

File

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEEKLY COLUMN--"TALKING IT OVER"
JULY 23, 1995-PRESENT**

1.	Introduction	July 23, 1995
2.	Adoption	July 29-30, 1995
3.	Working Women	August 5-6, 1995
4.	Public Television	August 12-13, 1995
5.	Vacation	August 19-20, 1995
6.	Women's Suffrage	August 26-27, 1995
7.	UN Women's Conference	September 2-3, 1995
8.	Message from Beijing	September 9-10, 1995
9.	Mongolia	September 16-17, 1995
10.	Calvin Klein	September 23-24, 1995
11.	OB Express	September 30-October 1, 1995
12.	20th Anniversary	October 7-8, 1995
13.	South America	October 14-15, 1995
14.	Breast Cancer	October 21-22, 1995
15.	Reader's Letters	October 28-29, 1995
16.	United Nations	November 4-5, 1995
17.	Rabin's Funeral	November 11-12, 1995
18.	Children's Hospitals	November 18-19, 1995
19.	Thanksgiving	November 25-26, 1995
20.	Christmas at White House	December 2-3, 1995
21.	Ireland	December 9-10, 1995
22.	Military Families	December 16-17, 1995
23.	Christmas	December 23-24, 1995
24.	New Year's	December 30-31, 1995
25.	St. Ann's	January 6-7, 1996
26.	Martin Luther King, Jr.	January 13-14, 1996
27.	Whitewater	January 20-21, 1996
28.	Divorce	January 27-28, 1996
29.	Bosnia Relief	February 3-4, 1996
30.	Christopher Reeve	February 10-11, 1996
31.	HIV Ban	February 17, 1996
32.	Ramadan	February 22, 1996
33.	Chelsea at 16	February 29, 1996
34.	TV Executives	March 1, 1996
35.	RTC 2	March 6, 1996
36.	Women and Men	March 13, 1996
37.	Ladybird Johnson	March 20, 1996
38.	Visit to Bosnia	March 27, 1996
39.	Greece/Turkey	April 3, 1996
40.	Ron Brown	April 10, 1996
41.	Chicago Cubs	April 17, 1996
42.	Legal AID	April 24, 1996
43.	Chernobyl	May 1, 1996
44.	Mother's Day	May 8, 1996
45.	Adoption	May 15, 1996

46.	Arts and Kids	May 22, 1996
47.	Commencement	May 29, 1996
48.	Talking Women	June 5, 1996
49.	Father's Day	June 11, 1996
50.	Summer/Curfews	June 18, 1996
51.	FMLA	June 25, 1996
52.	Central Europe	July 3, 1996
53.	Central Europe II	July 10, 1996
54.	Smoking	July 17, 1996
55.	Olympics	July 23, 1996
56.	Olympics/Terrorism	July 30, 1996
57.	ADA/ Title IX	August 6, 1996
58.	National Parks	August 13, 1996
59.	Chicago	August 20, 1996
60.	Chicago - convention	August 27, 1996
61.	Seeds of Peace	September 3, 1996
62.	Medals of Freedom	September 10, 1996
63.	Lessons Without Borders	September 17, 1996
64.	Nina Hyde Center	September 24, 1996
65.	Beijing One Year Later	October 1, 1996
66.	Shannon Lucid	October 8, 1996
67.	Socks	October 15, 1996
68.	Superman comic	October 22, 1996
69.	Henry Ossawa Tanner	October 29, 1996
70.	Campaign Highlights	November 5, 1996
71.	Election Day	November 13, 1996
72.	Australia	November 20, 1996
73.	Thailand - Child Prostitution	November 26, 1996
73.	Bolivia - Family Planning	December 3, 1996
74.	Life inside the White House	December 10, 1996
75.	Adoption	December 17, 1996
76.	Christmas Eve	December 24, 1996
77.	New Years Eve	December 31, 1996
78.	Gulf War Syndrome	January 7, 1997
79.	Position statement	January 14, 1997
80.	Inauguration Day	January 21, 1997
81.	Abortion	January 29, 1997
82.	Microcredit	February 4, 1997
83.	Working Women	February 11, 1997
84.	Washington, D.C.	February 19, 1997
85.	Millenium	February 25, 1997
86.	Elizabeth Glaser/AIDS	March 4, 1997
87.	Single Parent Scholarships	March 11, 1997
88.	Africa I	March 18, 1997
89.	Africa II	March 25, 1997
90.	Africa III (Women)	April 2, 1997

91.	Child Care	April 8, 1997
92.	Brain Conference	April 15, 1997
93.	Service	April 23, 1997
94.	FDR Memorial	April 30, 1997
95.	Mother's Day	May 6, 1997
96.	Latin America Trip	May 13, 1997
97.	Children's Health Insurance	May 20, 1997
98.	Anne Frank	May 27, 1997
99.	Chelsea's Graduation	June 3, 1997
100.	Fatherhood	June 10, 1997
101.	D.C. Schools	June 17, 1997
102.	Foster care	June 24, 1997
103.	Food Safety	July 2, 1997
104.	Mars Pathfinder	July 9, 1997
105.	Salzburg Seminar	July 16, 1997
106.	Immunizations	July 22, 1997
107.	Smoking in Movies	July 29, 1997
108.	Balanced Budget	August 5, 1997
109.	Children's Dosages	August 12, 1997
110.	125th Anniversary of Yellowstone	August 19, 1997
111.	Games	August 26, 1997
112.	Princess Diana	September 3, 1997
113.	Mother Teresa	September 10, 1997
114.	Chelsea and College	September 18, 1997
115.	Arkansas and Central High School	September 23, 1997
116.	Arts and the Humanities	October 2, 1997
117.	Global Warming and Children	October 7, 1997
118.	Latin and South America	October 14, 1997
119.	50th Birthday Party	October 28, 1997
120.	Joyce McCartan	November 4, 1997
121.	Plane Incident	November 11, 1997
122.	Adoption and Safe Families Act	November 18, 1997
123.	Foster Care	November 20, 1997
124.	Soviet Union	November 25, 1997
125.	Holiday Season	December 2, 1997
126.	Women's Rights	December 9, 1997
127.	Buddy	December 16, 1997
128.	Bosnia Christmas	December 23, 1997
129.	New Year's Eve	December 30, 1997
130.	Child Care	January 6, 1998
131.	Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.	January 13, 1998
132.	White House Endowment Fund	January 20, 1998
133.	Save America's Treasures	January 27, 1998
134.	WEF-Switzerland	February 3, 1998
135.	Early Learning	February 10, 1998

136.	1st Millennium Lecture	February 17, 1998
137.	Children's Health Insurance	February 24, 1998
138.	Dr. Seuss	March 3, 1998
139.	Violence and Women	March 10, 1998
140.	National Service	March 17, 1998
141.	Uganda (Children Atrocities)	March 24, 1998
142.	Women of Africa	April 1, 1998

Column Index

Arts

Funding for the Arts and Kids	5/22/96
Henry Ossawa Tanner	10/29/96
Millennium Initiative	2/25/97
Arts and the Humanities	10/2/97
1st Millennium Lecture	2/17/98

Children & Families

Adoption	
(Mother Teresa Home)	7/30/95
(Tax Credits)	5/15/96
(New Adoption Targets)	12/17/96
(Bills to speed up process)	6/24/97
(Adopt. & Safe Fam. Act)	11/18/97
Public Television	8/13/95
Calvin Klein (Advertising)	9/24/95
Children's Hospitals	11/19/95
Millitary Families	2/17/95
St. Ann's Orphanage	1/7/96
Divorce	1/28/96
Chelsea at 16	2/29/96
TV Executives Summit	3/1/96
Funding for the Arts and Kids	5/22/96
Father's Day	6/11/96
(Role of Fathers)	
Summer/Curfews	6/18/96
Family and Medical Leave Act	6/25/96
Superman	10/22/96
(Children and Landmines)	
Campaign Highlights	11/5/96
Thailand (Child Prostitution)	11/26/96
Single Parent Scholarships	3/11/97
Child Care	4/8/97
WH Conference on the Brain	4/15/97
Children's Health Insurance	5/20/97
Fatherhood (Father's Day)	6/10/97
D.C. Schools	6/17/97
Immunizations	7/22/97

Children's Dosages	8/12/97
Global Warming & Children	10/7/97
Foster Care	11/20/97
Child Care	1/6/98
Children's Health Insurance	2/24/98
Dr. Seuss	3/3/98
Violence and Women	3/10/98
Uganda	
(Children Atrocities)	3/24/98

Domestic Issues

Legal Aid	4/24/96
Washington, D.C.	2/19/97
Balanced Budget	8/5/97
Save America's Treasures	1/27/98
1st Millennium Lecture	2/17/98
National Service	3/17/98

Environment

Lady Bird Johnson	3/20/96
National Parks	8/13/96
Yellowstone's 125th	8/19/97
Global Warming & Children	10/7/97

Foreign Policy & Aid

United Nations	11/5/95
50th Anniversary	
Bosnia Relief	2/4/96
Chernobyl	5/1/96
Seeds of Peace	9/3/96
Medals of Freedom	9/10/96
Lessons Without Borders	9/17/96
Superman	10/22/96
(Children and Landmines)	
Marshall Plan (Netherlands)	5/27/97
Salzburg Seminar	7/16/97
Latin and South America	10/14/97
Soviet Union	11/25/97
Bosnia Christmas	12/23/97
WEF-Switzerland	2/3/98

Health Issues

OB Express	10/1/95
Breast Cancer	10/22/95
Christopher Reeve	2/11/96
(Kennedy-Kassebaum Bill)	
HIV Ban	2/17/96
Chernobyl	5/1/96
Smoking	7/17/96
Nina Hyde Center	9/24/96
(Breast Cancer)	
Gulf War Syndrome	1/7/97
Abortion	1/29/97
Elizabeth Glaser/AIDS	3/4/97
Children's Health Insurance	5/20/97
Food Safety	7/2/97
Immunizations	
7/22/97	
Smoking in Movies	7/29/97
Children's Dosages	8/12/97
Global Warming & Children	10/7/97
Early Learning	2/10/98
Children's Health Insurance	2/24/98
Violence and Women	3/10/98

Holidays/Occasions

20th Wedding Anniversary	10/8/95
Vacations	8/20/95
Thanksgiving	11/26/95
Christmas at the WH	12/3/95
Christmas Traditions	12/24/95
New Year's Resolutions	12/31/95
Ramadan	2/22/96
Mother's Day	5/15/96
(POTUS Column Virginia Kelley)	
Father's Day	6/11/96
(Role of Fathers)	
Election Day	11/13/96
Christmas Eve	12/24/96
New Year's Eve	12/31/96
Inauguration Day	1/21/97
Mother's Day	5/6/97
(Dorothy Rodham)	
Yellowstone's 125th	8/19/97
Holiday Season	12/2/97

Bosnia Christmas	12/23/97
New Year's Eve	12/30/97
Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.	1/13/98
Dr. Seuss	3/3/98

Microcredit

Bolivia	12/3/96
(Family Planning & Microcredit)	
Microcredit	2/4/97
Latin America Trip	5/13/97
(Women and Microenterprise)	

News Events

UN Women's Conference	9/3/95
Rabin's Funeral	11/12/95
Thailand (Child Prostitution)	11/26/96
1996 Commencements	5/29/96
Olympics (William Sloane)	7/23/96
Olympic Bombing	7/30/96
Convention Speech	8/27/96
Medals of Freedom	9/10/96
Campaign Highlights	11/5/96
Election Day	11/13/96
Mars Pathfinder	7/9/97
1st Millennium Lecture	2/17/98

People/Groups

Calvin Klein (Advertising)	9/24/95
South America	10/15/95
(Eleanor Roosevelt	
and International Relations)	
Readers' Letters	10/29/95
United Nations	11/5/95
(50th Anniversary and Accomplishments)	
Rabin's Funeral	11/12/95
Ireland	12/10/95
(Women and Peace, Joyce McCarten)	
Martin Luther King Jr.	1/14/96
Christopher Reeve	2/11/96
(Kennedy-Kassebaum Bill)	
TV Executives Summit	3/1/96
Lady Bird Johnson	3/20/96
Ron Brown	4/10/96
Chicago Cubs	4/17/96

Mother's Day	5/15/96
(POTUS Column Virginia Kelley)	
Olympics (William Sloane)	7/23/96
Seeds of Peace	9/3/96
Medals of Freedom	9/10/96
Lessons Without Borders	9/17/96
(Intl. Assistance/Foreign Aid)	
Shannon Lucid	10/8/96
Henry Ossawa Tanner	10/29/96
(White House)	
FDR Memorial	3/30/97
(President's Knee Injury)	
Princess Diana	9/3/97
Mother Teresa	9/10/97
Joyce McCartan	11/4/97
Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.	1/13/98

Personal

Introduction	7/23/95
Vacations	8/20/95
20th Wedding Anniversary	10/8/95
Readers' Letters	10/29/95
New Year's Resolutions	12/31/95
Christmas Traditions	12/24/95
Chelsea at 16	2/29/96
Chicago Cubs	4/17/96
Mother's Day	5/15/96
(POTUS Column Virginia Kelley)	
Women Who Have	6/5/96
Influenced Me	
Chicago	8/20/96
(Memories of Childhood)	
Socks	10/15/96
Campaign Highlights	11/5/96
Election Day	11/13/96
Life Inside the WH	12/10/96
Position Statement	1/14/97
(Next 4 Years)	
FDR Memorial	3/30/97
(President's Knee Injury)	
Mother's Day	5/6/97
(Dorothy Rodham)	
Chelsea's Graduation	6/3/97
Games/Vacation	6/26/97
Chelsea and College	9/17/97

Arkansas and Central H.S.	9/23/97
50th Birthday Party	10/28/97
Plane Incident	11/11/97
Holiday Season	12/2/97
Buddy	12/16/97
Bosnia Christmas	12/23/97
New Year's Eve	12/30/97

Service

Martin Luther King Jr.	1/14/96
Chernobyl	5/1/96
Service Summit	4/23/97
National Service	3/17/98

Travel

Beijing (Women's Rights)	9/10/95
Mongolia (Democracy)	9/17/95
South America	10/15/95
(Eleanor Roosevelt	
and International Relations)	
Ireland	12/10/95
(Women and Peace, Joyce McCarten)	
Bosnia (U.S. Soldiers)	3/27/96
Greece/Turkey (Olympics)	4/3/96
Central Europe I	7/3/96
(New Democracies & Growth)	
Central Europe II	7/10/96
(Democracy)	
Chicago	8/20/96
(Memories of Childhood)	
Australia (Women's Roles)	11/20/96
Thailand	11/26/96
(Child Prostitution)	
Bolivia	12/3/96
(Family Planning & Microcredit)	
Africa	3/18/97
(New Democracies & Growth)	
South Africa	3/25/97
(Truth and Reconciliation	
Commission)	
Africa II	4/2/97
(War, Hardships, and Women)	
Latin America Trip	5/13/97
(Women and Microenterprise)	
Netherlands (Marshall Plan)	5/27/97

Latin and South America	10/14/97
Plane Incident	11/11/97
Soviet Union	11/25/97
Bosnia Christmas	12/23/97
Switzerland (WEF)	2/3/98
Uganda	
(Children Atrocities)	3/24/98
Women of Africa	4/1/98

White House

Christmas at the WH	12/3/95
Lady Bird Johnson	3/20/96
Socks	10/15/96
Henry Ossawa Tanner	10/29/96
Life Inside the WH	12/10/96
Christmas Eve	12/24/96
New Year's Eve	12/31/96
Holiday Season	12/2/97
White House Endow. Fund	1/20/98
1st Millennium Lecture	2/17/98

Whitewater

Whitewater	1/20/96
Whitewater: Resolution	3/6/96
Trust Corporation Report	

Women

Working Women	8/6/95
(Supportive Workplace Culture)	
75th Anniversary of	8/27/95
Women's Suffrage	
UN Women's Conference	9/3/95
Beijing (Women's Rights)	9/10/95
Breast Cancer	10/22/95
Ireland (Women and Peace)	12/10/95
(Women and Peace, Joyce McCarten)	
Stereotypes of	3/13/96
Women and Men	
Women Who Have	6/5/96
Influenced Me	
ADA/ Title IX	8/6/96
Beijing One Year Later	10/1/96
Shannon Lucid	10/8/96
Australia (Women's Roles)	11/20/96

Thailand (Child Prostitution)	11/26/96
Bolivia	12/3/96
(Family Planning & Microcredit)	
Abortion	1/29/97
Working Women	2/11/97
(Humanization of Politics)	
Africa II	4/2/97
(War, Hardships, and Women)	
Latin America Trip	5/13/97
(Women and Microenterprise)	
Joyce McCartan	11/4/97
Women's Rights	12/9/97
Violence and Women	3/10/98
Women of Africa	4/1/98

file column

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

I'm writing this column on Christmas Eve, in the little room on the second floor that I use for my study. It's where Eleanor Roosevelt and Bess Truman slept and where Jackie Kennedy wrote letters.

The official part of Christmas at the White House, with daily receptions, tours and parties, is over. Now Bill, Chelsea and I are rushing madly about trying to finish our own preparations. Most of our family is with us, and this year, for the first time, both our nephews, Tyler and Zachary, are old enough to understand (sort of) and react to the decorations, presents and excitement. Earlier this week, the boys discovered a present from a friend of mine -- a stuffed frog that croaks "Jingle Bells" when you squeeze its foot -- and have already spent hours squeezing and laughing.

We celebrate privately on the second and third floors of the White House. Our own 17-foot tree goes up in the Yellow Oval Room, right above the official tree that stands in the Blue Room downstairs. Over the years, we have collected boxes and boxes of ornaments. We try to find a special spot for each one, which is one of the reasons we're grateful for a room that can hold a big enough tree.

White House elves put our tree up a few days ago and strung it with lights to help us get started. As we decorated the tree to the sounds of our favorite carols, Bill, Chelsea and I -- with a little help from friends and family who dropped by -- reminisced about the ornaments and past Christmases. As usual, I was the first to collapse from exhaustion and retreat to an observer's position on the couch. Then Chelsea followed me to bed, leaving the President of the United States to hum and putter for a few more hours. Anyone who know my husband marvels at his extraordinary energy, but he surpasses even his usual levels during the few days leading up to Christmas. He loves everything about the season, especially the rituals our family follows. And one of those rituals is that he will finish the tree!

Another ritual for Bill is a last-minute shopping trip to the mall. I have noticed over the years that many men of my acquaintance become frantic mall-stalkers as they hunt for Christmas gifts. I worked in stores a few Christmas seasons as a teen-ager, and I always loved to see men charge in on Christmas Eve with that crazed look that told me they would definitely buy something in our

store -- whether or not they needed it for anyone on their list. I'm sure my husband gives the same joy to sales clerks today.

This afternoon, we will take the family to see Chelsea perform in the "Nutcracker." We have done this every year since she was 3. Earlier this month, I took some friends and their 3-year-old twins to watch a dress rehearsal. The little boy loved the battle between the mice and toy soldiers. The little girl was enchanted as she stood on her toes in front of her seat and twirled along with the ballerinas on stage. I had tears in my eyes as I watched them, remembering the first time I took Chelsea and how the ballet had captured her imagination.

This year, Chelsea has an added experience for the holidays -- finishing her college applications, which are due in early January. So, between tree-decorating and pirouetting, she's been at the computer, trying to write essays that explain -- in 500 words -- who she is. Like every mother, I want to write my own essay about how wonderful my daughter is, but I know that this process is another stage of her growing up -- and away. It's a passage she has to take herself. Bill and I are still trying to persuade her to stay in Washington and take correspondence courses.

And tonight, our extended family will have dinner at the home of our dear friends, Ann and Vernon Jordan. Their house will be filled with their children and grandchildren, and all the adults will take turns reading stories, singing carols and soothing toddlers impatient for the arrival of Santa Claus. After dinner, Bill, Chelsea and I will attend Christmas Eve services at the National Cathedral, one of our favorite places in Washington. The majesty of the setting and the familiarity of the hymns and words remind us of what this time is all about. When we finally arrive back at the White House around midnight, we'll finish wrapping our gifts and stuffing the stockings. We will also pause to count our blessings before we fall into bed for a few hours' sleep before waking up to the joy of another Christmas in the White House.

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Wm. Colman file

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
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A few years ago, I met a group of extraordinary women. They were all entrepreneurs in Denver. One of them ran a desktop publishing business, another owned a bakery, and a third was in the computer business. Each of these women had pulled herself out of poverty or off welfare.

For years, they were among the thousands of people in this country who can only dream of getting a bank loan to start a small business. The reality is that "too many great ideas die in the parking lots of banks," one woman told me.

But given the opportunity -- and a small cash loan -- these women were able to open businesses that helped them become self-sufficient and move off welfare and into the economic mainstream.

This concept of extending modest business loans to low-income citizens who are willing to work hard -- but have little or no collateral -- is called microcredit. And though it's called "micro," microcredit is really a big idea. Modest loans can transform lives, reclaim cities and rural areas from decay, and reduce the number of people living in poverty.

Just ask Connie Evans. Evans is president of the Women's Self-Employment Project, an organization that has provided business training, technical assistance, loans and moral support to thousands of women in Chicago. As a former community counselor in a public housing development, Evans met many women who needed a little jump start for their ideas. "It was clear that what they needed wasn't counseling but money," she said.

For more than a decade, Evans has watched low-income women build successful businesses and self-esteem with modest loans and the encouragement of other women. The Women's Self-Employment Project's success can be measured in countless ways -- in day-care centers, in catering businesses, in hair salons and in the hopeful eyes of children who have watched their parents work hard and succeed.

