

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT VH-1 ANNOUNCEMENT
MARIE H. REED COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTER
WASHINGTON, D.C.
SEPTEMBER 15, 1998

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Thank you. I always know I'm in a good school when I see art up on the walls, as I did when I arrived. And I always know I'm in a great school when I also hear music coming from the classrooms and bandrooms. It is wonderful to be at such a great school...I have a feeling there will be a lot more instruments and music around here in the future...and I want to thank everyone who is making that possible -- at Marie Reed Community Learning Center, Cleveland Elementary, and Gage-Eckington Elementary.

We all owe a debt of gratitude to John Sykes and VH-1 and Brad Anderson and Cablevision for working to put music back into D.C. Schools and into children's lives. And I want to especially applaud the announcement we just heard John Skykes make. Because of Save the Music's extraordinary new commitment, children all over will learn not only about the poetry of Emily Dickenson and the equations of Einstein, but also the sounds of Mozart and Duke Ellington.

[I first met John when, as he mentioned, he convinced my husband to do the unthinkable: give away a Saxophone. But, he has also made his own personal contribution to the cause. I'm told that the woman [Lisa Failla] who used to head up Save the Music was so inspired by the educators she met, that she has gone back to school to become one herself.]

I also want to thank the three schools receiving new instruments for their own commitment to ensure that none of their students miss a beat. Principal Annie Mair and Ms. Yalanis from Cleveland Elementary School, which I had the pleasure of visiting on Valentine's day in 1997; Principal Persphone Brown and Ms. Adams from Gage-Eckington Elementary School; and, our hosts at Marie Reed, especially Alan Clipper, who kept music alive here even during cutbacks and Principal Sparrow, who I'm told won a community service award last year for his leadership on the model United Nations.

Let me also say a special word of thanks to Troy, who may be the only Karate Black Belt here, for telling us more about the power of arts education than any statistic ever could. And to BabyFace. He once said that music in school gave him "a voice and a reason to say something"...and I want to thank him for saying it so eloquently today.

Finally, let me thank Superintendent Ackerman, whose reforms are once again giving us hope and confidence in our schools. She's made it clear that children in this city deserve nothing less than a Capital education. Schools that open on time. Parents that are involved. Standards that are met. Learning that prepares them to succeed as workers and human beings -- and that includes the arts.

There are 52.7 million children in school this year -- more than ever before. If we don't act, too many of them will go through school without ever painting a picture or playing a song. If we don't act, too many of them will attend schools where arts programs are the first to get cut and the last to get added. Arts education is not a luxury for the few; it is a necessity for us all.

This is, by no means, a new idea. It was Plato who said, "I would teach children music, physics, and philosophy, but most importantly music, for in the patterns of music and all the arts are the keys of learning."

Just a few years after Plato's time...when my husband and I were growing up...we found in our classrooms, places to discover not only the 3Rs, but also water colors, theater, music, and poetry. Looking at Picasso's Guernica, I first thought about the reality and brutality of war. And I learned how to play the piano...which led not to any talent to speak of...but to a real appreciation for music. School was also where my husband first picked up a Saxophone. All children today should have the same opportunities.

We can see the power of the arts in the faces of the Youth Orchestra, that played earlier. We can hear it in the wise words of a Youth Choir Director from Oakland, who said, "We can either have gangs or gangs of singers." We can watch it in the attitudes of D.C. students in Southeast, who told me that poetry helped them control their anger and increase their confidence. As one young man wrote in a poem, "I'm so musical that when I write songs, you sing them for the rest of your life."

And, now, what we've seen anecdotally and understood intuitively has been proven empirically. At the University of Wisconsin and elsewhere, research has shown that music education not only lifts our children's hearts and sparks their creativity...It also dramatically increases their abstract reasoning, spatial skills and their scores on math and verbal exams. We know that putting arts in the schools helps children stay there and excel there.

We have the information. We have the know-how. In corporate citizens like VH-1 and Cablevision -- we have an example of what the private sector can do to get arts back into our schools. Later today, we will be joining with other leaders from government, foundations, and business who are stepping up to do their part.

Now, we need the will. We need a national call-to-action....so that every child in America can pick up an instrument or paintbrush and compose a future. And, when it happens, I hope we look back on this day, look back at what is happening at Marie Reed, Cleveland, and Gage-Eckington, and know that this is where the music started playing.

Thank you very much.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WELCOMING REMARKS FOR WETA "IN PERFORMANCE"
THE WHITE HOUSE
JUNE 3, 1998**

Good evening everyone, and welcome to "In Performance" at the White House.

Lynda Barry once said that, "Gospel singing... isn't music, it's an entire experience you feel and live." Tonight, we have gathered to experience the rich tradition of American Gospel -- which has contributed so much to the life and culture of our nation.

Tonight's performance is part of an ongoing series of Millennium Evenings the President and I are hosting here at the White House. W-E-T-A, Ameritech and other organizations have joined us to celebrate the the great diversity of America's culture that has inspired us as individuals and defined us as a nation over the last century. The theme for all our Millennium activities is "honor the past, imagine the future." And that's exactly what this evening's extraordinary performers will do.

Keeping and extending our nation's tradition of religious song is vitally important, and I want to be the first to thank the very talented singers who are bringing this especially American music to us tonight.

And now I would like to introduce my husband, the President of the United States.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR WETA "IN - PERFORMANCE"
NOVEMBER 30, 1998**

Good evening everyone and welcome to "In Performance at the White House," the first ever to be recorded in High Definition Television format.

Tonight, our Millennium Evening series continues to honor America's past and imagine its future by showcasing some of our finest singers and the songs they love.

There is nothing more American than a musical. It celebrates our wonderful cultural diversity; and it puts the language of ordinary people and everyday concerns into the words and music that tell the world who we are. That's what produced this century's profusion of American popular song -- one of our great cultural achievements.

Over the next hour, we will hear examples of the songs that have moved us, educated us, and even inspired us to sing along, despite the protests of our friends and family.

Our guests tonight have lit up Broadway's musical stages. But they're here now to share the music that inspires them not only onstage, but offstage as well. They're as diverse and talented as the sources of the American musical itself. And now, to introduce them, here's my favorite musician, my husband, President Clinton.

REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIEND OF EDUCATION AWARD PRESENTATION
THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION'S ANNUAL
CONVENTION
ORLANDO, FLORIDA
JULY 5, 1999

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1999 Friend of Ed Award
Lamar County Ala Ed Assoc

Thank you, Bob, for those kind words, and for this great honor. I am humbled by the list of distinguished leaders who have received the Friend of Education award – and I am truly grateful that you have placed me among them. I think of the now famous words of one of your former recipients, Christa McAuliff, when she said, “I touch the future. I teach.” And I want to thank all of you here today for all the futures you have touched and enriched over the years.

It is a great pleasure to join you for your 137th annual convention. I know that this year's theme is “Destination 2000: Quality Public Education for All.” That is a goal not only for the NEA – but for all Americans. And I want to recognize NEA's top leadership – who have already done so much to help us move closer to that destination. Your president, Bob Chase – who has been such an outspoken and passionate advocate for America's teachers, and a tireless crusader as well for the school reforms that are so vital if we are to give every one of our students a world-class education; Vice President Reg Weaver and Secretary Treasurer Dennis Van Roekel (Row-kel) for their leadership. I also want to thank the chair of the Friend of Education Award Committee, Sheridan Pearce, for his valuable work on behalf of education.

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But most of all, I want to thank all of you who are assembled here, for your commitment to the cause that we believe in so strongly: our children's future; and the work that we must all do together to make this a country in which every citizen can realize the American dream.

Each one of you represents those who serve on the front lines, caring for our young people, and giving them the skills and confidence they need to thrive in the 21st century, and to fulfill their God-given potential. You are classroom teachers; college faculty; para-educators; bus drivers; and custodians. You are secretaries; counselors; building and grounds keepers; psychologists; and students preparing to become teachers. Together, you hold the future of our children in your hands, and I am grateful for what you do every single day.

We may come from different backgrounds, and represent different professions. But all of us here today believe that our public education system is one of the essential reasons that America is what it is today: a place of unparalleled opportunity and promise.

I don't think we can fully appreciate how far we've come unless we understand the fundamental role that public schools have played in giving us the resources and opportunities that we enjoy; and in making it possible for us to come together in all our diversity, and appreciate what we hold in common.

Thanks to the hard work of so many of you, and the millions of people you represent – we can claim numerous victories: We've opened the doors to college wider than ever before. Some of our most troubled public schools are today models of achievement and hope. Across the board, achievement scores are up for reading, math and science. And SAT scores are now at their highest level in two decades.

But you also know – better than anyone – where we continue to fall short. Where we are unable to close the achievement gap between the well off and the poor; where too many schools are failing our children – and falling apart before our eyes; where too many teachers don't have the support they need, or the respect they deserve.

As you gather here to set priorities for the coming year, you are probably asking some of the same tough questions that all of us ask as we look to the educational challenges of a new century.

How do we make sure that all students, all teachers, all schools meet the highest standards? How do we ensure that students receive the education that will lift them as far as their aspirations and ambitions will take them? And are we determined to continue to support the changes, the reforms, the new practices necessary to create a strong, dynamic and vital public education system in the 21st century?

I would like to take a few moments to talk about some of the ways I believe each one of us -- not just teachers; not just administrators; not just parents, but all of us together -- can help fulfill that promise of a quality education for every child.

There are some, you know, who believe that vouchers are the way to improve our public schools. I believe they are dead wrong. There is simply no evidence that vouchers improve student achievement. But by diverting much needed public funds for the few -- they weaken the system for all -- particularly the schools most struggling to succeed. We need to fix our schools -- and turn around the ones that are failing. But we must never, ever, abandon our schools, or the children who attend them. If we are to build our schools up, not tear them down, then standards, accountability and quality teachers -- not vouchers -- are the answer.

First and foremost, we must expect every child to succeed, and hold each one to high academic standards. The simple mantra that is used at one of New York City's public schools states it as well as any I've heard. "All children can learn .. No exceptions ... no excuses." Every child deserves to be challenged; to have their imaginations sparked; to learn how to reach farther than they ever dreamed possible. And how well we succeed in that mission will truly define this nation's destiny for years to come.

But of course we cannot demand the best of our young people unless we give them the resources and support to reach those high expectations. And while there are many factors that go into the quality of a child's education – perhaps the greatest one is the quality of that child's teacher. As John ^{Stanford} Sanford, the late superintendent of the Seattle School system said, "The victory is in the classroom."

We know that by any standard, the vast majority of teachers in our classrooms today are dedicated and qualified professionals. Yet we also know they are not always given the support they need or the encouragement they desire to improve their skills, and to translate into action what they want to accomplish for their students.

If we want our students to achieve at the highest of their abilities – then we must give our teachers the opportunities to succeed in the classroom.

America is facing a critical teacher shortage. So one of our greatest challenges today is to recruit the best possible people to fill those positions. I know of one simple way to not only recruit but retain quality teachers: pay teachers what they're worth. I agree with NEA's President when he says – there's not only a teacher shortage, "there's a respect shortage; and a salary shortage." We must not rest until teachers get the salaries they deserve.

But we need to look for additional ways to attract new teachers. Recruiting professionals from other fields is one strategy. The President has proposed -- for example – that we expand the already successful Troops to Teachers program to other fields. Providing loan forgiveness to new teachers committed to teaching in hard to serve areas is another.

Of course, in our zeal to attract new recruits – we must be sure they are held to the same high standards as all teachers. That is why the President has proposed that states be required to phase out emergency certification, and improve state teacher certification systems.

Perhaps an even more important strategy to ease the shortage of qualified teachers: work harder to retain those who have already embraced the profession. Too often, we abandon new teachers at the school house door – leaving them unprepared for the challenges they will face, and nowhere to turn to for help. Too often, the least experienced teachers are assigned to the most difficult to serve schools, to teach the most challenging students. That's a disservice to young teachers – and to their students. How can we be surprised when one out of 3 new teachers leaves the first year? In urban areas, one out of every two drop out.

We can and must do better. If we want to help academically qualified but inexperienced teachers to get their footing, we must stop asking them to teach in fields in which they are not prepared, and end the practice of giving new recruits the toughest assignments. We should improve and extend teacher preparation programs. And we should support mentoring, coaching, and peer assistance – efforts that I know NEA is promoting in many of its schools.

We must also do a far better job of keeping experienced and talented teachers in the classroom, and helping them keep pace with rising standards.

Polls tell us that only one in five teachers say they feel well prepared for the modern classroom; or are ready to deal with the challenges of new technologies; or feel they have the skills to teach children with disabilities or those from impoverished neighborhoods.

We know that to do the job you want to do you need quality, ongoing professional development, not the one-day, one-shot workshops you are too often offered. You need more time to plan your courses and consult with your peers about strategies that work. And you deserve to be recognized and rewarded for your knowledge and skills.

The President is working hard to meet some of those needs. He's proposing that states and school districts ensure that every child is taught by a fully qualified teacher. And he supports expanded funding for high quality professional development opportunities for teachers, including specialized training to use technology in the classroom.

Teachers should also be given greater incentives to pursue advanced certification through the National Board of Professional Teaching Standards. The Administration has provided for 100,000 more teachers over the next ten years to become master teachers.

After working on this issue for a decade, I'm delighted to see the numbers of teachers seeking master certification to begin to rise. This is a competitive and challenging process, and we need to do more to encourage teachers to seek this higher certification. Surely our students – and our schools – will benefit greatly.

I've been talking about not only holding our teachers to high standards – but also giving them the tools and support to meet them. We must do the same for our students. We cheat our children if we continue to promote them to the next grade when they don't have the necessary skills and knowledge to advance. [I'm pleased that the President's Elementary and Secondary Education Act reauthorization proposal calls on states to end social promotion.]

But we also do a terrible disservice to our young people if we set the bar of achievement high – and then don't provide the resources for those who have fallen behind to catch up. How can we meet our promise of high expectations for every child if we let them slip through the cracks, and send the message that little is expected of them?

I love the words of Andrew Baumgartner, this year's National Teacher of the Year, who says that his greatest joy in teaching "comes when I look into the face of a young child and watch confusion turn to concentration, concentration to surprise, and finally, surprise into the pride of accomplishment."

Every child – including those who are struggling -- deserves to feel that "pride of accomplishment." I've already spoken about the pivotal role that quality teachers play in ensuring greater student achievement. We must also provide students with extended learning time – like rigorous, quality after school, and summer school programs – so that they can get the additional help they need.

The President, through the 21st Century Community Learning Center Initiative, has already invested \$200 million in such programs – and has requested that Congress triple that investment this year. And I hope they do. We can't expect to see better results from our children if we are unwilling to make significant investments in quality, academically enriched programs.

[Secretary Riley – responding to a request from the President -- just this week released a guide on good practices for ending social promotion, which highlights teacher quality; smaller classes, starting early and extended learning.]

But no matter how talented, or prepared, or dedicated our teachers are, and no matter how ready our students are to learn – no one can succeed in classrooms that are over crowded; schools that are unsafe; and in buildings that are falling down. We have to create conditions where learning and innovation can thrive.

I believe – as I know you do – that reducing class size is one of the most critical investments we can make – not only in our children's future, but in our teachers' ability to succeed. As the President said recently, "too many teachers have to spend more time maintaining order than maintaining high academic standards."

Recent studies – like Project Star in Tennessee – confirm what parents and teachers have always known. That students learn better in small class sizes with good teachers – particularly in the early grades.

- They are more likely to graduate from high school; to excel academically; and to go to college -- than their peers in overcrowded classrooms. We've also learned from these studies that minority students in particular benefit from the greater personal attention they receive in smaller classes.

So I am very pleased -- as you are -- that Congress voted last year to reduce class size in the early grades -- and to begin to hire 100,000 new, well prepared teachers in schools across America. By the time our children go back to school this fall -- communities in every state will have new, qualified teachers and smaller classes in the early grades. That's surely good news for our students and for all of you here today.

But we can't rest. Funds for the next installment to hire new teachers is being challenged by some in Congress. We must work together to make sure that this critical commitment to smaller classrooms is honored.

We should also think seriously about reducing the size of some of our schools.

When I was principal for a day in a school in Queens a few months ago, I was in a junior high school that was built for 1500 students, but today holds 2,000 students. They were in the process of putting in mobile classrooms for 500 more. Some of our nation's high schools have enrollments of 5,000 students or more. That is no way to value education, and give children the personal attention they need to learn, or the sense of belonging they yearn for.

While educators and researchers have been arguing for a century about the optimum size of a school – some recent evidence suggests that at least for impoverished students, small schools provide an achievement advantage. But I don't believe you need a study to see that some of these junior and senior high schools are just too big and impersonal to encourage the kind of learning and caring we want for our children.

I think that we should look closer at recent efforts like "schools within schools" – to see what potential they hold for improving student achievement and promoting a sense of belonging among our students.

In addition, we must provide funds to modernize crumbling schools, and build new schools where they are needed. This is a problem all across America, in cities, suburbs, and in our rural communities. Surely in this time of economic prosperity, building and modernizing schools should be one of our highest priorities.

The President is going back to Congress for the 3rd year in a row to push for school construction legislation. I hope Congress agrees this is an urgent priority. They need to tune in to what America's parents and teachers already know. Children can't learn when their schools are falling down around them. Now is the time to act.

If we are to create the conditions for learning, we also have to make schools safe and nurturing environments. The tragedy at Littleton was an anguishing reminder that even though the vast majority of our schools are safe, we need to do more to end the violence that is still too prevalent in our children's lives.

I know a great deal of attention has already been paid at this conference to what all of us can do to create safe schools. I want to hear more about your plans, and to commend NEA for the partnerships it has already developed to promote safety and discipline in our classrooms.

We know teachers are on the front lines when violence erupts – and they need help, not only from parents and the community, but also from social workers and counselors – who are trained to see early warning signs. We need more of those counselors in our schools.

We should also be looking for ways for students to make referrals – including publicizing anonymous “hot lines” – so they can bring to teachers’ and administrators’ attention what they know is happening among some of their peers. And all of us must work as hard as we can to keep guns out of the hands of children – and prevent the culture of violence perpetuated in movies, TV shows and video games from pervading our lives.

We recognize that schools by themselves – no matter how well staffed; no matter how many resources; no matter how safe – cannot give every child a world class education. We as a nation; we as communities; we as citizens must not only hold our schools accountable for student progress. We must hold ourselves accountable as well.

We need parents who believe in the importance of education and who support their schools, their teachers, and most importantly, their children. [At the same time, schools have to do a better job of reaching out to parents to make sure they feel welcome and fully engaged in their children's learning.]

Research confirms how critical the early years are to successful learning later on – and parents are their children's first teachers. They can do far more than anyone else to ensure children come to school ready to learn. As Secretary Riley constantly reminds us – if America's families would read to their children – just 30 minutes a day – “they will literally revolutionize American education.”

Families should also have access to quality, pre-school programs – which we know can help prepare children for future learning. I've long advocated more funding for Head Start, home visitations, high quality child care, and early Head Start, so that every child can benefit from early learning programs .

Parents also deserve to have greater choice within the public school system to meet the unique needs of their children.

I believe public charter schools that are publicly accountable are a promising new vehicle for raising academic standards, empowering educators, involving parents – and expanding choice and accountability in our schools. I applaud NEA for helping to create a number of charter schools -- and I'm pleased that the President's budget reflects growing support for the charter school movement.

Businesses must also understand how critical their role is in creating the educated, skilled workforce of the future. I've seen the kind of impact public/private partnerships can have on boosting student progress – whether it's by providing new classroom computers; developing school-to-work experiences, or recruiting mentors and tutors to help students who are falling behind to catch up.

But the private sector can also play a more active role in giving parents the help they need to balance the sometimes overwhelming demands of work and family – and their child's education. No parent should have to worry about losing their job or missing a paycheck when they take time to attend a parent/teacher conference.

That's one of the reasons the President is asking that the Family and Medical Leave Act be expanded to cover smaller firms – so that parents can spend more time with their children and be more involved in their children's education. That's good for families. And it's surely good for the future of quality education in America.

Yesterday, Americans came together in communities across the country to celebrate the 223rd birthday of our nation. When I was growing up, the Fourth of July was one of my favorite holidays – because my brothers and I could decorate our bikes with flags and streamers for the annual parade, eat hot dogs and ice cream, and sit together in the evening to watch the fireworks.

But it was also a chance for me and my family, and all of us, to remember that the rights we enjoy as citizens of the United States did not come without a struggle. Our democracy and our freedom, as well as the privileges and responsibilities that go along with them – were hard fought, and hard won.

