

Beliefs | Peter Steinfelds

Hillary Rodham Clinton talks about moral values, just like millions of other Americans.

Seldom has a national figure stirred so much wonder and speculation in the news media by saying things that most of the American public consider unremarkable.

In an April 6 speech in Austin, Tex., and several interviews since then, Hillary Rodham Clinton talked about the Golden Rule and the Ten Commandments and "common-sense truth." She borrowed the Presidential bully pulpit from her husband, and here is what she declared:

¶That the United States, despite its wealth, was feeling an "undercurrent of discontent" and a collapse of community, of which urban violence and teen-agers' self-destruction were only the most dramatic symptoms.

¶That the dying Lee Atwater, the impresario of bare-knuckled Republican campaigns, was right to warn of a "spiritual vacuum at the heart of American society."

¶That national renewal could not be found simply by shoring up Government programs or relying on the marketplace but would require "an ethos of individual responsibility and caring," a society that "makes us feel that we are a part of something bigger than ourselves" and the reinvigoration of "intermediary institutions" like families, local communities and voluntary groups.

¶That "there is no — or should be no — debate about our family structure is in trouble" or that "our children need the stability, the predictability of a family."

Sometimes Mrs. Clinton sounded like Vaclav Havel, sometimes like Martin Luther King Jr., and sometimes, well, like George Bush with his "vision thing" and a thousand points of light.

The media have blinked with astonishment, if not consternation. "She sounded as if she's discovered spiritual truths that eluded Buddha and Jesus," sniffed one columnist. Incoherent and didactic, sniffed others.

In her Austin speech and in the interviews that followed, Mrs. Clinton praised her father's insistence that compassion for wrongdoers is not incompatible with firm standards of right and wrong. She talked of her conviction that people can be evil, not just socially conditioned. She suggested that the nation had become too tolerant of deviant behavior.

But she also rested her vision of social renewal on, yes, the Golden Rule and a personal change of heart. She imagined that lots of individual acts could add up to a big change, beginning with something as simple as not telling a racist or sexist joke and building to a larger awareness of economic hardships and inequities.

Children, cover your ears. In 1976, Jimmy Carter rattled the press by explaining that he actually listened for God's guidance when facing important decisions. Apparently unfamiliar with the processes of prayer that most Americans take for granted, some pundits wondered whether the Baptist Mr. Carter was having apparitions.

Their successors are showing no more familiarity with the weekly exhortations from a million American pulpits, exhortations about caring, searching for meaning, applying old values to new problems, transform-

ing society, etc., etc. Mrs. Clinton's talk of spirituality and moral values fits comfortably in this genre. It makes her neither incoherent nor an Orwellian Big Sister with New Age accessories.

Her actual words were far more Girl Scout than goddess worship, more concerned with strengthening non-governmental groups than expanding the state.

Michael Kelly may have been severe with Mrs. Clinton in parts of his revealing interview last Sunday in The New York Times Magazine, but he was on target when he wrote that Mrs. Clinton's liberalism is derived from her religious faith. Her politics combine, he wrote, "a generally 'progressive' social agenda with a strong dose of moralism, the admixture of the two driven by an abundant faith in the capacity of the human intellect and the redeeming power of love."

Admittedly Mrs. Clinton is a complex, political woman who zig-zags across stereotypes, both naturally and by calculation. But she has also become a kind of national Rorschach test where commentators project their own fears and weaknesses.

Her recent critics appear divided between conservatives who suspect she does not mean what she is saying and liberals who fear that she does. They include people who are wary of any political figures talking about values and spirituality and people who are just wary when Mrs. Clinton starts talking that way.

Convinced that the real meaning of her words must be couched below the surface, the commentators are poring over the ideas of Michael Lerner, the editor of the Jewish Journal Tik-kun, whose phrase, "the politics of meaning," Mrs. Clinton echoed in Texas. And they are trying hard to link Mrs. Clinton's remarks to her roots in the youthful movements for social change of the 1960's.

But Mrs. Clinton's remarks actually reflect almost nothing of Mr. Lerner's quite specific, highly psychological theory of "the politics of meaning" (which constitutes, by the way, a critique of 1960's liberal and radical politics). She seems to have borrowed no more from him than from any number of other thinkers whom the Clintons mine for ideas.

It is not whether the First Lady's outlook is some rare political departure but whether it will have any impact on the policies of her husband's Administration that ought to be the focus of attention. What is being called her moral crusade may be more compatible with the standard liberal agenda than either her conservative or liberal critics recognize.

But if she is enunciating a viewpoint that sees national renewal more in strengthening families and communities and less in claims of individual rights and entitlements, if she is trying to marry social conservatism with an economically interventionist government, sooner or later some policy difference should emerge.

Mrs. Clinton's soundest critics are not those who reflexively recoil at her talk about a spiritual vacuum and an ethos of individual responsibility and caring, but those who fear that it is only talk.

Lack of Effort Suspected

"I'm not satisfied the prosecution has made a diligent effort to establish the facts," the judge said.

Another prosecutor, Glenn D. Goldberg, argued that officials were unable to guarantee the young woman that her name and address would not have been publicized if she testified. Judge Cohen told Mr. Goldberg he would have considered granting an order protecting her anonymity if the prosecutors had asked for one.

The prosecutors also argued that under court rules, it was not their legal burden to prove that Mr. Archer was dangerous. Rather, they said, the rules required the defense to show he was not dangerous.

The judge agreed. But he said the prosecution had first raised the Boston College incident in court after Mr.

Mr. Ford, the defense intended that the state reversal of the earlier without offering new evidence called that position a "mistake." After the ruling, he said, ball revocation campaign rebuffed at every stage of process. "Today was a day," he said. "These issues that raising falsely now have I put to rest."

A representative of the Organization for Women, said after the hearing Cohen "had ignored the case" and that Mr. Archer twins had received benefits and all the privilege. "Why is this judge siding with the communists?" she said.

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10:10 Christian Education: Children & Adults
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Preacher: Bishop Moore
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Holy Eucharist Wed. 1:10pm
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The Rev. Canon Joel A. Gibson, Sub Dean
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4:00 pm Festal Evensong
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April 7, 1993

Internal

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY
AT LIZ CARPENTER'S LECTURESHIP SERIES

University of Texas
Austin, Texas

3:00 P.M. CDT

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you so much. I am reminded, in following Anne Richards, of that old story of the fellow who died in one of the early Arkansas floods and makes his way to heaven and is met at the gates. And St. Peter says, "Well, you're just in time for our monthly seminar. What do you want to talk about?" The man said, "I want to talk about the most important experience that I have ever encountered. I want to talk about what it is like to be in a flood. I feel like I can make a real contribution to that dialogue." St. Peter says, "Fine. You'll go on after Noah." (Laughter.) So, here we are after Noah. (Applause.)

You know, it is not a common experience for me to be in any Texas athletic facility and feel good about it -- (applause) -- but I must say that now that we're no longer in the same conferences, my state and yours, that I am honored to be -- (laughter) -- in the arena where the Lady Longhorns play. (Applause.) And I also have to say -- and I hope that you feel the same way I did -- I was mighty proud of Texas Tech, too. I thought that was a great victory. (Applause.)

You know, when Liz Carpenter asked me to come speak at her little seminar -- (laughter) -- it was one of those conversations that you have with Liz -- those of us who are lucky enough to know her and call her a friend -- where her enthusiasm just kind of takes over. She said, I'm going to have some of my friends in, we're going to do this lecture. You know, it will be fun. I'll get Anne to come over and Mrs. Johnson will come over, and we'll just have a good old time.

And I had this sort of mental image of being over in one of the small rooms at the LBJ School and sitting with a bunch of my friends, maybe with some students around a table. And then I just

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put it out of my mind. And over the last two weeks, as Liz knows, it's been kind of touch-and-go for me whether I thought I could be here, and I told Liz that I would certainly try. And when it became clearer that I could, I renewed contact with the people who were helping her put this on and was then told that there were going to be thousands, maybe 14,000 people at this event.

And my first response was no, no, no, you must have read it wrong, there's an extra zero in there somewhere. But my second was why would I doubt Liz Carpenter on anything? If she's going to put on a lectureship that's like Anne says, it's going to be a big one and besides it's in Texas. So what do we expect? And I'm just pleased to be part of it. (Applause.)

I also want to say a special word of appreciation to Mrs. Johnson. You know, there is that wonderful old saying about how you never quite know what it's like until you've walked in another person's moccasins. Well, I don't know if you've ever worn moccasins, Mrs. Johnson, but I'm getting a sense of what it is like to try to walk in the footsteps of you and the other women who have been in the position that I now find myself in. And every day that goes by, I am more impressed by the kind of qualities that you and other women in this position have brought to taking care of your personal business on behalf of your family and your husband, and also trying to make your contribution to the country. And all of us in this arena are grateful for the grace and beauty by which you carried out both of those functions and as a wonderful example, not just for me, but for all of us. And I very much wanted to say that to you publicly. (Applause.)

You know, after you hear what I have to say, you'll think that Governor Richards and I not only coordinated outfits but coordinated comments. And I suppose the only thing left for me is to get a hair-do like that. (Laughter.) You know, I'm actually due for a new one and I figure that if we ever want to get Bosnia off the front page, all I have to do is either put on a headband or change my hair and we'll be occupied with something else. (Laughter and applause.)

But what Anne Richards talked about is what I want to expand on in my remarks leading into the panel discussion with all of these distinguished panelists and with questions from many of you that I understand were submitted. Because the problems that she alluded to are not just American problems, they are not just governmental problems. We are at a stage in history, I would suggest, in which remolding society certainly in the West is one of the great challenges facing all of us as individuals and as citizens.

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And we have to begin realistically to take stock of where we are, stripping perhaps away the romanticism that Governor Richards referred to, to be able to understand where we are in history at this point and what our real challenges happen to be.

And I say that it is not just an American problem because if one looks around the Western world, if one looks at Europe, if one looks at the emerging democracies, at Asia, if one looks certainly here in North America, you can see the rumblings of discontent, almost regardless of political systems, as we come face to face with the problems that the modern age has dealt us.

And if we take a step back and ask ourselves, why is it in a country as economically wealthy as we are despite our economic problems, in a country that is the longest surviving democracy, there is this undercurrent of discontent -- this sense that somehow economic growth and prosperity, political democracy and freedom are not enough -- that we lack at some core level meaning in our individual lives and meaning collectively -- that sense that our lives are part of some greater effort, that we are connected to one another, that community means that we have a place where we belong no matter who we are. And it isn't very far below the surface because we can see popping through the surface the signs of alienation and despair and hopelessness that are all too common and cannot be ignored. They're in our living rooms at night on the news. They're on the front pages; they are in all of our neighborhoods.

On the plane coming down I read a phrase in an article in the newspaper this morning talking about how desperate conditions are in so many of our cities that are filled with hopeless girls with babies and angry boys with guns. And yet, it is not just the most violent and the most alienated that we can look to. The discontent of which I speak is broader than that, deeper than that. We are, I think, in a crisis of meaning. What do our governmental institutions mean? What do our lives in today's world mean? What does this economic global event that Governor Richards spoke of mean? What do all of our institutions mean? What does it mean to be educated? What does it mean to be a journalist? What does it mean in today's world to pursue not only vocations, to be part of institutions, but to be human?

And, certainly, coming off the last year when the ethos of selfishness and greed were given places of honor never before accorded, it is certainly timely to ask ourselves these questions. (Applause.)

One of the clearest and most poignant posings of this question that I have run across was the one provided by Lee Atwater as he lay dying. For those of you who may not know, Lee Atwater was

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credited with being the architect of the Republican victories of the '70s and the '80s. The vaunted campaign manager of Reagan and Bush. The man who knew how to fight bare-knuckled in the political arena, who was willing to engage in any tactics so long as it worked and he wasn't caught at it.

And yet, when Lee Atwater was struck down with cancer, he said something which was reprinted in Life Magazine, which I cut out and carry with me in a little book I have of sayings and Scriptures that I find important and that replenish me from time to time that I want to share with you.

He said the following: "Long before I was struck with cancer, I felt something stirring in American society. It was a sense among the people of the country, Republicans and Democrats alike, that something was missing from their lives, something crucial. I was trying to position the Republican Party to take advantage of it. But I wasn't exactly sure what it was. My illness helped me to see that what was missing in society is what was missing in me. A little heart, a lot of brotherhood.

The '80s were about acquiring -- acquiring wealth, power prestige. I know. I acquired more wealth, power, and prestige than most. But you can acquire all you want and still feel empty. What power wouldn't I trade for a little more time with my family? What price wouldn't I pay for an evening with friends? It took a deadly illness to put me eye-to-eye with that truth, but it is a truth that the country, caught up in its ruthless ambitions and moral decay, can learn on my dime.

I don't know who will lead us through the '90s, but they must be made to speak to this spiritual vacuum at the heart of American society, this tumor of the soul."

That to me will be Lee Atwater's real lasting legacy, not the elections that he helped to win. (Applause.)

But I think the answer to his question -- "who will lead us out of this spiritual vacuum" -- the answer is all of us. Because remolding society does not depend on just changing government, on just reinventing our institutions to be more in tune with present realities. It requires each of us to play our part in redefining what our lives are and what they should be.

We are caught between two great political forces. On the one hand we have our economy -- the market economy -- which knows the price of everything, but the value of nothing. That is not its job. And then the state or government which attempts to use its means of acquiring tax money, of making decisions to assist us in

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becoming a better, more equitable society as it defines it. That is what all societies are currently caught between -- forces that are more complex and bigger than any of us can understand. And missing in that equation, as we have political and ideological struggles between those who think market economics are the answer to everything, those who think government programs are the answer to everything, is the recognition among all of us that neither of those is an adequate explanation for the challenges confronting us.

And what we each must do is to break through the old thinking that has for too long captured us politically and institutionally, so that we can begin to devise new ways of thinking about not only what it means to have governments that work again, not only what it means to have economies that don't discard people like they were excess baggage that we no longer need, but to define our institutional and personal responsibilities in ways that answer this lack of meaning.

We need a new politics of meaning. We need a new ethos of individual responsibility and caring. We need a new definition of civil society which answers the unanswerable questions posed by both the market forces and the governmental ones, as to how we can have a society that fills us up again and makes us feel that we are part of something bigger than ourselves.

Now, will it be easy to do that? Of course not. Because we are breaking new ground. This is a trend that has been developing over hundreds of years. It is not something that just happened to us in the last decade or two. And so it is not going to be easy to redefine who we are as human beings in this post-modern age. Nor will it be easy to figure out how to make our institutions more responsive to the kind of human beings we wish to be.

But part of the great challenge of living is defining yourself in your moment, of seizing the opportunities that you are given, and of making the very best choices you can. That is what this administration, this President, and those of us who are hoping for these changes are attempting to do.

I used to wonder during the election when my husband would attempt to explain how so many of the problems that we were confronting were not easy Democratic-Republican-liberal-conservative problems. They were problems that shared different characteristics, that we had to not only define clearly, but search for new ways of confronting.

Then someone would say, well, you know, he can't make up his mind, or he doesn't know what he wants to say about that. When instead what I was hearing and what we had been struggling with for

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years is how does one define these new issues. How do we begin to inject some meaning? How do we take old values and apply them to these new -- for many of us -- undreamed of problems that we now confront? And that is what all of us must be engaged in in our own lives, at every level, in every institution with which we interact.

Let me just give you some examples. If we believe that the reconstruction of civil society with its institutions of family, friendship networks, communities, voluntary organizations, are really the glue of what holds us together; if we go back and read de Toqueville and notice how he talked over and over again about the unique characteristics that he found among Americans and rooted so many of those in that kind of intermediary institution of civil society that I just mentioned, then we know we have to better understand what we can do to strengthen those institutions, to understand how they have changed over time, and to try to find meaning in them as they currently are.

That's why the debate over family values over the last year, which was devised for political purposes, seemed so off-point. There is no -- or should be no debates that our family structure is in trouble. There should be no debate that children need the stability, the predictability of a family. But there should be debate over how we best make sure that children and families flourish. And once that debate is carried out on honest terms, then we have to recognize that either the old idea that only parental influence and parental values matters, or the nearly as old idea that only state programmatic intervention matters are both equally fallacious.

