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SPEECHES ON WOMEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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**REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AT THE FANNIE MAE WOMEN'S HEALTH SUMMIT**

Thank you very much. Thank you. I am very grateful to be here. I appreciate that much too kind introduction, but if you want a nice introduction, have someone who has been your friend for twenty-five years introduce you.

I am delighted that this is occurring in this museum. I remember very well a number of years ago when Mrs. Holiday had this idea, this dream. But the paintings were still in her home and I visited her there to see these paintings and to talk with her about her vision for this museum. And is always a thrill for me to walk through its doors.

I want to thank all of you for being here at this conference, which is very important to talk about women's health and more than talk to determine what can be done in the public and private sector by individuals and by all of us working together.

I want to thank Fannie Mae for sponsoring this event and also for leading the way in promoting women's health in the work place. I appreciate the companies commitment to the family friendly benefits that it has promoted to diet counseling and exercise programs offered to women with high cholesterol. But I was particularly pleased to learn that Fannie Mae is offering free mammography to employees and I hope other companies will follow this example as they realize how wise this and other investments in preventive health care are.

Even with efforts such as these, however, the unpleasant truth is that the health of American women should be better than it is today. As Dr. Blumenthal made clear when she spoke to you this morning, women historically have not received the proper attention and concern when it comes to their health needs. Symptoms and illnesses specific to women too often have been discounted or ignored. Research and clinical studies have largely have focused on men. And the result is that half of our population for too long has been relegated to the margins of our health care system.

It is perhaps fitting that this conference and these remarks should be made in this museum. Because for years women were also relegated to the margins of art history. Those of you of my vintage who took art history remember the classic textbook of

Jensen's on art history had no pictures that were depicting the artistic work of any woman until a very recent edition. And so it has been with women's health in our country.

I remember how startled I was during my work on health care reform. To read as I was pouring over material late one night that the clinical trials on breast cancer had originally all been done on men. And I thought perhaps with my increasing age and my decreasing eyesight I had misread what was printed -- read it over and over again until I finally called one of the experts in the field who confirmed that indeed that was the case.

Well today we have women artists being recognized and we have women's health needs being recognized, but we have not yet made a commitment to understanding an action that is required. It is significant that we do so. Not only because women function as the primary caregivers for children and aging parents, but also because women now comprise a large percentage of our work force. So if we ignore women's health needs we will witness the kind of problems that we see in families, work places, and in our society that can only be measured in terms of our overall well being.

The good news is that women's health needs are now on the radar screen and we have certainly made progress and come a long way. For the first time we have an office for women's health at the Department of Health and Human Services that under Dr. Blumenthal's leadership brings together the public and the private health interest, consumer and health care groups, businesses and private industry. The power of these kind of public private partnerships cannot be underestimated. Look at what Avon has done for example in conjunction with the Federal Centers for Disease Control and the YWCA and other community groups to help raise awareness about breast cancer. In 1993 Avon launched a breast cancer education campaign in which representatives began selling breast cancer awareness pins for \$2.00 each. The proceeds were used to fund community programs that focus on breast cancer detection and early treatment. And thus far Avon has given a four million dollar grant to expand the YWCA's breast cancer existing education programs.

And other corporations have been in touch with the Office on Women's Health to participate in similar activities around the country. So when you hear about the importance of making government work for people I hope you will now recall the creation of the Office on Women's Health as a prime example of how that is happening. It is in keeping with the President's agenda for reinventing government, but it is not happening by arbitrarily slashing and slicing programs, but by thoughtfully considering how government can make a difference in people's lives and how government and the private sector can work together.

We hear a lot these days about how government is terrible. How government is the culprit for everything that goes wrong in society. And I suppose that is just another example of the historic swing of the pendulum in our country where we often go from one extreme to another. You'll find no disagreement among any of us that government needs to be more effective efficient and smarter. But we also need to inject some perspective into this debate. Government has and must continue to provide vital functions in our country. So when the axes start to fall on the budget block I hope you will remember that government has a role to play and the real challenge for us as the President has said, is to redefine that role. And let us remember then as we attempt to refine that role, that without government we would not have the clean air, clean water, safe foods, safe drugs, safe work places, and greater longevity that spring from the government sponsored medical research in action we have enjoyed for the last decades.

Women's health is a particular concern of the President's and he has made it a priority in the budget that will be released next week. Keeping women healthy is good for women and it's good for our country. And it is good for businesses. Here's some of the examples of the federal initiatives that have had a positive impact on women's health that have been taken in the last years. Since the President took office, funding for breast cancer research at NIH has increased 65 percent from to \$379,000,000 in 1995. With additional research and training grants funded through the Department of Defense.

And I want to say a special word about that particular element of breast cancer research because I think it shows the new way of thinking that we have to bring to solving problems and using government resources. The Department of Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Office of Women's Health, are working together to really push the boundaries of imaging. Those of us who remember so well the pictures on our television sets during the Gulf War of missiles that could be directed to go down chimneys, understand how extraordinary the advances have been in technology in our defense research.

But we also know there are civilian uses for such research that we now need to take advantage of. There are dual uses for such defense related research. And many of us believe that the kind of imaging technology that has been so effectively used in our defense work, can now be turned to other ways of benefiting our society. One of the peace dividends, if you will, can be using such imaging, for example, for to advance far beyond our existing state of mammography -- because it does seem common sense to conclude that if we can send missiles down chimneys from thousands of miles away -- we ought to be able to do a better job at detecting lumps in women's breasts. And it's that kind of cooperative new approach toward utilizing what government has already done in the private sector and moving it into a new arena.

After receiving petitions signed by 2.6 million Americans, the President asked Secretary Shalala of the Department of Health and Human Services to convene a national conference on breast cancer. That conference led to a national action plan on breast cancer that will help further the research and the public - private partnerships like the ones I mentioned earlier.

The National Institutes of Health is undertaking the largest research study ever on the major causes of death and disease in older women. In 1993 the Food and Drug Administration revised fifteen year old guidelines to include women in early drug testing, reversing many years of decisions that women were not proper research subjects for drug testing, and finally recognizing that if we are going to be using these drugs we ought to be part of the early testing.

Today all Public Health Service Agencies have established policies to ensure that women are included in research programs sponsored by HHS. And in this year's public health services budget, nearly 2 billion has been set aside for women's health including breast cancer research, family planning program, and research on diseases that primarily affect women, such as osteoporosis, lupus, and others. And maybe some of you noticed the other day on the front page of USA Today, the story about the work that is being done with respect to osteoporosis and the calcification that is often found in arteries. That had two major positive effects, from my personal perspective. One is it demonstrated what the work of the national women's health is already accomplishing. Secondly my daughter picked that front page up and said, "Look Mom, three women doctors doing this research." So I think there is much that we can be proud of in terms of what we are achieving and moving forward toward if we continue to stay the course that has been set on behalf of women's health.

We also know that our crime bill last year had new provisions for domestic violence -- a major source of health problems. We also know how important it is that we aim at workplace safety. And the President's new national campaign against teen pregnancy to promote responsible decision making among our teenagers is a very important part of ensuring public health for all.

We have to look carefully at the programs that we already have such as Medicaid, to make sure that they are effective. And Medicare -- that the kind of services that are being delivered will work. The Administration is also committed to strengthening research and education, so that we remain the world leader in medical advances. Not just today and tomorrow, but fifty and one hundred years from now. The best way to ensure that status is to further the partnerships between health care companies, health care institutions, and academic medicine.

I also think we have to continue to look for ways to expand health care coverage for all Americans, but particularly for women. In addition to expanding health care coverage we have to understand the barriers to access that too often prevent women from taking advantage of the programs and benefits that are already available. I have seen that very personally in the last several weeks because one of the issues that I was puzzled by during the work on health care reform is how important preventive health care is but how still, we do not take advantage of diagnostic tests and screening to the extent we should in our country. And I was particularly struck by the discrepancy in the Medicare program where since 1989, I believe, we have had a Medicare benefit for mammography, both screening and diagnostic mammograms, but women over 65 were not taking advantage of that. In fact, only one third of the eligible Medicare recipients would seek mammograms. And so for the last month I've been traveling around the country listening to older women tell me why they did not have mammograms. And I learned a lot about how difficult it is to get across through public education campaigns why preventive health care is important particularly among older Americans.

I wish all of you could have been with me because some of the stories that have been told by women in their seventies, their eighties, and even in their nineties, not only sent me into hysterical laughter, but taught me a lot about how this issue of breast cancer is being perceived. Because as much work as we have done on it in our country there are still large parts of our population that don't think it applies to them. Who fatalistically believe that early detection won't do any good for them. Or who have other fears that have to be addressed as we attempt to try to make all of our women healthier.

In my last listening session in San Diego last week, I was moved, as I always am, by women talking about their own health. But I was also unfortunately reminded about the work we still have ahead of us as a country. The kind of questions that were raised about mammography were ones that Dr. Blumenthal and the other doctors on the panel were able to answer. And then we turned to the audience. And a woman stood up and said, "I was able to get a free mammogram and the results of that mammogram was that I had a problem and the radiologist who read it said it looked like a very serious problem and I needed to have it treated. But I'm not yet eligible for health care and I don't have health insurance and I don't know what to do." And the woman stood in this audience on the brink of tears as did the rest of us, confronted by what is still one of our biggest unsolved problems. We can talk about health care. We can create partnerships. We can do the medical research that we hope and know will save lives but we have to make sure every American, every woman, every child, every man, then will be able to take advantage of the extraordinary developments that many of you in this room are responsible for making.

So the initiatives we have undertaken in this Administration reflect a commitment to research, a commitment to service, a commitment to education both to women and to health care professionals about women's health concerns and a commitment to guaranteeing health care coverage to everyone. We need all of those commitments working together in order for the work you do and the government does to be as effective as it can be. Anything alone is not sufficient. Anything the government does or any of your corporations do cannot stand alone. We need to cooperate and we need to leverage each others efforts so that we can all promote greater health greater happiness and greater productivity.

So I hope that out of this conference all of you who care so deeply about health and particularly women's health will pay close attention to the decisions that are going to be made on Capital Hill in the next weeks and months and that we will be attentive to what works, what can be made better so that it works better, what we no longer need if we have a better way of meeting the same needs and that we all recognize that we share the same goal -- to improve the health and quality of all Americans. Nothing is more important than pursuing that goal that we share. And nothing would be more imprudent, or in the long run more costly, to turn the clock back now on the improvements we are making on women's health. And I appreciate your commitment to making sure that we move forward together, that we all do what we can to ensure healthy outcomes for women. And that we recognize that by doing that we are making our country healthier and that is a goal that all of us should share and work for in the following year. Thank you very much.

END

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For Immediate Release

March 1, 1995

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
AT THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE
75th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION AND DINNER

MRS. CLINTON: -- Thank you, thank you all. Thank you so much, David and John and all of you who are gathered here this evening on behalf of the work that we are doing and will continue to do on behalf of children. I am deeply honored to receive this award named for Natalie Heineman. Her work with children and with the League inspires all of us to do more and to reach further.

I'm also pleased that my friend, Elizabeth Glaser, received this award last year. And as a tribute to her, I hope that as we go about our work on behalf of children, we remember the sacrifice and commitment she displayed, and draw strength from what she did on behalf of children (applause.)

As some of you may know, the President is speaking tonight to a gathering at the Nixon Center on the dangers of isolationism and nuclear proliferation -- two issues critical to the future of our children and children everywhere. And although he is not able to join us tonight in celebration of the Child Welfare League, he wanted you to know that children are on his mind and they will stay on his mind in the days and months ahead. (Applause.)

For 75 years you and this League have given all kinds of leadership to our nation, and our nation has relied on you for wisdom and moral leadership. We have to continue to call on your leadership, because we have to continue to devise ways to help protect our most vulnerable children. Your leadership is so crucial because today the youngest among us face new and greater burdens than ever before.

When David Liederman testified in the House last month on welfare reform, he talked about our obligation as a nation to keep all children from harm. That single phrase, "to keep all children from harm," summed up the moral imperative before us now. For decades, Americans have stood out for their compassion for children. We have prided ourselves on the high aspirations and expectations we have held for children. But today, we find ourselves at a rare moment in history when we must decide as a nation how much children really matter to us.

American children are in crisis. Twenty-three percent of our children live in poverty, and millions go without essential services every day. Too many children are bearing children of their own. Drugs, violence and abuse continue to claim the futures and even the lives of our young people before they reach adulthood.

Surely, as we search for solutions to such complex human problems, we need a full and honest debate. Yet that discussion is not taking place today. There is no real exchange of ideas. There is no weighing of evidence. There is simply a full-scale assault on nearly every program that helps the neediest, most vulnerable and disadvantaged among us.

The President has described recent actions in Congress as a war on the children of America. The war is taking many forms: cuts in current funding, elimination of programs, withdrawal of guarantees and block grants in the name of state flexibility. If the wrong side wins in this war on children, fallout from this war will reach far beyond the \$40 billion in cuts in children's programs over the next five years. Far beyond Barney and Big Bird and school lunches; far beyond summer jobs and aid for children with disabilities. What will be lost is our notion of who we are as a people and what we stand for as a society. (Applause.)

Let's not be fooled by rhetoric about block grants and greater flexibility and autonomy for the states. And let's remember that cutting programs that help children is not going to significantly reduce the deficit. The only people who will benefit from being the evisceration of children's programs are families earning more than \$200,000 a year who will be eligible for a capital gains tax cut. In 57 short days, we have learned that the Contract with America is indeed a financial arrangement, one that assigns far more importance to the interest of the very wealthy and the very powerful, than to the interests of the poor, the needy and the weak. We do not need that sort of contract in America. (Applause.)

We need instead, a covenant, a sacred trust between government and the American people, and among the American people themselves that reflects our long-held belief that every citizen, rich or poor, urban or rural, young or old, has the right and responsibility to rise as far as their God-given talents and determination can take them, and to give something back to their society in return. That is the underlying principle of the President's New Covenant, which, as he said in his State of the Union address, is actually grounded in some very old ideas. Those old ideas have guided us for more than a century in our efforts to protect children from harm.

Yet today, the foundation which we have built to promote work over welfare and strengthen families is in jeopardy. Federal guarantees of child care assistance for low-income families and those coming off welfare, grants for foster care and adoption assistance, Medicaid coverage, summer jobs for young people, heating fuel for the disadvantaged and aid for poor children with disabilities are just a few of the programs at risk.

As a friend of mine said recently, cutting \$7 billion out of child nutrition programs and \$4 billion out foster care and adoption programs is not so much a revolution as "a massacre of the innocents." If Congress weakens these programs, it will represent a total reversal of an historic commitment our nation has made to children.

Few Americans realize that the first federal effort at child care came in 1863 when the government sponsored a nursery for mothers working in Civil War hospitals. Few realize that food vouchers, an early version of food stamps, were given to freed slaves after the Civil War. Few realize that the first federal immunization program was launched at the beginning of this century, or that Congress established a Children's Bureau in 1909 to safeguard the well being of children. Aid for Families With Dependent Children, called welfare, began in 1935 as a way to enable mothers, many of them widows, to stay home with their children.

Children were protected by labor laws beginning in the 1930s. Congress appropriated funds for emergency maternal and infant care in 1943. The National School Lunch Act was passed in 1946 after it became evident that many inductees into our Armed Forces in World War II suffered from poor nutrition as children.

Throughout much of our history, children's programs have received broad bipartisan support because there is such compelling evidence that early intervention saves money and lives, and reaffirms the values of opportunity and responsibility that built America.

Senator Robert Taft, a conservative Republican leader in his era, said in 1948 that the American economy was rich enough --and I quote -- "to prevent extreme hardship and maintain a minimum standard floor under subsistence, education, medical care and housing to give to all a minimum standard of decent living, and to all children a fair opportunity to get a start in life."

Before now we would never have dreamed of counting cuts in programs for children on a 100-day scorecard. Before now, we came together as Americans to safeguard the rights of disabled, abused and

hungry children through WIC, Head Start, the Child Abuse Prevention Act of 1974, the Education of All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, and the Children's Welfare and Adoption Assistance Act of 1980, passed under both Republican and Democratic presidents. Each of these did more than throw money at a problem. Each of these represented a moral commitment to children that improved our country, gave voices to the voiceless, strengthened us and protected children from harm.

