) as a widow whose husband died when she was only 39 years old -- something she certainly never expected -- leaving her with two small children to raise. She now receives her own retirement benefits as well as a portion of widow's benefits. She's been able to send both of her children through college.

I met a young man, just 31, who had a debilitating stroke -- something he never could have dreamed of -- and thanks to Social Security, he was able to piece together enough resources to keep his family in his home and to keep living as they had lived pretty much before the stroke.

Now I would imagine that there are many such stories in this room, and those stories should be told because it is really by stories that we identify more and learn more about what it is that we are trying to save or promote or protect. Just saying Social Security may not ring a bell; talking about an elderly relative or a young friend who has had a disaster, by whom then we can make Social Security seem alive, is a much clearer way to make the points.

There is another way which Social Security is a family protection, and that is that if it were not for Social Security, half of all American women over 65 would be poor. Now think about that. What I try to do is -- as I travel around or even sometimes as I look out the window of the car I'm in -- I look at women and I think to myself every time I see a woman over 65, and then another one, that one of those two, were it not for Social Security, would be in poverty. That's a stunning statistic. And it means -- as I know it would mean in your life -- that were it not for Social Security, many of us would be supporting our parents. We would take them in, we would do what we needed to do to try to provide the resources they required to stay above poverty, to live as comfortably as we could afford -- and that would cause a lot of difficult decisions in our lives, wouldn't it? There would be many families that would have to choose between supporting a parent, an elderly parent, and sending a child to college.

It becomes even more pronounced if we add Medicare into that equation, because most families already try to do everything we can emotionally and financially to support an elderly relative in whatever way is necessary, and particularly when it comes to health care we would certainly do all we could to

make sure that a mother or a father or a grandparent had the health care that was needed. And that would be an economic responsibility and an economic burden that we would feel required to shoulder.

So in a very real sense, Medicare is Social Security. Say it to our older people: We're going to help you remain independent, and by helping us support you because of what you've done for our country -- the families you've raised, the jobs you've held, the incomes that you've contributed to the United States, the wars you fought -- we're going to help, as a nation, to support you. And by doing so, we're going to free up the resources that might otherwise have to come directly to you from your family, so that they can do what you did -- raise the next generation, send their children to college, hold down the jobs that enable them to move forward.

So this is in a very real way, a totally interdependent system. And it needs to be seen in that way, because once it is seen in that way, then the debate about Social Security is not some abstract discussion that affects older people, the debate about Medicare is not somebody else's health care needs; it is how we all take care of each other and how we each fulfill our obligations to both the younger and the older generation.

And when the President proposed in the State of the Union that he wanted to set aside a large portion of the budget surplus to preserve and strengthen Social Security well into the 21st century, it was a way of saying, "Let's take this money which we have been able to save because of budget decisions -- tough budget decisions which were made earlier in this Administration -- and let's use it to start solving a problem that if we solve now, will be easier and less expensive to address, and if we wait, will become more difficult and more costly to address." That 62 percent figure that the President said would be necessary to take from the surplus and use for Social Security would go a long way towards strengthening the system.

With respect to Medicare, he proposed 15 percent of the surplus to help expand and extend the life of Medicare. And that too is a way of saying to older Americans, "We want to ensure that your health needs are met." Because, after all, if we are able to expand and extend Medicare, we will be providing health care to older Americans who are the most expensive people in the system -- which is just a natural cause of aging -- but for whom the provision of Medicare is getting increasingly more cost-effective. Thanks to HHS under Donna Shalala's leadership, we are beginning to really see tremendous progress in getting the fraud and the abuse and the waste out of the Medicare system. But we already have a very low administrative cost in Medicare. So a dollar in Medicare actually goes further in providing real services to patients than a dollar in private insurance where money has to go to overhead, profit, and things like that. So Medicare -- if it is handled

correctly -- can be there well into the future for all of us.

Now that is not the place to stop, however -- although that will be probably the most contentious and difficult of the debates we face as we close out this century. But I see it is a continuum of the work that Jane Adams and others started a hundred years ago to get to that point where Social Security remains safe and secure, and where Medicare is there for all of us as we reach our older years.

But one of the ways that we could make life easier for women and families right now is to do more to close the pay gap between men and women. The AFL-CIO just released a report that highlights the critical importance of equal pay, and makes clear that we all pay a high price when that equity is denied. According to the study, an average working family loses more than \$4,000 a year because of the wage gap between men and women. Now that not only hurts women, it hurts single mothers, it hurts working couples, it hurts families, and it hurts our nation's economy. And then, in this interdependent web that we are all part of whether we admit it or not, it hurts our Social Security payments. Because if we don't get paid what we're entitled to get paid, then when we retire, our Social Security payment is less than it should be. So all of this is connected with the very fundamental goal of providing economic security to working people and retired people.

The study also found that over half of the two-earner and single mother households across the country now living in poverty would be lifted out of poverty if equal pay policies were enacted and enforced at the state level. Now that is a stunning statistic. Again, let's just put a mental picture in our heads. I have stood at factory gates with people coming to work at five o'clock in the morning with little babies -- and pick-up trucks that had to be then driven somewhere -- until they could be taken to day care or school. I've been in lots of offices where young women and older women are working very, very hard, and I've seen a lot of people who are working hard -- 40 hours a week -- and still below the poverty line. Now that is something that should be unacceptable in America. Everybody who works full time should have a wage that is above the poverty line, and we could get closer to that goal if we enforced equal pay. Now that is just a simple question of fairness and equity with great economic consequences.

Now there's another piece of this economic security pie, and that is what do we do to make sure that women and men who are raising families have the supports they need so that they're able to do the best job they can at home and at work?

