
Maggie:

These are the 4
sample columns. What
do you think?

DB



Back to School
page one

It's time to sharpen the number two pencils and configure the delicate intricacies of -- the carpool. Although determining which parent can attend each softball game or dance recital can be as complicated as computing the consumer price index for the past three quarters, nothing is as important as our children's education. Our children need us more at this time of year. They must see that our concern for their education and quality of life supersedes everything else.

My parents demanded a great deal of me in school. If I did well in a subject there was praise from my mom, but my father would assert that the teacher just liked to pass high grades out at the door. Even with this not so gentle jab, I knew directly from my parents that the most important part of my childhood was making sure I worked hard in school.

Now more than ever we must reassure our children that we stand behind them and support their work as they attempt to reach their potential. If we as parents do not do this, it won't just be the child that suffers. It will mean our country will fall behind in a world that increasingly expects greater levels of competence in a competitive workplace.

In the past, many families had large numbers of children that provided security for their parents in their old age. With the average number of children in a family declining, we as a society need to make sure each child is more than adequately schooled so they embrace their tomorrow with success and continued promise.

If we think that it will be possible to slash funding for education today and rely upon a successful American workforce in years to come there's a bridge in Brooklyn I might be able to interest you in. Yes, difficult budgetary decisions must be made, but financially undermining institutions of learning will lead us to increased spending later on individuals unable to prosper in our society.

This support for our children's education is an ongoing process with a cumulative effect. Statistics prove that the child that has the right educational start ends up an educational success.

A little bit of funding goes a long way in education, and today administrators are learning how to stretch their dollars for greater productivity. One such program is the "Roots and Wings" program that serves rural children at risk.

Children in four St. Mary's County, Maryland elementary schools have been participating in the Roots and Wings program for four years. The schools were targeted because many students came from families, such as migrant farm workers, unable to put down roots in a school and achieve stability in their educational pursuits.

Back to School

page two

These students are not able to get all the help they need during regular school hours. The program provides after school work to augment what is taught during the day. With parents of these children preoccupied with just survival, the program allows kids at risk to succeed.

The Roots and Wings program received initial government funding, but is designed to become a self sufficient program within five years of implementation. Pat Richardson of the St. Mary's County Public Schools says the program helped identify areas where county government was duplicating efforts and costs. Now the Parks and Recreation Department is pooling resources with the school system providing funding for Roots and Wings instead of running unilateral after school programs. I like that.

Discipline, teamwork and standards are what is necessary in school. I have listened to so many parents who only want one thing: quality education for the children they love. It is the right of every American to expect that for their family.

An American educator I admire, Mary McLeod Bethune, toiled for decades to provide educational opportunities to African Americans, many the children and grandchildren of slaves. When she finally was able to open her school she placed a sign over the door that admonished, "Enter to learn." It did not say "Enter to try but drop out if it gets too rough."

So enter your child's classroom and greet the teachers who will open the world up to them with the enthusiasm that accompanies a new year. My days of walking Chelsea to the door on her first day are over. Every year I would walk her to her classroom and start to cry. By eighth grade Chelsea said she could endure the embarrassment no longer.

I may not walk in with her, but I still cry a little when she goes out the door. Hopefully I'll get a grip by the time she's in graduate school.

2

Hillary Clinton piece "Back to School"

A knot still forms in my stomach every August when I first hear the cicadas buzzing in the trees. When I was a child, the insects' shrill, droning sound served as a signal that summer was coming to a close and school was upon me. Every year I looked forward to my return to the classroom with a combination of enthusiasm and anxiety.

Now that I am a parent, I find myself remembering those childhood emotions every year when I send my daughter off to school. As when I was a girl, I feel mixed emotions, not only for Chelsea but for all the children of America. On the one hand, I'm delighted at the thought of all the adventures in learning that are once again going on in classrooms, big and small, around our nation. On the other hand, I'm concerned by the fact that many of our children aren't learning anything near as much as they should.

This is where parents come in. Rather than view our children's annual return to school as time when we pass on certain responsibilities to their teachers, why not view it as an opportunity to consider our own responsibilities in regard to our children's education?

For in fact parents can do a great deal to enhance children's intellectual growth. One thing we can do is get our children's education to be our work, as well. Study after study has shown that a teacher who knows of a given parent's interest and involvement in his or her child's education will spend a greater amount of time with that child. If you make your interest and involvement known, the teacher will also expect more out of your child precisely because of your involvement.

It's important to keep the lines of communication open between parent and teacher. Because of their training, and because they're in a position to compare children in the same age group, teachers are often more likely than parents to recognize a child's special talents, interests, or difficulties. In the same way, parents can provide teachers with insights into their children that may prove valuable. A well-functioning teacher-parent partnership can be very effective in enhancing a child's educational experience.

To be sure, it can be difficult for parents who work outside the home to be as involved as they would like to be in their children's education. This is a particular problem for single-parent and two-wage-earner households. Employers should make every reasonable effort to work out ways for employees in such situations to attend school events, PTA meetings, and the like.

Perhaps the single most important thing you can do to improve your child's education is to do what you're doing right now: read. Read to them, read with them. Glenn C. Loury, a professor at Boston University, wrote recently about enrolling his child in the first

grade. He recounted how the school's principal greeted parents with a speech urging them to read to their children at least half an hour each day.

"My experience tells me that some of you will follow this advice and others will not," she concluded. "By the third grade we will know who is who."

Teachers can teach the fundamentals of reading, but parents need to drive home that reading is fun and essential. "Proficient readers tend to perform better academically, not just in English and literature classes but also in math and science," says Ruth Graves, president of Reading is Fundamental. Quoted in an article in Parents magazine, Graves went on to say: "They tend to be better writers, they're less likely to drop out of high school, and they are likely to go on to college."

One way to convey the message that reading is fun is to have family reading sessions. During these sessions, family members can read separately or out loud together. Such family rituals will also help increase the amount of "quality time" you spend with your child.

If you have read the Harper Lee novel To Kill A Mockingbird, you will remember how Atticus Finch read to his daughter, Scout, from the newspaper every evening. This process continued until Scout learned to read the stories herself.

Beyond this, it's important to create a home environment that encourages study and reflection. This means, among other things, setting a good example by watching television less and reading more. "The amount of time spent in front of a television or video screen is the single biggest chunk of time in the waking life of an average American child," writes Dr. David Walsh in his 1994 book Selling Out America's Children.

Dr. Walsh's title is a disturbing one. Surely few parents have any intention of "selling out" their children. But many of us could do much more to help our children grow into citizens capable of making intelligent decisions about their lives and their society. When the school bells ring, knots in the stomach and all, let's work to make this school year the most productive yet.

Back to School

This week, Chelsea, her long hair finally all dry after our exhilarating vacation on the Wyoming rapids, will start her junior year of high school.

It's been three years since Chelsea forbade me from accompanying her to her first day of school. On every first day until then, without fail and to Chelsea's great mortification, my eyes would begin to water as I said good bye to her in front of her classmates.

Still, every September, as I watch Chelsea pack new notebooks, folders and mechanical pencils in her backpack, a little lump develops in my throat. Unbeknownst to her, she leaves for school toting not just a year's worth of school supplies, but that large part of my heart that carries all of my hopes and dreams for her success in life.

I hope Chelsea will gain in school all the skills she needs to become a good, productive adult. That she will learn about things that I had never even heard of while growing up -- of recombinant DNA, of top quarks, and of the social and political implications of information superhighway.

Like my mother before me who never attended college, but made sure that her three children did, I hope that my daughter will be prepared enough to take the most advantage of all the opportunities now available to her. Since my college days for instance, all the nation's premier universities and service academies have gone coed. Women have made major strides in many male-dominated professions. Female students now outnumber male students at some of the nation's most prestigious medical schools this year.

I am painfully aware that Chelsea is luckier than most American children. She will not have to worry about whether her parents will be able to afford college. She will not be among the 3.8 million student loan recipients whose futures in higher education depend on the outcome of annual budget battles in Congress.

Like most parents, my husband and I realize that Chelsea's success in school hinges on our involvement in her education. Numerous studies, backed up by common sense, have shown that a student cannot reach his or her full academic potential without the support of parents who have made education a priority.

Children, as they have throughout the ages, need parents to make sure they understand that homework comes before MTV, that they have enough light

and space to complete their homework assignments, and that they are accountable for every poor grade they bring home.

But what of the student who enjoys overwhelming parental support, who hungrily laps up everything his teachers and textbooks can teach him, only to find that his high school has not prepared him well enough for any college?

In a Pulitzer-prize winning series of articles last year, Wall Street Journal reporter Ron Suskind described the heartbreaking plight of a student at an inner-city high school who worked hard to excel at every subject and even asked teachers to provide him with more advanced work so that he could fulfill his dream of attending MIT and becoming an engineer. That dream slipped away the moment an MIT professor told Cedric, a straight-A student, that he was too poorly prepared for the rigors of MIT.

Unfortunately, Cedric's tale is not unique. I remember meeting a similar student while my husband was governor of Arkansas. Each year, we would invite the state's high school valedictorians to the Governor's mansion for a reception. At one such reception, I met a very intelligent and well-spoken student who told me he hoped to become a doctor. When I asked which school he planned to attend, he told me that could not go to college that fall. College admissions officers would not even consider students from his school because it had such a poor academic reputation.

In the new film, "Dangerous Minds," an inner-city school teacher tells her students that "there are no victims" in her classroom. Cedric and the Arkansas valedictorian's stories challenge this statement. Though they and their parents did their part, our schools failed them.

We need to goad our school boards, legislators and the President to make sure that all students whether rich or poor, urban or rural gain the same high quality education and are prepared to take full advantage of the diverse opportunities of 21st century. And all schools need support from students, parents and the government as they aim for even higher standards in teaching and curricula.

We need to make our children feel that they take not only their parents' but our whole nation's hopes and dreams with them to school each day.

TALKING IT OVER
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
BACK TO SCHOOL SAMPLE

All right, I admit it. I procrastinated until the very last second to write this column. It's my own fault, since I picked the topic: nobody made me do this... but then, as it turns out, it was tough enough for *me* to make me do this. But I can tell fall is coming. Suddenly, D.C. humidity isn't quite as insufferable as it was a few weeks ago. The shadows are a little longer on the ground; the leaves of the trees are beginning to rustle and shake when the wind blows through. Yes indeed, it's about that time. I may as well get down to work. It's just that I've been having such a terrific time on vacation, playing with my husband and my daughter, I didn't want to lose a minute. So the very thought of the topic "Back to School" made my brain go into melt-down.

That shouldn't be terribly surprising I guess. I spent 18 Augusts preparing for class — buying new texts, notebooks, that perfect outfit to wear on the first day. I remember the day I first bought my books for Yale Law School. I hadn't been there more than a few hours and already, I was behind in class. Assignments were posted and the material was due the first day. I ran to the bookstore. The books were so heavy that I barely got them home. Exhausted and stressed out, I made the mistake of trying to do my reading. I was expected to understand *that*? I didn't even know what the words on the first page meant.

But I was hoist by my own petard. I had wanted to go to law school, and now I had made it. The next three years were full of possibilities I never would have imagined on the first day, not all of them academic (I met Bill in the Yale Law Library). Not everybody is as lucky as I was: not everyone gets to follow a dream. When Bill was Governor of Arkansas, each year we invited all of the high school valedictorians to the Governor's Mansion for a party in their honor. One young man who was so impressive. Intelligent, ambitious, he wanted to be a doctor. But he wouldn't be going

to college. His school had such a poor reputation, colleges wouldn't even consider his application.

My own classroom days are over (now that they're past, I look on them fondly) but I relive those times through my daughter Chelsea.

Chelsea is starting school again. Amazing. So soon?

I used to take Chelsea to school on the first day of class every year. Then, when she began eighth grade, she forbade me to go. You see, every year, without fail, I started crying when I dropped her off. Chelsea thought it was too embarrassing to have her mother sobbing hysterically. I can't say that I blame her for feeling that way: I'd probably have felt the same way if I were in her position. It's just that I couldn't help it.

Each year, I'm overwhelmed with a tidal wave of my emotions. I remember my own experiences at school; I wonder how hers will compare to mine. I think about how much Chelsea has grown up since the last time I dropped her off at school. I want her to do well, not only in class, but meeting new friends, in soccer and ballet. I worry about the challenges and difficulties she will inevitably face. I beam with pride at the successes I see in her imminent — and distant — future.

I guess I'm not any different from any other parent.

I know that my mother must have felt some of those things. She never went to college, but she encouraged all of her children to go on with our educations. She saw our futures and wanted to make sure we were ready for them. I am so thankful. For her faith in us, and for all the times that she and my father would help me with homework. I'm thankful for the nights I'd call from college so homesick I couldn't take it any more and they encouraged me to see it through.

For their support and love; I am forever grateful. They taught me so much more than just what they helped me study. Can Bill and I teach Chelsea all that? I guess

Chelsea's right about keeping me away from school. I'd have cried again this year, too.

File Column

CREATORS SYNDICATE

KATHERINE A. SEARCY
Vice President and Editorial Director

August 30, 1995

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

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

This letter hereby grants permission to Hillary Rodham Clinton to publish reprints of her columns on adoption (released by Creators Syndicate on July 29-30, 1995) and working women (released by Creators Syndicate on August 5-6, 1995) in her book "It Takes a Village, and Other Lessons Our Children Teach Us."