Today, as we look around us at the remarkable opportunities we all have, let's never forget that our system of public education is the very cornerstone of our democracy, and that keeping the doors of opportunity and progress open is a never ending struggle. Let's never forget that in America, each one of us, no matter where we come from, or what our background is – should have a chance to rise as far as our dreams and abilities can take us. And let's never forget that by offering the opportunity and accepting the responsibility for every child to learn and succeed – no exceptions, no excuses -- we are paving the way not only for a more prosperous nation – but a more just and peaceful world in the 21st century.

Thank you.



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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 10, 1999

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The Briefing Room

10:15 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. I have just spoken with NATO Secretary General Solana, who, as you know, has determined that the Serb forces have begun their withdrawal from Kosovo, an essential step toward meeting NATO's conditions and restoring peace.

Accordingly, NATO has suspended its air campaign against Serbia. An international security force, including American troops, is preparing to enter Kosovo. I will address the nation this evening, but I would like to make a few points now.

We and our allies launched our campaign in the face of Serbia's brutal, systematic effort to remove Kosovars, ethnic Albanians, from their land, dead or alive. From the beginning, we had three clear objectives: the withdrawal of Serb forces, the deployment of an international security force with NATO at the core, the return of the Kosovars to their home to live in security and self-government. Serbia now has accepted these conditions and the process of implementing them is underway.

The Kosovars have been victims of terrible atrocities. Their only hope was that the world would not turn away in the face of

ethnic cleansing and killing, that the world would take a stand. We did, for 78 days. Because we did, the Kosovars will go home.

Our policy was designed to achieve our objectives in Kosovo and to do so in a way that advanced other important interests: First, to prevent the violence from spreading to other nations in Southeastern Europe and undermining the progress they have made toward deeper democracy, greater ethnic and religious tolerance and broader prosperity. They felt the greatest strain, but they never wavered. And I thank them for that.

Second, to achieve our aims as an Alliance, 19 democratic nations, with 780 million people, working together in the first sustained military operation in NATO's history. The Alliance did stay together. It is now stronger and more united than ever. And I thank my fellow leaders in the Alliance for their fidelity and fortitude.

Third, to act in a manner that would strengthen, not weaken, our vital relations with a democratic Russia. Russia played an important role in achieving this peace, and we hope that, as in Bosnia, it will join us in securing the peace.

There are so many people to thank -- first, Secretary General Solana and General Clark, who were steadfast and effective. Our NATO allies. I have spoken already with Prime Minister Blair and have calls out to many others. I hope to speak at least to President Chirac, Chancellor Schroeder, Prime

Minister D'Alema, Prime Minister Chretien, Mr. Kok, Mr. Aznar, and many others. They were all, all 19 held together so well.

I want to thank President Ahtisaari and Mr. Chernomyrdin for their diplomatic mission which played a critical role in this. I want to thank President Yeltsin for his strong instructions to his team to resolve these matters so that we can go forward.

I want to thank our allies in Congress in both Houses and both parties for believing in America's mission in Kosovo. I want to thank our team very much -- those who are not here, the Vice President who played a large role in putting together the Chernomyrdin-Ahtisaari team; Secretary Albright, whose passionate commitment to this cause is well-known; and Deputy Secretary Talbott, who was pivotal in the diplomatic efforts. I want to thank Secretary Cohen and General Shelton who persevered with great confidence and calmness amidst criticisms and the early rough-going to achieve the victory that they have achieved.

And I want to say a special word of thanks to Mr. Berger, who has barely slept for the last three months, and who has done a superb job. He and Mr. Podesta and Mr. Steinberg, our entire national security team has done a very, very good job.

And finally, let me say I am enormously proud of our men and women in uniform, and those of our allies, who have performed with tremendous skill and courage, striking at Serbia's military machine and aiding the refugees. I am profoundly grateful for what they have done. I am very grateful that the loss of life was limited to the tragedies in the two training incidents and that we only lost two planes in the combat operation.

And I am grateful to the American citizens, who felt enormous compassion for the suffering of the people in Kosovo and understood the importance of standing up to the war crimes involved in ethnic cleansing and killing, and the kind of ethnic and religious bigotry and violence we have seen against innocent civilians.

Now we are waiting for the United Nations to pass a resolution that the G-8 nations have embraced. We expect the Security Council to adopt it shortly.

We must be mindful that even though we now have a chance to replace violence with peace, ethnic and religious hatred with a democratic future, a bloody century in Europe with a Europe undivided, democratic and at peace, there is still quite a lot to be done. First we have to make sure that the Serbs keep their commitments. That means the forces must rapidly and peacefully leave Kosovo under the agreed timetable, 11 days from yesterday.

NATO's air campaign is suspended; it is not formally terminated. And Secretary General Solana retains the authority to resume strikes if Serbia violates its commitments.

Second, we face challenges and risks in bringing home the refugees and restoring stability. With determination and cooperation, an international security force of roughly 50,000 troops, including 7,000 Americans, can give the people of Kosovo the confidence to return, to lay down their arms, to heal their wounds, to live in peace. But there are operational difficulties with this, as well, which you will see over the next few days as we come to grips with them.

Finally, we face the broader challenge of preventing future crises by promoting democracy and prosperity in this region which has been so troubled. With our allies and partners,

we must intensify these efforts. In the past four months we have seen some of the worst inhumanity in our lifetime, but we've also seen the bravery of our troops, the resolve of our democracy, the decency of our people, and the courage and determination of the people of Kosovo. We now have a moment of hope, thanks to all those qualities. And we have to finish the job and build the peace.

Thank you.

Q Mr. President, sir, is there anything you can tell the American people as to how long the NATO peacekeepers will have to be in Kosovo, including the American forces?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think we should put a timetable on it. We will define our objectives and proceed to implement them.

Q Can you see the NATO peacekeeping force leaving Kosovo with Mr. Milosevic still in power?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I would put it in a different way. What I would like to see is all the nations of Southeastern Europe built up. I'd like to see them coming closer together and then I'd like to see them becoming more integrated with the economic and security structure of Europe, so that we will see them growing and prospering the way Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic did after the fall of communism, for example. And I don't see how Serbia can participate in that unless they have a leadership that is committed to a multiethnic, multireligious democracy and to genuine democracy and human rights.

Q Do you feel vindicated against the criticism that the air war would not work, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think -- again, I would say, I think that are people in uniform performed superbly and they performed risking their lives. We regret the fact that there were any civilian casualties, but our pilots risked their lives to minimize those casualties. And there were far fewer here, for example, than there were in the Gulf War -- far, far fewer.

And I think it's a tribute to Secretary Cohen and to General Shelton and the others who believed that, given these facts -- given these facts -- and given the capacity of our forces, that this strategy could work. We never took other options off the table, we had planned and thought about them. But I think that our people in uniform, starting with our Secretary of Defense, are the ones that have been vindicated by this. And I'm grateful for what they have achieved.

But in terms of America, the United States should feel vindicated when the people go home, and when they're safe, and when we can say that we, as a nation, have played a role in reversing ethnic cleansing. Because if we do that, after what we have done in Bosnia, and the work we have been doing in Africa to set up a crisis response team to try to prevent a Rwanda from ever occurring again, then we will be able to see the world go into the 21st century with a more humane future -- not able to stop all conflict, not able to stop all ethnic conflict, but at least able to prevent this sort of thing.

Q Why do you think he gave in now, Mr. President? Apart from the air campaign, was it also the indictment as a war criminal; was he getting pressure from his own people, from his

military?

THE PRESIDENT: They paid quite a high price for this; they were hurt very badly.

Q Mr. President, sir, it's going to cost a lot of money to reconstruct Kosovo and also the neighboring countries are going to need a lot of aid. How much is the United States willing to put up, and will this be a European endeavor with help from the United States?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, as I said, I would expect that most of the money would come from Europe because most of the cost of this campaign, the air campaign, have been borne by the United States. I don't quarrel with that; we had the capacity and we did what we should have done.

But I don't want us to get into a haggling situation, either. We should do this because it's the right thing to do. And it will be -- let me say this -- it will be far less expensive -- far, far less expensive for us to make a decent contribution to the long-term development of these people than it will be to wait around for something like this to happen again and run the risks, all the risks we had to deal with this time that it might spread and all of that.

So I hope that we will be forthright. I hope the international institutions will do their part. And I think we need to focus on this because this is the last big challenge.

Thank you very much.

END

10:30 A.M. EDT

Message Sent To: _____



Noa A. Meyer

06/10/99 10:28:29 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: more

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
at Akademgorodok

Novosibirsk, Russia
November 16, 1997

I am delighted to be here and to have this opportunity to speak to such a distinguished audience of educators, professors, students and other citizen leaders of Siberia. I have enjoyed my opportunity to be here, but my regret is that my visit will be far too short. I wish I could see for myself many of the changes and the exciting events that are occurring here, and so I will have to, I hope, return at some future date.

Because Siberia has been that part of Russia that is closest to my country, even when our people in the past stood far apart from each other, we shared this part of the world. Together, we are now celebrating our new proximity this time, measured not only in geographical distance, but in shared values.

I have come to Russia on behalf of my husband, the President of the United States, and on behalf of the American people to reinforce the expanding ties of friendship and cooperation between our two countries.

I was in Yekaterinburg last evening with a group of people, including Mrs. Yeltsin. I told them that when I first met my husband when we were both students at the Yale University Law School, one of the first stories I remember him telling me is that as a student studying in England at Oxford, he did not have enough money to go home for Christmas one year, but he did have enough money to buy a student ticket on the railroad and go into Russia.

And so he went to Moscow. He had long hair and he was quite poor, but he told me with such great enthusiasm how he felt he had so much in common with the Russian people he met. When he told me that story, it was in the early 1970s, and there were many who thought our people had nothing in common. But my husband knew better. He talked about how we had so many interests and values that we didn't even know we shared. Now, we have an opportunity to build on that common ground for ourselves and our children.

In the last few days and in the last several years since I have been privileged to travel to Russia with my husband on official trips, I have witnessed firsthand the historic transformation that is occurring, and I have learned about how different regions of your country are making their own contributions in advancing democracy and in creating economic opportunity.

When this academic complex was first founded, bringing together a great university and an extraordinary academy of sciences, there were probably very few in either of our countries who thought we could bridge the gap that divided us. This was particularly true among our scientists. We know and can remember that our best scientific minds were focused on competition, not on cooperation.

Now when I look back, it seems like that was another lifetime. I can remember very well the darker side of those years when, as a young child in school, I and my classmates would hide under our desks practicing drills in case of a nuclear attack. We all prayed in my country and yours that such a moment would never occur. By the grace of God, because of the courage and wisdom of our leaders and our people, it did not.

Soldiers who were once prepared to go to war against each other now stand side by side, securing a lasting peace together in Bosnia. When I visited our American troops in Tuzla, Bosnia, I was so pleased to be able also to meet some of the Russian troops who were stationed with the Americans on the same base. Astronauts and cosmonauts who once raced each other into space now work together high above our earth. Students who were once taught to mistrust each other now send messages to each other over the Internet.

Clearly, we now live in a remarkable age of possibility. The light of peace and freedom is spreading across the globe. Democracy is alive on all the continents of our world. Scientific breakthroughs seem to be occurring at a break-neck pace. Just think what we have seen in the last few years alone. We are rapidly mapping the human genome. We have discovered genes linked to diseases such as hereditary breast cancer. Technology developed to fight the Cold War is now being used to map the ocean floor, protect the environment, and save lives.

Consider this. There is now more computer power in a Ford Taurus automobile than there was in Apollo 11 when Neil Armstrong took it to the moon. Cell phones, computers, fax machines, pagers, once the stuff of fiction, are now becoming a staple of everyday life. And yet, while we can recount the extraordinary developments that have occurred in this age of possibility, we also know that it is a time of real challenge for individuals and for nations. As individuals, we face the changes in our everyday life. The older we are, the more difficult change seems to be, especially at the pace at which it now occurs.

In our nations, mine and yours, we face challenges about how we will move with confidence into the next century. What you have accomplished in Russia in just a few short years is truly extraordinary. After seven decades of totalitarian communist rule, you threw off your

past and decided with extraordinary courage to chart a new course. The architecture of that new freedom and opportunity may not yet be complete; but the outlines are clear to see for anyone willing to look. I know that this time of transition, based on conversations that I have had with Russian friends, has not been easy for any sector of society. I assume that here in Siberia and here at this academic complex it has posed great difficulty for many. Scientists and researchers whose expertise and years of education once earned them status and security, now face uncertain futures. The questions that I'm sure are being asked within these halls include whether or not the skills that were acquired in the past will sustain a life and a profession tomorrow. We see the same questions being asked in our education systems, again in my country as well as yours. In my country, we are struggling with how we try to provide high education opportunities to all of our students, regardless of their background, regardless of how well or poorly their own family was educated, how we set high standards and then hold our young people to achieve them.

Here, I would imagine you also are asking how to update textbooks and modernize classrooms for the Information Age, how to ensure that teachers receive the pay and the respect in society they deserve, how to build up a system of both public and private education that will preserve what was beneficial about the old way, even as it educates young people to lead and live in a democracy.

The fact is that for nearly half a century, science, technology and education were used in both of our countries to fight the Cold War. Today, we have an unparalleled opportunity to put them in service of freedom, prosperity and democracy. Your education system has long been the envy of many of us elsewhere in the world. Your literacy rate, your scientific and research capacity have served as a model. I remember very well when Sputnik went up and I was in elementary school. All of my teachers told me I had to study even harder. They made me do mathematics in which I did not have great interest. I think I secretly blamed Russian scientists that I had to study so much algebra.

Today, this heritage can enable you to surpass so many other societies, to leapfrog over developments that others have had to do incrementally. The rich depth of scientific capacity present right here gives you advantages that few other countries can claim.

It is not only in the scientific arena that your heritage is as strong and varied as the landscape of Siberia. I have witnessed it in the private rooms of the Kremlin and in the Museum of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography that I just visited this morning. I have seen it in the works of literature and music that the entire world enjoys as part of our mutual cultural heritage.

So how do we take what each of our societies has and translate it into opportunity for the greatest number of our fellow citizens? You have a very strong foundation on which to answer that question. Your challenge, it seems to us who are your friends and who are your advocates, is to harness this talent to a new free market economy and

ensure that democracy and prosperity take root and grow in Siberia and throughout Russia.

Those of you in this room today, leaders and students alike, have the power to make that happen by creating economic progress, building a vibrant civil society, and ensuring that the new Russia becomes a leader in the democratic community of nations.

As I was preparing to come to Siberia, I learned about some of the activities that are already taking place, building on the skilled work force that is already here, that will enable you to compete in the global economy; building on the understanding that you have, which is that education is the bright line that divides those who will make it in the Information Age and those who will not. It may be unfair, and I think about that in my own country, it may be unfair that the demands of the new global economy, the knowledge society and the Information Age fall so disproportionately on some people, people who, for whatever combination of reasons, are ill-equipped to find their way in this new time.

In my own country, I go into schools where I see state-of-the-art technologyschools like the one with which you have a relationship here, Phillips Andover, where the students will be equipped to work anywhere in the world, where their own futures are limitless, where their contributions to society will be very significant.

Then I go into schools where the students are not being challenged, are not performing, are not up to the tasks that will await them when they enter this new economy. I imagine that Siberia and Russia are not so different from that experience. We already heard Anna introduce me in flawless English. As I was getting out of my car to go into the institute to see the extraordinary discoveries they have displayed there, a woman called me over across the street and said that her son had been a Bradley Scholar studying in the United States.

We know that you have here in Russia, just as I know I have in my own country, some of the finest young people anywhere in the world. The challenge, though, for people like us who are blessed with intelligence and are willing to use our energy to learn and get the best education we can, is how we then take that and transform it into prosperity and opportunity for our broader society.

If we look at, for example, the year 2000 in my own country, 80 percent of the new jobs created will require post-high school education. These jobs will demand workers who are flexible and fluent in the Information Age. What we have tried to do in the United States as we have downsized our military since the end of the Cold War, closing many defense industries, putting many scientists, researchers, teachers out of work, is to take the energy and education and intelligence in that work force and find new outlets for it to be productive.

Some of you who have traveled to California where, as the Vice Rector said, my daughter is now attending Stanford University, may

remember that in the 1980s and early 1990s there was a very high level of unemployment among some of our very best scientists, researchers and technicians. When my husband ran for the presidency in 1992, in place after place he met workers who had lost their jobs because of the changes that were going on as we reacted to the end of the Cold War and shut down so many of our plants, our factories, our research institutes.

So we understand some of what you are facing as well. How do we take those skills that were used in advanced technology on behalf of defense industries and put them to work in the private sector? That is what you are struggling with; that is also what we have addressed in our own way in the United States.

Now these issues are important for everyone the entire society, for the individuals who are looking for ways to reclaim their future by using their skills differently. It's especially important for children that they be given the incentive to get the best education possible even though we are not sure what jobs will be like in the years to come. Many of the jobs that the young people trained here will do have not yet been invented.

It's also especially important for women who have traditionally held roles in science and technology in Russia. One of the great benefits that your education system has had over the years is the opportunities that it gave educated women. And yet, despite their education, too many women are still the first to get fired and the last to get hired in my country as well as yours. We have to make it clear that any economy that does not take full advantage of the contributions of women in the workplace will never live up to its maximum potential.

These are just some of the challenges we face when it comes to making sure our education system and the already acquired skills of the educated will be preparing our people to take their places in the new economy. You are not just creating a new economy. You are also creating and building a strong, sustainable democracy. And that means we have to be educating people to be citizens because, ultimately, democracy is about more than a new constitution or even the right to vote. It is built from the ground up, not from the top down, and it is a constant struggle.

We have been a democracy for more than 200 years now, and we still struggle against our flaws and our imperfections. We still struggle to make sure that all people are treated equally as citizens in our democracy, so you should not ever be discouraged at the progress that you have made. You should know that the progress has got to be continuing, because the struggle is never-ending.

Part of what makes a democracy live and function, despite whatever stresses come from the outside, is that the space between the free-market and the government is filled by so many associations and individuals who give their best to making their society a better place. We call that "the civil society." I know that there are representatives in this auditorium who are working on behalf of disabled children, on

behalf of the environment, on behalf of women's rights, on behalf of small businesses. You are building that critical civil society that is really the third part of the triangle of democracy: the free market, the government, and then what the citizens do on their own to make conditions better.

Education is critical to the functioning of all three, an education which challenges us, teaches us to think critically, enables individuals to make their contribution to civil society. In the United States, at the beginning of the 19th century, as some of you who have studied American history will know, we were visited by a Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville. He came to the United States, he traveled around, he spoke with people who were, themselves, finding their way in a democracy. They had come from monarchies and authoritarian regimes to find freedom in the United States, but they weren't quite sure exactly how one did that.

So they, like many people in Russia today, were doing it as they lived, day by day. What de Tocqueville noticed is that they were forming into all kinds of informal associations, associations of business and farm people, people who were working in behalf of their own better futures. There were church groups and education groups. He pointed out something that is very important to our democracy, and that is that what really mattered was what he called "the habits of the heart," what it is that we felt inside ourselves about the role of the individual, about the respect for people who were not like ourselves.

That cannot be taught; that cannot be imposed. That has to be inspired from generation to generation. It has to be taught by mothers and fathers to their children. It is those habits of the heart that sustain a democracy through bad times. I am pleased that the United States, both our government and so many private individuals, businesses and nongovernmental organizations, is committed to working with Russia, working with Siberia, as you carry out your reforms, particularly when it comes to education. The United States Information Agency supports a wide range of educational initiatives, from providing updated textbooks for students, to backing educational exchange programs, to sharing techniques from American schools.

We want to be your partners. That is why we are offering training programs in business, law, and journalism, and why Peace Corps volunteers are helping teach English, and an American business center is working to train managers. It is why, through our joint public-private efforts, the United States has joined with Russian and Ukrainian aeronautics companies to produce commuter aircraft, the first of which rolled off the assembly line this month in Siberia. This effort, which involves a private company, Allied Signal, also has the support of the United States Trade Development Agency and the Export-Import Bank. In supporting the International Science and Technology Center in Moscow, the United States is helping nuclear weapons specialists to adapt their highly sophisticated skills to civilian needs for state-of-the-art technology.