Now just a few weeks ago, I was in Brooklyn at a YMCA where I had a fascinating and moving roundtable with six women. There was a single mom there who has really worked her way up in the corporation where she is employed. She now makes \$30,000 a year -- she gets no child support from the father of her child

-- so that is the income that she uses to raise her son and support herself. Now after she pays taxes and rent and utilities and food and all the things we have to pay for, she has no money left to afford child care because she makes too much money to qualify for subsidized care. I see lots of head nodding. And that is the case of literally millions of women around our country. And so this woman is in a state of constant anxiety as she tries to juggle where to put her son and make sure that her child care doesn't fall apart, because she can't afford to lose this job which she has worked so hard to achieve.

Now we need to do more in this country to make sure that every working parent has access to good quality, affordable child care. And I'm pleased that tomorrow there will be the introduction of some pieces of legislation. I believe Representative Alan (last name?) of California and Representative (name?) of Maryland will be introducing important child care legislation and holding the first child care hearing. Now I hope that these initiatives signal that we are going to get some action on this issue.

We're also fighting to dramatically increase after-school programs so that working parents don't have to worry where their children are in the hours between 3 and 6 p.m., when so many problems arise with kids -- the times when more crimes are committed and more other kinds of difficulties occur.

We're also committed to expanding and extending the Family and Medical Leave Act so that more working families can take time to care for their sick child or aging parent -- and still keep their jobs. (Next sentence inaudible.)

Now this is just part of a broad agenda for working men and women, and for working families, so that they could begin to make good on the promises that the end of this century hold out to us. I am so pleased that I could be standing here in 1999 before this audience of advocates and people who understand what's happening in the lives of Americans, and talking about what we have to be grateful for. But I hope that in the next couple of years we could have a similar meeting where we talk about what we've achieved on the rest of this agenda, so that we will be able to look back and say we have made good on the promise of Social Security and Medicare -- we finally have a system of affordable, quality child care and after-school care; we have paid attention to our public schools; we have given our public schools and their teachers the support, the dignity, and the respect they deserve to have to do the most important job.

Now it is never easy, and this is an ambitious agenda. But I am very confident we can achieve these goals. I'm also very sure that it will be difficult. But as I look back on this century and I think about the achievements that have really moved us forward as women, as Americans, as human beings, I know that it takes a concerted effort. I know that it takes a lot of people making their

contributions.

, As I read this Jane Adams' biography, I encounter the names of women whom I have not heard of before, women who are critical to doing things like the first garbage inspection tour of a ward in Chicago to force the political leadership to clean the garbage up out of the alleyways and off the street corners; and there was a woman who got into a cart every day and she went around and took notes about where the garbage was. Well, that led to changes in how garbage was collected. It led to public health changes about how we understood what spread disease and what hygiene meant. And so I saw the names of people that may not ever have their own biographies written about them, but who were part of a movement that made a difference in our lives.

Now we're having at the White House a series of Millennium lectures and events under the theme of "Honor the Past -- Imagine the Future." Well, yes, we can and should honor the past. We should especially honor the men and women who were on the forefront of change, often at great cost to themselves. Think of the names that they were called, think of the (**inaudible**) that they suffered, think of the fingers that were pointed at them because they stood up for women's suffrage or they were the first to try to get a job that others had held before and only men were permitted. Think of all those people and, yes, let us honor the past. But we also have an equal and, I would argue, an even greater obligation to imagine a future where the work of the past and the work of the present combined to create changes that will truly set the stage for the kind of country and world we want to adhere in and live in. Each of you is playing a role in that, and I am grateful and thankful that you are standing in the shoes of those who have come before. And who knows? In a hundred years someone may be standing here, or probably in a virtual room somewhere, talking about some of you and also talking about all of you -- some by name -- but all because you have made a decision to help set us on the right course for the future.

Thank you all for having me.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT HBO WOMEN'S SPORTS EVENT
THE EAST ROOM
MARCH 4, 1999

Welcome to the East Room. I want to thank all of you for joining us for the premier of HBO's Dare to Compete: The Struggle of Women in Sports. Looking around the room, I don't think I've ever seen a more extraordinary group of athletes -- not just women athletes -- but athletes ever assembled at the White House. Thank you all for coming.

We are also honored to joined by many members of Congress [Senator Arlen Specter; Rep. Carolyn Kilpatrick; Rep. Zoe Lofgren; Rep. Patsy Mink; Rep. Constance Morella; Rep. Nancy Pelosi; Rep. Ellen Tauscher; Rep. Maxine Waters]

I want to thank Ernestine Miller for lending us her wonderful collection of women's sports memorabilia, which I hope you've had -- or will have -- a chance to see in the foyer.

I am also delighted to be here with Billie Jean King, who is such a true champion on and off the court. It was her idea to create a documentary about the history of women in sports. Which is only fitting. For she shaped that history by taking on not only Bobby Riggs, but discrimination...and by clearing the path for every woman and girl in this country. Thank you.

And I want to thank Jeff Bewkes [Bue-kiss], and all of HBO for once again bringing us the history that defines us as a nation and a people. Last year, we gathered in this room to watch the HBO mini-series, Earth to the Moon. But, tonight's documentary focuses on a goal that has taken longer to reach than putting a man on the moon. And that is putting a woman on the basketball court, the soccer field, the running track, anywhere and everywhere that she wants to compete.

Back when I was in high school, I remember being told that we could only play half-court basketball. Because they claimed our hearts were too weak to bear the strain of playing on the full-court. Can you imagine anyone saying that Lisa Leslie's heart is too weak? Or Sheryl Swoops? Or Cynthia Cooper's?

Times have certainly changed. Earlier today, I went with Seth Abraham of HBO Sports, Billie Jean King, Dominique Dawes and Nikki McCray to a school where the girl's basketball team is the pride of the campus. Nikki talked to the students about how, when she was growing up, her male cousins didn't let her play basketball with them because she was a girl. And how if you wanted a hero, you generally had to look to men like Michael Jordan. Today, she is one.