Yet, today, poor children and families are viewed less as objects of concern than as culprits for everything that is wrong in society. Drugs, violence, illegitimacy and abuse are viewed as afflictions only of the poor and, in turn, it is poor children and families who are singled out for punishment.

My minister gave a sermon recently in which he related the story in Leviticus about the ancient Israelites who annually placed all of their miseries and sins on the head of a goat and then sent the goat off into the wilderness. When the goat reached the wilderness, the tribe was cleansed of all problems, all evils, all sins. This is an apt parable for what is happening in America today. In today's society, the goat is poor children and their parents. And somehow we think we can rid ourselves of all our social problems by scapegoating children and exiling them to a wilderness of greater poverty and hopelessness.

Some in Washington and around the country justify these extreme budget cuts by saying, we have all these children's programs in place, but things are only getting worse. Obviously, the programs don't make a difference. Well, nobody ever conceived of government programs as a panacea. We all know that services alone will not lift a child out of poverty. A school lunch program can help a child's physical and intellectual development, but it can't provide shelter. A nutrition program for pregnant women can increase the likelihood of a healthy baby, but it can't pay the rent.

To overcome poverty, children and families need the basic necessities in life. They also need to be buffered by a strong economy. As the National Council of Bishops stated in a pastoral letter in 1991 entitled Putting Families First, "... many families are poor because of economic forces beyond their control: recession, industrial restructuring, erosion of real wages, unemployment and discrimination in hiring and promotion."

That's why, as we search for a solution to today's real social problems, we must avoid an unbalanced approach that both robs children

of services and fails to address the broad economic and social forces that contribute to poverty in the first place. Meaningful deficit reduction, the creation of nearly six million new jobs, investments in the skills and training of our people -- these are structural changes that, as the President has fought for and articulated, will help lift children and families out of poverty over the long run.

To address our problems, parents and families must take responsibility, too. They must provide the love and nurturing and discipline their children need. They must be willing to make the sacrifices that are necessary to create conditions within the family that enable children to flourish. And, in some cases, young men and women must postpone having children until they have the means to provide the love, the support, and the responsible care. And in other cases, parents with children should think harder and longer about divorce and, instead, put their children's needs and interests first. And child support, as the President made clear at the beginning of this week, has to be part of what it means to be a decent, responsible parent.

In that same pastoral letter I just mentioned, the bishops also wrote that the most important work on behalf of our children must be done "in our homes and our neighborhoods and our community organizations. No government can love a child, and no policy can substitute for a family's care." But at the same time, "government can either support or undermine families as they cope with the moral, social and economic stresses of caring for children."

Both national policies and personal values must play a role. It is time to end the false debate that pits national policies against personal values. We need to support both if we expect to have healthy children. (Applause.) We know that what happens to poor children and their families also has ripple effects throughout the rest of society. We also know that many of the programs under attack are not aimed just at poor families, because the safety net that was kept in place even during the 1980s did provide services for many families who, themselves, were on the brink of falling into poverty.

A few weeks ago I visited a federally-supported child care center in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. There was not a single parent I met who was not working, going to college, taking courses to try to get a GED, or actively involved in job training. Having access to that kind of child care that they could count on enabled them to go forward to build a stronger family.

In the weeks and months ahead, as Congress works on social issues, the test of every policy and every budget decision should be whether it helps children and strengthens families. I want you to know that the White House and the Clinton administration will work with you to ensure that our children are kept from further harm.

In the last 10 days, we have seen the response of the American people as the specifics of budget proposals have been unveiled. People know better. They often can put a face on all of the abstract rhetoric about budgets and programs. They can see the children that I saw earlier today in Arlington, Virginia, at a school where three-fifths of the children in an affluent community are eligible for free or reduced-price lunches. They can see the little girl, Ellen, who sat across from me, or Zachary, who came up to ask about Socks, the cat. They know that when it finally becomes a question as to whether we will support abstract ideology or concrete personal lives in the faces and futures of our children, that they will want our children protected.

And that is why we can, and we will, with your help, continue to protect the children of America from harm. It will not be an easy struggle, because, as I said earlier, there are powerful forces that refuse to recognize the costs that will be borne by our entire society in return for privileges for a few if we eradicate the progress that we have made so far. But I'm confident that America will once again rise to this challenge, and that our children will be given the future they deserve.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
ADDRESSING THE
WOMEN AND THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL CHAMBER
THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
MARCH 14, 1995

Thank you so much, Amb. Albright, for that introduction, and for your friendship and your leadership. Amb. vanden Heuvel and officers of the Roosevelt Institute, members of the Group on Equal Rights for Women at the United Nations and the United Nations Association of the United States of America, Excellencies, senior officials of the United Nations, and the United Nations staff and representatives of NGOs and many friends.

It is a great personal privilege for me to join you at this Conference on Women and the United Nations. It is held in conjunction with the celebration of International Women's Day which we celebrated, some of us together, last week in Copenhagen. It comes at a time when the role of women around the world deserves renewed attention. It is a special honor for those of us in the United States that this conference is dedicated to Eleanor Roosevelt.

Last week, when I was lucky enough to be in Copenhagen, I had the opportunity to meet with men and women around the world who had

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gathered there who are devoting their lives to the goals of eradicating poverty, protecting human rights and integrating marginalized groups into mainstream society. All of these issues disproportionately effect women, and for that reason, I, and many others, came away from Copenhagen even more convinced that we must work harder for ways to open opportunities to woman so they may play a central role in helping find solutions for their own lives.

At a time when full economic, social and political opportunities for women too often remain an elusive goal we should commend the United Nations for inviting serious discussion of the unique obstacles confronting women in every country, rich and poor. With the work of the world conferences in Rio, Vienna, in Cairo and Copenhagen we have helped the world elucidate the specific challenges posed to our global community and with Beijing on the horizon issues historically dismissed as unimportant may now be understood in a larger global context. It is my hope that through this conference today, and the ongoing work of the United Nations, the special barriers that women face in becoming full partners in society will be viewed with greater urgency, honesty and insight.

As others have noted, it is impossible to think about the history of the United Nations, or the role of women in the United Nations, without thinking of Eleanor Roosevelt. I happen to be a great admirer of Mrs. Roosevelt, so I am doubly pleased that we are remembering her contributions today and I hope will continue as we celebrate the anniversary of the United Nations.

So much of what she accomplished as a delegate to the UN, and throughout her life, is instructive to us today. Not only as women, but because all of us as human beings at the end of the Cold War face new opportunities and challenges. It is easy at times like these when we see so many nations confused and struggling about their own futures, wasting precious resources on building weapons of mass destruction, doing violence to basic human rights, to assume that collective global solutions exist only in the realm of fantasy. And it is equally easy to assign blame for all of the worlds problems to one group of nations or another and to assume that the political and cultural divides among us are too wide to overcome. If anything, we should be reminded that every generation every time in history faces its

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own special challenges. And instead of giving into the frustration of the time or to a sense of futility we need only think of leaders like Eleanor Roosevelt who always for me provides inspiration and incentive to carry forward no matter what the odds.

Even before she came to the United Nations her efforts to help those in need, those less fortunate were unparalleled. She spoke up on behalf of Japanese Americans detained in this country during World War II. The civil rights of American blacks was a special cause for her. Migrant workers, coal miners, the poor and dispossessed, anyone who did not have a voice was someone for whom she spoke. Anywhere she came across human suffering she was determined to do something about it.

When she came to the United Nations there were many who dismissed her arrival. They thought she came as a token, the widow of a great President, and she faced considerable personal challenges in undertaking the work she did. We know from various histories and from Mrs. Roosevelt's own writing that she was dismissed by a number of her fellow male delegates and in fact assigned to a committee where they said she could do no harm. She was assigned to the Third Committee: the Social, Cultural, and Humanitarian Committee. Apparently assigned by men who had no idea what she was capable of doing. She made from the very beginning it her mission to insure that that committee, which deals so directly with the stuff of life, was one that had a very important portfolio. We also know that she was alternately perplexed and amused by what she viewed as an obsession with rule making among her male peers. As the men around here would sometimes argue for hours over matters that Mrs. Roosevelt felt did not deserve minutes of conversation, she would sit and knit.

It turned out to be not only a controversial job for her but one that took tremendous diplomatic skill. Among her critics was the very powerful American John Foster Dulles. Who at the end of the Assembly did finally say to her and I quote "I must tell you that when you were appointed I thought it terrible, and now I think your work has been fine." She wrote about her reaction to that statement in a letter home, and I quote, "so against the odds the women inch forward." I read her response with mixed feeling. Yes, I say to myself, the women inch forward. Oh dear, I say to myself, we still are inching forward and I wish we had more to

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show for those inches than sometimes we do.

Her role within the Assembly, although sometimes not welcome, and certainly never easy, was very important. She out worked most of her colleagues. She did turn that Third Committee into one of the most important of the entire Assembly. She became instrumental in decisions about the fate of refugees. And she negotiated over many very sensitive issues with a great deal of success.

Her greatest achievement, as we all know, was to help persuade 55 nations to sign a bill of human rights, something that had never been done before. Even with her successes she was under no illusions about the capacity of this organization, or any government body or agency, to effect change on its own. The United Nations she said soon after its founding, is "a piece of machinery and the peoples of the world have to make it work. You make it work by what you do in your own communities, by the things you build there which spread out through your representatives into your national government".

That observation by Mrs. Roosevelt holds special weight today when all nations are grappling with a range of human problems at a time of shrinking resources and increased global competition. There is no panacea, no magic bullet that will suddenly empower women or free people from the bondage of inhuman living conditions. Progress depends on our working together in partnership to create conditions around the world that enable women, men and children to reach their God given potentials and flourish within their own families and societies. But today, perhaps even more than in Mrs. Roosevelt's time, there is a special urgency to helping women around the world assume their rightful places in society. That is because the fortunes of our women are inextricably tied to the fortunes of our global community. If women don't thrive the world won't thrive. At least in words we tend to agree that women should be active participants in helping their societies meet the great challenges of this and the next century. But that can only be achieved through real concrete actions. Actions that empower women through education, legal rights and protection from violence. And actions that assure women access to adequate social services, employment opportunities, political institutions and decision

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making.

We know that investing in women in their health and education is essential to improving global prosperity. And we know that investing in women so that they can assume their rightful places in decision making bodies is essential to continued democracy and prosperity as well. The United Nations must play a leadership role and must play a role by example. Every program, policy and decision that emanates from this building directly or indirectly effects women. Women as they care for children, manage households and work at their jobs. Women must be a part of the process within the United Nations as we search for answers and women must continue to demand that their rights and opportunities be respected in nations around the world.

If one looks at among Mrs. Roosevelt's great accomplishments certainly the Bill of Human Rights continues to challenge all of us. Although international humanitarian law had been evolving before the United Nations, human rights in general and women's rights in particular, were not widely recognized. On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Eleanor Roosevelt played a major role in the drafting and adoption.

Now Mrs. Roosevelt originally opposed the language in the Declaration seeking specific rights for women. But through her work in human rights she changed her position and she embraced the idea that women deserve the same rights of men and that it must be made articulate and explicit. Because of Mrs. Roosevelt's opinion on this matter in the fifth paragraph of that resolution the words "and women" were added. So that the paragraph reads, "were as the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of men and women, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

Those words have enabled us to move the agenda of the United Nations forward throughout the Women's conferences, they will give us the kind of platform we need in Beijing to talk about how we move forward to enable women to assume their rightful places in all societies and they should serve as a reminder here within the United Nations that we are far from having women in enough

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decision making positions here in this body either. When only 15% of the Secretariat are women that is a long way from the assumption that Mrs. Roosevelt had that women will be able in the years to come after 1948 to assume those positions. She was disappointed that more nations had not dispatched women to serve as delegates because she recognized that in these positions women could effectively work for equality. I think she would still be disappointed and surprised that we have not made very much progress since those early years and certainly the United Nations which has done such important and essential work in opening up the eyes of the world to the concept of human rights and in emphasizing the particular needs of women should serve as an example to the rest of the world.

In paying tribute to Eleanor Roosevelt, as part of this conference, we would do well to consider her great vision, her compassion and her common sense approach to solving very difficult human problems. For her no political obstacle was too large, no cultural gap was too wide, no difference of opinion was too serious to overcome. And as Amb. Albright has reminded us, no controversy was to be avoided. One of my favorite quotations from Mrs. Roosevelt is that she often said her work was to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable.

Certainly those of us, women and men together, who share the vision of the United Nations who know the work the United Nations has done over the last 50 years who can point to its successes bear an even greater burden to make sure that we continue to do what we can to insure that the United Nations itself lives up to its own aspirations and that it continues to be a strong voice for all of those who needs must be heard by the rest of the world.

The important thing Mrs. Roosevelt said was to go on working and growing in understanding. If we follow that one piece of advice our world will be better for it and I believe the United Nations has a major role in insuring that we do. Thank you all very much.

The White House
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 29, 1995

**Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
to the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation
New Delhi, India**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you so much Mrs. Gandhi, Ambassador Wisner, Ambassador Hussain. I have not seen Mrs. Gandhi's introduction, but I must say after hearing it, she and I have been thinking very much alike as you will notice.

It is a great honor for me to join you here today, to be in New Delhi, in the company of men and women who keep alive the high ideals for India and the world that Rajiv Gandhi helped to sustain.

I would like to thank the people of India for extending a warm and gracious welcome to me and my daughter who is here with me. To President Sharma and Prime Minister Rao, I owe special thanks for their warm hospitality. The Prime Minister's visit to Washington 10 months ago opened a new chapter in Indian-American relations, one that promised to build on the many values and aspirations our peoples share. We greatly appreciate the energy and wisdom he has lent to strengthening the friendship between our nations.

Although my journey here is far too brief, it is the culmination of a life long desire to visit India. I hope these days will be the first of many I spend in this country, learning about your extraordinary past and your vibrant and exciting future; and exploring the shared dreams we hold to the future of the human family.

I can think of no more fitting setting in which to reflect upon these shared dreams than here at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation--an institution dedicated to the realization of Rajiv Gandhi's dream of a better life for all people of India.

Programs of this foundation such as assisting children orphaned by terrorism, or promoting literacy and health among women and children in rural areas or providing fellowships for women entrepreneurs are inspiring examples of how to translate dreams into reality.

Our meeting today occurs at an historic moment. As we

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approach a new century, we are also on the frontier of a new world. It is different from the one we have known for the past 50 years. It is a world in which many old divisions have diminished or disappeared. The long reign of dictators and controlled economies has given way to democracy and free markets in country after country.

The opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater now than every before. But this is also a world of profound change that exacerbated old challenges and creates new ones: the challenge of deep poverty still confronts us. The challenge of living together in peace and harmony in the face of ethnic, religious and other tensions among peoples has never been greater. The challenge of putting people first--of including all of our citizens as full participants in our economic and political lives--men and women, rich and poor, people of all races and creeds--remains fundamental to all of us.

These ancient challenges are compounded by the stresses inherent in a time of rapid change. The so-called Information Age holds great potential that the virtual reality created by the media and computers can not only help us communicate more quickly but understand each other better; yet we also know technology poses difficult problem: a vast majority of our world's people are not prepared with the skills needed for the new global economy. And, if consumerism is the primary message being transmitted, the explosion in material expectations will put additional demands on institutions ranging from the family to the government that are unlikely to be met quickly or fully. The alienation spawned by disappointment with the promise of change is likely to increase.

So, together we must address both the opportunities and difficulties that confront us today--for ourselves, our families, and the future of our children.

I want to talk with you today about what I consider central to a good common future that we can create together and that is--the importance of ensuring that women are invested in their own lives and able to participate fully in our national lives. Women represent over half the world's population. And yet in country after country, they lack access to education, to health services, to jobs, to political and civil rights. Where women lack access to education, health care and economic opportunity, children tend to be less educated, less well nourished and families tend to be both larger and poorer. Where women are illiterate, experience has shown that the environment is often poorly managed and democracy remains fragile. One lesson the experience of the last several decades teaches us is that where women prosper, countries prosper.