Please do not hesitate to contact us if we may be of service in any other way.

Best regards,

Katherine A. Searcy

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cc: Richard S. Newcombe
Anita Tobias
Mike Santiago

*For
women*

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file
column

maggie

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 31, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO



RE: HRC COLUMN

Attached is HRC's column for the upcoming week. As a reminder, please do not distribute copies of the column outside the First Lady's staff.

Hope you enjoy!



TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, SEPTEMBER 2-3, 1995

As you read this column, I am traveling to Beijing for the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women.

The United States is sending a delegation of 45 men and women. I am the honorary co-chair, and I know many of our members personally. One is a former Republican governor of New Jersey. Another is an Ursuline nun. There is a nurse, a law professor and the editor in chief of Ladies Home Journal. Among the group are mothers, fathers, Democrats, Republicans, liberals and conservatives.

What unites this group and thousands of others traveling to Beijing is a desire to focus world attention on issues that matter most to women, children and families: access to health care, education, jobs and credit, and the chance to enjoy basic legal and human rights and participate fully in the political life of one's country.

Our ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, is the head of our delegation. A distinguished scholar, public servant and mother of three daughters, she knows more than most about the meaning of freedom and democracy. She and her family were forced to flee both Hitler and Stalin.

Tom Kean, the president of Drew University, is a delegation vice chair. I first met him when he was governor of New Jersey and my husband was governor of Arkansas. Although he is a Republican and my husband is a Democrat, they joined forces to improve education for America's children.

The women's conference is about making the world a better place by helping women live up to their God-given potential at home, in school, on the job, in their communities and as mothers, wives, learners, workers and citizens.

It is also a celebration of families, the bedrock of any society.

Families are undermined when women and children lack the opportunities they need to thrive. In some places around the world, for example, girls are still valued so little that they are left to die at birth, denied health care and education, or sold into prostitution by their families.

Figuring out ways to remedy these wrongs and provide women opportunities to lead healthy and productive lives will be the key issue for 50,000 women and men who gather in China this week.

It saddens me that a historic event like this is being misconstrued by a small but vocal group of critics trying to spread the notion that the U.N. gathering is really the work of radicals and atheists bent on destroying our families.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 9/02-03/95

2

The composition of our delegation refutes that charge. It is a broad-based, family-oriented group committed to the mainstream agenda of the conference.

The deputy chair of our delegation, Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, is one of America's most devoted moms. A former television news correspondent and member of Congress, she and her husband are raising 11 children -- two are adopted and three are refugees from Asia -- in their home in Pennsylvania. "I don't get involved with things that don't celebrate the family," she said recently.

Even if you agree with me that the conference is a good thing, you may be asking yourself why Americans should care about it.

After all, don't American women have more political freedom and economic opportunities than women anywhere else in the world?

There are several reasons why we should care. First, the conference represents a rare opportunity to educate world leaders about the challenges women confront in trying to improve their own lives and the lives of their families.

Improving opportunities for women everywhere is very much in our self-interest. When other countries become more democratic and all citizens more prosperous, our future brightens too.

Second, the meeting will give voice to women all over the world, including American women who are trying to raise children on jobs that pay \$4.25 an hour, can't afford health insurance or child care, or are bumping up against a glass ceiling at work.

Third, the gathering will help convey the silent terror endured by millions of women victimized by violence, including violence in their own homes.

Concerns about education, health care, the minimum wage and domestic violence often are written off as "women's issues" unrelated to pressing economic and political challenges.

In fact, these "women's issues" are crucial to the progress of families everywhere.

If women and girls don't flourish, families won't flourish. And if families don't flourish, communities and nations won't flourish.

The United States has long played a leading role in protecting the human rights of all citizens and affording women new opportunities to contribute to the economic lives of their families and the civic life of their communities.

For that reason, the voices of American women must be heard. And they will be heard.

Along with our delegation, thousands of women from the United States are traveling to Beijing, many at their own expense.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 9/02-03/95

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A group of CPAs from Virginia is making the trip. So are school principals from Maryland, women business owners from Florida, optometrists from California and YWCA leaders from across the country.

Even representatives of the Girl Scouts of America are traveling halfway around the world to take part.

Indeed, the future of all girls is what this conference is about.

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Evan

*Fill
column*

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WASHINGTON

August 31, 1995

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File
columns-

Maggie

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 7, 1995

MEMORANDAUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

Attached is HRC's column for the upcoming week. As a reminder, please do not distribute copies of the column outside the First Lady's staff.

TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, SEPTEMBER 9-10, 1995**

BEIJING -- "Go to China and stand up for American values."

An American veteran of World War II said these words to me as I was leaving the V-J Day observances in Hawaii last weekend to go to Beijing for the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women.

A few days later, as I stood before the conference delegates preparing to give a keynote address, the veteran's words came back to me.

Looking out at the sea of faces representing nearly every country in the world, I appreciated even more the privilege of living in a free society.

As an American, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are my birthrights, and they are the birthrights of all Americans. The rights we take for granted are fought for and died for around the world.

In some countries, citizens are not allowed to vote, speak their minds, assemble freely or exercise their faith without fear of persecution, arrest or even torture.

These are what we commonly think of as violations of human rights.

But, as the women's conference taught us, it is also a violation of human rights when, in countries around the world, women and girls are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and beaten up.

If one message rang clear from the conference, it is that women's rights are human rights. And human rights are women's rights.

As I said to the delegates:

It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution, sometimes by their own brothers and fathers.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 9/9-10/95

Page 2

It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes.

It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation, which happens to millions of women in Africa.

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 abortions or being sterilized against their will.

Today, women bear the brunt of human rights violations around the world. As long as those violations persist -- and discrimination and inequities remain commonplace -- a peaceful and prosperous life is sadly beyond our reach.

One reason we haven't progressed further is that so many women have been afraid to speak up and speak out. As I said to the conference delegates, it is time to break the silence so that women everywhere have a greater say in the future we share.

As different as we may be, there is more that unites than divides us. The conference proved that.

I am grateful that on behalf of our country I had the opportunity to attend this conference with men and women from all over the world who are committed to speaking out and taking action against abuses and injustices that fly in the face of human rights.

If we take bold steps to better the lives of women, we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too.

Families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care. Families rely on women for labor in the home. And increasingly, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for other relatives.

The women's conference by itself won't change any lives. But I hope that, by encouraging people to take notice of these issues, it will help lead us to a world in which every woman and girl is given the respect and dignity she deserves.

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Column

Erin

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WASHINGTON

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A few days later, as I stood before the conference delegates preparing to give a keynote address, the veteran's words came back to me.

Looking out at the sea of faces representing nearly every country in the world, I appreciated even more the privilege of living in a free society.

As an American, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are my birthrights, and they are the birthrights of all Americans. The rights we take for granted are fought for and died for around the world.

In some countries, citizens are not allowed to vote, speak their minds, assemble freely or exercise their faith without fear of persecution, arrest or even torture.

These are what we commonly think of as violations of human rights.

But, as the women's conference taught us, it is also a violation of human rights when, in countries around the world, women and girls are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and beaten up.

If one message rang clear from the conference, it is that women's rights are human rights. And human rights are women's rights.

As I said to the delegates:

It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution, sometimes by their own brothers and fathers.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 9/9-10/95**Page 2**

It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes.

It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation, which happens to millions of women in Africa.

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 abortions or being sterilized against their will.

Today, women bear the brunt of human rights violations around the world. As long as those violations persist -- and discrimination and inequities remain commonplace -- a peaceful and prosperous life is sadly beyond our reach.

One reason we haven't progressed further is that so many women have been afraid to speak up and speak out. As I said to the conference delegates, it is time to break the silence so that women everywhere have a greater say in the future we share.

As different as we may be, there is more that unites than divides us. The conference proved that.

I am grateful that on behalf of our country I had the opportunity to attend this conference with men and women from all over the world who are committed to speaking out and taking action against abuses and injustices that fly in the face of human rights.

If we take bold steps to better the lives of women, we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too.

Families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care. Families rely on women for labor in the home. And increasingly, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for other relatives.

The women's conference by itself won't change any lives. But I hope that, by encouraging people to take notice of these issues, it will help lead us to a world in which every woman and girl is given the respect and dignity she deserves.

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File
column

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1995

Debut for a Conservative Weekly

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

The Weekly Standard, the new conservative weekly, arrives at newsstands today, just 10 months after the Republican sweep that inspired it and a little ahead of George, the glossy new political magazine edited by John F. Kennedy Jr.

In the inevitable comparisons between the two political magazines, The Standard is not going to win any prizes for sexiness: where George has a cover photo of Cindy Crawford exposing her midriff, The Standard has a cartoon of Newt Gingrich as a winged-tipped Rambo. While George's editor, Mr. Kennedy, is set to appear on the sitcom "Murphy Brown" later this month, the editors of The Standard have had to content themselves with air time on C-Span and "The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour." And while George's first press run will be 500,000, The Standard's will be 100,000.

But in Washington, where power has long been recognized as the ultimate aphrodisiac, The Standard clearly beats George as the magazine most likely to make pulses race. It is being edited by William Kristol, one of the Republican Party's keenest political strategists, and bankrolled by Rupert Murdoch, one of the world's most influential media entrepreneurs.

The first issue of the magazine reports on topics ranging from Bosnia to budget cuts in a tone that is clearly intended, at least, to reproduce the arch knowingness of The New Republic. There are four articles devoted to Speaker Gingrich, another to the Republicans' public relations strategy on Medicare (it is deemed successful) and another to poking fun at Democratic lawmakers. Headlines include: "GOP on Offense," "Our Kind of Budget Deal," and "Are the Democrats Going Nuts?"

Not all of the articles in the magazine, however, are likely to make conservative hearts leap. For example, there is a piece by Mr. Kristol pushing Gen. Colin L. Powell as the Republican Presidential nominee, despite the general's seemingly more moderate political views. And of the four pieces on Mr. Gingrich, two are essentially critical, though for different reasons. One chastises the Speaker for timidity, while the other gives a resoundingly negative review to the Speaker's recent book, and, more significantly, to the political philosophy it implies.

"I hope it's a little unpredictable," Mr. Kristol said of The Standard's inaugural edition.

Even before the first issue appears, the involvement of Mr. Murdoch and Mr. Kristol had already gained The Standard more media attention than most opinion journals can expect in a good century.

Mr. Murdoch, whose News Corporation owns, among other things, the Fox Broadcasting Company, The New York Post and TV Guide, is not only immensely powerful, but has also been in the news lately because of accusations that he has used some of his vast media holdings to curry favor with influential lawmakers, foremost among them Speaker Gingrich. (The Speaker's book, "To Renew America," was published by a Murdoch holding, HarperCollins; in response to charges of conflict of interest, Mr. Gingrich eventually returned a \$4.5 million advance he had received for it.)

Mr. Kristol served as chief of staff to William J. Bennett when he was Education Secretary, and then to Vice President Dan Quayle. In 1993, he established the Project for the Republican Future, from which he dispensed advice to conservative politicians in lengthy and often influential faxes.

"The Republican future came faster than I, at least, expected," Mr. Kristol said, explaining why he decided to disband the project and start a magazine.

Mr. Kristol said that his contract gave him complete editorial control

over the magazine and that Mr. Murdoch had not known what was in the first issue until it was hand-delivered to him and a few hundred other particularly influential readers Sunday morning. Mr. Murdoch has pledged to finance The Standard for at least three years, starting with an initial investment of several million dollars, according to Mr. Kristol.

The Standard was founded by Mr. Kristol together with Fred Barnes, a former editor at The New Republic and a regular panelist on the "McLaughlin Group," and John Podhoretz, a former White House speechwriter. The three have frequently described the magazine as a sort of New Republic of the right.

By editing a conservative magazine, both Mr. Kristol and Mr. Podhoretz are, in a sense, following family traditions; Mr. Kristol's father, Irving, was a founding editor of Public Interest, and Mr. Podhoretz's father, Norman, was until recently the editor of Commentary.

At this point, it is unclear whether The Standard will compete mainly with other conservative magazines like National Review and The American Spectator, or with the financial magazines read by more monied

conservatives or even with The New Republic itself. Nor is it clear that the market will support another opinion journal; many more established journals of opinion and commentary operate at a loss and rely on foundation support.

Nevertheless, Mr. Kristol said the business plan called for The Standard to be in the black in three years. For its first issue of 100,000 copies, the magazine has 50,000 subscribers. The newsstand price is \$2.95.

The magazine is openly aimed at opinion leaders in Washington and much of its advertising is from companies and trade groups with business on Capitol Hill. So many advertising pages were sold for the first issue that it runs to more than 70 pages; future issues, Mr. Kristol said, will be closer to 50 pages.

Victor S. Navasky, publisher and editorial director of The Nation, the venerable liberal weekly, said that while he deplored the rise of conservative politics in general and Mr. Murdoch's contribution in particular, he still welcomed the advent of The Standard.

"We look forward to having a conversation with them in print," he said.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

File
Column

September 14, 1995

MEMORANDAUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO *LC*

RE: HRC COLUMN

Attached is HRC's column for the upcoming week. In addition, I have attached HRC's four speeches from the UN Women's Conference in Beijing, China.

TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, SEPTEMBER 16-17, 1995

This year, for the first time ever, I missed my daughter's first week back at school. While Chelsea was settling into 11th grade, I was at the international women's conference in China and then in Mongolia, visiting a nomadic family that makes its livelihood herding cattle in one of the coldest climates in the world.

As with most teen-agers, my daughter was much less concerned by my absence than I was. I couldn't stop thinking about every "first day" since kindergarten, and how her dad and I would make her pose for the ritual picture before driving her to school.

No matter how hard I tried, I could never keep from crying after we dropped her off. There is something about the way the school year, more than any other part of the calendar, marks the passage of time in a child's life -- and a parent's.

When I called home during this trip to find out how school was going, Chelsea told me about her new teachers and how much homework she already had.

But what she really wanted to talk about was my trip. We had traveled to South Asia together earlier this year, and she was disappointed she couldn't join me this time, particularly for my stay in Mongolia.

I told her about the family of herders who hosted me in their "ger" -- a tent-like dwelling of wool blankets attached to wooden poles that can be assembled or disassembled in one hour when the family makes its seasonal moves. Inside were several beds, cupboards, a vat of fermented mare's milk (yes, I tasted it) and a dung-burning stove.

The family has six children, who greeted me wearing the colorful vests and hats that are traditional in Mongolia. Every fall and winter, the parents and two youngest children migrate to southern pastures with the family's herds. The older children live with their grandparents in a nearby town so they can attend school. They return to the "ger" during February and March to help their parents at the height of the animal birthing season and then go back to school for April and May.

Although I only spent two hours at the "ger," and I don't speak a word of Mongolian, I couldn't mistake the love and commitment of the family members I met. The children's faces radiated with beauty. It was a beauty I saw many more times during my stay, which made it heartbreaking to think of the difficult circumstances endured by so many Mongolian children.

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Page 2

For nearly a century, their country was a Soviet satellite. Then, in 1990, Mongolia freed itself from the tyranny of communism and became democratic without bloodshed or violence. Today, it has more than one political party, an independent court system and laws that respect human rights and private property. Mongolia's doors are open to free enterprise and foreign investment.

Unfortunately, the road to democracy has not been completely smooth. The country has struggled with severe economic challenges, and many public schools have begun charging fees. Many families cannot afford to enroll their children, more children are dropping out of school and illiteracy is on the rise.

To make matters worse, President Ochirbat told me the schools still use Soviet textbooks -- simply because they cannot afford new ones. For all the suffering the Mongolians have been through to achieve democracy, their children cannot read in school about their own unique history or leaders like Genghis Khan, whose name was banned during the communist regime.

But I also saw the promise of Mongolia when I visited elected officials committed to democracy, students at the National University and women doctors, teachers and lawyers all struggling to move their country forward.

At the Center for Street Children in Ulaanbaatar, the nation's capital, I met youngsters who had been living in heating ducts and old railroad cars because their families could not afford to support or care for them. I talked to the center's doctor, who works to cure contagious skin diseases easily treated in the United States -- but not in Mongolia, where medical resources remain scarce.

Over decades, our nation spent trillions of dollars to fight Soviet communism. We won that Cold War. Now we have another challenge: to strengthen emerging democracies around the world, especially nations like Mongolia that are trying so hard to emulate American ideals.

Too often we forget the struggles other people go through for the privileges we take for granted. As our children head back to school this fall, I hope they will take advantage of the opportunities they have to pursue an education. I know I will spend a lot of time thinking about children I met in Mongolia and what education means for them and their nation.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 5, 1995

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION FORUM
ON WOMEN AND HEALTH SECURITY
BEIJING, CHINA**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. Thank you Dr. Nakajima, Mrs. Mongella, all of the panelists, delegates to this important conference, and guests from all over the world. I am honored to be here this morning among women and men who are committed to improving the health of women and girls everywhere in our world.

I want to start by commending the World Health Organization for making women's health a top priority and for establishing the Global Commission on Women's Health.

I am also proud that in the preparatory meetings for this Fourth World Conference on Women, the United States took the lead with other countries in highlighting the importance of a comprehensive approach to women's health. That approach builds on actions taken at previous women's conferences and the recent conferences at Cairo and Copenhagen, whose goals to promote the health and well-being of all people were endorsed by 180 nations.

Cairo was particularly significant as governmental and non-governmental participants worked together to craft a Program for Action which, among other things, calls for universal access to good quality reproductive health care services, including safe, effective, voluntary family planning; greater access to education and health care; more responsibility on the part of men in sexual and reproductive health and childbearing; and reduction of wasteful resource consumption.

Here at this conference, improving girls and women's health is a priority of the draft Platform for Action. It includes such goals as: Access to universal primary health care for all people -- a goal not yet achieved in many countries, including my own. The promotion of breast feeding. The provision of safe drinking water and sanitation. Research in and attention to women's health issues, including: environmental hazards, prevention of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, encouragement for adolescents to postpone sexual activity and childbearing, and discouragement of cultural traditions and customs that deny food and health care to girls and women.

Goals such as these illustrate a new commitment to the well-being of girls and women and a belief in their rights to live up to their own God-given potentials.

At long last, people and governments everywhere are beginning to understand that investing in the health of women and girls is as important to the prosperity of nations as investing in the development of open markets and trade. The health of women and girls cannot and must not be divorced from progress on other economic and social issues.

Scientists, doctors, nurses, community leaders and women themselves are working to improve and safeguard the health of women and families all over the world. If we join together as a global community, we can lift up the health and dignity of all women and their families in the remaining years of the 20th century and on into the next millennium.

Yet, for all the promise the future holds, we also know that many barriers lie in our way. For too long, women have been denied access to health care, education, economic opportunities, legal protection and human rights -- all of which are used as building blocks for a healthy and productive life.

In too many places today, the health of women and families is compromised by inadequate, inaccessible and unaffordable medical care, lack of sanitation, unsafe drinking water, poor nutrition, insufficient research and education about women's health practices, and coercive and abusive sexual practices.

In too many places, the status of women's health is a picture of human suffering and pain. The faces in that picture are of girls and women who, but for the grace of God or the accident of birth, could be us or one of our sisters, mothers or daughters.

Today, at least fifteen percent of pregnant women suffer life threatening complications and more than one-half million women around the world die in childbirth. Most of those deaths could be prevented with basic primary, reproductive and emergency obstetric health care. In some places, there are 175,000 motherless children for every one million families. Many of those children don't survive. And of those who do, many are recruited into a life of exploitation on the streets of our world's cities, subjected daily to abuse, indignity, disease, and the specter of early death.

There must be a renewed commitment to improving maternal health. The World Health Organization launched in 1987 a Safe Motherhood Initiative to have maternal mortality by the year 2000. To reach that goal, more attention must be paid to emergency medical care as well as primary prenatal care.

Providing emergency obstetric care is a relatively cheap way of saving lives -- and along with family planning services is among the most cost effective interventions in even the poorest of countries.

The commitment of the World Health Organization and its Global Commission on Women's Health to make childbearing and childbirth a safe and healthy period of every woman's life deserves action on the part of every nation represented here.

In addition, one hundred million women cannot obtain or are not using family planning services because they are poor, uneducated or lack access to care. Twenty million of these women will seek unsafe abortions -- some will die, some will be disabled for life. A growing number of unwanted pregnancies are occurring among young women, barely beyond childhood themselves. As we know, when children have children, the chance of schooling, jobs, and good health is reduced for both parent and child. And our progress as a human family takes another step back.

The Cairo document recognizes "the basic right of all couples and individuals to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children and to have the information and means to do so." Women should have the right to health care that will enable them to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide them with the best chance of having a healthy infant.

Women and men must also have the right to make those most intimate of all decisions free of discrimination, coercion and violence, particularly any coercive practices that force women into abortions or sterilizations.

On these issues, the US supports the provisions in the Beijing Platform for Action that reaffirm consensus language that was agreed to at the Cairo Conference about a year ago. But I also want to emphasize what the Cairo document said on a particularly sensitive issue to many represented here. It declared that "in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning" -- and that too should be reaffirmed loudly and clearly. The Platform asks governments "to strengthen their commitment to women's health, to deal with the health impact of unsafe abortion as a major public health concern and to reduce the recourse to abortion through expanded and improved family planning services."

As Mrs. Mongella reminded us, violence is also a health issue. It is about time we recognized it as such and began to move against it wherever it occurs. Violence against women remains a leading cause of death among girls and women between the ages of 14 and 44 -- violence from ethnic and religious conflicts, crime in the streets and brutality in the home. For

women who survive the violence, what often awaits them is a life of unrelenting physical and emotional pain that destroys their capacity for mothering, homemaking or working and can lead to substance abuse, and even suicide.

Violence against girls and women goes beyond the beatings, rape, killings and forced prostitution that arise from poverty, wars and domestic conflicts. Every day, more than 5,000 young girls are forced to endure the brutal practice of genital mutilation. The procedure is painful and life-threatening. It is degrading. And it is a violation of the physical integrity of a woman's body, leaving a lifetime of physical and emotional scars.

HIV, AIDS, and sexually transmitted diseases threaten more and more women -- and you will hear more about that poignantly and personally later. Experts predict that by the end of this decade more than half of the people in the world with HIV will be women. AIDS, which threatens whole families and regions, demands the strongest possible response. Governments and the international community must address head-on the growing number of women who are being infected -- and that means refusing to deny the extent of the problem and beginning to deal with it in order to start solving it and preventing it wherever we can.

More than 700,000 women worldwide face breast cancer each year -- and over 300,000 die of it. It's the leading cause of death for women in their prime in the developed world. In the time I speak to you today, 25 women around the world will die of breast cancer. In my own country, it is hard to find a family, an office, or a neighborhood that has not been touched by this disease. My own mother-in-law struggled against breast cancer for four years before losing her battle. That is another disease that all of us must join forces together to combat.

Tobacco use is the number one preventable cause of death. Some might think that it doesn't rank up there with the other serious problems that will be discussed, AIDS/HIV -- and of course it does not have the extraordinarily painful image and effects that other threats to health do -- but it is a killer and it causes great anguish among those who are struck down. Ninety percent of women who smoke began to smoke as adolescents -- leading to high rates of heart disease, cancer, and chronic lung disease later in life -- that are not only a burden to the individual and the family -- but to the health care system that are trying to cope with diseases such as AIDS and breast cancer.

As the World Health Organization points out, we also need to recognize and effectively address the fact that women are far more likely to be exposed to work-related and environmental health hazards. Policies to alleviate and eliminate such health hazards associated with work in the home and in the workplace also demand action.

Research indicates further that certain communicable diseases affect women in greater numbers. Tuberculosis, for example, is responsible for the deaths of one million women each year and those in their early and reproductive years are most vulnerable.

When health care systems around the world don't work for women; when our mothers, daughters, sisters, friends and co-workers are denied access to quality care because they are poor, do not have health insurance, or simply because they are women, it is not just their health that is put at risk. It is the health of their families and communities as well.

Like many nations, the United States brings to this conference a serious commitment to improving women's health. We bring with us a series of initiatives which represent the first steps to carrying out this Conference's Platform for Action.

We are continuing to work for health care reform to ensure that every citizen has access to affordable, quality care.

We are proposing a comprehensive and coordinated plan to reduce smoking by children and adolescents by 50 percent.

We are working to address the many factors that contribute to teenage pregnancy, our most serious social problem, by encouraging abstinence and personal responsibility on the part of young men and women; improving access to health care and family planning services; and supporting health education in our schools.

We are pursuing a public policy agenda on HIV/AIDS that is specific to women, adolescents, and children.

We are continuing to fund and conduct contraceptive research and development.

We are addressing the health needs of women through initiatives such as:

- * The National Action Plan on Breast Cancer -- a public, private partnership working with all agencies of government, the media, scientific organizations, advocacy groups and industry to advance breast health and eradicate breast cancer as a threat to the lives of American women.

- * An Expansion of the National Breast and Cervical Cancer Early Detection Program -- we hope will ensure that women who need regular screening and detection services have access to them, and that those services meet quality standards.

- * The inclusion of women in clinical trials for research and testing of drugs or other interventions that probe specific differences between men and women in patterns of disease and reactions to therapy.

* The specific health needs of older women will be addressed through educational campaigns about osteoporosis, cancer and other diseases.

* And the United States is conducting the largest clinical research study ever undertaken to examine the major causes of death, disability and frailty in post-menopausal women.

We come prepared to be partners working together on behalf of women's health security -- which must be a priority of all people and governments working together. Without good health, a woman's God-given potential can never be realized. And without healthy women, the world's potential can never be realized.

So I hope that through this conference we renew our commitment to join together to ensure that every little boy and girl that comes into our world is healthy and wanted; that every young woman has the education and economic opportunity to live a healthy life; and that every woman has access to the health care she needs throughout her life to fulfill her potential in her family, her work, and her community.

If we care about the futures of our daughters, our sons, and the generations that will follow them, we can do nothing less.

I want to thank so many of you in this room for the work you do everyday to bring better health to women, men, children, and families throughout world. Thank you for helping governments and citizens understand that we cannot talk about equality and social development without also talking about health care.