At the MCI Center last summer, the seats at the WNBA games were filled with children of all races and ages, boys and girls. Both boys and girls proudly wore Nikki McCray's jerseys and signature shoes. Both boys and girls lined up patiently after Mystics games, hoping to get an autograph and praying that one day they'll be able to follow in the footsteps of players like Nikki. Now they can.

That's because Title IX opened the floodgates of opportunity for countless college women. And, it's because of the role models in this room.

Every time a girl is told that she's just as good as a boy, she can thank women like Mamie "Peanut" Johnson, who wanted to be a baseball player her whole life...and saw her wish come true when she played right alongside men in the Negro Leagues.

Every time a girl breaks another record, she can thank women like Bobbie Gibb, who became the first woman to unofficially run the Boston Marathon. Back then, women weren't allowed to run. So she snuck in, dressed not-so-conspicuously in a black bathing suit, shorts, and nursing Bermuda shoes. But she finished that race. And paved the way for all those who followed.

Every time a young athlete refuses to give up, even after defeat, she can thank Olympians like Dominique Dawes. This afternoon, she talked about what she used to do when she got discouraged, as we all do. How, after waking up every day at 5:00 a.m., she'd sometimes ask herself, "Why am I doing this?" And so she'd take a can of shaving cream -- and write these three words on her mirror: Determination, dedication, desire. She called them her three D's. And they are what it

takes to be a champion in any walk of life.

So every single time a girl believes she can go as far as her dreams will take her, we should give thanks to all the female athletes who came before us, many of whom are here. They were told playing sports wasn't ladylike or feminine. But, thank God, they didn't listen. They were ridiculed, but they didn't back away. They were discriminated against. But, they kept standing up and speaking out, demanding nothing less than justice and equality.

There are three generations of women pioneers in this room tonight. And I'd like you all to stand. Every girl born in America stands upon your shoulders. And we are all profoundly grateful to you.

Because, as you will see in the film, the story of women's sports is also the story of women's rights. And I can't think of a better time to tell that story than now, during women's history month.

Whenever a woman dares to compete, she opens up the door a little wider for all girls -- who can look to the women on this film and in

this audience and think: “I can be a teacher or a scientist. I can be a CEO or a Supreme Court Justice. I can be an Olympic athlete...or, the President of the United States. I can be anything I want.”

Tonight we will watch an extraordinary history of women in sports. But, in the days and years ahead, it is up to us to write its sequel. It is up to us to honor these generations of pioneers by helping to finish their work.

So, I hope all of us will continue to work for the day when sayings like “You throw like a girl” or “You run like a girl” are meant as compliments, not insults. I hope there will be a day when strong and feminine are always considered one and the same. And when our ability to compete is determined not by our gender, but by our spirit, skill and strength. And I hope we’ll finally reach the day when every child, boy and girl, doesn’t have to look any further than the mirror to spot a champion.

Thank you all very much for making that possible.

And now, it is my great honor to introduce HBO’s chairman, Jeff

Bewkes [Bue-kiss]. He understands the power television can have to teach us about our past and shape our future. And under Jeff's leadership, HBO has addressed some of the most important stories of our time -- from AIDS to civil rights to war. Please welcome Jeff Bewkes [Bue-kiss]

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
SEVENTEEN MAGAZINE COVER GIRL VOLUNTEERIMS
AWARDS

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WOMEN IN THE ARTS

MARCH 16, 1999

Thank you, Ann, for that kind introduction. I am honored to join all of you for the second annual *Seventeen* Magazine Cover Girl Volunteerism Awards.

I want to thank Attorney General Janet Reno, who will be joining you later this afternoon, for her lifelong commitment to lifting up the lives of our young people. I also want to thank Brandy for being here -- and for being such an outstanding role model for our teenagers.

I'm pleased that so many Members of Congress are with us today. I want to welcome Representatives Tammy Baldwin, Steve Buyer, Donna Christensen, Eva Clayton, Sue Kelly, Tom Lantos, Dan Miller, Connie Morella, and Debbie Stabenow. I also see a former senator whose name is synonymous with public service -- Harris Wofford, head of the Corporation for National Service.

I want to commend as well *Seventeen* Magazine Publisher Lori Burgess, Editor-in-Chief Patrice Adcroft, and Editorial Projects Director Andrea Chambers, for your commitment to educating, challenging, and celebrating young women.

But most importantly, I want to congratulate the six outstanding young women who are the recipients of the Seventeen CoverGirl Volunteerism award. As we just heard in that amazing video -- these young leaders are engaged in improving the lives of others in communities across our nation, and have earned our deepest gratitude and respect.

It is especially appropriate that we gather here -- at the National Museum of Women in the Arts -- for this celebration of citizenship. Through these halls, we can find the art and life's work of so many women who have had an impact on our culture and society. Standing here, I think about the many women who have opened the doors all of us have walked through -- many who are honored in museums like this one -- but many whose names we will probably never know.

This is an exciting time in history, as we approach a new century and the next millennium. And I wish you could have all been with me last night at the White House -- at a millennium event devoted to the progress and struggles of women. Last night, we celebrated Women's History month by looking at the extraordinary roles that women have played as citizens in the 20th century.

We watched film clips of women marching for the right to vote -- and for the right live in a world without war and violence. And we heard from scholars who spoke of the daily struggles that women have waged throughout our history as they moved us closer to our greatest ideal: that we are all created equal.

These White House millennium evenings are part of a larger initiative of the White House Millennium Council to inspire and encourage all Americans -- young and old -- to mark the millennium in meaningful and lasting ways. Our theme is to honor the past -- as we did last night -- and imagine the future.