"I like being in control of my own destiny, my own fate," said Arinez Gilyard, a mother of three who started an in-home day-care center with business training and a \$200 loan from the Women's Self-Employment Project in Chicago. "I believe I will be self-employed the rest of my working life."

Why does microcredit work? Because it's a concept that provides opportunity, demands responsibility and strengthens communities. Many of the loan programs are built around peer-support networks. Borrowers become members of groups that meet regularly to discuss their challenges and seek and offer advice. The members also make sure that the loans are repaid on time. No new loans can be made unless all group members have kept up with their payments. As a result, most microcredit organizations can boast loan repayment rates of more than 90 percent -- a rate that is the envy of many commercial banks.

I've seen firsthand how providing credit to people on the margins of society can reap economic and social benefits. I have met with women worldwide who have told me how their lives changed from destitution to inspiration because community banks gave them the opportunity to start small businesses. These women live in the most remote parts of India, in the poorest barrios of South America and in places that have weathered civil wars and earthquakes. They now have the tools to secure better livings for their families and, in turn, strengthen their countries' economies.

While microcredit was conceived in the developing world, it can be an important "tool of opportunity" for many Americans -- for farmers whose livelihoods have been undermined by bad luck or bad weather, inner-city parents who are struggling to balance a job on the night shift with family responsibilities and welfare mothers eager to move off the public dole into work.

Last week, the President and Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin presented the first Presidential Awards for Excellence in Microenterprise Development to organizations that have pioneered efforts to extend credit and economic opportunity to needy yet promising entrepreneurs. The Small Business Administration has awarded \$70 million in grants to non-profit microlending organizations. The President announced last week that he is requesting a \$1 billion increase over the next five years for community banking.

All of these efforts will be crucial to making sure no one is left behind in the new millennium. In an era of greater competition and scarcer resources -- an era when the gap between rich and poor is widening in many parts of the world -- microcredit can help our poorest citizens take control of their lives and their futures, and ultimately make the world a better place for us all.

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February 4, 1997

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

I always enjoy meeting other working mothers because I love to share stories about raising children while holding down jobs. So I was delighted to host a luncheon at the White House this week honoring women who have successfully combined work and family life.

Some of our nation's most accomplished working women were there, including Deputy Attorney General Jamie Gorelick (who had to leave early to attend her daughter's ballet recital); Pat Summitt, head coach of the University of Tennessee Lady Volunteers basketball team; Jill Barad, the CEO of Mattel Inc.; Elaine Pagels, a renowned scholar and professor at Princeton University; and other leading women from the fields of law, entertainment, journalism, business and politics.

Also on hand were some working mothers whose names you wouldn't know. They aren't famous or well-to-do. And they aren't in positions of national influence. They represent the vast majority of women in America who struggle every day to fulfill their obligations at home and on the job, often with meager resources and little help. I felt that women like Tina Garcia deserved to be honored, too.

Tina grew up on welfare and was a single mother for eight years. She couldn't afford child care, so she improvised by working during school hours or bringing her children to work. She also shared duties with another single mother, who didn't drive. Tina would run errands and do grocery shopping in exchange for baby-sitting. Today, this mother of four runs a thriving real estate company in Virginia.

In recent years, women like Tina Garcia have become a driving force in our country -- politically, socially and economically. That's because their concerns -- finding affordable child care, spending more time with their children, being valued at work, being compensated fairly and having flexible leave time for family emergencies -- are real-life issues confronting tens of millions of working mothers across our country.

You may remember that many of these were summed up during the presidential campaign as the "feminization of politics." I think that's an unfortunate term. After all, most fathers worry about whether their children are in safe, dependable and affordable child care. Most men want to be able to take time off

when a family member is gravely ill. Most sons want to ensure that their elderly parents have health care coverage.

Instead of the "feminization of politics," I prefer to think of this phenomenon as the "humanization of politics." What we have seen being played out in the political arena is how people's personal concerns can become political if they use their voices -- and their votes -- to define them.

The gender gap we hear so much about is simply a measure of how women, who are experts on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, vote their self-interest and their values. In so doing, they deliver a clear message that the issues they care about deserve to be on the front burner of national politics.

While political scientists often discuss realpolitik, the balance of power among nations, working mothers are saying that national politics must also be about real-life politik -- about how we live and work together and how we achieve balance in our lives.

Regardless of our political affiliation or where we stand on any particular issue or even where we come down on the larger question of how we attain a balance of power in our own lives, we must acknowledge that much is at stake for women collectively in this debate.

Will public and private institutions help empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take responsibility for their lives? And by that, I mean, will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly? Will employers value women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will individual women be respected for the choices they make about family, work and personal growth -- and will they be able to make those choices free of the burden of other people's and society's expectations? Will we stop pigeonholing women and invoking stereotypes that limit their potential? Will we admit that there is no formula for being a successful or fulfilled woman in today's society -- that one can choose full-time motherhood and homemaking or be committed to work outside the home without marriage or children or, like most of us today, balance work and family responsibilities?

Whether they are CEOs or minimum-wage workers, most women are doing everything they can to do right by their families and their jobs. Now it's time for society to let them know that their choices are supported and respected.

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February 11, 1997

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Bill Coleman

Inauguration Day for Bill and me ended early Tuesday morning after a whirlwind tour of 15 Inaugural Balls. We arrived at the White House around 2 a.m. exhausted but exhilarated. We were also famished. We hadn't eaten since lunch and headed straight to the refrigerator in our private living quarters. As we ate leftovers from a family dinner Bill and I had missed earlier that night, we chatted and recalled our favorite moments of the day.

It all began with a prayer service at the historical Metropolitan AME Church in Washington. I couldn't have thought of a better way to start Inauguration Day and the day honoring Martin Luther King Jr. As Bill prepares for another four years in office, he knows that he won't be able to do his job alone. He needs his faith and people of faith to support him.

The morning service, which brought together representatives from Christianity, Judaism and Islam, boosted the congregation's spirits and reaffirmed my belief that much more unites us than divides us. Friends from throughout Bill's life spoke and sang at the service.

Bill Hybels, pastor of Willow Creek Community Church outside Chicago, spoke of the visits he and my husband have shared every month for the past four years, praying and talking together, strengthening their faith and building a friendship. Jesse Jackson and Tony Campolo, an evangelist minister from Philadelphia, delivered sermons challenging us all to remember our obligations to the poor. And Jennifer Holiday closed the service with a rousing rendition of "Amazing Grace" that lifted the roof and our hearts.

After the service, Bill and I returned to the White House, where we greeted congressional leaders who had come to escort Bill to the Capitol. As we drove to the Capitol, I looked out the window and saw people already staking out seats along the parade route. I also saw a few protesters, who reminded me of the greatness of our democracy and our right to disagree with each other openly and peacefully.

It was cold and overcast as Chelsea and I took our seats with Tipper Gore and her children at the oath-taking ceremony. I held Bill's Bible open to a passage he had selected -- Isaiah 58:12 -- which he later used in his speech when he said we should all be "repairers of the breach." When he repeated his name after Justice Rehnquist, "I, William Jefferson Clinton," tears welled up in my eyes, and I thought I was going to cry. I felt proud and awed as I watched my husband walk toward the podium on the West Front of the Capitol, looking out toward the mall and the Washington monument.

I had been worried about Bill's voice for three days. It had turned hoarse on Friday, and I had pleaded with him to stay in for the weekend. (I am known in my family as an incurable worrier.) But Monday, his voice was strong and clear. As Bill began his speech, the sun emerged from the clouds and bathed him in light. Chelsea and I were amazed by the weather's good timing.

After the ceremony, we went to Statuary Hall, one of the most historic rooms in the Capitol for lunch with members of Congress. The menu was composed of dishes Thomas Jefferson served 200 years ago while he was in the White House. I sat between my husband and House Speaker Newt Gingrich (who, ironically, was seated to my left). Chelsea sat next to Strom Thurmond, who at 94 is still one of the Senate's greatest charmers.

When Sen. Warner presented the President with the traditional gift of an already-framed picture of the morning's ceremony, I did not remember the same event occurring four years ago. Looking back, I realize I was too anxious and overwhelmed to take in the details of my husband's first inauguration. This time, I was much more relaxed and savored every moment.

I was thrilled at the number of people who had come out on such a cold day to watch the inaugural parade. Bill, Chelsea and I walked the last few blocks to the White House. We saw familiar faces in the crowds and waved to them. Bill even caught sight of a man he had worked with on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee while he was a student at Georgetown University 30 years ago.

The parade itself had everything from mariachi bands to polka dancers to gymnasts. I was especially pleased to see groups that I had personally invited, including Florida A&M's prized marching band and the Yelm, Wash., Elementary School Choir.

The hardest part of the day was finding the energy to change into our formal wear for the evening's balls. I was afraid to nap between the parade and the balls for fear of not being able to get up.

But before we knew it, Bill and I were in the motorcade, dropping in on one ball after the other and dancing to "Unforgettable."

The energy of the people having a good time kept me going, even as my feet protested with every step. And when Bill and I returned to the White House, we realized we had carried all of the day's good feelings home with us.

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January 21, 1997

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



November 29, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

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

TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, DECEMBER 2-3, 1995**

The White House Christmas tree arrived from Ashe County, N.C., last week. It's an 18 1/2-foot Fraser fir that was delivered to the South Lawn on a horse-drawn cart. Now, it's standing in the Blue Room, decorated with ornaments from all over the country.

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

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

Ann and her staff help me figure out the kinds of events we will have, draw up guest lists, prepare and send invitations and plan the entertainment. Chef Walter Scheib begins dreaming up menus for the dozens of receptions, buffets and dinners held here during the few weeks before Christmas.

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

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

Once we settle on a theme, we rely on the creativity of thousands of Americans from across the country, including quilters, needlepointers, embroiderers, architects, crafts people and students, to help make it come to life. They make wreaths, ornaments, bows, stockings and tree skirts -- all the ingredients of a White House Christmas. Some even come and play music for visitors during the holiday season.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 12/2-3/95

Page 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, NOVEMBER 11-12, 1995

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 11/11-12/95

Page 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, OCTOBER 7-8, 1995

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That's when I finally said yes.

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

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

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 10/7-8/95

Page 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

Well, you improvise.

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

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

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

You might be able to guess what it is.

But sorry, I'm not telling.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 9/23-24/95

Page 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Even so, I was in for some surprises.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, AUGUST 19-20, 1995

When I was a child, my family took the same vacation every summer to visit my father's relatives in Pennsylvania. We would always leave Chicago at the crack of dawn. My two brothers and I would pile into the back seat of whichever land barge my father was driving and immediately begin arguing about who got to sit where.

As the oldest, and as one who felt carsick at even the sight of a moving car, I would try to claim most of the seat. When I was old enough to get an allowance, I resorted to bribery, promising to pay my brothers a dollar each if they would let me lie down during the trip.

There was nothing exotic or luxurious about these vacations. My father drove for hours on end, my mother relieving him for brief spells so that we could cover 750 miles without spending the night in a motel. We played word games using license tags and road signs. We took breaks at roadside restaurants and turnpike rest stops. And we often detoured onto side roads to visit historic sites.

Although I complained, especially as a teen-ager, about spending endless hours in the car, I loved those trips.

Even now, I can shut my eyes and see my father driving through the night or my mother laying out a picnic at the side of the road.

And when we arrived at my grandfather's lake cottage, there were long games of pinochle, swimming, fishing in the Susquehanna River and walks through the countryside.

Today, it seems harder for people to take such simple family vacations. Although vacation travel is up this year because of a stronger economy, too many parents can't afford to take even a few days off.

Others travel but never really get away. With fax machines, cellular phones, pagers and laptop computers, work stays with them even if they are halfway around the world.

When Chelsea was a little girl, we often took vacations by car. We carried lots of tapes with stories to share and songs to sing together. And, unlike my father, we stopped at motels to sleep.

I also miss the easy, carefree vacations I took as a student. When I was 25 years old, I traveled abroad for the first time. Over the next 15 years, Bill and I went four more times. I will always remember the wonder I felt touring the lake country in England,

visiting Guernica in Spain, wandering through Paris and exploring the great monuments and museums of Florence.

Of course, taking vacation is not so simple for me these days. Traveling as First Family means traveling heavy: We can't go anywhere without dozens of staff and security people. And it's hard to sneak in and out of town on Air Force One. Worst of all, our security requirements inevitably disrupt the places we visit.

The best part is that my mother and daughter have been able to join us for some wonderful trips. When we went last year to Latvia, Poland, Germany, Italy, France and England, I watched enviously as they spent their days shopping, sightseeing and dropping into restaurants for pasta, pirogi and pastries without ever being noticed. Then again, I had more fun than my husband, who can never go anywhere without a crowd swarming around him.

I have always admired the European approach to vacations. The first time I traveled there in late summer, I was surprised to find that all the shops were closed. Everyone -- from construction worker to Prime Minister -- was away on vacation.

It's not that the Europeans don't work as hard as we do. It's just that vacation is ingrained in their culture. It's understood that time off is vital to one's spirit, family and work life.

When I accompany my husband to meetings with foreign heads of state, I am often asked about our vacation plans.

I remember once explaining to German Chancellor Helmut Kohl that we were hoping to get a few days off later in the year. He was going to spend a rejuvenating month in the forest.

Jacques Chirac, the new President of France, told me that he had spent a recent vacation exploring the countryside of Japan. British Prime Minister John Major often blocks off the whole month of August for vacation.

Right now, our family is beginning a two-week vacation in Wyoming. It's a place where the three of us can take long hikes, visit Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks, swim and fish. (And I'm sure my husband will manage to play some golf!) The time away will give us moments like the ones I remember from earlier years with my family.

The only problem is: The phone, fax and laptop are on vacation with us.

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TALKING IT OVER**HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, AUGUST 12-13, 1995**

Have you seen what's on daytime television lately? During a recent workout, I started channel surfing, and the first show I saw was about wild teen-agers and their mothers. Another network featured women who use men for money. And on a third were people who believe their thoughts are controlled by aliens.

I cringed.

Then, I found refuge in Big Bird.

For many parents across our country, there is great comfort in knowing that however prurient, violent or sensational daytime programming has become, there is still an oasis for children called public television.

The truth is, my daughter is a Sesame Street kid. When she was younger, we would tune in together and read the books that went along with the shows. Over the years, my husband and I could see that Big Bird, Ernie, Bert and Cookie Monster had helped her learn to spell, count and, perhaps just as important, appreciate the cultural richness of our country.

But my daughter's experience is not the only reason I am disturbed by recent attacks on public television. There is no escaping that television is a pervasive influence in the lives of all of our children -- one that can have a significant impact, positive or negative, on their social and intellectual development.

A friend told me recently about the time her daughter came home from the first day of school and was so excited that she couldn't stop talking about it. After telling her parents about everything that had happened, she went to the television set and told Mr. Rogers too. Can you imagine that child having the same conversation with the Power Rangers?

The little girl's story gives us a window on the latest research. Studies show that children who watch programs like "Sesame Street," "Barney" and "Mister Rogers Neighborhood" are better prepared to learn by the time they begin kindergarten than children who watch only commercial television. Early on, reading becomes a part of their lives. So do numbers, ideas and a rich imagination.

In fact, just at that wonderful stage when young children seem to absorb every new word and concept they come across, educational television provides a unique learning tool. Even watching as little as 25 minutes a day can help.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 8/12-13/95

Page 2

Researchers have found that low-income children between the ages of 2 and 5 who watch a small amount of educational programming do significantly better on tests of reading potential, vocabulary, mathematical reasoning and overall readiness for school.

By contrast, kids who spend the same amount of time watching non-educational cartoons and adult programs are not as well prepared for learning in school.

Recently, Sonia Manzano, known to millions of children as "Maria" on "Sesame Street," came to the White House to talk about educational television. She described what it was like to grow up in the Bronx as a Hispanic child who never saw anyone who looked or talked like her on television.

"I know that if a child spends his life not seeing himself reflected in society, which mostly means on television, it will wear him down," she said.

Children's programs like "Sesame Street," she said, offer a feeling of belonging and positive role models to all children in our society.

They are particularly beneficial to low-income children whose families often lack other opportunities for intellectual stimulation.

The public broadcasting channel is the only source available for educational children's programming for about one-third of American families that cannot afford or do not have access to cable television. And I bet most Americans would be surprised to know that the majority of public television viewers come from families with annual incomes of less than \$40,000. It is the children in these families who gain the most from public broadcasting.

I do not mean to suggest that public television is a panacea. Clearly, we parents must take responsibility for turning off the television more often and monitoring the shows our children do watch. And we can do more as a society to help our families meet that challenge. A rating system and the proposed v-chip to block out violent programs from individual homes could make a difference.

But let's not kid ourselves. In a culture like ours, which is so dominated by television, children's programming is not a luxury enjoyed by a privileged few. It is a necessity for tens of millions of American families.

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TALKING IT OVER

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, AUGUST 5-6, 1995

Every place I have ever worked, a strange thing happens at 3:00 in the afternoon. Women start grabbing for the phones.

It's the "anxious mom" phenomenon -- mothers calling home to make sure their children have arrived safely from school.

I know because I've done it hundreds of times myself. And, like any working mother, I can tell you about the times I have had to leave at midday or miss work altogether because of a family emergency.

Once, as a young lawyer, I had to be in court at 9 a.m. for a big trial. My husband was out of town. My daughter was sick. And I was in a panic.

I managed in situations like that -- but only because I had extraordinary support: baby sitters, a mother-in-law nearby, a mother who visited regularly, and a husband who was eager to help.

Most working women are not so lucky.

With American families as overworked and as mobile as they are today, relying on relatives and friends for child care is not always an option. Most workplaces do not provide or subsidize child care. Day-care centers don't take sick kids, and most charge high fees for late pickups.

And too often, employers penalize rather than help women who need to adjust their schedules to attend to pressing family obligations.

As a 42-year-old auto-factory worker and mother of two said to me recently: "What do you do with your kids when you are assigned the 4 p.m. to midnight shift?"

Whether they are federal judges or fast-food cooks, working women everywhere are not getting enough support as they struggle to meet the competing demands of family, work and career.

I know this from my own experience, as well as from conversations with my friends. But you don't have to take my word for it. Just ask any of the working women I met with recently in Atlanta and Santa Fe. Or ask the 250,000 working women who responded to a Department of Labor survey earlier this year.

"We have to be a wife, a mother and a professional, and to be ourselves, which usually takes last place," a 37-year-old intensive-care nurse said at a chips-and-salsa get-together in Santa Fe.

"I nearly kill pedestrians trying to get to the day-care center on time (to avoid the late fees after 6 p.m.)," an assistant bank vice president told me in Atlanta.

Even a federal judge was feeling the pressure. "When I was a lawyer, all of the partners had wives who didn't work," said this mother of four. "They didn't have to worry about picking up the dry cleaning or picking up the kids."

Today, three out of four working women have school-age children. The vast majority of working women earn less than \$25,000 a year. Not surprisingly, stress ranks as the No. 1 problem for most of these women.

The clear message from many women -- and men -- I have talked to is that they need a more supportive workplace culture.

Even at a place as hectic and workaholic as the White House, we have tried to offer some flexibility to working parents. One of my husband's top campaign advisers took a month off right before the election in 1992 to spend time with his new son. One of my administrative assistants used to bring her newborn to the office and, when necessary, nursed him during meetings. Another member of my staff worked from home during the final two months of her pregnancy. In fact, we even keep a few toys around the office in case parents need to bring their children to work.

We are hardly alone in this. Employers and organizations in the public and private sectors are beginning to recognize that family-friendly workplaces are not just good for morale but also for the bottom line:

- In San Francisco, a group of businesses, unions and community groups joined forces to establish a 24-hour day-care center for airport employees.

- In Boston, a school-bus schedule was redesigned to make it easier for children to get to after-school programs.

- In Northern California, a consortium of law and consulting firms are establishing an 800-hotline number that employees can call 24 hours a day, seven days a week for pre-screened, in-home emergency child and elder care.

- In New Jersey, a company with 3,000 employees is creating a pilot program offering compressed four-day work weeks, job sharing, part-time and flex-time options, and telecommuting for its work force.

Instead of leaving hard-working, stressed-out parents to fend for themselves, we all need to do more to bring some harmony to our work and family lives.

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TALKING IT OVER

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, JULY 29-30, 1995

The first time I met Mother Teresa was not in an urban slum or a remote village in India but in the fancy ballroom of a Washington hotel. It was February 1994, and she had just delivered a speech against abortion at the National Prayer Breakfast. When she finished her remarks, she pulled me aside for a chat.

She told me about her homes for orphaned children in New Delhi and Calcutta and asked for my help in setting up a similar home for abandoned and neglected babies in Washington, D.C. I agreed to work on the project. Although we differ on some issues, we found common ground on adoption. So we sat and talked about how to find homes for the hundreds of thousands of American children who need loving families.

A year later, my daughter and I visited Mother Teresa's home for children in New Delhi. There were too many cribs and too few toilets, and there was too little space. There was no way the place could ever pass inspection in any American city. But there were also dozens of beautiful babies, mostly girls, being fed, clothed, sheltered and loved until they could be adopted.

These images stayed with me when I returned home. I was even more determined to help Mother Teresa bring to Washington the compassion I had witnessed in India. But you cannot imagine how much red tape was getting in my way. Ironically, many regulations designed to protect children often overlook what kids need most: love and attention.