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But the education of women has even greater benefits for societies. Education helps us understand and tolerate differences and so holds out the promise that we can live together more harmoniously. Education helps us comprehend the unsettling changes in our lives today and helps us better manage those changes. Education is as important to peace as it is to prosperity.

But what is it that we must do to bring women fully into our national lives, among other things, we must be able to attend school and learn, not just to be literate but to acquire the knowledge and skills--of medicine, of engineering, of management, of computers and so forth--that will contribute to the prosperity of their families and nations. Women must have access to health care, especially the care they need as expecting or new mothers. Wives, together with their husbands, must have access to family planning services to enable them to make voluntary, responsible and informed choices about the size of their families. And, children--girls as well as boys--must have access to preventive and curative medical care that will enable them to grow into healthy adults.

I recognize that discussion of such problems as education and health care for girls and women is viewed by some as "soft," labeled dismissively as a women's issues belonging, at best, on the edge of serious debate about all the problems we confront on the cusp of the 21st century. I want to argue strongly, however, that the questions surrounding social development, especially of women, as discussed at the recent social summit in Copenhagen, are at the center of our political and economic challenges. Governments, business and citizens must recognize and act upon the truth for the betterment of nations and our global family. But even assuming you would agree with my argument, what is to be done to bring about strategies for such development? That is a question that deserves far more analysis and discussion than I can offer here today, but let me suggest there are five key commitments needed to achieve this worthy goal of social development for women.

First, governments must continue to expand the general conditions required for democracy and market economies that we know can unleash the creative energies of millions of people if they are prepared to take advantage of the opportunities available to them.

The Indian government has recently undertaken major economic reforms and these reforms have already helped stimulate investment and more rapid growth.

Such reforms are essential. But they are rarely sufficient

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to achieve sustainable development in any country. Where social services and women's access to those services remain limited, growth will prove uneven and unsustainable. My own country is debating vigorously the role of government in supplying social services because of the recognition that a significant number of our own citizens are not equipped to share in the rewards of the newly emerging economy.

In addition, every government should invest more resources in the education and health care of children, especially girls. This should be a priority that takes precedence over competing budgetary demands. For some countries like those in South Asia, it means providing schools and clinics where they are needed and incentives for persuading families to educate and provide health care for all their children. For a country like the United States, it means delivering existing services more efficiently with greater accountability for outcomes.

Second, although governments have primary responsibility for creating environments that encourage economic growth and social development, businesses also have a role to play. But at a time when businesses are increasingly pressured to perform on the basis of quarterly results, they have to recognize that the social costs of doing business often have medium and long term economic consequences. Depleting natural or human resources destroys markets and undermines people's confidence in them. The world needs socially responsible business leadership now more than ever.

Third, although the role of commitment of government and business is key to development, they alone cannot achieve these social goals. Citizens, cooperating together in non-governmental organizations, like this foundation, must also take the initiative and even provide the lead.

NGOs are often created by individuals with a dream--like Mother Teresa whose renowned compassion--even tenacity--on behalf of the world's most unfortunate moved us deeply when we visited her home for children here in New Delhi yesterday.

NGO leadership--often volunteer--is typically highly motivated and energetic in pursuing a vision of a better world. Tomorrow I will visit with Ela Bhatt, that soft-spoken visionary whose work is infused with the ideals of Gandhi. From her, I hope to learn more about SEWA--the Self Employed Women's Association-- and how it has empowered poor women to take control of their futures and make better lives for themselves and their families.

NGOs can give voice to the aspirations of people who are left out of the modern economy and whose influence on government may otherwise be small. The Prayas School which I visited yesterday embodies the idea that health, education, and economic development go hand in hand, and that learning must begin at the earliest stages of life and progress throughout it.

NGOs, where their members must debate and implement programs and elect their officials, are among the most effective training grounds for democracy. Their activism strengthens democracy by holding governments accountable for the way their policies and practices affect people.

As Alexis de Tocqueville observed in the last century, voluntary citizen associations are one of the vital foundations of American society and democracy. That is equally true of India where the long experience and success of NGOs inspires us.

America recognizes in our partnership with India, our NGOs and yours must play a central role. Our bilateral aid program relies on NGOs to implement programs and projects, and we are committed to increasing that partnership.

We recognize, that in no area are NGOs more important than in efforts to educate and empower women. At the Social Summit in Copenhagen two weeks ago, I announced a new ten year, \$100 million USAID Girls and Women's Education Initiative. I am happy to announce today that India will be the first country to benefit from this program. (Applause) We will soon provide an initial grant to support NGOs--US and Indian--to expand girls' education in this country.

The fourth area for concern is that of the family, for it is the family that determines primarily how daughters are treated. Deeply rooted attitudes about the value of girls are hard to change, but we must try to persuade mother and father to invest love, attention and resources in their girls, starting with education and health care. The success of that persuasion will rest on a new vision of a world in which the distinctions between men and women are not viewed as reasons to demean each other, but as complementary parts of a greater whole.

In this new world, both boys and girls are loved and cared for, first by the family they are born into--by parents who want them and invest in them; then by their extended family; then by the families they build as adults and by the children whom they, in turn, invest with love; and finally by societies that value every child as a gift to be nurtured and remember, in the words

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of Rabindranath Tagore: "Every child comes with the message that God is not yet discouraged of man."

Finally, women have to be responsible for our own lives and our own futures and work together to provide opportunities for themselves and other.

All of us must participate in a conversation about how to shape the changes we seek in the world we share. It is particularly important that women find their own voice and become participants and decision-makers in the home, the work place, community, and nation. We must develop a new language to replace the deafening silence that still sounds too often when women's concerns are raised.

I have never seen a better description of the reason why women's silence must end than in a poem I received yesterday. This was not how my speech was to end, but when I was handed it by Meenakshi Gopinath, the principal of Lady Sri Ram College in New Delhi. (Applause) A poem entitled, "Silence" written by a student, Anasuya Sengupta of the Class of 1995. I wanted to share the words of this young woman who speaks for countless other young women here in India and throughout the world. Because if we listen to the voices of women and pay particular heed to the voices of young women, the goals we have for women will be more likely achieved. And this is the poem I received, it is entitled "Silence":

"Too many women in too many countries speak the same language-of silence. My grandmother was always silent--always aggrieved--only her husband had the cosmic right (or so it was said) to speak and to be heard.

"They say it is different now. (After all, I am always vocal and my grandmother thinks I talk too much) But sometimes, I wonder.

"When a women gives her love, as most do, generously--it is accepted. When a woman shares her thoughts, as some women do, graciously--It is allowed. When a woman fights for power, as all women would like to, quietly or loudly, it is questioned.

"And yet, there must be freedom--if we are to speak. And yes, there must be power--if we are to be heard. And when we have both (freedom and power) let us not be misunderstood.

"We seek only to give words to those who cannot speak (too many women in too many countries) I seek only to forget the

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sorrows of my grandmother's silence."

As we work together on behalf of our grandmothers, mothers, sisters, daughters, and ourselves-let us avoid the false debate that says, on the one hand, only powerful institutions like government or business, or on the other, only individuals, are responsible for solving their own problems that we confront. In fact, we all know we need partnerships to achieve social changes. Governments, businesses, NGOs, families, and women themselves can either support or undermine people as they face the moral, social and economic challenges of our time. Individuals can either take initiative and responsibility or fall into hopelessness and despair. Simply put, no government, no businesses, no NGO, no person can remain idle given the magnitude of the challenges we face and the uncertainties of the world we live.

If all of us could take our responsibilities seriously. If we use our voices to seek ways to achieve the goals that really underlie the political and economic aspirations that are now being sought around the world and women and men will create a better world-for boys and girls-and that ultimately is what the point of political and economic activity should be here, in America, and around the world. Thank you all very much.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

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April 4, 1995

PRESS AVAILABILITY
SRI, LANKA

Q: Mrs. Clinton, you're winding up the most extensive trip by an American First Lady since Rosalynn Carter toured Latin American back in the late 70's, your mission was to put a human face on American policy in this region and to promote goodwill in the area. What do you think you have accomplished in the last two weeks?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I hope I have been able to represent the American people and certainly, convey to the governments and people in the countries that I have visited here in South Asia how important we think this region of the world is and how important we believe that the development of the people of this region is. Not only for the future of the countries here but for our entire global family and I hope also perhaps through my visiting and my seeing a lot of what I experienced for the first time, perhaps some Americans, are also seeing new ways of thinking about this part of the world and learning some things about what goes on here. So, in a general way I hope that I have been able to demonstrate to the countries I visited our interest in them, and perhaps serve as a bridge of perception back to the United States and then I also think that there is much that we can learn mutually. The United States has been of great assistance in this region of the world for many, many decades and I am pleased to see the results of the those years of efforts, the kinds of investments that we have made in the people of the countries whom I have visited has produced results. I hope that Americans know that we have made good use of a lot of investments that our country has made over the years and I believe that there are lessons that we can all learn from some of the projects and programs that I have visited.

Q: Mrs. Clinton, one of the points of this trip obviously was to talk about the importance of educating girls and women, not only in this region but in the world and highlighting the role of women in general. It doesn't take a rocket scientist to know that you have been a pioneer in so many ways and I think a lot of us have sensed this week in some of your discussions with people, there were times you heard some things you weren't expecting to hear. What, what have you learned this week, in these past days that has relevance to your own challenges in balancing all the things you balance and have to balance, as a woman in public life, in America today, in a society which in

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many ways, so much more advance than the ones you have been visiting and yet has its own problems for women too. Have you taken away any new strategies for coping with the daily lot that is your life?

Mrs. Clinton: I probably have and I'm going to think about that more, but just off the top of my head, I'd say you come to this region of the world and there are such contrasts which all of us have experienced and seen in the last days. On the one hand, I've met the most accomplished, well educated, powerful women in the entire world. Not only the two women ambassadors the United States has placed in this region, but obviously the three women who lead governments in the five countries in this region, but, in addition to them, I've been able to have conversations with women judges and physicians and business leaders and I've come away just really overwhelmed by how effective they have been putting together their own lives. These are women who often make tremendous sacrifices to achieve their own education. I've heard stories as I've attended my small meetings with the women in these countries about how difficult it was to persuade their parents or even grandparents that they should go on to University, let alone go on for advanced degrees. I've listened and watched how they've balanced their family responsibilities with their public commitments. So, on the one hand, I have seen extraordinary examples of women who are leaders in the life of their countries. Then I've also seen, in contrast, women who are beginning to find their own voice, women for whom the opportunities provided through programs like SEWA or the Grameen bank have given them the confidence and courage to claim a life of their own and to develop a voice of their own. So, it's been a remarkable combination of experiences for me. Many of the women whom I've visited with personally, who have already achieved levels of education and accomplishments that would be the envy of many of us in the United States, are more matter-of-a-fact about the balance and the difficulties that they confront day-to-day with the stresses of trying to keep together families, raise children, do what is necessary to carve out their own lives, and the women whom I have listened to at SEWA and Grameen, are so proud of what they have been able to achieve on behalf of their families. So it was a reaffirmation of the belief I have that women even in our country, often, have to overcome obstacles, and the obstacles are both external and internal, and we all have to be aware of them, and I think talk about them and assist each other and I was very heartened by what I saw.

Q: Mrs. Clinton, how do you take what you're talking about there, with finding a voice there, women in the United States finding a voice, how does that apply to your personal situation as you try to give voice in a way that is both comfortable to you

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and comfortable to the American people who you know apparently were not comfortable somewhat with your role, you know, some were not comfortable with your policy making role on health care. How does all of that finding a voice effect you personally?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I think you have to be true to yourself. You have to find your own voice. There is no ready made off-the-shelf voice that you can pick up and put on. I think you have to continue in your own life's journey to know yourself and to be true to yourself. That's what I've always tried to do. So, I guess I've been reinforced in my belief that it's important to make the choices that are right for each one of us and that there isn't any stereotype or preconceived notion that one size fits all, whether its for first ladies or women who are in the business or academic or professional world or women who are finding their own way in any setting here or back home. It's that kind of reinforcing of my own sense of how important it is to equip women with the capacity to make the best decisions they can make for themselves. Now if you venture forth in the world you are going to encounter difficulties. There is no easy way to live a life of action and commitment, and certainly when I think about women who have been imprisoned, tortured, discouraged, barred from involvement in educational or professional opportunities that any of us in America go through, is minor in comparison. So, I can't even compare the difficulties that I or any of my friends encounter in attempting to do what we do with what I've seen in the lives of the women in these countries.

Q: Mrs. Clinton, as you've speaking to women and girls it's been noticed with admiration how gracious your daughter has been on this trip. How has it been having her with you and what sort of positive things, do you think people of this region can draw from seeing a very poised young women in the company her mother?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I've been thrilled that she could be with me, and it has made my trip so much more than I ever could have imagined because I get to share it with her every evening. As we go from place to place to see the experiences that she's having because she often does things different from what I do through her eyes and as well as the ones we share together. I think it's been an extraordinary opportunity and I'm very grateful she could have it. I also think that it is an opportunity which I wish more American children and teenagers could have. It was certainly eye opening for my daughter to see what we have seen on this trip and to see how much people value education. To walk into that village school outside Lahore and see the girls doing algebra and then go to the next classroom and go from microscope to microscope and look through them with the girls who were doing

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their science experiments. It was thrilling to me and I think also struck her about how often perhaps our own young people take for granted the opportunities we have tried to provide as a society to our children. So I hope perhaps as people have followed our trip together, they have seen through her eyes what I would hope American young people could see, and I believe strongly that bringing our daughter to South Asia reinforces our fundamental commitment to young people, particularly to girls, in a very obvious way, that perhaps couldn't be made more dramatic than by having her with us.

Q: (Inaudible) What was her reaction to the other women and girls she met, girls who younger than her, had already had children and were living in poverty, not those that were lucky enough to be in the school, what was her reaction and how did she see that aspect in what you all saw here?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I think that she was overwhelmed as I was by the conditions that some of the people we saw and met, were living in. But, also very moved by how people were attempting to make the most of whatever situation they found themselves in. She and I were talking earlier today about showing up at the school yesterday in Bangladesh, outside Jessore and seeing those children lined up in their scout uniforms, you know, having done their drills, going to the Grameen bank village sites and seeing the children singing and dancing and acting with such precision and knowing that they have so few of the advantages that we take for granted but are able to find all kinds of personal resources to call on. She's been writing many, many postcards to her friends to try to explain in words what this has meant to her, and it is something again I just wish we could convey to our own children because the courage, and the commitment to a better life, that we saw evidenced in many of the children and adults that we met is just invaluable. I mean there is no way to substitute for that kind of personal, human capacity and I think she like, I, was very moved that the human spirit can never be broken, if it's given a chance, it can just grow and take flight, and that's what I hope we can try to bring home to your own country.

Q: To turn that around, at each step along the way people were seen you as a role model in a very different way than you're seen at home and you at each step along the way introduced Chelsea and talked about how proud you are of her. The whole idea of the example that was set. Can you talk a little about that in what you are trying to achieve and how you felt about how they reacted to you along the way and to Chelsea?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, you know, I don't know that I noticed it exactly the way you've described, because I do a lot of

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travelling around our country and I've tried to spend a lot of time with young people, particularly young women. So, I go in and out of settings with young women all the time and what I was struck by in the conversations that we had in this trip is how similar the concerns were among many of the young women we spoke with, certainly at Islamabad college and Lums and then the young woman I met who wrote the poem. This real yearning to try to create an identity that I think, although rooted in cultural and ethnic and religious ground, has a common set of aspirations that go across all sorts of boundaries. So you know I felt that people were reacting to me in part because of my official role and part, perhaps, because of what they had heard or read but mostly out of their own desires to try to put into words, again what it is that they wanted from their own lives. I think if I can help encourage that wherever I can, I want to do it.