Many people and organizations have come forward to contribute to this millennium initiative -- and I'm grateful that Seventeen was one of the first to offer to help. I'm particularly pleased that this magazine just announced a competition in its January '99 issue launching an oral history project for their readers -- encouraging them to interview a grandparent or elderly relative. And I hope that all of the young people here will get involved.

Knowing the stories of your family helps you to understand who you are, to appreciate your traditions, and to set the goals that will guide your life in the century ahead. By writing down your stories and the stories of your family -- you can help generations to come to understand this unique time in history. You can also help them discover -- as you did -- the importance of being active citizens in their communities.

I believe that helping us learn who we are, and what we are capable of accomplishing, has always been the mission of *Seventeen*. From the beginning, you've been talking to girls, listening to them, and teaching them that they can travel as far as their dreams and abilities take them. Almost 55 years ago, Helen Valentine, *Seventeen*'s founding editor-in-chief, encouraged a generation of young women to get informed and get involved -- at a time when the idea of women's activism was far from the norm. She told young women to "Never for a moment think: 'I'm only a girl in my teens. What can *I* do? You can do plenty.'" Urging young women to be politically active and contribute to the war effort, Ms. Valentine said, "We expect you to run this world more sensibly than we have."

So from the start, *Seventeen* was more than a handbook on hair styles and make-up. I'm told that every March issue in the 1940s was dedicated not to the prom, but to the Red Cross. And ever since, *Seventeen* has been helping to shape the minds and attitudes of young women, by writing about real and complex issues that promote both self awareness and a social conscience.

Just this last year, *Seventeen* has brought to its pages the voices of teen mothers, children who are victims of unfair labor practices in the Phillippines, families rebuilding their lives after the hurricane in Central America; teens whose parents are in prison. It's not easy reading. But surely these are stories we all need to hear and learn from.

I am particularly pleased that *Seventeen* has been at the forefront of recognizing and promoting public service and volunteering. Too often, we only hear about young people who are in trouble -- victims of violence in schools, or engaged in drug and alcohol abuse. But I have met countless young people who contradict these stereotypes at every turn -- and like the young leaders here -- are doers and achievers.

So it shouldn't surprise us that a *Seventeen* survey found that 9 out of 10 teens volunteer. And that is why, through a partnership with Cover Girl, *Seventeen* created these Volunteerism awards. They believed -- as we all do -- that it's time to celebrate and reward teens who -- in the midst of dealing with school and sports and friends and all of the pressures of growing up today -- are taking time to not only *think* of others in need, but also to take action to help them.

We know that when we see a problem that needs to be solved, it's much easier to think to yourself, "Somebody ought to do something." It's a lot tougher to take responsibility ourselves.

But when Aubyn Burnside learned that most foster children carried their belongings from house to house, from placement to placement, in plastic garbage bags, she wasn't just outraged, she did something about it. When Jennifer Fletcher found out that her school was in danger of losing funding for the arts, she wasn't just upset about the possibility of missing out on music class, she did something about it. When Megan Kirschner was distraught over the illness of a sick child and the immense cost of her treatment, she did not sit by. She did something.

At a time when we still see too many communities divided along racial, economic, and political lines, volunteering can help us rediscover the bonds of community and humanity that tie us together, and enable us to renew the spirit of citizenship that has built this country and will sustain it.

That is why, in his first days in Washington, the President called for a new “season of service” across our nation. He proposed AmeriCorps, which would make it possible for young people to give a year of service to their communities and in return, receive money for college. In other words, to provide opportunity in exchange for responsibility. When AmeriCorps became a reality in 1994 -- my husband called it one of his proudest accomplishments. In just four years, over 100,000 young people have joined AmeriCorps to serve more than 4,000 communities, providing needed human resources to schools, churches, community groups, and nonprofits from Habitat for Humanity to the Red Cross.

The President -- and I’m sure all of us here today -- believes that it’s never too early to get involved in helping to improve the lives of others. That’s why he is proposing in his balanced budget to allow high school students -- for the very first time -- to join AmeriCorps.

They can serve part-time during the school year and full-time in the summers. And I hope more young people like yourselves will sign up -- and make a difference.

As today's winners demonstrate, some of the most remarkable people in America may be too young to drive, but not too young to inspire us to do more for others. Whether it is teaching art classes to low-income children like Annie Chau has done, or mobilizing students to save their environments like Melissa Poe, or creating an organization to expand youth volunteerism, as Kat McKell has done -- there are ways any of us, no matter how young or old, rich or poor, can be part of what's right with America.

I'm sure you all agree that we gain far more than we give when we volunteer. And study after study confirms it. When students are introduced to service at a young age, they do better in school, have higher goals for themselves, and continue to serve throughout their lives. It's a good habit that's hard to break.

It's times like this that I think of Reverend Donald James, my church's youth minister when I was growing up in Park Ridge, Illinois. He arranged for us to worship and participate in community service projects with black and Hispanic teenagers from Chicago. It instilled in me a desire to give something back -- a desire I have never lost. He was the one who brought me to hear Dr. Martin Luther King speak -- and I felt my life would never be the same. Dr. King once said, "make a career of humanity -- and you will make a greater person of yourself, a greater nation of your country, and a finer world to live in." This spirit of service goes to the heart of who we are as Americans -- and who we want to be.

I learned that *Seventeen* now devotes space in the magazine to poetry by its readers. I found one poem particularly meaningful, and I'd like to recite it here. It's written by Adrian Liu, [published in the Outspoken Works, April 1998]

I mourn over dried pens
And cry over spilled milk
So when I found sunshine today
Under a rock
I seized the seconds
Literally told myself at each step
That this is a moment, and so is this
And so is this, and this one too
Stepping carefully
As if to navigate through
The narrow path
The sunshine is known to take.

What Adrian so eloquently tells us is how easy it is to become immersed in our day to day lives, in our own problems and challenges -- in dried pens and spilled milk. But, I think she is right -- this is a moment -- a profound moment -- not to take the blessings we have for granted, and to share the opportunity and possibility we have with others. I congratulate all of you and I thank you for taking more than a moment to give something back.