Instead we ought to recognize what should be a common-sense truth -- that children are the result of both the values of their parents and the values of the society in which they live. And that you can have an important debate over how best to make sure parental values are the ones that will help children grow and be strengthened, and how social values equally must be recognized for the role they play in how children feel about themselves and act in the world. And then we can begin to have what should be a sensible conversation about how to strengthen both. That's the kind of approach that has to get beyond the dogma of right or left, conservative or liberal. Those views are inadequate to the problems we see.

Any of you who have ever been in an inner city, working with young people as I have over the years, will know as I do the heroic stories of parents and grandparents who, against overwhelming odds, fight to keep their children safe -- just physically safe; and who hold high expectations for those children; whose values I would put up against any other person in the country, but who has no

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control over the day-to-day violence and influence that comes flooding in the doors of that housing project apartment; and who need a society that is more supportive of their value than the one they currently have. (Applause.)

Equally, all of us know the contrary story of families with enough economic means, affluent enough to live in neighborhoods that are as safe as they can be in our country today, so they have the social value structure of what we would hope that each child in America could have in terms of just basic kinds of fundamental safety and physical well-being, but whose parental values are not ones to promote a childhood that is a positive one, giving children the chance to grow up to achieve their own God-given potential. So that the presence of values of society are not enough, either.

There are so many examples of how we have to think differently and how we have to go beyond not only the traditions of the past, but unfortunately for many of us, well-held and cherished views of the past; and how we have to break out of the kind of gridlock mentality which exists not just in the Congress from time to time, but exists as well in all of us as we struggle to see the world differently and cope with the challenges it has given us.

Yet I am very hopeful about where we stand in this last decade of the 20th century, because for all of the problems that we see around us, both abroad and at home, there is a growing body of people who want to deal with them, who want to be part of this conversation about how we break through old views and deal with new problems. And we will need millions more of those conversations.

Those conversations need to take place in every family, every workplace, every political institution in our country. They need to take place in our schools, where we have to be honest about what we are and are not able to convey to our children; where we have to be honest about the conditions with which are confronting so many of our teachers and our students day in and day out; where we have to be honest that we do have to set high expectations for all children and we should not discard any because of who they are or where they come from. (Laughter.)

And where we need to hold accountable every member of the educational enterprise -- parents, teachers and students. Each should be held accountable for the opportunity they have been given to participate in one of the greatest efforts of humankind, passing on knowledge to children. And we have to expect more than we are currently getting. (Applause.)

We also need to take a hard look at other institutions. As Governor Richards said we are in the midst of an intensive effort

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of trying to determine how we can provide decent, affordable health care to every American. (Applause.) And in that process we have had to ask hard questions about every aspect of our health care system. Why do doctors do what they do? Why are nurses not permitted to do more than they do? Why are patients put in the position they're in? (Applause.)

And we have with us today Bill Moyers, who has helped to enlighten all of us about how what we currently have is a system for taking care of sickness. We do not have a system for enhancing and promoting health. (Applause.) And what we need to do is recognize how each of us, whether we are a care giver or a care receiver -- and that role may change from time to time as we go through life -- will have to think differently about health care. And we will have to come up with a system that promotes wellness, promotes health and provides care for us when we are sick that we can afford.

But to give you just one example about how this ties in with what I have said before about how these problems we are confronting now in many ways are the result of our progress as we have moved toward being modern men and women: Our ancestors did not have to think about many of the issues we are now confronted with. When does life start; when does life end? Who makes those decisions? How do we dare to impinge upon these areas of such delicate, difficult questions? And, yet, every day in hospitals and homes and hospices all over this country, people are struggling with those very profound issues.

These are not issues that we have guidebooks about. They are issues that we have to summon up what we believe is morally and ethically and spiritually correct and do the best we can with God's guidance. How do we create a system that gets rid of the micromanagement, the regulation and the bureaucracy, and substitutes instead human caring, concern and love? And that is our real challenge in redesigning a health care system. (Applause.)

I want to say a word about another institution and that is the media, because it is the filter through which we see ourselves and one another. And in many ways the challenge confronting it is just as difficult as those confronting any other institution we can imagine. How does one keep up with the extraordinary pace of information now available? How do we make sense of that information? How do we make values about it even if we think we have made sense? How do we rid ourselves of the lowest common denominator that is the easiest way of conveying information? How do we have a media that understands how difficult these issues are and looks at itself honestly because the role it must play is so critical to our success in making decisions about how we will proceed as a society?

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I remember in the beginning of the campaign being asked a question at an editorial meeting in South Carolina that my husband was at to meet a lot of the editors and reporters from a lot of the small-town papers. These were not folks who you'll see on a TV station anywhere; these are people who got up every day and did the best they could to put out the paper that covered their community or their region. And one of the men, after hearing my husband speak, said, "Now, you've talked about how we have to change. How we have to change government, how we have to change society. But as a journalist, how do I change to be able to understand and report on those changes?" My husband said, "You know, I can't answer that. That's something you have to answer. But I'm really glad you asked the question, because every institution in our life has to ask those hard questions about who we are, what contribution we make to dealing with our problems and to injecting meaning again in the lives of us all."

So every one of our institutions is under the same kind of mandate. Change will come whether we want it or not, and what we have to do is to try to make change our friend, not our enemy. But probably most profoundly and importantly, the changes that will count the most are the millions and millions of changes that take place on the individual level as people reject cynicism, as they are willing to be hopeful again, as they are willing to take risks to meet the challenges they see around them, as they truly begin to try to see other people as they wish to be seen and to treat them as they wish to be treated, to overcome all of the obstacles we have erected around ourselves that keep us apart from one another, fearful and afraid, not willing to build the bridges necessary, to fill that spiritual vacuum that Lee Atwater talked about.

You know, one of my other favorite quotes is from Albert Schweitzer. And he talks about how you know the disease in Central Africa called sleeping sickness; there also exists a sleeping sickness of the soul. The most dangerous aspect is that one is unaware of it's coming. That is why we have to be careful. As soon as you notice the slightest sign of indifference, the moment you become aware of a loss of character or a serious longing of enthusiasm, it is best, take it as a warning. You should realize that your soul suffers if you can't live superficially. Not just your soul, but your society. Being here on this great campus, with so many thousands of people who care about learning and are committed to making a difference. Let us be willing to remold society by redefining what it means to be a human being in the 20th century, moving into a new millennium. Let us be willing to help our institutions to change, to deal with the new challenges that confront them. Let us try to restore the importance of civil society by committing ourselves to our children, our families, our friends; and to reaching out beyond the circle of those of whom we know, to the

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many others on whom we are dependent in this complex society; and understanding a little more about what their lives are like and doing what we can to help ease their burdens.

Our greatest opportunities lie ahead, because so many of the struggles of the Depression and the World War and the other challenges posed by the Cold War and communism are behind us. The new ones are equally threatening. But we should have learned a lot in the last few years that will prepare us to play our part in remolding a society that we are proud to be a part of.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

April 16, 1993

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
AT HEALTH CARE BRIEFING

Lincoln, Nebraska

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. It is a great delight for me to be here. I am especially pleased to be with your Senator, whom I have known for a number of years since he served as your governor when my husband was also a governor, and have admired and respected his commitment and concerns on issues; but, particularly, his concern and commitment to the issue of health care in this country.

I don't quite know how to take the Navy Seal analogy. (Laughter.) It is a little bit too apt, too close to home. But throughout this process, when I have been treading through very choppy and dangerous waters, Bob Kerrey has given good advice and good counsel and, I think, made my task much easier by the fact that he has been there before. And I am personally very grateful for his lifelong commitment to doing what he believes is right and, particularly, his willingness to put himself on the line in the last couple of years on behalf of better health care for all Americans.

It's a real tribute, Bob. (Applause.)

I'm also pleased to be here with Governor and Mrs. Nelson. They have become friends of my husband's and mine. I always enjoy being with them, and I always learn something. I learned just a few minutes ago about how the Governor is not only enormously popular in this state for a lot of very obvious and strong reasons, but how he handles the bane of all people in political life, and that is the unfair, unjust, inaccurate reporting that goes on from coast to coast, north to south, east to west. (Applause.) And he has given me some tips that I think I'll start putting into effect. I'm not going to share them with you right now. (Laughter.) But I'm very grateful to the Governor.

And I'm also pleased to be here with another governor whom you'll hear from in a few minutes: Governor Howard Dean from Vermont is a practicing physician as well as the governor of his

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state, and has been intimately involved with the work of the President's task force. And it's a remarkable combination to have someone who sees this complex issue from the ground up as a practicing physician whose wife is also a practicing physician, and from the policy perspective of a governor's office. And I know that you will find Governor Dean's remarks as useful and provocative, as I always do, and am delighted to be here with him.

Those of you who are here are obviously concerned about the subject of this conference and wanting to know more about it. I assume from the great size of this crowd there are people from all walks of life and from very differing perspectives -- people who deliver health care, people who receive it, people who study about it, people who are concerned as citizens, as parents, as members of the community that you live in.

That is a very good sign. Because part of what we have tried to accomplish in the last several months is exactly the sort of conversation that this conference represents and which your presence exemplifies. We have to be willing to strip away the years and years of papering over the problems in our health care system, of denying the reality that was all about us and impinging upon us and be honest with one another. That is where we have to start. We have to be willing to talk about our problems, put aside our own personal interests, our own prejudices, our own experiences insofar as that is humanly possible.

Physicians and nurses and patients and insurers, business people of all sizes, working people -- all of us must recognize we are all part of the problem and we will all have to be part of a solution if it is going to work for America.

Starting from that premise, let me share with you some of the facts that have made it impossible to ignore this problem any longer, and which prompted the President to commit himself as he has to trying to make our country provide quality, affordable health care to all Americans.

First of all, there is a lot that is right about our health care system. No one can deny that. We are always proud of the accomplishments and achievements within the various sectors of our health care community. We are secure in the knowledge that we have among the best health care in the entire world, and in many, many respects the very best. And we want to do all we can to make sure that our children and our grandchildren will be able to say that as well.

What is happening, however, is that beneath that statement of fact, there are many other facts that now are breaking

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through the surface that we have to deal with as well. The security that many of us have come to take for granted -- that the doctor, the nurse, the hospital would be there for us in time of care and need -- the fact that so many of us have relied on the kind of care that we have grown accustomed to and that we feel comfortable with, as we look around our country today, that fundamental, personal security can no longer be taken for granted.

Instead, what we find is not only skyrocketing costs, but the effects of those costs. We find the growing numbers of people who work hard for a living who do not have access to health care. We find that more than 100,000 Americans move into the ranks of the uninsured each month. And more than half of the uninsured in 1990 were full-time workers and their families, and the rest were part-time workers, seasonal workers, people who worked.

Now, that's the kind of statement that, taken in a vacuum, sounds frightening. But if you're not in that group, you wonder to yourself: Well, that's not me and that's not those whom I know. But it could be. Because now more than ever, Americans worry about losing the insurance that they have, that they have taken for granted.

I wish all of you could have come with me on the visits I've been privileged to make around the country, talking to people about health care. It is very hard to explain, as I tried to explain to a group of working people in New Orleans a month ago why they, who had worked for the same employer, some of them for 20 years and 30 years, did not have insurance, could not afford it for them or their families, but lived down the block from people who were poor enough and not working that they were eligible for Medicaid.

It was very difficult for me to look at the woman who worked in the clerical office of that small steel company who could not afford insurance, her company could not afford, they believed, to offer any help to her in purchasing that insurance, but she tried to take care of herself. She was a single woman who had raised a child, and she went every year to have a physical exam. She tried to read what she needed to read, to eat the right things. She said to me she even tried to start exercising a few years ago and tried to walk every day.

But when she went for her physical exam, her doctor found a lump in her breast and referred her to a surgeon. And then when she kept that appointment with the surgeon, she reported to me that following the appointment the surgeon said, you know, if you had insurance, I would biopsy that. But since you don't, we will just watch it for a while.

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It's very hard to look in the eyes of working Americans, people who are really at the backbone of this country and always have been, and to know that some, by the grace of their employer, have an insurance, and some do not. Some women can be referred to a surgeon for a biopsy and some will just have that lump watched.

Or to listen to a veteran in that same group who had worked in that same business for many years but who wasn't eligible for VA benefits because he didn't have a service-connected disability and he was working and wasn't poor enough to access the VA system. So, again, without insurance the emergency room was his physician. And he talked about how he hated to go to the emergency room because it was always so expensive. He tried not to go, but the times that he did have to go often he couldn't pay the bill he was presented. And he felt bad about that as well.

So, there is, beneath the security that many of us still feel, because we can afford insurance, we are lucky enough to work for someone who helps us pay for that insurance, there are millions and growing numbers reaching millions more of Americans who are not so lucky. I call that the "there-but-for-the-grace-of-God-go-I" group, because many of us are one job away, one layoff away from not being able to afford insurance ourselves.

And then there are so many others who are in the position of being self-employed. Many of the farmers and ranchers in this state are like the ones that I met in Iowa when I sat for over an hour and listened to four farm families talk to me about how they could not afford insurance. And these were people who put literally the food on our table. And what they did was despite the fact it made no sense by any accounting measure, they just squeezed every possible dollar out of everything else so that they paid for those very expensive single-family policies that they were able to access.

Or they even went through their local farm bureau; but because it wasn't a very big policy or they had a preexisting condition, they were still paying more and more every year with the cost continuing to escalate.

And I sat there in the living room of this farmhouse thinking to myself: Why on Earth would we want, literally, to drive out of business, which is what we are doing, farm families and ranch families who are still among the most productive workers in our entire country? Why would we want our government to look at their balance sheet when they come in for some kind of loan from some government-supported program and have the government representative say, you know, you're not really in a good position to borrow as much money as you want because your assets are obviously highly mortgaged. You can't really afford much but if you cut out your monthly health

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insurance, we think we can make this work for you? Why are we doing that to ourselves, why are we doing that to the people who work for us?

We also know that in addition to the 37 to 40 million Americans who are uninsured, to the group of Americans who are paying for insurance at extremely high rates for a variety of reasons such as preexisting conditions, there are 22 million more Americans who do have insurance but whose insurance is the barest bones insurance that often when the catastrophe strikes, the accident occurs, the illness worsens, they find they are not covered for all that they expected.

I always wonder when people start playing with the numbers, when they say, well, this is really just a problem of the uninsured if they have not talked to same people I've talked to, if they haven't talked and looked into the faces of people who are uninsured, who are barely insured, who are insured at extraordinary costs that never seem to reach an endpoint. And then if they don't talk with the rest of us who worry that it could happen to us next.

If we do nothing, if we just say to ourselves: this is such a complicated problem, we really don't think we will ever come up with a comprehensive solution to solve all of the aspects of it, then here is what we can look forward to. Experts estimate that the annual cost of health care for an American family will more than double by the end of the decade to approximately \$14,000 per family. Workers will lose about \$655 in income each year if health care costs are allowed to continue to eat up wage increases.

So, if we just keep our focus on the individual and on the household and think about what is at stake, we can see how big an issue this is for most Americans. But it is not just an individual and family issue, it is also a business issue. And it is a business issue in a number of respects. Right now, two-thirds of small businesses do provide their employees with health insurance. Many small businesses do so at great cost and at sacrifice. And about the most poignant meetings that I think I have personally had in the last months have been with small business owners who have told me in great detail the struggle they have gone through to try to continue to insure their two or five or nine or 10 employees.

Some have been able to continue to meet those costs by doing all kinds of things. Certainly, by doing the obvious of increasing co-pays and deductibles and all. Some by taking members of their families off the health insurance and putting them on another health insurance that another member of a family had. There have been enormous efforts made by so many small businesses who do provide insurance to keep doing so.

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For many others, they have not been able to. And I can recall, particularly, sitting in a small restaurant in a suburb of Boston talking to a group of small business people who told me in excruciating detail the struggles they had undertaken to try to provide and continue health insurance.