Q: Have you given any thought, you've said a number of times before the trip and on the trip that you've also come here to learn and to look at some of things you might be able to take home, specifically as models that might be used in the United States. Have you given any thought to specifically what you might like to see at working home and also ways in which we might hear you in the future speaking out on the kinds of issues you've been talking about here, at home?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I want to continue to speak out on those issues and I think there are some ways we can perhaps take lessons and ideas from what we've seen and bring them home. There's a USAID program that has just started called "Lessons without Borders," and it uses some of what we have learned in helping other countries and then try to tell our people in America, so that, for example, other countries much poorer than we, do a better job at immunizing children and USAID funds a lot of those immunization efforts. So clearly we're trying with our new legislation to immunize all the children in America in the next several years. But, what can we learn that has worked through USAID efforts elsewhere that we can bring home? We have been very interested in the Grameen model and the SEWA model for a long time and my husband worked hard on that in Arkansas. We tried to set up through legislation the community development bank network so that we could begin to have the resources to do what Grameen has done in many of our impoverished urban and rural areas in the United States. I think that's very important. Because as we've seen there will be a lot of opportunities for people to give themselves a new economic outlook, if they can get access to credit. So, those are just two of examples that I'd like to try to work on and to try to make the linkage between what we've seen here and what we're trying to do at home and maybe now people will have a better idea what it is we're trying

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to get done there.

Q: Next stop Beijing, if you go to the Women's Conference, what concrete would you take from here?

Mrs. Clinton: If I go, which I would like to go, I will try to highlight education of girls and women, particularly poor women, health care for women throughout their life cycle. Even if I don't go, I'm hoping the American delegation under Ambassador Albright, will take the same message to Beijing. I think it is important that we take what is too often a kind of abstract discussion about women and women's rights and women's roles and bring it down to earth. There are many issues on which there should be general agreement. We now have enough practical information from around the world about what works to achieve goals and help the development of women. But, we ought to have some consensus and I would like to see coming out of the Women's Conference, in addition to the reports that are written and whatever analysis that is done, one page that could be translated in all the major languages of the world that would basically be a statement of principles and call for action on behalf of women about how girls are entitled to equal access to education and mothers should work with fathers to make sure girls are educated or we know that access to credit works particularly for poor women, so we should do all we can to insure it. So something very concrete that could be taken into our own cities in the United States or taken into the villages we visited.

Q: But, weren't you bucking some kind of cultural traditions there? You can't get one statement that would fit all sides?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I think you can. I think that certainly there will be disagreement on anything you say, I mean there are people who still don't think the Earth is round, but you can't worry about that. I always assume twenty percent of people will be against whatever you do, so that's just a given. But I think the vast majority of people are beginning to understand that there is a consensus in most cultures about the basic tools for development that within the context of different cultural settings, creates a higher standard of living for the entire family and from the family, the community and society. Better health care, especially, delivered in cost effective ways that we saw today at the International Diarrheal Center, saves lives and saves money. So, why not get sensible about how we provide health care to people. I think you can help create a consensus around some certain basic principles, staying off a lot of the political disputes that are going to be between nations and between groups of people. I know that those are there. Even where there are disputes of a political nature, there ought to be

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some effort to work toward providing these basic opportunities. Because after all politics should be a means to some kind of an end of uplifting people and giving them the opportunities to lead fuller lives, and if we look at it that way, then perhaps the Beijing Conference could come in with some ideas that would make a difference. And I just want to add that I think the Cairo Conference did. I think the Rio Conference did. Now, of course, there will be difficulties in implementation but having the statement of principles and the agreement among people about what we are trying to achieve in the environment or in family planning, population and development, or in the broader area of social development of women and girls, I think is a very important step.

Q: Mrs. Clinton, you say that politics ought to be about providing basic opportunities, yet so often in the United States, it's about spending cuts and tax cuts, having seen the needs of this region, it is worth, can government pull back, to retrench, be stopped, and can it be stopped in a way that the effort not be a liability for your husband in the 1996 election?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I think Gene, that the basic issue among a lot of people of good faith, in the broad middle is really about different approaches and means of achieving comparable ends. The welfare reform debate is a perfect example of that. You know, there is a broad consensus, I think, fueled largely by my husband's '92 campaign and by what he tried to do with the legislation that he introduced, we need to change the welfare system. So we've made that step, kind of philosophically if you will, even beyond politics. Now the question is what is the means of doing that, what are the outcomes we expect to achieve. So, I don't know that it's an either/or. You know spending cuts, tax cuts, investments, all of these are tools for trying to determine how we best deliver services, and, in effect, how do we redefine the mission of government in the twenty-first century, because that's really the underlying issues here. What is the government of the United States supposed to do? What are the governments of the states supposed to do? Of localities? What role is the private sector supposed to play? I think are trying to work this out. The objective is the same how do we create opportunity for people, raise their standard of living, strengthen our democratic institutions? Now what I hope is that we make those decisions based on information, and not on ideology, whether it be of the left or the right. You know, my husband used to say all the time that he was running for president not to jerk the country to the left or the right, but to push it into the future. I think if you look at the sorts of decisions we're having to make it's better if we have good information, in order to make the best possible decisions. And I

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think one of the real lessons from this trip for me, anyway is how effective our aid has been in leveraging change and that change has not only benefitted the people in the country where the aid has been delivered, it's also benefitted the United States. When you go and see, as we saw this morning, a center that created oral rehydration salts and you meet a doctor from Louisiana who was there because we had children who died of diarrhea in the United States and if we could figure out how to get oral rehydration salts, like they developed in Bangladesh more accessible and usable in the United States we'd save hundreds of millions of dollars and I think we'd save some lives. So, there's a real connection there, in what we've paid for and contributed to and in the effects that it's had. As people debate things like foreign aid for example, if they have good information, then I think we will have better choices and better decisions.

Q: Mrs. Clinton, I just wanted to ask, you and your husband both talk a lot about how our politics in the United States and our society in our time of transition, people are looking for new ways to cope with the changing world and information society. Having seen these societies which are struggling, mothers having been threatened with being thrown in the Gulf of Bengal, if they went school. What can you tell the mothers of America, first of all, do you think there are any (laughter), how do you approach in a way that can get this message across and yet not make you see to be leading some jihad?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, you know Todd, I think you have to keep true to your own beliefs about what is important and you have to say it over and over again, but you always have to be open to new ways of saying it, that are perhaps understood better and I think that is really what's at stake in lots of these settings around the world. I have visited other countries of the world that have made great strides in very sensitive issues like family planning by spending a lot of time bringing in people who you might otherwise think would be opposed. So I think there are different strategies that can be followed about how better to communicate what your core beliefs are, and I think also you always have to be open to new information. So coming on a trip like this, seeing what we've seen, has certainly given me an enormous amount to think about and to digest and try to make sense of and I do the same thing back in our own country. I'm always trying to interpret information and make sense of it, because I think we are living in a time where applying the old categories is not going to work and yet none of us is really comfortable yet in describing exactly what it is we're living through in a political sense and how we can make the most of it. There's going to be some really challenging times ahead. I don't think anybody has an answer, I mean I wish we did, and you all do

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too, something that could fit into a sentence or paragraph. It would be easier for all of us, because if you could figure out how to write it, I could just repeat it, or if I could figure out how to say it, I could give you some pithy quote, but I can't and I think people who are trying to impose an order, on the transition we are going through, are doing an injustice to the complexity of it. Having said that, we've got to figure out how to live in the world as it is and the world as it is right now has got a lot of people who are concerned, even somewhat insecure about what's happening. You go to this region of the world and you see how people are struggling just to make a living day by day and doing it under extremely adverse circumstances. But back in our own country, there are millions and millions of Americans who feel, in their own way, just as under stress. It may not objectively appear that way, if you were to have a split screen, and you were to show the home of the villager we visited outside Lahore and the home of the average American. And you talked to the villager and he would talk about what his life was like and what he was expecting from life and then you'd flash over to somebody in America who was feeling very much under pressure because maybe his corporation was downsizing or the job he thought he would have forever was going to be moved away from him or something was going on that was rendering him insecure. It would be an extraordinary contrast. I think we have many people now in the United States who are asking themselves, "What's to become of me and how am I going to survive in this period of transition?" and part of what the president's tried to do and part of what I think all of us, in every institution have to try to do is create an environment which does provide some security to people so that they can feel comfortable buffeted by all these changes that are happening. I don't think the answers are easy, and I don't think it's going to come quickly. But I believe we can work it out if people are willing to act in good faith, willing to act on the evidence as we know it, in making decisions.

Q: Mrs. Clinton, I have a question I think is really important for people to have an answer to, that is, I know you came here to talk about human issues, but some feel it was a lost opportunity to more specifically address human rights abuses and to really give a prod on some of these human rights abuses?

Mrs. Clinton: Well, I think by talking about girls and women, you are talking about human rights. I think there is an absolute correlation there. I also know that several of the people travelling with me had conversations about human rights issues and they had constant and consistent conversations. So, I don't think it was in any way left out of the American agenda in this trip or in any trip under this Administration. But I don't think girls and women get as much attention on a regular basis as

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 13, 1995

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
at the Mother of the Year Awards
New York, NY

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you so much. I am delighted to be here and to have this honor is very touching to me especially because of the kind comments of Donna and the other women who I share this with. It is always a great pleasure for me to be with Barbara Boxer. The end of that story that Donna started is that her daughter and my brother got married. And in fact, Barbara is on her way shortly to becoming a grandmother, as well as a mother.

I want to echo the words of support that Carolyn McCarthy deserves from all of us. She and Kevin have courageously demonstrated what one does in the face of unspeakable tragedy, and how to take that and turn it into a positive determination to try to help other people, and we are very grateful for that. And, Jane, thank you for your enthusiasm and your support for causes that are a concern to so many people.

I would also like, with the other women on this podium, to really thank all of the millions and millions of mothers whose faces and voices will not be ever heard from a podium like this but whose lives are every day, compelling examples of unwavering, unyielding, uninterrupted commitment to their children and families.

Someone asked me recently whether I thought I was a good mother, and before I had a chance to think about it, I found myself saying that I hoped I was as good a mother as my mother was and is to me. I am very fortunate to have been blessed by a mother and a father who gave me the unconditional love, the respect, the nurturing and the strong family values that every child needs and deserves. And I am sure there are many American women like me who identify with Jo March, the oldest daughter in *Little Women*, who said, "What do girls do who haven't any mother to help them through their troubles?"

My mother has always been there for me, and that is the greatest gift any child can receive from a parent. Of course, we don't always appreciate what it entails in being there with a child until we become mothers or fathers ourselves. I have discovered, certainly over the past 15 years of my own daughter's life that being a parent is a continuing learning process, a humbling experience, a continuing challenge and one that evolves and grows as your child does. I understand so much better a friend's description of mothers as "every family's designated worrier." Or as the old Jewish proverb says, "God could not be everywhere so he therefore he made mothers." Thankfully my daughter indulges me, and puts up with my rather constant fretting.

In thinking about my own mother and daughter, whose wonders I could regale you with for hours, I come back to a central thought that I have been pondering in many places over the last month. My mother, a homemaker, who never had a career outside the home, inspired me to make the most of whatever opportunities came my way in life. My aspirations turned out to be different from hers, but with her support and encouragement, I was able to fulfill them. She respected my choices. She supported me at every step. And I suspect that if we went around this room, and asked the women here about their own mothers, many of our stories would be the same. Tillie Olsen wrote in her book, *Mother to Daughter, Daughter to Mother*, "My mother is a poem I'll never be able to write, although everything I write is a poem to my mother." That one sentence sums up the powerful, enduring and intangible qualities of motherhood.

And yet today we all know that our society is grappling with the still evolving roles of women and mothers and parents. And it's important to remember there is no prescription for being a good mother. There is no full-proof formula for being a successful parent. One is not necessarily a better mother for staying at home, nor a better mother for having a career. I remember so well when Chelsea was a tiny infant, probably about a month old, and crying all night long, and as I was walking her and then rocking her, I finally just looked at her, and I said, "You've never been a baby before, and I've never been a mother before. We're just going to have to figure this out together." And that is what many of us do every single day.

Yet too often we fall into the trap of blaming many of society's problems on the fact that now 70 percent of American mothers work outside the home, and at the same time, when mothers stay at home to care for their children full-time, they are often criticized or disrespected for wasting their education and their potential. It's another one of those classic female binds -- You get it whichever decision you make. The fact is that mothers in America today whether they work outside or inside the home, have more responsibilities, obligations and expectations placed on

them than ever before. Somehow, while handling child-rearing, the care of aging parents, career decisions, economic pressures and all of the accompanying exhaustion and stress -- mothers are supposed to live neatly integrated and balanced lives.

Yet we all know, that in reality, modern motherhood is seldom neat. It is a constant and delicate juggling act. As many of you may know, I just had the extraordinary opportunity to travel to South Asia -- speaking to Carolyn and Bernie about that during lunch. That's a part of the world, where, certainly, women appear to have far fewer choices than we have here. And what struck me over and over again, during my stay, was not only the differences that clearly contrasted our experience with the experience of women in the countries I visited, but also the universality that I found among women's experiences no matter what country they live in. I will never forget one woman I met -- in a small village in Pakistan -- outside Lahore. This woman was living in a village with no electricity, no televisions, no telephones -- virtually no connection to the outside world, down the road forty minutes in Lahore. She told me after I had visited a girls' school that was the school for the young girls in that village -- that she had ten children, five sons and five daughters. And she was despairing over the fact that while her sons could continue their education after finishing in the local village school, her daughters would not be able to go further -- because there was no higher level school for girls in that area.

That, of course, was a sad fact that I found in many of the countries I visited. This mother's concern for her daughter's future, was not political, was not ideological -- it was not motivated by anything other than a powerful maternal spirit that makes us want the best for our children. And although separated by half a world geographically, and even greater distances from my own mother, her concerns for her children were essentially the same.

In coming back from South Asia I realized that just as that mother I met in the village in Pakistan was yearning to be heard, our jobs here at home, is to listen to the concerns -- the real concerns of mothers here -- to hear them, not to silence their voices, not to marginalize their concerns. Because the concerns of mothers and daughters, women and girls, are central to the quality of life in any society. As I said in a speech that I made in New Delhi, India, the concerns of women are not "soft" issues. At best, on the edge of serious debate about all the problems which confront us at the end of this century -- but rather, they are central to our political and economic challenges. So whether mothers are talking about child care or the minimum wage, family leave time, good schools, safe streets-- or the need for close-knit communities -- their issues, our issues are in many ways the central issues at this time.

They are the issues that will define our culture for many years to come. They are the issues that speak our collective concern about the erosion of family values and the importance, as Senator Boxer said, of investing in our children and securing our future as a nation. As daunting as the challenges we face, and certainly as the ones I saw in South Asia, this is a very exciting time for mothers and women in America and around the world. Leaders on every continent are beginning to recognize the vital role that women play in the political, economic and social life of every nation.

Our joy and opportunity, at this moment in our history, is to help do for future generations, what mothers and women have done before us. And hopefully to do that with the same grace, courage and compassion of our mothers. We owe it to them, we owe it to our daughters, we owe it to all of us -- to do what we can --to make it possible for every woman, every girl, every mother, to feel that the future for her children is one that will give hope and opportunity for years to come.

Thank you very much.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 1, 1995

**Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton at Medicare
Mammography Awareness Campaign Kick-off**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. Thank you so much for being here for this important and, in many ways, unprecedented event. I want to thank Secretary Shalala for her leadership in so many areas, but as she mentioned, when the President announced the National Breast Cancer Action Plan from this room and asked the Secretary to please begin to do all that we could in the federal government to not only get word out about breast cancer, but to begin a really concerted effort to turn all of the forces of the federal government toward research to find a cure to understand this disease -- Secretary Shalala really took that and ran with it, and we're very grateful to you.

I also want to acknowledge Bruce Vladick and Dr. Helen Smiths from the Health Care Financing Administration. That is the agency that pays the Medicare bills, that tries to compile information so that we know what's really happening with people in our country when it comes to health, and they are very much involved and committed to this effort, and I'm very grateful for that.

I also want to thank Dr. Susan Blumenthal and the Public Health Service's Office on Women's Health, which has played a major role in bringing to all of our attention the issues affecting women and our health, and I know this is a very big week for older Americans, because it is the White House Conference on Aging. And Fernando Torres Gil who is here, is the man responsible for making sure that this week happens, and he seems remarkably relaxed, and so I'm glad to welcome him here to join all of us.