There are many ways in which we are working together. I would imagine that sometimes as you look at the day-to-day challenges you

face, the pace of change just may not seem fast enough. It would be easy to lose sight of how remarkable it has been to see what has been accomplished in a few years. Less than 40 years after Sputnik made me study algebra, who would ever have imagined that these kinds of alliances between our countries would have been possible? Who would ever have imagined that I would be so honored to be here to talk about our shared future, and particularly the future of my daughter, Chelsea, and young women like Anna? That is not to say the journey will not be hard, because the scientific process and democracy have a lot in common. Both ask that you sacrifice today for results tomorrow. Both demand patience, stamina, and creativity. Both require faith. I have that faith, and I see it and hear about it in what you are doing as well as faith in the talented and visionary people like those here and throughout Siberia because of the next generation and faith in the next generation.

I was told yesterday that 65 percent of Russians over 65 think things in Russia got worse over the past year. Sixty percent of people under 35 said they got better. This is one of those examples, I suppose, of where we stand on our life journey. As I get older, I also get more conservative. I also worry more about change. But I don't see that in the eyes of my daughter and her friends, and I don't see that in the eyes of the young people I saw in the university yesterday or today. It is these students in my country and yours who will determine the fate of both Russia and the United States, not just for the next few years, but in the millennium.

What young people everywhere are saying and what I believe they are saying here in Russia as well is we want the opportunity to demonstrate our individual talents. We want to seize the opportunities that can be made available to us in a new and dynamic society. We want a nation that expects all of us to live up to our own potential. I think young people in both our countries want those of us who are older to give them nations where science, technology, and research are never again used to divide us, but rather to unite us always in friendship and cooperation.

At the institute this morning, I spoke with the director about how people from Siberia crossed the Bering Strait thousands of years ago to populate North America. Whenever I am in the company of archaeologists and ethnographers, I think about how much we have in common because of where we all came from. As we move through the centuries, we will either recognize that or ignore it at our peril. We will either appreciate that the differences that superficially divide us—language or race or ethnicity, even country of origin—are minor compared to the deep, common values we share as human beings.

In many ways, the decisions that the United States and Russia make, individually and together, will determine what happens in our world. I have come to a place where I know many of those decisions will be thought about, debated and made. I have come to stress how strongly we in the United States want Russia to succeed in every way possible and how much we look forward to the years ahead where our children will exchange ideas, information and learning as easily across our

oceans as they do next door to one another here. I believe that because of our blessings in our respective countries and because of our traditions of education, we not only have an opportunity, but an obligation to spread the benefits of democracy and prosperity to all of our people.

I thank you for what you are doing here, but more than that, I thank you for what will be done here in the years to come. On behalf of peace, prosperity, democracy, and friendship, thank you all very much.

● June Shih

07/26/99 08:58:36 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: women and medicare final

Draft 7/26/99

Shih

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON WOMEN AND MEDICARE
THE WHITE HOUSE
JULY 27, 1999**

Good morning. Today, after listening to Judith speak about her mother and her family, I am reminded that the aging of America is a challenge that we are truly blessed and lucky to have. It is what I like to call a high-class problem. Americans are living longer. And America is richer for it. Older Americans are leading more active lives and making important contributions to our communities well into retirement. Our children are enjoying the love and wise counsel of their grandparents long into adulthood. I know I would have loved to have my mother still with me in my retirement years.

On the eve of the 21st Century, the health and vitality of America's seniors is in no small part due to Medicare. Everyone here knows the difference Medicare has made in the lives of older Americans and their families. For 34 years, Medicare has protected the health of our seniors, enriched the lives of the disabled, and eased the financial burden on families as they cared for their loved ones. For millions of American women, Medicare has been the lifeline to a dignified retirement. As the report released today by the Older Women's League so convincingly tells us, a strong and modern Medicare system is vital to the health and future of America's women -- to our grandmothers, mothers, wives, sisters and daughters.

First, a strong and modern Medicare system is critical to women because, very simply, the majority of Medicare beneficiaries -- twenty of the 34 million Americans currently enrolled -- are women. *[point to chart]* This is so because the majority of Americans 65 and older -- three out of every five -- are women. But what's more, as we grow older, so does the proportion of women. Nearly three-fourths of all Americans who reach the age of 85 are women. And 4 out of 5 centenarians -- Americans lucky enough to witness the breadth of an entire century -- are women.

Second, without Medicare, the doors to hospitals and doctors' offices, to basic medical treatment and good health would be closed to millions of older women. Throughout their

lives, women's incomes have always lagged behind those of men – a gap underscored in retirement through smaller pensions and Social Security checks. Even as they must make ends meet on smaller incomes, women must meet greater health care needs than men. Nearly three-fourths of older women have two or more chronic illnesses compared to just 65 percent of older men. For these women, Medicare has truly meant the difference between a healthy retirement and one clouded by untreated illness and poverty.

But as we know, the clock is ticking on this critical institution's ability to serve America's women and families into the next century. With our people living longer than ever, and the retirement of the Baby Boom generation rapidly approaching, the Medicare Trust Fund will become insolvent by 2015. At the same time, Medicare's benefits – which have not changed significantly since 1965 -- have failed to keep pace with the rapidly changing world of modern medicine.

There are some who say that strengthening Medicare is a challenge that we can still afford to put off toward later years. To them I say, look at Judith Cato and her mother. Like millions of women in the same situation, affording prescription drugs is a very immediate challenge. The typical 65-year old woman retiring this year can expect to see the ripe old age of 84. That's 19 more years of retirement. But if we do not act soon, the Medicare Trust Fund will expire in 16 years.

We must act now. Over the past six and a half years, we have managed to transform a sick deficit economy into an economy that is the picture of fiscal health. In 1993, the budget deficit was projected to be a \$290 billion. Today, we have an unprecedented surplus of \$99 billion. We've balanced the budget, cut unnecessary spending, expanded our investments in education and training. As a result, we have the longest peacetime expansion in history, with 19 million new jobs and the lowest minority unemployment rates ever recorded.

We cannot afford to miss this unprecedented opportunity to strengthen and modernize Medicare for the 21st Century. My plan would secure Medicare by dedicating over \$370 billion of our budget surplus over the next 10 years to extending the life of the Trust Fund to the year 2027. We will keep Medicare costs low even as we improve quality by introducing the most effective private sector innovations into the program. And we will promote competition by giving seniors the chance to choose between lower-cost Medicare managed plans and the traditional program.

Strengthening Medicare is important, but so is modernizing its benefits. Over the past thirty years, a medical revolution has transformed health care with prescription drugs that have supplanted some surgeries, lengthened and improved the quality of life. As the OWL study shows, women have borne the greatest cost of this pharmaceutical revolution. According to this chart, women spend \$1,200 a year on prescription drugs, almost 20 percent more than men. As many of you know, my plan will help seniors afford the prescription drugs that have become essential to modern medicine.

I am committed to providing an optional prescription drug benefit to all Medicare

beneficiaries. Affording prescription drugs is a challenge not just for poor women, but for middle income women as well. Half of all middle class women – those who make at least \$12,700 a year, or with their husbands make \$17,000 -- have no prescription drug coverage at all. [show chart]. Women who have tried to buy extra drug coverage through private Medigap policies have had to cope with escalating premiums as they grow older. Anyone who says that America's seniors must bear these burdens in retirement is simply out of touch and out of date.

Finally, my plan will also eliminate the last barrier between seniors and preventive screenings-- tests for breast cancer, colon cancer, prostate cancer, diabetes, and osteoporosis -- that can help save their lives. For too many seniors on fixed incomes – especially low-income women -- the cost of a modest copayment is simply prohibitive. Last year, just one in seven women took advantage of the mammograms covered by Medicare. To encourage more people to take advantage of this benefit, my plan will waive the deductible and all co-payments.

I call on Congress to move forward on this plan – and seize the historic opportunity we have to ensure that Medicare truly serves our mothers, grandmothers, sisters, wives and all Americans well into the 21st Century. By dedicating the surplus first to Social Security and Medicare, we can strengthen these programs without walking away from our vital commitments to education, to law enforcement, to biomedical research, to national defense, to the environment. Under my plan, we could actually free America from its debt for the first time since 1835 – and still have funds left over for a substantial tax cut – one targeted toward retirement savings, long term care, and child care.

Regrettably, there are some in Congress who have voted to squander this historic opportunity to prepare for the aging of America. Last week, the House of Representatives passed an irresponsible tax bill that would spend our surplus without devoting a dime toward boosting the solvency of Medicare. What's more, the Republican tax cuts won't go into full effect until the year 2010, draining the most resources just as the baby boomers begin retiring, Medicare nears insolvency, and Social Security begins to feel new strains. This week, the Senate will consider a similar bill. These bills are skewed toward the special interests. They do not protect our national interests. They are unacceptable.

I have made it very clear that I will not accept any bill that undermines our ability to save Social Security and strengthen Medicare. I ask the Senate and the House to work with me to honor this fundamental obligation to the future. We must make certain there are enough resources for Medicare, for Social Security, and for education, for law enforcement and the environment before we embark on a tax scheme that could squeeze out vital priorities in years to come. First things first.

The aging of America is an important challenge for our nation. It tests our commitment to our parents who deserve high quality health care after a lifetime of hard work. It tests our commitment to our children who should not be burdened with the cost of bailing out Medicare just as they are raising their own families. It tests our foresight -- our ability to recognize and fulfill our duties and obligations to the future. It is a test I am confident we, the American people, can pass.

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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.

**FACSIMILE COVER SHEET**

TO: Christy Macy
OF: FLOTUS
PHONE: _____
FAX: 456.5709

FROM: Brooke Shearer
OF: Department of the Interior, Office of the Deputy Secretary
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Number of pages: 9 (including this cover sheet)

Secretary Albright's remarks
for^{last} Sat at Q hall of fame.
I think they're terrific.
All best.

7/10 FINAL draft

Secretary's SENECA FALLS Induction Ceremony/Keynote speech
Comments NO LATER THAN 3 p.m. Friday to Bill Woodward (ph.
79841) (fx 736-7687) (rm. 7538)

Thank you Karen Stone for those very kind words and
thank you all for your welcome.

Sister inductees and their families and
representatives, congratulations. Ms. Pataki, Supervisor
Pheiff, Lyn Bedell, guests and friends: Like many public
officials, I am often compared to illustrious predecessors.
So you can imagine how happy I am to be the first American
Secretary of State to join the Women's Hall of Fame. I am
tempted to call up Henry Kissinger just to say "Henry, eat
your heart out."

As a little girl, I had many dreams, but I never
imagined something like this. When I look at the list of
members of this Hall of Fame, I am inspired by the
incredible range and richness of their accomplishments. As
someone who cannot sing like Ella Fitzgerald, write like
Emily Dickinson, act like Helen Hayes, or shoot like Annie
Oakley, I am astonished and humbled to be in their company.

And as I contemplate the world at the end of the
twentieth century, I draw encouragement especially from the
memory of those in this Hall who dared to stand up and
fight for human dignity and freedom.

Simply being in Seneca Falls is a reminder of the debt
we owe. So much of what we have accomplished as
individuals and as a nation is attributable to the courage,
vision and brilliance of our foremothers. After all, who
but the crafters of the Seneca Falls Declaration could have
found a way, in just their second sentence, to get the
better of Thomas Jefferson?

Because they asserted that men and women are created
equal, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone
and their compatriots were scorned, ridiculed, laughed at
and vilified. Day after day, they were advised to abandon
their foolish quest for suffrage. For decades, they
experienced more setbacks than steps forward.

But like the movement to abolish slavery, the campaign for women's rights exposed a fundamental contradiction between American ideals and reality, between the promise of liberty for all, and the denial of real freedom to millions of people.

Once that contradiction was exposed, and held up for public consideration and scrutiny; once every stratagem for rationalizing it had been tried and found wanting; once every effort to deny and delay it had been worn down; the contradiction remained.

It had to be confronted. It had to be eliminated. And ultimately, the appeal made by the signers of the Seneca Falls Declaration to "the divinely implanted principles of human nature," as they put it, could not be denied.

Today, we look back across the years for inspiration and instruction. But we also look ahead, for the movement launched here is still young, still blossoming, still spreading the good news of equality and empowerment, justice and freedom. It is now far more than an American movement. It is universal. It has gone global.

And I believe that, of all the forces and trends that will shape the world of the twenty-first century, this may be the most important. From the tiniest village to the largest metropolis, surmounting every barrier of geography, language, ethnicity and background, the movement to unleash the full capacities and energies of women and girls is gaining strength.

In recent years, I have had the privilege of seeing in virtually every region of every continent the continuous working out, in ways unimaginable at the time, of the principles formulated here in Seneca Falls.

I have seen women's groups in Bosnia insisting on a voice so that they may help re-unite their country and heal the wounds of past strife.

I have seen the birth of movements in Central Europe and the New Independent States designed to give women a partnership role in the construction of new democracies.

I have seen women from different ethnic groups in Central Africa working side by side to prevent the return to their lands of genocidal violence.

I have seen women coming together in Latin America to achieve economic opportunity and legal equity in societies where habits of machismo have been deeply entrenched.

Just last month, in China, where females are all too often not accorded the value they deserve, the First Lady and I saw women who are helping each other to find a place in the new world economy through education, training and micro-enterprise.

I have seen representatives of groups from around the world--African, Asian, Latin, Jewish, Islamic and Christian--joined in the common cause of sustaining the global momentum towards more open and representative political systems.

Of course, this does not mean that women everywhere want to be the same. The desire for self-expression is universal, but different women do not express themselves in the same way. Certainly, not every woman looks to the Western model for emulation.

It is worth noting, for example, that in the West a woman's right to own property is a fairly recent development in the West. Under Islamic law, women have always had that right. And although women have made great political progress here in the United States, unlike the largest Hindu nation, and three of the most populous Islamic countries, we have not yet had a female head of government.

So when we talk about advancing the status of women, we are not trying to force our particular way of doing things or our particular values upon other people. We are trying instead to make progress towards consensus goals that have been articulated and agreed upon by women everywhere.

These include the great wellspring of respect for human dignity passed on to us by those who convened in Seneca Falls. And they include the currents of equality and justice that gathered strength in Beijing.

And for our part, let me say that advancing the status of women is a goal that can never again be confined to the backwaters or side channels. It has become what it must always be: part of the mainstream of the foreign policy of the United States.

I make that pledge because advancing the status of women is both the right and the smart policy for America.

As we approach the new century, we know that despite the great strides made in recent decades, women remain an undervalued and underdeveloped human resource. This is not to say that women have trouble finding work.

In many societies, in addition to bearing and nurturing the children, women do most of the non-child related work. But often, women are barred from owning land and permitted little if any say in government, while girls are often excluded from schools and provided less nourishment than boys.

It is no accident that, today, most of the world's poor are women. Frequently, they are left to care for children without the help of the children's father. Many are entangled at a young age in a web of ignorance, discrimination, exploitation and abuse.

In our diplomacy, we are working with others to change that because we know from experience that when women have the knowledge and power to make their own choices, societies are better able to break the chains of poverty. Birth rates stabilize. Environmental awareness increases. The spread of AIDS and other sexually transmitted disease slows. And socially constructive values are more likely to be passed on to the young.

This is how human progress is generated. This is how peaceful and democratic societies evolve. This is how lasting prosperity is built.

To these ends, our overseas aid programs include many projects that expand the ability of women to succeed economically through legal reform and access to education, credit and health care. This is vital because economists will tell you that, especially in the developing world, income controlled by the mother is many times more likely

to be used to promote the health and education of children than income controlled by the father.

We also support international family planning programs, because we believe that women have a right to control their own bodies and because we want to reduce the demand for abortions and make it more likely that when children are born, they survive and thrive.

We are working to equip women in emerging democracies with the skills and knowledge they need to participate politically, whether as officials, advocates or simply as citizens exercising the right to vote, which Susan B. Anthony called "the right protective of all other rights."

From Central Asia to Central Europe to Central Africa to Central America, we have a vital interest in the spread and deepening of democracy. But as the sentiments expressed here in Seneca Falls affirm, there can be no democracy if the voices of half the population are not heard.

A half century ago, a great American First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, was the driving force behind the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Three years ago, at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, another great First Lady--Hillary Rodham Clinton--eloquently reaffirmed America's commitment to that Declaration and to its application to all people--stating specifically that there can be no distinction drawn between human rights and women's rights, for each includes the other and both must be observed.

Now, I don't know whether this resulted from a conversation between those two First Ladies.

But I do know that the Universal Declaration embodies values that are central to all cultures, reflecting both the wondrous diversity that defines us and the common humanity that binds us.

Unfortunately, today, despite the progress that has been made, in many countries, appalling abuses are still being committed against women. These include coerced abortions and sterilizations, children sold into

prostitution, ritual mutilations, dowry murders and domestic violence.

There are those who suggest that all this is cultural and there's nothing we can do about it. I say it's criminal and we each have a responsibility to stop it.

That is why we persist in our effort to persuade key Members of the Senate--and they know who they are--that it is long past time for America to become party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

That is why we back so strongly the international war crimes tribunals, because we believe that the authors of ethnic cleansing should be held accountable, and those who see rape as just another tactic of war must pay for their crimes.

That is why we are speaking up on behalf of the women and girls of Afghanistan, who have been victimized by all factions in their country's bitter civil war. The most powerful of those factions, the Taliban, is determined to drag Afghan women back from the dawn of the twenty-first century to the thirteenth. The only female rights they seem to recognize are the rights to remain silent and invisible, uneducated and unemployed.

Afghan women have asked for our help. I know because last fall I sat in a tent in the high mountains of Central Asia and listened to their stories. I will tell you what I told them. We can not and we will not abandon the girls and women of Afghanistan. We are providing new support for educating and training to increase their capabilities and develop their skills. And we have made it clear that if leaders of the Taliban or any other Afghan faction want international acceptance, they must treat females not as chattel, but as people; and they must respect human rights.

Finally, because we believe in helping every woman to have a fair chance in life, we have undertaken a major diplomatic and law enforcement effort to halt trafficking in women and girls. After all, if we believe in zero tolerance for those who sell illegal drugs, shouldn't we feel even more strongly about those who buy and sell human beings?

This is one of the fastest growing criminal enterprises in the world. It exploits the desperate economic needs of more than a million mostly young women every year; women who think they're applying for jobs as governesses, waitresses or sales clerks, but who end up virtual slaves of thugs, pimps or unscrupulous employers.

Our strategy is to educate the public, assist the victims, protect the vulnerable and apprehend the perpetrators. Our approach is to develop and implement specific plans in countries where predators and the preyed upon are most often found, including the United States.

For example, as a result of my talks with Prime Minister Netanyahu, Israel has set up special police units in Tel Aviv and Haifa. We have established a joint working group with Italy. And in response to a request from the Government of Ukraine, we are preparing a comprehensive strategy for responding to the problem in that country.

We see these as potential models of cooperation to be replicated as often as required. Our goal, ultimately, is to mobilize people everywhere so that trafficking in human beings is met by a stop sign visible around the equator and from pole to pole.

My friends, the invitation presented by the Hall of Fame is to "Come Stand Among Great Women." In recent years, I have had that honor many times. Not in fancy meeting rooms or the high councils of state, but in refugee camps. In villages constructed solely of mud and tin. In urban health clinics where malnutrition and ignorance have been allied with disease and conspired against life. In arid grasslands where nothing grows but the appetites of small children.

It is in these places, especially, that I have truly stood in the presence of great women; women who have been beaten back and beaten down and beaten up, but never defeated because their pride is too strong, their love too fierce, their spirit unshatterable.

The sentiments contained in the Seneca Falls Declaration have endured not simply because of their logic and eloquence and rightness, but because of the underlying

power of their central premise, which is that every individual counts. This basic idea of valuing each human person fairly is what has united the women's movement across the boundaries of nation, status and culture, through the window of time, back to our great great grandmothers, and forward to embrace the youngest girls here in this auditorium today.

This philosophy is not based on any illusions. Advocates of social progress have seen far too much of hardship and frustration to indulge in sentimentalism. But we live in a nation and a world that has been enriched beyond measure by those who have overcome enormous obstacles to build platforms of knowledge and accomplishment from which others might advance.

Susan B. Anthony said once that "Cautious, careful people [who are] always casting about to preserve their reputation and social standing, never can bring about reform. Those who are really in earnest must be willing to be anything or nothing in the world's estimation."

It is with these words, and the examples in mind of heroes going back to Lucretia Mott and Frederick Douglass, and in recognition of the millions who have struggled greatly, but whose names we will never know, that we reaffirm this truth, that all work that is worth anything is done in faith.

And now, on this day of warm memory and renewed resolve, let us all pledge to keep the faith that our perseverance and dedication will make a difference, that every door opened by our striving, every life enriched by our giving, every soul inspired by our commitment and every barrier to justice brought down by our determination will ennoble our own lives, inspire others, and explode outward the boundaries of what is achievable on this earth.