Most of all, thank you for being part of this historic and vital discussion. It holds promise for our future, if we act and continue to work together. I was pleased to find this declaration on women's health and health security and to see in it goals with measurable targets. That is what we must commit ourselves to. Rhetoric alone, recognition of the problems alone, will not save another girl child, will not prevent the disease that cuts down too many women in their prime, will not ease the passage of women in their older years who have worked so hard all their lives. It is only by combining the rhetoric and recognition with a commitment to specific actions that will bring about the changes we want to see. I commend and thank you for being part of that effort. Thank you very much.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 5, 1995

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE
ON WOMEN
BEIJING, CHINA**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much Gertrude Mongella, for your dedicated work that has brought us to this point.

Distinguished delegates and guests, I would like to thank the Secretary General of the United Nations for inviting me to be part of this important United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. This is truly a celebration -- a celebration of the contributions women make in every aspect of life: in the home, on the job, in the community, as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, learners, workers, citizens and leaders.

It is also a coming together, much the way women come together every day in every country.

We come together in fields and in factories. In village markets and supermarkets. In living rooms and board rooms.

Whether it is while playing with our children in the park, or washing clothes in a river, or taking a break at the office water cooler, we come together and talk about our aspirations and concerns. And time and again, our talk turns to our children and our families.

However different we may appear, there is far more that unites us than divides us. We share a common future. And we are here to find common ground so that we may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world -- and in so doing, bring new strength and stability to families as well.

By gathering in Beijing, we are focusing world attention on issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families: access to education, health care, jobs, and credit, the chance to enjoy basic legal and human rights and to participate fully in the political life of their countries.

There are some who question the reason for this conference.

Let them listen to the voices of women in their homes, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

There are some who wonder whether the lives of women and girls matter to economic and political progress around the globe. . . . Let them look at the women gathered here and at Hairou. . . . the homemakers, nurses, teachers, lawyers, policymakers, and women who run their own businesses.

It is conferences like this that compel governments and peoples everywhere to listen, look and face the world's most pressing problems.

Wasn't it after the women's conference in Nairobi ten years ago that the world focused for the first time on the crisis of domestic violence?

Earlier today, I participated in a World Health Organization forum. In that forum we talked about ways that where government officials, NGOs, and individual citizens are working on ways to address the health problems of women and girls.

Tomorrow, I will attend a gathering of the United Nations Development Fund for Women. There, the discussion will focus on local -- and highly successful -- programs that give hard-working women access to credit so they can improve their own lives and the lives of their families.

What we are learning around the world is that, if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish.

And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish.

That is why every woman, every man, every child, every family, and every nation on our planet does have a stake in the discussion that takes place here.

Over the past 25 years, I have worked persistently on issues relating to women, children and families. Over the past two-and-a-half years, I have had the opportunity to learn more about the challenges facing women in my own country and around the world.

I have met new mothers in Indonesia, who come together regularly in their village to discuss nutrition, family planning, and baby care.

I have met working parents in Denmark who talk about the comfort they feel in knowing that their children can be cared for

in creative, safe, and nurturing after-school centers.

I have met women in South Africa who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid and are now helping build a new democracy.

I have met with the leading women of my own hemisphere who are working every day to promote literacy and better health care for the children in their countries.

I have met women in India and Bangladesh who are taking out small loans to buy milk cows, rickshaws, thread and other materials to create a livelihood for themselves and their families.

I have met doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine who are trying to keep children alive in the aftermath of Chernobyl.

The great challenge of this conference is to give voice to women everywhere whose experiences go unnoticed, whose words go unheard.

Women comprise more than half the world's population. Women are 70% percent of the world's poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

Women are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not valued -- not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.

At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries.

Women also are dying from diseases that should have been prevented or treated; they are watching their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty and economic deprivation; they are being denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers; they are being forced into prostitution, and they are being barred from the bank lending office and banned from the ballot box.

Those of us who have the opportunity to be here have the responsibility to speak for those who could not.

As an American, I want to speak up for women in my own country -- women who are raising children on the minimum wage, women who can't afford health care or child care, women whose lives are threatened by violence, including violence in their own homes.

I want to speak up for mothers who are fighting for good schools, safe neighborhoods, clean air and clean airwaves. . .

. . .for older women, some of them widows, who have raised their families and now find that their skills and life experiences are not valued in the workplace. . . for women who are working all night as nurses, hotel clerks, and fast food chefs so that they can be at home during the day with their kids. . . and for women everywhere who simply don't have time to do everything they are called upon to do each day.

Speaking to you today, I speak for them, just as each of us speaks for women around the world who are denied the chance to go to school, or see a doctor, or own property, or have a say about the direction of their lives, simply because they are women.

The truth is that most women around the world work both inside and outside the home, usually by necessity.

We need to understand that there is no one formula for how women should lead their lives.

That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. Every woman deserves the chance to realize her God-given potential.

We also must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected.

Our goals for this conference, to strengthen families and societies by empowering women to take greater control over their own destinies, cannot be fully achieved unless all governments -- here and around the world -- accept their responsibility to protect and promote internationally recognized human rights.

The international community has long acknowledged -- and recently affirmed at Vienna -- that both women and men are entitled to a range of protections and personal freedoms, from the right of personal security to the right to determine freely the number and spacing of the children they bear.

No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture.

Tragically, women are most often the ones whose human rights are violated.

Even in the late 20th century, the rape of women continues to be used as an instrument of armed conflict. Women and children make up a large majority of the world's refugees. And when women are excluded from the political process, they become even more vulnerable to abuse.

I believe that, on the eve of a new millennium, it is time to break our silence. It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights.

These abuses have continued because, for too long, the history of women has been a history of silence. Even today, there are those who are trying to silence our words.

The voices of this conference and of the women at Hairou must be heard loud and clear:

It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.

It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes by their own relatives.

It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.

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 abortions or being sterilized against their will.

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, let it be that human rights are women's rights. . . . And women's rights are human rights, once and for all.

Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely. And the right to be heard.

Women must enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure.

It is indefensible that many women in non-governmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend -- or have been prohibited from fully taking part.

Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions.

In my country, we recently celebrated the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage. It took 150 years after the signing of our Declaration of Independence for women to win the right to vote.

It took 72 years of organized struggle on the part of many courageous women and men.

It was one of America's most divisive philosophical wars. But it was also a bloodless war. Suffrage was achieved without a shot fired.

We have also been reminded, in V-J Day observances last weekend, of the good that comes when men and women join together to combat the forces of tyranny and build a better world.

We have seen peace prevail in most places for a half century. We have avoided another world war.

But we have not solved older, deeply-rooted problems that continue to diminish the potential of half the world's population.

Now it is time to act on behalf of women everywhere.

If we take bold steps to better the lives of women, we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too.

Families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care; families rely on women for labor in the home; and increasingly, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for other relatives.

As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace around everywhere in the world -- as long as girls and women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes -- the potential of the human family to create a

peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized.

Let this conference be our -- and the world's -- call to action.

Let us heed the call so that we can create a world in which every woman is treated with respect and dignity, every boy and girl is loved and cared for equally, and every family has the hope of a strong and stable future.

That is the work before you, that is the work before all of us, who have a vision of the world we want to see for our children and our grandchildren. The time is now. We must move beyond rhetoric, we must move beyond recognition of problems, to working together, to have the common efforts to build that common ground we hope to see.

God's blessings on you, your work and all who will benefit from it. Godspeed and thank you very much.

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WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 6, 1995

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE NGO FORUM
HUAIROU, CHINA**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you so much. I feel so much at home and so much a part of this group. I only wish that in addition to the enthusiasm and interest amongst all of the NGOs who are gathered here, the weather had been more cooperative this morning and I greatly regret that we were forced to move this occasion indoors in order to avoid any of us drowning out there. But I am very sorry that not everyone who wished to be with us this morning was able to be in, and I hope all of you will convey my personal regrets to anyone who was turned away or disappointed because of the size of this auditorium.

It is a great pleasure for me to be here, and I want to start by thanking Supatra and Irene for their leadership in this extraordinary and historic enterprise. But I also want to thank all of you who are here, because I know from looking at the lists of people who have come, of knowing personally many of the Americans who have come, that in this auditorium and at this Forum, there are thousands and thousands of women and men who every day work to make lives better in their communities for all people. And that is the greatest contribution any one of us is able to make, and that is why the United States and many other countries so strongly support the efforts of NGOs and have worked very hard to ensure that NGOs could participate in this Forum. As many of you know, our government and other governments recognize the important role that NGOs play in policy and planning, in development and implementation and monitoring of programs that advance the progress of women.

I have come here, to Huairou, to salute you for your dedication to a cause greater than all of us. I know that many of you went to great efforts to be here. I know many were kept from attending this Forum. I know that for many of you who did get here, getting here was far from easy. Many of you did not even know until the last minute that you would be permitted to travel here, and others bore great personal expense in order to come. In addition to the weather, which is not

And I also want to say a special word on behalf of women with disabilities who have faced particularly challenging (inaudible)

But I mostly want to thank you for your perseverance, because you did not give up, you did not stay away, you are here, and the fact that you are, will make a difference in the days and months and years to come. Because even though you may not be physically present in Beijing at the Conference during these ten days, the wisdom that is accumulated here, the experience, the energy, the ideas are on full display. Thanks to your resourcefulness, your tenacity, your sense of purpose and your spirit, you are playing an important role in this Conference, and you will be the key players in determining whether or not this Conference goes beyond rhetoric and actually does something to improve the lives of women and children.

As I said yesterday, the faces of the women who are here mirror the faces of the millions and millions who are not. It is our responsibility, those of us who have been able to attend this Conference and this NGO Forum, to make sure that the voices that go unheard will be heard. This Conference is about making sure that women, their children, their families, have the opportunities for health care and education, for jobs and political participation, for lives free of violence, for basic legal protections, and yes, for internationally recognized human rights no matter where they are or where they live.

Time and time again we have seen that it is NGOs who are responsible for making progress in any society. Some of us never knew we were NGOs twenty and twenty-five and thirty years ago. That was not even a phrase that any of us had ever heard. We were people working together on behalf of all of those rights which we care about and hold dear. But when one looks at the progress that has been made throughout the world, it is clear that it is the NGOs who have charted real advances for women and children. It is the NGOs who have pressured governments and have led governments down the path to economic, social, and political progress, often in the face of overwhelming hostility. Again, NGOs have persevered, just as you have by coming here and staying here and participating in this Forum. What will be important as we end the Forum and the Conference at the end of this week is that it will be NGOs who will hold governments to the commitments that they make. And it is important that the final Platform for Action that is adopted be distilled down into words that every woman, no matter where she lives, or how much education she has, can understand. I think we should want every woman, no matter where she is, to believe that there are women all over the world who care about her health, who want her children to be educated, who want her to have the dignity and respect that she deserves to have.

When I think of the faces that I have seen in my own country, when I think of the women who did not have health care because they cannot afford it in the United States of America, when I think particularly of a woman I met in New Orleans, Louisiana, who told me that because she did not have enough money she was told by physicians there in our country, that they would not do anything about the lump in her breast, but would merely wait and watch, because if she had insurance she would have been sent to a surgeon. I think about the woman I met in a village outside Lahore, Pakistan, who had ten children, five boys and five girls, and was struggling as hard as she could to make sure her girls were educated and wanted help to get that job done. I think of the faces of the beautiful women I met at SEWA, the Self-Employed Women's Association in India. All of them had walked miles and miles, some of them for twelve and fifteen hours to get to our meeting together, and I listened as they stood up and told me what it had meant that for the first time in their lives, they were having a little money of their own. They could buy their own vegetable carts. They could buy their own thread and materials so that they could make income for themselves and their families.

I think of the women in the village in Bangladesh, a village of untouchables, I think of how those women who were Hindus invited to their village for my visit women from the neighboring village who were Moslems. I think of how those women sat together under a lean-to. Hindus and Moslems together in one of the poorest countries of the world, but so many of those women telling me what their lives had been changed to become because they had become borrowers that were now part of the Grameen Bank micro-enterprise effort. I think particularly of the play that their children put on for me to see, a play in which the children acted out the refusal by a family to let a girl child go to school. And then further down the road from that village, I stood and watched families coming to receive food supplements in return for keeping their girl children in school.

Those are the kinds of women and experiences that happen throughout the world, whether one talks about my country or any country. Women are looking for the support and encouragement they need to do what they can for their own lives and the lives of their children and the lives of their families. The only way this Conference will make a difference to these women is if the results of the Conference are taken and distilled down into one page perhaps, which states basic principles that you and I would perhaps debate and understand but may not be easily communicated. If that is done, then to carry that message into every corner of the world so there can be sharing of experiences. When I came home from Bangladesh, I visited in Denver, Colorado, a program that is modeled on the Grameen Bank, helping American women who are welfare recipients get the dignity and the skills that they need to take care of themselves and their children.

So despite all of the difficulties and frustrations you have faced in coming here and being here, you are here not only on behalf of yourselves, but on behalf of millions and millions of women whose lives can be changed for the better. If you resolve along with all of us, to leave this place and do what we can together to make the changes that will give respect and dignity to every woman.