We are kicking off the Clinton Administration's "Mommagram" campaign. And that is a very carefully chosen phrase, because it really says what we want it to say. We are concerned about our mommas -- whether we call them mothers, mommies, moms, whatever, we are concerned about all of the women in our country, and particularly older women. And we want this campaign to increase awareness of the importance of mammography among our nation's older women.

The threat of breast cancer, as the Secretary points out, is one that touches every single American. We all know someone -- a grandmother, a mother, a sister, an aunt, a daughter, a friend, or in my case, my mother-in-law, who has suffered or is suffering from this disease. But what many Americans do not know is that the risk of

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breast cancer increases with age. In fact, 80 percent of new breast cancers occur in women aged 50 and older, and half of all new cases occur in women 65 and older.

That is why, thanks in large part to the advocacy of many organizations represented here today, mammography was added to Medicare in 1991 as one of the few preventive or screening services that Medicare offers. And that is why, as I worked on health care reform, I was distressed to learn that fewer than 40 percent of women aged 65 and older on Medicare have used the Medicare mammography benefit.

Over the past months, I looked at studies on barriers to mammography use among older women, and I talked to women all over the country of different backgrounds and races and different regions who had different experiences with mammography and with breast cancer. I believe that through these meetings, which we called "listening sessions," because that's what I was doing, we could gain a better understanding of how we could increase the use of mammography by going to the people who were the experts -- the women themselves.

I learned a great deal from these sessions, from the physicians and nurses and women who took part in them, from the advocates representing organizations, and the entire government did as well. Because we heard that older women, like the rest of us, value the advice of their doctors, and that a great number of older women will get a mammogram if their doctors recommend it.

We learned that some older women don't realize that you never outgrow the need to protect yourself against breast cancer, and that some women mistakenly believe that mammograms are extremely painful or even dangerous, that they, themselves, can cause breast cancer. Some women fear getting a mammogram because they believe that finding breast cancer, even in its early stages, is a death sentence. And we learned that some older women, women who have spent their lives caring for others, simply don't know how to take care of their own health by seeking out such services for themselves.

But we also learned that with information and outreach, older women will get mammograms to help them live longer, healthier lives, and our goal is to provide this support and to increase mammography use among our nation's older women. So we are pleased to announce today this awareness initiative.

In honor of Mother's Day and all of our nation's older women, we are kicking off our initiative with a "Mommagram" campaign. The "Mommagram" campaign will give husbands, sons, daughters, grandchildren, friends and anyone else with a close relationship with an older woman a way to let that woman know that her family and friends care, that part of that caring means wanting her to get

regular mammograms, and that Medicare covers the cost of these mammograms.

I would like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the administration, to thank all of you who have done and will continue to do so much to make this "Mommagram" campaign a success. This campaign has been a wonderful coordinated effort among government agencies and between the government and the private sector. I would also like to thank the health care professionals and their organizations who will be communicating with their members about the importance of reminding their older women patients to get regular mammograms.

As one of the women in one of the listening sessions told me, she says, "I had five things wrong with me, I have five different doctors, I have doctors for my eyes, I have doctors for my heart, I have doctors for my feet, but nobody ever told me to get a mammogram." And so part of our message is for all doctors who take care of women for any problem remind them, please, about mammograms.

I'd also like to thank the senior organizations and cancer advocacy organizations who will be activating their grass roots networks to get the message out. This is very important, because you're really there on the front lines, talking with women every single day. Many of you have worked very well on your own excellent breast health awareness campaigns, and we appreciate your additional efforts on behalf of this as well.

I'd also like to thank the creative public relations professionals who donated their time and effort to design the "Mommagram" campaign. You can see one great example behind me. And the generous corporations and trade associations who have provided funding or are distributing and displaying the message or the materials that have been developed for this campaign.

And I would most certainly like to thank the women who participated in these listening sessions. Some of them were able to be with us today, and I would like all the women in all the listening sessions to please stand, because it is your help that made this day happen. (Applause.)

I would also add, we had a really good time, and some of what was said and some of the stories that were told, we couldn't publish in the form that they were -- (laughter) -- but I will never forget them. And I hope that all of you know how much we appreciated your taking your time and sharing very personal information with us.

Our efforts will not end with Mother's Day. The "Mommagram" campaign is just the first stage in a year-long Medicare mammography initiative that will include outreach through Medicare carriers and intermediaries -- those are the insurance companies and the other folks who process the bills and do what needs to be done in order to

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get Medicare to work for you, through state health departments, local aging agencies, and we hope many of you here today.

I also know there are many women -- and we have just had very strong evidence of that published in a recent article -- who are living on bare-bones budgets in their later years, and they are finding it very difficult to meet the deductible cost on Medicare and the small copayment for a mammogram. Probably the most difficult and poignant moments in those listening sessions were when women stood up and said, "I was diagnosed with breast cancer, but I didn't have insurance, and I waited until I was eligible for Medicare." Or, women who stood up and said "I have a history of breast cancer in my family, but at the end of the month, I just can't afford, even with Medicare's help, to pay for a mammogram."

I hope this campaign will help us focus national attention on not only the benefit that is available through Medicare, but also the need to make sure that every woman is able to take advantage of that benefit. We applaud the many local programs that I learned about around the country that offer free mammography screening, and I know that the many partners in this effort here today and those unable to be with us, will do everything that we can do together to assist in finding ways to cover the costs that Medicare does not now pick up.

Hopefully, the day will come when the government will be able to meet the needs of all women, or there will be other changes that will permit a service such as Medicare's mammography benefit to be accessed without any financial barriers.

As I think about this campaign, I can't help but also think about the voices we're hearing in Washington today that are trying to tell us that there is nothing the federal government can do for people. I think the Medicare mammography benefit belies that. And I think this awareness campaign does, too. Working together with local government and the private sector, we can use the Medicare mammography benefit to save lives. And that is very important to all of us.

We have here today someone I met in our listening sessions, and whose words and thoughts helped us shape this campaign. I'd like to welcome Zinny Cummings (PHO.) from Church Women United, a brave and determined woman who is one of mammography's success stories.

Zinny, would you please join us here at the podium?
(Applause.)

(ZINNY CUMMINGS SPEAKS)

MRS. CLINTON: I'm so glad you got on that airplane.
(Laughter.) One of the items that Zinny referred to was a video, news

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release that we put together by the Department of Health and Human Services, which gives a bit of a flavor about what we heard in all of these listening sessions. And I think we're going to be able to play it right now and show you on these two screens.

(VIDEO SHOWN)

Thank you, Jackie, for you and your crew doing such an excellent job on that. We started our first listening session in New York, and I was pleased there to hear from a number of women who have been active in various organizations that are advocates on behalf of older women and on behalf of cancer. And one of those women from the Older Women's League is Lou Glass(PHO.) And, Lou, I'd like to introduce you now to our audience. Please join us here. (Applause.)

(JACKIE SPEAKS)

And that's such an important point that Lou just made is the peace of mind that comes from doing this for yourself and finding out there isn't anything wrong, and that's an important point that we want to stress today.

As has already been mentioned, the President and I have a very personal interest and commitment to this issue, because my mother-in-law, Virginia Kelley, died in January of 1994 from breast cancer, and so we were very intimately involved with her and her disease over a number of months. She, as any of you who ever met her would know, she never wanted to have anybody feel sorry for her or in any way stop what they were doing because of her battle with breast cancer, and she was a great inspiration to us in the last years of her life as she was during her entire life.

And in our efforts to try to reach out to women around the country, we thought we would tell our own personal story about this because perhaps all of the talking and all of the statistics and all of the effort that has been put into mammography for all women, particularly older women, may not make the impression on some women that a personal story does. So we have, with the help of some very creative people, done some PSAs that I hope will, in their own way, reach some additional women, and I'd like to show those to you now.

(PSAs are shown)

We hope that other additional ideas for ways of reaching women throughout the country will come forward from this campaign. We want to, in every way we can, to get the word out. Some of the things that you'll be seeing in the Mother's Day part of this campaign are Mother's Day cards that will have inside this special "Mommagram," and so I hope that many, many people buy these cards and send them to

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their mothers and their grandmothers and other women who they appreciate.

We'll be having, with deliveries of flowers on Mother's Day, which I think is probably the biggest day for flowers in the whole country, a mammogram for you which will come with every bouquet and will point out the importance of having a mammogram, and again I think that this is a way that Mother's Day can be celebrated particularly, will have pins that I hope people will wear as --especially those of you in organizations who are working on this will be visiting with women and speaking to groups, many other kinds of brochures that will be put out with our slogan -- "Get a mammogram: a picture that can save your life."

So we are very grateful for everything that all of you have done, and I think each of us has a personal reason for being here today and for being invested in this campaign, and certainly my mother-in-law is my personal reason, along with many of my friends and other women whom I have known.

My own mother couldn't be here. She's much too busy today. (Laughter.) So she's not going to be able to come for Mother's Day until toward the end of the week. And of course, this is, as the President said, our second Mother's Day without his mother. But I think that we need to celebrate all of the mothers who are here, and I asked if there could be one person perhaps chosen to represent all of the mothers, because we'd like to give them a bouquet. And this is really a bouquet for everybody, and this is a total surprise, so I'm sure this woman will say, "Why are you doing this to me," but one of the people from our listening sessions who is here today is LuAnn Richter(PHO.), a 73-year-old breast cancer survivor, and she told us that in her early years, she had regular mammograms but stopped having them because she didn't have any family history of cancer.

Seven years ago, she found a lump through a self-exam, went to a physician, it was confirmed as cancerous, she had a mastectomy. She now has regular mammograms. She is a widow with two children and four grandchildren and a member of the Older Women's League. And LuAnn, if you'll join me, you are our proxy for all of the mothers and grandmothers. (Applause.)

(MRS. RICHTER ACCEPTS BOUQUET)

Well, we are so excited to have all of you here, and I hope that this campaign will be as successful as the efforts that you have invested in it.

I also wanted to recognize another group who is here because of what they had just done, and that's the Inspiration Expedition, a group of breast cancer survivors who climbed the tallest mountain in

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the world, outside of the Himalayas, in South America, and I wanted them to stand, all who were members of this expedition who are here, because we are very proud of you. (Applause.)

So we have much to be grateful for as we approach this year's Mother's Day and we have much to work for as we try to take this campaign to women throughout our country, and I want to thank all of you for making this possible and for being part of such an important effort, and I look forward to celebrating next year as we hopefully see these statistics getting better and better, as we see more and more women taking advantage of these kinds of mammography benefits, and as we move closer and closer to learning about what causes breast cancer and what will cure it for ourselves, our daughters and our granddaughters. Thank you all very much.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 22, 1995

Remarks by
First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
at the Kick-off Event for the Pediatric AIDS Foundation's
P.S.A. Campaign
Washington D.C.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you Patsy for your hard work and your constant commitment to making sure that all of us know what we need to know about AIDS and HIV. Thank you for that introduction.

I'm delighted to be here. I look around this room, and I see so many people who have done so much over the last decade or so to not only bring the issue of AIDS to public attention, but to try to put together the kind of effort that is needed in research and in treatment and care, that we are hoping to move forward by this announcement today.

I'm particularly pleased to see members of Congress here. I want to welcome Senator Hatch, and thank you for your concern about this issue -- Senator Boxer, and former Senator Hawkins, and Senator Metzenbaum, who I am always pleased to see. Also with us is Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson, and I think that's all of the members of Congress that are here, but there are others who are also committed to this.

We are pleased to have members of the research and medical community represented here, and I'm particularly pleased to see my friend, former Surgeon General, Dr. Koop, who is here -- who was one of the first voices to make AIDS an important issue on the American agenda.

Thank you all for coming and for the contributions you are making in the fight against Pediatric AIDS. I'd like to say a special thanks to Susie Zeegan and Susan DeLaurentis for their tireless leadership of the Pediatric AIDS Foundation and for the PSA campaign you're here to unveil.

And we are all here because in some small or great way, we have been touched by the life, service and work of our friend, Elizabeth Glaser. I am always thinking about Elizabeth and her contribution, and I believe the best way we can honor her is by

continuing her mission. As both Susie and Susan and all of you are doing every day. Nobody fought harder and did more in the fight against Pediatric AIDS than Elizabeth Glaser. And nobody fought with more dignity and courage.

When Elizabeth discovered that she had contracted HIV from a blood transfusion, after the delivery of her daughter, Ariel, she could have given up. When she discovered that Ariel, and her son, Jake, born three years later, had both contracted the virus, she could have given up. And when Ariel died at the age of seven, she certainly could have given up, but instead of giving up or giving in, Elizabeth channelled her energy and passion into the fight against Pediatric AIDS. The Pediatric AIDS Foundation exists because Elizabeth refused to see herself and her children as victims of fate. She lit candles for hope for children by igniting fires under Presidents, Congress, scientists, doctors, all of us. She had tremendous success mobilizing private support, and in getting Republicans and Democrats to work together against AIDS. She succeeded, in part, because she reminded every American that every American is at risk -- wealthy or poor, of whatever religion or racial or ethnic background, but more importantly she succeeded because of her enormous tenacity, compassion and grace.

With us today is her partner in that battle, her husband who kept her going day after day, month after month, year after year, Paul has continued the fight with a strong sense of responsibility to Elizabeth, to Ariel and to Jake, and to the other women and children who may not have to live with HIV and AIDS because of the work that Elizabeth and others began. Again, rather than giving in or giving up, Paul has worked ceaselessly, first with Elizabeth, and then, now carrying on that work, in order to make sure all of us are committed to increasing awareness about AIDS and raising funds for research to find a treatment and a cure.

The results of Paul and Elizabeth's dedication and devotion are clear. When Elizabeth helped found the Pediatric AIDS Foundation, in 1988, there was no Pediatric AIDS research agenda. Since then, the Foundation has raised thirty-one million dollars. It has sponsored unique collaborations among government, businesses and private research institutions. Its Ariel Project brought together key researchers and clinicians to find a way to block transmission from an infected mother to her newborn child. And of course, that is why we are here today, because finally as the public service announcement you see on display here and will see, there is some good news about AIDS.

As you in this room know, and I want all Americans to know, a study sponsored by the National Institutes of Health found that drug treatment during pregnancy will significantly reduce the risk that an HIV-infected mother will transmit the virus to her

child. About 7,000 HIV-infected mothers give birth each year, and without treatment, about 25 percent of those children are born infected with HIV. This study shows that treatment can reduce the rate of transmission from 25 percent to 8 percent. With this information comes opportunity and hope -- the opportunity for women to get tested for HIV, the opportunity to get these women treatment they need to help themselves and their babies, and the hope that with the guidance of doctors and counselors and the vigilance of mothers, we can prevent infection of newborn babies.

This is one of the times when all of us, regardless of party or background agree on a common goal -- that mothers should be tested for HIV so that we can save children. We need to do everything we can to protect children who never have to become HIV-infected, and that's what this PSA campaign is all about. In cooperation with its partners in business, government, the AIDS community, the medical community and every concerned American, the Pediatric AIDS Foundation's campaign will reach out to give women the information they need to protect their own health and the health of their children.

But information alone is not enough. HIV-infected women and their children must have access to health care and other support services. That's why we need to protect funding for the Ryan White Care Act, which pays for AIDS related drugs and primary care services, including counseling and testing. That's why we need to support public health institutions, why we need to support the CDC and the World Health Organization, that are working to stop epidemics like AIDS and other epidemics on the horizon that threaten the public health of Americans. And that's why we must protect the the Medicaid program so that it can continue to cover more than 92 percent of the children in our country with AIDS. The Health Care Financing Administration is working with states to assure Medicaid coverage of AZT for the prevention of perinatal transmission of HIV. We cannot let budget politics or maneuvering threaten our ability to prevent HIV infection in babies. And that means we have to be willing, with public service announcements like the ones we are starting today, not only to get information to women, so that they will take care of themselves, and hopefully prevent the kind of infection that could come to their babies, but that they will then have the services and support to do so to demonstrate to other women that it will work.