Let us go forward with respect and gratitude for those who came before us. With determination and love for our daughters, and for the sons whose own lives will only be enriched by progress towards a world more equitable and democratic, more peaceful and fully free.

Thank you very much for your attention, and for allowing me to share with you this beautiful day.



Noa A. Meyer

06/23/99 05:17:38 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: nancy rubin remarks

U.S. Department of State
Office of the Spokesman
Press Statement

Press Statement by James P. Rubin, Spokesman
April 27, 1999

Affirmation of the Right to Democracy

Following the overwhelming passage by the UN Commission on Human Rights on a resolution on the Right to Democracy, Nancy Rubin, U.S. Ambassador to the UNCHR, issued the following statement from Geneva:

★
→ "Today, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights adopted--for the first time--by a vote of 51-0 with two abstentions (China and Cuba), a resolution acknowledging the fundamental link between democracy and human rights. In doing so, the Commission boldly confirmed that democracy is a universal and fundamental human right.

As primary sponsor of the resolution, the United States would like to thank its numerous co-sponsors - Commission members Austria, Bangladesh, Canada, Cape Verde, Czech Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Germany, Guatemala, India, Italy, Latvia, Nepal, Norway, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Republic of Korea, Romania, Senegal, South Africa, Sri Lanka, United Kingdom, Venezuela, and twenty-four non-members--as well as those countries that voted in favor. We are pleased to note that our co-sponsors include a number of states who only recently joined the community of democratic nations.

(at conference)

→ The right to democratic governance is both a means and an end in the struggle for human rights. Freedom of conscience, expression, religion, and association are all bolstered where democratic rights are guaranteed. Rights to a fair trial and to personal security are enhanced in genuine democracies. Elected leaders gain legitimacy through the democratic process, allowing them to build popular support, even for economic and political reforms that may entail temporary hardships for their people.

To be sure, democratization is a long and complex struggle, which does

not come easily. Government "of the people" cannot be imposed from the outside. Rather, countries must come to democracy by their own path. As Secretary Albright has noted, "Democracy must emerge from the desire of individuals to participate in the decisions that shape their lives.... Unlike dictatorship, democracy is never an imposition; it is always a choice." ~~✱~~

Democracies hold their leaders accountable to the people. They provide breathing room for civil society. They open channels for the free flow of information and ideas and for the development of diverse and vibrant economic activity. When democracy is absent, human rights suffer. It is no coincidence that the horrible violence and atrocities we have seen recently in Sierra Leone and Kosovo have taken place where the rights to a free exchange of ideas and democratic governance have been denied. Where democracy flourishes, so too do peace, prosperity, and the rule of law. ✱

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OLCOTT_E@A1

06/09/99 03:48:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: 1999-6/9 POTUS remarks at dedication ceremony

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 9, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT DEDICATION CEREMONY FOR
THE DALE BUMPERS AND BETTY BUMPERS VACCINE RESEARCH CENTER

National Institute of Health

3:15 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Senator Harkin, for your friendship, your leadership and for your successful efforts to get this facility named for Dale and Betty Bumpers. You know, ever since the Republicans won a majority in the House and the Senate in 1994, it's been impossible to get anything named for a Democrat. (Laughter.) We named more buildings than ever before in the history of the country, at a breathtaking rate, and I just wanted to come here to make sure this was actually going to happen today. (Laughter.) And I really thank you, Tom Harkin, for your persistence.

Thank you, Dr. Varmus, Dr. Satcher. Secretary Shalala, thank you for your remarks and what you said. I want to thank all the leaders of the NIH who are here, and others involved in all the various endeavors, especially Sandy Thurman, who leads our efforts on AIDS. I want to say a special word of appreciation to the families of Dale and Betty Bumpers who are here, including two of their three children.

I want to express the regrets of the First Lady and the Vice President for not being able to be here today, and in particular, because of our long friendship and common interest, I know that Hillary wanted to come.

Forty-four years ago, Edward R. Murrow described the day Dr. Salk

announced his discovery of a polio vaccine water treatment these words, "The sun was warm, the earth coming alive. There was hope and promise in the air. The occasion called for banners in the breeze, and trumpets in the distance."

Indeed, that discovery did herald the dawn of a golden age of development of vaccines and prevention of disease. In the 50 years since, we have benefited from the discovery of vaccines against some 20 infectious diseases -- tens of millions of lives have been saved; tens of millions of children have been spared the agony and crippling pain of polio, mumps, rubella, measles -- most recently, meningitis.

Twenty years ago, we eradicated smallpox, the disease that took thousands of years -- struck down men, women and children all around the world, and destroyed entire civilizations. We have eliminated polio from our own hemisphere and, as you've already heard, we'll eliminate it from the earth early in the new millennium.

The triumph of vaccines over infectious disease is one of the great achievements of a remarkable 20th century. And at century's end, the men and women who labor in labs to unlock the mysteries of human biology and disease -- especially those here

at the National Institute of Health -- have made this one of America's great citadels of hope, not only for our people but for people throughout the world.

I think it is important to note, though, that we are here today because the triumph of immunization over disease is also the triumph not just of scientists, but of countless citizens across America -- public health specialists, advocates, volunteers, leaders in government -- who work together to support new research, and to bring life-saving vaccines to all people. It is the triumph of the couple we honor today, my friends of many, many years, Dale and Betty Bumpers.

More than 25 years ago, Betty Bumpers was the first person to open my eyes to the fact that though many vaccines had been discovered, approved and marketed, too few children in our state, then, and across America, were being immunized. As the First Lady of our state, she visited every community and every school, talking to parents and teachers about the necessity of immunizing their children. In fact, Betty became so identified with the immunization cause that people used to joke that every time she walked into a school, the kids would start to cry. (Laughter.) They knew that when she came in, somebody was going to have to get a shot.

Her work inspired President Carter to launch a nationwide campaign to immunize all children by the time they entered school. Today, I am still amazed by her tirelessness in traveling across the country with Rosalynn Carter to ensure that every child is immunized by the age of two. I'd also like to say

something that many of you know: she is here today, just two days after back surgery, which is an ultimate testament to her grit and determination. (Applause.)

She's made sort of a second career, Betty has, out of deflating egos, especially her husband's and mine. (Laughter.) And I told her today, she just hit me one more time, I got a huge applause in the State of the Union address a couple of years ago, railing against the HMOs and hospitals that kicked people out after drive-by surgery. And she's exhibit A for drive-by surgery. (Laughter.) I mean, here she is, she looks great. I'm going to have to at least modify my position on that issue, I guess.

When Betty was working at the grassroots, Dale was working in government. Over four terms and 24 years, representing our home state in the United States Senate, he became the resident expert and the greatest champion for immunization in that body. Through dark times, when it looked as if Congress and the White House might fail to do their part to make vaccines more widely available, his passionate and persuasive arguments would stir consciences and, on occasion, change votes.

After the measles epidemic of the late '80s and early '90s, Dale Bumpers rallied his colleagues. He took to the Senate floor to lament 27,000 cases of measles, cases he called "totally shameful and avoidable." He challenged his colleagues to rise to their responsibility to protect our children. Our children have been lucky to have his heart and his voice at their service.

For a long, long time, Hillary and I have been inspired by Dale and Betty's personal crusade. In 1993, I took office committed to renewing America and preparing our country for a new century. A key to the strategy we embraced was investing in our people, investing in technology and dramatically increasing our efforts in research and development in areas that were pivotal opportunities for the future of Americans' quality of life. We made funding basic science research that could lead to new vaccines one of our top priorities. We launched a new initiative to improve immunization services, to make existing vaccines safer and more affordable and to boost immunization rates across America.

And I was profoundly proud when, two summers ago, Hillary and I were able to invite Dale and Betty to the White House, where we announced that finally America had reached its highest immunization rate ever and more than 90 percent of all two year olds in our country have received their most critical doses of recommended vaccines, thanks in no small measure to the years and years and years of effort that they have spearheaded. (Applause.)

Therefore, it is entirely fitting that today we

dedicate this state of the art facility to them, two great Americans, two wonderful human beings. Today, we also lay a new cornerstone in our ongoing efforts against HIV and AIDS. With biotechnology accelerating the development of new vaccines and making existing ones even safer, it is a hopeful moment for vaccine research in America, including the challenge of finding a vaccine against AIDS.

Today, one out of every 100 people in the world is living with HIV and AIDS. With the recent news that AIDS has surpassed tuberculosis and malaria to become the leading infectious killer in the world, claiming 2.5 million lives in 1998 alone -- and growing, I might add, at truly breathtaking rates in Africa and India -- we cannot afford to waste a second in our fight against it.

Over the past six years we have worked hard to conquer this disease. We have established the Office of National AIDS Policy to lead an effort full-time, expanded our investment in AIDS research to a record \$1.8 billion, accelerated the approval of new drugs. Two years ago, as Secretary Shalala said, I challenged America to come together to develop a vaccine for AIDS within 10 years. Our balanced budget will target \$200 million toward this goal. And until an AIDS vaccine is tested and approved, it will remain the primary mission of the Dale and Betty Bumpers Vaccine Research Center.

I am confident that this is a place where miracles will happen -- miracles born of hard work, ceaseless effort, visionary dreams. I look forward to the day when I can come back here, to a grand facility with, in Murrow's words, banners blowing in the breeze, and trumpets in the distance, heralding another great vaccine achievement for mankind, the end of AIDS. (Applause.)

When that day comes, it will be due in large part to the people who will be here at the Bumpers Center, and to the two truly wonderful people for whom the center is named.

Thank you, for your work and for letting me be a part of today's ceremony. And God bless you, Dale and Betty. Thank you very much. (Applause).

END

3:28 P.M. EDT

Message Sent To: _____

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR ACCION INTERNATIONAL 1996 U.S. NETWORK
LEADERSHIP SUMMIT: "BUILDING PRIVATE SECTOR PARTNERSHIPS TO
SUPPORT MICROENTREPRENEURS"
February 15, 1996

I am delighted to have this opportunity to speak with all of you at the second annual ACCION [ax SEE own] International Leadership Summit. Thank you for all you are doing to bring opportunity and hope to the men and women in our communities who need it most. I am sorry that I can't be there with you in San Antonio.

The work that you and ACCION International are engaged in -- providing credit and business support to "microentrepreneurs" -- is vital to building healthy communities across America and around the world.

In my travels to Bangladesh, India, and most recently, Latin America, I have seen firsthand the very real and profound impact a modest loan of a hundred dollars can have on a family. It can be the difference between living permanently in poverty and taking certain steps toward a better future. At a community center in Santiago, Chile, I met a seamstress who told me she felt "like a caged bird set free" after using a small loan to buy her first sewing machine. The small loan had enabled her to expand her business, to contribute more to her family's income, and to become an even more productive member of society.

I want to encourage all of you in your efforts to bring ACCION's experience in microlending in Latin America home to the United States. Microlending can bring jobs, confidence and optimism to families in our country's most desperate neighborhoods. It is one key to helping more and more Americans become self-employed and self-sufficient.

I applaud all of you who are already bringing ACCION programs, and most importantly, hope, to communities in New York, Chicago, San Antonio, Alberquerque, El Paso and San Diego.

Microenterprise development needs the commitment and support of leaders like yourselves. As prominent voices in corporations, banking, private foundations and community development organizations, you have the power to direct needed resources and expertise to aid small entrepreneurs in our country. As leaders, you understand that economic empowerment is essential to improving the lives of our citizens. We all must work together to make sure the American Dream is attainable for all responsible men and women who are willing to work.

I also want to extend my warmest congratulations to the five men and women who have been named 1995 ACCION Emerging Entrepreneurs of the Year.

The President and I wish you all much success in the years
to come.

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Senator Dianne Feinstein**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY (Senate - March 09, 1998)**

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, yesterday, Sunday, March 8th, was commemorated by women around the globe as International Women's Day. I rise today to recognize the importance of this day, and to discuss five issues--the use of rape as an instrument of war; the human rights of women in Afghanistan; international trafficking in women and girls; international family planning; and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women--where I believe the United States can and must play a key role in leading the international community's efforts to improve the status of women around the world.

Every day, women around the globe are subject to abuse, violence and discrimination simply because they are women. Whether it is the rape of women in Bosnia and Rwanda as part of a policy of ethnic cleansing, the human rights abuses faced by the women of Afghanistan, or the more subtle forms of discrimination faced daily by women everywhere, the majority of the world's women and girls remain excluded from the prevailing vision of human rights and continue to lack basic legal and fundamental rights.

As we look around the globe, it seems safe to say that U.S. foreign policy does not lack for challenges. Yet, even as we face these other challenges--be it the threat of Saddam Hussein or the threat of an Asian financial crisis--we must also recognize that advancing the status of women is not only the right thing to do, it must be a central part of the foreign policy of the United States.

As I mentioned earlier, as we work to advance this broader agenda there are five areas in particular which I would like to address today: The use of rape as an instrument of war, the situation in Afghanistan, international trafficking in women and girls, international family planning, and the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

RAPE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF WAR

The first issue I would like to address today is one which, in recent years, has been of increasing concern to me: The use of rape as an instrument of war.

In all too many places around the world--Bosnia, Rwanda, Afghanistan, to name just three--the last few years have witnessed the regular and systematic use of rape and other forms of violent gender discrimination as tactics of war and of 'ethnic cleansing.' Indeed, in looking at many of the world's ongoing conflicts it sometimes seems as if the use of rape as an instrument of war has become almost commonplace.

While rape by soldiers has long been a brutal reality in time of war, in all too many cases in the past few years it has frequently operated as a weapon of war itself. Soldiers, paramilitaries and militiamen rape and sexually assault women as part of systematic campaigns of ethnic cleansing. In some cases, women have been interned in camps and houses and subjected to repeated rape and sexual assault.

Well, as far as I am concerned rape as a tool of war must never be accepted, and the international community must act--now--to put an end, once and for all, to the use of rape as an instrument of war.

I was pleased when the international war crimes tribunals for both Rwanda and Bosnia issued indictments which, for the first time in history, charged individuals with 'grave breaches' of the Geneva Convention and for crimes against humanity for the use of rape as an instrument of war.

I have been sorely disappointed, however, by the repeated failure of the international community--especially in the former Yugoslavia--to see that those who were indicted for perpetrating these crimes are brought to justice.

Estimates are that up to 20,000 women in Yugoslavia were systematically raped as part of a policy of ethnic cleansing and genocide. In Srebrenica, an alleged 'safe area,' one woman told of Serb soldiers, dressed as UN peacekeepers, who came in a factory where refugees were gathered and dragged away two girls aged 12 and 14 and a 23 year-old woman. After several hours, the three returned. They were crying, naked, and bleeding. One said, 'We are not girls anymore.'

According to the United Nations Commission of Experts, the victims of rape in Bosnia included girls as young as six and women as old as eighty-one. Many women and girls were subjected to gang rapes while being held in detention camps. And, tragically, for many of the women of ex-Yugoslavia, rape was merely a prelude to further torture and then death.

I am deeply concerned about NATO's failure to arrest all persons indicted for rape and other war crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

By issuing indictments for rape, the international community sent a strong message that there can be no impunity for violence against women in time of war. Yet few of those indicted have so far faced justice. Of the seventy-nine persons indicted for war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), 50 remain at large, including twenty-two indicted for rape and sexual assault. Only four indicted suspects charged with rape are in custody.

Successful arrest actions in Prijedor, Vitez and Bijeljina demonstrate that the NATO-led Stabilization Force (SFOR) has both the means and the mandate to apprehend indicted war crimes suspects. While the recent voluntary surrenders by three suspects at the urging of Bosnian Serb Premier Milorad Dodik are encouraging, most indicted suspects in Bosnia reside in areas under the control of Radovan Karadzic and other hardliners, who persist in their refusal to cooperate with the ICTY. Unless NATO arrests those indicted in these areas, it is extremely unlikely that they will ever stand trial.

Ultimately, it is a hollow and cynical gesture to claim outrage over rape as a war crime, issue indictments, but then to act as if the indictments do not merit the commitment or resources to see that those who committed these crimes are, in fact, apprehended and prosecuted.

What kind of nation are we if we can not see to it that the people who practiced rape as an instrument of war are not brought to justice?

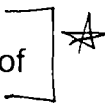
I believe the use of rape as an instrument of genocide and ethnic cleansing is a war crime of the highest order. And the failure to assure that those who have been indicted for rape as a war crime are apprehended, extradited, and made to stand trial, does a grave injustice to women around the world.

Indeed, if war criminals indicted for rape are not brought to justice, the international community will have betrayed the legacy of Nuremberg, the victims of the wars that tore Rwanda and Yugoslavia apart, and women world-wide. And we will have set a dangerous precedent that will give encouragement to others elsewhere in the world who may consider the use of rape and genocide as tools of war.

I have repeatedly written the President and Secretary of State calling for stronger international action to see to it that those indicted of war crimes are brought to justice. And last year, along with Senator Lautenberg and several of my colleagues, I was proud to cosponsor the War Crimes Prosecution Facilitation Act of 1997. Today, in commemoration of international

women's day, I once again call on the administration and the international community to take strong, forceful, and unmistakable action on this issue.

AFGHANISTAN

Perhaps nowhere in the world today is there a clearer test of our commitment to the cause of women's rights than Afghanistan. 

For close to twenty years, Afghanistan has been torn apart by war and bloodshed. More than a million people have died, and much of the capital of Kabul lies in ruins. For women and their families, these events have been a disaster, made worse in recent years by the ascendancy of the Taliban, an extremist militia group which captured Kabul in September 1996 and declared an end to many of the basic human rights of Afghan women.

What some call true Islam, others, including the United Nations General Assembly, say is an abuse of human rights. In Afghanistan today it appears that another tragic chapter in the story of the suppression of women's rights is being written.

The U.S. State Department's 1997 human rights report states:

Women were beaten for violating increasingly restrictive Taliban dress codes, which require women to be covered from head to toe. Women were strictly prohibited from working outside the home, and women and girls were denied the right to an education. Women were forbidden from appearing outside the home unless accompanied by a male family member. Beatings and death resulted from a failure to observe these restrictions.

The women of Afghanistan, who have seen their families destroyed by war, are now having their economic life and their fundamental human rights stripped away, and the violations of Afghan women's basic human rights have pushed an already war-torn and war-weary Afghanistan to the brink of disaster.

When I look at the situation in Afghanistan I am forced to ask: Where is the world's outrage? Fully half of Afghanistan's population cannot work for a living or be educated. Fully half the population of Afghanistan are being systematically denied their basic human rights.

Yet, all too often, the world has responded by issuing mild denunciations and turning away. This is unacceptable. We must act to stop these injustices and to bring peace to Afghanistan.

First, I intend to introduce legislation calling on the administration to create an Afghan Women's Initiative along the lines of the successful Bosnian and Rwandan Women's Initiatives which the administration has created in the past two years. These initiatives have assisted the victims of those wars by promoting the reintegration of women into the economy with an emphasis on capacity-building, training programs, legal assistance, and support for microenterprise projects, as well as refugee reintegration and protection.

The women of Afghanistan could greatly benefit from such an initiative, and I believe that the success of the Bosnian and Rwandan programs can serve as a model for a similar program for the women of Afghanistan, as well as the numerous Afghan women in refugee camps in Pakistan.

Second, I also believe that the international community should investigate the need for a war crimes tribunal to investigate charges of rape and abuse as instruments of the now almost decade-long civil war which has torn Afghanistan apart. Credible charges have been made about the systematic use of rape by several of the factions and parties involved in this struggle, and I believe that these charges must be investigated and, if true, must lead to indictments and trials. I intend to address this issue in forthcoming legislation as well.

Finally, I believe that the United States must be clear and unequivocal in stating that we will not recognize any government in Afghanistan unless it is broad-based, respectful of all Afghans, and respects international norms of behavior in human rights, including the rights of women and girls.

The United States, with our history of commitment to women's rights and equality, must redouble its efforts to place respect for women's rights at the top of the international community's agenda in Afghanistan.

TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN

The third area I would like to address today is a growing problem for women the world over: The forced or coerced trafficking of girls and women for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

The United Nations estimates that every year millions of women become the victims of the fast growing international business of trafficking in women and girls. By capitalizing on poverty, rising unemployment, and the disintegration of social networks, criminal organizations annually make up to \$7 billion on the trafficking and prostitution of approximately 4 million women and girls.

These women come primarily from Eastern Europe and East Asia, accepting offers of lucrative jobs as waitresses, models or dancers in the industrialized world to escape the vice of poverty. Once they arrive, their passports are seized, they are beaten, held captive and forced into prostitution. Traffickers and pimps hold these women in debt bondage, forcing them to work uncompensated as repayment for exaggerated room, board, and travel expenses.