One man who owns a small family bowling alley has one employee. That one employee had a son with a serious illness and the illness was one that was difficult to continue to insure for and the costs continued to go up. And the owner looked at me with tears in his eyes and he said, look at the choice I'm asked to make. This man has worked with me like a member of my family. And now I'm either going to have to make a decision to just cut him and his family off of health insurance or to tell him to see if there's any other place he can go to work where he might get it, but I've checked for him and I don't think that's possible. Or to continue to try to pay the insurance when we don't make all that much money. What am I supposed to do?

The human side of the business story is one that is filled with tales like that. There's another side as well. And that is that small businesses because they are small pay premiums that are one-third higher on average than large employers and those premiums have continued to increase 50 percent faster than premiums for larger employers.

So, it's a never-ending cycle. It's not enough just to make it one year. Given the history we've had in the last several, it keeps getting worse. There's also a competitiveness issue here with business. Our large businesses very often have a tradition of insuring their workers; and not only workers but their retirees. As a result, they have paid out millions and by now billions of dollars in both premium and costs that they will never recover in terms of investing in more jobs and opportunities for Americans.

In 1990, for example, General Motors spent \$3.2 billion in medical coverage for its 1.9 million employees and retirees -- \$3.2 billion. This was more money than the company spent on steel to build new cars.

Health care costs add \$1,100 to the price of every car made in America. How can we expect to revitalize the manufacturing sector of this country if we basically have told our large employers: Fight the global economic battles with two arms tied behind your back. So it is not just the human side when it comes to business, insurance, and health care costs, it is a question that every American needs to be aware of because it impacts on our quality of life and the economy of this country.

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In addition though to business, we have government. But governmental costs for health care are the primary reason behind the increase in the government deficit. I want to stress this point because so many people when we hear about the enormous deficit that has swallowed up so much of the investment potential in this country, it is such a big number, it has grown so much in the last 10 years that it's almost hard even to grasp.

But right now we are currently spending 14 percent of every dollar that your country produces -- and that's referred to as the Gross Domestic Product -- 14 cents out of every dollar is spent on health care in this country and the government's share of that is growing faster than the private sector's share of it. If we continue at the same rate of growth, then we are likely to see that in seven years almost one dollar out of every five dollars earned by Americans will go to health care spending, and more than half of the increase in federal revenues that we hope to see in the next four years because of economic growth will be absorbed by health care cost increases.

If we do not deal with the costs of health care in the federal and the state and the local government budgets, we will bankrupt cities and counties and states. They may never go to a bankruptcy court because we don't have a system big enough even to comprehend that. But they will continue to do what they have done for the last years -- run enormous deficits which will never ever quite get closed and the federal government will be in a position, as it has been in the last years, of pretending that there is an answer to a budget deficit that grows by leaps and bounds because we will not face up to the role that health care costs play in keeping that growth accelerated.

When my husband made his announcements about what he wanted to do with the budget, and he spoke to the Joint Session of Congress, he made it very clear that what we were facing was a budget deficit that had to be addressed on several fronts at once -- had to be addressed by cutting spending, which is being done dramatically and honestly for the first time in a very long time. But it also had to be addressed by reining in health care costs in both the public and the private sector.

Now, these are the facts that, no matter how much we would like to deny them and wish they would go away, are really framing the debates about what we should do in health care. And you have heard in this conference, and will continue to hear, from people who have spent a lot of time thinking about the best answers.

What the President did when he established the Health Care Task Force was to say, look at everything everywhere that might

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work. Make sure every issue that has an impact on health care, its cost, its quality, its availability, is pulled out to the light of day and evaluated.

To that end, hundreds and hundreds of Americans have been spending countless hours trying to make sure that the President's charge to them has been met. People from all over the country, all walks of life, more than a hundred medical practitioners, nurses, others who are on the front lines of health care, many people who have studied the issue from a different perspective, whether it be the VA's problems or the Indian Health Services problems; and countless others have given of their time and energy to be consulted with on an ongoing basis.

And one thing that is clear from having looked at the extraordinary range of issues is that any attempt to try to rein in our health care costs cannot just attack one part of the problem. To do that would be leaving opportunities for explosions of costs and continuing growth in other parts of the system. So the President has called for recommendations of a comprehensive approach to try to reform the health care system, put it on a sound financial footing for the future, retain the qualities of choice and opportunities that currently exist, and be sure that all Americans have access to health care.

And to that end, a number of different programs and potential models have been examined in an effort to come up with an American solution to an American problem, to make sure that what was proposed would provide flexibility to states like Nebraska or Vermont, because the people in different localities might need different approaches if they were to solve their own health care problems.

The costs associated with trying to provide a comprehensive solution are ones that we have to also be honest about. We believe that there is money in the system now that can be reallocated and used to meet a new system's more realistic requirements. We believe there is money to be saved in ridding the system of unnecessary paperwork and bureaucracy and red tape and micromanagement that has stood in the way of delivering health care. We believe that insurance companies like the great one that is headquartered here can help a great deal by coming up with uniform reporting forms and making it possible to move toward a computer-based information system that would save in the future billions of dollars.

We also believe that changes have to be made in our laws as they currently exist -- laws like antitrust laws that prohibit physicians or hospitals from cooperating instead of competing. There

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are communities in this country that tried to bring their hospitals together so that they could work out sharing arrangements of expensive equipment like MRIs or CAT scans. And we're told that if all the hospital administrators met in the same room, they would violate the antitrust laws. So instead, they all went out and bought their own machines. And that's one of the reasons Tylenols cost \$50 when you go to the hospital, because you have to amortize the costs of those machines. You have to make them pay for themselves, even though the volume demand may not warrant it.

So there are so many issues to be looked at, all of which are being considered, evaluated, and serving to make recommendations for the President.

But I want to say something very clearly about the principles that need to underlie whatever the President proposes. The first principle has to be that Americans will be secure in knowing they will have access to quality, affordable health care, no matter who they are, no matter where they live, and no matter what their health status is. They also have to be given the security that the costs that they pay for health insurance will not continue to skyrocket, but instead, will be controlled in some way by the marketplace so that they will understand that they can budget for that, businesses can budget for it, that will not be hit by surprises on a yearly basis, and not be able to deal with the costs.

We also have to recognize that there are values in our health care system that we need to promote and some we need to introduce. Individuals will have to be more responsible for their own health care. They will have to behave in ways that will promote health care. Now, how can we do that? We can't write a law that says go out and be responsible and take better care of your health, but we can put incentives into our system to try to promote certain kinds of behavior and discourage others.

We also need to value the full range of health care professionals. We have subsidized through the Medicare system the creation of many subspecialties in medicine. Those are important. But we have now 70 percent of our physicians who are specialists and only 30 percent who are generalists. You cannot run a system of health care that will tend to the primary and preventive health care needs of Americans when only 30 percent of the physicians currently in practice and only 15 percent of those attending medical school now will be there to provide primary and preventive health care. So the incentives that have traditionally gone into medical education to promote specialists now have to go into medical education to promote generalists.

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We also need to expand the work force composition in health care. We need more nurse midwives, we need more nurse practitioners and other advanced practice nurses. We have to have a health care profession that reflects the broadbased needs of Americans.

So the kinds of values that we are struggling with, the kinds of issues that you live with, whether you're in a household or as an individual or in a business or part of the health care system, are all being looked at so that we can come up with answers to what we think will be the best American response.

Now, how will this program affect your life? We hope it will not change much about how you actually access and receive medical care. We do hope that you will have a card which is your passport, as Senator Kerrey has said, to health care in America. We hope that you will continue to have choice in the doctors and other health care professionals whom you choose to go to receive care. And we hope that the states will be willing to take on a lot of the responsibility for making sure that the system actually fits the needs of the real people in a region.

Before coming out here, I was privileged to meet with representatives of the Lancaster County Medical Society and the local public health and social services offices and representatives from the state who have innovated a program here in this county to be able to care for Medicaid recipients by using private physicians through a referral system run by the public health system.

That is the kind of partnership and cooperation that we have to have if we're going to have a true comprehensive system that provides a continuum of care.

I like the word "cooperation" when I think about the health care system in the future. We have spent too much time in the past arguing and fighting over shrinking dollars that are creating barriers to access instead of expanding opportunities and removing those barriers.

When the President comes forward with his proposal, it will be based on extensive and lengthy and thoughtful suggestions from literally hundreds of thousands of Americans. But we will need you to take a hard look at it and to continue the process of consultation and suggestion through your senator, through your governor, because there is no magic bullet out there. There isn't any one simple model that can take care of Alliance and Broken Bow and Omaha and Lincoln, or Little Rock and Los Angeles. We need a national system with state and local opportunities to make sure that differences can be adequately met.

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We're looking for a chance not only to change our health care system, but to reassert some fundamental values in this country that have been forgotten -- values like individual responsibility, values like community. We want to restore some of the compassion and caring that we took for granted when I was growing up and which have been lost, not just because of the pressures of change in our society, but because of big institutions and bureaucracies and the distance that they create between people.

When I was meeting with the Lancaster County Medical Society representatives and the other folks, they told me that one of the reasons that this innovative Medicaid treatment program worked is because the people behind it had been humanized. Private physicians could see real faces of real people. Social workers paid calls on physicians and on patients. People began to help one another and once again to identify with each other as human beings, not as numbers, not as insureds, not as providers, but as people.

This is an incredible challenge and opportunity for our country. It's not going to be easy. It's not going to be done overnight. But it has the promise, not only of providing health care in an affordable, quality way to all Americans, but reasserting some of the common values about what it means to be members of a community where people are joined together in caring and commitment. Because we all have a stake in the future, and the surest way for us to realize a better future is through cooperation and a commitment to making a health care system that really works so that Americans can once again be secure.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

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Date: 04/21/93 Time: 09:04

Health Policy Makers Wrestling Over Whether To Cover Illegal

WASHINGTON (AP) The White House is trying to decide whether President Clinton's health reform plan should provide the same medical benefits to illegal aliens as it would to low-income Americans.

Congressional aides and Hispanic advocates, speaking on condition of anonymity, say the task force staff favors extending health care coverage to the 5 million undocumented immigrants living and working in the United States.

Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala also told USA Today last week that illegal aliens are now helped through the country's public health care system ``and we need to continue to do that.''

But Hillary Rodham Clinton, who heads the task force, told a group of Hispanic advocates last week that illegal aliens would not be protected under the president's plan, several of the advocates said Tuesday.

One said the White House was considering a range of options from covering illegal aliens to eventually excluding them from even the basic health care coverage they now receive.

``It's clear that all options are on the table and that the next few weeks will be critical,''' the advocate said.

Clinton is expected to introduce his health reform package in mid-May, and his decision on illegal aliens is sure to arouse passions on all sides.

``Serving all people is a public health issue, but I'm concerned that it's getting caught up in the xenophobia running amuck across the country,''' says Jane Delgado, president and chief executive officer of the National Coalition of Hispanic Health and Human Services Organizations.

The Center for Immigration Studies, a research organization, estimates that undocumented immigrants cost the government \$5.4 billion in health care, housing and energy assistance, education, welfare and prison expenses in 1990.

A leading Hispanic organization says it would oppose any plan that cuts medical benefits for immigrants, especially if it also calls for a national health identification card that uses Social Security numbers.

But supporters of tougher immigration laws say any improvement in health care benefits for the undocumented is an invitation to Third World immigrants to sneak across U.S. borders for their medical care and run up a bill that many taxpayers will refuse to pay.

Public health specialists on the task force believe there are public health benefits to providing medical care to undocumented workers living and working in the United States, such as controlling the spread of tuberculosis, cholera and hepatitis, congressional sources say.

``Tuberculosis does not discriminate. People who are carrying these kinds of communicable diseases can infect all of the population,''' says Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard, D-Calif.

Advocates of extending health care to aliens also say that a system based on citizenship would be an administrative nightmare for health care providers who would have to sort through complicated immigration regulations to decide whether a person was eligible.

``Look at the various labels given to immigrants it's an absolutely unmalleable morass of complications for the health care provider," says Rep. Ron Coleman, D-Texas.

It would not be unprecedented for the government to ignore citizenship requirements in providing health benefits. Illegal aliens can get emergency medical care and it is the general practice of federally funded community and migrant health centers not to inquire about the legal status of those seeking treatment.

Rep. Lamar Smith, R-Texas, says he worries that improving the medical benefits available to the undocumented would be like ``posting a big welcome sign on our border to illegal aliens just get across the border and we'll take care of their medical needs."

``If you provide health care for people who are here illegally they will come in as quickly as you can build hospitals," adds Dan Stein, executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, which favors stricter immigration measures.

Clinton's 1994 budget seeks \$400 million for a new Medicaid grant program for states that have large populations of undocumented aliens.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 6, 1993

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY
IN QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
AT LIZ CARPENTER LECTURESHIP SERIES

University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Q Now, I've heard that Barbara Jordan is willing to consider an appointment to the Supreme Court. (Applause.) But I've also heard she said it's on the condition you move the Court to Manchek. (Laughter.) If that were not possible, do you have any clues for us as to the person or type of person we might look to replace Justice White on the U.S. Supreme Court? (Laughter.)

MRS. CLINTON: The only clues that I have are that the President has said over and over again that he wants somebody who will be a symbol of excellence and have some understanding of what life is really like beyond the halls of academia or the previous administration's. And I think that he is hopeful that the person he selects will have the kind of universal appeal that everyone will say, there was a good choice.

We have returned to choosing people who are uniformly acknowledged as being excellent choices without the kind of problems and strive that we've had in the past. (Applause.)

* * *

Q I think when we start questioning our motives and thinking on an individual level, we can start feeling on a societal level. And I think that raises the question, what can we do in our own daily and individual lives to change our perspective on society and start looking for success?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think there are a lot of ways of answering that. I would hope that particularly here on this campus which provides so many people maybe the last or only opportunity to take a little time to think about the meaning of life and to think about who you are -- that those will not seem to be trivial or irrelevant pursuits. That really trying to think through your particular gifts is a very important part of defining who you are and what kind of contribution you can make. Developing a sense of

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confidence in your capacity to influence events around you and to help other people.

And I would also hope, spending some time to develop your own spiritual life, because part of what we are confronting is such a -- (applause) -- such a challenge to how we get through the days, the years ahead of us. That how everyone defines it, it is very hard to imagine that we will remold society or to heal it, in Ronnie's terms, without some spiritual awakening and without some understanding that eternal truths are eternal for a reason -- they have stood the test of human experience and they need to be reinvigorated in our individual lives.

Because how one defines success can be either very fulfilling or very empty. And that I think is what each of us has to challenge ourselves about on a daily basis. And there are few venues better for doing that than a university campus, and few greater opportunities than students have to try to come to grips with those sorts of issues. (Applause.)

* * *

Q People do have hope and I think they want to believe that government can be a partner with them in doing what they want to do rather than an obstacle. What do you think from your vantage point in Washington, what can the federal government do to help local communities and help these institutions rebuild themselves?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think you've put it the right way; government needs to be -- the federal government anyway needs to be a partner, government needs to be a partner on all levels. But government cannot and should not try to replace individual initiative or community efforts or empowerment -- the kinds of things that Ernie Cortez and others have fought for and stood for. But what we're trying to figure out how to do at all levels of government, here in the state of Texas with Governor Richards, or in Washington with the President, is to use government to reempower people who have lost hope, who have felt alienated not just from government but from themselves, their neighbors; to give them some tools so that they can become independent and to end the cycle of dependency that has for too long fueled government programs.

I mean, government began to exist more for those who were beneficiaries than for the common good. And particularly we see that in the examples that Ann gave earlier about how programs go on whether or not they have any legitimate purpose that is being served; but we also see it in the kind of perpetuation of dependency on

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government that is not healthy for either government or the individuals.

So by pursuing welfare reform, by trying to create entrepreneurial activities, by trying to give, for example, housing projects back to tenants so that they are responsible for themselves, by trying to give the kind of incentive that will enable individuals to take personal responsibility and to bring communities together around that, the government can become a true partner in creating individual responsibility. And I think that will lead to better citizens and will lead to a better government. (Applause.)