The battle against Pediatric AIDS is being fought every day by advocates like the Pediatric AIDS Foundation, by researchers and doctors, by mothers and fathers and by many remarkably brave and strong children. The NIH study, a study that came about because of the Pediatric AIDS Foundation's interest and the expertise at NIH is so important, and it must be well-publicized so that all women get the message about the importance of getting tested. We

can win this fight, and there can be more mothers like Stephanie Amande, who will be speaking to you in a minute, who is with us today, who take advantage of the treatments we know work, and who can give their children the chance to grow up without HIV infection.

It is now my great pleasure to introduce someone who has done so much to make sure that the struggle against AIDS and HIV continues and is made part of our daily consciousness, and someone whom I am delighted and privileged to call a friend, Paul Glaser.

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WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 19, 1995

**Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton at
Mother Teresa's Home for Infant Children
Washington, D.C.**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you all. Thank you very much. And I too am so pleased that this day has come, and it has come with the support, and caring, and love and contributions of so many people. I want to begin by thanking His Eminence, Cardinal Hickey, Monsignor Duffy, Sister Sylvia, Mayor Barry, Congresswoman Norton, and all who have participated in bringing this day to fruition. I also want again to greet and thank Mother Teresa. We take great inspiration from your work and from your ceaseless pursuit of what you believe in.

Earlier I was speaking with Mother and she looked at me and said, "This is a gift of love but I've been told I cannot give the gift of peace because I don't give peace to anyone." And I told her that one of my favorite sayings from another woman whom I admired, Eleanor Roosevelt, when she too would be criticized for pursuing what she believed in, she would often say, "I consider my job to comfort the afflicted and to afflict the comfortable." And so today we have one of those rare moments when the afflicted and the comfortable come together on behalf of the future.

I'm often asked what it is I would like to see happen above all else in our country and in our world and there are so many things to wish for, aren't there? So many things to pray for, so many things to work for. But certainly at the top of my answer would be a world in which all boys and girls are loved and cared for. First, by the families into which they are born, then into families-- if those families are not able to take care of them, and assume the responsibilities for raising them-- then by extended families and by really the family of us all who more and more we have to recognize are all interconnected. And then, finally, by the families that those boys and girls grow up in, whom they in turn invest with love and caring to create societies that value every single child as a gift to be nurtured.

We know we are a long way from that even in our own country, and some days I fear we are retreating from that vision instead of moving toward it. But we have to continue to work to build

those kinds of conditions for every child. That is why most of us, I believe, are here today because we do recognize our own blessings and we do believe that each of us has a responsibility, not only to our own children, but to all children.

When I visited the home run by the Missionaries of Charity in New Delhi, I was struck forcefully by the love that emanated from every corner of that building. Near it was a home that wouldn't pass inspection in any town in America. There were too many cribs with too many babies too close together. I am sure there were not enough toilets or enough space for what was being done there, by some kind of regulatory formula, but all I knew was that there was enormous love and care and concern being given to those children. You can sense it when you walk into buildings where children are cared for, can't you? You can feel the difference when you walk in the door of a child care center, school, or a hospital, or a shelter where children are cared for and you can know in the gut of your soul whether or not you would leave your own child there.

That is the test for every single facility that we have for any child in America. I call it the "Chelsea test." Some of you might call it the Jane or the Jack or the Mary or the Charles test. But that should be the test. So by that test this house passes with flying colors. You can already sense it is a place where not only those who come here get the care and love they need but it will have ripple effects throughout this neighborhood and community.

This has been about 16 months of hard work. As the Cardinal said, I first spoke with Mother Teresa about this after the National Prayer Breakfast and then we both agreed that each of us could work together to help promote better conditions for our children, that each of us could do what we believe our own purpose sets us to doing, and that we could, by working together, create this opportunity.

The truth is that this is just a beginning and it will grow and have meaning in people's lives as lives here are saved and changed and allowed to go forward. I'm particularly pleased that this house will serve as a place from which children will be adopted under the responsibility of Catholic Charities, and I would personally plead that everyone who knows of this house, everyone who knows of other places like it, will do all that can be done to promote adoption of the children here in our own country. We have more than 400,000 children languishing in foster care in America.

Many parents are discouraged from adopting because of the high profile cases that unfortunately demonstrate that on a rare occasion an adoptive family may not be able to keep the child whom they have adopted. Those are rare occurrences. They should

not be permitted to discourage Americans from adopting American babies and children. So please use this occasion to do all that you can to promote adoption, not only of the babies who will come here, but of all babies and children. They all deserve homes and families in America today.

I want to join in thanking Mayor Barry and the District government and especially Hampton Cross, who worked miracles. It is not easy under any circumstances to get the necessary permission to do this and I join in the Mayor's plea that the example of this house will serve as an example for the rest of the District government so that we can all begin to cut through red tape on behalf of human needs and services for our people.

I also want to commend Catholic Charities for forming a partnership with the Sisters on behalf of children in this district and I want to thank the lawyers who worked so hard donating their time. Many more hours than they ever thought when they agreed to do this to bring about all of the necessary changes that were required. I particularly want to thank Marna Tucker and Debbie Pollock for your countless hours of help on behalf of this effort. And I also want to say a personal word of thanks to Melanne Verveer on my staff for helping to coordinate this effort.

Let me end by saying that this home will be an extraordinary place for the children and mothers who come here. I know that it will serve as an example of what all of us can do if we're willing to work on behalf of one another and particularly on behalf of our children. I want to thank Mother Teresa for this gift of love and for the work that she and the Sisters are doing throughout our community here in America and around the world.

It is my hope that all of us will think in our own ways about what else each of us can do to ease the passage, to help soothe the troubles of people around us. There is so much need and as we rethink what government's responsibility is let's remember we are our government. In a democracy, there is no "us" and "them" and if we say we want government to do things other than what it has been doing in providing direct services to people, then we have to govern ourselves in such a way that we make up the difference. Otherwise we will live to see a society in which our dreams for all of our children, instead of becoming closer to a reality, recedes further and further away and that on this day is something none of us should want to see happen. Thank you all for being part of this.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 26, 1995

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TO AMERICAN NEWSWOMEN'S CLUB
THE WHITE HOUSE

MRS. CLINTON: Good afternoon. Please be seated. I am so delighted to welcome all of you to the White House. This is a great occasion and opportunity for me. I am very appreciative of the fact that I am an honorary member of this club, and I know that in this room is a real brain trust of women who have been and continue to be part of what makes our country and our democracy work. Many of you have been in this house for professional reasons before; others of you have been here for social occasions. And I am delighted that you could be here again.

Many of the women in this club know how important it is that their perspective and their point of view be heard and appreciated because there is a special feature that women in the tradition of American journalism have brought to our common life together. Many of you have covered the White House or the Capitol or politics or the economy or other matters in our country and have brought your own particular concerns and observations to the attention of all the rest of us.

There are some of you, I know, who have been features here in this room for many years. I see some of you here who are better known than most presidents who have press conferences here. (Laughter.) I was kidding Sarah McClendon the other day when we all celebrated her birthday and told her that, unlike some people, she never had to land a plane or hop a fence to get a president's attention. (Laughter.) In fact, she could just walk right in here. And a lot of us look forward -- and held our breath on occasion -- as to what would happen once she did.

Many of you are also pioneers in journalism and the publishing worlds. And I remember so well reading a piece that was written by Martha Gellhorn, a great friend of Eleanor Roosevelt's and the first woman war correspondent to cover the

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Spanish Civil War, who spent decades covering virtually every major conflict from the 1930's through Vietnam. She once explained her journalistic motivation by saying, "I have always had an interest in and a sympathy for, to use Dostoevsky's phrase, the 'injured and insulted.'" And I have always liked that because it is that brand of sensitivity and compassion that has marked the best of the work of American journalists and, particularly, of our American women journalists.

I have thought a lot about the work that you do and the work that many of us try to do. And I want to take the opportunity to spend just a few minutes sharing with you some of my experiences here at the White House, starting with one that we had earlier today.

I was given the rare honor of entertaining Big Bird this morning -- (laughter) -- and lest you think that that doesn't rank up there with some of the crowned heads of state who have been here, let me assure you that in many parts of the world, Big Bird is better known and far more important than some of the people who come here on visits. And that is because he's doing work that relates particularly to children.

And it may seem trivial to some, but it is not. It is, as we heard this morning, work that has a direct impact on the academic success and the socialization of children. A researcher from the Robert Dole Human Development Center at the University of Kansas told us this morning -- (laughter) -- that children who watch about 25 minutes of public broadcasting, namely, the programming aimed at children every day, do have, after their two to five years of exposure, more success, better readiness for school than children who watch 25 minutes of commercial television.

We add that information to the more general knowledge we are now learning about the impact of television on our children, and it underscored for me how important it is that we as adults recognize the differences between children and adults. And those differences are particularly marked in the way children respond to and learn from television.

There is no getting around the fact that television is a pervasive influence. And it can either be an influence for the good or for the ill. That is up to us to determine. It is not out of our control.

And I was delighted to host people like Professor Wright from the University of Kansas and Peggy Charren, whom some

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of you know was the motivating force behind Action for Children's Television, to try to bring attention in the midst of this debate we are having in Washington about the positive role that educational television plays in the lives of all children, but particularly in the lives of those children in 40 percent of our families that do not receive cable, who are solely dependent upon the three major networks and public broadcasting, and who, in larger numbers than the rest of the population, often do not have the resources to fill their homes with books and videocassettes and rent movies every week so that their children can have the same kind of opportunities that we try to provide to our own.

So I think it's important that the kind of discussion we had today that tries to get to the evidence, that relies on research, begin to replace the sort of ideological battles that we see too often in our nation's capital where people stake out positions regardless of the evidence because they fit an already-existing world view that one or the other side hopes to promote.

And certainly, there is no more important group in the country than journalists at this time in our nation's history to try to analyze and make sense of the blizzard of information that people are receiving today.

Through my involvement in events such as the one we did here in this room earlier today, I have learned that there are many opportunities for all of us to highlight issues and concerns that we care about. And it's especially important today because I do believe that people are overwhelmed by what is going on around them.

I know that in my own life, just the breadth of activities that come with the position that I'm in today is certainly more than I can often keep up with, and I am constantly surprised by the things that I never expected people would find interesting about me. I wish, for example, that I had even a nickel for every story written about my hair. (Laughter.) And no telling how many more there will be. (Laughter.) But it is part of living here and enjoying the opportunities that are provided.

And I have given more and more thought recently to all of the exciting experiences that I've been privileged to enjoy since moving in in January of 1993. I think often about the people that I meet in the course of a day or a week. There are so many people who are leading, in my opinion, truly heroic lives, who are waking up every day doing the best they can, whose

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names will never make the evening news, but who are contributing to their communities and their families in ways that will make a greater difference in the lives of the people around them and in the strength of our society than many people whose names do regularly make the evening news.

There are also many who are laboring under challenges that I find almost hard to imagine. Some of you know that I have spent about six months trying to focus attention on the need for women over 65 to have mammograms. And as a result of that, I have traveled quite a bit around our country talking with women who are on Medicare about why they do not choose to have mammograms.

And in every setting in which I have been, I have met women who have told their stories with great depth of feeling. And I have also met women who, time and again, tell me that they cannot afford the mammogram. They cannot afford the surgery. It is an incredible experience to sit, as I recently did, in a group of women in San Diego talking about why we need to encourage women to have mammograms and have a woman stand up and say, what can I do? I did have a mammogram, and they found something wrong. But I have no insurance and I can't go any further.

Or to meet a woman, as I did in New Orleans, who had no insurance, although she worked every single day and always tried to take care of her own health, and so, saved up every year for an annual exam, and was told at the most recent one, near the time when I met her, that she had a suspicious lump in her breast and was sent to a surgeon who told her that because she had no insurance, he would just watch the lump but would not do a biopsy. These are the kinds of stories that I see and hear day after day, week after week.

I also meet people who are inspirations to me. After reading both their books, I wrote to the Delaney sisters -- those remarkable women who are even older than Sarah -- (laughter) -- at 105 and 103, and are now not only bestselling authors, but whose lives are the subject of a smash Broadway play. I wanted to meet them. I wanted to see face to face the kind of energy and serenity that just emanated from the words on the written page. So I asked if I could come calling. And they invited me to do so.

So I went to visit them in the house they have lived in for about 50 years. And it was an extraordinary meeting for me. They are, as you may know, children of a freed slave who,

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thanks to a strong family and strong religious faith, overcame every conceivable racial and gender stereotype. They each succeeded in their respective careers of dentistry and teaching.

Now, when I went to see them, they had had their manicures, they were sitting up straight in their chairs. They told me proudly that, except for a bad fall they'd each had in the last several months, they still did their yoga every morning. And they hadn't even started until they were 62 -- which gives those of us who are exercise laggards some hope. (Laughter.) They made their own soap because you just can't get good soap in the store. (Laughter.) And they continue to take care of each other and their neighbors.

Those are the kind of people who, in any encounter than any one of us might have -- I just wish I could xerox and send around the country -- to sit and talk particularly with young people about what difficulties were overcome more than a hundred years ago, but how so much of what we can make of our lives comes from within and should not be proscribed by any circumstances that we encounter.

I've also been privileged to witness history in the making. And of the many events that I have been part of, one particularly stands out. And that was the extraordinary experience I had going with the Vice President and Tipper to South Africa to attend Nelson Mandela's swearing-in as President. There was much about that entire inaugural event that was beyond words, that moved me to tears and laughter, and made me believe that, in spite of the 20th century, progress is, after all, possible.

But probably the most extraordinary aspect of that visit for me took place at a luncheon after the actual inaugural ceremony. President Mandela had invited many of the representatives from the various countries who were there to come to the President's house where he was then residing and have a luncheon in a very large and beautiful tent on the grounds.

So there we were with people representing nearly every single country of the world, strategically placed so that those who were fighting with one another and those who wouldn't talk to each other, and those who had severed diplomatic relations with each other were far enough away that no international incident would occur.

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When President Mandela began to speak, and in his speaking he referred to the fact that he had invited three of his former jailers to attend the inaugural -- men who had watched over him, kept him imprisoned, who had been the symbols and reality of the oppressive regime against which he had fought and spoken out against for so many years -- I was dumbstruck. I thought to myself, how could anyone even understand the depth of compassion and forgiveness that must reside inside that man for him to be able to do that. And how much better off we would all be were we able to replicate even a small part of that.

We argue about so many things that don't amount to a hill of beans in our own country. We draw lines against each other. We demonize each other. We accuse each other and attack each other. And here we are living in the greatest country in the world without any of the kinds of true obstacles to democracy and freedom that people like Nelson Mandela lived with for 27 long years.

I thought about that again during my recent trip to South Asia where I was extremely privileged to travel with my daughter to five countries that are working very hard to try to build their own democracies and create more prosperous economies for their people. Any of you who have traveled through Pakistan or India, Nepal or Bangladesh or Sri Lanka know how complex their difficulties are. You know how riven those countries are by ethnic and religious and racial conflicts.

And yet, time and time again, what I was impressed by as I shook the hands of men and women who've had brothers and sons and husbands and mothers and fathers assassinated for democracy's sake, who themselves had been imprisoned or exiled or tortured, is how these people were doing what they did in large measure because of what America means to the rest of the world. How devoted they were to democracy and a better life for their people was in direct relationship to what they expected to be able to realize because they looked at the model we are for the rest of the world.

And I wished again that I could have had every American, or at least every American teenager, like my daughter, with me to point out what was happening around the world, and to remind all of us again of the blessings that we have that we too often take for granted, and to try to get all of us to focus on what is best about our country, what is positive and how we can work together.

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After thinking about a lot of these issues and mulling them over in my own head, I've decided to take up an offer that was first made to me two years ago, right after the inauguration, when I was approached about writing a column that would deal with my experiences and observations.

Now, as some of you may know, Eleanor Roosevelt was there before me, but she has always been there before me. (Laughter.) Not only did she visit the Delaney sisters in 1950 -- (laughter) -- but everywhere I go, I find Eleanor has been there. There are pictures of Eleanor visiting the children's welfare society as I walk through the hallways. There are columns attacking Eleanor for things I'm attacked for. Nothing is original when it comes to this position because of the extraordinary woman that she was.