Finally, on a sweltering day this past June, the Mother Teresa Home for Children opened in an affluent residential neighborhood of the nation's capital. It is a two-story Tudor house with a swimming pool in the backyard, donated by a remarkably generous person who chose to remain anonymous. At the dedication ceremony, Mother Teresa — happy, enthusiastic and all business — took me on a tour. Grabbing my hand and leading me up the stairs, she walked me through brightly painted rooms filled with cribs, bassinets and stuffed animals.

Although it will accommodate only eight children at a time, this home is a crucial step in awakening Americans to the crisis of adoption.

We should worry less about how many cribs can be placed in a room and more about how many children can be placed with loving families. And instead of yelling at each other about abortion, we should spend our energy making adoptions easier. If that were to happen, there would be far fewer abortions and far more children in happy homes.

Today, there are about 450,000 children in the United States who need permanent families. There are tens of thousands of parents seeking to adopt.

Yet every day, complex regulations, outdated assumptions and wrong-headed laws stand in the way of bringing these parents and children together.

For some Americans, like a woman who wrote to me recently, cost is the biggest barrier. She and her husband, both musicians, spent thousands of dollars adopting a little boy six years ago. He is, she said, "the joy of our life." When her cousin's daughter recently became pregnant at age 18 and could not afford to keep the child, this same couple volunteered to adopt again.

As simple as this case should have been -- the parents and baby were members of the same extended family and all parties agreed to the adoption -- it still cost upward of \$4,000 because of legal fees and paperwork.

For others, there is a fear factor. Like many Americans, a 40-year-old newscaster I met recently in New Mexico was interested in adopting but was discouraged by highly publicized cases like Baby Richard's. However rare they are, cases in which birth parents seek to reclaim custody of adopted children undermine people's faith in the adoption system.

Decisions to give up children for adoption should be difficult to overturn, especially in the cases of children who become attached to their adoptive families during their formative years, like Baby Richard. The decision to return the child to the biological parents or to uphold the adoption should be made as quickly as possible. No child should be left in limbo.

The whole process also is made more difficult because of a historical bias against interracial adoptions, which can mean endless waiting until children are matched with parents of the same race.

In a perfect world, most of us would choose parents who shared our cultural and racial identities. But our world is not perfect. Today, there are far more minority children needing homes than are being placed for adoption. To prevent these children from languishing in foster care, new guidelines are now in place that will prohibit federally funded agencies from using race as a factor in placing children.

Wouldn't it be wonderful if we did something dramatic about adoption? Why not set a goal of placing 100,000 children each year for the next five years? To do this, we would have to make adoption easier and enlist volunteer lawyers and judges to speed up the legal process. And we should also follow Mother Teresa's model, in which considerations like money, regulations and skin color do not outweigh the more important gift of love that adoptive parents want to offer.

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TALKING IT OVER**HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: SUNDAY, JULY 23, 1995**

On a recent trip to Arkansas, I had a sudden impulse to drive. We were staying at my mother's house in Little Rock and I needed to run some errands. So, on a quiet Friday afternoon, I jumped behind the wheel of a car and, much to the discomfort of my Secret Service detail, drove myself around town. For several hours, I enjoyed a marvelous sensation of personal freedom.

For me this brief taste of everyday life has come to represent the odd duality of my role as First Lady. On the one hand, I feel privileged to meet people and go places totally out of reach for most men and women. On the other hand, experiences that millions of Americans take for granted have become extraordinary for me.

A few months back, for instance, I was browsing through a museum in Washington. There I was, one of the most recognizable women in America, thinking I could somehow blend anonymously into the artwork.

Suddenly, a woman came up to me. "You sure look like Hillary Clinton," she said.

"So I'm told," I answered.

The truth is that sometimes it is hard even for me to recognize the Hillary Clinton that other people see. Like millions of women across our country, I find that my life consists of different, and sometimes paradoxical, parts. Often those parts are reduced to a snapshot of one moment in my day, when in fact I wake up every morning trying to figure out how to mesh my responsibilities to my family, my public duties and the friend who might be stopping by for dinner.

No doubt the same is true for many people, whether they are beauticians, bankers, teachers or truck drivers. It is just that the complexity of my role is played out in public.

Whatever minor inconveniences my situation presents, I wouldn't trade it for the world. A few years ago, I could never have imagined the range of activities that are part of my life, such as defending public television, planning state dinners and visiting the CIA with the President. I have also met a lot of interesting people. Some are famous, like Lady Bird Johnson, Nelson Mandela and Mother Teresa. But most are men and women we never hear about who wake up in the morning, do the best

they can, and contribute more to their families and communities than most of the celebrities and public figures whose names regularly appear on the evening news.

It is the unforgettable faces, heroic life stories, historic events, pressing issues and comedic moments that have most defined my time in the White House. Now I will have the opportunity to share these experiences and observations directly with newspaper readers everywhere.

I recently accepted an offer first made two years ago to write a column about my life as First Lady. My hope is that this weekly column will talk about the most immediate issues on people's minds – the funny, the sad, the inspiring and the momentous – and give people a view of events they might not otherwise have a chance to see.

Every year, I receive hundreds of thousands of letters asking about everything from ~~Stocks~~' feeding schedule to Medicare benefits for mammograms, from the financial pressures affecting working families to my recent trip to South Asia. I have been told that for every person who writes me, there are thousands and maybe millions of others with the same question or concern.

Some people may wonder whether I am looking to Eleanor Roosevelt for my inspiration. In thinking about this column, I re-read the column that Mrs. Roosevelt wrote nearly every day for the better part of three decades. She called her column "My Day" and covered subjects as varied as her annual picnic for disadvantaged boys, the meaning of religion in our lives and the fuss over a new bob in her hair. Sounds familiar!

My hope is that this column, like hers, will prompt all of us ^{to} think more about the human dimension of our lives. In some small way, I hope it will help bridge the gaps in our society so that we can reach beyond stereotypes and caricatures – and respect one another for the unique contributions each of us makes to our country.

My wish too is that it will provide information about problems facing us that people can use to help decide what they think should be done. Mostly, though, this column will give me the chance to talk things over in the hope that some of you will join the conversation.

So, let's talk again next week.

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Holiday Came Early For Hillary, Chelsea

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

In particular, Chelsea and I were moved by the trip we took together through South Asia last spring. We had an unforgettable time everywhere we went.

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

We were impressed by the progress each of the five countries

we visited is making against overwhelming poverty and internal political strife, especially in India. We saw evidence of this at Mother Teresa's orphanage in New Delhi and when we talked with women college students who were pursuing business careers in Lahore. We saw it at a rural bank founded and run by poor women in Ahmadabad and when we made a pilgrimage to the birthplace of Gandhi.

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

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

Many people told us how much they admired our country. Some quoted leaders such as Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Others expressed appreciation for their education in our universities or aid they had received.



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I remember most a young Peace Corps volunteer I met in Katmandu.

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

She loved her experience in Nepal but missed her family and daily life in America that she had taken for granted. She missed safe drinking water that came from a faucet, baths anytime and electricity available around the clock. She also missed being able to eat meats and vegetables without worrying they would make her sick, paved roads and working

cars, and especially free public schools that taught both boys and girls.

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

I realize how easy it is for Americans to overlook what we have achieved through government and what our government does for us every day. Few among us remember the time when many Americans didn't have electricity, roads or enough food. We don't

worry about the dangers of unsafe water unless we hear about a temporary problem somewhere that we assume government will soon remedy. We take for granted the cleaner air we breathe and the lakes and rivers we can swim and fish in today that were polluted a few years ago. We forget the positive ways our lives have been improved during this century because we have a government willing to solve problems people face in their daily lives.

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



Religious diversity enriches all Americans

Sharing in celebration of Ramadan

This week, for the first time in American history, the White House hosted a celebration of an Islamic holiday. It was long overdue.

To mark the end of the holy month of Ramadan, the most important Muslim holiday of the year, I welcomed 200 men, women and children (and even some sleeping babies) from across the country to the Indian Treaty Room of the Old Executive Office Building.

There were prayers and speeches, and a feast of traditional dishes, including meat dumplings, pita bread, hummus (a spicy garbanzo bean dip), baba ghanouj (an eggplant dip), tabbouleh (a salad of parsley, tomatoes and cracked wheat) and pastries.

Like 1 billion other Muslims around the world, these American Muslims had just finished fasting from sunrise until sundown for 30 days. Ramadan is a special time for families, when parents and their children practice self-discipline and deny themselves food and water to gain greater compassion for the poor.

As I shared in this historic celebration of joy, love and family life, I couldn't help thinking of how we, as a society, too often mis-characterize Islam and those who adhere to its teachings.

Think back to the Oklahoma City bombing, and some of the reactions that immediately followed, and you'll know what I'm getting at. Moments after the ex-

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Talking It Over



The reality is that the vast majority of the estimated 4 million Muslims in the United States are loyal citizens whose daily lives revolve around work, family and community.

plosion, Muslims were publicly presumed to have been responsible. While police searched for suspects, many Muslims in this country felt afraid to leave their homes. Mosques and Islamic centers received threatening phone calls.

While news stories about Muslims often focus on extremists like those responsible for the World Trade Center bombing and other acts of terrorism, it's not fair to apply such a negative stereotype to all Muslims.

The reality is that the vast majority of the estimated 4 million Muslims in the United States are

loyal citizens whose daily lives revolve around work, family and community.

People who find spiritual guidance and sustenance in Islam represent all walks of American life. They range from well-known celebrities like Houston Rockets star Hakeem Olajuwon to community leaders like Dr. Laila Al-Marayati, a California physician who served on the U.S. delegation to the Women's Conference in Beijing, to Chaplain Abdul-Rasheed Muhammad, the first Islamic chaplain in the U.S. Army, who offered a prayer at the White House ceremony.

There are also children like Marwa Al-Khairi, a Girl Scout and aspiring doctor who loves books by Judy Blume and Mark Twain. She, her two younger brothers and her Iraqi-born parents joined many other families at the White House celebration.

Standing on the dais, her green felt hat barely reaching above the microphone, she offered the most poignant reminder of why a celebration of Ramadan at the White House was as important to all Americans as to those in the room.

"Only in America, people from different parts of the world can come together and become one community," she said. "I am proud to be an American. And I am proud to be an American Muslim," she added, before ending her speech with a plug for her mosque's baklava, a favorite pastry.

Marwa's life is no different in many respects from that of other American sixth-graders. But listening to her, I thought about how hopeful it is for our country that children here can grow up like Marwa, fluent not only in the ways of America but also in their own cultural and religious traditions.

I am grateful that my own daughter has had the chance to study Islamic history in high school, certainly not an option for my generation. In fact, Chelsea was so enthusiastic about the course that when we traveled to South Asia together last year, she provided a running commentary on everything we did and saw.

Learning about all of the cultures that have enriched our society also enhances our understanding of what it means to be American. We are, after all, a nation of immigrants and diverse religious beliefs.

In the past, children of other faiths have had the opportunity to observe their major holidays at the White House. There have been parties at Christmas and a ceremony to light the menorah at the beginning of Hanukkah. And thousands of children come to the annual Easter egg roll on the South Lawn in the spring.

Now, I hope, Marwa and other Muslim children will also feel that their religion has a place in their president's house.

Write to Hillary Rodham Clinton at Creators Syndicate, 5777 W. Century Blvd., Suite 700, Los Angeles, Calif. 90045.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Insurers Add to Risks of Moms. Babies

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

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

Even so, I was in for some surprises.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Even so, based on a "checklist" of medical factors, her insurance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But the reality is that many

insurance companies only cover one home visit per patient; others simply provide for a phone consultation with a nurse in the days after childbirth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



'Adver-teasing' Sells Out America's Youth

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

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

From what I can tell, most of the



controversy centers on definitions of pornography, First Amendment rights and the boundaries of artistic expression.

All of those things are important. But I think

we're missing a larger point.

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

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

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

ing to the confusion and anxiety that are part of growing up.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. You can't resist looking, even

though you know that your own rubbernecking could cause another accident.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

U.S. Challenge: Aid Families in Emerging Democracies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



9-10-95

'Women's rights are human rights'

BEIJING — "Go to China and stand up for American values." An American veteran of World War II said these words to me as I was leaving the V-J Day observances in Hawaii to go to Beijing for the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women.



HILLARY
CLINTON

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

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

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

In some countries, citizens are not allowed to vote, speak their minds, assemble freely or exercise their faith without fear of persecution, arrest or even torture. These are what we commonly think of as violations of human rights. But, as the women's conference taught us, it is also a violation of human rights when, in countries around the world, women and girls are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and beaten up.

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

As I said to the delegates:

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hillary Rodham Clinton's column is published on Sunday.

Conference on Women Gets at Basics: Families

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

Even if you agree with me that the conference is a good thing, you may be asking yourself why Americans should care about it. After all, don't American women have more political freedom and economic opportunities than women anywhere else in the world?

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

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

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

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

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

In fact, these "women's issues" are crucial to the progress of families everywhere. If women and girls don't flourish, families won't flourish. And if families don't flourish, communities and nations won't flourish.

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

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

TALKING IT OVER—

**Hillary
Rodham
Clinton**



Remember those who helped win women's suffrage

One day in the summer of 1978, I was knocking on doors in a small town in eastern Arkansas, trying to drum up support for my husband in the upcoming election for governor.

It was the middle of the day, and most of the people at home were older women — women who I assumed would be going to the polls. Imagine my surprise when one woman told me that her husband did the voting in their family. Another said that, since her husband's death, she hadn't known whom to vote for. And a third explained that she couldn't vote because she hadn't paid her poll tax, a requirement that had been outlawed years before.

Seventeen years have passed since then, and as we celebrate the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage, women in America are hardly flocking to the polls to exercise their hard-won privileges.

A smaller percentage of women vote in national elections today than voted 30 years ago. Fewer than half go to the polls in non-presidential election years.

Sadly, many women feel that their doesn't really matter to their own futures or the future of our country.

It might also be that we have so many obligations in our everyday lives. Women are busy rearing children, taking care of aging parents, holding jobs (often working longer hours for lower wages) and running households.

BUT EVEN SO, we all should be able to find the time to vote, especially now that registration can be done at the local Department of Motor Vehicles, the government social services office, the public library or even through the mail. *

We owe it to ourselves to make our voices heard. After all, women's suffrage did not come easily. It took 72 years of hard work.

It took the vision of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who created the suffrage movement in 1848, and the courage of Susan B. Anthony, who was arrested, tried and fined for attempting to vote in the presidential election of 1872.

It took thousands of others — from seamstresses to socialites — who joined parades, pageants and picket lines on behalf of suffrage.

It took men, too. Men like Harry Burn, the young legislator from Tennessee who cast the decisive vote in favor of women's suffrage on Aug. 18, 1920, but only after receiving an admonishing letter from his mother.

"Dear son," said the letter from Mrs. J.L. Burn. "Hurrah and vote for suffrage. ... I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. (Carrie Chapman) Catt put 'rat' in ratification. Your Mother."

Harry Burn took his mother's advice, and eight days later, on Aug. 28, 1920, suffrage was finally granted. But for months thereafter, Harry Burn had to travel the state guarded by a local blacksmith who carried a big hammer in his pocket.

He got off easy compared to some. Many who campaigned for suffrage went to jail for their cause. Some were scorned and ridiculed. Some lost jobs. Some gave up their possessions to raise money for hundreds of suffrage campaigns that were waged in state legislatures and at state and national party conventions.

TO THOSE AMERICANS, voting was the most fundamental right of living in a democracy. It was essential to women's progress in the world. And that's why women before us fought so hard to achieve it.

Women's suffrage, finally granted with ratification of the 19th Amendment, was nothing short of a social revolution. With the vote, women in America could influence laws. They could have some say over their destinies. They could enjoy the full privileges of citizenship.

When I travel overseas, I think about suffrage often. On several recent trips, I have met women who have been persecuted, imprisoned or even exiled for their efforts to gain basic legal and political rights for women. I have visited countries, newly freed from the yoke of totalitarianism, where citizens walk miles and stand in line for hours to cast their ballots.

And each time, I come home thankful for the blessings we Americans have.

This week, let's celebrate the anniversary of women's suffrage by taking stock of the sacrifices that so many women and men made on our behalf.

And let's remember the words of the great suffrage leaders.

As Sojourner Truth, the 19th-century anti-slavery and women's rights advocate, put it: "If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn this world upside down alone, then we together ought to be able to turn it right side up again."

But we can only do it if we vote.

* *Editor's note: Arkansans will be able to register to vote at state Department of Motor Vehicles offices, and other locations beginning in January 1996.*

Write to Hillary Rodham Clinton at Creators Syndicate, 5777 W. Century Blvd., Suite 700, Los Angeles, Calif. 90045.

TALKING IT OVER—

**Hillary
Rodham
Clinton**



Joys of vacation linger long after you return home

When I was a child, my family took the same vacation every summer to visit my father's relatives in Pennsylvania. We would always leave Chicago at the crack of dawn. My two brothers and I would pile into the back seat of whichever land barge my father was driving and immediately begin arguing about who got to sit where.

As the oldest, and as one who felt car-sick at even the sight of a moving car, I would try to claim most of the seat. When I was old enough to get an allowance, I resorted to bribery, promising to pay my brothers a dollar each if they would let me lie down during the trip.

There was nothing exotic or luxurious about these vacations. My father drove for hours on end, my mother relieving him for brief spells so that we could cover 750 miles without spending the night in a motel. We played word games using license tags and road signs. We took breaks at roadside restaurants and turnpike rest stops. And we often detoured onto side roads to visit historic sites.

Although I complained, especially as a teen-ager, about spending endless hours in the car, I loved those trips.

Even now, I can shut my eyes and see my father driving through the night or my mother laying out a picnic at the side of the road.

And when we arrived at my grandfather's lake cottage, there were long games of pinochle, swimming, fishing in the Susquehanna River and walks through the countryside.

Today, it seems harder for people to take such simple family vacations. Although vacation travel is up this year because of a stronger economy, too many parents can't afford to take even a few days off.

Others travel but never really get away. With fax machines, cellular phones, pagers and lap-top computers, work stays with them even if they are halfway around the world.

When Chelsea was a little girl, we often took vacations by car. We carried lots of tapes with stories to share and songs to sing together. And, unlike my father, we stopped at motels to sleep.

I also miss the easy, carefree vacations I took as a student. When I was 25 years old, I traveled abroad for the first time. Over the next 15 years, Bill and I went four more times. I will always remember the wonder I felt touring the lake country in England, visiting Guernica in Spain, wandering through Paris and exploring the great monuments and museums of Italy.

Of course, taking vacation is not so simple for me these days. Traveling as first family means traveling heavy: We can't go anywhere without dozens of staff and security people. And it's hard to sneak in and out of town on Air Force One. Worst of all, our security requirements inevitably disrupt the places we visit.

The best part is that my mother and daughter have been able to join us for some wonderful trips. When we went last year to Latvia, Poland, Germany, Italy, France and England, I watched enviously as they spent their days shopping, sightseeing and dropping into restaurants for pasta, pirogi and pastries without ever being noticed. Then again, I had more fun than my husband, who can never go anywhere without a crowd swarming around him.

I have always admired the European approach to vacations. The first time I traveled there in late summer, I was surprised to find that all the shops were closed. Everyone — from construction workers to the prime minister — was away on vacation.

It's not that the Europeans don't work as hard as we do. It's just that vacation is ingrained in their culture. It's understood that time off is vital to one's spirit, family and work life.

When I accompany my husband to meetings with foreign heads of state, I am often asked about our vacation plans.

I remember once explaining to German Chancellor Helmut Kohl that we were hoping to get a few days off later in the year. He was going to spend a rejuvenating month in the forest.

Jacques Chirac, the new president of France, told me that he had spent a recent vacation exploring the countryside of Japan. British Prime Minister John Major often blocks off the whole month of August for vacation.

Right now, our family is beginning a two-week vacation in Wyoming. It's a place where the three of us can take long hikes, visit Grand Teton and Yellowstone national parks, swim and fish. (And I'm sure my husband will manage to play some golf.) The time away will give us moments like the ones I remember from earlier years with my family.

The only problem is: The phone, fax and lap-top are on vacation with us.

Write to Hillary Rodham Clinton at Creators Syndicate, 5777 W. Century Blvd., Suite 700, Los Angeles, Calif. 90045.

The Miami Herald

Public television: An oasis for children

HAVE YOU seen what's on daytime television lately? During a recent workout I started channel surfing, and the first show that I saw was about wild teenagers and their mothers. Another network featured women who use men for money. And on a third were people who believe that their thoughts are controlled by aliens.

I cringed.

Then I found refuge in Big Bird.

For many parents across our country, there is great comfort in knowing that however prurient, violent, or sensational daytime programming has become, there is still an oasis for children called public television.

My daughter is a *Sesame Street* kid. When she was younger, we would tune in together and read the books that went along with the shows. Big Bird, Ernie, Bert, and Cookie Monster helped her learn to spell, count, and — perhaps just as important — appreciate our country's cultural richness.

But my daughter's experience is not the only reason why I am disturbed by recent attacks on public TV. There is no escaping that television is a pervasive influence in our children's lives — one that can have a significant impact, positive or negative, on their social and intellectual development.

A friend told me recently about the time her daughter came home from the first day of school and was so excited that she couldn't stop talking about it. After telling her parents about everything that had happened, she went to the television set and told Mr. Rogers, too. Can you imagine that child having the same conversation with the Power Rangers?

This story gives us a window on the latest research. Studies show that children who watch programs such as *Sesame Street*, *Barney*, and *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* are better prepared to learn by the time they begin kindergarten than children who watch only commercial TV. Early on, reading becomes a part of their lives. So do numbers, ideas, and a rich imagination.