Often times, these victims are given falsified documents or travel on tourist visas, so they have little legal protection. When and if these women are discovered by the police, they are usually treated as illegal aliens and simply deported. Laws against traffickers who engage in forced prostitution, rape, kidnaping, and assault and battery are often not enforced. The women will not testify against traffickers out of fear of retribution, the threat of deportation, and humiliation for their actions.

Without effective enforcement of current laws and the implementation of new laws to protect victims and to prosecute traffickers this trend will continue to grow. Senator Wellstone and I will be introducing legislation to provide both more information on trafficking and tougher laws dealing with the illegal trade of women.

INTERNATIONAL FAMILY PLANNING

The fourth issue I would like to touch on today is one which has seen much congressional attention in recent years: U.S. support for international family planning and reproductive health.

The world's population is now nearly 6 billion, and the United Nations projects that the figure could grow to as high as 12 billion by the year 2050. Most of this growth will occur in developing countries, where there are few resources to provide basic health or education services. If women are to be able to better themselves and their families it is crucial that they be provided the resources to control their reproductive destinies and health.

Under the leadership of both Democratic and Republican Presidents, and under Congresses controlled by Democrats and Republicans alike, the United States has established a long and distinguished record of world leadership on international family planning and reproductive health issues.

Unfortunately, in recent years these programs have come under increasing partisan attack by the anti-choice wing of the Republican party--this despite the fact that no U.S. international

family planning funds are spent on international abortion.

Non-governmental organizations which currently receive U.S. government assistance for family planning and reproductive health programs, such as the International Planned Parenthood Federation, spend only a small portion of their own private funds on activities which can be construed as supporting abortion. And U.S. support for the United Nations Fund for Population Activities is likewise segregated to assure that no U.S. funds go to any activities which may support abortion.

Moreover, international family planning programs have experienced significant cuts in funding in recent years. The Senate Foreign Operations bill for Fiscal Year 1998 would reestablish a separate account for population assistance, at a level of \$435 million, and continue the longstanding prohibition against the use of any funds for abortion.

Today, as we mark International Women's Day, I urge my colleagues to recommit themselves to U.S. leadership in international family planning.

CEDAW

Lastly, I would like to turn my attention today to the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

The United Nations' adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 dramatically focused and increased public awareness of the international human rights agenda. The rights of women--more than half the world's population--however, were not fully recognized as a legitimate problem.

To address this legacy of neglect, the Convention to Eliminate all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was drafted to organize all existing international standards regarding discrimination on the basis of gender, and to establish rights for women in areas not previously subject to international standards. The United States was an active participant in the drafting of the Convention, and President Carter signed it on July 17, 1980.

After fourteen years of intense scrutiny--scrutiny, in my view, more befitting the technical aspects of an arms control treaty than a document asserting the fundamental rights of over half the world's population--the State Department sent the treaty to the Senate for ratification in September 1994.

In 1994, by a bipartisan vote, the Foreign Relations Committee recommended with qualifications approval of CEDAW, but acted too late in the session for the treaty to be considered by the full Senate.

Unfortunately, now almost four years later, the Convention continues to languish in the Senate, locked up in the Committee on Foreign Relations. I, along with some of my Senate colleagues, sent a letter last year to Chairman Helms emphasizing the strong support this Convention has and urging him to report it favorably out of Committee, so that it could be placed before the entire Senate for a vote and ratification. Even though CEDAW contains no provisions in conflict with American laws, no such action has been taken on CEDAW to date.

Currently, 161 countries have ratified the Convention. The United States remains the last of the world's democracies to ratify this fundamental document. Indeed, our failure to ratify CEDAW places us amongst a very small group of countries--including Iran, North Korea, Sudan, and Afghanistan--none of whom are normally put in the same category as the United States on questions of human rights.

As a leader on human rights and women's rights, U.S. ratification of CEDAW will demonstrate

U.S. commitment to promoting equality and to protecting women's rights throughout the world. Ratification of CEDAW will send a strong message to the international community that the U.S. understands the challenges faced by discrimination against women, and we will not abide by it.

Today, as we commemorate International Women's Day, I call on my colleagues in the Senate to move forward and ratify CEDAW.

These issues that I have discussed today are not just women's issues. As First Lady Hillary Clinton has said, 'Women's rights are human rights and human rights are women's rights.' And they merit attention throughout the year, not just on one day.

It is my hope that in the remainder of this session we will prove this commitment to ourselves and the rest of the world. We must ratify CEDAW. We must put a stop to the use of rape as an instrument of war. We must not ignore the gross violations of the human rights of Afghan women. And we must take swift action to curb the trafficking of women and girls. And most importantly, we must lead the world in making it clear that oppression, rape, forced prostitution, and gender discrimination will not be tolerated anywhere.

For too long, and in too many tragic circumstances, we have remained silent, placing women's rights on a second tier of concern in our conduct of U.S. foreign policy. As we commemorate International Women's Day the U.S., and the international community, must take a strong stand and issue a clear warning to those who attempt to rob women of basic rights that the world's governments will no longer ignore these abuses, or allow them to continue with impunity or without repercussion.





Noa A. Meyer

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TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1999, AND THEREAFTER

When I was growing up, the Fourth of July was one of my favorite holidays. My brothers and I decorated our bikes with flags and crepe-paper streamers for the annual parade, which ended at the park. There, we indulged in hot dogs and ice cream cones. Back-yard barbecues in the evening were followed by grand fireworks displays.

Another timeless Fourth of July tradition finds citizens all across America gathered on village greens and courthouse steps to listen to these stirring words from the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

The Declaration of Independence is one of our nation's most precious national treasures. It was on July 4, 1776 -- 223 years ago -- that the members of the Continental Congress gathered at the State House in Philadelphia and voted unanimously to adopt the Declaration. They set the colonies on a course that would lead them to become the greatest democracy in history.

The inspiring language of the Declaration serves to remind us that the rights we enjoy as citizens of the United States did not come without a struggle. Our democracy and our freedom -- as well as the privileges and responsibilities that go along with them -- were hard-fought and hard-won. We read these words each year so that we -- and future generations -- will never forget.

Today, visitors to the Rotunda of the National Archives in Washington can view the original Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights -- collectively known as the Charters of Freedom. Each of the pages is preserved in a sealed glass encasement filled with helium. Special filters screen out damaging ultraviolet light, and each night, the Charters are lowered into a reinforced concrete vault. But despite these precautions, state-of-the-art technology developed by NASA indicates that the cases are deteriorating, potentially threatening the documents within them.

Each year, more than a million people view the Charters, taking advantage of a unique opportunity to make a connection with our Founding Fathers and the profound legacy of freedom and responsibility they left us. If future generations are to have the same opportunity, these fragile documents must be preserved.

It was nearly two years ago, in the Rotunda of the National Archives, that the President and I announced our plans for the celebration of the new millennium -- a program that would bring Americans from every corner of the country together to honor our past and imagine our future. Last July, we stood in

front of the Star-Spangled Banner at the Smithsonian Institution to kick off our Save America's Treasures program -- a public-private partnership to preserve the treasures that embody our heritage.

This week, we will return to the Archives, where we will announce one of the most important of these projects -- a plan to re-encase the Charters of Freedom and, with the generous support of the AT&T Corporation, to develop new exhibits and educational materials. The long-term plan includes an education center, a gallery, a family history center, restored Rotunda murals, a conference room and a new theater. Once the project is complete, more visitors than ever will be able to view the documents and gain a deeper understanding of their unique influence on our democracy.

But I hope they will also gain a greater appreciation of the influence these words have had on other nations. Just before I sat down to write this column, I participated by satellite in an extraordinary conference of political, civic and economic leaders -- all from new and emerging democracies. Hosted by the Republic of Yemen, the program was designed to provide a forum to discuss common hurdles, to highlight success stories and to encourage international commitment to the democratic reform process in these countries. The Republic of Yemen itself offers a remarkable success story. The poorest and most densely populated country on the Arabian peninsula, it has struggled with economic change, social unrest and debilitating poverty. Yet, against these odds, this small country is one of the most democratic countries in the Arab world.

Hard as it is to believe, in the 1970s, there were only 40 democracies in the world. Today, the people of 120 nations are engaged in building societies based on democratic principles. The Fourth of July is a uniquely American holiday, and I hope every American will celebrate with parades and fireworks, ice cream and hot dogs. But I also hope Americans will take this opportunity to wish the citizens of all the emerging democracies of the world success in their struggle for freedom and democracy.

I wish you all a happy Fourth of July.

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Message Sent To: _____

Josh Gottheimer
Draft 12/04/98 6:45pm



**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR
JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN'S 84TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION
JANUARY 7, 1999**

Thank you for inviting me to join in this wonderful celebration of Dr. John Hope Franklin's 84th birthday. Hillary and I wish we could be there to share in this very special occasion.

John, for so many Americans, myself among them, you are more than a historian, you are a hero. Through your writings and teachers, you have change the way we think about race in this country -- so much so, that some of your colleagues call you "the Godfather of race relations." Your landmark work, "From Slavery to freedom," was first published five decades ago, but it continues to be required reading for students everywhere. And as we approach the 21st Century, your wisdom will continue to light our way to building that more perfect union our founders dreamed of.

Last year, when I asked you to chair my Initiative on Race, I knew that you were the best choice because you understood what America can and should be...a country that holds itself to the ideals of justice and equality.

Throughout the Advisory Board's 15 month journey, you stood as the moral leader of our mission -- determined to inspire the American people to think, talk and act about race in new and productive ways. I want you to know that your work has laid a strong foundation for our continuing efforts. We are determined to achieve those ideals you have spent a lifetime teaching us.

Many of the younger folks who worked with you on the Initiative told me they were amazed by your energy and stamina even after traveling thousand of miles across this country, attending hundreds of meetings and giving countless speeches. But, then again, you have always been a trailblazer.

Dr. Franklin, every American owes you a debt of gratitude for your uncommon wisdom, insight and compassion. I am fortunate to call you my friend and I am grateful for your service to America.

Hillary and I wish you the best on your 84th birthday and we look forward to your continued counsel and friendship.

Josh Gottheimer
Draft 12/3/98 8:30pm

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR
CHRISTMAS MESSAGE TO THE NATION
DECEMBER 25, 1998**

THE PRESIDENT: On Christmas Day, Hillary and I would like to wish all of you good health, good cheer, and the fellowship of family and friends. As we gather around our Christmas trees and dinner tables today, I would like all of the brave men and women in uniform who are serving our country in lands far from home to know that you are in our hearts and prayers. On behalf of all Americans, I thank you for the greatest gift of the season -- for protecting our nation and safeguarding the blessings of freedom we all hold dear.

MRS. CLINTON: Christmas reminds us that the values we share far outweigh whatever the differences there are between us. The twinkle of a child's eye, the joy of a grandmother's laughter, the love in the hearts of mothers and fathers for their children -- all these blessings are unwrapped on Christmas morning.

THE PRESIDENT: May the spirit of the season be with you today and throughout the new year. From our family to yours, Merry Christmas, Happy New Year, and God bless you all.

Josh Gottheimer
Draft 12/4/98 7pm

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR
DRUNK DRIVING PREVENTION TELEVISED PSA
DECEMBER 15, 1998**

Thanks to tough laws, strict enforcement, and the voluntary actions of 67 million designated drivers, more than 50,000 lives have been saved. Drunk driving fatalities have reached the lowest point in decades. But we can not rest in our efforts when, every year, over 16,000 men, women and children lose their lives to drunk driving.

This holiday season, if you choose to drink alcohol, please be responsible. Drink in moderation and choose a designated driver who doesn't drink at all. Remember: the designated driver is the life of the party.

Hillary and I wish you a safe, healthy and happy holiday season.

Josh Gottheimer
Draft 12/4/98 6:30pm

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEO REMARKS FOR ALEXIS HERMAN,
RECIPIENT OF THE BROTHERHOOD CRUSADE, PIONEER OF AFRICAN
AMERICAN ACHIEVEMENT AWARD
DECEMBER 11, 1998**

I am very honored to have this opportunity to pay a tribute to my dear friend and our committed Labor Secretary, Alexis Herman, as this year's recipient of the prestigious Walter Bremond Pioneer of African American Achievement Award. I am also pleased to congratulate the Brotherhood Crusade on their thirtieth anniversary. One of the premier black, self-help organizations in the country, the Brotherhood Crusade -- under the leadership of Danny Bakewell -- has raised over \$40 million to improve the health, education and welfare of African Americans in California.

As a leader in the black community, Alexis Herman has championed these causes not only for blacks but for all Americans. From her days in the Carter Administration as the youngest Director of the Women's Bureau to her leadership as my Director of Public Liaison --- and now as Secretary of Labor, Alexis has spent her career on the front lines of a changing workforce, fighting for working men and women.

Her indomitable spirit has been demonstrated time and again. As a young social worker down in Mobile, Alabama, Alexis helped desegregate her former high school, Heart of Mary. Then, as a government worker in Atlanta, she established programs to place minority women in white-collar and nontraditional jobs. And just over a year ago, during the UPS strike, Alexis brought the sides together and just about refused to let them leave until they reached an agreement.

On this special evening, the Brotherhood Crusade could not have selected a better example of a pioneering public servant. Alexis, congratulations again on your award, and thank you again for your decades of service to our country. And to the Brotherhood Crusade, I hope your next thirty years are as successful as your first. Good night and God bless you.

Josh Gottheimer
Draft 12/03/98 6:30pm

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR
DISNEY CHRISTMAS PARADE
DECEMBER 15, 1998**

THE PRESIDENT: Hello and happy holidays to everyone enjoying today's broadcast of the Walt Disney World Very Merry Christmas Parade. Hillary and I are very glad to join you again this year as you celebrate the magic of the holidays in the Magic Kingdom.

MRS. CLINTON: Christmas is a time for children. It is a day to revel in their excitement, rejoice in their growth, and renew our pledge to help them make the most of their God-given gifts here in our own country and around the world.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let us all rejoice in the hope and promise every child brings to this Earth. Today, as we journey toward a new millennium, it must be our children who continue to light the way. Hillary, Chelsea, and I wish you all a joyous holiday and a very happy New Year. Thank you, God bless you, and may the magic of Christmas always be with you.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Remarks at NARAL Anniversary Luncheon
Washington, D.C.
January 22, 1999

Thank you. I am honored to be here with all of you on NARAL's 30th anniversary – to celebrate the voices you have raised, the battles you have waged, and the victories won on behalf of women around the world.

For 30 years, every step forward for women's reproductive health in America has had one thing in common: the leadership of the people in this room. So I wanted to come this afternoon for many reasons, but I want to start by thanking all of you for what you do every day for the rights and health of women and families. I want to thank my dear friend, Secretary Shalala, Andy Rubin(?), former and present members of Congress, Lucky Roosevelt(?) and Susie Gellman(?) for your hard work. And I particularly want to thank someone else. I know that in her remarks, Kate spotlighted many of NARAL's countless achievements, but I happened to notice that she left one thing out. And that is that none of it would have been possible in these last years without her and her leadership. Whether speaking out in the halls of Congress or organizing in communities across America, no one understands the stakes more. No one has been more courageous, passionate and tireless in the battle to make sure that every child is wanted, to make sure every pregnancy is planned, to make sure that every woman is blessed with reproductive health and freedom. And Kate, we all want to thank you for what you've done every single day. Thank you very much.

I'm also very humbled and honored to join the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, and all of you, in honoring the courageous life and work of Dr. Slepian. The President and I, the Vice President and Tipper had the opportunity to meet Lynne Slepian and her four sons in Buffalo the other day. I don't know how I could adequately express the feelings that the four of us had standing there and talking with Lynne. Marilyn Buchman?, the director of the Buffalo clinic, was with her. And those four young men. I'm told that recently Lynne, in a conversation with a friend, said how astounded she was that countless people that she didn't know had offered to help her family. Her friend replied, "It's because so many people admired Bart's courage and commitment." "But you know," Lynne said, "he didn't do those things to be admired." And the friend replied, "We know. And that's one of the reasons we admired him so much."

For his work was not the work of politics. It was the work of a community physician who brought life into the world, and gave health and dignity to women. That was his mission, and it must be our enduring goal.

Because we are here not only to celebrate NARAL's 30th birthday, but also to commemorate the 26th anniversary of Roe v. Wade. We can all take heart that despite many attempts to chip away at its guarantees, Roe is still the law of the land. We can take heart that we have stopped the global gag rule, for now. The Title X family planning funding increased by \$12 million. And that federal health plans are now required, if they cover prescription drugs, to also cover contraceptives.

But there is even more that happened this past year that we can celebrate. Because after years of moving in the wrong direction we are finally seeing teen pregnancies and teen sexual activity going down. Unintended pregnancies are down. Abortions are down by a full 12 percent. And all of this happened under a pro-choice president who has refused to back down in his support of a woman's right to choose. A pro-choice president who respects the strongly held views of those who act in good faith, hold a different view. And who has worked to make good on the promise he made seven years ago to work to make abortion safe, legal and rare. Now you know better than anyone else that this will never be, it cannot be, an easy issue. It will always be hard. We don't have to look any further than the events on the Mall, the event in this room, and the gulf between them to know that emotions and feelings will always run deep.

But all too often, generally because of the loudest voices, the American people don't hear the efforts explained that we're engaged in to continue to work with people from all different walks of life to make abortion safe, legal, and rare. But instead they hear what Lawrence Tribe calls "The Clash of Absolutes." People shouting at each other about their differences instead of talking about and working to find what they have in common. That doesn't mean that anyone should ever abandon his or her belief that their fundamental convictions, and certainly, for those of us here, it means we never abandon our belief that the fundamental human right all people have to plan their own families. And it also means that we can never work with those who advocate violence. But there are people of good faith on all sides of this issue, and every day that we fail to find common ground to meet our goals of giving human rights and dignity to all people, another day goes by where a child is born unwanted, or a woman can not get access to proper health care, or a teenager becomes pregnant and doesn't know what to do. Across our country, we come to this issue as men and women, young and old, some far beyond years when we have to worry about getting pregnant, others too young to remember what it was like in the days before Roe v. Wade. People call themselves by different labels, follow different political philosophies or religions, but I think it's essential that as Americans we look for that common ground that we can all stand upon. For more than anything, our democracy is built upon a powerful idea: that people with profound differences and backgrounds can work together, across whatever divides them personally, in pursuit of common goals. Because, despite our differences, there are certain core beliefs and values that tie us together and set

us apart as Americans. And it is those beliefs that can guide us in reaching our goal of keeping abortion safe, legal and rare into the next century.

I want to talk about three of those core, fundamental American beliefs. First, as Americans, most of us believe that the government should never be involved in the personal decision a woman makes about whether to bring a child into this world. I know that earlier you got a look at the new NARAL ad that will begin running Monday night. And I want to congratulate NARAL for calling choice what it is: a fundamental American value and freedom. So every time we hear calls from those who would do away with family planning or limit reproductive rights, I hope we remember how fundamental our American values are to this debate. I also hope we will hear the voices of others who have come before us. Just imagine for a minute hearing the voices of the women who lined around the block for hours in 1916, waiting for Margaret Sanger to open the nation's first birth control clinic in Brooklyn. Before the police shut it down 10 days later, the clinic managed to help hundreds of women, and they all had their stories to tell. Stories of miscarriages and dangerous and illegal abortions, and the daily struggles to feed, clothe and shelter seven, eight, nine, ten or even more children when there was barely enough to care for one.

Of course we know too well the human history beyond our shores is replete with examples of inhumanity, and the abuse of power. So every time someone glibly says that we should have a constitutional amendment banning abortion or we should criminalize abortions, I hope we will listen to the voices of those who have been the victims of such practices. I hope we could hear the voices of the women who have suffered, often in silence, in Nazi Germany. For Aryan women, deemed "valuable," abortion facilities were prohibited, and their miscarriages were investigated by the police. For Jewish women, and Gypsy men and women in the concentration camps, they faced mass sterilizations as part of the quest to prevent inferior children. And from 1942 on, when women deported as forced labor became pregnant, their pregnancy was reported to a special S.S. officer, who tested them to identify their race, and then he decided the outcome of their pregnancy.

Every ~~time someone tries~~ to eliminate access to family planning, or further curtail reproductive rights, I hope we'll hear voices from women in Romania. When I visited there just a few years ago, I spoke with women about what it was like before they had democracy -- when they were taken against their will, often, or just as it became a matter of force once a month during their working hours. Taken to a general holding facility where they were physically examined to determine if they were pregnant, stripping them of their dignity.