I know that today at the women's conference there is a special celebration of girls. The theme is: "Investing in Today's Girls, Tomorrow's Women, and the Future." We know that much of what we do, we are doing not for ourselves, but we are doing for our daughters, our nieces, our granddaughters. We are doing it because we have the hope that the changes we work for will take root and flower in their lives. When I was privileged to be in New Delhi, India, I met a young woman who I think spoke for many, many women, and someone asked me yesterday at the Conference if I had a copy of the poem which this young woman wrote. And I said that I did and she asked if I could read it today, and I said that I would. Because this was a poem about breaking the silence, the silence that afflicts too many women's lives, the silence that keeps women from expressing themselves freely, from being full participants even in the lives of their own families. This poem written by a young woman, I think, is particularly appropriate since we are celebrating today the future of girls. Let me read it to you:

"Too many women in too many countries speak the same language of silence. My grandmother was always silent, always agreed. Only her husband had the positive right, or so it was said, to speak and to be heard. They say it is different now. After all, I am always vocal, and my grandmother thinks I talk too much. But sometimes I wonder. When a woman gives her love as must do generously, it is accepted. When a woman shares her thoughts as some women do graciously, it is allowed. When a Woman fights for power as all women would like to, quietly or loudly, it is questioned. And yet, there must be freedom if we are to speak. And yes, there must be power if we are to be heard. And when we have both freedom and power, let us not be misunderstood. We seek only to give words to those who cannot speak --- too many women in too many countries. I seek only to forget my grandmother's silence."

That is the kind of feeling that literally millions and millions of women feel every day. And much of what we are doing here at this Forum and at this Conference is to give words to break the silence and then to act. When I was at Copenhagen for the Summit on Social Development, I was pleased to announce that the United States would make an effort to enhance educational opportunities for girls so that they could attend school in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Today that effort, funded with

United States' dollars, is being organized in countries throughout those continents by NGOs.

There are so many ways we can work together. There are so many things that must be done. And let me just end with a postcard that I received from a woman who, with many, many others, wrote me her feelings and thoughts about this Conference. I don't know this woman, but she wrote to tell me that she wanted me to carry this card to Beijing. And she went on to say, "Be assured of many prayers for the success of the Conference, to better conditions for women and children throughout the world."

She put on this card a prayer and the prayer was written in many languages. It's a prayer that applies and can be said by many, if not all of the world's religions. And I want to end with that because I think that in many respects what we are attempting to do requires the kind of faith and commitment that this prayer represents:

"Oh God, creator of the heavens and the earth, we pray for all who gather in Beijing [and I would add Huairou as well] bless them, help them and us to see one another through eyes enlightened by understanding and compassion. Release us from prejudice so we can receive the stories of our sisters with respect and attention. Open our ears to the cries of a suffering world and the healing melodies of peace. Empower us to be instruments in bringing about your justice and equality everywhere."

That is my prayer as well, and with my thanks to all of you I believe we can take the results of this Forum and this Conference and begin to translate them into actions that will count, in the lives of girls and women who will have never heard of what we have done here, by whose lives can be changed because of what you have done coming here.

Thank you all very much.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 6, 1995

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR WOMEN
"WOMEN'S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT" PANEL
BEIJING, CHINA**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you, Noleen. Thank you very much and I want to commend all of you who are here because I think that this is one of the most important panels to hear from the three people that you will be hearing from in a few minutes, that will take place at this conference. I want to thank Noleen and also the United Nations Development Fund for Women, which we all know as UNIFEM. It is a word that in any language translates into hope for women who dream of a better life for themselves, their families, and their nations.

Around the world, UNIFEM has invested in the lives and aspirations of women and has helped to empower women in ways that have not been tried before such as what we will be discussing here this evening. I am pleased to announce that the United States is releasing its pledge of one million dollars to UNIFEM for 1995 so that it can continue this work.

We are here today to talk about micro credit, where it's needed, what it is, what it can do, how it has transformed lives. It's called micro, but its impact on people is gigantic. It takes just a few dollars, often as little as \$10, to help a woman to self-employment, lift her and her family out of poverty. It is not a handout; it's a helping hand.

From the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh or to the Self-Employed Women's Association in India, or to the work in Ghana that you will hear about, to banks and programs modeled on these from Indonesia to the Dominican Republic, to my own country, we have seen that micro-lending works. Women who have received loans from the Grameen bank, for example, have a repayment rate of 97 percent, and often within one year. And they invest their money well. Some buy milk cows to expand their family's agricultural livestock, some buy materials to make handicrafts which they then sell. Others make bricks, or repair bicycles. But the fact is: give a woman a seed, and she will plant it, she will water it, nurture it, then reap it, share its fruits, and finally, she will replant it. In this way, step by step, the world's poorest women are leading their families, their communities and their countries to a better future. When we help these women to sow,

we all reap.

I met many such woman during my visit to South Asia earlier this year. I met women in India, I met women in Bangladesh. Whether it is a milk cow in Bangladesh, or a computer in Chicago, women need help and encouragement and credit to make that first investment.

I will never forget a woman I met in my own country at a program called Mi Casa in Denver that is modeled after these programs you will hear about this evening. It is a program designed not only to provide credit, but to do something even more fundamental: to help build self-respect and self-sufficiency. The women who came to this program were on welfare, but they saw a better future for themselves and their children. And they just needed a little help -- a jump-start -- to realize their own potential. But often that jump-start is hard to come by.

As this one woman told me: "Many great ideas die in the parking lots of banks" -- because women get only so far, they don't even get in the door, in many cases, before they are turned away." That kind of discouragement has killed the dreams of millions and millions of women.

In the United States we are attempting to build up a micro-enterprise network. It is still very young. But already several hundred programs have enabled tens of thousands of Americans to seek and find economic opportunity for themselves.

This conference has identified economic opportunity as a critical area of concern, and we have to look for positive, practical ways to implement that concern. Access to credit, particularly through micro-enterprise, is a key priority. Our country has accepted the challenge of making the world conference on women a conference of commitments and I want to announce, this evening, some of the actions our government will take to further self-employment and micro enterprise development in our country.

Our Small Business Administration is already making more loans than ever to women. Through the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund, we will establish a new Presidential awards program to honor outstanding microlending organizations. These awards will provide challenging benchmarks for microenterprise programs throughout the nation and acquaint the public with the prevalence of such programs within our own economy. We believe they will also highlight the important work of programs that provide microenterprises with key support structures such as access to credit, markets, technical advice, and training.

The President also is establishing a mechanism to better

coordinate microenterprise programs across a number of our federal agencies to ensure that those programs are doing the job they were set out to do. Additionally, the United States will continue to support microenterprise in developing countries through USAID.

We know that it will take a lot of education to spread the good word about micro-credit. Despite a record that is inspiring, we still meet with skepticism and outright disbelief. There are very few financial institutions anywhere in the world that can report a 97 percent lending rate that is returned within a year. And yet, time and again, at conferences where micro-enterprise is discussed, bankers and others don't understand how they could actually do it in our economies around the world. So we are going in every way possible in our country to spread the word and to provide such technical assistance as will make more micro-enterprise programs available.

We are also concerned that capital formation and growth in some economic sectors often is now accompanying higher unemployment, longer hours with less pay, and severe restrictions on access to credit. We can not allow small enterprises to be marginalized as a result of greater consolidation within the global economy.

I became a believer in microcredit years ago, when my husband was the governor of the state of Arkansas. It's a poor state, and we were looking for ways to help people who didn't have access to credit. We found our model at the Grameen bank from Bangladesh and the South Shore Bank from Chicago, Illinois. That bank helped steer private investments to neighborhoods that need them, and we worked out a partnership with both Grameen, thanks to Dr. Eunice, and the South Shore Bank, that created a development bank, that created a borrowing fund, and began to make the kinds of investments in that state that we would like to see made throughout our country.

It's been a priveledge for me to meet leaders such as those who are on this panel because they have devoted not their lives to finding ways of ending poverty, they have been successful in changing the lives of so many people. And they have particularly focused on changing the lives of women. As Dr. Yin has told me, one time when he started the Grameen Bank lending idea, he had the revolutionary concept in mind of providing loans in a fifty percent, fifty percent ratio, for men and women. He quickly found out that women were better credit risks, that women would invest the money more in the family, that women would repay the loans. And so gradually over time, more and more women became the focus of the Grameen Bank's lending. That was, ont only revolutionary, but it set a fire that has gone through the developing world as a way of telling people that women are able to become self-sufficient if they are given the tools that enable

them to do so on behalf of themselves and their families.

Because of the success of such programs, the World Bank, and USAID, along with eight other major donors, have joined together to form the consultative group to aid the poor in order to finance small loans to the world's poor, the vast majority of whom are female. This is the kind of joint effort that we need to support.

I know that when we talk about such issues such as lending money to women, whether it is in a conference such as this, or attempting to make the case to financial institutions around the world, there are often eyes that glaze over. Issues connected to women, such as poverty, education, health and children or micro-credit now, are too often called "soft" by people who have us think that these issues are unimportant. Nothing could be further from the truth.

If there is any message that this conference could bring about economic opportunity, it is that we must engage in micro-credit in order to build micro-enterprises. We must open the doors of banks and other existing financial institutions to women who can become self-sufficient and responsible borrowers and we have to do so while there are people like those on this panel who are able to demonstrate clearly that this approach works. We really don't have a lot of time. The globalization of the economy has meant that many, many people are being marginalized, are being downsized, are being deprived of economic opportunities. We have to now, more than ever, make micro-enterprise a key element of providing economic opportunity for women and men everywhere in the world.

And I'd like now to introduce you to someone who has done that, whom I have had the privilege of visiting and seeing in action through the Self-Employed Women's Association in India. And so please join me in welcoming Ela Bhatt.

CREATORS SYNDICATE

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO: Lisa Caputo

FROM: Katherine Searcy

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File columns

TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, SEPTEMBER 23-24, 1995

It's amazing what you miss when you are on vacation or traveling out of the country. Until recently, I hadn't even heard about the controversy over the new Calvin Klein ads.

Now that I'm back in Washington, I'm finally tuned in. Friends have sent me clippings and news stories. I've seen the ads myself, which show young people in sexually suggestive poses, their underwear in view beneath their shorts and skirts.

From what I can tell, most of the controversy centers on definitions of pornography, First Amendment rights, and the boundaries of artistic expression.

All of those things are important. But I think we're missing a larger point.

Not every question of morality and taste is a question of the Constitution or the law.

The Calvin Klein ads are disturbing because they feed on the innocence and vulnerability of children. And the cynical message delivered to young people is that their value as human beings depends on looking sexy and acting cool.

It's hard enough for kids these days to grow up feeling confident and secure about who they are. What we should be doing as a society is helping young people focus on schoolwork and other positive activities that build self-discipline and character -- not adding to the confusion and anxiety that are part of growing up.

If you care about your family's values, as I do, you have to be concerned about values in the marketplace. You have to be concerned about the messages conveyed through the things we buy and sell.

Let's face it: Business decisions affect how people think and behave. In his recent book, "Selling Out America's Children," David Walsh points out that careful calculation -- and billions of dollars -- go into advertising campaigns in order to shape opinions and change tastes.

Advertising, he says, is really "adver-teasing."

And "adver-teasing" is usually driven by a yearning for profits more than any concern for decency, civility, taste or morality.

That is why raising our voices about how a company sells blue jeans can be just as important as the values we teach in our own homes.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 9/23-24/95**Page 2**

The Calvin Klein ads are merely the latest proof that some businesses are willing to push the envelope of gratuitous sex and exploitation of children as far as possible if it's good for the bottom line.

But they are not the only ads we need to worry about. The pervasive influence of exploitative advertising touches every aspect of our lives.

We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. You can't resist looking, even though you know that your own rubbernecking could cause another accident.

Today, it's as if our society is a highway full of car wrecks. Only worse. Nobody purposely causes an accident to attract the public's attention. But in the case of commercial marketing, we are purposely teased and titillated with sex and violence, simply because they sell.

What modern culture desperately needs are internal values that call on us to exercise our responsibilities, as well as our rights, as citizens. Instead of trying to justify inappropriate behavior, people in positions of power must start to behave responsibly and show restraint.

Sadly, we seem to be a long way from that. This fall, new movies and television shows that go further than ever before in showing graphic images of sex and violence will appear in theaters and on prime time. No doubt, they will make lots of money from the controversies they generate.

We can only hope there is a silver lining here. Maybe -- just maybe -- we, the public, finally have had enough of seeing children and women depicted as victims and sexual objects.

Calvin Klein was forced to pull his ads last month because of public outrage. And hopefully, in the weeks ahead, those of us who go to movies and watch television will stay away from the theaters and turn off our sets because we are so offended by the gratuitous violence, sexual degradation and bad taste we are subjected to on the screen.

But let's not wait for the marketers of sleaze to wrestle with questions of taste and morality. As parents and consumers, let's make it clear where we stand.

If you don't like the message, don't buy the product. Don't let your kids buy it. And remember that even if your own child doesn't fall for the marketing ploys, millions of other children are being exploited and devalued because adults can't control their own greed.

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*File
Column*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1995

MEMORANDAUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

Attached is HRC's column for the upcoming week. Enjoy!

TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 1, 1995**

Before my daughter was born, I did everything I could think of to prepare for the arrival of my new baby.

I asked my doctor hundreds of questions. I read every book I could get my hands on. And my husband and I went together to childbirth classes.

Even so, I was in for some surprises.

I remember lying in bed a few days after Chelsea's birth, when I was still getting accustomed to breast-feeding. Suddenly, I noticed foam in her nose. Afraid that she was convulsing, I pushed every call button within reach.