* * *

Q Let me take that point to a different level for a question to Mrs. Clinton. You talk about we all belong to communities. We also all belong to interest groups, which say -- Robert Reich, the Secretary of Labor said that interest groups have replaced communities in the tradition sense of the dominant organized force in American life. Mrs. Clinton, can you create a comprehensive health care reform that the most powerful interest groups in Washington cannot frustrate? (Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: Very well put. Well, I don't mind if they frustrate as long as they don't beat it. (Applause.) You know, they're going to be obviously directly interested in all of this.

I want say just a word, though, Bill, when you said the difference between communities and interest groups, there is a difference. I mean, one of things that I have found is that interest groups by definition employ people whose livelihood depends upon keeping the interest group agitated so that they will have to continue employing them to try to solve problems that the employees of the interest groups have made up. (Applause.) So I find all the time, not just with health care, but on other issues, that the paid representatives of the interest group often don't speak for the community of interests that they are paid to represent. (Applause.)

Now, is it going to be difficult to bring about change in a system as complicated as our health care system, which represents one-seventh of our economy? It will be absolutely very difficult. But if we approach the changes that are going to be proposed with good faith on the part of all of us, no matter who we are or who we represent, I believe there will be a consensus that reflects the national consensus that we have to change the way our health care system operates. And that in order to achieve that change, every single interest represented in the health care system will have to give up something. We will all have to change for the better good of the entire system. And that, I hope, will be a

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compelling enough argument to overcome the strong objections of some of those who will be asked to change the way they've been doing things.

Q Do you wish that you had not imposed a deadline for finishing the program? Would you like to have more time?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think that what the President did was to impose a deadline in part to make sure it got finished. You know, there's a way in Washington of never finishing anything that you start. (Applause.) I think that as long as it is finished in May -- we may not be as early in May because of some delays that we've experienced -- but certainly, as long as it's finished in May, I think the President will be satisfied, because he wants to move it. Because if we do not deal with health care while we are trying to deal with the deficit, we have not dealt with the deficit. (Applause.)

The majority of Americans understand that, because even though the President's budget has received extraordinary support in the country and in the Congress, even cutting the deficit by the approximate \$500 billion that is now projected over the next four to five years will not be sufficient unless we gain control over the exploding health care costs that will perpetuate and eventually increase the deficit to the level that it would have been had we not taken the steps the President has outlined, and even greater deficits will result.

So dealing with health care is not just a human imperative, it is a budgetary necessity -- not just for the federal government, but as the Governor can tell you, for every state government, for most country governments, and equally important, for most businesses and households in this country. So I hope that the speed with which the President is trying to move on this, which reflects his sense of urgency about it, will be recognized and acted upon by the Congress. But, of course, the only way to make sure that happens is if the people in this arena bring some pressure and urgency to bear once the plan is unveiled and the President moves forward with it. (Applause.)

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Q I would like to ask Mrs. Clinton her thoughts about the concepts that are floating and many -- they vary around managed competition from a more purist form to those which encompass global budgeting. And I would like to ask if you believe the move towards a managed competition kind of plan would allow us to have the kind of reform which we so desperately need, including benefits for mental health and long-term care. (Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: The kind of plan that the President talked about during the campaign and that he believes would most likely work in our country is a form of delivery that would use as

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its base a standard comprehensive package of benefits for all Americans. Depending on how much we are willing to pay, those benefits can include some mental health benefits, substance abuse benefits and can begin toward moving us to a system of long-term care.

Part of the challenge that we face in putting this package of benefits together is to strike the right balance that is fair to all Americans, those who are currently insured but not adequately ensured; those who are uninsured; those who are paid for by Medicaid and government programs; so that we have a benefit package that all of us will feel will meet our hospitalization, our primary and preventive health care needs, our catastrophic needs and hopefully mental health, substance abuse, and some beginning efforts on long-term care.

Now, in order to be able to do that, you have to face some really tough questions about how it's going to be paid for and who's going to pay for it. And I think that what the President believes is that maintaining choice, maintaining quality control, maintaining some competitive public-private system is more likely to produce the kind of long-term gains that we hope to see in this system through controlling costs than any other system that we could try at this time.

Now, what he also believes is that we need to have some flexibility at the state level so that states are able to -- if they are already moving in a certain direction that is compatible with controlling costs, providing universal access and ensuring quality, they can have some flexibility to do that; where they are not, then they will be mandated to achieve certain objectives that the federal government would set.

* * *

Q It seems to me there are two real issues. One, how do we get a whole lot more people involved in leadership? And we're trying to encourage our students here to do that. How do we tell them why they should do it? And, second, when you were doing your last phrasing about, if you get to a certain point, you need spiritual healing -- and I thought about how do we keep our energy up? How do we have that healing of the soul that allows us to go? And I would love for you to comment on either of those for my students and others who are in this audience.

MRS. CLINTON: Those are two large questions that we could spend the next hour on. I think you're right about leadership. And when Liz introduced Governor Richards, she said that 20 years ago when the National Women's Political Caucus started, it started with

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faith that women would be recognized as leaders. And I don't know that anybody would have predicted that in just 20 years, one of the largest states in the country would have one of the most popular governors in the country, and she would be a woman. (Applause.)

But I think that what is out there for anyone is a chance to be a leader at all kinds of levels. And you're so right there to say that we need lots of leaders. If you look at any of our institutions, they need leadership. And they need leadership that is willing to take risks and to say things as they see them at the risk of being unpopular; to be willing to change direction when necessary; to be willing to admit mistakes. Those are not easy things to do, but the rewards are great, even in something as personal as just your own personal growth and, hopefully, beyond that in the kinds of contributions you can make to whatever institution you're committed to and to the larger society.

So leadership doesn't have to be with a capital L at the gubernatorial or the presidential level to make a difference. It can be in a family; it can be in a church; it can be in a workplace; it can be in a voluntary organization. There are so many opportunities, and those can lead somewhere else. So I think that any way we can encourage people to have enough confidence in themselves to believe they can be leaders, we will all be better off for it.

Q In the last 10 minutes, we're going to give Paul and Ronnie the chance to ask some of the very specific questions that you've collected from students in our last 10 minutes. But let me just ask a final personal question of you. There's a wonderful story about the medieval knight who comes riding back into the castle; his armor is all tattered, his horse is dragging and drooping, his spear is lanced, is bent. He's clearly been -- he's disheveled. He's clearly been in some major event. And the king says to him, "Sir knight, what in the world has happened to you?" He said, "Where have you been?" And the knight says, "Oh sire, I've been out ravaging and plundering and pillaging your enemies to the west." And the king says, "I have no enemies in the west." And the knight says, "Now you do, sire. Now you do." (Laughter.) I'm wondering, have you been surprised by the enemies you've made? (Laughter.)

MRS. CLINTON: Well, sure, I'm surprised I've made any. (Laughter and applause.) I've been more surprised -- I don't know that I've earned any enemies, although I do think having some enemies, depending upon who they are, is probably a compliment in lots of quarters. (Applause.)

I guess I've been more personally surprised at how much interest there is in me and, since I have read a lot of history in the last couple of months, how it's really deja vu all over again.

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So many of the same things that are being said about me were said about Abigail Adams or Dolly Madison or Eleanor Roosevelt, or a lot of the women who have been in this position. It just makes good copy, so it kind of keeps getting redone over and over again. So I'm more surprised by that.

And I suppose that both the President and the Vice President and everybody associated with this administration will be make enemies because they're trying to change the status quo; and the status quo, just like the knight on the horse, is a very strong and noble enemy to have, but it's one that needs to be taken on. And so we'll probably have some enemies because of that. (Applause.)

* * *

Q I very much would like to raise some questions that have been put to me by my fellow students. Having spoken to many students who, like myself, intend to be physicians, there is a great deal of insecurity about the field that we are headed into, especially nowadays. One of the most common problems that physicians indicate they have is dealing with a public that often holds unrealistic expectations of what modern medicine can achieve for them. When these often unattainable results are not produced, lawsuits are often the results. Physicians today spend about half their time thinking about how to cure their patient, and the other half of the time figuring how they can defend themselves from future lawsuits. This concern with excessive liability is one of the greatest obstacles that physicians cite as bogging down the medical system. (Applause.) How can the upcoming health care reform provide physicians with relief from this binge on litigation and all the destructive effects that that litigation has?

MRS. CLINTON: You're right to express the feelings of physicians who do believe that both the cost of malpractice insurance and lawsuits arising out of allegations of malpractice, along with the kind of defensive medicine that they believe they have to practice are major problems for physicians today. And there will be some steps taken to address the extraordinary burdens that malpractice premiums place on physicians to try to remove that financial disincentive toward the responsible practice of medicine. And there will also be steps taken to provide some alternative approaches to trying to resolve disputes that arise in the context of the doctor-patient relationship, while maintaining access to the courts for those individuals and cases that need to be there.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Internal Use

April 7, 1993

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY
AT LIZ CARPENTER'S LECTURESHIP SERIES

University of Texas
Austin, Texas

3:00 P.M. CDT

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you so much. I am reminded, in following Anne Richards, of that old story of the fellow who died in one of the early Arkansas floods and makes his way to heaven and is met at the gates. And St. Peter says, "Well, you're just in time for our monthly seminar. What do you want to talk about?" The man said, "I want to talk about the most important experience that I have ever encountered. I want to talk about what it is like to be in a flood. I feel like I can make a real contribution to that dialogue." St. Peter says, "Fine. You'll go on after Noah." (Laughter.) So, here we are after Noah. (Applause.)

You know, it is not a common experience for me to be in any Texas athletic facility and feel good about it -- (applause) -- but I must say that now that we're no longer in the same conferences, my state and yours, that I am honored to be -- (laughter) -- in the arena where the Lady Longhorns play. (Applause.) And I also have to say -- and I hope that you feel the same way I did -- I was mighty proud of Texas Tech, too. I thought that was a great victory. (Applause.)

You know, when Liz Carpenter asked me to come speak at her little seminar -- (laughter) -- it was one of those conversations that you have with Liz -- those of us who are lucky enough to know her and call her a friend -- where her enthusiasm just kind of takes over. She said, I'm going to have some of my friends in, we're going to do this lecture. You know, it will be fun. I'll get Anne to come over and Mrs. Johnson will come over, and we'll just have a good old time.

And I had this sort of mental image of being over in one of the small rooms at the LBJ School and sitting with a bunch of my friends, maybe with some students around a table. And then I just

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put it out of my mind. And over the last two weeks, as Liz knows, it's been kind of touch-and-go for me whether I thought I could be here, and I told Liz that I would certainly try. And when it became clearer that I could, I renewed contact with the people who were helping her put this on and was then told that there were going to be thousands, maybe 14,000 people at this event.

And my first response was no, no, no, you must have read it wrong, there's an extra zero in there somewhere. But my second was why would I doubt Liz Carpenter on anything? If she's going to put on a lectureship that's like Anne says, it's going to be a big one and besides it's in Texas. So what do we expect? And I'm just pleased to be part of it. (Applause.)

I also want to say a special word of appreciation to Mrs. Johnson. You know, there is that wonderful old saying about how you never quite know what it's like until you've walked in another person's moccasins. Well, I don't know if you've ever worn moccasins, Mrs. Johnson, but I'm getting a sense of what it is like to try to walk in the footsteps of you and the other women who have been in the position that I now find myself in. And every day that goes by, I am more impressed by the kind of qualities that you and other women in this position have brought to taking care of your personal business on behalf of your family and your husband, and also trying to make your contribution to the country. And all of us in this arena are grateful for the grace and beauty by which you carried out both of those functions and as a wonderful example, not just for me, but for all of us. And I very much wanted to say that to you publicly. (Applause.)

You know, after you hear what I have to say, you'll think that Governor Richards and I not only coordinated outfits but coordinated comments. And I suppose the only thing left for me is to get a hair-do like that. (Laughter.) You know, I'm actually due for a new one and I figure that if we ever want to get Bosnia off the front page, all I have to do is either put on a headband or change my hair and we'll be occupied with something else. (Laughter and applause.)

But what Anne Richards talked about is what I want to expand on in my remarks leading into the panel discussion with all of these distinguished panelists and with questions from many of you that I understand were submitted. Because the problems that she alluded to are not just American problems, they are not just governmental problems. We are at a stage in history, I would suggest, in which remolding society certainly in the West is one of the great challenges facing all of us as individuals and as citizens.

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And we have to begin realistically to take stock of where we are, stripping perhaps away the romanticism that Governor Richards referred to, to be able to understand where we are in history at this point and what our real challenges happen to be.

And I say that it is not just an American problem because if one looks around the Western world, if one looks at Europe, if one looks at the emerging democracies, at Asia, if one looks certainly here in North America, you can see the rumblings of discontent, almost regardless of political systems, as we come face to face with the problems that the modern age has dealt us.

And if we take a step back and ask ourselves, why is it in a country as economically wealthy as we are despite our economic problems, in a country that is the longest surviving democracy, there is this undercurrent of discontent -- this sense that somehow economic growth and prosperity, political democracy and freedom are not enough -- that we lack at some core level meaning in our individual lives and meaning collectively -- that sense that our lives are part of some greater effort, that we are connected to one another, that community means that we have a place where we belong no matter who we are. And it isn't very far below the surface because we can see popping through the surface the signs of alienation and despair and hopelessness that are all too common and cannot be ignored. They're in our living rooms at night on the news. They're on the front pages; they are in all of our neighborhoods.

On the plane coming down I read a phrase in an article in the newspaper this morning talking about how desperate conditions are in so many of our cities that are filled with hopeless girls with babies and angry boys with guns. And yet, it is not just the most violent and the most alienated that we can look to. The discontent of which I speak is broader than that, deeper than that. We are, I think, in a crisis of meaning. What do our governmental institutions mean? What do our lives in today's world mean? What does this economic global event that Governor Richards spoke of mean? What do all of our institutions mean? What does it mean to be educated? What does it mean to be a journalist? What does it mean in today's world to pursue not only vocations, to be part of institutions, but to be human?

And, certainly, coming off the last year when the ethos of selfishness and greed were given places of honor never before accorded, it is certainly timely to ask ourselves these questions. (Applause.)

One of the clearest and most poignant posings of this question that I have run across was the one provided by Lee Atwater as he lay dying. For those of you who may not know, Lee Atwater was

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credited with being the architect of the Republican victories of the '70s and the '80s. The vaunted campaign manager of Reagan and Bush. The man who knew how to fight bare-knuckled in the political arena, who was willing to engage in any tactics so long as it worked and he wasn't caught at it.

And yet, when Lee Atwater was struck down with cancer, he said something which was reprinted in Life Magazine, which I cut out and carry with me in a little book I have of sayings and Scriptures that I find important and that replenish me from time to time that I want to share with you.

He said the following: "Long before I was struck with cancer, I felt something stirring in American society. It was a sense among the people of the country, Republicans and Democrats alike, that something was missing from their lives, something crucial. I was trying to position the Republican Party to take advantage of it. But I wasn't exactly sure what it was. My illness helped me to see that what was missing in society is what was missing in me. A little heart, a lot of brotherhood.

The '80s were about acquiring -- acquiring wealth, power, prestige. I know. I acquired more wealth, power, and prestige than most. But you can acquire all you want and still feel empty. What power wouldn't I trade for a little more time with my family? What price wouldn't I pay for an evening with friends? It took a deadly illness to put me eye-to-eye with that truth, but it is a truth that the country, caught up in its ruthless ambitions and moral decay, can learn on my dime.

I don't know who will lead us through the '90s, but they must be made to speak to this spiritual vacuum at the heart of American society, this tumor of the soul."

That to me will be Lee Atwater's real lasting legacy, not the elections that he helped to win. (Applause.)

But I think the answer to his question -- "who will lead us out of this spiritual vacuum" -- the answer is all of us. Because remolding society does not depend on just changing government, on just reinventing our institutions to be more in tune with present realities. It requires each of us to play our part in redefining what our lives are and what they should be.