Thank you.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS TO
WOMEN'S CENTURY FUND DINNER FOR
WELLESLEY CENTERS FOR WOMEN
WASHINGTON, DC
MAY 20, 1999

Good evening everyone. As Honorary Chair of this event, I am so pleased to join you for the Washington launch of the Women's Century Fund. I only wish I could be with you in person to thank you for your commitment to helping the Wellesley Centers for Women continue to explore the way we think of and appreciate the role of women in the world.

It's amazing to see how ~~much the issues facing women~~ ^{has today} have changed since I was a student at Wellesley. ~~Today, women's issues are discussed openly. And a~~ whole generation of women are now a part of the workforce. Women serve on the boards of foundations, at the heads of corporations and in the House and Senate. (While much progress has been made in the past thirty years, every generation continues to face its own challenges. As we look towards a new millennium, men -- and women -- are still trying to figure out how we are going to address issues relating to women and families.

As I have been privileged to travel around our country -- and the world, I have come to see -- time and time again -- that as women, we share more in common than we do in difference. From Boston to Beijing women are asking the same questions: What will we do to ensure that women are paid an equal wage for equal work? How will we make safe, affordable, quality child care available to all women who need it? And what ~~will~~ ^{must} we do to protect women and children from domestic abuse and violence?

^{One source of the} It is these questions that the Wellesley Centers for Women ^{are} is trying to answer. Whether ^{it's} influencing national debates on education and child care ~~through their 40 research projects.~~ Or shaping policy decisions [on diversity issues in communities, sexual harassment initiatives, and gender equity in schools and at work]. ^{These centers are} The WCW is providing a real look at women's lives today -- that are based on our experiences.

We can all look forward to the day when every woman is treated with respect and dignity, every boy and girl is loved and cared for equally, and every family has the hope of a strong and stable future. And with the Wellesley Centers for Women continuing to lead the way, I know we will reach that goal. Thank you and I hope you have a wonderful evening.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT EQUAL PAY EVENT
450 OEOB, THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
APRIL 7, 1999

I want to welcome all of you to the White House -- and thank you for being here to commemorate Equal Pay Day, which is tomorrow. Now, as glad as I am to see so many old friends and new faces this afternoon, I can't help but look forward to the time when we no longer mark this day...because equal pay will not be a goal -- but a given.

We know that women who walk into the grocery store aren't asked to pay 25 percent less for milk. They're not asked by their landlords to pay 25 percent less for rent. And they should no longer be asked to make ends meet with 25 percent less in their paychecks.

When that goal is realized, it will be because of the people who have been on the frontlines of the continuing struggle for equal pay -- from the legislatures to the workplaces. Many of them are here today.

I want to thank our extraordinary Secretary of Labor, Alexis Herman; Senator Harkin; Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton; EEOC Chairwoman Ida Castro; Lewiston Mayor Kaleigh [Call-ee] Tara; Georgia Representative Sharon Beasley.

I want to thank our four panelists, whose victories and challenges mirror those of women and families all over the country -- Professor Nancy Hopkins, Sanya Tyler, Carolyn Gantt, and Patricia Higgins.

We are also fortunate to be joined today by two leaders who were present the day President Kennedy signed the Equal Pay Act in 1963 and have done so much to help us fulfill its promise -- Dorothy Height and Evi [Ev-vee] Dubrow.

And I want to thank Linda Chavez Thompson and the AFL-CIO; Gail Shaffer and Business and Professional Women; and Susan Bianci Sand and the National Committee on Pay Equity. Together these groups have helped lead the fight for pay equity -- and they will be organizing hundreds of grassroots events around the country tomorrow.

Recently, I ran across a cartoon that really captures why we're here. It shows six people sitting around a conference room table. They're all in suits. They're all wearing glasses. And, yes, they're all men. One of them announces, "Gentleman, we must cut our expenses in half. So, I'm replacing each of you with a woman."

Now clearly things have improved. As the recent Council of Economic Advisors report makes clear, the gap between women's and men's wages has narrowed since 1963. But, women still bring home only about 75 cents for every man's dollar.

And, despite this longtime inequity, there are still those who say this is a made-up problem -- that any wage gap between men and women can be explained away by the choices women make to pursue, for personal reasons, professions with limited advancement and low pay. But studies that look at the entire picture -- and at women of all ages make it clear that: Even when you adjust for differences in education, experience and occupation, there is still a sizable difference between men's and women's salaries that can only be explained by one phenomenon -- discrimination.

In fact, recently there was an important report issued by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology -- which we'll hear more about during our discussion. It looked at pay equity among its tenured faculty and found that women at the School of Science were discriminated against in diverse areas including hiring, awards, promotions, committee assignments and the allocation of resources such as lab space and research dollars. They showed that even women who supposedly break through the glass ceiling and reach the highest echelons of their professions still bump up against a wall of gender discrimination.

As a whole, these studies tell us we have a long way to go to correct these inequities. Because we are not just talking about a wage gap -- but rather a gap in our nation's principles and promises.

When women don't earn equal pay for equal work, it hurts their struggle for full equality. And it threatens the security of their children and families. When women don't earn equal pay for equal work, it affects single mothers and couples, old and young, men and women alike. It disproportionately hurts people of color. And it undermines our economy -- and our nation's foundation of equity and fairness.

In this country, we have said that people who work hard should never get less or be treated worse because of the color of their skin or place of worship, because of where they live or whether they were born boys or girls.

And no one has done more to make that possible than this President. Day after day, hour after hour, I have seen him work tirelessly on behalf of those Americans too often left behind or altogether forgotten.