When the nurse arrived, she assured me that I was simply holding the baby at an awkward angle, making it difficult for her to swallow the milk she took in.

That wasn't the only time nurses came to my rescue during my stay at the hospital. They taught me to bathe and feed my daughter, and also gave me a chance to recover from the emotional and physical toll of a Caesarean section.

Nowadays, experiences like mine are far more common in countries like Australia, Germany, Japan, Ireland and France than here in the United States.

As insurance companies look for ways to cut costs, new mothers routinely are rushed out of the hospital 24 hours after an uncomplicated birth and three days after a Caesarean.

I have one friend who was pregnant with twins and began hemorrhaging during labor. She had to undergo an emergency Caesarean under full anesthesia. After the delivery, she was severely anemic and was placed in intensive care.

Even so, based on a "checklist" of medical factors, her insurance company said it would not pay for more than three days in the hospital. In the end, the company did cover a longer stay, but only because her doctor spent hours on the phone arguing that it was medically unsafe to send her home.

Unfortunately, some doctors won't take on such battles because they fear being dropped by the managed care companies with which they do business.

Another friend's wife was covered for seven days in the hospital after a complicated childbirth. But the insurance company wouldn't cover the child after three days, making it impossible for the mother to nurse the baby and much more difficult for mother and child to bond.

When my friend was told the child was considered independent of its mother, he asked, "Do you expect the baby to walk down to the parking lot and drive himself home?"

Insurance companies insist that limiting a baby's time in the hospital is not only a money-saver, but it also reduces exposure to hospital germs.

Most experts agree there is little medical risk to the majority of new mothers and babies discharged in the first 24 hours. But what happens if the baby develops an infection or other complication like jaundice that only becomes apparent on the second or third day after birth? What if the new mother has difficulty learning to breast-feed properly, which could result in dehydration or other serious problems for her baby?

Insurance companies say most new mothers are entitled to home visits by a nurse who can help spot problems after they leave the hospital.

But the reality is that many insurance companies only cover one home visit per patient; others simply provide for a phone consultation with a nurse in the days after childbirth. And cases have been reported in which the nurse or home visitor simply didn't have time to show up or didn't even know the baby had been born.

A retired transit worker in New Jersey, Dominick A. Ruggiero Jr., told this story to the New Jersey legislature earlier this year:

His niece had an uneventful pregnancy and childbirth and was discharged after 28 hours. At home, however, her baby, Michellina, suddenly took a turn for the worse. A nurse was supposed to visit the home on the second day but never came. When the family called, they were told the visiting nurse wasn't aware the baby had been born.

Several times, the family called the pediatrician, who said the baby had a mild case of jaundice and did not need to be examined.

The baby died from a treatable infection when she was 2 days old.

Thanks in part to Ruggiero's testimony, New Jersey now has a law that will make sure that insurance covers mothers for a minimum of 48 hours in the hospital after uncomplicated deliveries and 96 hours following Caesarean deliveries. Maryland passed similar legislation last spring, and Congress is now considering a bill.

Although a handful of critics has suggested that this is another example of government intrusion into the health care system, I think that protecting the health of new mothers and infants is a clear case of where government safeguards are needed.

No government employee should ever decide whether an infant has jaundice or a new mother is anemic. But at the same time, no insurance company accountant should make the final judgment about what is medically best for newborns and their mothers.

That decision should be left to doctors, nurses and mothers themselves.

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File
Column

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN # 11 -- SEPTEMBER 31, 1995
TALKING IT OVER/CREATORS SYNDICATE

Before my daughter was born, I did everything I could think of to prepare for the arrival of a new baby.

I asked my doctor hundreds of questions. I read every book I could get my hands on. And my husband and I went together to childbirth classes.

Even so, I was in for some surprises.

I remember lying in bed a few days after Chelsea's birth, when I was still learning to breastfeed. Suddenly I noticed foam in her nose. Afraid that she was convulsing, I pushed every call button within reach.

When the nurse arrived, she assured me that I was simply holding the baby at an awkward angle, making it difficult for her to swallow the milk she took in.

That wasn't the only time nurses came to my rescue during the four days I was in the hospital. They taught me to bathe and feed my daughter, and also gave me a chance to recover from the

emotional and physical toll of a Caesarean section.

Nowadays, experiences like mine are far more common in countries like Australia, Germany, Japan, Ireland, and France than here in the United States.

As insurance companies look for new ways to cut costs, new mothers routinely are rushed out of the hospital 24 hours after an uncomplicated birth and three days after a caesarean.

I have one friend who was pregnant with twins and began hemorrhaging during labor. She had to undergo an emergency caesarean under full anesthesia. After the delivery, she was severely anemic and was placed in intensive care.

Even so, her insurance company decided (based on a "checklist" of medical factors) that she should leave the hospital after three days. In the end, she was allowed to stay longer, but only because her doctor spent hours on the phone arguing with insurers that it was medically unsafe to send her home.

Unfortunately, many doctors won't take on such battles because they fear being dropped by the managed care companies with whom they do business.

The irony is that, while pressuring doctors to limit hospital stays to save money, some of these companies are spending millions of dollars on bonuses for their top executives. And in some instances, their administrative costs run higher than those of publicly financed programs like Medicare and Medicaid.

Insurance companies insist that limiting a baby's time in the hospital is not only a money-saver, but it also limits exposure to hospital germs. And there is little health risk to most new mothers and babies who are discharged in the first 24 hours, they say, because they are usually provided with follow-up visits by a nurse in the home.

But what happens if the baby develops an infection or other complication like jaundice that only becomes apparent on the second or third day after birth? What if the new mother has difficulty learning to breastfeed properly, which could result in dehydration and other serious problems for her baby?

The reality is that many insurance companies only allow one home visit per patient; others simply provide for a phone consultation with a nurse in the days after childbirth. And cases have been reported in which the nurse or home visitor simply didn't have time to show up or didn't even know the baby was born.

A retired transit worker in New Jersey, Dominick A. Ruggiero, Jr, told this story to the New Jersey legislature earlier this year:

His niece had an uneventful pregnancy and childbirth and was discharged after 28 hours. At home, however, her baby, Michelina, suddenly took a turn for the worse. A nurse was supposed to visit the home on the second day but never came. When the family called, they were told the visiting nurse wasn't aware the baby had been born.

The family also called the pediatrician several times, who said the baby's condition was normal.

The baby died from a treatable infection at two days old.

Thanks in part to Mr. Ruggiero's testimony, New Jersey now has a law that allows women to stay in the hospital a minimum of 48 hours after uncomplicated deliveries and 96 hours following caesarean deliveries. Maryland passed similar legislation last spring, and Congress and others states are expected to follow soon.

Although a handful of critics have suggested that this is another example of government intrusion into the health care system, I think that protecting the health of new mothers and

infants is a clear case of where government regulation is needed.

No government employee should ever decide whether an infant has jaundice or a new mother is anemic. But at the same time, no insurance company accountant should make the final judgements about what is medically best for newborns and their mothers.

That decision should be left to doctors, nurses, and the women themselves.

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*File
Column*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 4, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

Attached is HRC's column for the upcoming week. Enjoy!

TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, OCTOBER 7-8, 1995

On Oct. 11, my husband and I will celebrate our 20th wedding anniversary. I know it sounds corny, but we love each other more now than when we married. Like any couple that has been together a long time, we have worked hard and endured our share of pain to make our marriage grow stronger and deeper. We have encouraged and motivated each other, and we've had a lot of fun, too. And of course, most important, we've had Chelsea.

It nearly didn't happen at all. Making the decision to get married took time for me. Bill and I had begun dating in law school, but even after things got serious, I just could not bring myself to take the leap that marriage requires.

He actually proposed more than once. I never doubted my love for him, but I knew he was going to build his life in Arkansas. I couldn't envision what my life would be like in a place where I had no family or friends.

After we finished law school, we carried on a long-distance romance between Massachusetts and Arkansas that made money for the telephone companies but wasn't very satisfying for us.

Then, a year later, I took a deep breath and moved to Arkansas to teach law. It wasn't long before I found myself enjoying my work, new friends and a beautiful place to live.

One day in the summer of 1975, I had to go out of town for a few weeks, and Bill drove me to the airport. On the way, we passed a tiny brick house with a "for sale" sign out front, and I remarked in passing how pretty it was.

When I returned from the trip, he said, "Do you remember that house you liked? Well, I bought it, so now you'd better marry me because I can't live in it by myself."

That's when I finally said yes.

The house was only 1,000 square feet and had no air conditioning, but it did have a big attic fan, a screened-in porch, a living room with a beamed cathedral ceiling, a fireplace and a big bay window.

Bill had started furnishing it with some old furniture and a cast-iron bed he found in an antique store. He had gone to Wal-Mart and bought sheets with green and yellow flowers. To this day, he still jokes that he doesn't know what he would have done with that house if I had said no. We got married in the living

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 10/7-8/95

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room of that pretty little house on a glorious fall afternoon and started on the adventure our life together has been.

What I've learned over the years is that there is real glory in marriage. It is a feeling that comes from knowing that no matter what trials and tribulations you have been through, you look at your spouse after all this time and still love what you see.

My husband and I rejected long ago the idea that marriage was a 50-50 proposition: We see it instead as 100-100, where both partners have to give their all and persevere through the crises and challenges that inevitably arise in any couple's lives.

I'm sometimes asked, "What's it like being married to the President?" I reply that I didn't marry an office but a man and it's great being married to him.

Of course, being married to a public figure -- especially a President -- has its own challenges. For one thing, people assume they know everything about your relationship, when in reality, every marriage, including ours, is made up of moments that no one else can ever see.

There are practical concerns, too. How do you ever get any privacy as a couple? How can romance thrive when you live above the office with a 'round-the-clock staff?

Well, you improvise.

One night last summer, for example, when it was extremely hot and humid, we thought it would be nice to go for a dip in the White House swimming pool.

It was very late. Chelsea was away at camp. So we grabbed our towels, left the mansion, tiptoed through the Oval Office, and snuck through some bushes in pitch black. Without anybody around, we went for a midnight swim.

It will be a little too cold this week to celebrate our 20th anniversary with a dip in the pool. But I think I've come up with an equally romantic way to mark the day.

You might be able to guess what it is.

But sorry, I'm not telling.

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*File
Columns*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 8, 1995

MEMORANDAUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

Attached is HRC's column for the upcoming week. Enjoy!

TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, NOVEMBER 11-12, 1995**

I am writing this aboard Air Force One, traveling home with my husband after attending funeral services for Yitzhak Rabin, the assassinated prime minister of Israel. This is not the column I had intended for today; that will have to wait until next week.

I want to share some of the feelings and questions this awful experience raised for me. I was in the White House when my husband and I learned that Rabin had been shot at a nationwide rally for peace. Together, we prayed that the assassin had failed. Soon, we learned he had succeeded.

The grief and outrage the President and I felt was deeply personal. Prime Minister Rabin and my husband had developed a warm friendship built around their shared commitment to a Middle East peace. I am very fond of Leah Rabin and always treasured the time I spent with her and the Prime Minister, even when he kidded me for not letting him smoke in the White House.

At the funeral service, one could not escape the enormity of loss suffered by the Rabin family. This was captured best by his 18-year-old granddaughter's brave and eloquent tribute to her grandfather. She hailed him as her hero and the pillar of fire in her family's camp.

The loss for Israel was evident in the moving words of the Prime Minister's aides. One held the blood-stained copy of the peace song that Rabin had sung at the rally and was carrying in his pocket when he was shot. The loss for the cause of peace in the Middle East was manifest in the dignified tribute by Egypt's president Hosni Mubarak and the moving eulogy by King Hussein, who had come to consider Rabin as his brother in the struggle for a new future in the Holy Land.

But the assassination was more than a personal loss and more than a loss for the peace process. It was an attack on democracy. In the midst of Israel's grief, there are still those who share the gunman's extremism and applaud the murder.

What have we come to in America, Israel or any democracy if those who disagree with an elected leader's political position choose bullets over ballots as the way to bring about change? When the electronic media carry hate-filled messages of extremism, they give these zealots far more prominence than their numbers justify. How, then, can legitimate political differences be expressed without encouraging those who might be moved to violence in Tel Aviv or in Oklahoma City?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 11/11-12/95

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Under Rabin's leadership, Israel signed a peace treaty with Jordan and agreements with the Palestinians. When he was criticized for dealing with these former enemies, he said forthrightly that you don't make peace with your friends.

Every step in the peace process was ratified by a majority of parliament, although sometimes by only one or two votes. In a democracy, that is enough. In our own country, the President's deficit-reduction plan in 1993 passed by only one vote in the U.S. Senate, and a ban on assault weapons in the anti-crime bill became law last year with only two votes to spare. The recent separatist vote in Quebec lost by less than 1 percent.

Everywhere I travel in the world, I hear the same concern in democracies -- hard decisions are dividing people right down the middle. In difficult times like these, extremists often find a larger audience than they should because they simplify the solutions to the problems we face. If, as they claim, God or Holy Scriptures from the Bible or the Koran tell them to do something, who can argue?

Democracy flourishes when individuals are free to express differing and controversial positions. Democracy flounders when any one person or group proclaims there is only one right answer to complex issues. Democracy fails when extremists believe violence aimed at elected officials is a legitimate means for resolving disagreements.