We are caught between two great political forces. On the one hand we have our economy -- the market economy -- which knows the price of everything, but the value of nothing. That is not its job. And then the state or government which attempts to use its means of acquiring tax money, of making decisions to assist us in

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becoming a better, more equitable society as it defines it. That is what all societies are currently caught between -- forces that are more complex and bigger than any of us can understand. And missing in that equation, as we have political and ideological struggles between those who think market economics are the answer to everything, those who think government programs are the answer to everything, is the recognition among all of us that neither of those is an adequate explanation for the challenges confronting us.

And what we each must do is to break through the old thinking that has for too long captured us politically and institutionally, so that we can begin to devise new ways of thinking about not only what it means to have governments that work again, not only what it means to have economies that don't discard people like they were excess baggage that we no longer need, but to define our institutional and personal responsibilities in ways that answer this lack of meaning.

We need a new politics of meaning. We need a new ethos of individual responsibility and caring. We need a new definition of civil society which answers the unanswerable questions posed by both the market forces and the governmental ones, as to how we can have a society that fills us up again and makes us feel that we are part of something bigger than ourselves.

Now, will it be easy to do that? Of course not. Because we are breaking new ground. This is a trend that has been developing over hundreds of years. It is not something that just happened to us in the last decade or two. And so it is not going to be easy to redefine who we are as human beings in this post-modern age. Nor will it be easy to figure out how to make our institutions more responsive to the kind of human beings we wish to be.

4 But part of the great challenge of living is defining yourself in your moment, of seizing the opportunities that you are given, and of making the very best choices you can. That is what this administration, this President, and those of us who are hoping for these changes are attempting to do.

I used to wonder during the election when my husband would attempt to explain how so many of the problems that we were confronting were not easy Democratic-Republican-liberal-conservative problems. They were problems that shared different characteristics, that we had to not only define clearly, but search for new ways of confronting.

Then someone would say, well, you know, he can't make up his mind, or he doesn't know what he wants to say about that. When instead what I was hearing and what we had been struggling with for

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years is how does one define these new issues. How do we begin to inject some meaning? How do we take old values and apply them to these new -- for many of us -- undreamed of problems that we now confront? And that is what all of us must be engaged in in our own lives, at every level, in every institution with which we interact.

Let me just give you some examples. If we believe that the reconstruction of civil society with its institutions of family, friendship networks, communities, voluntary organizations, are really the glue of what holds us together; if we go back and read de Toqueville and notice how he talked over and over again about the unique characteristics that he found among Americans and rooted so many of those in that kind of intermediary institution of civil society that I just mentioned, then we know we have to better understand what we can do to strengthen those institutions, to understand how they have changed over time, and to try to find meaning in them as they currently are.

That's why the debate over family values over the last year, which was devised for political purposes, seemed so off-point. There is no -- or should be no debates that our family structure is in trouble. There should be no debate that children need the stability, the predictability of a family. But there should be debate over how we best make sure that children and families flourish. And once that debate is carried out on honest terms, then we have to recognize that either the old idea that only parental influence and parental values matters, or the nearly as old idea that only state programmatic intervention matters are both equally fallacious.

Instead we ought to recognize what should be a common-sense truth -- that children are the result of both the values of their parents and the values of the society in which they live. And that you can have an important debate over how best to make sure parental values are the ones that will help children grow and be strengthened, and how social values equally must be recognized for the role they play in how children feel about themselves and act in the world. And then we can begin to have what should be a sensible conversation about how to strengthen both. That's the kind of approach that has to get beyond the dogma of right or left, conservative or liberal. Those views are inadequate to the problems we see.

Any of you who have ever been in an inner city, working with young people as I have over the years, will know as I do the heroic stories of parents and grandparents who, against overwhelming odds, fight to keep their children safe -- just physically safe; and who hold high expectations for those children; whose values I would put up against any other person in the country, but who has no

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control over the day-to-day violence and influence that comes flooding in the doors of that housing project apartment; and who need a society that is more supportive of their value than the one they currently have. (Applause.)

Equally, all of us know the contrary story of families with enough economic means, affluent enough to live in neighborhoods that are as safe as they can be in our country today, so they have the social value structure of what we would hope that each child in America could have in terms of just basic kinds of fundamental safety and physical well-being, but whose parental values are not ones to promote a childhood that is a positive one, giving children the chance to grow up to achieve their own God-given potential. So that the presence of values of society are not enough, either.

There are so many examples of how we have to think differently and how we have to go beyond not only the traditions of the past, but unfortunately for many of us, well-held and cherished views of the past; and how we have to break out of the kind of gridlock mentality which exists not just in the Congress from time to time, but exists as well in all of us as we struggle to see the world differently and cope with the challenges it has given us.

Yet I am very hopeful about where we stand in this last decade of the 20th century, because for all of the problems that we see around us, both abroad and at home, there is a growing body of people who want to deal with them, who want to be part of this conversation about how we break through old views and deal with new problems. And we will need millions more of those conversations.

Those conversations need to take place in every family, every workplace, every political institution in our country. They need to take place in our schools, where we have to be honest about what we are and are not able to convey to our children; where we have to be honest about the conditions with which are confronting so many of our teachers and our students day in and day out; where we have to be honest that we do have to set high expectations for all children and we should not discard any because of who they are or where they come from. (Laughter.)

And where we need to hold accountable every member of the educational enterprise -- parents, teachers and students. Each should be held accountable for the opportunity they have been given to participate in one of the greatest efforts of humankind, passing on knowledge to children. And we have to expect more than we are currently getting. (Applause.)

We also need to take a hard look at other institutions. As Governor Richards said we are in the midst of an intensive effort

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of trying to determine how we can provide decent, affordable health care to every American. (Applause.) And in that process we have had to ask hard questions about every aspect of our health care system. Why do doctors do what they do? Why are nurses not permitted to do more than they do? Why are patients put in the position they're in? (Applause.)

And we have with us today Bill Moyers, who has helped to enlighten all of us about how what we currently have is a system for taking care of sickness. We do not have a system for enhancing and promoting health. (Applause.) And what we need to do is recognize how each of us, whether we are a care giver or a care receiver -- and that role may change from time to time as we go through life -- will have to think differently about health care. And we will have to come up with a system that promotes wellness, promotes health and provides care for us when we are sick that we can afford.

But to give you just one example about how this ties in with what I have said before about how these problems we are confronting now in many ways are the result of our progress as we have moved toward being modern men and women: Our ancestors did not have to think about many of the issues we are now confronted with. When does life start; when does life end? Who makes those decisions? How do we dare to impinge upon these areas of such delicate, difficult questions? And, yet, every day in hospitals and homes and hospices all over this country, people are struggling with those very profound issues.

These are not issues that we have guidebooks about. They are issues that we have to summon up what we believe is morally and ethically and spiritually correct and do the best we can with God's guidance. How do we create a system that gets rid of the micromanagement, the regulation and the bureaucracy, and substitutes instead human caring, concern and love? And that is our real challenge in redesigning a health care system. (Applause.)

I want to say a word about another institution and that is the media, because it is the filter through which we see ourselves and one another. And in many ways the challenge confronting it is just as difficult as those confronting any other institution we can imagine. How does one keep up with the extraordinary pace of information now available? How do we make sense of that information? How do we make values about it even if we think we have made sense? How do we rid ourselves of the lowest common denominator that is the easiest way of conveying information? How do we have a media that understands how difficult these issues are and looks at itself honestly because the role it must play is so critical to our success in making decisions about how we will proceed as a society?

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I remember in the beginning of the campaign being asked a question at an editorial meeting in South Carolina that my husband was at to meet a lot of the editors and reporters from a lot of the small-town papers. These were not folks who you'll see on a TV station anywhere; these are people who got up every day and did the best they could to put out the paper that covered their community or their region. And one of the men, after hearing my husband speak, said, "Now, you've talked about how we have to change. How we have to change government, how we have to change society. But as a journalist, how do I change to be able to understand and report on those changes?" My husband said, "You know, I can't answer that. That's something you have to answer. But I'm really glad you asked the question, because every institution in our life has to ask those hard questions about who we are, what contribution we make to dealing with our problems and to injecting meaning again in the lives of us all."

So every one of our institutions is under the same kind of mandate. Change will come whether we want it or not, and what we have to do is to try to make change our friend, not our enemy. But probably most profoundly and importantly, the changes that will count the most are the millions and millions of changes that take place on the individual level as people reject cynicism, as they are willing to be hopeful again, as they are willing to take risks to meet the challenges they see around them, as they truly begin to try to see other people as they wish to be seen and to treat them as they wish to be treated, to overcome all of the obstacles we have erected around ourselves that keep us apart from one another, fearful and afraid, not willing to build the bridges necessary, to fill that spiritual vacuum that Lee Atwater talked about.

You know, one of my other favorite quotes is from Albert Schweitzer. And he talks about how you know the disease in Central Africa called sleeping sickness; there also exists a sleeping sickness of the soul. The most dangerous aspect is that one is unaware of it's coming. That is why we have to be careful. As soon as you notice the slightest sign of indifference, the moment you become aware of a loss of character or a serious longing of enthusiasm, it is best, take it as a warning. You should realize that your soul suffers if you can't live superficially. Not just your soul, but your society. Being here on this great campus, with so many thousands of people who care about learning and are committed to making a difference. Let us be willing to remold society by redefining what it means to be a human being in the 20th century, moving into a new millennium. Let us be willing to help our institutions to change, to deal with the new challenges that confront them. Let us try to restore the importance of civil society by committing ourselves to our children, our families, our friends; and to reaching out beyond the circle of those of whom we know, to the

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many others on whom we are dependent in this complex society; and understanding a little more about what their lives are like and doing what we can to help ease their burdens.

Our greatest opportunities lie ahead, because so many of the struggles of the Depression and the World War and the other challenges posed by the Cold War and communism are behind us. The new ones are equally threatening. But we should have learned a lot in the last few years that will prepare us to play our part in remolding a society that we are proud to be a part of.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

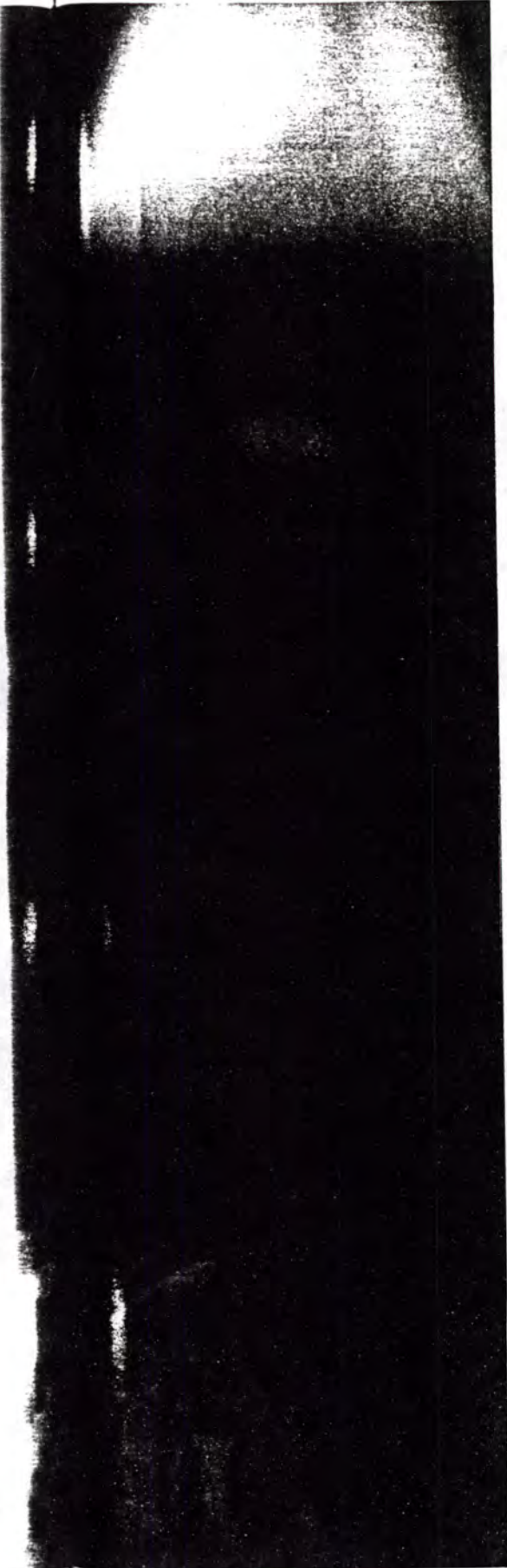
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Service means you
get as well as you
give -
your life is changed &
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It's how we find
meaning in our lives.

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Hillary Clinton Gets Personal

THE FIRST LADY
KNOWS WHAT SHE WANTS,
SAYS WHAT SHE MEANS,
AND DOESN'T WASTE TIME
WORRYING ABOUT HER
CRITICS. AND SHE WANTS TO
TEACH HER DAUGHTER
TO GROW UP TO BE JUST
LIKE HER.

by Roxanne Roberts

AFTER ANOTHER JAM-PACKED, SMILE-ON-DEMAND, 18-HOUR DAY, HILLARY Clinton has dragged herself back to The Governor's Mansion, prepared for yet another photo shoot and now, after 10 P.M., a long-promised, several-times-delayed interview. She is surprisingly gracious despite the late hour, the chaos of an impending move to Washington, D.C., and the arrival of her daughter, Chelsea, who has come home from ballet practice, eager to talk. But her mother, even at this hour, is still on the job.

America's most famous working mother takes time out for a quick update: Chelsea has a ballet performance tomorrow morning, which means, the way this 13-year-old sees it, that she'll either have to skip lunch or skip class. "There's no way I can make it back for algebra," says Chelsea, cradling the First Cat, Socks, in her arms. Chelsea has her father's taste for casual clothes: tonight, she's in dark, baggy sweats. But she has her mother's unstudied femininity: Her hair is swept up in a ballerina's chignon; her expression is intense.

"Why don't you take a sack lunch to school?" suggests her mother. "I think that would be good, because I don't want you to miss any more algebra, okay?" Chelsea balks, just slightly. "I guess I could. I don't know, I can't guarantee it, though." Her mother holds her ground. "I really think you should. I just don't want you to miss any more algebra because she was really concerned, you know."

Photograph by Deborah Feingold

There is more negotiation over time and logistics. Finally, her mother seems satisfied. "Okey-dokey. I'll see you and see you as soon as I've finished."

In this unguarded moment, Hillary Clinton sounds like any other mom. But she isn't, of course. She's the new First Lady, and the whole world wants her attention. By the time the interview is over, Chelsea has fallen asleep. So much for quality time. So much for being Supermom. Another day with too much to do and not enough time to do it.

"I don't know any woman who doesn't feel guilty about something," says Hillary Clinton. "That's the guilt gene, right?"

HILLARY CLINTON DOESN'T LOOK GUILTY. SHE looks relaxed and in control. Her great strength—and great weakness, perhaps—is that she makes it all look easy. Involved Mom. Loving Wife. Power Lawyer. Dedicated Activist. Loyal Friend. And then some.

At 43, there are wrinkles around the china-blue eyes. The hair is blonder, shorter: the jacket a size gent. She has the ease of a woman who doesn't mind looking good but doesn't have the patience to fuss much. The hardest part of the campaign, she admits, was trying to maintain a "natural" smile for hours on end—and then news photographers would inevitably snap the most unflattering expressions anyway. It bothered her but not enough to use the beauty-pageant trick: "I never tried putting Vaseline on my teeth," she says, laughing. "That would feel so weird."

You know she's more concerned about how she sounds than how she looks, but she always sounds smart. This is a woman who speaks in complete paragraphs, who can't quite pull off small talk. She looks you straight in the eye, and there is a sense of purpose and clarity to her conversation. Bill Clinton strikes people as the one with the easy charm and sensitivity of a First Lady; she has the drive and competitiveness of a president. You may not feel instantly intimate with her, but there is a steadiness and intensity about her that lets you know that, over time, she'd make a terrific best friend. And yet, TV leaves the impression that she's direct, no-nonsense, even tough. Not that there's anything wrong with that, but plenty of people expect the First Lady to be more traditional, more ... *ladylike*.