In fact, just at that wonderful stage when young children seem to absorb every new word and concept that they come across, educational television provides a unique learning tool. Even watching as little as 25 minutes a day can help. Researchers have found that low-income children between the ages of 2 and 5 who watch a small amount of educational programming do significantly better on tests of reading potential, vocabulary, mathematical reasoning, and overall readiness for school.



HILLARY
RODHAM
CLINTON

By contrast, kids who spend the same amount of time watching noneducational cartoons and adult programs are not as well prepared for learning in school.

Recently, Sonia Manzano, known to millions of children as Maria on *Sesame Street*, came to the White House to talk about educational television. She described what it was like to grow up in the Bronx as a Hispanic child who never saw anyone who looked or talked like her on television.

"I know that if a child spends his life not seeing himself reflected in society, which mostly means on television, it will wear him down," she said.

Parents must monitor what kids watch

Children's programs like *Sesame Street*, she said, offer a feeling of belonging and positive role models to all children in our society. They are particularly beneficial to low-income children whose families often lack other opportunities for intellectual stimulation.

The public broadcasting channel is the only source available for educational children's programming for about one-third of American families that cannot afford or do not have access to cable television. Most Americans would be surprised to know that the majority of public television viewers come from families with annual incomes of less than \$40,000. The children in these families are the ones who gain the most from public broadcasting.

I do not mean to suggest that public television is a panacea. Clearly we parents must take responsibility for turning off the television more often and monitoring the shows that our children watch. And we can do more as a society to help our families meet that challenge. A rating system and the proposed V-chip to block out violent programs from individual homes could make a difference.

But let's not kid ourselves. In a culture such as ours, which is so dominated by television, children's programming is not a luxury enjoyed by a privileged few; it is a necessity for tens of millions of American families.

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Working mothers need help with multiple roles

Many businesses are providing the flexibility that makes the workplace more family-friendly

Every place I have ever worked, a strange thing happens at 3 in the afternoon. Women start grabbing for the phones.

It's the "anxious mom" phenomenon — mothers calling home to make sure their children have arrived safely from school.

I know because I've done it hundreds of times myself. And, like any working mother, I can tell you about the times I have had to leave at midday or miss work altogether because of a family emergency.

Once, as a young lawyer, I had to be in court at 9 a.m. for a big trial. My husband was out of town. My daughter was sick. And I was in a panic.

I managed in situations like that — but only because I had extraordinary support: baby sitters, a mother-in-law nearby, a mother who visited regularly and a husband who was eager to help.

Most working women are not so lucky.

With American families as overworked and as mobile as they are today, relying on relatives and friends for child care is not always an option. Most workplaces do not provide or subsidize child care. Day-care centers don't take sick kids, and most charge high fees for late pickups.

And too often, employers penalize rather than help women who need to adjust their schedules to attend to pressing family obligations.

As a 42-year-old auto-factory worker and mother of two said to me recently, "What do you do with your kids when you are assigned the 4 p.m.-to-midnight shift?"

Whether they are federal judges or fast-food cooks, working women everywhere are not getting enough support as they struggle to meet the competing demands of family, work and career.

I know this from my own experience as well as from conversations with my friends. But you don't have to take my word for it. Just ask any of the working women I met with recently in Atlanta and Santa Fe, N.M. Or ask the 250,000 working women who responded to a Department of Labor survey earlier this year.

"We have to be a wife, a mother and a professional and to be ourselves, which usually takes last place," a 37-year-old intensive-care nurse said at a chips-and-salsa get-together in Santa Fe.

"I nearly kill pedestrians trying to get to the day-care center on time (to avoid the late fees after 6 p.m.)," an assistant bank vice president told me in Atlanta.

Even a federal judge was feeling the pressure. "When I was a lawyer, all of the partners had wives who didn't work," said this mother of four. "They didn't have to worry about picking up the dry cleaning or picking up the kids."



Today, three out of four working women have school-age children. The vast majority of working women earn less than \$25,000 a year. Not surprisingly, stress ranks as the No. 1 problem for most of these women.

The clear message from many women — and men — I have talked to is that they need a more supportive workplace culture.

Even at a place as hectic and workaholic as the White House, we have tried to offer some flexibility to working parents. One of my husband's top campaign advisers took a month off right before the election in 1992 to spend time with his new son. One of my administrative assistants used to bring her newborn to the office and, when necessary, nursed him during meetings. Another member of my staff worked from home during the final two months of her pregnancy. In fact, we even keep a few toys around the office in case parents need to bring their children to work.

We are hardly alone in this. Employers and organizations in the public and private sectors are beginning to recognize that family-friendly workplaces are good not just for morale but also for the bottom line:

- In San Francisco, a group of businesses, unions and community groups joined forces to establish a 24-hour day-care center for airport employees.

- In Boston, a school-bus schedule was redesigned to make it easier for children to get to after-school programs.

- In Northern California, a consortium of law and consulting firms is establishing an 800 hot-line number that employees can call 24 hours a day, seven days a week for pre-screened, in-home emergency child and elder care.

- In New Jersey, a company with 3,000 employees is creating a pilot program offering compressed four-day work weeks, job sharing, part-time and flex-time options and telecommuting for its work force.

Instead of leaving hard-working, stressed-out parents to fend for themselves, we all need to do more to bring some harmony to our work and family lives.

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Everybody juggles life's responsibilities

On a recent trip to Arkansas, I had a sudden impulse to drive. We were staying at my mother's house in Little Rock and I needed to run some errands. So, on a quiet Friday afternoon, I jumped behind the wheel of a car and, much to the discomfort of my Secret Service detail, drove myself around town. For several hours, I enjoyed a marvelous sensation of personal freedom.

For me this brief taste of everyday life has come to represent the odd duality of my role as First Lady. On the one hand, I feel privileged to meet people and go places totally out of reach for most men and women. On the other hand, experiences that millions of Americans take for granted have become extraordinary for me.

A few months back, for instance, I was browsing through a museum in Washington. There I was, one of the most recognizable women in America, thinking I could somehow blend anonymously into the artwork.

Suddenly, a woman came up to me. "You sure look like Hillary Clinton," she said.

"So I'm told," I answered.

The truth is that sometimes it is hard even for me to recognize the Hillary Clinton that other people see. Like millions of women across our country, I find that my life consists of different, and sometimes paradoxical, parts. Often those parts are reduced to a snapshot of one moment in my day, when in fact I wake up every morning trying to figure out how to mesh my responsibilities to my family, my public duties and the friend who might be stopping by for dinner.

No doubt the same is true for many

TALKING IT OVER



By HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

people, whether they are beauticians, bankers, teachers or truck drivers. It is just that the complexity of my role is played out in public.

Whatever minor inconveniences my situation presents, I wouldn't trade it for the world. A few years ago, I could never have imagined the range of activities that are part of my life today, such as defending public television, planning state dinners and visiting the CIA with the president. I also have met a lot of interesting people. Some are famous, like Lady Bird Johnson, Nelson Mandela and Mother Teresa. But most are men and women we never hear about who wake up in the morning, do the best they can, and contribute more to their families and communities than most of the celebrities and public figures whose names regularly appear on the evening news.

It is the unforgettable faces, heroic life stories, historic events, pressing issues and comedic moments that have
(See TALKING, Page E2)

TALKING

(Continued from Page E1)

most defined my time in the White House. Now I will have the opportunity to share these experiences and observations directly with newspaper readers everywhere.

I recently accepted an offer first made two years ago to write a column about my life as first lady. My hope is that this weekly column will talk about the most immediate issues on people's minds — the funny, the sad, the inspiring and the momentous — and give people a view of events they might not otherwise have a chance to see.

Every year, I receive hundreds of thousands of letters asking about everything from Socks' feeding schedule to Medicare benefits for mammograms, from the financial pressures affecting working families to my recent trip to South Asia. I have been told that for every person who writes me, there are thousands and maybe millions of others with the same question or con-

cern.

Some people may wonder whether I am looking to Eleanor Roosevelt for my inspiration. In thinking about this column, I re-read the column that Mrs. Roosevelt wrote nearly every day for the better part of three decades. She called her column "My Day" and covered subjects as varied as her annual picnic for disadvantaged boys, the meaning of religion in our lives and the fuss over a new bob in her hair. Sounds familiar!

My hope is that this column, like hers, will prompt all of us to think more about the human dimension of our lives. In some small way, I hope it will help bridge the gaps in our society so that we can reach beyond stereotypes and caricatures — and respect one another for the unique contributions each of us makes to our country.

My wish too is that it will provide information about problems facing us that people can use to help decide what they think should be done. Mostly, though, this column will give me the chance to talk things over in the hope that some of you will join the conversation.

So, let's talk again next week.

Hillary Rodham Clinton's column will appear on this page every Sunday in The Capital.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 11, 1995

MEMORANDAUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

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

TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, OCTOBER 14-15, 1995

One thing I've learned since becoming First Lady is that wherever I go, Eleanor Roosevelt has surely been there before me.

I've been to farms in Iowa and factories in Michigan where Mrs. Roosevelt paid a visit a half century ago. I've been to schools and colleges named for Mrs. Roosevelt and walked the halls of hospitals she toured before I was born.

Even when I go to other countries, Mrs. Roosevelt has doubtless been there first. When my daughter and I went to Pakistan and India last spring, we discovered that Eleanor Roosevelt had traveled there in 1952, and even had written a book about her trip.

Now I'm in South America, following in Mrs. Roosevelt's footsteps yet again. She came here several times and visited several countries, sharing her vision of justice and compassion with all who would listen. The United States, she believed, had a vested interest in helping any neighbor in our hemisphere that sought to build a democratic way of life.

"Our obligation to the world is primarily our obligation to our own future," she once said. "Obviously, we cannot develop beyond a certain point unless other nations develop, too."

Traveling now through South America, I find myself thinking often about Mrs. Roosevelt -- who was born 111 years ago last Wednesday. And I'm convinced that if she were still alive today, nothing would thrill her more than coming to watch children perform at the Circus School in Brazil.

It's a place I'm visiting on this trip where runaway children learn the principles of discipline and teamwork, and build self-confidence through acrobatics and trapeze training. Not only do these children show a renewed interest in education and improved attendance in school, they perform before sellout crowds every weekend.

Mrs. Roosevelt also would be right at home chatting with the poor women I met at a neighborhood center in Santiago, Chile, or listening to women in Managua, Nicaragua, talk about the sewing businesses they started with \$100 loans from the local bank and support from the U.S. government.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 10/14-15/95**Page 2**

Wherever she went, Mrs. Roosevelt celebrated the richness of the human experience. She appreciated every person's potential to do something great with very little. Perhaps that is why people all over the world, including here in South America, remember her with such admiration and fondness.

She was, in the words of historian Doris Kearns Goodwin, "a woman for all times and all people."

I know I will think about Mrs. Roosevelt again during the last leg of my trip, in Paraguay. There, I'll be participating in a conference of First Ladies from the Western Hemisphere. We'll be talking about ways to improve the health and education of children and families throughout the Americas.

It's a conversation that began last December in Miami when we met during a summit the President hosted for all the democratic nations of North and South America,

We have much at stake when it comes to building relations with our neighbors to the south. Many men and women in our country trace their roots to Latin America. And people living in those countries are among the biggest consumers of American goods and services.

Just last week, we hosted the President of Mexico for a state visit at the White House. As you may recall, our government offered loans and loan guarantees to Mexico to help that nation's economy stay afloat earlier this year. Already Mexico has paid back a significant portion of the loans ahead of schedule.

On a personal note, I am looking forward to spending time over the next few days with women from North and South America who are willing to devote their energy and ideas to nurturing the next generation. I think it's a wonderful way to celebrate Mrs. Roosevelt's birthday. After all, it was her example in both words and deeds that showed us how to bridge national boundaries and cultural traditions to achieve our common goals.

Talking to these First Ladies of today, I know I will be thinking of my inspiring predecessor.

Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt.

And happy birthday.

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HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

We must make mammograms accessible for all



Clinton

Every Thursday, a woman named Miriam volunteers in my staff office at the White House. She is a retired schoolteacher, mother of two, proud grandmother and caring colleague who seldom arrives at work without cakes, cookies, pies or donuts for the staff.

I wish her story ended here. But it doesn't. Like more than 2 million other women in America, Miriam has breast cancer.

She found a lump in her breast five years ago. Since then, she has undergone two surgeries, 33 days of radiation treatments and five separate chemotherapies, including the debilitating sessions she now has every week.

Miriam is not the only woman I know who is battling this disease. In fact, it is hard to find a family in our country — or a workplace, neighborhood, church group or social club — that has not been touched by breast cancer.

My mother-in-law, Virginia Kelley, died last year after a four-year struggle with the disease. The mother of one of my best friends was diagnosed a few months ago. Another friend just told me that his sister — only 41 years old — has a massive lump as well.

October is Breast Cancer Awareness Month, and if you want a chilling statistic, here it is: One in eight women in our country will develop breast cancer during her lifetime, compared to one in 20 a generation ago. And 46,000 American women will die of breast cancer this year.

Those numbers shouldn't be so high. When detected early and treated aggressively, breast cancer does not have to be an automatic death sentence. Every week, I meet women who are longtime breast cancer survivors living full and healthy lives. The key to early detection is a regular mammogram, particularly for women over 65, who account for half of all breast cancer cases.

Younger women should discuss

Some women lack insurance coverage or the funds to pay for the test.

with their doctors whether they should get regular mammograms. When I turned 40, for example, I began having one every year.

In traveling around the country to talk with women about breast cancer, I was startled to learn that only 40 percent of older women, whose mammograms are now covered by Medicare, actually take advantage of this potentially lifesaving benefit.

Why do so many women fail to get mammograms?

Unfortunately, many are reluctant to get screened because they have been told that the procedure is painful or embarrassing. Others don't realize that the benefit is covered under Medicare. Some women lack insurance coverage or the funds to pay for the test. Still

others have never been told by their doctors that a mammogram is one of the most effective ways of detecting malignant breast lumps. Some women have even told me they didn't want to find out if they were sick because they believed there was little they could do about it.

I know that a mammogram is not the most comfortable experience. And when you are responsible for kids, a spouse, a job and all the other pressures of daily life, taking the time to get one may seem like too much of a hassle.

But getting a mammogram is a lot more comfortable and a lot more convenient than the pain that comes with cancer and its treatments.

That's why it's important that

Medicare continue to cover older women for mammograms every two years and at any other time a doctor believes it is necessary. And it would be a big step forward if communities and local health facilities also offered screenings once a year for women who don't have health insurance or would otherwise be unable to afford a mammogram.

When appropriate, doctors, regardless of their specialty, should encourage women patients to have regular mammograms. Any woman who fears breast cancer should remember that if she does have the disease, she should find out as quickly as possible so that she can begin treatment and get on with living her life.

That's what Miriam does. My staff and I often talk about how much we admire her courage and her selflessness. She tells us that she gets through her treatments by setting personal goals: getting her kitchen remodeled or living to

see the birth of her new granddaughter, who was born last month. Now she is looking ahead to her 60th birthday in March.

She says she is no longer afraid of the disease and has no plans to stop her volunteer work. "I will come in until I just can't do it anymore," she said a few days ago. "The chemo hasn't knocked me down yet."

What impresses me most about Miriam is not just her grace or sense of humor but her willingness to talk about breast cancer so that others can learn from her experience.

"Get a mammogram," she reminds us. "It's much less frightening than not having the chance to see your children grow up or your grandchildren graduate from high school. You owe it to yourself and your family."

We should all listen to the words of one so wise.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is the first lady of the United States.

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HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Many readers have shared their thoughts and concerns with me



Clinton

When I first began writing this column more than three months ago, I hoped to occasionally use this space to respond to the many people who write to me.

So far, I have received more heartwarming and thought-provoking letters than I can count. I also have received a few angry letters whose contents cannot be published in a family newspaper.

I've heard from a class of second- and third-graders in Kansas who are concerned about pollution, a man from Illinois who is campaigning against tobacco use, and a retiree in Florida worried about the high cost of health care.

A boy from Texas wanted to know what Socks eats (dried cat food) and a 10-year-old in Minnesota asked how many rooms are in the White House (132).

I wish I could respond to all of these letters in this column. Instead, I can only answer a few.

Many readers wrote in response to my column in July about our nation's complicated system of adoption and the thousands of needy children who are waiting for permanent, loving homes. Not surprisingly, I heard from lots of people who said they were eager to adopt children but had become overwhelmed by the long wait, red tape and high cost involved.

A Florida woman, frustrated by a lack of communication among adoption agencies and government social workers, summed up the feelings of many prospective adoptive parents: "I know there is a little girl in this country somewhere waiting for my home."

One couple from Oregon, trying to adopt through a county agency, was told that it might take several years before a child was available. Their alternative, to adopt through a private agency, could cost \$16,000 or more.

Because these problems are so widespread — and because so many children continue to languish in foster care — I recently got together a group of experts, adoption advocates and concerned parents to help people learn more about adoption and to make the process simpler and more efficient for waiting parents. There is no reason so many loving parents cannot be united with children desperate for their care and attention.

I also have received mailbags of letters about my trip to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September. Some people were concerned about my participation, and many others were enthusiastic about it. A few expressed their outrage over infanticide and coerced abortions in China, problems that people became more aware of because the

conference was held there. Others wondered if the conference would really make a difference in improving women's rights around the world.

I believe the conference was an important and historic first step in giving women the tools they need to lead productive lives. More than 180 nations agreed for the first time that women are integral to the economic, political and social life of every country and that global peace and prosperity depend on the well-being of women.

However, the conference in Beijing will only be a lasting success if governments, institutions and each of us in our own lives work to ensure that women are full and equal partners in society. Here at home, for example, the president has created a special White House Council on Women that will enable government agencies to work together and reach out to private organizations to fulfill the goals of the women's conference.

Health issues were on the minds of many readers. I heard from scores of gulf war veterans and their families, who were concerned about the government's re-

Health issues were on the minds of many readers.

sponse to illnesses commonly referred to as gulf war syndrome. I hope those families, many of whom have suffered greatly, know that the president has established an advisory committee to investigate gulf war veterans' illnesses.

Perhaps the most gratifying health-related letter I received came from Miriam Murtha, a Virginia woman who got a mammogram as a result of our breast cancer awareness campaign that began earlier this year. Her screening found two malignant tumors before they could spread to other parts of her body. "I will be having regular checkups from now on," she wrote.

Children also wrote to me with suggestions and questions. Many wondered if I could raise their allowances, lower the voting age or send them free tickets to Washington. (Sorry, I can't.)

And quite a few offered their own editorial comments. "I think there should be no more drugs. I don't want any more guns and no more pollution," wrote Brandon Jackson, a second-grader from Kansas.

To Brandon and everyone else who wrote to me over these last few months, thanks for talking things over with me.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is the first lady of the United States.

Is There A In You?

(Read this before you go)

Put down the shovel and set the flashlight aside. All you need is the Auto & Home Premium Advantage discount to dig up e-cash. If you insure both your home and auto with American Family, you may save up to 20% on certain

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1995

MEMORANDAUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

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

TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, OCTOBER 21-22, 1995

Every Thursday, a woman named Miriam volunteers in my staff office at the White House. She is a retired schoolteacher, mother of two, proud grandmother and caring colleague who seldom arrives at work without cakes, cookies, pies or donuts for the staff.

I wish her story ended here. But it doesn't. Like more than 2 million other women in America, Miriam has breast cancer.

She found a lump in her breast five years ago. Since then, she has undergone two surgeries, 33 days of radiation treatments and five separate chemotherapies, including the debilitating sessions she now has every week.

Miriam is not the only woman I know who is battling this disease. In fact, it is hard to find a family in our country -- or a workplace, neighborhood, church group or social club -- that has not been touched by breast cancer.

My mother-in-law, Virginia Kelley, died last year after a four-year struggle with the disease. The mother of one of my best friends was diagnosed a few months ago. Another friend just told me that his sister -- only 41 years old -- has a massive lump as well.

October is Breast Cancer Awareness Month, and if you want a chilling statistic, here it is: One in eight women in our country will develop breast cancer during her lifetime, compared to one in 20 a generation ago. And 46,000 American women will die of breast cancer this year.

Those numbers shouldn't be so high. When detected early and treated aggressively, breast cancer does not have to be an automatic death sentence. Every week, I meet women who are longtime breast cancer survivors living full and healthy lives. The key to early detection is a regular mammogram, particularly for women over 65, who account for half of all breast cancer cases.

Younger women should discuss with their doctors whether they should get regular mammograms. When I turned 40, for example, I began having one every year.

In traveling around the country to talk with women about breast cancer, I was startled to learn that only 40 percent of older women, whose mammograms are now covered by Medicare, actually take advantage of this potentially lifesaving benefit.

Why do so many women fail to get mammograms?

Unfortunately, many are reluctant to get screened because they have been told that the procedure is painful or embarrassing. Others don't realize that the benefit is covered under Medicare. Some women lack insurance coverage or the funds to pay for the test. Still others have never been told by their doctors that a mammogram is one of

the most effective ways of detecting malignant breast lumps. Some women have even told me they didn't want to find out if they were sick because they believed there was little they could do about it.

Finally, many women are so busy taking care of their families that they forget to take care of their own health.

I know that a mammogram is not the most comfortable experience. And when you are responsible for kids, a spouse, a job and all the other pressures of daily life, taking the time to get one may seem like too much of a hassle.