As part of Ceauseco's campaign to increase population in Romania to 30 million, birth control, sex education and abortions were outlawed. You could open

the door of your home and find a member of the communist youth group there to quiz you about your private life to find out why you hadn't conceived yet. And if you failed to conceive, you were fined a celibacy tax of up to 10 percent of your monthly salary.

I hope we will also listen to the voices coming out of China. The voices of women today now include many who are working to ensure that their country's family planning practices are voluntary and respectful. When I was there, I heard about what the one-child policy had once meant for too many women.

Back in the early 1980s, your menstrual cycle and use of contraceptives could be monitored by local authorities. If you wanted to have a child, you needed to get permission or perhaps face punishment. And, after you'd had your one allotted child, you could be sterilized against your will or forced to have an abortion.

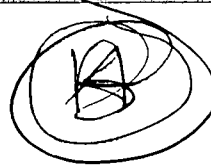
Which is why in my speech in Beijing, I said that "It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families -- and that includes being forced to have an abortion or being sterilized against their will."

I hope everyone who has ever talked about making abortion illegal or limiting access to family planning will listen to these voices from our own history and the history of other women around our world. More powerful than any statistic, they tell the story of two different extremes. The government saying you cannot have children -- and the government saying you must have children. Neither of which is consistent with our American sense of fundamental justice, freedom and democracy.

That's why NARAL is right to keep asking, Who decides? And the American people have been right to answer again and again: This difficult decision must be made by individual women, in privacy, in consultation with her conscience, her family, her doctor, her God -- and not her member of Congress.

We also must continue to say that making abortion illegal only succeeds in doing one thing -- making it unsafe, dangerous for women. As the Guttmacher Institute study released yesterday makes clear, even in some countries where abortion is illegal, they have abortion rates higher than what we have here in the United States. Because even when abortion is illegal, women who feel they need or have a right to the procedure find a way -- but often at great risks to themselves. Every year around the world, almost 600,000 women die of pregnancy related causes -- and 78,000 of these deaths are because of unsafe abortions.

Even in our country, we have seen what can happen when a small group of extremists tries to accomplish through violence and intimidation what they have been unable to achieve through the ballot box or the courts.



That brings me to the second principle that I hope continues to guide our country, and that is this: Violence, harassment, and intimidation have no role in our health-care system or in this debate. Yes, we should respect each other's First Amendment rights to express our views. But no one debases the values of free speech, life and religion more than terrorists who claim to be acting in their name.

At Dr. Slepian's memorial, there were countless parents who came to honor him. And they did not come alone. In their arms or by their sides were the children that he had delivered, some of whose lives he had literally saved. They will be his lasting legacy.

But what can each of us do that would best honor his memory, and the memory of others who have been killed? We must honor them as Dr. Wortman has done, by refusing to back down in our efforts to make sure that doctors are trained and available to provide safe and comprehensive health care to women all over our nation.

And we can do everything in our power to prevent violence and terrorism before it happens. In the last 10 years, there have been seven murders, 38 bombings, 146 cases of arson, and 733 cases of vandalism. Wherever one stands on the issue of abortion, surely we should all agree that when doctors are murdered, when clinics are bombed, splattered with acid, or set on fire, this is not free expression. This is domestic terrorism. And it must stop.

That's why I'm pleased to announce that the President's FY 2000 budget will include \$4.5 million to provide extra security to clinics at risk. And that means proper lighting, motion detectors, closed-circuit cameras, security systems, and bullet-resistant windows.

You know, we should recognize that nothing good can come from people preaching or practicing hate -- whether they do it from a street corner or from a website. And no one has taught us this lesson better than the man whose birthday we celebrated this past Monday. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in his speech about this topic 33 years ago said, "There is scarcely anything more tragic in life than a child who is not wanted." And that brings me to my third point.

More than anything, as Americans I think we can find common ground in the belief that all children should be wanted -- and that indeed abortions should be rare.

I have met thousands and thousands of pro-choice men and women. I have never met anyone who is pro-abortion. Being pro-choice is not being pro-abortion. Being pro-choice is trusting the individual to make the right decision for herself and her family, and not entrusting that decision to anyone wearing the authority of



government in any regard.

Now I think we can all agree that it is a tragedy when four in 10 pregnancies worldwide are unplanned -- and half of them end in abortion. Now if we want, really, to reduce these numbers, we know we cannot achieve that goal by making abortions harder to get. We must do it by standing up for family planning here and around the world. And I am pleased to announce that the President's budget request for FY 2000 does just that.

He is asking for an increase of \$25 million in Title X Family Planning grants -- the largest increase in 15 years -- and is also asking for \$25 million for the United Nations Population Fund -- thereby renewing our commitment to those women around the world who rely upon that fund for contraceptives, maternal care, and child care.

Now, I am always amazed -- as I was during the debates on this issue last year -- that those who oppose family planning try to link family planning to increases in abortion. Now we know that it is, on the contrary, by refusing to fund family planning programs that we force women to fall back on abortion.

We know that contraception reduces the probability of having an abortion by 85 percent. We know that every year, U.S. family planning programs prevent 1.2 million unintended pregnancies and 516,000 abortions in our country alone. And we have seen the same results the world over.

I am looking forward to my trip to the Hague in a little over, a little less, I guess now, than two weeks, where nations will gather in anticipation of Cairo plus five, to highlight success stories -- and find ways of replicating them worldwide.

But I have already seen many of those success stories firsthand. As I have personally had the opportunity to visit health centers all over the world, where family planning is decreasing the abortion rate -- and helping women gain authority and dignity in their own lives.

I remember visiting a maternity hospital in Brazil, where they had integrated family planning and reproductive health into their maternal and health services.

I saw mothers standing in the crowded hallways, cradling their newborns, waiting for well-baby appointments. Young women waiting for their prenatal appointments. Infants getting immunized. I saw parents getting the information they needed to make wise choices about planning their families. And I also saw wards of women who were there because they had not received quality health care. Many had, however, received self-induced or back-alley abortions.

I spoke to a number of mothers who told me that for the first time they could

adequately care for the children they had. I learned about how rates of maternal mortality and abortion decreased because women received health care they needed in a timely fashion. And I fell in love with the Minister of Health for the state I was visiting when he said what everyone knows, and that is he intended to bring to poor women the same access to family planning services that well-to-do women take for granted.

It was indeed a victory when contraceptives were included last year in health plans for federal employees. But now, private plans should cover contraceptives as well. It is also past time to pass a Patient's Bill of Rights so that women will not have to go through a gatekeeper to see their OB/GYN every year. And it is time, through our community health clinics and other facilities, to give all people access to effective family planning and, I hope someday, universal health care.

And, if we want to decrease unintended pregnancies, abortions, welfare, and the number of young people dropping out of school, we must continue the progress we have made on preventing teen pregnancy. I am very pleased with the results of the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, headed by Sarah Brown and enlisting many distinguished Americans. That campaign has made teen pregnancy an issue on the front covers of teen magazines and soap operas, and has used many imaginative ways of reaching out with many Americans, particularly young Americans, as possible. And we've got some success to show for this effort.

Fewer teens are having sex, getting pregnant, and having abortions, so we are getting the word out, but there are clearly too many young people who have not yet gotten this message. I'm always stunned when I meet with groups of young women who have babies already, who are pregnant and perhaps attending a class I visit. They sit there with a totally straight face and tell me that as soon as their boyfriend gets a job or gets back from the Army, or gets out of jail, they'll be a family, and everything will work out just fine. Well, we know better, and we have to continue to educate our young women about that reality as well. But we know that young women get pregnant for a whole host of reasons. Some just don't understand why it's a bad idea, because they will, they think, have someone who is totally there who will love them unconditionally, at least until that child becomes a toddler and learns to say no. But that's another story. Some are coerced by older boyfriends. Some are the victims of incest. Others can't cope with school or their family and see pregnancy and motherhood as a way out. Whatever the reason might be, we have to try to reach every single teenager. We're doing that in a variety of ways. We are leaving no strategy unused. The pregnancy prevention programs include abstinence education, more after-school programs, efforts like Secretary Shalala's Girl Power Campaign, access to family planning, decision-making groups -- any approach that we think can work.

And we are seeing that this multi-pronged strategy can give us positive results. For example, back in 1990, Courtland, New York, had one of the highest

teen pregnancy rates around. The county's family planning clinic and Catholic Charities decided to work together. They made the clinic free. They enlisted teens to talk to teens. They created a place for youngsters to go every Saturday night with adult supervision. They brought in religious leaders and businesses and they taught parents how to talk to their own children. And they set a goal of reducing the teenage pregnancy rate by one-third by the year 2000. Today they have almost reached that goal. As of 1996, the rates had decreased 30 percent -- the lowest in that community in 20 years.

So we know what works. We have to muster the will and build the coalitions that reach out and include all members of a community in making it possible for not only young people, but people of any age, to have access to the services, to be given the support they need to make wise decisions about their sexual life so that they can prevent pregnancy and prevent abortion.

I remember hearing about a conversation that Sarah Brown had with a teen father in Los Angeles. As they talked about what he felt like, being a father at such a young age, at the end of the conversation, he told Sarah that, "No adult had ever taken that much interest in what happened to me."

Well, the truth is that we have to pay attention to young women and young men, we have to do what we can to make it possible that they can have the equipment they need -- psychologically, emotionally -- to withstand pressure and to make the right decisions.

One young person from Texas, when asked what parents could do to prevent their own children from becoming pregnant said: "Don't leave us alone so much." Now, as any parent of teenagers knows, I don't think he meant literally he wanted to spend every second with his parents. But I do think that he was sending us in the adult community a very important message: that we have to fill our young people's lives with meaningful activities, skills they can obtain, a good education and just plain old-fashioned support and love. If we give them something else in their lives to look forward to -- playing on a soccer team, being in a school play, or going to college, becoming a teacher, whatever it might be -- then the needs that they sometimes feel to achieve maturity early will have some tough competition.

A number of years ago, at the Baltimore Self Center, Rosalie Strett used to give pregnant girls baby dolls to teach them to be parents. But she replaced the face of the doll with a mirror -- not only so they would learn to make eye contact with their children, but so that when they looked down, they would see themselves, and that child, in the future.

Imagine if every person looked into the mirror before sexual activity, before a pregnancy, and asked, "Am I ready for this?" Imagine if boys and men -- not just

girls and women -- looked into that mirror as well. Because we have to do more to reach out to young men, and enlist them in the campaign to make abortion rare, and to make it possible for them also to define their lives in terms other than what they imagine sexual prowess and fatherhood being.

All of us -- citizens, parents, teachers, government officials, the media, sports figures, religious leaders, business leaders -- all of us need to look in that mirror. We have to make it our responsibility to create a new ethic of planned parenthood in this country. An ethic where people have the tools they need to plan every pregnancy -- probably, by any measurement, the most important event in their lives -- with as much care and detail as they plan other major events.

I hope we will do more than imagine. I think again of Dr. Slepian, who despite the harassment, had the courage every day to be there for the women who relied upon him.

I think of the women who died in back-alley abortions. The women forced to bear children in Romania or forced to abort them in China. And I think of the pioneers in our own country before Roe v. Wade -- some in this room -- who, even when you were ridiculed, threatened or ostracized, stood up for the right of each woman to choose. You have led us to this day, and we are grateful for your leadership. But now we have to expand far beyond this room, and far beyond those who are already identified an understanding that the issue we are proposing -- the pro-choice issue -- is an issue with deep roots in American democracy and human rights.

I hope that at the 50th anniversary of NARAL, the people on this podium speaking to you and the people in the audience will be able to say that we persevered. We did not turn our backs on our fundamental principles, but we also faced forward. That we worked with those who were willing to work with us to end some of the divisiveness that has plagued this issue. And we found the courage -- and the common ground -- to make it possible for future generations to say that abortion is safe, legal and indeed, rare.

At some point in that future, where we will be able, I hope, to have built a much stronger foundation, and created on much more common ground, we will not have to hear these endless debates about family planning, about reproductive rights, but instead, we will all be focused on giving to each person in our country the respect that person needs to make the decisions all of our lives that only we can and should make. That's the kind of America that we celebrate today. That's the kind of America we must continue to fight for. Thank you all very much.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
NATIONAL FAMILY PLANNING AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH ASSOCIATION
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR SILVER ANNIVERSARY
FEBRUARY 27, 1996**

Good evening. I wish I could be with all of you tonight to celebrate the Silver Anniversary of the National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association. Through your work, NFPRHA [NIF-rah] is educating and empowering people to be the best parents possible. This starts with giving them the means and the encouragement to plan their pregnancies and better support their children.

I'm particularly pleased to join you for this special tribute to Justice Harry Blackmun, who is receiving the Silver Anniversary Award for Lifetime Achievement. Justice Blackmun's career has been about bettering people's lives, and about bettering our country in the process. Always wise, always humble, he never let his 24 years of service on the United States Supreme Court distance him from the experiences of his fellow Americans. And he never has lost his sense of humor -- no mean feat for someone who has lived in Washington that long.

Today, we all celebrate Justice Blackmun's legacy of courage, compassion, integrity and faith in our legal system to do right by our citizens. Justice Blackmun's imprint is on almost every major Supreme Court case of the past generation. I wish we had time to review all of his contributions and accomplishments. But let me just mention one: Justice Blackmun's leadership on the case known as *Roe v Wade*, which inspired a whole generation of law school students at the time, including me.

Justice Blackmun's opinions for the Court in Roe and Doe recognized not only the rights of American women, but also the professional obligations of America's doctors.

On behalf of the President and all Americans, I offer congratulations to Justice Blackmun and thanks for his example of wisdom, leadership, and dedication to our country.

I also would like to join all of you in recognizing two other Silver Anniversary Award winners -- Congressman Henry Waxman of California and Congressman John Porter of Illinois, both of whom are being honored for their leadership in the public policy arena.

No current member of Congress has done more to assure access to family planning services for low income women than my friend, Congressman Waxman. From the California legislature to the U. S. Congress, Henry Waxman has been a champion of family planning. He has led the charge to ensure that women are able to get needed services and to know about the options available to them.

Congressman Waxman has provided the leadership, tenacity and moral courage to ride out the storm on one of our nation's most emotional issues. As one of his friends once said, Henry's not a rock. He's a river. He keeps going until he changes the ground.

It is also fitting that tonight you honor Congressman Porter for his leadership in Congress, not only for his work on family planning issues but for his commitment to universal access to health care and medical research. Congressman Porter has fought hard to ensure that women get the counseling they need at federally funded family planning clinics. He understands that federal support for scientific research and discovery is what has made our health care system second to none. Dedication and courage are the hallmarks of Congressman Porter's tenure in Congress, and I am pleased to join in this tribute to him.

I wish NFPRHA [NIF-rah] and your member organizations continued success and courage and I congratulate the other honorees here this evening. Thank you, and happy anniversary.

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
APRIL 20, 1999

I am delighted to join all of you for the John F. English Symposium. I especially want to thank my good friend Harold for that introduction and for inviting me here. Now, I know there are a lot of journalists in the room this morning. And some, of course, have asked, why it is that I've come to New York **right now** to talk about the future of health care. The answer seems obvious to me and I'm sure to most of you....You don't say "no" to Harold Ickes!

I also want to thank President Shuart [Shoe-urt] and the faculty, staff, and students at Hofstra University for hosting us. I want to thank our moderator, Jim Tallon. And I want to thank Bill Cunningham and everyone from Meyer, Suozzi, English and Klein for making this event possible. It is a special honor to take part in a symposium dedicated to Jack English, someone who taught and gave so much to his firm, his state, and his country.

When people talk about Jack, they talk about his passion for life, his generous spirit, his commitment to his family and community. And they all remark on the way he practiced law. In his office was a big circular table. Around the table were 7 or 8 very comfortable chairs. And, whenever there was a challenge to confront, a problem to solve, he would bring to that table a group of people from all sides of the issue.

So, I think he certainly would have approved of this symposium. First, because of the sheer number of people here -- we all know that no one built a better crowd than him. But also because of the diversity of people here. On this stage are so many of the extraordinary lawyers Jack brought to the firm and that table -- not only Harold and Bill Cunningham, but other partners such as Bernard Meyer, Joe Suozzi, and John Klein. And in this room are labor leaders and health care leaders from the public and private sectors. There are political leaders from both sides of the aisle. There are health care consumers-- young and old -- all of whom must play a role in deciding what our health care system will look like in the future.

And there is no more appropriate time or place for this discussion. I say place because this community and state have long been at the forefront of the battle to provide quality health care to all citizens, especially the most vulnerable -- whether it be through innovative programs like Kids Care or some of the finest academic health care centers in the country. And I say time, because our ability to confront the challenges in our health care system, will determine not just how long we live now, but how well all Americans will live in the next century.

These days, we often hear longings for the way things were in the Golden Age of medicine -- that period in the late 60s and 70s. Many of us here experienced it. Or at least watched it on t.v. Every week, we could turn on the television and see doctors like Marcus Welby, M.D. Somehow he seemed to make a good living seeing about one patient a week. He worked in a solo practice. He never missed a diagnosis. He always had time to talk to his patients -- and even get involved in their lives. And, he never left home without that black bag.

But, in the real story of that time, care varied greatly from place to place. And this black bag often wasn't enough to save a patient's life, prevent a deadly disease, or provide the comprehensive care people take for granted today.

Imagine if Marcus Welby suddenly found himself on the set of "ER," "L.A. Doctors" or "Chicago Hope." He -- or today, maybe she -- would have access to new treatments for strokes and AIDS. Computers that allow us to share lifesaving information in real time. The mapping of the Human Genome that is revealing evolutionary secrets as we discover genes linked to breast cancer, colon cancer, and Parkinson's disease. These breakthroughs didn't happen by accident. They are the result of sustained investments in research, especially in basic science at the National Institutes of Health -- and we can never back down on that commitment.

If Marcus Welby brought his black bag into today's world of medicine, he'd find dramatic changes that are bringing new promises and new perils. We see people living longer, with less disability -- and new questions about how we are going to care for them in their golden years. We see patients who are active consumers of health care -- surfing the internet, reading the health section in the paper -- but often without the means to sort the good information from the bad. We see the lines among payers, providers and insurers blur in our health care delivery system -- giving us more opportunity to share information and measure results -- but giving rise to new concerns about privacy, quality, and ultimately trust in the care we're receiving.

Because too many patients today are worried that they will never reap the benefits of these advances in medicine, especially when they need them most. If they don't have insurance they're worried about what will happen if they -- or God forbid their child -- becomes sick or hurt. And if they do have insurance, they're worried that it won't be worth the paper it's printed on.

In the movie, As Good as it Gets, when Helen Hunt said bluntly how she felt about the HMO who was denying her sick child care, people in theater audiences across the country literally broke out in applause. We should be concerned about that. We should be concerned when 60 percent of people say they're worried that if they get sick, their HMO will care more about saving money, than healing them. We should be concerned about the number of people [] who believe the quality of their health care in 2010 will be worse than it is today.

We know that in the last 10 years, employer-sponsored enrollment in managed care plans has grown from 29 percent to 86 percent. That doesn't have to be a negative. There was a reason why the federal government, in 1973, provided financial assistance to help foster the growth of HMOs. Managed care, when done right, offers us opportunities to improve preventive care and lower costs. We don't want to go back to the days of black checks and unchecked growth. That's not the answer.

But, we need to restore the balance in the direction of the doctor-patient relationship -- so that the healing of medicine is never overshadowed by the business of medicine. And so we can embrace the progress we've made in our health care system, while holding onto what worked in the past. A doctor in North Carolina recently wrote a piece for Medical Economics about finding his father's black bag. He said, "I imagine it sitting open, near the bed of a sick or dying patient, while my dad held the patient's hand or prayed with the family."

In some ways, this is what people are longing for when they talk about the Golden Age of Medicine: trust that it is their doctor who is determining their treatment -- not a checklist administered in some office thousands of miles away.

Whether someone chooses managed care or traditional care, they should have quality care. They should have access to a specialist whenever and wherever they need one. They should have a right to appeal. They should have continuous care regardless of whether they're employer changes plans. My husband has guaranteed these and other basic consumer protections for 9 million federal employees. But every American should have a Patient's Bill of Rights.

Think about a loved one you know who has been diagnosed with cancer. They are devastated. They go through surgery, chemotherapy, and radiation. They grow to trust and depend upon the doctor they're seeing. Now imagine if their employer changes plans. They shouldn't have to start all over again with a new doctor. My husband and I have met countless Americans whose stories make the case for this law better than any statistics or studies.