Of course, traditional definitions don't apply to most women anymore, especially one who's raising a child in a high-powered career family. "No matter how hard you try, and no matter whether you're a full-time homemaker or a full-time career woman or trying to balance both, you're going to find at times that you feel like you're not giving your child enough. That is just part of the territory of being a mother and maybe always has been."

Her husband, she says, "is a wonderful father. He's always been very sensitive to Chelsea and her needs and very aware of what she was going through. But I don't think that most men—even the ones whom I admire as fathers, like my husband—have their children's needs in mind all the time. I think that they're able to compartmentalize their lives more than women are able to. I really do think it's something that is part of our makeup. I don't know whether it's biological or social."

In my own experience, I've worked with many, many men in many different settings, and nearly every one I ever worked with was, I thought, a devoted and caring and committed father, but it wasn't something that they carried with them all-time. It wasn't something that was always on their minds. They weren't anticipating the needs—I've got to get her a



Time with Chelsea helps "recharge my batteries," says her mom.



The man behind the woman? "He's been my cheerleader and adviser."

new pair of shoes, I've got to take her to get school supplies. I can't forget the school play. That was something that wasn't part of their daily concerns."

Chelsea has never known anything but working parents—her father has been governor and her mother a lawyer for as far back as she can remember. But there have been trade-offs, of course. "What we have done, and what I've particularly done, is to give up time that I would have spent otherwise with friends or socializing," she says. When she had to be away for business, she would leave notes and little surprises for Chelsea to find. When her daughter was kindergarten age, she made tapes of herself that Chelsea could play on the VCR, and when she is on the road, she checks Chelsea's homework—via fax.

Says longtime friend Mary Steenburgen, an actress and mother of two, "During the campaign, the hardest thing of all for her was being away from Chelsea." One night in Chicago, Steenburgen says, she watched her friend dive for the first available phone. "I recognized that hungry thing of trying to call your child because you're away. I saw, just in the way she dialed the phone and the way she was speaking to her, how much she was missing her."

Like more and more new mothers, Hillary Clinton went back to work while Chelsea was still an infant. And nothing

The couple in church in 1978: "We've been really blessed."



WE WORRIED ABOUT EVERYTHING AND EVERYBODY
 AND SOMETHING WASTED ABOUT THE SAME
 THE LAST YEAR. WOULD BE I CHARGED

came easy when she was a brand-new mom. "I remember when I was breast-feeding Chelsea when I was still in the hospital. I had her head tilted at a funny angle and the milk started to come out of her nose. I thought I was killing my baby. I was just in a panic, you know, and I was just really upset. And this wonderful old nurse came in and said, 'Well, if you hold her up a little higher, that won't happen.'"

She learned as she went and had her share of sleepless nights. She remembers one in particular as a turning point. "It was one of those nights where you rocked her and you walked her and you sang to her—you did everything and she just kept crying. I remember saying to her, 'You know, Chelsea, you've never been a baby before and I've never been a mother before. We are just going to have to get through this together.' And that's kind of how I have lived it."

The results, say Streenburgen, have been first-rate. "If anybody has any doubts about what kind of parents they are, it's because they don't know Chelsea. She's a wonderful person—loving, smart, funny, affectionate, considerate child."

Hillary-bashers have darkly hinted that having only one child was evidence of her willingness to sacrifice family for ambition. But Chelsea was not an only child by choice. "No, we would have loved to have had more children," she says. "I think it would have been fun and wonderful to have more

children, and I know Chelsea would have liked it, but you know, it just didn't work out for us."

FOR THE CLINTONS, THE STRUGGLE TO GIVE CHELSEA a happy childhood and home life must surely seem vastly more complicated now. In Little Rock, Chelsea was able to stay out of the glare of public scrutiny. Now she will be trailed by photographers, and she will be accompanied everywhere by a Secret Service agent. And the decision about whether to send her to public or private school turned into a national referendum on education. In January, the Clintons announced their choice of Sidwell Friends School, an exclusive private school with a price tag of more than \$10,000 a year, even while insisting that the decision was not a rejection of D.C.'s public schools.

But her mother doesn't believe that children—even presidents—"sign on for their parents' careers. We want her to have a chance to be a normal child and to develop into the person she was meant to be. I think she'll get a great deal out of the experience, just as she has with her father being governor. But we've also never put any pressure on her. We've pretty much left the decision to participate in the political world up to her, and we're going to do the same thing when we live in the White House."

Hillary Clinton may be sensitive to the needs of her daughter, but politics is another thing altogether. "One of the reasons I came home so much [during the campaign] was not only to see how she was but to recharge my batteries, which she was a big part of doing. We just spent a lot of time together, and really it was important for me. I took her to school, I took her shopping, we watched videos, we both just kind of refueled our own energy level so that we could both keep going in it." Part of the need to refuel came from taking a break from the scrutiny—and the criticism. "I told Chelsea one day that before it was over they'll attack me, they'll attack you, they'll attack your cat, they'll attack your goldfish."

Most of the scrutiny, of course, was focused initially on

Chelsea's parents. But by December, *Saturday Night Live* featured a harsh sketch that compared Chelsea's looks unfavorably to Vice President Al Gore's daughters. One might have expected her to be angry—but no. "I think it's sad that people don't have anything better to do than be mean to a child. My attitude is that I'm going to do everything I can to help Chelsea be strong enough not to let what other people say about her affect her. In her particular situation it's obviously much bigger, but it happens to children all the time. Unkind and mean things are said by people who are either insecure or going for the laugh or going for the nasty remark—whether it's on a playground or on a television set."

"We can't control anybody else," she continues. "The only thing we can do is to try to develop our own values and our own sense of who we are. That's what Bill and I were raised to believe about ourselves, and that's what we're going to try to do for our daughter. And I think that's the best gift you can give a child. Some internal compass. It's not pleasant when people say or do things that are cruel, but that's more a reflection on them than on my daughter or me or my husband. And that's what we're trying to help her understand."

WHAT HILLARY CLINTON WANTS FOR HER DAUGHTER IS clear. What Hillary Clinton wants for (continued on page 121)

Hillary Clinton

(continued from page 89)

herself is, for now, Hillary Clinton's secret, and she's too smart and disciplined to blurt it out.

But to even speculate intelligently, one has to understand the marriage, understand how it is the closest thing to an equal partnership the White House has ever seen. A great deal has been written about what this wife has given her husband: Her law-firm salary (she was a partner at Rose Law Firm in Little Rock) allowed her husband to pursue his political ambitions. And her support during allegations of his infidelity kept his bid for president from going up in smoke. Ironically, no one dwells on what this husband gives his wife.

"What he's really done for me is share his heart—which is enormous," says Hillary Clinton, who calls her husband her best friend. "He is an incredibly loving and compassionate and caring person. And it has made me a better person. He has the most extraordinary amount of patience and love for people of all kinds, and it is almost unfailing. I have watched that ever since I first met him and marveled at it. It has been a standard by which I have judged

my own ability to reach out and care and grow.

"He's also genuinely optimistic and enthusiastic about life," she continues. "He is somebody who sees the glass as half full. He cares about every day—he wants to jam-pack it with more than the day can hold. It's maddening to try to keep him on any kind of schedule because he wants to listen to everybody. It's not that he doesn't want to go on to the next event; it's just that he doesn't want to leave where he is until he's had a chance to see everybody there."

He also, she says, saved her from a too-easy life. She freely admits to having what she calls a "wonderful, stable" upbringing, two parents who were always there for her, an education at Wellesley College and Yale Law School. "I was really one of the people in America who could always look back and say, you know, the meritocracy really is alive and well, because I was given so many opportunities."

Then she fell in love with Bill Clinton and moved to Arkansas. "It would have been so easy for me to have had a wonderful life and a wonderful career in a much bigger place where I could have only seen the same people all the time, and they all would have been pretty much like me, and we all

could have lost touch with what was going on. And in [Arkansas] you can't do that. It's too small. It's just too easy for you to see people who are not like you, who have different kinds of problems than you do."

This is a savvy admission designed to head off criticism that she is a child of privilege. But the First Lady claims negative press—any of it—never really bothered her. "You have to understand, those people didn't know me, and I knew that they didn't know me. I figured either they were misguided or malevolent, so I didn't really pay them much mind. If I worried about every time anybody said something nasty about me during the last year, I would be incapacitated."

"I don't know what Hillary could do to get people off her back," says Betty Bumpers, wife of Arkansas senator Dale Bumpers, who has worked with the Clintons over the years on Arkansas-based charities and programs. "You never accomplish anything trying to satisfy everybody. I don't think she indulges a great deal, nor should she have to."

These days, though, nobody has a bad word to say about Hillary Clinton. Call it a honeymoon period (her postelection approval ratings have soared), call it (continued on page 122)

IF A TOOTHPASTE
COULD FIGHT
PLAQUE UP TO
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Hillary Clinton

(continued from page 121)

collective amnesia, but for the moment, the First Lady can do no wrong. Which is a starkly different picture from last year, when she could do nothing right.

HE ARRIVES AT THE WHITE HOUSE the far more controversial half of the First Couple. Bill Clinton is, after all, the forty-second president. His wife is much more: the first First Lady with a full-time career; the woman who may drag the role of First Lady kicking and screaming into the twenty-first century. "I learned a long time ago, because my husband has been in this business for so long, that unfair criticism goes with the territory," she says. "And for me the challenge has been to take criticism seriously but not personally. I mean, if somebody has something legitimate to say that is grounded in fact, I'm interested in it. If they have their own opinion about who I am or what I should be, I'm really not that interested in it because that's their opinion, and there's a million of them. And there's just no time to spend worrying about people who say mean things about you."

She may not be worrying about them,

but they're worrying about her. A *New York Times* article detected her hand in some of the Cabinet selections, particularly Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, a close friend. The First Lady does not deny it. Instead, she says, "I have been consulted and been answering his requests for advice on all of the Cabinet positions." But this is precisely what makes a lot of people nervous. Indeed, when informed of her latest nickname, "Clinton's Jim Baker," she lets out a delighted hoot.

"I just have to imagine that they are concerned about unseen or hidden forces that might be affecting a president," she says. "But I don't think there's anything particularly hidden about the role I play in my husband's life and always have. And I think that should be viewed as positive. A president has the right to seek advice from anyone whom he thinks can give him good advice, including someone he's related to, whether it's President Kennedy with his brother, or a president with his spouse."

"I really want to make a contribution—that's what I've always wanted to do," she continues. "And nobody makes directives or sets policy except the president. Everybody else serves at his pleasure. The only person elected with him

was Al Gore, and everybody else—whether they're married to him or not—is acting on his behalf. But in order to determine policy, he seeks advice from lots of different quarters. I am very involved in what he does and in giving him advice. But I take the First Lady functions very seriously, and I know it's important, and I want to really help the White House be a place that is very open and accessible and welcoming to people. And then do whatever else he wants me to do."

The "whatever else" ought to be an official position, many feel, not just to stop partisan bickering about her behind-the-scenes influence but because she is highly qualified and her talents should not be wasted. (She was named by the *National Law Journal* as one of the nation's 100 most influential lawyers in 1989.)

But her personal definition of First Lady remains to be seen. Before she even got to the White House, Hillary Clinton made a study of other First Ladies and came to this conclusion: "I've learned that each one has tried to do what she thought was best for her husband and her family and the country as she saw her obligations. And that almost without exception, every one was criticized for something by some-

body. If you lived your life trying to make sure that nobody ever criticized you, you would probably never get out of bed—and then you'd be criticized for that."

Says Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, longtime friend and TV producer who has helped shape the Clintons' image during the campaign: "I don't think America has any idea yet how much they're going to fall in love with this person. She works so hard. She cares so much. She is going to make us feel young and full of hope again." Hillary Clinton's mother, Dorothy Rodham, calls her a combination "of Eleanor Roosevelt and Jackie Kennedy." ("Aren't mothers wonderful?" laughs her daughter.) Eleanor Roosevelt, in fact, happens to be a special heroine. "Her strength of character and persistence and intelligence and compassion were just remarkable. She was just outstanding in her willingness to look issues squarely in the face and take them on, and she withstood withering criticism from all kinds of people."

BUT HILLARY CLINTON'S BIGGEST concern is not withering criticism. It's being trapped in the fishbowl that is Washington, D.C. Bloodworth-Thomason thinks the most difficult

thing her friend will have to deal with is "the lack of privacy. She's a very private person who values being alone with herself or just her daughter and her husband. Her priorities are so healthy and smart, I think it truly puzzles her that anyone could actually write a column about Chelsea's cat."

The First Lady says she'll try to find time to spend with friends going to the movies, dancing to Motown, or just carrying on. Mostly, she'll try to be the same person she's always been. "I want to do everything I can to try to have moments during my day and week—certainly I can't do it every day—when I have the kind of functions and duties that working mothers all over the country have. I'm not delegating those responsibilities completely. If you don't stay in touch with the daily routine that most lives are made up of, it's really easy to forget what the texture of life truly is, what it's like for other people. And that's something I worry about a lot in the White House. I think that it's been a great loss to our country that we have so isolated our presidents and their families."

"You know, Harry Truman used to be able to walk down the street," she says. "My husband can go jogging in Little Rock. That's not only impor-

tant for them personally to see what life is like outside the walls, but it's important for the people to see that this person is still relating to them. We're going to do the best we can to keep some of that up."

Her press secretary does what any good press secretary should do now that it's after 11 P.M.: She shoos away the press so the president and his wife can try to be real folks. Hillary Clinton has been so relaxed, so composed, during the whole interview that it would be easy to think nothing scares her. What's her biggest fear over the next four years? "Oh, I suppose that our country will not summon the will to change the way we need to change." But what about *personally*? "Personally? I don't think like that. I don't have any fears. I'm just anxious and excited about the future."

She sounds fearless. Is she? "Oh, no, no, you know, I don't like creepy-crawly things. And one of the Secret Service persons told me the other day that there were rats at the White House. But Socks'll make short order of them."

It's such a Hillary Clinton thing to say. □

Roxanne Roberts is a staff writer for the Style section of The Washington Post.

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PILKINGTON BARNES HIND

... but at least Mrs. Clinton talks sense

Hillary Rodham Clinton is not noted for bucking politically correct trends, so it took a good deal of courage and integrity for the first lady to show up at the commencement exercises of the University of Pennsylvania this week and slam-dunk Political Correctness.

Mrs. Clinton's words deserve a special hearing, not only because she happens to be the president's wife and a committed liberal but also because Penn itself has recently enjoyed the visitation of repression in its ugliest form.

Two incidents in particular stand out at Penn. One is the case of student conservative Gregory Pavlik, who was threatened with 34 charges of "racial harassment" because of some outspoken columns he had written for the student newspaper. The other is the case of student Eden Jacobowitz, who faces similar charges for calling some black women "water buffaloes."

In the Pavlik case, the charges were dropped after a sympathetic history professor intervened with Penn President Sheldon Hackney. The charges were improper anyway because the university speech code protects student writers in the newspaper from being prosecuted for what they write there. But even after the charges were dropped, black students stole the entire press run of the paper on the day when Mr. Pavlik's last column was due to appear — a clear attempt to silence the expression of views that the silencers didn't like.

In the other case, Mr. Jacobowitz is a student who was disturbed in his studies by a crowd of less than sober ladies from a black sorority who were cavorting outside his dormitory window. He yelled out at them, "Shut up, you water buffalo." He says he intended no racial slur by this rather strange appellation, and indeed it seems to be unknown to the racist vocabulary. It does have a usage in Hebrew (like that of "jackass" in English), though not a racial one, and Mr. Jacobowitz, who is Jewish, says that's what he meant.

All of this might seem trivial were it not for the fact that Mr. Hackney is the Clinton administration's designated chairman of the National Endowment for the

Humanities, the sister agency of the National Endowment for the Arts, which was the focus of controversy throughout the Bush administration for its taxpayer subsidies for less-than-edifying artwork. Since Mr. Hackney has not exactly taken a firm stand in defense of free speech at his university — his statement about the newspaper theft was merely that the values of diversity and free speech are often in conflict — his nomination ought to jingle a few alarm bells in Congress before he is confirmed.

Thus, Mrs. Clinton's strong support for freedom of expression at Penn this week was highly appropriate, not only for the campus but also for Mr. Hackney's future.