And so I thought to myself, you know, I get so many letters -- actually hundreds and hundreds of thousands, more than a million now -- asking me about everything from, you know, Socks' feeding schedule -- (laughter) -- to what it's like to plan Christmas in July which, for me, as someone who usually, as a matter of principle, didn't start until after Thanksgiving, has been a very hard adjustment, to all the kinds of questions people have about their social security benefits, about how Medicare works, about how much is paid for out of Medicare for a mammogram, to what my impressions were of the countries I visited. Hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of questions every single day. And I keep them all in not only the files that are established for that purpose, but in my own mental file cabinet. And it grows thicker and thicker.

And as I respond to people by making a speech or answering a letter or sometimes picking up the phone to try to help somebody with a problem, I realize that that person represents thousands and maybe millions of other people with the same question or the same concern.

So I've decided to take up the offer that was made to me by Creators Syndicate and to write a column once a week about my experiences and observations as First Lady, which I hope means that I will become more than an honorary member of the club. (Laughter and applause.) Like Eleanor Roosevelt -- I do like to feel that I have earned whatever membership I am given. (Laughter.) And unlike all of you, I am not a professional writer or editor. But I do have a lot of ideas and already a lot of information that has been compiled over the last years.

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Now, Mrs. Roosevelt did a daily column. I don't know how she did a daily column. But I am going to do a weekly column, and I think that, in itself, is a rather big stretch for me on some weeks. But I think it's going to be, for me, interesting to try to, as I have recently with some of the columns that I've done, talk about issues that I know are on people's minds and also share with people some of what does go on here, some of the funny stories, some of the rather momentous events, some of the human stories, the kinds of stories about the people who come here that nobody would ever know otherwise.

And I hope that it will in some small way help to bridge some of the gaps that have grown up in America today, help bring people a little bit closer, help them feel that their government is not some entity that is totally apart from them and all of us who have anything to do with it are really aliens who landed here in some former life; but instead, the government in a democracy is us. We are our government. And in a democracy, especially the longest-lasting and greatest democracy in the history of the world, the more we can feel like we are part of one great enterprise.

And we don't have a Great Depression to rally us. We don't have the second world war. We don't even have the Cold War anymore to bring us together and to really reinforce what it is about us as Americans that is so important and so outstanding that there aren't any others like us anywhere in the world.

And part of what we're going through, it seems to me, in our country, as we approach the end of this rather confusing century we have lived through, is the need to recreate some sense of American identity, to renew our common goals as a nation, to reinvigorate our sense of citizenship, to listen to one another and not just yell and shout, to work for problem-solving ends, not just stake out ideological positions. And like you, I believe information is key to that.

So I hope to make some small contribution. And I hope that in some way I can be able to try to help all of us, including myself, think a little bit more about the human factor involved in our life together, to see one another not as stereotypes and caricatures, but as fellow human beings, each with our own God-given potential, each with our own experiences, all of which contribute richly to the great and various country that we call our own.

You, each, as women, have brought your own experiences and special perspectives to your careers. That

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perspective has helped to elevate your profession, and, I believe, to help all of us better understand this rather difficult world we find ourselves in the midst of today.

So I thank you for what you have done and for what you are still doing. And I hope, together, we are all able to make better sense out of the challenges we face, pull ourselves together, roll up our sleeves, and solve our problems so that we can move with confidence and excitement and joy into the 21st century.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 26, 1995

REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AT THE WOMEN'S FOUNDATION OF COLORADO
Denver, Colorado

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you all very much. Thank you for that warm welcome and thank you for filling this hall on behalf of yourselves and other women throughout Colorado and the United States who will be inspired and helped because there was a conference today that talked about the issues confronting women in our society. I'm pleased to be here with my friend, your governor. I appreciate greatly the introduction that your friend, the ambassador, gave me. And I want to thank all who are associated with this extraordinary foundation that is, I believe, the only statewide women's foundation in the entire country. And for that Colorado should be very proud and you should applaud yourselves. (Applause.)

I started my visit today by going to Mi Casa, an organization that the Foundation has helped in the past. One dedicated to providing women with the tools they need to become self-sufficient, self-respecting. To build a future for themselves, their families, and their communities. I was, as I often am, struck by the courage of the women I met. The women who were running the project, who every day come to work inspired by the belief that they can help others make a difference. And the women who came. Women currently on welfare who see a better future for themselves and their children, but need help and support in order to realize that. Women who are on the verge of starting their own businesses or who already have. And proudly tell you what they have accomplished and admit that they still have a long way to go.

Success stories that are being shared because women who have been successful as many in this hall are, have found time to come share their experience. I had heard about Mi Casa for a long time, but I had never had the opportunity to visit before. And I thought it was only fitting to visit a project that reflected what this Foundation and this Conference is all about before I came to speak with you this afternoon.

This summit, as it is being called, has great potential. Not only to equip individual women with the tools they need, but

to inspire all of us to reach out and provide opportunities for those who might themselves not even think to ask. I looked at the program and I've looked at what's ahead for you this afternoon. And I think there is an extraordinary opportunity for women this afternoon to participate by sharing their experiences, by asking what they can do, by asking for help.

That was one of the ideas that came out this morning. How often women are willing to say to one another if they are given the chance, I need help. How can you help me? I think in a very down-to-earth way that's what this summit is about. And I look forward to reading the report of the summit and am pleased that it will be shared with decision makers here in Denver and in Washington.

There are few issues more important than economic security. And if you are able to provide economic security for women, you are more likely to insure that families and communities will also be economically secure. That is something we have learned now all over the world. During my visit to South Asia, I saw programs that brought women together, like Mi Casa, gave them the belief they were able to do for themselves, gave them the confidence and the opportunity to go out and earn income for themselves and their families, and watched as those women brought their entire families economically along with them.

I met a women in a small dusty village in Bangladesh, who was a member of a borrowing group called the Grameen Bank, which lends money to the poorest of the poor in that poor country. The loans are maybe 10, 25, 50 dollars. But each of those loans represents a statement, a value, as to how that women who receives that loan thinks of herself and what she can do for her family. And one women whom I met said to me, she had gotten her first loan and she had bought a milk cow. She got her second loan and she bought her second milk cow. And she got her third loan and she bought a rickshaw for her husband so he too could be independent and no longer work for someone else.

It may look from so far away that those tiny steps are not related to what happens here in Denver or Colorado. But on a different scale that is what I saw at Mi Casa and that is what this foundation is doing and that is what this summit is about. It may be a milk cow in Bangladesh and it may be a computer to do desk top publishing in Denver. But each is a means to enable a women to pursue her own hopes and dreams.

Our economy is strong. Our economy is creating jobs. We have seen good, positive growth and change. And yet, despite what has occurred that we can be pleased about, we know that

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there are many men and women in America today who are working very hard and not feeling and not actually seeing the results of that hard work in increased income and a higher standard of living for themselves and their families. That is one of our biggest problems right now. How do we make sure that the energy, the entrepreneurialism, the excitement that you find in groups of women like the ones here can be replicated and spread throughout our society. How do we make sure that all women who are willing to work, willing to take responsibility, will be able to share in the results of that kind of hard work?

We began looking for answers as the foundation here has about what is happening in women's lives by commissioning a study through the labor department called Working Women Count. It was a survey of two hundred and fifty thousand working women who were asked questions about their income and what was happening at their work places and how they were trying to create a life that included home responsibilities and those outside the home. We learned as all of us in this room know firsthand about the challenges facing women who are attempting to create a better opportunity for themselves and gain a measure of economic security.

I have met with hundreds and hundreds of the women like those I met with at Mi Casa and those I met with around the country to talk about what economic security means to them. I'll never forget talking with a young woman in Santa Fe, a divorced mother of five children who has received no child support. Who did not want to be on welfare, but who could not find a traditional job that would enable her to pay for all of the services that she needed for her children. So she sought a position in an area she'd always dreamed of working. She wanted to be a fire fighter. It was a long struggle and she became one of only two women on the fire department's roster. But even with her salary there, she found it difficult to support her children, provide health insurance for them and do what is necessary to keep a family together. So she took another, full-time job. So there she was, working two full-time jobs, finding it difficult to keep her children going and wondering what else she was expected to do.

Wherever I go, I find the same concerns. I hear about the needs women have. The needs to be respected on their jobs. To be able to feel that they are taking good care of their children if they leave them in child care. The need for flexible schedules. The need for capital to start those small businesses they dream about. Women are striving for economic security but too often the tools they need are not readily available. What I hope will come out of your summit is a realistic depiction of

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both the opportunities and the challenges confronting women. What does it mean for us as a society that approximately sixty percent of women with children under six are in the workforce today. But a recently completed study about available child care deplored the conditions available in many child care centers.

What does it mean at ninety-nine percent of women in the United States will work for pay at some point in their lives. But that time may come at a different point during the life cycle. Some women may work in their twenties, and not in their thirties or forties. Some may not work until their children are grown and gone and want to enter the work force in their forties or fifties, only to be met by disbelief and discrimination because of their age.

How do we make the work world understand the full capacity and potential of women? It is not just young women who have a lot to contribute and should be given the opportunity. Women at all ages of our lives should be respected for what we can bring as well to the world of work. (Applause.) That means we have to be more respectful of the choices women make. I don't know about you, but I personally am very tired of seeing women pitted one against the other. (Applause.) Seeing women who make the choice to be full-time mothers pitted against women who have a full-time career and either do not marry or do not have children. And being pitted against women who are attempting to compose a life that consists of both family and children and work. We ought to stop pointing fingers at one another and hold out helping hands so that every responsible choice a women makes can be supported. (Applause.)

We have to be honest and realistic about the obstacles women face when they make certain choices. It is not easy in many homes in our country for a family with two working parents to make the choice that one of those parents, usually the mother, will take time off from work in order to care for young children. Given the pressures for material possessions. Given some of the social pressures that exist, that is not an easy choice. We should do more to support women and men who wish to make that choice. And we should do more to provide support through governmental regulations and business policy to support leave programs and flex time so that women do not have to make a very difficult choice between their children and their work responsibilities.

Before I came up here, I was handed a note from a women who said, I am writing this note to let you know of something very special that your husband, namely my husband, did for me. Two months ago my husband died of congestive heart failure after a

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prolonged period of several years of illness. Because your husband signed into law the Family Medical Leave Act I was able to transport my husband to doctor appointments and hospital visits and to keep my job and bring comfort to my husband at the end of his life. We should do more to enable women to be good mothers, good wives, and good caretakers if those are the responsible choices they make. (Applause.) And both business and government should be partners in that effort.

We also should do more in the work place so that women are given the opportunities they earn. One of the single biggest responses we received in the Working Women Count survey was to hear from women who knew they were still not being paid at the same level as men doing the same kind of work. They were not being given the opportunities for promotion and advancement. We should once and for all begin to treat people in the work place on the basis of what they can contribute to the business, not on what gender or what race they happen to be. But that is going to take some real effort on the part of all of us, beyond affirmative action. We should start practicing affirmative thinking and see people as individuals and treat them in accordance how they behave and how they perform on the job.

And then we come to that very difficult area of how to support all of these efforts and maintain the kind of economic security that families deserve to have. We've done a lot in this country to make sure that older people have economic security at the end of their work lives. Social security and medicare and part of a contract that enables older people, particularly older women, since women, on average, live longer than men, to have some measure of economic security.

I want to stress how important that is. Because in all of the talk about Medicare and Social Security it is easy to forget we are talking about real people. The median annual income for women sixty-five and over in our country is \$8,500. Now stop and think about that. The average median income. As you walk down the street, as you leave today and you see women who are over sixty-five, think to yourself, they are likely living on around \$8,500 a year.

I mention that because it's not only a question of their economic security. It is also one that affects their children and their grand-children. This intergenerational compact that we have entered into have enabled many families to achieve a level of economic security with the knowledge that their parents and grandparents would be given the basic needs required towards the end of their lives.

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We have to view things like health care as an investment in people that enables them to achieve economic security. As a part of what we mean when we talk about economic security. This is the kind of challenge that we are debating now in our country and there are many good ideas about how to provide the tools that women and men and girls and boys need. But I think much of what has to happen must begin inside each of us. As we assume responsibility for ourselves. It must then expand outward into the families that we are a part of. In the places where we do work. In the communities that we live in and help to lead. We should honestly discuss every one of the challenges confronting women as they attempt to achieve economic security. Not in an ideological way because I don't think there are right or left or conservative or liberal answers for a lot of the challenges we confront. I believe what is out there waiting for us to discover are down-to-earth, common-sense, pragmatic solutions to the problems people face every single day. As they work to keep body and soul together. To give their families, and particularly their children, better opportunities. As they work to achieve their own god-given potential.

All through this country many businesses, many not for profits, many families and communities have begun to solve a lot of the problems that are discussed at this summit. We need to replicate programs like Mi Casa. We need to look at businesses that have been creative in providing flex time and emergency child care. Not just to treat them like their an aberration but to figure out how we can band together to replicate what they have provided which enables more people to take advantage of the opportunities that are out there. For them to achieve economic security.

This is a movement that is happening throughout the world. Because we know that if we can only invest more in women, we will not only lift up families, we will lift up communities and even countries. I've seen it firsthand. I know that it is an issue that if we pursue, we can move the agenda forward. Part of the reason that I am excited about the upcoming Women's Conference sponsored by the United Nations is because one of its primary emphases will be on economic security.

We can come from our country and share the success stories, like the Mi Casa resource center which did receive support from this Foundation, which has reserved support from our federal Small Business Administration, has received support from the state of Colorado. It is one of the many training and counseling centers that are beginning to make a real impact on the economies of their communities. And we can learn from others around the world who are making the same steps to invest in women.

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This upcoming conference in Beijing is an important opportunity to focus attention on women. It is the chance we have to come together as you have in this summit. And to share ideas, to share our successes, to share failures, to learn what works and what does not. It is important therefore in my opinion that the United States play a very big leadership role in shaping the agenda of this conference to focus on the bread and butter issues. The issues that people get up the morning worrying about and go to bed still concerned over.

Those who would argue we should boycott the Women's Conference because the host country has a poor record on human rights may be well motivated but as Madeline Albright, the chair of our delegation has suggested, they miss the point. Human rights cannot be separated from women's rights. Women's rights to economic opportunity, to fair treatment, to political participation, should be part of the human rights agenda. Women do most of the work in the world. They have the responsibility for raising our children in the world. They are the backbone of the vast majority of families and communities. Anything we can do to provide greater economic opportunity for women is a good investment and the United States should do all that it can to make sure that barriers to women's participation are broken down and that training and credit and political involvement and health care and education are available to all women.

I hope that this summit's report will be part of what is considered in Beijing. Certainly many of the issues that are on the agenda for this summit are exactly what should be looked at and discussed there. And out of it should come what you are going to produce: a report in the words of many of the participants about what is actually going on in the lives of women today. Not an abstract discussion or an academic treatise. But what does it mean to try to start a new business. What does it mean as a woman at Mi Casa said today, when your dream for a new business dies in the parking lot of a bank. What does it mean if you are a young girl who's dreaming big dreams about your own future but get no encouragement from anyone close to you? What does it mean that you have health care needs that you cannot get met because in our country you have no insurance or in another country there is no doctor or hospital to access? What does it mean if you have the right to vote, as we do here, and are able to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of our suffrage, but so many women are too busy to exercise their vote? Too busy to become involved in the basic right of citizenship. Whereas women in other parts of the world are still denied suffrage or are so prevented from exercising it, that it's grant is a farce. What does it mean for all of us to know that

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economic security is not within reach for millions for our fellow women in America and billions of other women around our globe?

These are questions that don't belong just in the reports from summits, or just in the platforms from UN conferences. These are questions that each of us should be asking ourselves -- talking about with our friends -- discussing in our work places, our churches, everywhere we gather. Because as the Governor said, economic security is not an end in itself. We all know more people than we can count that have more economic security than you or I will see in a lifetime, but don't have a lot of what else makes life worth living. Yet it is absolutely fair to say that poverty and stress in the face of economic challenge render the lives of millions of women difficult, if not impossible.