Because what good is your health insurance if you are someone like Mary Kuhl? Her husband died at the age of 45 after being forced to delay critical heart surgery. Why the delay? Physician after physician said he needed the operation. They said no one in his plan was qualified. And that the only hospital that could do it was out of his network. But still the plan continued to deny coverage. By the time it was approved it was too late. His heart had deteriorated so much that he couldn't withstand the strain of the operation. His only option was a heart transplant. And he died waiting for it.

Now, if you think about this case, the care is eventually covered. But, the key word is eventually. Often when critical health care tests or treatments are delayed -- they might as well be denied. Because it's not like delaying a payment for car insurance, where you are simply inconvenienced. Here your health -- and often your life -- are endangered.

So, when a patient or physician disagrees with a course of treatment, they need to have access to a fair and fast appeal. And every patient should have a right to redress if they've been wronged. This isn't about increasing litigation. It's about increasing accountability and changing incentives. My husband often talks about the person who is making these decisions in an office somewhere. They want to succeed in their job. And they know they won't get in trouble for saying "no" to care. Saying "no" just means a possible appeal. It means your boss might have to make the decision -- eventually. Doctors are liable for medical malpractice. Fee-for-service plans are liable. Most HMOs will do the right thing. But where are the incentives for all HMOs to err on the side of providing necessary care?

Imagine if you or someone you love needs a mammogram. The plan says it's too early to authorize payment. So you wait because you can't afford it. Six months later, after letters and

phone calls from you and your physician, the plan finally authorizes it. And you get screened. But by now, the cancer has spread through your body. You only have a few months to live. And you find out that the mammogram, had you received it when you wanted it, could have saved you.

ERISA now preempts all state laws for HMOs. So, right now if you sue, do you know what costs you can recover from your health plan? Not the cost of lost wages. Not compensation for the family you will leave behind. You can recover the \$[fill in] cost of the original mammogram.

Now, there are those who say that these types of consumer protections will cost too much. But, studies [fill in] have found that they would only increase the cost of health insurance for patients by about [\$2] per month. And we cannot afford not to pass them. Here we are, with the stock market at a record high, and unemployment at its lowest levels in a generation...if we cannot afford to enact a Patient's Bill of Rights now, then when will we?

Unfortunately, there are some Republicans in Congress who are trying to pass a Bill of Rights that is really a bill of goods. It doesn't give patient's access to specialists when they have life threatening or disabling conditions. It doesn't provide for continuous care. It doesn't guarantee providers who are accessible and available. And even its limited protections would mean nothing to over 120 million Americans in fully insured and individual plans -- who are completely left out of the proposal.

When I go into hospitals, there aren't separate beds for Republicans and Democrats. When I go to symposiums like this one, there are Repbicans and Democrats who are all worried about health care quality. There is only once place in America where this is a partisan issue -- and that's Washington, D.C.

[No one understood the importance of bringing people together better than Jack English. As the top Democrat in Nassau County, he always built bridges of friendship and collaboration between Republicans and Democrats -- and between Democrats and Democrats, which is sometimes even harder to do. I'm told that he once had two wings of the Democratic Party organized to do a big mailing. He put one group in one room stuffing the envelopes. Jack would pick them up, seal them as he walked down the hall to bring them to the other group, who stamped them. And somehow he was able to get these two groups to focus on what brought them together, instead of what drove them apart.

Even when we disagree about the details, we need to build the same kind of consensus today. The vast majority of Americans want a real Patient's Bill of Rights -- and we must pass one. [And we must pass laws protecting the privacy of medical records and outlawing genetic discrimination. Because we know that Americans who have insurance often don't use it or seek care because they're scared. They're scared that when they walk into a doctor's office their personal information -- and especially their genetic information -- is going to be used to violate their privacy or deny them a job or health insurance.]

And we must build the same kind of consensus in order to tackle the problem of the 43 people in this country who are still uninsured. How will we make sure that they're cared for? How will we pay the extra costs that come when a person is not treated for a chronic disease or uses the emergency room as the first -- not the last -- line of defense?

Some of you may remember that I had a one or two ideas about this topic back in 1994. Now, clearly, that approach didn't work. And I'm not going to try **that** again. But, none of us can give up until we finally have universal, affordable, quality health care for every citizen in this country.

People ask me if I was discouraged after the defeat of health care reform? Well, yes, I was disappointed that we didn't have a fuller debate in Congress. But, I also believe that the effort was very important for America. We did educate ourselves about many of the issues you're talking about today. And we learned that when the political environment makes it impossible to take large steps, then you have the choice of taking smaller steps or sitting on the sidelines. I come from the school of smaller steps. It is far better to try to make changes that will help at least some people than to do nothing and help no one.

Children -- woman she met -- CHIP

Medicare guarantee solvency -- AHC piece

Medicaid -- TANF -- what we're hearing...not o.k.

Still gaps -- young people...when I was young, I thought I'd live forever. Now, that I'm over 50, I know I'm alive because I hurt. Self insured...

Jack...

Lingering questions...cost?

How we can take what we learn -- outcomes for all...chronic diseases...conquering...

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.



Congressman
Lee H. Hamilton
"Reflections on the Congress
and the Country"

Excerpts from Remarks by the 1997 Recipient of the

**EDMUND S. MUSKIE
DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVICE AWARD**

to the Center for National Policy

*Washington, D.C.
September 29, 1997*



Congressman Lee H. Hamilton

1997 Recipient of the
EDMUND S. MUSKIE DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVICE AWARD

Excerpts from Remarks to the
Center for National Policy
September 29, 1997

"...I shall think often of this evening and the high honor you have paid to me. I've always wanted to walk off the stage before I was shoved off, and your nice gesture makes me think I have done that....The award is all the more meaningful because it is named for Edmund Muskie. I still remember the clarity and persuasiveness of his statements on the budget, the environment, and foreign policy....I've been asked to reminisce for a few minutes. Obviously they didn't expect anything too heavy from me this evening, and I'm pleased to comply."

A look back....

I've been fortunate to serve many years in Congress.

I've served with 8 Presidents. I've worked with 11 Secretaries of State. And when I complete my 17th Congress, I'll be one of only around 80 Members in the history of the House who have served that long.

I remember, of course, my early years in Congress. I remember that the Speaker of the House then, John McCormack, could not remember my name. He called me John and Henry and Carl on various days. Then one day before the Democratic caucus to elect the Speaker he called me on the phone. I told him I wouldn't vote for him, but would vote instead for Mo Udall. That's probably not the smartest judgment I ever made. From that day on, however, he knew my name, and the next time he saw me in the hall he called me Lee. And to his eternal credit he never held it against me.

I remember those early days when Members of Congress could put a new post office in every village and hamlet, and I did. I built 17 in my first year in Congress.

And I remember needing only one staffer to help me answer constituent mail, and getting only an occasional visit from a lobbyist. I also remember that I could accept any gift offered, and make any amount of money of outside income, unrestricted and unreported. I even remember-- in those pre-Vietnam and pre-Watergate days-- people believing and trusting what government officials and politicians said.

I remember that when I first ran for Congress in 1964, my total campaign budget was \$30,000, compared to \$1 million last election.

And I remember many close personal relationships across the aisle. Early in my career, I made a parliamentary mistake on the floor. A senior Republican (and good friend) came over, put his arm around me, and gently pointed out my mistake and how to correct it -- and this was on a bill he opposed. I can't imagine that happening today.

I remember walking into the White House Foreign Affairs Committee room, which was then a small room now occupied by the House TV-radio gallery. I was told by the staff director there were no seats at the Committee table for me or the other two freshmen Democratic Members. He told me that if I wanted a seat I had to arrive before the lobbyist and the spectators came in. But it really didn't matter whether I came or not; as a freshman I was not going to be recognized to speak.

Unforgettable Members of Congress

I remember some unforgettable Members of Congress, including the awesome-- even fearsome-- Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Emmanuel Celler. I was the designated spokesman when a group of us went to talk to him about the President's proposal to extend the term of House Members from two to four years. We favored the bill and had introduced it. And I asked him how he stood on the bill. His response has become a part of Washington lore. He said, "don't stand on it, I'm sitting on it. It rests four-square under my fanny and will never see the light of day." And of course it didn't, and we learned something about congressional power.

I remember Chairman Jamie Whitten, who would bring the most complicated appropriations bill, thousands of pages in length, to the floor of the House and spend his entire allotted debate time on a conference report thanking everyone under the sun, and saying nothing about the bill. The first few times he did it I thought he might not be smart enough to explain the bill. I finally figured out that he was too smart to explain it, and he never did, and he always got it passed.

I remember how deeply disappointed President Johnson was when I offered the first amendment to reduce U.S. involvement in Vietnam. It was a switch of position for me, although others has preceded me. I was one of his favorites from the class of '64, and he had come to campaign for me in '66. He had taken a special interest in my career. I will never forget his eyes when he asked me, "How could you do that to me, Lee?"

I remember Hale Boggs addressing President Nixon and members of his entire Cabinet in the Cabinet Room. He made an impassioned plea as only he could do on a subject I've long since forgotten, and as he left the room he did so with the observation, "Now Mr. President, if you'll excuse me, I have some important people waiting to see me in my office."

The memories go on and on in an endless line of splendor. With each one of them it reminds me that serving in the House of Representatives has been a high privilege, but a good bit of fun too.

Good Advice

And I remember the good advice I got. I got good financial advice from President Johnson. He had the freshmen gather in the Cabinet Room. I don't remember much of what he said except one thing; he told us, "Buy your home." He said, "If you're like most politicians it'll be the only decent investment you'll ever make." I did, and it was.

I remember Tip O'Neill putting his arm around me as we walked down the hall and giving me some advice. He called me Neal for my first decade here because I reminded him of a Boston baseball player by the name of Neal Hamilton. He said, "Neal, you can accomplish anything in this town if you're willing to let someone else take the credit."

I remember Wilbur Mills, a marvelous man, a superb legislator, who came, of course, to an unhappy ending. One evening we walked out of the Capitol together. His picture was on the cover of Time magazine; he was known all over the country; he was the foremost legislator in Congress-- people sought his advice and clamored to speak with him even for a few seconds. I asked him where he was going, he said "I'm going back to Arkansas. I'll have a public meeting." He mentioned some small town and said, "There'll be about 15 or 20 people there." I never forgot it. As we departed he said "Lee, don't ever forget your constituents. Nothing, nothing comes before them."

And I remember Carl Albert who said always respect your colleagues and never forget that each one of them serves in this House because they were elected to do so by the American people.

Steps forward...

But let me go beyond the specific remembrances and turn more serious for a moment as we conclude.

There's been a massive change of attitude toward the role of government since I first came here.

In the early 1960s many were brimming with optimism over the potential of federal programs to solve all kinds of problems-- alleviating poverty, curbing racial discrimination, providing health coverage, rebuilding American's cities.

Today the mood has shifted toward pessimism about what government can achieve that is worthwhile. Many believe that government creates more problems than it solves.

Over these past 30 years I've been struck by the decline in public respect for government. In recent years it has threatened the ability of government to make good policy. Of course skepticism has always been a healthy strain in American thinking. Our Constitution reflects that with all of its checks and balances. And we all know that government can be inefficient, inaccessible, and unaccountable. But when healthy skepticism about government turns to cynicism, it becomes the great enemy of democracy.

I think the operative question in American government today is the same as it was at Gettysburg when Lincoln asked, "Can this nation so dedicated and so conceived long endure?" That question may put it in rather apocalyptic terms, but it nonetheless is on the mark.

A constituent put the right question to me the other day, "What's the most important thing you can do to restore confidence in government?"

Restoring Confidence in Government

You'll be happy to know I'm not going to try to answer that question in any length tonight. But my basic response to my constituent was that to restore confidence in government we have to make government responsive, accessible, and workable.

I believe that representative democracy is our best hope for dealing with our problems. We live in a complicated country of vast size and remarkable diversity. When I was in high school we had 130 million people. Today we have almost 270 million. So in my working lifetime the population of the country has more than doubled. Our voters are many; they're spread far and wide; and they represent a great variety of races, religions, and national origins. It isn't easy to develop a system that enables such a country to live together peacefully and productively.

Representative democracy, for all of its faults, permits us to do that. It works through a process of deliberation, negotiation, and compromise-- in a word, the process of politics. Politics and politicians may be unpopular but they're also indispensable. Politics is the way that we express the popular will of the people in this country. At its best, representative democracy gives us a system whereby all of us have a voice in the process and a stake in the product.

In many ways, we have lost what the founding fathers possessed-- the belief that government can work. Government is certainly still needed to provide for our national security and help promote our general welfare. Sometimes government gets in our way, but other times it can be helpful to ordinary people in their effort to succeed, to have opportunity, and to correct instances of oppression and injustice.

Those of us who see important reasons for government to act must be willing not just to criticize government and try to improve its operations, we must also work to improve public understanding of what government can do, what it cannot do, and what it has done. I simply do not see how it is possible to deal with many of our problems without a minimal public confidence in government.

I know that many people say the government and Congress don't work very well. And it's certainly not difficult to point out instances when they don't. But on the other hand, given the size of the country and the number and complexity of the challenges we confront, my view is that representative democracy works reasonably well in this country. I do not for a moment agree with those who think that the American system has failed or that the future of the country is bleak.

Improving Operations of Congress

My main interest during my years in Congress has been to make government responsive, accessible, and workable. Part of that representative democracy system, of course, is the role of Congress.

Congress is an enormously important and resilient institution. I'm impressed almost daily with the way it tackles difficult national problems, manages conflict in the country, acts as a national forum, reflects diverse points of view, and over time usually develops a consensus that reflects the collective judgment of a diverse people. It has helped create and maintain a nation more free than any other. It is the most powerful and most respected legislative body in the world.

It is not, of course, perfect. It has some major flaws. It doesn't think enough about the long term, for example, it can be much too partisan; and the system by which we finance our elections is a mess. But I nonetheless believe that Congress is-- overall but not perfectly, often but not always--responsive to the sustained and express will of the American people. It's a much more responsive body than people think. Congress does usually respond to public opinion if that opinion is conveyed strongly by the American people, as we have seen in the recent work to balance the budget.

I have seen many changes over the years, but I think America is a better place today than it was when I came to Congress in 1965:

- The Cold War is over, and we are at peace.
- As the preeminent military power in the world, we do not worry about an imminent threat to our national security.
- It is hard to find a place on the map where the U.S. is not engaged in some manner trying to make things better.
- We enjoy the world's most competitive economy.
- The new global trading system means new challenges and a host of new opportunities.
- The Internet brings a world of knowledge to the most remote classroom or the most remote home.
- We have greatly improved the lot of older Americans with programs like Social Security and Medicare.
- Women and minorities have had new doors opened to them like never before.
- And, by far the most important of all, this still is the land of opportunity where everyone has a chance, not an equal chance, unfortunately, but still a chance to become the best they can become.

Congress did not single-handedly bring about all of these changes. But it played a major role in every one of them. Congress is still the protector of our freedom and the premier forum for addressing the key issues of the day.

As I receive this award from the Center for National Policy and look back over my years in Congress, I'm not cynical, pessimistic, or discouraged. I'm optimistic about Congress and about the country. I am grateful for every day I've been a part of this body and I do not know of any place in the world that I would have preferred to be. I believe that inch by inch, line by line, I've had a small-- very small-- part in making this a more perfect union and making this country stronger, safer, and freer.

What more could anyone want?

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Georgetown University, Eleanor Roosevelt Lectures
Washington, DC -December 4, 1998

I am delighted to be here at this wonderful university. I want to thank my friend and your president, Father O'Donovan, for his introduction, for his leadership, for his many contributions. Not only here to this university but to the much broader American community as well.

I am delighted to be here with others, from whom you will hear as the program goes on. Dr. Glen Johnson from Val-Kill and Dr. Dorothy Brown and Dr. Sue Martin, Ambassador Betty King and Dr. McGrab and Dr. Milnik...and your own Dr. Jo Ann Moran Cruz and Tracy Roosevelt.

This is a very important first lecture and a very significant series that was undertaken by the Eleanor Roosevelt Center at Val-Kill at Hyde Park in New York. I am very honored to be taking part in this extraordinary lecture series and I'm very pleased to be a part of something that preserves the legacy of Eleanor Roosevelt. That gives new generations of all of us, men and women, here in America and around the world, a real opportunity to know more about this extraordinary woman.

What I wish to discuss this afternoon is how Eleanor Roosevelt's legacy as a person, as a leader, as someone who in her own way makes human rights part of our everyday experience and vocabulary, how she can help today to continue to guide us in protecting the human rights of all people and, in particular, of children. I believe that this is an important piece of unfinished business in our century and one of the challenges of the new millennium. It is of course more than fitting to have this first conversation about human rights at this great university and community --one which has always responded to the call of service, God, and humanity. It is the home, as Father O'Donovan just reminded us, of a student community that sends more than a thousand young people a year into Washington, DC schools and neighborhoods bringing math, and reading, and role modeling, and friendship, and a hug to some of our nation's most vulnerable children. It is the home of a brilliant faculty that has devoted their lives to their students, to scholarship, to service. Whether it's in the classroom or in some other activity, Georgetown continues to make an important mark on what we are as a people, how we define ourselves now and in the future. It is certainly the home of many distinguished alumni who have used the Jesuit ethos of service in this world, from Mark Gearan who sends Peace Corps volunteers to every corner of the Earth, to George Mitchell who helped bring peace to Northern Ireland, from my husband, to my Chief of Staff Melanne Verveer who is with me here today.

Now, as you might imagine, being somewhat in awe of this great university which has produced so many important people and that has made so many important contributions to our country, I thought I needed to discuss this speech with Eleanor Roosevelt. (laughter and applause) When I first told people some years ago that I sometimes hold imaginary conversations

with Mrs. Roosevelt, there were some --particularly, I must say, in the journalistic community --who thought they finally had irrefutable evidence that I'd gone off the deep end. (laughter) Well, I only can commend to you this imaginary conversation technique --whether it is with a parent, a grandparent or a beloved former teacher or a famous person --it does help to get your ideas straight because you say, "What would my grandmother say about this?" Or, "what would Mrs. Jones, who desperately tried to prevent me from dangling participles, have to say about this?" So talking to Mrs. Roosevelt, even in my imagination, has proven to be a very great source of strength and inspiration. You can imagine some of the situations I find myself in when I say, "Oh my good gracious, what would Mrs. Roosevelt say?" (laughter)

As anyone can tell you, particularly my daughter, I am technologically challenged. But, I decided in preparation for this speech to try a more modern, more acceptable way of communicating. So, first I tried to email her at eroosvelt@heaven.com, but I think the server was down. I tried calling on her cell phone, but the circuits were busy. Then I tried paging her but was told she had traveled to another part of Heaven to work with a group of angels on strike, and that I would need a universal skype to get through to her.

So there I was last night, I got home from New York late, worried about what I was going to say, staring at some pages of print when I realized that her life has already given us the guidance we need on today's topic so many times over. Not just some inspirational words that we might hear in our minds, in our imaginary conversations such as, "The thing to remember is to do the thing you think you cannot do." But also in her example, in the path that she created, in the life that she lived. Wherever I go as First Lady, I am always reminded of one thing: that usually, Eleanor Roosevelt has been there before. I've been to farms in Iowa and factories in Michigan, welfare offices in New York, where Mrs. Roosevelt paid a visit more than half a century ago. When I went to Pakistan and India we discovered that Eleanor Roosevelt had been there in 1952, and had written a book about her experiences.

So I was particularly honored when I received the Eleanor Roosevelt Center Gold Medal at Val-Kill. A beautiful wooded retreat where she went to entertain friends and family to think and to write. As I walked through her home I tried to imagine again how she worked tirelessly there for what she believed in. And I was told a story that I've never forgotten. It was a day in the 1950s and she had a speech to give in New York. She was so sick that her throat was literally bleeding. Everyone wanted her to cancel, but she refused. She drove from Hyde Park to 125th Street in Harlem. And when she got out of the car, a young girl with her face beaming handed her a bouquet of flowers. Eleanor Roosevelt turned to the person with her and said, "You see, I had to come. She was expecting me."

Well, they were always expecting her and she always came. She came to give support and to give a voice to those without either. To the migrant workers who watched her march through fields that had been newly plowed and were thick with muck, they would just matter-of-factly greet her by saying, "Oh Mrs. Roosevelt, you've come to see us." As if it were the most natural thing in the world. To the Japanese -Americans during World War II and to

African Americans every day during her long life, she would help support people who faced discrimination and challenges.