It is my great honor to introduce my husband and our President, Bill Clinton.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

WOMEN'S EVENT

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

MARCH 15, 1999

Thank you, Laura [Fortman] for that introduction -- but more so for the invaluable work you are doing in Maine to give low income women the tools to become their own best advocates -- and to shape public policy. I believe that is the goal of every one of us here today. I also want to thank Susan Bianchi-Sand, Ellie Smeal, and Pat Reuss for their tireless work in organizing this Women's Equity Summit. Our appreciation as well to NEA and Bob Chase for opening up your doors.

It seems this is a particularly appropriate place for us to meet and assess our collective futures -- as women; as activists; and as citizens of the 21st century. Because as far as we've come -- and as far as we intend to go -- education is the key that unlocks the promise of our lives, and ensures the economic future of our nation.

It's a great pleasure for me to be up able to join some of the Administration's most powerful advocates for America's women and families -- HHS Secretary Shalala, Labor Secretary Herman, and Barbara Kennelly, counselor to the commissioner of the Social Security Administration. But most of all, I'm thrilled that so many of you have come from across the country to make your voices heard.

Many of you participated in the 1997 Women's Economic Leadership Summit held at the White House, and I'm pleased that today, we have this opportunity to build on that blueprint for action on women's empowerment.

Before coming here, I took a moment to look down the list of participants that the National Council of Women's Organizations has brought together this afternoon. And I recognized so many friends.

I don't believe there's a single significant social or economic struggle over the past decade that you -- or the organizations and networks you represent -- haven't taken on, fought for, and supported. Whether it was a woman's right to choose. Better child care. An end to domestic violence. Universal health coverage. Equal pay. A fair and accurate census. International women's rights. By reaching into the homes and workplaces and communities of America, you have not only helped bring these issues to the fore. You have helped shape the debate, and moved us closer to our common goals of equality and justice.

That is why I am so pleased that you are all here. Because we're at a critical moment in the national debate about how to ensure that the gains that we've all worked so hard to achieve are protected and strengthened in the years to come. The decisions we make now will reflect who we want to be as a nation, and what we want to stand for -- as we enter the new millennium. And your voices must be heard.

They must be heard on issues such as Social Security, Medicare, equal pay -- issues that we've come together to discuss because they are critical to women's economic security.

But perhaps we can only fully grasp the significance of these programs when we think of what the world was like before they existed. When Americans lived in fear of getting sick; or growing old with no one to turn to for help and support. When the terrible tragedy of losing a husband; or a job; or being paid less than we're worth -- meant most women faced a life of poverty. Social Security and Medicare have fundamentally changed our lives.

These issues are at the top of the President's agenda, because of what they mean, and have always meant, for all Americans, but especially for women. All of us owe it to both our grandmothers and granddaughters to ensure these rock solid guarantees of lifetime benefits are there for them.

Perhaps the greatest challenge facing all of us today is first and foremost saving Social Security. It's our nation's solemn pledge that Americans can grow old with dignity -- a commitment that our parents and grandparents have always relied upon. But we must also remember that Social Security is far more than a retirement program. Almost a third of the beneficiaries of Social Security are not retirees -- but severely disabled workers; their children, or survivors of workers who have died untimely -- including millions of young people. In a very real sense, Social Security is America's family protection system.

I've heard so many stories recently that remind us how anyone's life can change — and how Social Security helps put those lives back together, and move on. Just today, I met a woman who lives in Silver Spring, Maryland. Ruth is a widow whose husband died when she was only 39 years old -- leaving her with two small children to raise.

She now receives her own retirement benefit as well as a portion of widow's benefits, and has been able to send both of her children through college. She's proud that her daughter and granddaughter are both teachers -- and thankful that Social Security was there for all of them during that difficult time.

I'm sure there are many such stories even in this room today -- because we never know when something catastrophic will happen to any of us. But today, we know we can count on Social Security to help hold our families together, and protect us against the unexpected hazards of life. And women — in particular — have a stake in saving Social Security for future generations. Women represent the majority of all aged recipients. And without it -- half of all women over 65 would be living in poverty.

That's a stunning statistic and one I think about as I go to church or visit people or look out the window of the car — and realize that of every two women I see — one of them would be impoverished if it were not for Social Security.

That's why this President has made saving Social Security not only for our grandparents -- but for our grandchildren -- the top priority of his Administration.

His plan to set aside 62% of the budget surplus will preserve and strengthen Social Security well into the 21st century. So the debate about the future of Social Security that is going on right now in Congress — and around the country — is important for every American. But it's especially important for women, and I'm delighted it's at the top of your grassroots agenda as well.

Yet we can't discuss strengthening the economic security of women today and not talk about saving Medicare as well. Retirement security and health security must go hand in hand. And once again, saving Medicare is important not just for older Americans but for all of us who feel responsible for someone over 65. Women also have a special stake in keeping Medicare secure well into the future.

We make up more than half of all beneficiaries -- and more than 70% of those 85 years and older. Medicare also provides important preventive benefits -- including guaranteed mammograms -- that have improved the health of millions of women.

I hope we can make preserving Medicare a bipartisan goal -- and that we can come together to preserve 77% of the budget surplus to preserve both Social Security and Medicare. We need your powerful voices to be heard on this issue as well.

But we can't stop there. If we are to fulfill our commitment to help keep our families economically secure — then we must close the pay gap between men and women -- once and for all. The AFL-CIO just released a report highlighting the critical importance of ensuring equal pay -- and the high price we incur when that equity is denied. According to the study, an average working family loses more than \$4,000 a year because of the wage gap between men and women. That hurts women. It hurts single mothers. It hurts families. It hurts our nation's economy. And it surely hurts our nation's commitment to equal justice.

The study also found that over half of the two-earner and single mother households across the country now living in poverty would be lifted out of that poverty if equal pay policies were enacted and enforced at the state level. We must all work together to make that happen.