But getting a mammogram is a lot more comfortable and a lot more convenient than the pain that comes with cancer and its treatments.

That's why it's important that Medicare continue to cover older women for mammograms every two years and at any other time a doctor believes it is necessary. And it would be a big step forward if communities and local health facilities also offered screenings once a year for women who don't have health insurance or would otherwise be unable to afford a mammogram.

When appropriate, doctors, regardless of their specialty, should encourage women patients to have regular mammograms. Any woman who fears breast cancer should remember that if she does have the disease, she should find out as quickly as possible so that she can begin treatment and get on with living her life.

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What impresses me most about Miriam is not just her grace or sense of humor but her willingness to talk about breast cancer so that others can learn from her experience.

"Get a mammogram," she frequently reminds us. "It's much less frightening than not having the chance to see your children grow up or your grandchildren graduate from high school. You owe it to yourself and your family."

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CHICAGO
SUN-TIMES
10-15-95

Eleanor Roosevelt Mapped the Way For First Ladies

One thing I've learned since becoming first lady is that wherever I go, Eleanor Roosevelt has surely been there before me.

I've been to farms in Iowa and factories in Michigan where Mrs. Roosevelt paid a visit a half century ago. I've been to schools and colleges named for Mrs. Roosevelt and walked the halls of hospitals she toured before I was born.

Even when I go to other countries, Mrs. Roosevelt has doubtless been there first. When my daughter and I went to Pakistan and India last spring, we discovered that Eleanor Roosevelt had traveled there in 1952, and even had written a book about her trip.

Now I'm in South America, following in Mrs. Roosevelt's footsteps yet again. She came here several times and visited several countries, sharing her vision of justice and compassion with all who would listen. The United States, she believed, had a vested interest in helping any neighbor in our hemisphere that sought to build a democratic way of life.

"Our obligation to the world is primarily our obligation to our own future," she once said. "Obviously, we cannot develop beyond a certain point unless other nations develop, too."

Traveling now through South America, I find myself thinking often about Mrs. Roosevelt—who was born 111 years ago last Wednesday. And I'm convinced that if she were still alive today, nothing would thrill her more than coming to watch children perform at the Circus School in Brazil.

It's a place I'm visiting on this trip where runaway children learn the principles of discipline and teamwork, and build self-confidence through acrobatics and trapeze training. Not only do these children show a renewed interest in education and improved attendance in school, they perform before sellout crowds every weekend.

Mrs. Roosevelt also would be right at home chatting with the poor women I met at a neighborhood center in Santiago, Chile, or listening to women in Managua, Nicaragua, talk about the sewing businesses they started with \$100 loans from the local bank and support from the U.S. government.

Wherever she went, Mrs. Roosevelt celebrated the richness of the human experience. She appreciated every person's potential to do something great with very little. Perhaps that is why people all over the world, including here in South America, remember her with such admiration and fondness.

She was, in the words of historian Doris Kearns Goodwin, "a woman for all times and all people."

I know I will think about Mrs. Roosevelt again during the last leg of my trip, in Paraguay. There, I'll be participating in a conference of First Ladies from the Western Hemisphere. We'll be talking about ways to improve the health and education of children and families throughout the Americas.

It's a conversation that began last December in Miami when we met during a summit the president hosted for all the democratic nations of North and South America.

We have much at stake when it comes to building relations with our neighbors to the south. Many men and women in our country trace their roots to Latin America. And people living in those countries are among the biggest consumers of American goods and services.

Just last week, we hosted the president of Mexico for a state visit at the White House. As you may recall, our government offered loans and loan guarantees to Mexico to help that nation's economy stay afloat earlier this year. Already Mexico has paid back a portion of the loans ahead of schedule.

On a personal note, I am looking forward to spending time over the next few days with women from North and South America who are willing to devote their energy and ideas to nurturing the next generation. I think it's a wonderful way to celebrate Mrs. Roosevelt's birthday. After all, it was her example in both words and deeds that showed us how to bridge national boundaries and cultural traditions to achieve our common goals.

Talking to these first ladies of today, I know I will be thinking of my inspiring predecessor.

Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt.

...And happy birthday.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 11/25-26/95

Page 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, DECEMBER 2-3, 1995**

The White House Christmas tree arrived from Ashe County, N.C., last week. It's an 18 1/2-foot Fraser fir that was delivered to the South Lawn on a horse-drawn cart. Now, it's standing in the Blue Room, decorated with ornaments from all over the country.

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

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

Ann and her staff help me figure out the kinds of events we will have, draw up guest lists, prepare and send invitations and plan the entertainment. Chef Walter Scheib begins dreaming up menus for the dozens of receptions, buffets and dinners held here during the few weeks before Christmas.

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

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

Once we settle on a theme, we rely on the creativity of thousands of Americans from across the country, including quilters, needlepointers, embroiderers, architects, crafts people and students, to help make it come to life. They make wreaths, ornaments, bows, stockings and tree skirts -- all the ingredients of a White House Christmas. Some even come and play music for visitors during the holiday season.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 12/2-3/95

Page 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Joyce McCartan's youngest son, Gary, was shot to death by terrorists in his Belfast home just one month before his 18th birthday.

His mother had already lost other loved ones to the violent conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. She buried her "baby" in the new suit he had planned to wear at his wedding.

Joyce refused to give in to bitterness. After Gary's death in 1987, she founded the Women's Information Drop-In Centre in a poor neighborhood in Belfast. She continues to work for peace throughout Northern Ireland, bringing Catholic and Protestant women together to share their grief and to find ways to break the cycle of violence in their communities.

I met Joyce during a trip to Belfast with my husband last week. The President went there and to Dublin and London to convey American support for the peace brought to Northern Ireland when Catholic and Protestant leaders agreed to a cease-fire after 25 years of violence and death.

At a small fish and chips restaurant run by members of Joyce's community organization, I met with seven women united in their commitment to honor the memories of the more than 3,200 men, women and children who have died during "the Troubles."

They told me about their hopes and efforts for a lasting and just peace. They believe it can bring economic prosperity and social progress to both Catholic and Protestant communities.

The women I met are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. Nor are they elected officials. But it is clear that there would be far less hope for Northern Ireland if women like Joyce had not worked tirelessly among their friends and neighbors to knock down barriers, overcome suspicions and defy history.

Women were and are a driving force behind peace in Northern Ireland.

What unites them is their knowledge that, no matter their background or beliefs, they share the same tragedies: the loss of loved ones to bombs, to assassinations and to random gunfire, and the painful task of preserving families in the midst of poverty and political unrest.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 12/9-10/95

Page 2

Women are dropping ancient grudges that have caused so much pain and terror. They are finding ways to make their faith a source of strength, not division. Mothers are integrating schools and summer camps, bringing together Protestant and Catholic children for the first time and refusing to pass on old traditions of hate, fear and mistrust.

Women in organizations like the one Joyce McCartan founded are working to solve the problems that have caused many young people to resort to violence -- poverty, prejudice, limited education, joblessness and hopelessness.

They have created job training programs for young men and women who do not plan to go to college, counseled families, worked on ways to raise women's self-confidence and civic participation, and helped each other launch small businesses in Belfast's poorest neighborhoods.

"We have worked together over the years from both sides of the community. Nothing separates us," Joyce said.

On the same day that I met these remarkable women, my husband spoke at the Mackie plant in Belfast where Catholic and Protestant workers enter through separate doors but work side by side. Two children, one Catholic and one Protestant, introduced him.

"My first daddy died in the Troubles," said 9-year-old Catherine Hamill. "It was the saddest day of my life. I still think of him. Now it is nice and peaceful. I like having peace and quiet for a change, instead of people shooting and killing. My Christmas wish is that peace and love will last in Ireland forever."

That should be our hope not just for Ireland but for the Middle East, Bosnia, Haiti and the streets in America -- anywhere children are at risk of losing their innocence and lives because of violence and hatred. If Joyce McCartan and Catherine Hamill can avoid hatred and bitterness, why can't all of us open our own hearts now and in the days and months ahead?

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Let's be Santa for others

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

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

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



**HILLARY
RODHAM
CLINTON**

When Bill and I married, we melded our traditions, and then after Chelsea was born, we created new ones for her. We put up our tree a little earlier and make special Christmas cookies together.

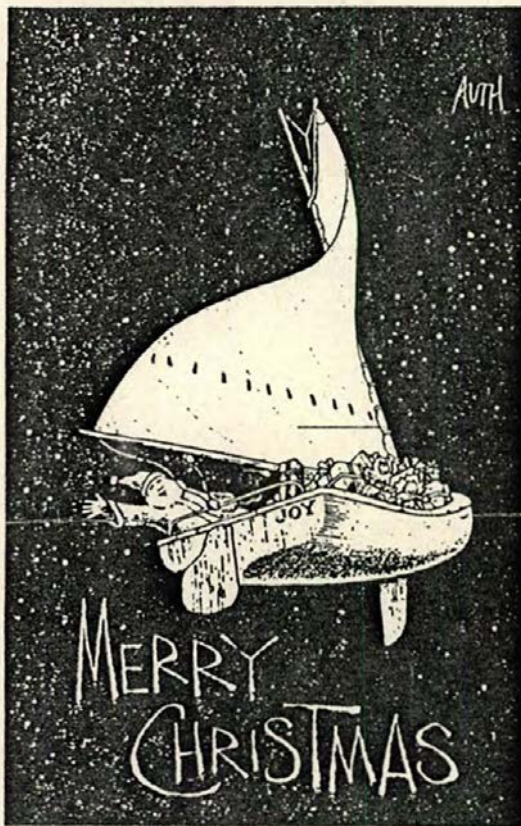
Bill and I are happy to be over midnight hunts on Christmas Eve for toy batteries that we'd forgotten. But we still wait too long to buy and wrap our presents, and as we get older, we spend more time searching for the stocking stuffers that we cleverly hid away in July.

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

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

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

Those seeking help are not just the poor and homeless. Increasingly, they are working families



beset by medical catastrophes, lay-offs, and economic factors beyond their control.

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

Americans are responding to needs here and around the world.

Mary Damron of Ikes Fork, W.Va., began collecting toys, medical supplies, and candy and putting them in shoe boxes after watching pictures of

the war in Bosnia on television one night. After two weeks, she and members of her community had filled 1,200 boxes, which were delivered to children in Bosnia last Christmas. This year she collected over 6,000 boxes. When Mary came to the White House to tell us about her work, she gave me a shoe box to fill.

In St. Louis, Catholic Charities has started a Secret Santa program with kids in shelters, day care, and community centers writing letters to Santa Claus asking for specific gifts for Christmas.

"I live in a shelter, so I know my Mom cannot give me what I am asking you for," an 8-year-old boy wrote. "I want a remote control car. Thank you." One little girl asked for a Barbie doll to share with her twin. A girl named Adrienne wrote: "I love you, Santa Claus, and say a prayer for my family." A 10-year-old named Anthony asked for a football, and a 12-year-old boy wrote: "Santa, I want you and Mrs. Claus to have a merry, merry Christmas."

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

A visit makes a difference

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

We saw the desperation of mothers who were recently widowed or whose husbands had deserted them. We found couples struggling to provide for their children on minimum-wage jobs.

Once, we ended up in a tiny room over a honky-tonk bar where a 55-year-old woman lived all alone. Someone who knew of her difficult situation had written a letter on her behalf. She never dreamed that anyone would care enough to visit her on Christmas Eve.

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

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Miami Herald Dec. 24, 95

New 'Do's and Don'ts: Resolutions and Hopes for 1996

Like most people, I've made my share of New Year's resolutions. How many times in the past have I promised to do a better job of staying in touch with old friends, finishing my Christmas shopping before Dec. 24 and laying off the chips and cookies? More times than I care to remember. But that isn't stopping me from making faithful pledges again this year. Herewith, my resolutions for 1996:

■ I will try to keep the same hairdo for at least 30 days.

I know this will be a disappointment to late night talk show hosts, but I'm running out of new 'dos.

■ I will try to show more enthusiasm for my husband's golf game.

I know many spouses can relate to this. It's not that I don't like golf. In fact, I have taken lessons twice (to little effect). But being married to a man who played over 200 holes during our last vacation, I know how

hard it can be to get excited about a daily critique of wedge shots, drives and putts.

■ I will try to act nonchalant when my daughter's 16th birthday approaches and the issue of a driver's license becomes more important to her than breathing.

I know growing up is inevitable, but it sure happens fast.

■ I will try to live up to Dr. C. Everett Koop's admonition to "Shape Up America."

After more than 20 Christmas parties in the last few weeks, I'm overdue for some time on the treadmill.

■ I will try to show new appreciation for my friends in the press.

As every person in public life knows, this could be a difficult resolution to keep. But now that I write a weekly column, I have



come to understand how deadlines are the root of all evil.

On a more serious note, I also want to share some of my hopes for 1996:

■ I hope all women age 65 and over will get a mammogram each year.

I miss my mother-in-law, who died of breast cancer two years ago this coming week. Please remind the older women you know—whether they are family members, friends, neighbors or co-workers—to take advantage of this lifesaving technology.

■ I hope more political leaders and governments will respond to and respect the rights and needs of children, women and families here and around the world.

■ Finally, I hope people across our country will remember our troops in Bosnia, and the

families they have left behind.

Beginning Jan. 18, you can write to members of the Army and Air Force serving in Bosnia by addressing an envelope as follows: Any Servicemember; APO; AE 09397. Letters to men and women in the Navy can be sent immediately to: Any Servicemember; FPO; AE 09398. Mail for the families of our Armed Forces serving in Bosnia can be sent after Jan. 18 to: Any Family Member; APO; AE 09399. If you have any questions, please call the Military Postal Service agency at (800) 810-6098.

Please limit your mail initially to cards and letters to make it easier for the military to deliver the mail in Bosnia. It's fine to mail cookies and candy a few months from now, as long as they are sent in parcels no bigger than a shoe box.

Thanks for your support in this crucial effort. And most of all, best wishes for a happy and healthy new year!

demand for starting negotiations, but eventually the talks started without Clinton submitting such a plan.

Republican lawmakers said that House Majority Leader Dick Arney, R-Texas, one of eight key negotiators, Wednesday gave House Republicans a pessimistic assessment of the talks so far, saying he was convinced that the president "didn't have any bones in his body that wanted a balanced budget."

(End optional trim)

The principals concluded a little more than three hours of talks Wednesday night and reported that they had held "constructive discussions on a range of issues related to a balanced budget." White House spokesman Mike McCurry said that Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin and two other Treasury officials joined the talks for about 50 minutes, presumably to discuss tax issues. But, when asked if progress had been made, McCurry said: "It is difficult to say."

House Budget Chairman John Kasich, R-Ohio, a key player in the battle, dismissed the bland statements of optimism released by the leadership and the White House after every bargaining session. "Human beings in Washington are not capable of leaving a meeting and saying progress has not been made," he said.

NATO Tightens Grip on Bosnia After Detention of Muslims By Roy Gutman= (c) 1996, Newsday=

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina NATO announced Wednesday night that it had stepped up patrols on Sarajevo's lifeline road across Serb territory in a bid to restore confidence in its proclaimed "freedom of movement" after Serbs detained 16 Muslim travelers.

The action followed a flying visit here by U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry in which he promised that the alliance would "do what it can" to obtain the release of the drivers and passengers seized by Bosnian Serbs since Friday.

NATO's public statements changed in the course of the day as did Perry's, apparently in recognition that the hostage-taking had cast a cloud on the otherwise successful deployment of nearly half the 60,000 NATO troops being sent here.

A NATO spokesman Wednesday morning played down the detentions as acts of common criminals rather than as the policy by the Bosnian Serb authorities. "Even if we had forces on every street corner, I still don't think we could stop crime that happens in every country in the world," Lt. Col. Mark Rayner said. Perry echoed the line, telling reporters on arriving here that it was not NATO's job to be a police force.

But after meeting the Bosnian government and NATO commanders, Perry said it was very important that a 1,500-strong international police force be set up to monitor activities by local police. "In the meantime, NATO's force will do what it can to assist."

Wednesday night, a NATO spokesman said French forces, who are responsible for security in the Sarajevo region, "have increased their patrolling in the area." The aim, said British Maj. Peter Bullock, "is to increase people's confidence," particularly on the road through Ilidza, Sarajevo's main link to the outside world.

Perry, on his first visit to Bosnia, seemed shocked by the level of destruction. "It is unspeakably saddening to see it first hand," he told reporters. "There is almost no building that has been spared in this devastation ... It's just appalling that this could happen in Europe in the 1990s that the world would let this happen." Perry also visited Tuzla, the main base for the 20,000 U.S. troops to be deployed in Bosnia, and walked across the U.S. Army's new pontoon bridge spanning the Sava River.

He called the weather-plagued project "a triumph of the human spirit over the forces of nature."

"Freedom of movement" represents another challenge to the NATO mission.

Even before the first of the abductions, there were threats to non-Serbs who tested the newly opened road. Mirsad Zolata, a half-Muslim, half-Croat Sarajevan, said his family was pulled out of a line of cars traveling through Ilidza Dec. 28. Serb police beat him, his wife Semsia and his 8-year-old son, threatened to rape his wife and stole the family's money, Zolata said.

They were held for about an hour and then released. As they were being beaten on the side of the road, several U.N. IFOR, or Implementation Force, vehicles passed by but did not stop, he said.

Despite NATO's higher profile in Sarajevo, there was still no sign of freedom for the 16 Muslims Wednesday night. On Tuesday in fact, the Serbs detained three more Bosnian Muslims driving through and later released them. Far from promising to release the detainees, the mayor of Ilidza, Nedjeljko Prstojevic, told reporters that Serb authorities had begun "investigative procedures" against three of those detained for engaging in "illegal activities."

But Prstojevic admitted to Lt. Gen. Michael Walker, the British commander of NATO ground troops, that Serb authorities were holding 16, confirming the claim of the Bosnian government. Walker told reporters that he was dissatisfied with Bosnian Serb compliance with their commitment to freedom of movement in the Dayton, Ohio, peace accords. A senior NATO commander, British Maj. Gen. Michael Wilcox, was to seek an early resolution of the issue when he meets his Bosnian Serb and Bosnian government counterparts Thursday. The accords give NATO the right to demand compliance with practically any aspect of the accords and to use force as needed.

(Optional add end)

NATO's uncertain handling of a major challenge to its authority revealed differences below the surface of the command structure. NATO aides said the French commander in charge of the Sarajevo region had not informed the command that he was investigating a Bosnian government complaint about the arrests.

As a result, NATO spokesman Rayner repeatedly and incorrectly dismissed press reports of the arrests as rumors. "We were blindsided," said one U.S. military officer.

Wednesday, a French battalion spokesman, Col. Richard Pernod, said there was no reason to inform anyone else in NATO or the general public until the "rumors," conveyed in a letter from a Bosnian government minister, had been confirmed. He said the Bosnian Serbs had not replied to requests for information.

The French "blindsided" NATO again Wednesday. Even as spokesman Rayner came under a battering from the international media, French spokesman Pernod, sitting alongside, did not reveal that the Serbs had arrested and released the three other Bosnians.

Spirit of Giving: May It Live On All Year Long

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

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

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



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

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

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

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food and toys, according to nearly every major charitable organization in the United States. In Washington, one church even had to turn away hungry families over Thanksgiving after running out of food.

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Increasingly, they also are working families beset by medical catastrophes, layoffs and economic factors beyond their control.

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

Americans are responding to needs here and around the world.

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

TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, JANUARY 6-7, 1996**

Over the holidays, Bill and I delighted in the company of our nephews, 19-month-old Tyler and 6-month-old Zachary.

Along with their parents, grandparents, Chelsea and assorted other baby watchers, we read and talked to them, ran after Tyler as he explored the White House and encouraged Zach to follow in his walker. We took turns telling Tyler that he shouldn't throw his food on the floor and carrying Zach around when he needed comforting.

No one can predict what the future holds for these little boys, but for now, they are being guided and protected by adults who are nurturing them with the love, time and energy that children need to develop their brains, bodies and characters.

Zachary and Tyler are luckier than many children. It's hard to pick up a newspaper or watch the TV news without finding a story about an abused, neglected or abandoned child. When I look at the children I love, I ask myself how anyone could mistreat a child.

I thought about that question when I recently visited St. Ann's Infant and Maternity Home just outside Washington, D.C. For 136 years, St. Ann's has taken in and cared for children whose own families have been unable or unwilling to give them the love, care and security they deserve from the adults in their lives.

I took Socks, our cat, with me. He was the real star, as little hands reached out to pet him and voices pleaded for permission to hold him.

While Socks was holding court, I saw babies whose development had been delayed or disturbed because they suffered from the effects of drugs their mothers had taken. I saw tiny bodies that had been abused physically and sexually. I looked into the bewildered eyes of children whose fathers had never known them and whose mothers had given up trying to cope with life. Sister Josephine Murphy, the director, told me stories about how the children's academic and behavioral problems were rooted in their feelings of worthlessness and insecurity.

I also met young mothers enrolled in a parenting program who are learning how to take care of their babies and acquiring skills that will enable

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 1/6-7/96

Page 2

them to work and support themselves. As I talked with these young women, I was reminded yet again that parenting does not come naturally to many of us. We frequently need hands-on instruction to take care of our children. I know I needed help and advice, which I sought out from other parents, books, advice columns, doctors and friends.

As a modern society, we know more about what children need to develop than ever before. But, ironically, we still have too few organized ways of supporting parents in the most important work they do. We have not figured out how to replace the extended family, clan or village that looked out for children in earlier times. As a result, many parents don't get the information or the help they need to become the best possible mothers and fathers they can be.