The first lady proclaimed an unqualified support for free expression, saying, "We must always uphold the idea of our colleges as incubators of ideas and havens for free speech and free thought." The implication, presumably, is that you shouldn't steal newspapers if they print things you don't agree with and you shouldn't punish people because they tell others who are bothering them to shut up.

Mrs. Clinton also intoned, "I know that you share the general distress at any acts of hate — hateful acts, hateful words, hateful incidents — that occur too frequently these days in our communities and even on our college campuses. . . . But we should listen as well as lecture; confront problems, not people; and find ways to work together to promote the common good."

In the abstract, this too is good advice, but we have to wonder if she was implying that the columns of Mr. Pavlik and the words of Mr. Jacobowitz were "hateful acts." They weren't, and if they had been, they shouldn't be defended. The only hate practiced at Penn so far seems to have come from the students who swiped the papers and tried to punish Mr. Pavlik and Mr. Jacobowitz for expressing themselves.

Yet whatever the nuances of Mrs. Clinton's address, it was exactly the right thing to say in exactly the right place. Had other liberals shown her guts and common sense long ago, the whole sordid melodrama of Political Correctness need never have waddled across the academic stage.

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Newfangled Clintons get laughs back home

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.

Gosh, Willie, we hardly know ye.

There's still considerable pride in Bill Clinton's ascent to power here in Little Rock, especially among the lawyers who hope to do business with Hillary in the way some of them did business with the dynamic duo when they were running Arkansas for the Rose Law Firm.

Not only that, the home folks can hardly believe the number of Arkansawyers who are getting jobs in Washington. "The old admonition to 'write if you find work' has taken on a whole new meaning," says a businessman in Conway. "I remember how Lyndon Johnson made everybody throw up when someone said 'Texas.' I hope that doesn't happen to us."

This week even the Arkansawyers who are fed up with Bill and Hillary, whose numbers are said to be growing faster than a crawdad can scoot backwards across Scott Bayou, seemed pleased by the way Webster Hubbell skinned Joe Biden and Howard Metzenbaum and the Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee on his way to confirmation as the associate attorney general. This confirms the widely held belief that a yankee is worth more than a bale of cotton because he's twice as easy to pick.

"Hubbell slicked 'em on that one," says a dues-paying member of the Country Club of Little Rock. "When we finally had to take in a black member he was smart enough to find one that Willie was going to take to Washington, anyway."

This is regarded here as the essence of slick-willieism, which is in this context not an epithet, but high praise — regarded as nothing necessarily against the new black member, but praise for anyone who can string up a yankee senator on a rope of his own, to swing in the wind from a standard of high hypocrisy.

In fact, until this week and the reassurance provided by the Hubbell contretemps that the slickster is alive and well, a lot of Mr. Clinton's home folks had begun to wonder whatever happened to the man they sent to Washington.

They're not so puzzled by the president's emergence as a high-taxing liberal, or by his promising one thing and doing the opposite (he was the governor for 12 years, after all), but as by the portrait of strangers painted in the newspapers and on the television screens.



Skinned

The Bill-and-Hillary philosophical talk-talk about life, its meaning and the moral decay in Amer-

ica draws mostly the laughter of disbelief. Hillary started it with her speech at the University of Texas, discussing what Albert Schweitzer called the "sleeping sickness of the soul." She bloviated group-therapy stuff about "integrating personal responsibility and service to community" and "defining yourself in your moment."

She prescribed exchanging an "ethos of selfishness and greed" for a "new ethos of individual responsibility, caring. We need a new politics of meaning. It is not going to be easy to redefine who we are as human beings in this post-modern age."

The other president reprised her theme with some Jimmy Carter malaise talk of his own at the Cooper Union in New York: "We also have in this country a crisis of belief and hope. This is a strange and, in a way, wondrous moment in our history, when citizens everywhere desperately want things to change but still are wary of it and reluctant to place their faith in anyone's prescription. . . .

"The human condition in the end changes by faith. And faith cannot be held in your hand. The Scripture that I carry to my place of worship every Sunday says, 'Faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things unseen.' "

This kind of talk from someone with Mr. Clinton's considerable reputation as a bounder makes a lot of people itch down here where everybody can quote Scripture. It's not the bounding that offends people, but the preaching afterward.

"We had an old boy like that down home," says a man from the piney woods, hard by the Louisiana line. "He got saved every July, and let everybody know about all through every August. In between revivals, he kind of leaked, I guess."

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A realistic policy on gays

Most Americans have assumed that if gay soldiers and sailors keep quiet about their private lives, they are left alone by the brass. That has not been the case.

Gay enlistees have been harassed and investigated by superiors intent on "outing" them. Military police conduct bed searches, follow people in their off-duty hours and demand that "suspects" turn in friends.

Careers have been ruined over rumors. Many women — lesbian and straight — say they sometimes gave in to demands for sex from straight men to try to prove they weren't homosexual. The policy of ferreting out gays was an abuse of power by the Pentagon.

When President Clinton announced he would lift the ban on gays by executive order, Congress responded by holding hearings. Those sessions provided Americans with an education. Many were shocked to realize how far the government would go to "out" people.

The hearings also revealed, however, that most Americans still oppose lifting the ban entirely. They believe recognition of gays in uniform would go beyond tolerance — it would give tacit approval to a "lifestyle" many people dislike.

After months of wrangling, Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), who is openly gay, says it's time to compromise. He's right. Under Mr. Frank's proposal, recruiters would not ask whether enlistees are homosexual and gays would not declare their sexual orientation. Up

to this point, Sen. Sam Nunn would agree.

But Mr. Frank goes a little further than Mr. Nunn, who apparently wants gays to be celibate. Under the Frank plan, gays would be allowed to engage in homosexual conduct in private in their off-duty hours. In other words, if a soldier on leave decided to visit a gay bar, he wouldn't risk being discharged — as long as he didn't discuss his visit when he returned to duty.

Of course, this compromise could be viewed as silly. Pentagon officials know perfectly well that many gays are serving admirably. The "don't ask, don't tell" policy suggests that the military can't handle reality and must cling to the notion that gays are fine as long as they are invisible.

Nevertheless, this is a compromise that makes political sense. Congress simply is not going to end the ban entirely. If Mr. Clinton tries to do it with an executive order, the backlash could make matters worse. Congress could set into law a policy sanctioning vicious witch hunts.

Yes, the proposed policy is flawed. But it does provide the vast majority of gays in the military what they want most: privacy in their off-duty hours. And it should be acceptable to Congress because it merely makes explicit what most Americans assumed was the policy — that personal matters are kept private.

Mr. Nunn and Mr. Clinton should turn a deaf ear to radicals on the right and left who oppose compromise. It's time to shake hands on this deal and move on.



Rep. Barney Frank

The first lady's stand on free speech

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's new hairdo got a lot of attention in coverage of her commencement address at the University of Pennsylvania. Too bad. Everyone should have been focusing on her eloquent and timely restatement of an old idea.

Mrs. Clinton gave a ringing endorsement of the right to free speech, and she reminded us that there is no place where it is more vital than on the nation's college campuses.

She was preaching the right sermon to the right congregation at Penn. The school recently has been wracked by conflicts between its efforts to promote diversity and its obligation to protect free speech.

In one case, black students confiscated and destroyed all copies of the student newspaper because they didn't like a conservative columnist's stands against affirmative action and civil rights. Sheldon Hackney, Penn's president and Bill Clinton's nominee to head the National Endowment for the Humanities, took no action against those involved in that blatant act of censorship.

In another case, a white student was accused of violating the university's code against racially insulting speech after he yelled, "Shut up, you water buffalo" at a group of black women students who were noisily celebrating outside his dorm as he tried to study.

The women considered the remark racially motivated, even though "water buffalo" isn't generally used as a racial epithet and the white student said he didn't intend it as such. Still, the matter has been brought before a university judicial panel.

Mrs. Clinton didn't cite those cases, but she certainly could have had them in mind when she told the commencement audience, "We must be careful not to cross the line between censoring behavior we consider unacceptable and censoring."

She added, "What we have to do here at this university and in this country is to find a way to celebrate our diversity and debate our differences without fracturing our community." Amen. Universities that enforce speech codes haven't found the way.

Rather than paying so much attention to Hillary Clinton's new hairdo, everyone should have been focusing on her eloquent restatement of an old idea.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 124 Years the South's Standard

Helium program defended

By Beth Silver

Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News

WASHINGTON — The acting director of the U.S. Bureau of Mines defended the federal helium program's \$1.3 billion debt Thursday as Republicans questioned the project's worth.

The Texas-based helium reserve — an obscure but frequent target of budget watchdogs — was the subject of a hearing before the House Energy and Mineral Resources Subcommittee.

"It is the worst kind of governmental anachronism: a program without a clearly identifiable mission, a program that private industry could do more effectively, a program that is \$1.4 billion in debt," said Rep. Christopher Cox, R-Calif.

Dr. Hermann Enzer, the Bureau of Mines' acting director, said the federal government could erase the program's debt because the U.S. Treasury lent the money in the first place. Officials from the General Accounting Office said doing that would not affect the national debt because it is money the government lent to itself.

"I think the GAO is right," said Rep. Richard Lehman, D-Calif., the subcommittee chairman. "We're just moving the peanut shells around."

The federal government established the helium reserve in 1960 out of concerns that supplies of the gas were rapidly being depleted. The program was given a \$252 million loan from the U.S. Treasury to be paid back in 25 years. The total interest alone is about \$1 billion.

The reserve now contains nearly a 100-year supply of helium. Once used to float military blimps, the gas currently is used in weapons systems and space research, and it could be used in the Superconducting Super Collider under construction south of Dallas.

During Thursday's hearing, Rep. Craig Thomas, R-Wyo., questioned Dr. Enzer, saying he believed that eliminating the helium debt would only "manipulate" the numbers to justify the program.

"There's no discipline in the federal government to stop anything," the congressman said. "I am critical of this kind of operation that just seems to go on when things change."

But Rep. Bill Sarpalius, D-Amarillo, whose district includes the helium reserve, renewed his support for the program at the hearing, saying that it generates as much as \$12 million a year and employs about 250 people. He has introduced legislation to forgive the interest on the program's debt.

Should the government ever sell its helium supply, it would have to be done over a long period of time, Dr. Enzer said. Selling it all at once would generate 5 to 10 cents on the dollar and could devastate the private helium market, he said.

WHITE
HOUSE

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 7, 1993

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY
AT LIZ CARPENTER'S LECTURESHIP SERIES

University of Texas
Austin, Texas

3:00 P.M. CDT

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you so much. I am reminded, in following Anne Richards, of that old story of the fellow who died in one of the early Arkansas floods and makes his way to heaven and is met at the gates. And St. Peter says, "Well, you're just in time for our monthly seminar. What do you want to talk about?" The man said, "I want to talk about the most important experience that I have ever encountered. I want to talk about what it is like to be in a flood. I feel like I can make a real contribution to that dialogue." St. Peter says, "Fine. You'll go on after Noah." (Laughter.) So, here we are after Noah. (Applause.)

You know, it is not a common experience for me to be in any Texas athletic facility and feel good about it -- (applause) -- but I must say that now that we're no longer in the same conferences, my state and yours, that I am honored to be -- (laughter) -- in the arena where the Lady Longhorns play. (Applause.) And I also have to say -- and I hope that you feel the same way I did -- I was mighty proud of Texas Tech, too. I thought that was a great victory. (Applause.)

You know, when Liz Carpenter asked me to come speak at her little seminar -- (laughter) -- it was one of those conversations that you have with Liz -- those of us who are lucky enough to know her and call her a friend -- where her enthusiasm just kind of takes over. She said, I'm going to have some of my friends in, we're going to do this lecture. You know, it will be fun. I'll get Anne to come over and Mrs. Johnson will come over, and we'll just have a good old time.

And I had this sort of mental image of being over in one of the small rooms at the LBJ School and sitting with a bunch of my friends, maybe with some students around a table. And then I just

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put it out of my mind. And over the last two weeks, as Liz knows, it's been kind of touch-and-go for me whether I thought I could be here, and I told Liz that I would certainly try. And when it became clearer that I could, I renewed contact with the people who were helping her put this on and was then told that there were going to be thousands, maybe 14,000 people at this event.

And my first response was no, no, no, you must have read it wrong, there's an extra zero in there somewhere. But my second was why would I doubt Liz Carpenter on anything? If she's going to put on a lectureship that's like Anne says, it's going to be a big one and besides it's in Texas. So what do we expect? And I'm just pleased to be part of it. (Applause.)

I also want to say a special word of appreciation to Mrs. Johnson. You know, there is that wonderful old saying about how you never quite know what it's like until you've walked in another person's moccasins. Well, I don't know if you've ever worn moccasins, Mrs. Johnson, but I'm getting a sense of what it is like to try to walk in the footsteps of you and the other women who have been in the position that I now find myself in. And every day that goes by, I am more impressed by the kind of qualities that you and other women in this position have brought to taking care of your personal business on behalf of your family and your husband, and also trying to make your contribution to the country. And all of us in this arena are grateful for the grace and beauty by which you carried out both of those functions and as a wonderful example, not just for me, but for all of us. And I very much wanted to say that to you publicly. (Applause.)

You know, after you hear what I have to say, you'll think that Governor Richards and I not only coordinated outfits but coordinated comments. And I suppose the only thing left for me is to get a hair-do like that. (Laughter.) You know, I'm actually due for a new one and I figure that if we ever want to get Bosnia off the front page, all I have to do is either put on a headband or change my hair and we'll be occupied with something else. (Laughter and applause.)

But what Anne Richards talked about is what I want to expand on in my remarks leading into the panel discussion with all of these distinguished panelists and with questions from many of you that I understand were submitted. Because the problems that she alluded to are not just American problems, they are not just governmental problems. We are at a stage in history, I would suggest, in which remolding society certainly in the West is one of the great challenges facing all of us as individuals and as citizens.

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And we have to begin realistically to take stock of where we are, stripping perhaps away the romanticism that Governor Richards referred to, to be able to understand where we are in history at this point and what our real challenges happen to be.

And I say that it is not just an American problem because if one looks around the Western world, if one looks at Europe, if one looks at the emerging democracies, at Asia, if one looks certainly here in North America, you can see the rumblings of discontent, almost regardless of political systems, as we come face to face with the problems that the modern age has dealt us.

And if we take a step back and ask ourselves, why is it in a country as economically wealthy as we are despite our economic problems, in a country that is the longest surviving democracy, there is this undercurrent of discontent -- this sense that somehow economic growth and prosperity, political democracy and freedom are not enough -- that we lack at some core level meaning in our individual lives and meaning collectively -- that sense that our lives are part of some greater effort, that we are connected to one another, that community means that we have a place where we belong no matter who we are. And it isn't very far below the surface because we can see popping through the surface the signs of alienation and despair and hopelessness that are all too common and cannot be ignored. They're in our living rooms at night on the news. They're on the front pages; they are in all of our neighborhoods.

On the plane coming down I read a phrase in an article in the newspaper this morning talking about how desperate conditions are in so many of our cities that are filled with hopeless girls with babies and angry boys with guns. And yet, it is not just the most violent and the most alienated that we can look to. The discontent of which I speak is broader than that, deeper than that. We are, I think, in a crisis of meaning. What do our governmental institutions mean? What do our lives in today's world mean? What does this economic global event that Governor Richards spoke of mean? What do all of our institutions mean? What does it mean to be educated? What does it mean to be a journalist? What does it mean in today's world to pursue not only vocations, to be part of institutions, but to be human?

And, certainly, coming off the last year when the ethos of selfishness and greed were given places of honor never before accorded, it is certainly timely to ask ourselves these questions. (Applause.)

One of the clearest and most poignant posings of this question that I have run across was the one provided by Lee Atwater as he lay dying. For those of you who may not know, Lee Atwater was

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credited with being the architect of the Republican victories of the '70s and the '80s. The vaunted campaign manager of Reagan and Bush. The man who knew how to fight bare-knuckled in the political arena, who was willing to engage in any tactics so long as it worked and he wasn't caught at it.