Another of my favorite stories is of an African American child, a first grader, whose mother worked in a laundry mat. His father was a mechanic who couldn't get good work. They lived in a tin shack without any foundation so every time it rained their house slid down the hill. This child wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt telling her that his house was literally falling down a hill. So she went to Kentucky, set up a meeting with the heads of the realty association and the banks, which led not only that child getting his house on much firmer footing, but also eventually to integrated housing in Lexington, Kentucky. The next year in the mail, he sent his second grade picture to Mrs. Roosevelt and she carried it with her to remind her of the boy she had never personally met. On the back, he had written his name with such care, erasing it many times so that it was just right, that it left an imprint on the front of the photo. He also included a letter, "Dear Mrs. Roosevelt," it said "Thank you for my house. I know you did it."

Without fanfare, she went anywhere and everywhere she thought her presence would make a difference. She wanted to see with her own eyes the everyday violations that rob individuals of their dignity and all of us of our humanity. And then she rolled up her sleeves and tried to do something about what she saw.

And that is the path she is asking us to walk today; to open our eyes and hearts, to use our minds and hands, and fulfill the promises of her greatest achievements of all, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It happened exactly 50 winters ago. As the Chair of the commission drafting the Universal Declaration of Human rights, Eleanor Roosevelt worked tirelessly from 1946 to 1948. Imagine how she must have felt on December 10, at 3:00 a.m. when the nations of the world agreed to create this new common standard for human dignity. We know how everyone else felt. The delegates stood and gave her a standing ovation.

Let me read a passage from that document: "The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief, freedom from fear and want have been proclaimed as the highest aspirations of the common people." The declaration, as we know, did not take place in a vacuum. As Father O'Donovan has already reminded us, it was a worldwide response to evil, and I use that word deliberately. Those who study Hitler's rise to power and the Holocaust know that the Nazis were able to pursue their crimes precisely because they were successful at constricting the circle of those were defined as fully humans. The proceeded step by step, through laws and propaganda --Jews, the mentally ill, the infirm, gypsies, homosexuals --all of whom they identified as unworthy of life, as not human, as alien, other.

Throughout history, and even today, we have seen in many places and in many times this cold dark region of the human soul, this schizophrenia of the soul that permits one group to de-humanize another. And it was that all-too-human characteristic that the Declaration and Eleanor Roosevelt wanted to help us resist. In the half century since the declaration, this document has created an ideal that nations and individuals have reached towards, knowing that

they will never quite achieve it, but knowing that we must never stop trying. Many countries have used the Declaration for their own constitutions. Courts of law look to it. It has laid the groundwork for the world's war crimes tribunals.

At the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, it was the strength and challenge of this Declaration that enabled us to say for the world to hear that human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights. It was the power of the Declaration that led in 1989 to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. I am very proud that my husband signed that. And now I hope with all my heart that the United States will join with the Vatican and all the other nations of the world except Somalia and ratify the Convention once and for all. (applause) And this is why. In spite of our progress on human rights over the last half century, it is unconscionable that we still have not seen the circle of human dignity expanded to include all the children of our world. There are still too many excluded from the Declaration, too many whose suffering we fail to see, to hear, to feel, or to stop.

Now, any look back in the course of human history shows that every nation, every society, has its blind spots. Spots that somehow prevent us from understanding how the full circle of rights should include all of our fellow human beings. In our country it has taken us most of our 222 years --most of them bloody, few of them easy --to extend the benefits of citizenship to African Americans, to those without property, and to women. Eleanor Roosevelt was 35 years old before she was given the right to vote.

And we also know --especially in this new global economy --that no nation can move ahead when its children are left behind. Eleanor Roosevelt understood that. She knew that whether we treated children with respect would not only determine the quality of our lives, but also who we were as a nation and what kind of life it would be for the next generation. You could see it in the way she talked to children. I've seen so many pictures of her bending down from her tall frame and leaning her entire body over to hear a child, looking right into the eyes of that child, trying to understand that child's dream, trying to convey that she believed in that little boy or girl, and she always tried to give those children a voice.

The Declaration makes that clear. It reads, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." All human beings --it did not say all men, or all members of certain races, regions or religions. It did not say all adults. It also did not make choices between children because, in fact, it says specifically, "All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection." Because human rights are not given to us by a parent or the government. They do not miraculously appear when we turn 18. No piece of paper can give them or take them away. We know that children should be treated with extra care --not less. And every child should be viewed as endowed with all rights and dignity accorded to all human beings.

Now of course that's not always been the view of children. For millennia we viewed

children as the property of their families, principally of their fathers. They were mostly used for work --work outside and inside the house. Parents were given the right in every culture to abandon, ignore or sell their children. But over the centuries, we grew to understand that children were not just little adults, that they need the care, discipline and the love of a family. And we began to understand too --as industrialization spread across the world --that in order for children to be successful in the world that is being created, they needed education, they needed protection, they needed to grow slowly but surely into adulthood. We have to only go back to the 19th century to see how different times were. In Dickens' Hard Times, poor children grow up in a town where the black soot from the factory virtually extinguishes the sun and the school is taught by a teacher appropriately named Choke M. Child. So in this century, we have begun to appreciate more that children are people, are individuals, and not property.

Now what does that mean to us? Well, clearly in our country, it has meant passing laws, and enforcing them to prevent children from being abused in labor; being abused by those who are closest to them --their family; being given certain protections, whether they are caught up in the court system or the welfare system; being given the right of --which sounds like an oxymoron --compulsory education; being viewed in other words as people themselves who we must nurture into full citizenship. If you've ever worked with children, you can see in their eyes how so often we fail at that very fundamental task of respecting them. I've worked with abused and neglected children for more than 25 years. I've looked into the eyes of many poor children, many abandoned children, and I'm always amazed that there are some in our world who continue to dismiss the suffering of children, who believe that somehow children are so resilient that they will always bounce back, and it is not all of our responsibility to care for all of our children, and that we interfere with the rights of parents when we do something as simple as try to prevent children from being physically abused.

So we've changed attitudes, and we have seen great progress doing so here in our own country and around the world. There are others who say that human rights are a Western invention and that they come from a Judeo-Christian base and that they don't have universal application. But we also know differently. We can go back and trace the roots of the beliefs that were set forth in the Declaration. They were not invented 50 years ago. They are not the work of a single culture, whether it is Confucius who articulated them in ancient China, or Sophocles who wrote 2500 years ago about such rights and had Antigone declare there were ethical laws higher than the laws of kings. But whether it is the Golden Rule --which appears in every possible religion in one form or another --we know that at root we understand --whether we admit it or not --that we as human beings are vowed to each other in a mutual realm of respect, that we should nurture for our own sake, as well as for others.

Now what are these rights? Well, for children, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child declares that every child is born with the right to be protected from abuse and abduction, violence and work that threatens his or her development. It says that every child has the right to worship freely and express opinions and aspirations, that every child has the right to health, to education, to life. These are the promises that Eleanor Roosevelt and every other champion of

human rights held out for all people, but it has been up to us adults to make these promises real in the lives of children.

In many African villages, I'm told that neighbors greet each other not by saying hello, but by asking, "How are the children?" Well the answer is that today, 50 years after the Declaration, children are doing better around the world. They are more likely to live to see their 5th birthday and even their 75th. In health, nutrition, education, water supply and sanitation, three out of five countries are pretty much on track to reach the child survival goals set by the 1990 World Summit on Children. Over the last two decades, infant immunization rates rose from 5 percent to 80 percent, saving more than 3 million lives a year.

Around the world, I have personally seen governments and non-governmental organizations come together to put the lives of children first. Just a few months ago, Yemen adopted a national strategy for girls' education, including eliminating school fees for girls. Last year in the United States, we extended health insurance to millions of children, and enacted the Adoption and Safe Families Act, which says that our first priority in the child welfare system is the health and well-being of children. There are many examples I could give you of the progress we have made --certainly over 50 years, but even over 10 and the last 5 years. But still we have to ask, "How are the children?" And the honest answer is, which children? Where do they live? Who are their parents? How affluent are they? What kind of societies are they part of? Because, despite the advances, in many places around the world children are not doing very well at all. There are old foes like malnutrition and malaria and new foes like trafficking and child prostitutes and laborers. There is still a long distance for us to travel.

Over the last few weeks I randomly had pulled headlines from around the world. From Hong Kong, "Child Prostitutes Make Tearful Plea;" in Bangladesh, "The Plight of Street Children;" in Nairobi, "Poverty Blamed for Child Labor." Eleanor Roosevelt certainly would be the first to point out that a child's rights go far beyond simply responding to the images that we see on TV, or that reach us through the Internet or the newspaper. We have to ask ourselves, each of us, "What is it I can do? What is it I can ask others to do? How can I move my government, my church, my friends forward to do more for children?"

I think there are some very specific ways we can bear witness and things we can do to support those children whose lives are not much better today than they were 50 years ago, or who face new challenges --like being kidnaped, or being forced into combat --that we didn't even dream of 50 years ago. We have to understand that we can't just be satisfied by giving children help and nutrition for emergencies. We have to look at root causes. We have to support work by our own government, by our development agencies like USAID, by international organizations such as UNICEF. And it is particularly important that we do not forget the faces of the children here in our country, at this time of prosperity and peace. Americans have so many blessings, but there are even those among us who are being left out.

If we talk about human rights and freedoms we have to ask ourselves, "What does that

mean to the 7 million children who still die every year of malnutrition?" What does it mean to the 585,000 women who still die of childbirth complications or the girls who are fed last and fed least because they are not valued as much as their brothers?

What meaning can it have for a child who does not have access to school or for one who is shut out at school? We know that education, especially for girls, is the single best investment any country can make. It is what will give children a better future, keep them out of the labor market before they're ready, and keep them off the streets. And yet, 140 million primary school age children are not in school --60 percent of that 140 million are girls. And I have seen first-hand the obstacles, the cultural and economic obstacles that stand in the way of sending girls to school. In a small village outside of Lahore, Pakistan I visited with mothers who had sent their daughters to local primary school, and now they had daughters who had graduated who wanted to go on with their education, but there was no secondary school. I've met with families in Bangladesh, who in return for food and money permitted their daughters to go to school. It was a bribe, but it was a worthy bribe.

I've also visited places where child labor is the norm not the exception and, as Eleanor Roosevelt said when she championed the Child Labor Amendment in our own country so many years ago, "No civilization should be based on the labor of children." But that is happening every day --even in this country because children are being forced into labor, sold into labor, and we are not doing enough about it. The types of labor children are subjected to in this new global economy have perhaps changed, but not the impact on the child. It is not a problem of the past. It should not be excused by saying that parents need money. And we should not close our eyes to the work of children that goes into beautiful carpets or comfortable running shoes because the fact remains that one quarter of the children in the developing world, 120 million, work full time. It's a very difficult problem because many of them are the sole support of their families often with widowed or abandoned mothers, with younger siblings, or they're helping to supplement the hard earned income of a father.

The new face of child labor also includes things that I don't think Eleanor Roosevelt even thought to worry about. Girls are being sold as part of an international trade in human beings from South Asia, to the Middle East, to Central America. It is estimated that there are 250,000 children in Haiti alone who are virtually enslaved as domestic servants. I heard about that on my recent trip to Haiti. How they are often given away, sold, separated from their families, sexually and physically abused, malnourished, and literally sometimes worked to death. There are girls that I've met in Northern Thailand, when I visited their village I could tell by looking at their parents' homes which ones had sold their daughters into prostitution. The homes were bigger, nicer, they sometimes even had an antenna or satellite on top. But the next day I visited with some of the daughters that had been sold into the brothels in Bangkok and other cities who, after they became infected with HIV, were thrown out onto the streets and found their way home. They were rejected by their families, and thanks to the good services of relief and religious organizations they were taken in. And I met those girls --some of them as young as 12 --dying from AIDS.

Eleanor Roosevelt worked hard to rescue European refugee children during World War II. But I don't know if she, or anyone, could have seen the horrific ways in which children are now being brutalized by war. Until relatively recently in human history, war was being fought out between soldiers. Some conscripts, some volunteers, but by in large adult men --counting teenagers in their mid to late teens in some societies who were part of whatever the war effort was. In the last twenty or so years, that has increasingly not been the case. Who will speak today for the two million children that have been in conflicts in the last two decades, with six million seriously injured or permanently disabled, the one million left without parents or the twelve million left without homes? The primary victims of modern warfare are women, and children, and civilians --people who are picked on as victims, who are kidnaped by perpetrators, who are forced into being refugees. Who will speak for those children who are being used as instruments of war? From the young girls systematically raped in Bosnia, to the quarter of a million child soldiers around the world.

Who will speak for the three children I recently met in Uganda --Janet Issac and Betty? Like many children in Northern Uganda, they have literally been stolen from their homes. The boys are used in battle as human shields. The girls are sent into slave labor, usually raped, and then given away as wives to rebel commanders. The children are often forced to kill other children who don't obey or try to escape. The rebels call themselves soldiers but they are cowards, for only cowards would hide behind children in battle.

I met the head of a boarding school, a nun, Sister Rachele. Her 139 female students had been the subject of a raid by the rebels who had crossed the Sudanese border, had taken the school, tied the girls up, beaten them, and then taken them all away into the dead of night. But this tiny little woman of God was determined to get them back. She went after them, she was armed usually only with her faith, but she was able to pull together some funds to ransom some of the children out. She served as a safe haven for those who could find their way back. Many have, but I was sad to talk with the mother of one of those students who has not been rescued. Her mother doesn't know if she's alive or dead. She only knows that she was taken as part of a war that she has no say in whatsoever.

We also know that we cannot fulfill the journey that the Declaration started us on when 100 million street children now live in the developing world alone. They are out of school, without homes or families. They're left to take care of themselves, they roam the streets in tattered clothing, they sell gum, and they beg and they dig through the trash for food. I've seen them in Bulgaria. Roma children --one of the most discriminated against groups in Europe --you might call them gypsies. Roma children, sometimes by their own parents, are put out on the street to beg. Or if there are too many children in the family some are just left there. Or if they want to go to school instead of turning tricks they are left there.

I also saw them in Brazil where three street children a day are killed, usually by police doing the bidding of merchants who are tired of having these children camped in front of their stores. In both Bulgaria and Brazil, I saw how caring people can make a difference. I visited a

center run by a Bulgarian-American who has taken in children off the streets who are now going to school and learning, and thinking about a better future. But it's a small number of those that need to be helped. I visited a unique program in Brazil in Salvador de Bahia. A circus school where children were taken in and taught skills to entertain people who would come and see them perform. They would then have money so they could be housed, and given food, and educated --children who once had no future, thinking they wouldn't have one. It's not only in warm places like Brazil --I visited a center for street children in Mongolia where the children, because of the rapid changes in social life, because of problems adjusting to the new global economy, are either being pushed out or running away from homes that are in a great deal of stress and turmoil.

When we think about what is happening with these tens of millions of children around the world, we certainly cannot forget that there are still children here in Washington, DC and throughout America that need their rights protected as well. We should not, for example, condemn violence against children in Kosovo and turn away from it on the streets of Washington. We cannot mourn the children of Mongolia and forget about homeless children here, or raise our voices about children out of school in Guatemala and close our mouths when young people here drop out. We have to do better by our own children as well. We've been making progress here and around the world.

I've been pleased that this administration, under the President, has put the protection of children on the front burner. For example, this year, we are increasing by tenfold our U.S. commitment to take children out of abusive workrooms and put them in classrooms all over the world. Since September, the Voice of America has been broadcasting monthly public service announcements asking parents if they've talked about their children's health today, focusing on child survival issues, talking hard talk in some places, like not feeding your girl children, or being exposed to HIV and AIDS. We join with Ukraine to combat trafficking of girls in and out of that country. And from Guatemala to Nepal, I've seen how small investments in educational scholarships for girls, or safe birthing kits, or Vitamin A, can lift up and transform lives. So there is much that we can point to that is heading in the right direction, but there is much more we have to do.

Another story from Eleanor Roosevelt. She once talked about receiving a letter from an African American boy who had taken a drink out of what was then considered the wrong water fountain, and he was beaten up for it. He sent her the cup he had used to get the water and explained what happened. She not only kept that cup, she carried it around with her as a reminder of all the work yet to be done. I wish we each had some little talisman that we could carry around with us, that would remind us everyday of the work still to be done. I hope we remember the children who are victims and weapons of war when Congress revisits our United Nations dues. It should be unacceptable to all Americans of any political persuasion that the richest and most powerful country in the world is the number one debtor to the United Nations. (applause)

I hope we remember the children toiling in glass and shoe factories as we work to fulfill

the promises and one day ratify the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. I hope we continue to do all that we can to help promote democracy around the world to make sure that all parents have a voice that will be heard from the ballot box, and even the soap box, so they can speak out on behalf of the needs of their children. We know that we have to do more than pass, and even implement new laws. We have to teach people that they do have rights, and how to exercise them.

I was particularly pleased by an American-funded project I saw recently in Senegal. Where out in the villages they're learning about democracy, they're acting out skits. Someone stands up and expresses an opinion and then another stands up and they discuss it and take a vote on it. The rudiments of democracy. And in this skit are both men and women participating. As a result of that democracy skit one small village, after talking about issues that effected them --health, the education of their children --to put an end to female circumcision. That was a very brave decision. They convinced people in the village that it should be done, and they put it to a vote and they voted for it. And then, two men in their village went from their village to other villages and started talking to the people in the other villages and explaining that they had read the Koran and there was nothing in it that talked about this. It was not good for their daughters, it sometimes led to them hemorrhaging and bleeding to death, and sometimes caused grave complications in childbirth. Slowly, village after village began to recognize that it was a fundamental right of a young girl to grow up whole, to have her health protected. And then, the next thing I knew I got a letter saying these villages had banded together and presented a petition to the President and that a law would be passed. Now that law will not end this cultural custom, but it will begin to change attitudes about it. More and more girls and women will say, "No, this is not necessary."

There are certain rights to health that we need to protect. First, think of what we could accomplish if we valued and respected every child, with particular emphasis on girl children, because they are still the most at risk in so many societies around the globe. If we are to put children's rights on the same level as adult's rights, then we have to think about what it is that we want for our own children. Those of us in this beautiful Gaston Hall, who try to keep our children healthy, who try to give them good educations that lead to a fine university education like this one here at Georgetown. We try to protect them from abuse and neglect and abandonment and desertion. We try not to put them to work in full time jobs before they are ready. So we have to think about what we want for ourselves, and in many countries where some of the worst violations of children's rights occur, those who are in power protect their own children and then look at others' children as being beyond the circle of human dignity.

So we have to complete that circle, and that falls to every generation. It fell to our parents who fought off depression and oppression. It fell to the generation that fought for civil rights and for human rights. And it falls to each of us, particularly the students who are here today. I like very much the article that Tracy Roosevelt recently wrote. She talked about the legacy that her great grandmother left all of us and that any young person could follow by standing up for the rights of others by standing against stereotyping of any person or group of

people.

Now we might not have Eleanor Roosevelt's stature --either in height or in life --but each of us can contribute to a child's future. We can make sure that we are part of a society that values health care for everyone, a good education for everyone, the strength of families to give them the tools they need to raise their own children with future possibilities, to make sure we do everything we can to live free from abuse and violence and war, and to make it possible for every person and every child to speak freely and live up to their own God-given potential.

As we look forward to the next fifty years, we will face many challenges and opportunities. It was almost 50 years ago that Eleanor Roosevelt spoke about this. She spoke about democracy and human rights to a group of students, both high school and college students, in New York. As we listen to her those words still ring true today. She said, "Imagine it's you people gathered here in this room who are going to do a great deal of the thinking and the actual doing because a good many of us are not going to see the end of this period. You are going to live in a dangerous world for quite a while I guess, but it's going to be an interesting and adventurous one. I wish you courage to face yourselves and when you know what you really want to fight for, not in a war, but to fight for in order to gain a peace, then I wish for you imagination and understanding. God bless you. May you win."

Those words are just as true for this generation of students as they were fifty years ago for the ones that Eleanor Roosevelt spoke to. I go back to that first story, despite how sick she was, she showed up and took that bouquet of flowers from that young girl. "You see" she said, "I had to come, she was expecting me." Think about all of the children who are expecting us. Think about, as we go forward into Advent and celebrate this Christmas season, about a particular child who no one was expecting but grew up to give us a chance to think anew, to live again in ways that connect us more deeply and profoundly to one another. Eleanor Roosevelt can serve as an inspiration, and a reminder that although as President Kennedy said, "God's work on this Earth is our own," we know that we can never complete it. But we know that we can live richer lives if we try. To the children of America and the world, you see, we have to come, because they are expecting us to make good on the promises that were made to them fifty years ago.

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what to do?

- 1) resources
- 2) partnerships
- 3) manage