For example, many parents still don't know that reading and talking to children are the most important ways they can help prepare them for school. Other parents don't know what questions to ask to distinguish between good and inferior child care. Still others are at a loss about how to childproof a home to avoid the thousands of accidents that injure and kill children every year.

It is time to make some changes for our children's sake. Advances in technology and the global economy along with other developments in society have brought us much good, but they have also strained the fabric of family life, leaving us and our children poorer in many ways -- physically, intellectually, emotionally, spiritually.

This is one of the reasons I wrote my book, "It Takes a Village to Raise a Child and Other Lessons Our Children Teach Us." My goal was to share ideas and programs that work and to start people thinking about what all of us can do in our homes, workplaces, neighborhoods, schools, churches and governments to help families raise happy, responsible and resilient children. It truly does take a village of caring adults to raise a child. I hope all of us will choose to help ensure a brighter future for our children.

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TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, JANUARY 20-21, 1996**

In 1992, in the midst of the presidential campaign, a story was reported about land in Arkansas that my husband and I invested in during the late 1970s.

Now, four years later, the "Whitewater" matter has been investigated by two congressional committees, two independent counsels, the Resolution Trust Corporation and scores of reporters. There have been 45 days of hearings in the Senate and House. The White House and our lawyers have turned over 50,000 pages of documents, and the President and I have answered every question put before us. I personally have been interviewed by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the independent counsel, and have answered questions in writing submitted by the RTC and Sen. Alfonse D'Amato's committee.

Close to \$30 million in taxpayer money has been spent investigating Whitewater. But none of these exhaustive inquiries has turned up evidence that we did anything illegal, unethical or wrong.

Still, the questions keep coming. And so do the allegations and insinuations, even though we continually knock them down.

I want to assure the American public that we will continue to cooperate with all reasonable inquiries, as we have in the past. Nobody wants to end this controversy more than we do.

But it becomes increasingly difficult to do so when the facts are lost in a blizzard of innuendo and shifting accusations. Let me give you an example of what I mean.

An independent inquiry, completed last month, found no evidence of wrongdoing on our part and called for an end to the Resolution Trust Corporation's investigation of Whitewater. But weeks passed before congressional investigators were willing to release these findings to the public. They did so only after heavy pressure from Democratic members of the Senate committee.

So much for a search for the truth.

Since most Americans never heard about this report, let me fill you in. It was conducted for the Resolution Trust Corporation by one of the nation's leading law firms, Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro. It took more than two years to complete and cost nearly \$4 million. A prominent Republican, former U.S. Attorney Jay Stephens, headed the inquiry.

It concluded that the President and I were passive investors in a failed land transaction and lost more than \$40,000 on Whitewater, as we have said all along. It also concluded that we had little knowledge and no control over the Whitewater project.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 1/20-21/96

Page 2

Further, it affirmed what we have said from day one: that we had no knowledge of any money flowing from Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan to Whitewater, and that we did not receive any loans or dividends from the savings and loan. (Madison Guaranty was acquired by our partner in Whitewater, James B. McDougal, some years (SET ITAL) after (END ITAL) we invested in the project.)

As for matters relating to Madison, the report found no evidence that I had any knowledge of any wrongdoing on the part of the savings and loan while I was at the Rose Law Firm.

Billing records located after the report was completed confirm that I did minimal legal work on Madison -- an average of about one hour a week over 15 months, just as I have said from the beginning.

Despite these conclusive findings in the Resolution Trust Corporation report, there was no press conference, no announcement, no effort by congressional investigators to make them public.

This detailed and impartial report was finally released last week, but only after one member of the committee told his colleagues, "The committee makes much ado about supposed failures of the White House to turn over documents, while it refuses to release voluminous documents that strongly buttress the Clintons' statements about Whitewater."

He went on to caution that in recent weeks the Whitewater investigation had deteriorated into a series of unsubstantiated and outrageous accusations on matters that in some cases have yet to be the subject of testimony.

With each new round of allegations, we have responded with documents and facts. And each time we do, more questions are conjured up, shifting the ground once again.

As one veteran columnist observed, the investigations "promise horrors and prove nothing."

What will happen next during this presidential election year? I don't know what to expect. But I do know that we will continue to cooperate and give answers to questions about events that took place 10 to 20 years ago.

I also know that the American people are fundamentally fair. And in the end, I'm sure they will be able to separate fact from fiction, and to tell the difference between truth and scandal-mongering.

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Hillary Rodham Clinton

Talking It Over



Children worth the extra effort to avoid divorce

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It should make no sense to any of us.

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

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HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 1/27-28/96

Page 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It should make no sense to any of us.

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TALKING IT OVER**BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON****RELEASE: WEEKEND, FEBRUARY 10-11, 1996**

I always admired Christopher Reeve as an actor. I never saw him on Broadway, but like most people, I loved his movie portrayal of Superman and his role in the fantasy romance "Somewhere In Time."

My admiration has only grown since his riding accident last May. Christopher Reeve is no longer playing a part that's heroic. He's living one.

Hooked up to a ventilator and paralyzed from the neck down, he has inspired millions with his courageous response to a tragic and freak fall from a horse. Who wasn't moved by his candor and grace in the memorable interview he gave to Barbara Walters just a few months after his spinal cord was crushed?

Now, along with his painstaking recovery, he faces medical bills totaling \$400,000 a year. With an insurance policy that limits the lifetime benefits he can receive, his coverage is due to run out after three years.

Still, he never dwells on his own situation. As a celebrity, he knows he can make a living giving speeches and directing films. He is far more worried about the tens of millions of Americans who can't get or keep medical coverage because of the misplaced priorities of our health care system.

Christopher Reeve wants to know why our country is willing to spend billions of dollars on Medicare and Medicaid payments to cover nursing-home fees for quadriplegics and those suffering from neurological diseases like Lou Gehrig's, Parkinson's and Alzheimer's but not spend the lesser amounts it would take to find cures.

I know the health care reform effort I worked on was not successful. But the issues it raised and the problems it sought to resolve are still with us today.

The United States is the only industrial society in the world where insurance companies are allowed to deny coverage to people who are sick or have lost a job. And insurance companies continue to get away with limiting people's lifetime benefits.

As Christopher Reeve said just last week, "These issues are crucial to our welfare."

There are ways to make progress without a massive overhaul of the health care system.

Right now, a bipartisan bill that deals with some of these issues is stuck in Congress. Sponsored by Republican Sen. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas and Democratic Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, the bill would make long-overdue changes in the ways insurance companies treat Americans.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 2/10-11/96

Page 2

It would prevent insurers from denying coverage to a person who already has a medical condition. It would forbid insurance companies from dropping longtime customers when they become chronically ill.

And it would require insurance companies to sell policies to workers who have been covered for at least 18 months by their employers so that they remain insured even if they lose or leave a job.

There is also an amendment to the bill, sponsored by Republican Sen. James Jeffords of Vermont, that would help the 230,000 Americans in situations similar to Christopher Reeve's. It would raise the lifetime limit on benefits to a minimum of \$10 million.

The Kennedy-Kassebaum bill has support from dozens of Republicans and Democrats. It is now ready for a vote by the full Senate. Very few legislators have publicly opposed the bill.

So why hasn't it passed?

Because a handful of senators have used parliamentary maneuvering to stall it for five months. To make matters worse, we cannot even hold the senators accountable because the Senate's rules allow them to remain anonymous.

Christopher Reeve is pushing hard for passage of Kennedy-Kassebaum and the Jeffords amendment. He also is doing his part to educate people about the failures of a system that spends far more money on expensive treatments than on preventing and curing costly diseases.

He has written to the President and House Speaker Newt Gingrich about congressional threats to cut funds for research into spinal cord injuries and neurological diseases (and is proud to have lobbied successfully against some of those cuts).

He has worked on animated diagrams for television that explain what happens to the body when the spinal cord is injured. And he recently announced an effort to establish the Reeve-Irvine Research Center at the University of California at Irvine that will support the study of spinal cord injuries and diseases. Philanthropist Joan Irvine Smith has agreed to put up \$1 million for the project to be matched with money from other sources.

"There is a humanitarian and economic rationale" for medical research and fair insurance policies, he says. "It's good for the country in every conceivable way."

If you agree with Christopher Reeve, take the time to call your senators and ask them to help us take a first step to bringing better health and peace of mind to millions of Americans. Tell them to pass the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill.

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NOTE TO HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON EDITORS: DUE TO EDITOR REQUESTS, THE RELEASE DATE FOR THE TALKING IT OVER COLUMN HAS BEEN CHANGED. FROM NOW ON, IT WILL BE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE. THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION. -- CREATORS SYNDICATE, INC.

**TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

A Marine Corps instructor I know of has a lot in common with Magic Johnson. Like Magic, he has tested positive for HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. Like Magic, he has small children. And like Magic, he is still healthy and feels he has a lot to give to his career.

But unlike the Los Angeles Lakers superstar, whose recent return to professional basketball after a four-year absence has been widely publicized, the Marine could be out of a job for good.

Thanks to a provision Congress inserted into the new defense budget, service members who have tested positive for HIV must be discharged within six months, whether or not they can perform their jobs.

That Marine has served for 11 years, first in the infantry and then training raw recruits for combat. He says his career in the military is the fulfillment of a lifelong dream: "I'm serving my country, which since I was a child was something I always wanted to do."

Now he's in danger of losing his home, his career and his dreams before he loses his health. If Congress' new policy is not repealed, he, his wife and their young children will have to move in with his parents. He will have to find a new job. "It would throw our world into chaos," he said.

Mostly, he is saddened and angry that some politicians cling to outdated and prejudiced assumptions about people with HIV, even as Magic Johnson proves them wrong. When Magic first tried to make a comeback in the NBA after announcing that he had tested positive for HIV, a number of players scorned him and said they didn't want to get near him on the court. This time, he was welcomed back.

"I think it proves to everyone out there that people can live with the disease," the Marine sergeant said. "I feel I'm just as healthy as the Marine next

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 2/13/96

Page 2

to me. ... Who's to say they won't find something to let me live another 10 years?"

More than a thousand other military men and women are affected by this new policy. Half of them are married. Many have children to support. They include Gulf War veterans and others who have served in combat and as military engineers, lawyers, secretaries and computer programmers. On average, they have devoted 10 years of their lives to the military.

There is no justification, military or otherwise, for singling out one group for such unfair treatment. Just last week, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of Defense characterized the policy as "unwarranted and unwise."

Discharging members of our Armed Forces who are trained and fit for duty would not only waste the government's investment in them, they said, it would "be disruptive to military programs in which they play an integral role."

Up until now, the military has treated HIV-positive service members the same way it treats people who suffer from heart disease, asthma or cancer. They can't serve overseas, in combat or aboard ship but are allowed to continue working in other jobs until they become too ill.

That will still be the case if the President and the military leaders have their way. The President signed the defense budget when Congress passed it because it contained funding vital to our national defense and to the quality of life of our men and women in uniform. But he is working hard to repeal the HIV provision.

Last week, based on the statement issued by the Joint Chiefs, the President said he believes the HIV provision is unconstitutional, and the Justice Department said it will not defend it in the almost certain event of a court challenge. He is also making sure that if any military personnel are discharged, they will receive the full benefits they would be entitled to if discharged for other medical reasons.

"I feel like I've served my country faithfully for all this time," the Marine instructor said. "I've stuck with it through thick and thin."

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February 13, 1996

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Whitewater is hardly my favorite subject to write about. But when the Whitewater inquiry reaches a critical turning point, as it did again last week, Americans ought to know.

Congress has now received the final installment of an independent investigation into Whitewater that spanned more than two years and cost taxpayers over \$4 million. The 164-page report undermines many of the central allegations raised in Sen. Alfonse D'Amato's Whitewater hearings. It also makes clear that, however popular Whitewater conspiracy theories may be in Washington, they have no basis in fact.

"The conspiracy theory is hopelessly flawed," the independent report concludes.

Investigators reviewed tens of thousands of documents, including billing records that were discovered at the White House in early January. They combed through 49 boxes of records provided by the Rose Law Firm. They interviewed dozens of people. I answered extensive questions in writing and also was interviewed in person in mid-February.

The President and I didn't ask for this inquiry, but we have cooperated in every way. Now that the final results are in, we are pleased that an exhaustive and impartial investigation -- one divorced from election-year politics -- has once again supported what we have said all along: The Whitewater allegations evaporate into thin air when one looks at the facts.

Like the first installment of the independent Whitewater report, which was released in January, this new one was prepared on behalf of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) by one of the nation's leading law firms, Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro.

While the first report explored the Whitewater land transaction -- and concluded that the President and I were passive investors who lost more than \$40,000 on the deal -- the final report focuses on the Rose Law Firm's representation of Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan.

I worked at the Rose Law Firm for 15 years. Between April 1985 and July 1986, I did a small amount of legal work for Madison Guaranty, which was acquired by our Whitewater partner, James B. McDougal, four years after we had jointly invested in the Whitewater land.

Some political opponents have raised entirely unsubstantiated charges about the law firm's work on behalf of Madison. Now the independent report has laid those charges to rest.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 3/5/96

Page 2

The report concludes that there was "no hint of fraud or intentional misconduct" in the way in which the Rose Law Firm was retained by Madison. It goes on to say: "The suggestion that the Madison Guaranty business was economically significant to the Clintons (or, for that matter, to the Rose Law Firm) finds no support."

In fact, as the report shows, the amount I personally received from the Madison legal work amounted to less than \$20 a month. And over two years, the firm's fees totaled \$21,000.

"It simply would not be persuasive to argue that, for \$21,000, McDougal corrupted the Rose Law Firm and convinced half a dozen lawyers, most of whom he did not know, to join him in a scheme to violate the law," the report concluded.

Much of the work the Rose firm did for Madison involved a land development known at the time as IDC but now referred to by some as Castle Grande. A good part of the work was legal research and analysis.

One day about 10 years ago, I spent two hours working on an option agreement for a portion of that land. The option was never exercised. As the report states: "A trier of fact is highly unlikely to conclude that Mrs. Clinton either knew of any wrongful purpose connected to the option (if there was one), or had the intent to aid in the commission of that hypothetical wrong."

The report is also explicit in its response to allegations that important records were destroyed at the Rose Law Firm, saying: The "files were discarded in 1988, long before Whitewater in any form became an issue. The discarding occurred in a seemingly innocent context, as part of a general effort to discard unneeded files."

These findings are sure to disappoint conspiracy theorists, who have made a sport over the past few years of tossing around unsubstantiated and insupportable charges of wrongdoing.

This week, the Senate is debating whether to indefinitely extend the Whitewater hearings, which have spanned over 294 days, consumed more than 200 hours of hearing time and cost over \$1 million -- more than both Watergate and Iran-contra. I hope members will consider the conclusions of this independent and thorough inquiry -- even if they don't make good political theater or good election-year politics.

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March 5, 1996

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

It's time to declare a cease-fire between the sexes. I don't mean to suggest that men and women are having an all-out war. For the most part, we get along pretty well. It's just that rigid stereotypes sometimes make us enemies instead of allies.

We've all heard disparaging comments about successful career women being inadequate wives and mothers, and stay-at-home moms wasting their talent. We've also heard men being mocked for cooking meals, doing laundry or earning less than their wives.

Women need more respect for the work they do in and out of their homes. Men need more encouragement and support when they try to fulfill their obligations as fathers and husbands.

How many women have urged their husbands to play a greater role in child-rearing, only to criticize their every move, whether it's putting a diaper on wrong or letting the kids stay up too late? I admit, I've done it too. The first time Bill tried to feed Chelsea, I watched him like a hawk.

Fortunately, I learned over the years that my way of handling things wasn't necessarily better just because I was a woman. And I came to realize how lucky I was that my husband enjoyed getting our daughter ready for school, giving her a bath and reading her bedtime stories.

I'm also lucky to have grown up in a family where we children never thought it odd that our parents didn't always fit the typical 1950s family mold.

It's true that in many ways our family was right out of "Father Knows Best." My father worked, and my mother stayed at home to care for me and my brothers. But while my mother cooked most of our daily meals, my father always spent Saturday night serving up his special hamburgers and making us hearty soups. My mother, meanwhile, hit thousands of tennis balls to us and even ran an occasional pass pattern when we played touch football.

A generation later, there is still a lot of confusion about who is supposed to do what when it comes to parental roles.

For the most part, child rearing is still considered "women's work." Even when women with children share the breadwinner role with their husbands, they almost always bear the primary -- and disproportionate -- responsibility for

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 3/12/96

Page 2

care-giving and homemaking. It is an arrangement that not only gives short shrift to women but also to men and children.

False notions of "masculine" and "feminine" behaviors only serve to paralyze adults even further in their efforts to become the best parents they can be. Is a mother who is ambitious for her children and husband acting "feminine," and a woman who is ambitious on behalf of her own career acting "masculine"? Is a father who soothes a crying child acting "feminine" while one who plays sports with his kids acting "masculine"?

These are all human behaviors that both men and women display, depending on their particular temperaments and circumstances.

If we truly care about strong families, strong communities and strong societies, we have to recognize that men and women can complement each other inside and outside the home. We should not be adversaries but partners in all our efforts, especially those on behalf of our children.

Regardless of which spouse is the main breadwinner or the primary caretaker for children, neither should have to feel guilty about making choices that are right for the family.

A friend of mine married after she was 40 and had a child at 45. Her husband works from home and has assumed the bulk of the child-care and homemaking duties. She, meanwhile, has continued a hectic professional life that frequently keeps her in the office late at night and takes her out of town.

Another of my closest friends chose the opposite path. She quit teaching after the first of her three children was born. Until her youngest son was grown, she devoted herself full-time to her children.

Both women and their husbands say they are leading fulfilling -- if not easy -- lives. To borrow a phrase from anthropologist Mary Catherine Bateson, these parents have "composed a life" best suited to their and their family's needs and priorities.

In the end, that is what "women's rights" is all about: Making it possible for women -- and men -- to contribute their unique skills and strengths to their families and society.

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March 12, 1996

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 3, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

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

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The lighting of the Olympic flame amid the ancient ruins of Olympia, Greece, is a simple and solemn affair. There are no marching bands, no fancy commercials, no play-by-play commentary, just a silent dance to the Greek gods punctuated by the beat of a single drum.

Watching this remarkable event on the grassy spot where the original Games were held more than 2,500 years ago, I was reminded not only of the enduring power of Western civilization but also of the democratic ideals we are still working toward today.

It turned out to be the perfect place to end my week-long trip to Bosnia, Turkey and Greece. As different as these countries appear on the surface, their pasts and futures are inextricably tied to ours and to the world's -- and to the vision set forth in the earliest Olympic contests.

My first stop was Bosnia, a country that has suffered untold horror but is now trying, with international help, to create a multiethnic, multireligious democracy. Not only did I visit with religious, political and humanitarian leaders, I also spent time with American troops who are part of NATO's mission to enforce the Bosnian peace accords.

Then, I went to Turkey, a NATO partner whose importance to the United States goes well beyond its geography at the crossroads of Europe and Asia. Turkey is a rarity in its region of the world because, although predominantly Muslim, it is a secular society.

At a time of increased political tensions and the rise of religious extremism in southern Europe, the Middle East, Central Asia and North Africa, Turkey's role as a secular democracy becomes that much more significant to nations interested in spreading the fruits of peace and democracy.

Turkey has a long history of religious tolerance, having been the birthplace of Orthodox Christianity and a meeting point throughout history for many of the world's great religions.

While I was in Istanbul, I had a chance to meet with the leaders of the country's major religious groups -- Muslim, Jewish, Catholic and Orthodox. We talked about what they can do to make sure that religion is not used to promote fanaticism, violence

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 4/2/96

Page 2

or extremism and remains a force for harmony and civility among people of different faiths.

Leaving Ankara and Istanbul, I traveled to Greece, where many of the values and institutions of modern civilization were born. Standing in the Acropolis above the city of Athens, I imagined the ancient Athenians coming to market to buy pears, figs and honey and the sounds of cobblers and sculptors making and selling their wares. I envisioned jurors assembling for court and senators taking their seats in the Athenian legislature.

Almost every aspect of our lives today has roots in classical antiquity. The words we use, the laws we follow, the medicine we practice, the ideas we believe in, the buildings we build, the plays and dramas we perform, the system of democratic government so many countries now enjoy all began with the ancient Greeks.

Since those earlier times, of course, empires have risen and fallen, wars have been won and lost, and much blood has been spilled in that part of the world. But through it all, pluralistic democracy has lived on and spread, proving to be the world's most equitable, just and productive form of government that civilization has ever known.

All of which brings me back to the Olympic Games, one of the most palpable and powerful symbols we have of the democratic values the ancient Greeks created for us.

The flame that was lit last week -- and which will guide the Games in Atlanta this summer -- burns with the spirit of Olympic contests that have taken place in Greece and around the world and the tens of thousands of athletes who have competed in them. It is a spirit that stretches back nearly 3,000 years to the first foot race held amid the orange and olive groves of Olympia.

Now, as then, the Olympic Games emphasize an inescapable dimension of the human experience -- that we are all members of one global family.

Whether through athletes competing at sports in Olympia or Atlanta, or through American, Turkish and Greek troops helping democracy grow in Bosnia, we are coming together as nations to build bridges of respect, tolerance and friendship.

It is a task that has challenged us for most of human history. But rarely has it been as urgent as it is today.