Each of us who values democracy knows it is a messy and imperfect process. As Winston Churchill once said, "Democracy is the worst form of government except all other forms that have been tried from time to time." We should treat our elected leaders with respect -- even when we disagree with them. Here in America, churches pray every Sunday for those who lead us. More of us should reflect that spirit during the other six days of the week.

And we all should speak out against hateful speech and actions directed at our leaders. In Israel, the extremists who opposed Rabin distributed posters of him dressed in a Nazi uniform and called him a traitor. Those fanatics should have been condemned by all reasonable people whether or not they liked Rabin or agreed with his policies. Hate begets more hate and can create a climate of violence in which extremists may get pushed over the edge to bomb buildings or assassinate prime ministers.

How do we express our strongest views without resorting to violence in word or deed? That is a question for all of us to answer.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Full
column*

November 22, 1995

MEMORANDAUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

Attached is HRC's column for the upcoming week. Enjoy!

TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, NOVEMBER 25-26, 1995**

This Thanksgiving, my family and I had a lot to give thanks for as we sat around our dinner table. The past year has given us personal blessings, like Zachary, my brother's newborn son, and our continued good health. We also are grateful for the opportunities we've had to work and travel on behalf of America. Seeing other people in other places always adds a new perspective to our vision of our own country and our own lives.

In particular, Chelsea and I were moved by the trip we took together through South Asia last spring. As the mother of a teen-ager, I felt very lucky indeed that my 15-year-old was willing to spend 10 days with me. We had an unforgettable time everywhere we went.

We wore "shalwar kameez," the native dress of Pakistan, to an exotic dinner in an ancient fort illuminated by candles, where we were entertained by dancing camels. When we visited the Taj Mahal in India, Chelsea wanted our guide to tell us every story about its construction and tragic past. We rode elephants in Nepal, visited a village of Hindu untouchables in Bangladesh and watched a colorful parade at a Buddhist temple in Sri Lanka.

We were impressed by the progress each of the five countries we visited is making against overwhelming poverty and internal political strife. We saw evidence of this at Mother Teresa's orphanage in New Delhi and when we talked with women college students who were pursuing business careers in Lahore.

We saw it at a rural bank founded and run by poor women in Ahmedabad and when we made our own pilgrimage to the birthplace of Gandhi, the father of Indian independence.

Throughout our visit, we saw grass-roots efforts to bring basic health care to pregnant women and their babies and expand economic and political opportunities for women and the poor.

During our travels, I thought about what it means to be an American and about the many blessings we take for granted. In each country, we met democratically elected leaders who had suffered imprisonment, torture or exile under prior governments and survived the assassinations of husbands, fathers, sons, mothers and daughters.

Many people told us how much they admired our country. Some quoted leaders like Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Others

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 11/25-26/95

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expressed appreciation for their education in our universities, their association with our businesses and the assistance they received from our churches and private foundations.

The comment I remember most, however, came from a young Peace Corps volunteer I met in Katmandu.

She had walked 10 hours to catch a bus from the remote village where she lived in a house without running water or electricity. She described her work at a school where nearly all the students were boys, since most girls were still denied schooling and were often married by the age of 12 or 13.

She loved her experience in Nepal but missed her family and all the parts of daily life in America that she had taken for granted. She missed safe drinking water that came from a faucet, baths anytime she wanted and electricity available around the clock. She also missed being able to eat meats and vegetables without worrying they would make her sick, paved roads and working cars, and especially free public schools that taught both boys and girls.

I was glad Chelsea was with me so she could see for herself how other people live and work around the world. In fact, I wish I could have taken every American teen-ager on that trip. We have so many blessings here in the United States -- mostly because millions of other people paid the price for the life we enjoy today and because we have a stable democratic government that provides public services which benefit us all.

I realize how easy it is for Americans to overlook what we have achieved through government and what our government does for us every day. Few among us remember the time when many Americans didn't have electricity, roads or enough food. We don't worry about the dangers of unsafe water unless we hear about a temporary problem somewhere that we assume government will soon remedy. We take for granted the cleaner air we breathe and the lakes and rivers we can swim and fish in today that were polluted a few years ago. We forget the positive ways our lives have been improved during this century because we have a government willing to solve problems people face in their daily lives.

Every time I complain -- or hear someone criticize our government -- I think about the places I've visited and the people I have met in other countries who only dream of the freedoms and privileges we enjoy. And I try to remember how blessed America is, not just at Thanksgiving but throughout the year.

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File
Columns

Christmas Lasts Nearly Year-Round at White House



The White House Christmas tree arrived from Ashe County, N.C., last week. It's an 18½-foot Fraser fir that was delivered to the South Lawn on a horse-drawn cart. Now, it's standing in the Blue Room, decorated with ornaments from all over the country.

The presentation of the tree marks the beginning of the holiday season at the White House, but planning for Christmas actually gets under way months before.

In 1993, our first year in the White House, head usher Gary Walters told me we had to start planning in May. Being the type who's relieved if my own tree is up and decorated by Christmas Eve, I was shocked to hear this. But, with his help and the creative leadership of our social secretary, Ann Stock, we began meeting about mistletoe and holly just after Washington's cherry blossoms had started to fade.

Ann and her staff help me figure out the kinds of events we will have, draw up guest lists, prepare and send invitations and plan the entertainment. Chef Walter Scheib

begins dreaming up menus for the dozens of receptions, buffets and dinners held here during the few weeks before Christmas.

And pastry chef Roland Messnier starts drawing blueprints for his annual gingerbread masterpiece. This year, he is baking an 80-pound house made of gingerbread, chocolate, marzipan and sugar. It will be wired with a working chandelier and adorned with scenes of children dreaming of sugarplums and Santa landing on the roof. (Knowing Roland, it will probably have a few other surprises, too.)

One of the first things we do when we start planning is choose a theme for the year's celebrations. In 1993, we used angels, and last year, the theme came from one of my family's favorite carols, "The Twelve Days of Christmas." This year, we are choosing another of our personal favorites. Bill, Chelsea and I have made a Christmas Eve tradition of reading the poem by Clement C. Moore, "A Visit From St. Nicholas." We thought it would be fun to borrow the poem's first line, "'Twas the night before Christmas and all through the house..." as the official theme.

Once we settle on a theme, we rely on the creativity of thousands of Americans from across the country, including quilters, needlepointers, embroiderers, architects, crafts people and students, to help make it come to life. They make wreaths, ornaments, bows, stockings and tree skirts—all

the ingredients of a White House Christmas. Some even come and play music for visitors during the holiday season.

We also depend on an army of volunteers who spend several weeks opening boxes of ornaments that are then sorted by color, photographed and cataloged in a computer.

This year, as always, there are some wonderful creations. Architects and architecture students from all 50 states designed 500 ornaments that ranged from miniature models of the White House to a Florida beach house complete with palm trees decorated for Christmas to a spiral staircase with children climbing upstairs to bed.

We received stocking ornaments from members of the American Needlepoint Guild and the Embroiderer's Guild of America, who didn't shy away from adding local touches, like a Texas flag motif and cowboy boots warming by a fireplace. Elementary school students from across the country also sent in decorations, many of which offered reminders of childhood Christmases spent making colorful paper chains and other homemade ornaments.

None of the holiday celebrations would be possible without the volunteers who come from as far away as California to help tie burgundy and gold bows, make wreaths, string lights and garlands and hang ornaments for the 30 trees scattered throughout the White House complex. (We have our own tree in the private quarters on the

second floor and, thanks to some cat-loving volunteers, a special Socks tree on the third floor.)

Under the direction of White House florist Nancy Clark, 80 volunteer florists and decorators broke open boxes of greenery—about 1,200 feet worth—and molded them into 5-foot-tall wreaths for each of the White House's 147 windows. They spent four days in a warehouse outside Washington getting the wreaths and garlands ready for hanging. Teams of volunteers then transferred the wreaths and ornaments to the White House and started decorating.

The house is transformed into a Christmas wonderland and opened to the public for the first reception of the season—a tribute to the artists and entertainers selected as the year's recipients of the Kennedy Center Honors. Two nights later, the president and I host the annual Congressional Ball for all the members and their spouses. There will be events every day, and in all, we are expecting about 150,000 people over the next few weeks—some for candlelight tours, others for parties, still more for special Christmas celebrations.

It is one of the prettiest and most festive times of the year to come to the White House. I hope you will have a chance to visit, if not this year, then some other holiday season. But, whether you do or not, I hope your own holiday is filled with peace and happiness.

Column

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 20, 1995

MEMORANDAUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

Attached is HRC's column for the upcoming week. Enjoy!

TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, DECEMBER 23-24, 1995**

It's hard to believe Christmas is here again, with a new year right around the corner. I love the holiday traditions I grew up with and am always swamped by nostalgia every time I hear a familiar carol or unpack an ornament.

In my home, we waited until close to Christmas Eve to put up our tree and usually didn't finish decorating until late that night. We made ornaments out of papier mache, tin foil, pipe cleaners and anything else we could imagine. My mother would praise our creations, and my father would ask which side was up.

Over the years, I played most of the parts in our church nativity pageant. And one night, I even suffered the indignity of having my halo fall off as I fainted in an overheated sanctuary.

When Bill and I married, we melded our traditions, and then after Chelsea was born, we created new ones for her. We put up our tree a little earlier and make special Christmas cookies together. It seems like every year we watch Chelsea perform in "The Nutcracker" and church pageants. We still talk about the bitterly cold night the pipes froze in our church. The fire department arrived right before one little angel's hair caught fire from the candle she was holding, causing her father to vault over his seat to smother the flames with his hands.

Bill and I are happy to be over midnight hunts on Christmas Eve for toy batteries we'd forgotten. But we still wait too long to buy and wrap our presents, and as we get older, we spend more time searching for the stocking stuffers we cleverly hid away in July.

We've always been blessed at Christmas, but we know that's not the case for many children whose families have fallen on hard times. Instead of feeling excited about Santa coming, they are worried he will never find them.

These children can only hope that somebody -- anybody -- will remember them during the holidays.

This year, there is a soaring demand for clothing, shelter, food and toys, according to nearly every major charitable organization in the United States. Here in Washington, one church even had to turn away hungry families over Thanksgiving after running out of food.

Those seeking help are not just the poor and homeless. Increasingly, they are working families beset by medical catastrophes, lay-offs and economic factors beyond their control.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 12/23-24/95

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"There are simply more needy people," says Robert A. Watson, the national commander of the Salvation Army. "We're frantically trying to make the available resources go as far as possible."

Americans are responding to needs here and around the world.

Mary Damron of Ikes Fork, W.Va., began collecting toys, medical supplies and candy and putting them in shoe boxes after watching pictures of the war in Bosnia on television one night. After two weeks, she and members of her community had filled 1,200 boxes, which were delivered to children in Bosnia last Christmas. This year, she collected over 6,000 boxes. When Mary came to the White House to tell us about her work, she gave me a shoe box to fill.

In St. Louis, Catholic Charities has started a Secret Santa program with kids in shelters, day care and community centers writing letters to Santa Claus asking for specific gifts for Christmas. "I live in a shelter, so I know my mom cannot give me what I am asking you for," an 8-year-old boy wrote. "I want a remote control car. Thank you." One little girl asked for a Barbie doll to share with her twin. A girl named Adrienne wrote, "I love you, Santa Claus, and say a prayer for my family." A 10-year-old named Anthony asked for a football, and a 12-year-old boy wrote, "Santa, I want you and Mrs. Claus to have a merry, merry Christmas."

The letters are sent to members of the community who agree to buy a gift along with something practical, like mittens, a hat or a scarf.

When we lived in Arkansas, we bought presents for families who had written letters as part of a similar Secret Santa program. On Christmas Eve, we drove to their houses and delivered the gifts of food, clothes and toys in person.

We saw the desperation of mothers who were recently widowed or whose husbands had deserted them. We found couples struggling to provide for their children on minimum-wage jobs. Once, we ended up in a tiny room over a honky-tonk bar where a 55-year-old woman lived all alone. Someone who knew of her difficult situation had written a letter on her behalf. She never dreamed that anyone would care enough to visit her on Christmas Eve.

Celebrating Christmas can create wonderful traditions for our own children as well as for boys and girls who might otherwise be left out. But if the season is to have any lasting meaning after the wrapping paper is picked up and the tree is taken down, its spirit should live in our hearts throughout the year.

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File Column

TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

An extraordinary woman is coming to the White House next week: Mary Robinson, the President of Ireland. She is also a mother, a human rights lawyer, a law professor, a force for reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics, and a voice for women all over the world.

I met President Robinson last year when Bill and I were in Dublin. I admire her efforts to legalize contraception and to help women win the right to sit on juries when she was a young legislator in the Irish Senate. In outlining her philosophy, she has quoted the early feminist writer Mary Wollstonecraft, who said 200 years ago: "I do not wish women to have power over men but over themselves."

President Robinson's message about women's empowerment echoes the thoughts and words of many other women I have spoken with around the world during the past three and a half years.

Whether they are scholars, poets, historians, journalists, political activists or stay-at-home mothers, women have much to teach each other about the choices and challenges we face as we try to lead integrated lives.