As we focus on women's economic security, let's not lose sight of the fact that one of the most pressing issues facing women today is how we balance our responsibilities at home and at work. That is the goal of the President's families agenda -- to give parents -- men and women -- the tools they need to make the choices that are right for them and their children.

Just a few weeks ago, I met a single mother in Brooklyn who makes \$30,000 a year -- too much to receive any kind of subsidy. She told me -- almost in tears -- that after she pays for everything she needs to pay for -- she doesn't know where to leave her son while she goes to work. She's simply unable to find child care she can afford and trust.

Her stories and so many others underscore why his Administration is working so hard to ensure safe, affordable child care that working parents can rely on.

I'm pleased that tomorrow, the House of Representatives will introduce important child care legislation -- and hold its first child care hearing. Let's hope these initiatives signal action on this critical issue.

We're also fighting to dramatically increase after school programs, so working parents don't have to worry their children are in harm's way. We want to provide greater support to families with long term care needs. And we're committed to expanding the Family and Medical Leave Act -- so that more working families can take time to care for their sick child or aging parent -- and still keep their jobs.

And as I mentioned in the beginning, there is no more important mission ahead than ensuring that our children receive the best possible education. They deserve to be given the tools and the skills they need to prepare them for college, for good jobs, and for life in the 21st century. That means first and foremost -- we must put more qualified teachers in the classroom. Strengthening America's schools is at the top of this President's agenda. And I know it's at the top of yours as well.

This is a period of great promise for the women of America. We are so blessed that we live at time and in a society where we have the opportunities that are before us today. Finally, we have a budget surplus instead of a deficit. Yet we can't allow this progress and prosperity to be an excuse to let up, or sit back, or walk away from our fundamental goal of empowering women and families.

We must instead seize these good times that we have created and the resources we have conserved and make the sometimes tough decisions needed to continue this progress.

You are here today because you understand how vital it is for women to raise our voices, and shape the debate. I urge you, keep spreading your message of grassroots activism. You are here because you recognize that decisions made at the local, state and national level truly do affect how we live; how good the schools are that we send our children to; whether our streets are safe at night; the kind of health care that's available to our parents. I urge you, get more women involved in the work that you do. Only then will we be able to create the kind of society we want for all Americans -- including our daughters and granddaughters.

I know this is an ambitious agenda. So why am I so confident we can achieve our goals? Because we have accomplished so much in the past -- together.

As some of you know, we are holding a Millennium event tonight at the White House. It's the sixth in a series of evenings that recognize the words and ideas, innovations and creativity that have shaped who we are as Americans, and who we want to be. Tonight, we honor the role that women -- like yourselves -- have played as public citizens throughout the 20th century -- to move America closer to our greatest ideal: that we are all created equal.

The evening celebrates what all of you do every single day, as you work together to widen the circle of opportunity and freedom not only for women but for all citizens. Yours are the vital voices that in a very real sense continue to shape our history, and keep our democracy alive and vibrant. And I'm gratified -- particularly during Women's History month -- that your contributions and the contributions of so many before us -- are being recognized.

I regret that I must leave -- but I'm leaving you in very capable hands. You will now hear from the Administration's three top experts on economic security and family issues -- women who have themselves been role models in the struggle for equal opportunity and women's empowerment. Labor Secretary Herman; HHS Secretary Shalala, and Barbara Kennelly, counselor to the commissioner of the Social Security Administration-- will now brief you in detail about the important issues I've touched upon this afternoon.

Thank you again for coming. And thank you again for the work that you will continue to do in homes and workplaces and communities across the country to improve the lives of all of our citizens.

Thank you.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WOMEN AS CITIZENS: VITAL VOICES THROUGH THE
CENTURY
MILLENNIUM LECTURE
THE WHITE HOUSE
MARCH 15, 1999

In 1900, near the end of a lifetime of fighting for women's rights, Susan B. Anthony described her bold vision for the future: "The woman of the Twentieth Century will be the peer of man. In education, in art, in science, in literature; in the home, the church, the state; everywhere she will be his acknowledged equal ... the Twentieth Century will see man and woman working together to make the world better for their having lived. All hail to the Twentieth Century."

Her words were prophetic -- for in many ways, her dreams for us all have been realized. Yet early in this century, the full participation in civic life that women now take for granted was still out of reach. Women were constrained in their rights to own property, testify in court, or file a lawsuit. No women served on juries. By law, a woman's husband was assumed to be the guardian of her children, and a woman's wages -- for which she often worked long and terrible hours -- belonged to her husband. He, in turn, was legally obliged to support her. In many states, a married woman could not open a bank account. Even what a woman wore was restricted.

Most remarkably, at the start of this century, American women did not hold the most fundamental symbol of citizenship -- the right to vote.

I am so pleased to join the President in welcoming all of you to the White House for this Millennium evening, as together with our distinguished panelists, we will honor the past and imagine the future by listening to the vital voices of women.

Tonight we reflect together on the dramatic changes in the lives of women -- and all citizens -- in the 20th century. Think of the ideas, the inventions, the social movements, that have so dramatically altered our society -- sparked in many ways by a small gathering of courageous women at Seneca Falls over 150 years ago. From women's struggle to gain the right to vote to controlling the number of children we choose to have. From women gaining access to the halls of academia and corporate boardrooms to girls competing on the sports fields of America. Even technological advances like vacuum cleaners and cell phones! We've made strides forward that even Susan B. Anthony could not have imagined.

There are clearly too many topics to cover in only ninety minutes tonight. So we chose to concentrate on one of the defining stories of our time -- the way women entered the circle of our democracy -- and moved America closer to our greatest ideal: that we are all created equal.