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April 2, 1996

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 10, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR FIRST LADY STAFF

FROM: LISA CAPUTO

RE: HRC COLUMN

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

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

I'm not sure I can ever fully put into words the emotions of the past week. Who can adequately describe the painful shrieks of a young boy for his dead father or the sight of 33 flag-draped caskets being loaded silently -- one by one -- into shiny black hearses?

Who can make sense of any tragedy?

When I was in Turkey with Chelsea two weeks ago, I was on board an Air Force T43 flying from Ankara to Istanbul, with a stop in Ephesus. It was a perfect day for flying: sunny and clear with breathtaking views of the Aegean Sea and the Turkish landscape below.

The same plane -- and some of the same crew -- was also on duty seven days later, flying Commerce Secretary Ron Brown's group from Bosnia to Croatia in a violent rainstorm.

When that T43 crashed into a rugged mountainside near the Adriatic Coast, the President and I lost close friends and colleagues. And all of America lost noble citizens whose lives were devoted to spreading peace and prosperity around the world.

I knew Ron Brown because he was a friend and also a member of my husband's Cabinet -- the best Secretary of Commerce our nation has ever had.

He had a laser-like intelligence and an infectious smile that lit up every room he entered. To Ron, no hurdle was insurmountable, whether it was growing up in Harlem or serving as chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

When the President asked Ron to promote American economic opportunities worldwide, he embraced that challenge because he understood that expanding trade abroad meant creating jobs at home.

He traveled tirelessly, hunting for new markets for American goods and services. Business leaders who traveled with him not only brought home orders but also a greater understanding that economic competition in today's world involves countries as well as companies.

Ron was excited about the mission to Bosnia. It was not primarily about American trade and jobs but about American ingenuity and how it could help rebuild lives shattered by war. Whenever I think of Ron Brown and the extraordinary life he lived, I will always think of his grace, brilliance and profound humanity.

Adam Darling, only 29, was also aboard the plane. I first met Adam during the presidential campaign in 1992, when his parents hosted a political gathering at their bed and breakfast in Santa Cruz, Calif. Adam was spunky and optimistic and interested in

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 4/9/96

Page 2

politics. I encouraged him to work for my husband's campaign. To my delight, he did and stayed on after the election as an assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Commerce.

Adam was filled with a desire to help others. When he moved to Washington, he immediately got involved in the community, helping convert abandoned buildings into livable housing. He was also an active member of our church. At Easter services last Sunday morning, Bill, Chelsea and I shared a pew with Adam's parents and sister. We sang Adam's favorite hymn, "This Is My Song."

Like Ron Brown and Adam Darling, every one of our countrymen whose life was lost in that horrible plane crash embodied the American ideals of citizenship and service.

There were committed public servants like Assistant Secretary of Commerce Charles Meissner, who left a prestigious position in banking to work in government, and Steve Kaminski, a 20-year veteran at Commerce who had won the department's Gold Medal Award.

There were talented and eager young government staffers like Naomi Warbasse, who was fluent in Czech and German and on the path to a promising career in international affairs. She would have turned 25 this weekend.

There was Duane Christian, the Secretary's Chief of Security and a 10-year employee at the department who also coached baseball in the inner city. There were devoted professionals Gail Dobert, Carol Hamilton, Kathryn Hoffman, Kathy Kellogg and William Morton, whose talent, vision and energy helped make Ron Brown's staff one of the most effective and admired in Washington.

There was Lee Jackson, who worked for the Treasury Department promoting economic development in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and James Lewek, a government intelligence analyst specializing in European economic matters.

There was a highly esteemed correspondent for The New York Times, Nathaniel Nash, whose brave 8-year-old son attended the memorial service at Dover Air Force Base last weekend in his Cub Scout uniform.

And there were six dedicated members of the United States Air Force: Captains Ashley Davis and Timothy Schafer, Staff Sergeants Gerald Aldrich and Robert Farrington Jr. and Technical Sergeants Shelly Kelly and Cheryl Turnage.

Twelve leaders of American businesses also accompanied the Secretary, not simply because they wanted to increase their companies' profits but because they knew that democracy could not fully take hold in Bosnia if the country's economic infrastructure is not repaired.

Each of these business leaders brought expertise and experience sorely needed in Bosnia.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 4/9/96

Page 3

David Ford's company had donated glass for a hospital in Sarajevo, and he was going to see it being installed.

Robert Donovan, Frank Maier, John Scoville and Robert Whittaker were interested in promoting power generation projects. Claudio Elia's company was involved in pollution control, and Walter Murphy was an expert on telecommunications. Stuart Tholan and Leonard Pieroni had worked on engineering and reconstruction in Kuwait after the Persian Gulf War. Donald Turner's company specialized in building low-income housing. Paul Cushman was a banking executive who was exploring investment opportunities. And Barry Conrad was a lover of the Balkans who was determined to build hotels and promote tourism in the war-torn region.

Finally, there was Lawry Payne, one of the Commerce Department staffers I had come to know best over the last few years. He had first worked for me organizing several trips, including my visit to the 1994 Olympics in Norway, and he was a close friend of many members of my staff.

Lawry had owned a chain of ice cream stores in Massachusetts and New Hampshire and worked on Wall Street before joining the administration. He wasn't supposed to be on the Secretary's trip to Bosnia. But he was a bachelor, and given the danger of the mission to the former Yugoslavia, he volunteered to go in place of a colleague who had a wife and children.

These were the lives our country lost in Croatia last week. These were the lives of 33 patriotic men and women who, as the President said in Dover, "show us the best of America."

"They knew what their country had given them," the President said, "and they gave it back with a force, an energy, an optimism that every one of us can be proud of.

"Even as we grieve for what their lives might have been, let us celebrate what their lives were, for their public achievements and their private victories of love and kindness and devotion are things that no one -- no one -- could do anything but treasure."

May God bless each and every one of them, and the loved ones they have left behind, for through their lives they have blessed us, our country and the ideals we cherish.

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April 9, 1996



TALKING IT OVER

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEEKEND, JULY 29-30, 1995

The first time I met Mother Teresa was not in an urban slum or a remote village in India but in the fancy ballroom of a Washington hotel. It was February 1994, and she had just delivered a speech against abortion at the National Prayer Breakfast. When she finished her remarks, she pulled me aside for a chat.

She told me about her homes for orphaned children in New Delhi and Calcutta and asked for my help in setting up a similar home for abandoned and neglected babies in Washington, D.C. I agreed to work on the project. Although we differ on some issues, we found common ground on adoption. So we sat and talked about how to find homes for the hundreds of thousands of American children who need loving families.

A year later, my daughter and I visited Mother Teresa's home for children in New Delhi. There were too many cribs and too few toilets, and there was too little space. There was no way the place could ever pass inspection in any American city. But there were also dozens of beautiful babies, mostly girls, being fed, clothed, sheltered and loved until they could be adopted.

These images stayed with me when I returned home. I was even more determined to help Mother Teresa bring to Washington the compassion I had witnessed in India. But you cannot imagine how much red tape was getting in my way. Ironically, many regulations designed to protect children often overlook what kids need most: love and attention.

Finally, on a sweltering day this past June, the Mother Teresa Home for Children opened in an affluent residential neighborhood of the nation's capital. It is a two-story Tudor house with a swimming pool in the backyard, donated by a remarkably generous person who chose to remain anonymous. At the dedication ceremony, Mother Teresa — happy, enthusiastic and all business — took me on a tour. Grabbing my hand and leading me up the stairs, she walked me through brightly painted rooms filled with cribs, bassinets and stuffed animals.

Although it will accommodate only eight children at a time, this home is a crucial step in awakening Americans to the crisis of adoption.

We should worry less about how many cribs can be placed in a room and more about how many children can be placed with loving families. And instead of yelling at each other about abortion, we should spend our energy making adoptions easier. If that were to happen, there would be far fewer abortions and far more children in happy homes.

Today, there are about 450,000 children in the United States who need permanent families. There are tens of thousands of parents seeking to adopt.

Yet every day, complex regulations, outdated assumptions and wrong-headed laws stand in the way of bringing these parents and children together.

For some Americans, like a woman who wrote to me recently, cost is the biggest barrier. She and her husband, both musicians, spent thousands of dollars adopting a little boy six years ago. He is, she said, "the joy of our life." When her cousin's daughter recently became pregnant at age 18 and could not afford to keep the child, this same couple volunteered to adopt again.

As simple as this case should have been -- the parents and baby were members of the same extended family and all parties agreed to the adoption -- it still cost upward of \$4,000 because of legal fees and paperwork.

For others, there is a fear factor. Like many Americans, a 40-year-old newscaster I met recently in New Mexico was interested in adopting but was discouraged by highly publicized cases like Baby Richard's. However rare they are, cases in which birth parents seek to reclaim custody of adopted children undermine people's faith in the adoption system.

Decisions to give up children for adoption should be difficult to overturn, especially in the cases of children who become attached to their adoptive families during their formative years, like Baby Richard. The decision to return the child to the biological parents or to uphold the adoption should be made as quickly as possible. No child should be left in limbo.

The whole process also is made more difficult because of a historical bias against interracial adoptions, which can mean endless waiting until children are matched with parents of the same race.

In a perfect world, most of us would choose parents who shared our cultural and racial identities. But our world is not perfect. Today, there are far more minority children needing homes than are being placed for adoption. To prevent these children from languishing in foster care, new guidelines are now in place that will prohibit federally funded agencies from using race as a factor in placing children.

Wouldn't it be wonderful if we did something dramatic about adoption? Why not set a goal of placing 100,000 children each year for the next five years? To do this, we would have to make adoption easier and enlist volunteer lawyers and judges to speed up the legal process. And we should also follow Mother Teresa's model, in which considerations like money, regulations and skin color do not outweigh the more important gift of love that adoptive parents want to offer.

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**TALKING IT OVER
BY PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

For Mother's Day, I thought I'd give Chelsea's mother a day off from her weekly column. Besides, I wanted to write about my own mother, Virginia Kelley, who died in 1994. I miss her every day, but especially when Mother's Day rolls around.

I remember, as a small child, watching my mother on a railway platform in New Orleans, sobbing and waving goodbye to me and my grandmother. As the train pulled away, she sank to her knees.

At the time, my mother was studying in Louisiana to be a nurse-anesthetist while I lived with my grandparents in Arkansas. Widowed three months before I was born, she was determined to get the skills she needed to provide for both of us. The image of her at the train station has stayed with me throughout my life, a powerful memory of her constant love.

Mother taught me about family, hard work, sacrifice and putting your children first, and about always being positive for them even on the bad days. For her, those bad days included my stepfather's alcoholism, the deaths of three husbands, my brother's struggle with substance abuse and her own fight with cancer.

As a child, I saw her go off to work each day in an era when it wasn't easy to be a working mother. As an adult, I marveled as she threw herself into politics to help me through victory and defeat, and encouraged my brother in his career while never giving up her unshakable belief that he could recover from his drug problem. And I watched with admiration as she endured her own disappointments with good humor and determination, always enjoying life and living it to the fullest, even as she battled the breast cancer that finally took her from us when she was 70 years old.

If you ever met my mother, or saw her on television, or read her autobiography, "Leading With My Heart," you know that in many ways she wasn't typical. She worked before most mothers did -- she had to. She wore lots of

makeup, including bright lipstick -- the brighter the better, she liked to say -- and layers of Max Factor. Hillary used to comment that my mother was the only person she had ever met who wore false eyelashes every day.

No matter what adversity she faced, she always tried to enjoy herself, and she loved seeing other people lap up life, too. She never begrudged other people their success and happiness. She just wanted the same for herself and her children.

She loved her work. She also loved parties, Elvis Presley and the racetrack. Even when her health was failing and she was in pain, she insisted on going to Las Vegas to see Barbra Streisand's magnificent concert on New Year's Eve in 1993.

I tried to call Mother for a couple of days after the concert to find out how it went, but I couldn't track her down! She was always out of the hotel room or on the phone. Then, after she got home, she called me. Hillary, Chelsea and I were at the dinner table so we had a four-way conversation. She told us about how great the concert was and what a wonderful time she had.

It was the last time I ever talked to her. Just a few hours later, she died in her sleep. And while I regretted not having the chance to say goodbye before she died, I knew in my heart that we had said all we needed to say. There were no accounts to settle, no words or emotions left unsaid. I feel lucky for that, and even luckier for the life and legacy she left me: love and respect for family and work, and for other people, regardless of their station in life or how different they seem on the surface.

This Mother's Day will be my third without my own mother. I still miss her. I miss our long talks at the kitchen table and on the phone. I miss her laugh and her hugs. I miss the fire in her eyes and her never-say-die attitude. There are still some Sunday evenings when I have the urge to pick up the phone to call her and suddenly realize that I can't do that anymore.

But this Sunday, as I watch my daughter and my wife talking and laughing at the dinner table, I know I'll hear echoes of my own conversations with my mother. And I'll be grateful for my mother's love and for every mother's love. Our mothers' spirits stay with us always.

Happy Mother's Day.

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May 7, 1996

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The woman visited her new daughter in the hospital every day, reaching into the incubator to stroke her foot. The receiving blanket seemed heavier than the baby, who was being fed by a tube in her stomach.

The woman is not the baby's birth mother, but she is her mother in every way that matters.

She and her husband already had a 3-year-old adopted son when they heard about a premature 1-pound baby girl whose birth parents could not take care of her. The couple decided to adopt the tiny baby. Her start was rocky, but now the child is a healthy 3-year-old.

"She was just like a little flower that blossomed," the mother says. "She is a burst of energy."

Now, the couple, who are African-American, are in the process of adopting a 12-year-old girl who was abused. They also are encouraging more African-American families to open their homes to children in need.

Last summer, I wrote about this important issue. I'm writing about it again because so many children's lives would be better if they could only find a home. Today, 21,000 children are ready and waiting for families to nurture and care for them. Tens of thousands of others will be eligible for adoption in the coming months and years.

Not all these children are healthy, white babies. Many are physically and developmentally disabled. Many are minorities. Many suffer from emotional traumas wrought by abuse, neglect and unstable living arrangements. And many are teenagers who already have been shuffled from home to home.

Fortunately, some steps have been taken in recent years to make adoption easier. The Family and Medical Leave Act, which became law three years ago, ensures that parents can take time off when they adopt a child without fear of losing their jobs. The Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994 prohibits adoption agencies from denying the placement of a child solely on the basis of the adoptive parents' race, color or national origin. Over the past three years, adoption subsidies have helped an increasing number of families cope with the costs of adopting and raising children with special needs.

Page 2

TALKING IT OVER 5/14/96

The President is supporting legislation in Congress that will give tax credits to families that adopt. The House, for example, just approved a bill that would give adoptive families a \$5,000 tax credit. The Senate, meanwhile, is considering a \$7,500 credit for families who adopt children with special needs. This may not be enough to cover medical and emotional health care costs for special-needs kids, or even education, but it's a step in the right direction.

Not only is adoption good for children, it saves taxpayers a lot of money. As one woman said at a recent adoption discussion at the White House her family has saved the state and the federal government in excess of \$1 million by adopting several special-needs children.

In addition to government, the private sector also has a role to play. Wendy's, the hamburger chain founded by adoption advocate Dave Thomas (who himself was adopted), gives workers paid leave and financial assistance with adoption costs.

Margaret Fitzgerald, who participated in our gathering, said her employer, AT&T, gave her six weeks of unpaid leave when she and her husband adopted a son four years ago. The company also reimbursed her legal fees.

But the most important thing of all is for more people to reach out and give every child, regardless of age, disability, race or ethnic origin, the chance to be part of a loving family.

Just ask Julie Stinger, a teacher with five adopted children -- four biracial and one white -- several of whom had health problems. She told us how, as a white woman, she had to fight to adopt her first two black children, even though the birth parents agreed to the adoption and she had cared for them as a foster parent for 18 months. "I fought tooth and nail," she said.

Later, she had similar trouble when she wanted to adopt her fifth child, who is white. Authorities were concerned about placing a white boy with four non-white brothers and sisters.

"Even though we went through some traumas in the adoptions, I would do it again, I would do it 10 times over," she said. "Adopting a child is the most gratifying thing that ever happened to me."

After Julie recounted her story, I asked her oldest son, Joey, if he had anything to add. He nodded.

"I just want to thank my mother," he said.

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May 14, 1996

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

When you think of the arts in America, what first pops into your mind? If you're like most of us, you probably have an image of adults -- wealthy adults -- who have the time and money to go to the opera, attend a play or concert, or spend hours browsing through a museum.

In fact, the greatest beneficiaries of public funding for the arts are America's children. Through federal support of local arts agencies and community groups, hundreds of thousands of children each year are able to discover the joy, discipline and self-confidence that comes from their own artistic and creative expression.

That's why current arguments about limiting public funding for the arts are so misguided -- and short-sighted. Learning to paint, dance, write poetry, act, sing or play an instrument gives children reasons to believe in themselves and their own futures.

For many children from impoverished backgrounds, exposure to the arts can literally mean the difference between a life of accomplishment and one of hopelessness and failure. This idea is not my own; a recent report issued by the President's Committee for the Arts and Humanities, "Coming Up Taller," identified cultural programs that provide young people with safe and productive alternatives to crime, violence, gangs, drugs and other disturbing elements of popular culture.

One of those is the Manchester Craftsmen's Guild in Pittsburgh. It is a testament to the power of the arts to transform children's lives. The organization, which is supported by both the National Endowment for the Arts and donations from corporate and private foundations, trains inner-city schoolchildren in ceramic art and photography and opens their ears to world-class music.

But its students learn much more than how to shape clay, take pictures and appreciate jazz. They leave the guild knowing that they have the potential and tools to become successful and productive citizens. Eighty percent of the guild's students go on to college.

I met Bill Strickland, the founder of the Manchester Craftsmen's Guild, last month at a White House ceremony to celebrate arts programs that serve "at-risk" youth. Bill was himself headed in a downward spiral, he says, until an inner-city art teacher introduced him to "ceramics, jazz, and beautiful objects" and taught him that "having ideas had value."

"I learned that I could achieve recognition from my peers through creative activity," he says.

Determined to give other children the same opportunities he enjoyed, he founded the guild. "The antidote for these 'at-risk' children, we have discovered, is to surround them with good architecture, good food, good artists and good teachers who are allowed to function in well-equipped environments and who will not accept anything less than the best that the human imagination can provide," he says.

Hundreds of young people have passed through the guild's doors during the past nine years. In that time, the guild has never had a police call, a fight, or a drug or alcohol-related incident. Although it's located in one of Pittsburgh's most depressed neighborhoods, there are no bars on the windows, security cameras in the building or guards at the door.

"Given the current enthusiasm for building prisons to lock people up," Bill said, "I would challenge them to build centers like this one to set children free."

While those who oppose public funding for programs like the Manchester Craftsmen's Guild have not succeeded in abolishing the National Endowment for the Arts and other federal cultural programs, their crusade will continue. And that means that all of us who care about the arts -- and what the arts can do for children -- have to work as hard as we can to protect a 30-year bipartisan commitment to making the arts more accessible to more Americans.

That historical commitment represents a belief that the arts have the power not only to improve our aesthetic surroundings but to improve our society as well. Learning about culture, after all, is fundamental to understanding our own heritage and the diverse world in which we live.

I find it particularly ironic that those who bemoan America's loss of values (particularly those arising from Western civilization) are often the first to recommend cutting public funds for the arts. Without federal support for arts programs, countless children would never be exposed to Sophocles, Shakespeare or Mozart -- or the painting of Georgia O'Keeffe, the music of Wynton Marsalis and the dance of Arthur Mitchell.

Today, funding for the NEA costs every American 32 cents a year, less than the price of a candy bar. For those who wonder whether it is money well spent, ask yourself this question: Would you rather see a child pick up a paintbrush or a pistol? Would you rather see a child pick up a guitar or a gun?

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May 21, 1996

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

My late mother-in-law was a chain smoker for most of her life. Whenever she came to visit us at the Governor's Mansion in Little Rock, she always had to go outside to smoke.

After lighting up one day, she asked Chelsea, who was almost 8, what she wanted for her birthday. "I want you to quit smoking," Chelsea said.

That simple plea from a granddaughter helped end a 48-year addiction to cigarettes. My mother-in-law stopped smoking for good on Chelsea's birthday in 1988.

Children have always been the most persuasive voices in convincing adults to give up cigarettes. I don't think I've ever met a child who hasn't been blunt about his or her aversion to smoke. Consider the fifth-grader who wrote in a letter to my daughter: "I hate smoking. I can't even be around smoke. I cough and choke."

Yet somehow between childhood and adolescence, too many young people forget their better instincts and begin smoking. Adolescents account for the purchase of some 500 million packs of cigarettes a year. On any given day, 3,000 young people become regular smokers. And nearly 1,000 of them will die as a result of their addiction.

Recently, there has been renewed debate over whether tobacco is addictive. I think most of us agree that it is, and we appreciate those loud warnings that Dr. C. Everett Koop, the Surgeon General from 1981 to 1989, gave us when he talked about the dangers of smoking.

Yet while many adults -- elementary-school teachers and parents, especially -- are working to combat the lure of smoking, still others are getting children hooked for life.

Consider this: The Weekly Reader, a popular children's magazine, published articles on smoking between 1989 and 1994 that spread tobacco-industry views and offered limited information about the health effects of smoking, according to a study by a medical professor at the University of California at San Francisco.

It turns out that The Weekly Reader is owned by the same company that at the time owned RJR Nabisco, the country's second-largest maker of cigarettes.

Another study has shown that Joe Camel, the cartoon mascot of Camel cigarettes, is now as recognizable to 6-year-olds as Mickey Mouse. Joe is

everywhere -- on jackets, baseball caps, gym bags, tank tops. No wonder Camel is the most familiar cigarette brand among 12- to 17-year-olds.