As the writer Deborah Tannen has pointed out in her books about communication and gender, women need to talk, and often they need to talk to each other. It is that need for conversation and direct communication that distinguishes most women from most men.

As women, talking can be our greatest friend. That's why I'm so excited that President Robinson will be in the United States, spreading her message of humanity and opportunity for the people of Ireland and for women everywhere.

It's also why I feel so fortunate to have had face-to-face discussions about women's lives with everyone from the Prime Minister of Norway, to the Empress of Japan, to a destitute mother of 10 children in a dusty village in rural Pakistan.

When the best-selling author Mary Pipher visited me recently at the White House, we talked about our lives and the pressures confronting teen-age girls today.

The poet Maya Angelou teaches me about literature and life, particularly from the perspective of an African-American woman who grew up in Arkansas and is now a citizen of the world.

TALKING IT OVER 6/4/96

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Rose Styron, the writer and human rights activist, always provokes my thinking about the obligations we owe to men and women whose names are unknown, yet who are suffering for the cause of freedom and democracy.

Historians Doris Kearns Goodwin and Blanche Wiesen Cook both have shared their thoughts about Eleanor Roosevelt, someone I wish I could have talked to in person about the role of First Lady. In fact, I occasionally have imaginary conversations with Mrs. Roosevelt to try to figure out what she would do in my shoes. She usually responds by telling me to buck up or at least to grow skin as thick as a rhinoceros.

Mary Catherine Bateson, an anthropologist and the daughter of Margaret Mead, has written many books, including one called "Composing a Life." She and I have spent hours discussing the ways in which women in different societies attempt to fulfill their responsibilities to their families, jobs and communities.

Jean Houston, an expert on philosophy and mythology, has shared her views with me on everything from the ancient Greeks to the lives of women and children in Bangladesh.

I've even had the pleasure of sitting across the dinner table from Ann Landers, asking advice on matters both trivial and not-so-trivial.

But of all the women I've had the chance to meet, I've probably learned the most from those you've never heard of -- women who have never written a book, appeared on television or been the subject of a newspaper article. From a poor barrio in Managua, Nicaragua, to a grassy field in Indonesia, I've met women who find comfort and unity in telling each other about their children, jobs, families, health, education and all the issues that touch their lives.

I don't always agree with what I hear. What's important is to have the chance to listen to women whose perspectives and ideas may differ from my own so that I can broaden my understanding of women's lives and roles today.

Whoever is doing the talking, the stories we share contribute to our history as women and our understanding of our own time.

I hope we will all make time to talk things over with each other.

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June 4, 1996

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 21, 1993

REMARKS BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AT FIRST LADIES OF SONG EVENT

New York City, New York

10:51 P.M. EST

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you so much, and thank everyone from Frankie and James Roosevelt and the extended Roosevelt family and -- Stone, and all of the first women of song and theater who were here tonight, for making us all feel so good about our country and about someone who, on a continuing basis, inspires us and prods us. Thanks also to the first ladies of New York City and New York, Matilda Cuomo and Joyce Dinkens who were here with us tonight, and all of us who try in whatever way we can to do what these days should be done.

As I was sitting here this evening I thought about all of the conversations that I have had and might have with Mrs. Roosevelt this year. (Laughter.) It's one of the saving graces that I have hung on to for dear life. (Laughter.) The early conversations were I'm sure not very satisfactory to her because, early on as the campaign would go and things would happen, I would shake my head and I would say, "Why me?" (Laughter.) And I wouldn't get any answer at all.

A little while later, after some more time had passed and I had read even more and more -- actually devoured more and more about Mrs. Roosevelt, I realized that that was not a question that she would ever give an answer to. One did what one was expected and did it in the best way possible.

So my conversations turned to really requests for information -- how did you put up with this? (Laughter.) How could you go on from day to day with all that would happen and the kind of attacks and criticism that would be hurled your way? Again, I have to confess, it was not a very satisfactory conversation, because as you can see by looking at this wonderful, wonderful monument that will be erected, she listened calmly and looked at me very serenely, in my mind, but didn't say very much.

And then one day I had a wonderful revelation. And that was when I learned that even before President Roosevelt was inaugurated, newspapers were editorializing against Mrs. Roosevelt. They were saying she should keep her opinions to herself, that her husband had been elected President and no one in America wanted to hear a thing that she had to say. Actually, one of the most incredible editorials to that effect happened right here in this city, if I recall.

And so it struck me that what was really happening to me wasn't anything very new at all. That it was an ongoing story of what happens often as we relive history because we failed to learn from it, and that what we all must do in the best way we can -- take those lessons to heart.

So I began having much better and more satisfactory conversations with Mrs. Roosevelt. (Laughter.) Because I began to talk with her about what she was really interested in and how she could help me. And now the conversations that I've had for the past

MORE

month have been especially gratifying to me. Because she has said on several occasions as I have shaken my head over some problem or another, or as I watch my husband work very hard on the economic plan or some other important issue -- she's probably shaking her head, I said in my mind, "I thought that would have been solved by now." (Laughter.) "Since it's not, then you are just going to have to get out there and do it and don't make any excuses about it."

So from my perspective, what Mrs. Roosevelt has done is what she is still doing -- she says far better than I what I feel. I was struck tonight that perhaps what I should do is just take all these wonderful quotes we heard, write them down on notecards, and when I'm ever asked a question, shuffle through them and just hand them over. (Applause.)

But mostly I'm grateful because you will have this monument. I will, I hope, someday have a small replica of it and will -- because I hope that's one of the things which come from this. -- that I can put on my desk or in the window of my study; and when I feel a little discouraged or a little down, think about this woman who, although born to privilege, did not have much of what I have taken for granted -- a warm and loving and supportive family, an education that went on beyond my 17th year, an opportunity to see many things and have many experiences. But I don't feel that I was as well prepared in many ways as she was, pursuing these responsibilities. And I only hope that as the years go by, my heart and my mind will expand and grow, so that some day I will feel worthy of being mentioned in the same sentence with her.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

10:58 A.M. EST

Maggie

*File
Column*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 10, 1996

MEMORANDAUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

Attached is HRC's column for the upcoming week. Enjoy!

TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, JANUARY 13-14, 1996**

I was 14 years old the first time I saw Martin Luther King Jr. It was 1962, and my church youth group went to hear him speak at Orchestra Hall in Chicago. When he finished, we waited in the auditorium until everyone was gone, just so we could shake his hand.

We were teen-agers living in a secure middle-class neighborhood that was virtually all-white. But even from that suburban cocoon, I could not mistake his passion and conviction. Here was a man who had weathered persecution and harassment to stand up for what he believed was right: racial tolerance, social justice and non-violent change.

On every continent, ordinary people are heeding Dr. King's message that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." Whether they are residents of a Moslem town in Central Bosnia who have pledged to share their harvest with their Croat neighbors or mothers in northern Ireland who have organized their neighborhoods to help end a quarter-century of sectarian violence, they are refusing to give in to ancient grudges and traditions of hate.

Take a look at Billings, Mont., where citizens closed ranks against purveyors of bigotry when a series of hate crimes scarred their community.

It started when headstones at a Jewish cemetery were desecrated in the fall of 1993. Then, parishioners at a black church were harassed by three white men during a service. A few weeks later, a Native American woman found swastikas and epithets spray-painted on her house. Soon afterward, a beer bottle smashed through a glass door at the house of the local symphony director, who had immigrated from Israel.

One incident in particular struck a nerve. A cinder block was hurled through the bedroom window of a 5-year-old boy, where a menorah had been placed to celebrate the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah. The boy was not hurt. His bed was covered with shattered glass.

The community of Billings mobilized as if every citizen's rights had been violated. Members of the painters union volunteered their time to paint over the graffiti. Some local churchgoers wore Stars of David, and a group of concerned citizens held a vigil across the street from the local synagogue.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 1/13-14/96

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The Billings Gazette printed a full-page picture of a menorah, which thousands of non-Jewish residents clipped out and pasted in their windows in a show of solidarity for their Jewish neighbors. A Catholic high school put up a sign saying "Happy Hanukkah to our Jewish Friends." And a local sporting goods store displayed a message that said: "Not in Our Town."

Like Dr. King, the people of Billings had the power to imagine what it is like to be in someone else's shoes.

For children today, who are growing up at a time of new cultural tensions and divisions, the King message of compassion, unity and tolerance is especially urgent.

The power of imagination shines most brightly in children and young people. Without the idealism of youth, we would never have had a civil rights movement. Inspired civil rights workers were often in their teens and early 20s. Martin Luther King himself was a young man when called to a life of service.

One way we can spark imagination in our children is to read stories to them about people who stand up for their convictions. In hearing accounts of other people's lives, children learn that each of us can make a difference in our world.

In "A Call to Character," Colin Greer and Herbert Kohl have pulled together a collection of stories, including one by Ossie Davis called "Just Like Martin," in which a 14-year-old not only commits himself to the non-violent civil rights struggle but wins his father's reluctant admiration and support for doing it. In the end, they march together, Daddy coming to respect his son's sense of responsibility and his courage against the billy clubs he will face.

There is also a story by the renowned scholar and theologian Rabbi A.J. Heschel, an ally of Dr. King during the civil rights movement. He remembers how, as a 7-year-old boy, he heard the Old Testament tale of Isaac's narrow escape from sacrifice.

"Supposing the angel had come too late?" he cried.

"An angel cannot come late," his teacher comforted him.

How many times in our own lives do we put off helping others, either out of a lack of empathy or a failure to understand their situation?

Martin Luther King was right, if only we would hear his message. "I've decided to stick with love," he once said. "Hate is too great a burden to bear."

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Maggie

*File
Column*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
January 24, 1996

MEMORANDAUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

Attached is HRC's column for the upcoming week. Enjoy!

TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, JANUARY 27-28, 1996**

While I was traveling recently to promote my new book about children, a lot of people asked me about the Whitewater controversy, which I wrote about last week. But many more men and women were interested in discussing the issues of real life. They wanted to talk about family concerns -- from affordable health care to job lay-offs to how we can raise standards in our schools.

In particular, my position on one subject -- divorce -- seems to have taken people by surprise. As I say in my book, I think getting a divorce should be much harder when children are involved.

For much of the 1970s and 1980s, many believed that a bad marriage was worse than a good divorce. Now, however, we know that children bear the brunt of failed marriages.

Children living with one parent or in stepfamilies, for example, are more likely to have emotional and behavioral problems. Kids who grow up in single-parent families are also more likely to drop out of high school, become pregnant as teen-agers, abuse drugs, behave violently and become entangled with the law. Even if a parent marries again, it doesn't necessarily improve a child's odds.

Apart from the emotional trauma that divorce inflicts on children, there are also financial considerations. Usually, children live with their mother after divorce, and women tend to make lower wages, particularly if they are also caring for children. Child support contributions often can be woefully insufficient, and as we saw recently in the case of the New York investment adviser who owed more than \$500,000 in child support, even some wealthy fathers fail to support their children after getting divorced.

As a lawyer, I handled more than my share of divorce cases. I witnessed otherwise rational men and women, overwhelmed by jealousy and an urge for revenge, force their own children to choose sides. Many times, I saw children used as bargaining chips to obtain better divorce settlements.

Most married couples know that living happily ever after is not always an easy, or painless, proposition. My own marriage has become stronger, I believe, because Bill and I have worked hard at it, even when times were rough. As I told Barbara Walters in a recent interview, we have learned to compromise and bite our tongues when we need to. And like many other couples, we've learned to confront problems before they reach irreparable proportions.

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I'm not saying that divorce should never happen. I know of cases, as I'm sure you do, where divorce was the best option for all family members involved. No one should have to endure the physical and emotional abuse that my own late mother-in-law, Virginia Kelley, recounted in her witty and touching autobiography, "Leading With the Heart."

Virginia was married to an alcoholic who sometimes became abusive during drinking binges. She finally divorced him but re-married him three months later -- against Bill's advice -- because she felt sorry for him and believed he would change his ways. In later years, she told me she regretted not having stuck to her decision for the sake of her children.

Most marriages dissolve because of far less desperate circumstances. Divorce has become too easy because of our permissive laws and attitudes. Just look at our culture today: Good marriages are seldom celebrated, while every tiff or spat in a celebrity marriage becomes tabloid fodder.

For too many people, "Till death do us part" means "Till the going gets rough." With so many marriages failing -- nearly half end in divorce in our country -- we need to do more to encourage parents to work out their problems, stay together and strengthen their families. In cases where problems can't be reconciled, parents ought to put the needs of their children first in working out the terms of divorce. They must understand that their parental responsibilities continue even after a marriage splits up.

The good news is that attitudes about marriage and divorce seem to be changing. Some states are beginning to examine whether their divorce laws are too lax. Grass-roots campaigns to help preserve marriage are flourishing around the country.

More churches are offering marital counseling, and ministers are using sermons to educate parents about the responsibilities of marriage and family life. Some courts now require that divorcing parents attend classes to learn about the potential effects of divorce on their children. These and other efforts are welcome braking mechanisms that can slow down the process of divorce when children are involved.

Children are the issue here, as a 15-year-old boy from Louisiana noted in a letter he wrote me not long ago. "It is not fair to me or my mom that she has to be both mother and father to me and my little brother," said the boy, who went on to describe how his parents' divorce had affected his whole family. "It makes no sense to me."

It should make no sense to any of us.

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