Standing here tonight with all of you, I am reminded of the women I've met in communities everywhere -- women whose names we may not recognize, but who struggle every day to expand our opportunities and enlarge our democratic freedoms. That is what they do as they mobilize their neighbors in a voter registration drive; or demand improved working conditions in their places of employment. As they turn a vacant building into a health clinic, start a recycling center, or insist that the school their daughter attends needs an arts and music program.

At international Vital Voices conferences, I've met women from every corner of the globe who struggle -- as we do -- to change their communities, expand their rights, and gain control over their destinies.

These women are all engaged in the ordinary but remarkable act of citizenship. And as we will hear from our panelists tonight, being involved in the life and institutions of our communities is what keeps the spirit of democracy alive.

Just this afternoon, I had the privilege of speaking with women activists from around the country who are here in Washington to make their voices heard on the critical issues that face this nation today. They inspired me -- as they always do -- with their tireless commitment to citizenship that we celebrate here tonight.

History and experience shows us that women have always been the community builders. The peace makers. The ones who struggle -- often against unimaginable odds -- to widen the circle of opportunity and hope to all. Tonight, in honor of National Women's History Month, we gather to reflect on the many roles they've played as citizens in the 20th century.

This sixth Millennium Evening at the White House is part of an ongoing series to recognize the words and ideas, the science and scholarship, the innovation and creativity that have shaped our history.

These evenings are just one part of the larger initiative of the White House Millennium Council. Through the Council, we have been working to inspire and encourage all Americans to mark the millennium in meaningful and lasting ways.

We hope all citizens, no matter where we live, will take this rare moment to recognize the history, discoveries, culture, and values that bind us together, and help us imagine a brighter future.

I want to thank the scholars and leaders who have joined us in the East Room tonight. Some of you have led the way -- I see Betty Friedan, Ellie Smeal [Karen Nussbaum, Carol Gilligan]. Others have expanded our ideas of what we can accomplish -- Governor Ann Richards, former Congresswoman Pat Schroeder, Lieutenant General Claudia Kennedy and Rita Colwell. I want to recognize our elected officials here tonight -- including Senator Boxer; Senator Landrieu, Representative Neil Abercrombie; and Representative Janice Schakowsky. I also want to recognize the members of the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History, led by Ann Lewis and Beth Newburger. The President will speak later about your report -- would members of the Commission please stand?

I also want to express my appreciation to everyone who has helped make this evening possible, especially our co-sponsor, the National Endowment for the Humanities, led by Chair Bill Ferris; and NEH's sponsors, the Howard Gilman Foundation, and Sun Microsystems, especially John Leahy, who are responsible for the technology that will enable us to reach millions around the world via satellite and the Internet. I thank Pioneer New Media Technology for providing the high definition TV screens in this room. Appreciation as well to the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian for the displays in the Grand Foyer.

We are privileged to have with us this evening three remarkable women scholars whose powerful voices have not only helped tell the story of who we are as Americans — but who we hope to be as we enter this new millennium. Together, they will help us explore three interconnected themes: women as volunteers and reformers; women's struggle for equal rights; and the practice of citizenship.

Our first speaker, Professor Alice Kessler-Harris, is one of the nation's foremost labor historians, and a pioneer in establishing women's studies nationwide.

Yet her extraordinary career almost ended before it began. In graduate school she was offered a prestigious fellowship. But when the largely male faculty learned she was pregnant -- they revoked the grant. Alice's pregnancy, they argued, reflected a "lack of seriousness" about her pursuit of history. I think we can all agree her "seriousness" is no longer in question.

Today, Alice Kessler-Harris is a visiting professor at Columbia University, where she holds a joint appointment in the Institute for Research on Women and Gender and in the History Department. She also holds a professorship of history at Rutgers University, where she directed the Women's Studies Program from 1990 to 1995. For almost ten years, she gave working men and women the chance to earn a college degree -- by teaching courses at the union headquarters of the UAW's District 65 in New York -- a program she founded with her husband, Bert Silverman.

Tonight, Professor Kessler-Harris will talk to us about the vital civic roles that women have played as volunteers and reformers throughout our history.

I'm so pleased that our second panelist, Professor Nancy Cott, interrupted her warm sabbatical at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Palo Alto, California, to join us at the White House tonight. She is the Stanley Woodward Professor of History and American Studies at Yale University, where she has taught since 1975. Professor Cott has written widely on women's history, editing the 20-volume *History of Women in the United States*, and contributing to historical documentaries -- including a film entitled "One woman, One Vote."

Like Alice Kessler-Harris -- and no doubt many other women here tonight -- she too had to struggle to get her work recognized. Early in her career, when she was discussing the publication of one of her books -- she was stunned by one publisher's decision not to publish her work. The reason? Interest in women's history and women's issues had "peaked."

Tonight, Professor Cott will speak to us about one of the enduring stories of our time -- women's struggle for equal rights.

Our final panelist, Ruth Simmons, embodies the spirit of citizenship and the power of education to set us free. The daughter of sharecroppers, she was one of eleven children born and raised in a small east Texas town. Ruth credits the resilient spirit of her mother for teaching her more about life than any course she took. Today, Dr. Simmons is president of Smith College.

Recognized as a truly gifted administrator, she served for three years as Vice Provost at Princeton University, where she wrote a widely discussed report on race relations on that campus. The recipient of numerous prizes and fellowships — Dr. Simmons was awarded the centennial Medal from Harvard University in 1997.

Throughout her life, and by her own example, she has propelled many young men and women toward lifetimes of achievement. Tonight, Dr. Simmons will share with us her thoughts about the practice of citizenship.

I want to take a moment to explain how the rest of this evening will work. A video will introduce each theme. And after each presentation, a question will be directed to that particular speaker. After our final panelist, Dr. Simmons, completes her remarks and responds to the question put to her -- the President will start off the discussion here and with those of you on the Internet, moderated by our White House Millennium Council Director, Ellen Lovell. Now let us look at the first theme: Women as Volunteers and Reformers.