Our children can't even watch their favorite sporting events without seeing the logo of a cigarette brand on a stadium wall or in the background of the television screen. Movies today are filled with characters reaching for a cigarette -- or worse, marijuana, the next step for some kids who get hooked on tobacco. Last fall, for example, I was shocked when my mother and I watched two "family" movies in which the heroines casually smoked marijuana.

What is clear is that commercial interests -- and corporate greed -- are working against our children.

If children can get through their adolescent years without smoking, chances are, they won't light up as adults. And they are less likely to fall down the slippery slope that begins with cigarettes and leads to illegal drugs and other destructive addictions and behaviors.

To help reduce smoking among young people, the Clinton administration has proposed regulations that, if put into effect, would allow cigarettes to be sold only in face-to-face transactions with adults. Tobacco billboards would be prohibited within 1,000 feet of schools and playgrounds. Other billboards and magazines with significant youth readerships could only display black and white, text-only advertising.

Companies would not be allowed to sell or give away products such as hats bearing a cigarette logo or name. Brand names such as Virginia Slims or Winston could not sponsor sporting events (although those events could be sponsored in the corporate name). And the tobacco industry would fund a public education campaign about the dangers children face from smoking.

Whether or not these regulations go into effect, we need to be more vigilant as a society about the social costs of business decisions and how they influence our children.

While we all want to encourage competition and innovation -- hallmarks of American capitalism -- we must strike the right balance between the freedom businesses need to make profits, and the preservation of family and community values. We can't afford to sacrifice either one.

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July 16, 1996

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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The pregnant woman wore an alpaca shawl over her blouse and full skirt, the traditional Indian dress in Bolivia. She looked about 35 and was attending a prenatal class at a health clinic I visited this week in the Bolivian capital, La Paz. She was nursing a 3-month-old baby and expecting her eighth child, who she hoped would be her last.

I was in Bolivia to attend the Sixth Conference of Wives of Heads of State and Government of the Americas. Women from countries throughout the Western Hemisphere got together to talk about strategies to eliminate measles, promote education reform and improve maternal health in our region.

Bolivia, a country of majestic beauty in the heart of South America, was an auspicious location for such a discussion. More women die in Bolivia during pregnancy and childbirth than in any other country in South America. But in the face of this human tragedy, Bolivia has become a model of how one nation can respond to the crisis of maternal mortality by galvanizing the government, non-governmental organizations and the medical establishment to launch a nationwide family-planning campaign.

In a country where half of all expecting mothers go through pregnancy and childbirth alone -- without medical attention of any kind -- Bolivia's aggressive effort to educate women about their own health and their options for childbearing is resulting in safer pregnancies, stronger families and fewer abortions. Without access to family planning, women in Bolivia -- and in many developing nations -- often turn in desperation to illegal, unsafe abortions that can end in death or serious injury. Deaths from abortion complications account for half of all maternal deaths in Bolivia.

As Bolivia has ably demonstrated, voluntary family planning teaches women about the benefits of spacing children several years apart, breast-feeding, good nutrition, prenatal and postpartum visits and safe deliveries. It also decreases the number of abortions.

Bolivia's success at preventing mothers from dying and lowering abortion rates has been possible, in part, because of help from the United States and other countries. The U.S. Agency for International Development has provided financial and technical assistance to help Bolivia establish a network of primary health care clinics.

The clinic I visited in La Paz is one that the United States helped start. Called PROSALUD (which, loosely translated, means "for the good of health" in Spanish), the clinic has doctors and nurses who offer round-the-clock prenatal, obstetric and pediatric services, as well as counseling about family planning in a poor neighborhood of 15,000 people. In the first six months of this year, the clinic staff provided 2,200 medical consultations, delivered 200 babies, registered 700 new family-planning users and immunized 2,500 children.

There are obvious benefits of such a program to Bolivian women, children and families, but health and family-planning services also help alleviate poverty and contribute to the economic stability of a democratic ally in our hemisphere. Yet opponents of foreign assistance and particularly of family planning in Congress are trying to eviscerate U.S. funding for programs like the one I saw at PROSALUD. Some argue that the United States has no national interest in the health and well-being of other countries' citizens. Others mistakenly suggest that family planning is being used to encourage -- rather than decrease -- abortions. In fact, our government has prohibited funding of any overseas project that promotes abortion since 1973.

Ignoring this, Congress last year approved draconian cuts in family-planning assistance amounting to a 35 percent reduction in funds. To add insult to injury, the cuts were accompanied by new restrictions that delayed delivery of aid for the first nine months of the fiscal year.

Similar harsh cuts and delays are included in the current budget, meaning that many organizations could again be denied assistance for months and then receive it only in monthly installments.

According to a recent analysis by five population organizations, the funding cuts alone will result in an increase of 1.6 million abortions, more than 8,000 maternal deaths, and 134,000 infant deaths in developing countries.

Family-planning campaigns at work in Bolivia and elsewhere represent sensible, cost-effective and long-term strategies for improving women's health, strengthening families and lowering the rate of abortion. My husband's administration remains committed to the continuation of these investments. And I will do everything I can to ensure that U.S. support for these initiatives continues. If you share my concern, I hope you will add your voice to mine and give all women everywhere the same opportunities for their lives we take for granted in ours.

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December 3, 1996

file

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEEKLY COLUMN--"TALKING IT OVER"
JULY 23, 1995-PRESENT**

1.	Introduction	July 23, 1995
2.	Adoption	July 29-30, 1995
3.	Working Women	August 5-6, 1995
4.	Public Television	August 12-13, 1995
5.	Vacation	August 19-20, 1995
6.	Women's Suffrage	August 26-27, 1995
7.	UN Women's Conference	September 2-3, 1995
8.	Message from Beijing	September 9-10, 1995
9.	Mongolia	September 16-17, 1995
10.	Calvin Klein	September 23-24, 1995
11.	OB Express	September 30-October 1, 1995
12.	20th Anniversary	October 7-8, 1995
13.	South America	October 14-15, 1995
14.	Breast Cancer	October 21-22, 1995
15.	Reader's Letters	October 28-29, 1995
16.	United Nations	November 4-5, 1995
17.	Rabin's Funeral	November 11-12, 1995
18.	Children's Hospitals	November 18-19, 1995
19.	Thanksgiving	November 25-26, 1995
20.	Christmas at White House	December 2-3, 1995
21.	Ireland	December 9-10, 1995
22.	Military Families	December 16-17, 1995
23.	Christmas	December 23-24, 1995
24.	New Year's	December 30-31, 1995
25.	St. Ann's	January 6-7, 1996
26.	Martin Luther King, Jr.	January 13-14, 1996
27.	Whitewater	January 20-21, 1996
28.	Divorce	January 27-28, 1996
29.	Bosnia Relief	February 3-4, 1996
30.	Christopher Reeve	February 10-11, 1996
31.	HIV Ban	February 17, 1996
32.	Ramadan	February 22, 1996
33.	Chelsea at 16	February 29, 1996
34.	TV Executives	March 1, 1996
35.	RTC 2	March 6, 1996
36.	Women and Men	March 13, 1996
37.	Ladybird Johnson	March 20, 1996
38.	Visit to Bosnia	March 27, 1996
39.	Greece/Turkey	April 3, 1996
40.	Ron Brown	April 10, 1996
41.	Chicago Cubs	April 17, 1996
42.	Legal AID	April 24, 1996
43.	Chernobyl	May 1, 1996
44.	Mother's Day	May 8, 1996
45.	Adoption	May 15, 1996

46.	Arts and Kids	May 22, 1996
47.	Commencement	May 29, 1996
48.	Talking Women	June 5, 1996
49.	Father's Day	June 11, 1996
50.	Summer/Curfews	June 18, 1996
51.	FMLA	June 25, 1996
52.	Central Europe	July 3, 1996
53.	Central Europe II	July 10, 1996
54.	Smoking	July 17, 1996
55.	Olympics	July 23, 1996
56.	Olympics/Terrorism	July 30, 1996
57.	ADA/ Title IX	August 6, 1996
58.	National Parks	August 13, 1996
59.	Chicago	August 20, 1996
60.	Chicago - convention	August 27, 1996
61.	Seeds of Peace	September 3, 1996
62.	Medals of Freedom	September 10, 1996
63.	Lessons Without Borders	September 17, 1996
64.	Nina Hyde Center	September 24, 1996
65.	Beijing One Year Later	October 1, 1996
66.	Shannon Lucid	October 8, 1996
67.	Socks	October 15, 1996
68.	Superman comic	October 22, 1996
69.	Henry Ossawa Tanner	October 29, 1996
70.	Campaign Highlights	November 5, 1996
71.	Election Day	November 13, 1996
72.	Australia	November 20, 1996
73.	Thailand - Child Prostitution	November 26, 1996
73.	Bolivia - Family Planning	December 3, 1996
74.	Life inside the White House	December 10, 1996
75.	Adoption	December 17, 1996
76.	Christmas Eve	December 24, 1996
77.	New Years Eve	December 31, 1996
78.	Gulf War Syndrome	January 7, 1997
79.	Position statement	January 14, 1997
80.	Inauguration Day	January 21, 1997
81.	Abortion	January 29, 1997
82.	Microcredit	February 4, 1997
83.	Working Women	February 11, 1997
84.	Washington, D.C.	February 19, 1997
85.	Millenium	February 25, 1997
86.	Elizabeth Glaser/AIDS	March 4, 1997
87.	Single Parent Scholarships	March 11, 1997
88.	Africa I	March 18, 1997
89.	Africa II	March 25, 1997
90.	Africa III (Women)	April 2, 1997

91.	Child Care	April 8, 1997
92.	Brain Conference	April 15, 1997
93.	Service	April 23, 1997
94.	FDR Memorial	April 30, 1997
95.	Mother's Day	May 6, 1997
96.	Latin America Trip	May 13, 1997
97.	Children's Health Insurance	May 20, 1997
98.	Anne Frank	May 27, 1997
99.	Chelsea's Graduation	June 3, 1997
100.	Fatherhood	June 10, 1997
101.	D.C. Schools	June 17, 1997
102.	Foster care	June 24, 1997
103.	Food Safety	July 2, 1997
104.	Mars Pathfinder	July 9, 1997
105.	Salzburg Seminar	July 16, 1997
106.	Immunizations	July 22, 1997
107.	Smoking in Movies	July 29, 1997
108.	Balanced Budget	August 5, 1997
109.	Children's Dosages	August 12, 1997
110.	125th Anniversary of Yellowstone	August 19, 1997
111.	Games	August 26, 1997
112.	Princess Diana	September 3, 1997
113.	Mother Teresa	September 10, 1997
114.	Chelsea and College	September 18, 1997
115.	Arkansas and Central High School	September 23, 1997
116.	Arts and the Humanities	October 2, 1997
117.	Global Warming and Children	October 7, 1997
118.	Latin and South America	October 14, 1997
119.	50th Birthday Party	October 28, 1997
120.	Joyce McCartan	November 4, 1997
121.	Plane Incident	November 11, 1997
122.	Adoption and Safe Families Act	November 18, 1997
123.	Foster Care	November 20, 1997
124.	Soviet Union	November 25, 1997
125.	Holiday Season	December 2, 1997
126.	Women's Rights	December 9, 1997
127.	Buddy	December 16, 1997
128.	Bosnia Christmas	December 23, 1997
129.	New Year's Eve	December 30, 1997
130.	Child Care	January 6, 1998
131.	Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.	January 13, 1998
132.	White House Endowment Fund	January 20, 1998
133.	Save America's Treasures	January 27, 1998
134.	WEF-Switzerland	February 3, 1998
135.	Early Learning	February 10, 1998

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 136. | 1st Millennium Lecture | February 17, 1998 |
| 137. | Children's Health Insurance | February 24, 1998 |
| 138. | Dr. Seuss | March 3, 1998 |

Column Index

Arts

Funding for the Arts and Kids	5/22/96
Henry Ossawa Tanner	10/29/96
Millennium Initiative	2/25/97
Arts and the Humanities	10/2/97
1st Millennium Lecture	2/17/98

Children & Families

Adoption	
(Mother Teresa Home)	7/30/95
(Tax Credits)	5/15/96
(New Adoption Targets)	12/17/96
(Bills to speed up process)	6/24/97
(Adopt. & Safe Fam. Act)	11/18/97
Public Television	8/13/95
Calvin Klein (Advertising)	9/24/95
Children's Hospitals	11/19/95
Millitary Families	
2/17/95	
St. Ann's Orphanage	1/7/96
Divorce	1/28/96
Chelsea at 16	2/29/96
TV Executives Summit	3/1/96
Funding for the Arts and Kids	5/22/96
Father's Day	6/11/96
(Role of Fathers)	
Summer/Curfews	6/18/96
Family and Medical Leave Act	6/25/96
Superman	10/22/96
(Children and Landmines)	
Campaign Highlights	11/5/96
Thailand (Child Prostitution)	11/26/96
Single Parent Scholarships	3/11/97
Child Care	4/8/97
WH Conference on the Brain	4/15/97
Children's Health Insurance	5/20/97
Fatherhood (Father's Day)	6/10/97

D.C. Schools	6/17/97
Immunizations	7/22/97
Children's Dosages	8/12/97
Global Warming & Children	10/7/97
Foster Care	11/20/97
Child Care	1/6/98
Children's Health Insurance	2/24/98
Dr. Seuss	3/3/98

Domestic Issues

Legal Aid	4/24/96
Washington, D.C.	2/19/97
Balanced Budget	8/5/97
Save America's Treasures	1/27/98
1st Millennium Lecture	2/17/98

Environment

Lady Bird Johnson	3/20/96
National Parks	8/13/96
Yellowstone's 125th	8/19/97
Global Warming & Children	10/7/97

Foreign Policy & Aid

United Nations	11/5/95
50th Anniversary	
Bosnia Relief	2/4/96
Chernobyl	5/1/96
Seeds of Peace	9/3/96
Medals of Freedom	9/10/96
Lessons Without Borders	9/17/96
Superman	10/22/96
(Children and Landmines)	
Marshall Plan (Netherlands)	5/27/97
Salzburg Seminar	7/16/97
Latin and South America	10/14/97
Soviet Union	11/25/97
Bosnia Christmas	12/23/97
WEF-Switzerland	2/3/98

Health Issues

OB Express	10/1/95
Breast Cancer	10/22/95
Christopher Reeve (Kennedy-Kassebaum Bill)	2/11/96
HIV Ban	2/17/96
Chernobyl	5/1/96
Smoking	7/17/96
Nina Hyde Center (Breast Cancer)	9/24/96
Gulf War Syndrome	1/7/97
Abortion	1/29/97
Elizabeth Glaser/AIDS	3/4/97
Children's Health Insurance	5/20/97
Food Safety	7/2/97
Immunizations	7/22/97
Smoking in Movies	7/29/97
Children's Dosages	8/12/97
Global Warming & Children	10/7/97
Early Learning	2/10/98
Children's Health Insurance	2/24/98

Holidays/Occasions

20th Wedding Anniversary	10/8/95
Vacations	8/20/95
Thanksgiving	11/26/95
Christmas at the WH	12/3/95
Christmas Traditions	12/24/95
New Year's Resolutions	12/31/95
Ramadan	2/22/96
Mother's Day (POTUS Column Virginia Kelley)	5/15/96
Father's Day (Role of Fathers)	6/11/96
Election Day	11/13/96
Christmas Eve	12/24/96
New Year's Eve	12/31/96
Inauguration Day	1/21/97
Mother's Day (Dorothy Rodham)	5/6/97
Yellowstone's 125th	8/19/97
Holiday Season	12/2/97
Bosnia Christmas	12/23/97
New Year's Eve	12/30/97

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.	1/13/98
Dr. Seuss	3/3/98

Microcredit

Bolivia (Family Planning & Microcredit)	12/3/96
Microcredit	2/4/97
Latin America Trip (Women and Microenterprise)	5/13/97

News Events

UN Women's Conference	9/3/95
Rabin's Funeral	11/12/95
Thailand (Child Prostitution)	11/26/96
1996 Commencements	5/29/96
Olympics (William Sloane)	7/23/96
Olympic Bombing	7/30/96
Convention Speech	8/27/96
Medals of Freedom	9/10/96
Campaign Highlights	11/5/96
Election Day	11/13/96
Mars Pathfinder	7/9/97
1st Millennium Lecture	2/17/98

People/Groups

Calvin Klein (Advertising)	9/24/95
South America (Eleanor Roosevelt and International Relations)	10/15/95
Readers' Letters	10/29/95
United Nations (50th Anniversary and Accomplishments)	11/5/95
Rabin's Funeral	11/12/95
Ireland (Women and Peace, Joyce McCarten)	12/10/95
Martin Luther King Jr.	1/14/96
Christopher Reeve (Kennedy-Kassebaum Bill)	2/11/96
TV Executives Summit	3/1/96
Lady Bird Johnson	3/20/96
Ron Brown	4/10/96
Chicago Cubs	4/17/96
Mother's Day (POTUS Column Virginia Kelley)	5/15/96

Olympics (William Sloane)	7/23/96
Seeds of Peace	9/3/96
Medals of Freedom	9/10/96
Lessons Without Borders	9/17/96
(Intl. Assistance/Foreign Aid)	
Shannon Lucid	10/8/96
Henry Ossawa Tanner	10/29/96
(White House)	
FDR Memorial	3/30/97
(President's Knee Injury)	
Princess Diana	9/3/97
Mother Teresa	9/10/97
Joyce McCartan	11/4/97
Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.	1/13/98

Personal

Introduction	7/23/95
Vacations	8/20/95
20th Wedding Anniversary	10/8/95
Readers' Letters	10/29/95
New Year's Resolutions	12/31/95
Christmas Traditions	12/24/95
Chelsea at 16	2/29/96
Chicago Cubs	4/17/96
Mother's Day	5/15/96
(POTUS Column Virginia Kelley)	
Women Who Have	6/5/96
Influenced Me	
Chicago	8/20/96
(Memories of Childhood)	
Socks	10/15/96
Campaign Highlights	11/5/96
Election Day	11/13/96
Life Inside the WH	12/10/96
Position Statement	1/14/97
(Next 4 Years)	
FDR Memorial	3/30/97
(President's Knee Injury)	
Mother's Day	5/6/97
(Dorothy Rodham)	
Chelsea's Graduation	6/3/97
Games/Vacation	6/26/97
Chelsea and College	9/17/97
Arkansas and Central H.S.	9/23/97
50th Birthday Party	10/28/97

Plane Incident	11/11/97
Holiday Season	12/2/97
Buddy	12/16/97
Bosnia Christmas	12/23/97
New Year's Eve	12/30/97

Service

Martin Luther King Jr.	1/14/96
Chernobyl	5/1/96
Service Summit	4/23/97

Travel

Beijing (Women's Rights)	9/10/95
Mongolia (Democracy)	9/17/95
South America	10/15/95
(Eleanor Roosevelt	
and International Relations)	
Ireland	12/10/95
(Women and Peace, Joyce McCarten)	
Bosnia (U.S. Soldiers)	3/27/96
Greece/Turkey (Olympics)	4/3/96
Central Europe I	7/3/96
(New Democracies & Growth)	
Central Europe II	7/10/96
(Democracy)	
Chicago	8/20/96
(Memories of Childhood)	
Australia (Women's Roles)	11/20/96
Thailand	11/26/96
(Child Prostitution)	
Bolivia	12/3/96
(Family Planning & Microcredit)	
Africa	3/18/97
(New Democracies & Growth)	
South Africa	3/25/97
(Truth and Reconciliation	
Commission)	
Africa II	4/2/97
(War, Hardships, and Women)	
Latin America Trip	5/13/97
(Women and Microenterprise)	
Netherlands (Marshall Plan)	5/27/97
Latin and South America	10/14/97
Plane Incident	11/11/97
Soviet Union	11/25/97

Bosnia Christmas 12/23/97
 Switzerland (WEF) 2/3/98

White House

Christmas at the WH 12/3/95
 Lady Bird Johnson 3/20/96
 Socks 10/15/96
 Henry Ossawa Tanner 10/29/96
 Life Inside the WH 12/10/96
 Christmas Eve 12/24/96
 New Year's Eve 12/31/96
 Holiday Season 12/2/97
 White House Endow. Fund 1/20/98
 1st Millennium Lecture 2/17/98

Whitewater

Whitewater 1/20/96
 Whitewater: Resolution 3/6/96
 Trust Corporation Report

Women

Working Women 8/6/95
 (Supportive Workplace Culture)
 75th Anniversary of 8/27/95
 Women's Suffrage
 UN Women's Conference 9/3/95
 Beijing (Women's Rights) 9/10/95
 Breast Cancer 10/22/95
 Ireland (Women and Peace) 12/10/95
 (Women and Peace, Joyce McCarten)
 Stereotypes of 3/13/96
 Women and Men
 Women Who Have 6/5/96
 Influenced Me
 ADA/ Title IX 8/6/96
 Beijing One Year Later 10/1/96
 Shannon Lucid 10/8/96
 Australia (Women's Roles) 11/20/96
 Thailand (Child Prostitution) 11/26/96
 Bolivia 12/3/96
 (Family Planning & Microcredit)
 Abortion 1/29/97
 Working Women 2/11/97

(Humanization of Politics)
 Africa II 4/2/97
 (War, Hardships, and Women)
 Latin America Trip 5/13/97
 (Women and Microenterprise)
 Joyce McCartan 11/4/97
 Women's Rights 12/9/97