And yet, when Lee Atwater was struck down with cancer, he said something which was reprinted in Life Magazine, which I cut out and carry with me in a little book I have of sayings and Scriptures that I find important and that replenish me from time to time that I want to share with you.

He said the following: "Long before I was struck with cancer, I felt something stirring in American society. It was a sense among the people of the country, Republicans and Democrats alike, that something was missing from their lives, something crucial. I was trying to position the Republican Party to take advantage of it. But I wasn't exactly sure what it was. My illness helped me to see that what was missing in society is what was missing in me. A little heart, a lot of brotherhood.

The '80s were about acquiring -- acquiring wealth, power prestige. I know. I acquired more wealth, power, and prestige than most. But you can acquire all you want and still feel empty. What power wouldn't I trade for a little more time with my family? What price wouldn't I pay for an evening with friends? It took a deadly illness to put me eye-to-eye with that true, but it is a truth that the country, caught up in its ruthless ambitions and moral decay, can learn on my dime.

I don't know who will lead us through the '90s, but they must be made to speak to this spiritual vacuum at the heart of American society, this tumor of the soul."

That to me will be Lee Atwater's real lasting legacy, not the elections that he helped to win. (Applause.)

But I think the answer to his question -- "who will lead us out of this spiritual vacuum" -- the answer is all of us. Because remolding society does not depend on just changing government, on just reinventing our institutions to be more in tune with present realities. It requires each of us to play our part in redefining what our lives are and what they should be.

We are caught between two great political forces. On the one hand we have our economy -- the market economy -- which knows the price of everything, but the value of nothing. That is not its job. And then the state or government which attempts to use its means of acquiring tax money, of making decisions to assist us in

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becoming a better, more equitable society as it defines it. That is what all societies are currently caught between -- forces that are more complex and bigger than any of us can understand. And missing in that equation, as we have political and ideological struggles between those who think market economics are the answer to everything, those who think government programs are the answer to everything, is the recognition among all of us that neither of those is an adequate explanation for the challenges confronting us.

And what we each must do is to break through the old thinking that has for too long captured us politically and institutionally, so that we can begin to devise new ways of thinking about not only what it means to have governments that work again, not only what it means to have economies that don't discard people like they were excess baggage that we no longer need, but to define our institutional and personal responsibilities in ways that answer this lack of meaning.

We need a new politics of meaning. We need a new ethos of individual responsibility and caring. We need a new definition of civil society which answers the unanswerable questions posed by both the market forces and the governmental ones, as to how we can have a society that fills us up again and makes us feel that we are part of something bigger than ourselves.

Now, will it be easy to do that? Of course not. Because we are breaking new ground. This is a trend that has been developing over hundreds of years. It is not something that just happened to us in the last decade or two. And so it is not going to be easy to redefine who we are as human beings in this post-modern age. Nor will it be easy to figure out how to make our institutions more responsive to the kind of human beings we wish to be.

But part of the great challenge of living is defining yourself in your moment, of seizing the opportunities that you are given, and of making the very best choices you can. That is what this administration, this President, and those of us who are hoping for these changes are attempting to do.

I used to wonder during the election when my husband would attempt to explain how so many of the problems that we were confronting were not easy Democratic-Republican-liberal-conservative problems. They were problems that shared different characteristics, that we had to not only define clearly, but search for new ways of confronting.

Then someone would say, well, you know, he can't make up his mind, or he doesn't know what he wants to say about that. When instead what I was hearing and what we had been struggling with for

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years is how does one define these new issues. How do we begin to inject some meaning? How do we take old values and apply them to these new -- for many of us -- undreamed of problems that we now confront? And that is what all of us must be engaged in in our own lives, at every level, in every institution with which we interact.

Let me just give you some examples. If we believe that the reconstruction of civil society with its institutions of family, friendship networks, communities, voluntary organizations, are really the glue of what holds us together; if we go back and read de Toqueville and notice how he talked over and over again about the unique characteristics that he found among Americans and rooted so many of those in that kind of intermediary institution of civil society that I just mentioned, then we know we have to better understand what we can do to strengthen those institutions, to understand how they have changed over time, and to try to find meaning in them as they currently are.

That's why the debate over family values over the last year, which was devised for political purposes, seemed so off-point. There is no -- or should be no debates that our family structure is in trouble. There should be no debate that children need the stability, the predictability of a family. But there should be debate over how we best make sure that children and families flourish. And once that debate is carried out on honest terms, then we have to recognize that either the old idea that only parental influence and parental values matters, or the nearly as old idea that only state programmatic intervention matters are both equally fallacious.

Instead we ought to recognize what should be a common-sense truth -- that children are the result of both the values of their parents and the values of the society in which they live. And that you can have an important debate over how best to make sure parental values are the ones that will help children grow and be strengthened, and how social values equally must be recognized for the role they play in how children feel about themselves and act in the world. And then we can begin to have what should be a sensible conversation about how to strengthen both. That's the kind of approach that has to get beyond the dogma of right or left, conservative or liberal. Those views are inadequate to the problems we see.

Any of you who have ever been in an inner city, working with young people as I have over the years, will know as I do the heroic stories of parents and grandparents who, against overwhelming odds, fight to keep their children safe -- just physically safe; and who hold high expectations for those children; whose values I would put up against any other person in the country, but who has no

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control over the day-to-day violence and influence that comes flooding in the doors of that housing project apartment; and who need a society that is more supportive of their value than the one they currently have. (Applause.)

Equally, all of us know the contrary story of families with enough economic means, affluent enough to live in neighborhoods that are as safe as they can be in our country today, so they have the social value structure of what we would hope that each child in America could have in terms of just basic kinds of fundamental safety and physical well-being, but whose parental values are not ones to promote a childhood that is a positive one, giving children the chance to grow up to achieve their own God-given potential. So that the presence of values of society are not enough, either.

There are so many examples of how we have to think differently and how we have to go beyond not only the traditions of the past, but unfortunately for many of us, well-held and cherished views of the past; and how we have to break out of the kind of gridlock mentality which exists not just in the Congress from time to time, but exists as well in all of us as we struggle to see the world differently and cope with the challenges it has given us.

Yet I am very hopeful about where we stand in this last decade of the 20th century, because for all of the problems that we see around us, both abroad and at home, there is a growing body of people who want to deal with them, who want to be part of this conversation about how we break through old views and deal with new problems. And we will need millions more of those conversations.

Those conversations need to take place in every family, every workplace, every political institution in our country. They need to take place in our schools, where we have to be honest about what we are and are not able to convey to our children; where we have to be honest about the conditions with which are confronting so many of our teachers and our students day in and day out; where we have to be honest that we do have to set high expectations for all children and we should not discard any because of who they are or where they come from. (Laughter.)

And where we need to hold accountable every member of the educational enterprise -- parents, teachers and students. Each should be held accountable for the opportunity they have been given to participate in one of the greatest efforts of humankind, passing on knowledge to children. And we have to expect more than we are currently getting. (Applause.)

We also need to take a hard look at other institutions. As Governor Richards said we are in the midst of an intensive effort

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of trying to determine how we can provide decent, affordable health care to every American. (Applause.) And in that process we have had to ask hard questions about every aspect of our health care system. Why do doctors do what they do? Why are nurses not permitted to do more than they do? Why are patients put in the position they're in? (Applause.)

And we have with us today Bill Moyers, who has helped to enlighten all of us about how what we currently have is a system for taking care of sickness. We do not have a system for enhancing and promoting health. (Applause.) And what we need to do is recognize how each of us, whether we are a care giver or a care receiver -- and that role may change from time to time as we go through life -- will have to think differently about health care. And we will have to come up with a system that promotes wellness, promotes health and provides care for us when we are sick that we can afford.

But to give you just one example about how this ties in with what I have said before about how these problems we are confronting now in many ways are the result of our progress as we have moved toward being modern men and women: Our ancestors did not have to think about many of the issues we are now confronted with. When does life start; when does life end? Who makes those decisions? How do we dare to impinge upon these areas of such delicate, difficult questions? And, yet, every day in hospitals and homes and hospices all over this country, people are struggling with those very profound issues.

These are not issues that we have guidebooks about. They are issues that we have to summon up what we believe is morally and ethically and spiritually correct and do the best we can with God's guidance. How do we create a system that gets rid of the micromanagement, the regulation and the bureaucracy, and substitutes instead human caring, concern and love? And that is our real challenge in redesigning a health care system. (Applause.)

I want to say a word about another institution and that is the media, because it is the filter through which we see ourselves and one another. And in many ways the challenge confronting it is just as difficult as those confronting any other institution we can imagine. How does one keep up with the extraordinary pace of information now available? How do we make sense of that information? How do we make values about it even if we think we have made sense? How do we rid ourselves of the lowest common denominator that is the easiest way of conveying information? How do we have a media that understands how difficult these issues are and looks at itself honestly because the role it must play is so critical to our success in making decisions about how we will proceed as a society?

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I remember in the beginning of the campaign being asked a question at an editorial meeting in South Carolina that my husband was at to meet a lot of the editors and reporters from a lot of the small-town papers. These were not folks who you'll see on a TV station anywhere; these are people who got up every day and did the best they could to put out the paper that covered their community or their region. And one of the men, after hearing my husband speak, said, "Now, you've talked about how we have to change. How we have to change government, how we have to change society. But as a journalist, how do I change to be able to understand and report on those changes?" My husband said, "You know, I can't answer that. That's something you have to answer. But I'm really glad you asked the question, because every institution in our life has to ask those hard questions about who we are, what contribution we make to dealing with our problems and to injecting meaning again in the lives of us all."

So every one of our institutions is under the same kind of mandate. Change will come whether we want it or not, and what we have to do is to try to make change our friend, not our enemy. But probably most profoundly and importantly, the changes that will count the most are the millions and millions of changes that take place on the individual level as people reject cynicism, as they are willing to be hopeful again, as they are willing to take risks to meet the challenges they see around them, as they truly begin to try to see other people as they wish to be seen and to treat them as they wish to be treated, to overcome all of the obstacles we have erected around ourselves that keep us apart from one another, fearful and afraid, not willing to build the bridges necessary, to fill that spiritual vacuum that Lee Atwater talked about.

You know, one of my other favorite quotes is from Albert Schweitzer. And he talks about how you know the disease in Central Africa called sleeping sickness; there also exists a sleeping sickness of the soul. The most dangerous aspect is that one is unaware of it's coming. That is why we have to be careful. As soon as you notice the slightest sign of indifference, the moment you become aware of a loss of character or a serious longing of enthusiasm, it is best, take it as a warning. You should realize that your soul suffers if you ~~can't~~ live superficially. Not just your soul, but your society. Being here on this great campus, with so many thousands of people who care about learning and are committed to making a difference. Let us be willing to remold society by redefining what it means to be a human being in the 20th century, moving into a new millennium. Let us be willing to help our institutions to change, to deal with the new challenges that confront them. Let us try to restore the importance of civil society by committing ourselves to our children, our families, our friends; and to reaching out beyond the circle of those of whom we know, to the

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many others on whom we are dependent in this complex society; and understanding a little more about what their lives are like and doing what we can to help ease their burdens.

Our greatest opportunities lie ahead, because so many of the struggles of the Depression and the World War and the other challenges posed by the Cold War and communism are behind us. The new ones are equally threatening. But we should have learned a lot in the last few years that will prepare us to play our part in remolding a society that we are proud to be a part of.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

April 17, 1993

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
AT HEALTH CARE BRIEFING

Great Falls, Montana

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. I am so pleased to be here. I had other opportunities to come to Montana and visit. My husband and daughter and I had a wonderful night a few years ago in your Governor's residence, with then-Governor Schwendson*. And I am just so pleased to be back. And I've told anyone who will listen, I will take just about any excuse to return. So I hope you will give me that opportunity.

I am very grateful also for the invitation that I received from Senator Baucus to come to Montana. And yesterday Senator Baucus and Senator Burns and I were, at the invitation of Congressman Williams, in Billings. And I had an opportunity there to meet with citizens of Montana to talk about health care and came away impressed at the commitment and thoughtfulness that people are bringing to this very difficult issue.

And I'm particularly looking forward to hearing from those who will be making formal presentations and those who will be asking questions here this morning, because what I have found in my travels around the country is exactly what you have already heard from both of your senators and your congressmen, from your governor and your state senator and the chairman of Health Montana -- there is a great, deep yearning on the part of Americans to come together to reach a consensus to try to solve this particular set of problems that affects every individual, every household, every business, and every level of government. The whole dilemma that we are confronted with now with respect to health care is one that affects every single American.

I did not know until Congressman Williams told us this morning that people in Montana actually pay more for health insurance than people in any other country anywhere in the world. That is a fact that I wrote down and I will take with me. It is emblematic of the extraordinary problem that we are facing. The dimensions of that problem are one you in this state (gap in tape)

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(gap in tape) -- figures approximately \$940 billion. That is all of us -- individuals, households, businesses, all levels of government. That \$940 billion is a lousy investment, because we don't even cover every American. When we compare ourselves with other countries that have tackled these problems ahead of us, they not only cover all of their citizens, but they do it at less of a cost. What we want is to come up with an American solution that leaves room for a Montana solution so that all Americans will feel they are part of solving this health care crisis. (Applause.)

We also want to bring to re-instill individual responsibility into the system. We want people to be more responsible for themselves, for their families, for their own health care. (Applause.)

The President is looking at a system that will be a national framework with certain national guarantees that all Americans will be able to rely on, but with the kind of state flexibility that states like Montana need to have.

And I want to say a special word about rural health care. In Billings yesterday when we were listening to some of the people there talking about the difficult they face with the distances and the other problems of access here in this state, I said that we needed to coin a new phrase, that rural is something I'm familiar with in Arkansas, but we're talking hyper-rural or mega-rural here in Montana. (Laughter.) So we probably need to come up with yet another way of discussing the problems that you particularly confront.

But one thing I can guarantee you is that my husband believes very strongly in making sure that rural America is adequately cared for, that its need are taken into account. That's what he has grown up with in believing; the kind of problem that he has lived with, he understands and he feels. And we are going to do all that we can to put in to place a system that rural America will not only be able to take advantage of, but be participants in helping to shape.

Because no matter what the proposals that the President sends to Congress are, we know we have no magic bullet. There is not an easy answer to this problem, which has grown up over decades. We will need the continuing consultation and help from citizens all over America through their local governments, through their state governments, to be able to make sure that what we see as a vision of quality, affordable health care for every American becomes a reality.

So I view this as the first of many conversations I would like to take part in on behalf of my husband and others who are

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working to make sure that we achieve these goals. Because once we come with a plan we will all have a lot of hard work ahead of us to make sure that plan works.

And I'm really counting on a new spirit of cooperation and commitment in our country. I want again to feel that I'm living in the country that I took for granted and was raised in. I know that for some people, that sounds nostalgic and maybe unrealistic. But I remember very well, even though I grew up in a suburb and not a rural community, that everybody looked out for each other, that neighbors really cared about each other, doctors made house calls -- those kinds of things that seem like part of distance past. But you know, there was a connection among us then that I would like to see re-instilled in America.

Health care touches us at our most basic human experience level. There's nothing like the birth of a baby, or the death of a loved one. There's nothing like walking those long hospital corridors or going out and seeing the joy on a person's face when you tell them that everything is going to be all right.

That's how we really, at the very most basic level, understand what it means to be a human being; understand what it is about life that connects us from generation to generation; makes us reliant in a most fundamental way upon each other. We've gotten away from that. We've watched bureaucracies and paperwork and red tape and distance between people replace that human caring that needs to be at the root of any health care system. And we can't wave a magic wand and reverse time.

But we can try -- as you work here on Health Montana and as we work on trying to take this system and make it human again -- to remember what is really important in our lives and those moments when we are so dependant upon each other. That's what I hope: that in a few years we will not only have a streamlined system; will not only have a better distribution of health care professionals, and have more primary and preventative health care physicians, and nurse practitioners, and physician assistants; will not only have better access, but we'll feel better about ourselves. Not just because we're healthier, but because we're part of a community of caring again. And health care can be the start of that if we do it right.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Austin's speech
Palmer's memo