So yes, let's work as hard as each of us knows to do what we can to make it possible for every women in every family to have enough economic security. That she's able to feel good about her future and the future she can hold out to her children. Because it is from that point then, when people at that level of security, that they can begin worrying about quality of life in their communities. When they can begin reaching out more to help each other. And then those of us who are economic secure, let's stop and ask ourselves what more can we do to make it possible for more people to feel that they have the choices that we have taken for granted.

So although the foundation is hosting this summit on economic security, I see its agenda as going far beyond what is being discussed today. I see it as a statement about the potential and promise of women everywhere. And I see it as a challenge to each of us. That we go forth from this day determined to do what we can for ourselves. To take responsibility. To quit, as a friend of mine said, wringing our hands over our problems so that we can roll up our sleeves and get to work. And I also see it as part of a great effort to make, that they we provide those opportunities necessary for every women willing to seize them. So that all of us can move towards economic security as a way of moving toward a juster, more hopeful society for ourselves and our children.

Thank you all very much.

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REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND THE FIRST LADY
ON 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RATIFICATION OF THE
19TH AMENDMENT AND WOMEN'S RIGHT TO VOTE

Jackson Lake Lodge
Grand Teton National Park
Jackson, Wyoming

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you so much. Thank you so much, Rosemary. Thank all of you. My husband and I were just remarking to one another that of all the events we've been privileged to be part of throughout the entire country over all these years, we have never been at one in a more beautiful spot in the entire world. This is overwhelming. (Applause.)

I want to thank Rosemary and all the members of the League of Women Voters who are here. I want to thank Gladys Jones, who I understand is here, the founder of the Wyoming League of Women Voters. (Applause.) I want to thank all the members of AUW and NOW and B&PW who have worked hard not only on this event, but more importantly on the reason we are here today -- to celebrate the suffrage of women, and beyond that, their full political participation in our country.

I also know that there are elected officials, both Republican and Democrat, who are here today, and I want to thank all of you for being part of this celebration. Our friends, former Governor Sullivan and Jane, are here, and I want to acknowledge them and thank them for being with us. (Applause.)

And another woman who had done a lot to promote the 75th anniversary of women suffrage, my friend Jurate Kazickas is here.

She, along with Lynn Shearer, is responsible for the documentary that many of us will be viewing tonight about the suffrage movement.

I'm also told that there are descendants of the famous Jackson 1920 all-women council who are attending the event today. And I would like to acknowledge the ones who I've been told are here -- Katherine Ben Bleck Stewart and Rebecca Stewart Brook, and Virginia Deloney, and Viola McCain. Thank you for joining us. (Applause.)

You know, when we decided we wanted to come to Wyoming and to the Grand Tetons and Yellowstone for our vacation we didn't really plan it around women's suffrage. That was not something that was foremost in our minds. But I can think of no better place to be than Jackson, Wyoming, on the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage. Wyoming was not only the first place, when it was a territory, to grant women the right to vote, but also the first state to do so and the first state to give us a woman governor, Nellie Taylor Roth. (Applause.) And I have already mentioned the famous 1920 women's council.

And during this day of commemoration that are happening all over the country, I have learned a little bit more about why the West, and Wyoming in particular, was so crucial to the enfranchisement of women. I think it speaks to the basic values of this part of our country -- the pioneering spirit, the willingness to seek out new opportunities, the sense of independence, and, certainly, resilience in the face of change and uncertainty.

One of the most enduring and endearing figures in Wyoming history, a woman whose name I only recently came to know, is Esther Morris. Like so many of the earliest settlers here, she followed her husband and son to Wyoming in the middle of the 19th century. She had heard a speech by Susan B. Anthony and was so inspired that she began speaking about suffrage here in Wyoming. Legislators and community leaders were impressed by Mrs. Morris's message and pledged their support. Not only was she and the other women and men she worked with responsible then for suffrage here, but she became the first woman in American to be named a justice of the peace. And I was particularly impressed that not one of the 40 cases she handled was ever reversed by a higher court. (Laughter and applause.)

Now, it took Esther Morris and a lot of women working very hard, but it took the entire state legislature, the territorial representatives at that time, all of whom were men, of course, to vote in favor of suffrage. It took a bachelor governor to resist pressure to veto the suffrage bill. And it took a stalwart state legislature some years later to stand up to

threats from the United States Congress that statehood for Wyoming would be denied unless women were not given the vote in the new state.

So I particularly like the image of the members of Congress saying, you can't come into the Union unless you deprive women of the right to vote, which you've already given them, and representatives of Wyoming saying, well, then, we won't come into the Union if you're not going to let our women vote along with the men. (Applause.)

So I think it's fair to say that Wyoming holds a very special place in our history because it led the way and was pretty lonely for a long time in giving women the right not only to vote, but to be active in the political arena. So I am grateful that the President and I can be part of this celebration.

This opportunity really gives us a chance to measure our progress and to reflect on the challenges that remain before us. As Rosemary said, women do have the right to vote, but, unfortunately, many women in our country today do not exercise that vote. In the 1994 election, only 45 percent of eligible women voted. And women need to be more mindful of their opportunities and responsibilities as citizens.

That's true in our country, and it's true around the world. And for that reason, I would like to talk just briefly about an event that holds great promise for the 135 million of America, as well as hundreds of millions of women around the world. It's an event that incorporates many of the aspirations of the suffrage movement. It's the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women which will begin a little more than a week from now.

That conference is about investing in people, in their potential as human beings to make the world a better place.

It is a celebration of women. It is a celebration of the family.

Because we know that it is families that nurture our sons and daughters, it is families that give us our foundations as individuals, and families which are the building block of any healthy, productive society.

As every parent knows, we can only keep our families strong and secure if we invest in education, health care, economic opportunity, and political freedom for all people. That is why those subjects will be the topics of discussion at this

upcoming conference, which will try to focus attention on the challenges and burdens women face in trying to improve their own lives and the lives of their children and families. It is about giving a voice to women, whoever they are and wherever they are, so that they can be heard as we make decisions that affect our lives.

If you're wondering who in America would travel halfway around the world to attend this conference, here's part of the answer -- a former Republican governor of New Jersey, an Ursuline nun, a nurse, a law professor, the editor-in-chief of Ladies Home Journal. These are some of the people who will represent the United States on its official delegation. It's a delegation that should make every woman and every American proud.

It is an extraordinary group of people -- men and women, Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives -- whose common goal is to find common ground to advance the interests of our nation's women and children and families.

This delegation will be joined by 40,000-plus women from around the world, including thousands from the United States, many of whom are paying their own way. A group of CPAs from Virginia is making the trip. So are school principals from Maryland, women business owners from Florida, optometrists from California, YWCA leaders from across the country, and even a group of 10- to 14-year-old girls who are coming from Duluth, Minnesota.

The head of the official U.S. delegation is our Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, a distinguished scholar, public servant and the mother of three daughters. Ambassador Albright knows more than most of us do about the meaning of freedom and democracy. She grew up in Europe, and her family was forced to flee both Hitler and Stalin.

The director of the delegation, Marjorie Margolis Mezvinsky, is, I think, one of America's most devoted mothers, as well as a former television news correspondent and member of Congress. She and her husband are raising 11 children, five of whom are adopted.

Tom Keane, the President of Drew University, is the Vice Chair of the delegation. I first met him when he and my husband were serving as governors. He was the Republican governor of New Jersey. They worked together to improve education for all of our children.

The reason these men and women are going to Beijing is to focus world attention on the issues that matter most to

women and families -- health care, education, economic opportunity, political freedom and participation and human rights. The conference will raise awareness about the challenges and burdens women face.

I'm thinking about the millions of women in our own country who are trying to raise children on jobs that pay \$4.25 an hour, or who are bumping up against a glass ceiling every time they seek a promotion at work, or who can't find quality child care and don't know what they're going to do with their children while they work; women who are uninsured even though they're in working families and worry every day about health care costs; women who are taking care of aging parents; women who are living in silent terror because of violence in their own home.

I've said, and I want to say again, that too often people write off concerns about education and health care, or the minimum wage and domestic violence as so-called women's issues that are unrelated to the economic and political challenges we face. They are somehow thought of as soft issues. I suppose there were conversations like that in Wyoming, and then, certainly around the country, as women talked about seeking the right to vote, and were told, well, that's a woman's issue. In fact, these women's issues are crucial to progress wherever we live. Simply put, if women and girls don't flourish, families won't flourish. And if families don't flourish, communities and nations won't flourish.

Sister Dorothy Ann Kelly, an Ursuline nun and president of the college of New Rochelle, understands that. So does Susan Weld, a law professor at Boston College and the wife of Massachusetts governor Republican William Weld. So does Rosemary Jackson, the president of the school board in Camden, New Jersey. That is why they and thousands and thousands of women and men like them will be taking part in this historic conference.

I hope that as we celebrate 75 years of suffrage today in our country, and particularly as we commemorate the important role that Wyoming played in that, we can think more broadly and perhaps with a little more vision and determination about what each of us can do to ensure that all women and men, all girls and boys have the full potential that they deserve to have and the full opportunity to exercise that potential, whether they live in Wyoming or in Washington or anywhere in the world.

It's an exciting time to be an American. It's an exciting time to be a woman. And it's very exciting to be here

in Wyoming with all of you.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Thank you. Now, I have to do something which I never had to do before my husband started running for president -- I have to introduce him. (Laughter.) I don't know how many of you have ever tried to introduce your spouse. It is not easy.

You either want to say too much, or you just don't want to talk about it. (Laughter.) Go home today, stand in the middle of the dining room, and pretend you're introducing your spouse.

Today, I have to say, as I'm about to introduce my husband, I am reminded, because of the boots he's wearing, that he brought those boots home one night -- he'd been out -- obviously, I was not with him. (Laughter.) He walked in real late, and I had just turned off the lights. And he walked in and he said, "Honey, are you still awake?" And I opened my eyes -- those boots glowed in the dark. (Laughter.) I said, "Oh, my goodness, your feet are glowing."

That's what I mean -- when you introduce him, you never know what you're going to say when you introduce a spouse. But I do want to say that I am always very happy and proud to introduce him under any circumstances, but I think particularly when it comes to an event like this because he is somebody who has always supported me, and I think in large measure because he had a mother who faced her own challenges and worked hard all of her life. He always saw her struggling, but with a smile on her face. He's always been supportive not only of women's right to vote, but of women to take their rightful place in whatever role in society they choose to do. So -- the President of the United States. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you very much -- I think -- Hillary. (Laughter.) In my own defense, I brought these boots home about 10 years ago, and the shine has kind of come off of them now. (Laughter.) They don't wake anybody at night anymore.

I want to thank Rosemary Shockley and all the representatives and guests of the women's organizations who are here who put this wonderful event together. I want to thank the wonderful people who work for Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks for making this an incredible vacation for our family. We have had a wonderful couple of days.

Yesterday we were up in Yellowstone, and I remarked that I had had a lot of incredible things happen to me in my

life, but in spite of that, if anybody had ever told me that within the space of about eight minutes I would be feeding bison to wolves, and then would be hailed on in August -- (laughter) --

or as one of the park rangers said, this is "hail on the chief" -- (laughter) -- I would never have believed it. So this has been an incredible thing for me, and I'm so profoundly grateful to everybody here in Wyoming who has made our vacation so wonderful.

I'm glad to be here for this occasion. I was thinking how amazing it is that a state like Wyoming would be the first place, the first democracy anywhere in the world to give women the right to vote. And maybe it was because the men were more secure here than they were other places at the time. (Laughter.) But for whatever reason, it was a very good thing.

I have always been interested in these issues because, as Hillary said, I was born to a working mother in the 1940s and raised by a working grandmother in the 1940s. So my mother and my grandmother were both working 50 years or so ago, just 25 years after women were given the right to vote in the country as a whole.

I'd like to say a word, if I might, at the beginning about this World Conference on Women. I'm glad the First Lady is going to lead our delegation. (Applause.) And you heard her describe the delegation. They come from all walks of life, from different political parties and religions and they disagree about a lot of things. But they do agree that if you look at the world and imagine what the future is going to be like, and if you believe as I do that more and more the fate of Americans, even in land-locked states like Wyoming and Arkansas where I grew up and lived until I became President, will be caught up in the fate of what happens to people all around the world, we must have a common agreement that we need a united front for treating women all over the world with dignity and respect and giving them opportunities in the family and education and in the workplace. (Applause.)

We can't imagine what it's like in America because of the progress being made in this country by women, but there are still places where women babies are more likely to be -- little girl babies are more likely to be killed just because they are little girls. There are countries in the world today that have a huge imbalance in the number of males and females because the little girls are killed at birth because they're not thought

to have sufficient value.

There are still countries in the world that try to force women not to have children, and that's something we can't imagine in this country, where that's the most profound right that women have in the family. There are still countries in the world where a young bride can be burned if her family can't come up with the dowry or won't come up with a little more. There are still places in the world that are held in abject poverty because women who are entrepreneurial and creative and willing to work don't have a chance even to borrow what would be a pittance in America to start a little business to ply their trades and work their skills.

And all of this will affect us because we're going to live in a global economy. And if we want to trade with the rest of the world and promote democracy and freedom with the rest of the world, then, obviously, we need to be working with people who are trying to unleash the potential of every citizen in their country. And we believe that's the only thing that works here in America.

One of the most troubling things to me about our politics today in America is that everything gets turned into just another version of the same old political fight, and all these issues seem to be torn like Silly Puddy into extremes. So now there's this huge effort in America to try to convince the American people that this conference is somehow anti-family and that we're sending some sort of radical delegation there. Why? Not because it's true, but because it furthers the almost addictive, almost narcotic drive among some elements in our society to take every single issue and use it as a cause for division among our people when we need to be more divided -- united. (Applause.)

This conference is going to talk about education and domestic violence and grass-roots economics, employment, health care, political participation. It's going to talk about a lot of things we take for granted here in this country that we think if everybody had access to it around the world we'd be a lot better off. And however anyone might try to paint this conference, the truth is it is true-blue to families -- to supporting them, to conserving them, to valuing them.

And I want you to know that I think America will have some things to learn from this conference as well. And we

don't intend to walk away from it when it's over. I'm going to establish an interagency council on women to make sure that all the effort and the good ideas actually get implemented when we come back home. (Applause.)

I have declared this day Women's Equality Day because there is so much to celebrate and so much still to do. All around the country, as I'm sure you know, there are events commemorating this important anniversary, but no place has a better claim to it than Wyoming, for all the reasons that Hillary said. (Applause.)

The Suffragists left us a living legacy and a continuing challenge. The legacy is full citizenship for our mothers, our sisters, our daughters. The continuing challenge is to honor that legacy by using these privileges to lead our nation in the right direction.

The vote for women came at the end of an enormous philosophical war. Some of the things said kind of remind me about what people are saying about this conference on women now.

It was bloodless, but it was highly costly. It literally consumed the lives of thousands of American women who were dedicated to gaining the right to vote. The dividends that were won we are still reaping today.

But remember what the opponents said about that. The opponents said that allowing women the vote would mean a disaster for our nation; it would destroy our families; it would end all distinctions between the sexes. (Laughter.) Happily, they were wrong on all counts. (Laughter.) But the arguments then and the arguments you hear about this conference on women today, they illustrate one of Clinton's laws of politics, which is that the American people have one peculiarity -- they're all for change in general, but a lot of them are against it in particular. (Laughter and applause.)

I remember back in 1993 when I was trying to get Congress to enact my deficit reduction program that would also have lowered taxes on working families with children, and increased our investment in education and technology, and the people who wouldn't vote for it said it would mean the end of the American economy. It would bring on a great recession. It would just be a disaster. It would be the end of everything good and true about America. A bunch of those folks are running for president today. (Laughter.)

So it turned out that the results of that program were that we reduced the deficit from \$290 billion to \$160 billion. We got about halfway home toward our goal of balancing the budget before anything is done this year. We got 7 million new jobs, 2.5 million new homeowners, 1.5 million new small businesses -- the largest number in American history -- the Stock

Market at 4,700 and things are rocking along pretty good. And they still say it was just the worst thing that ever happened. (Laughter.) Everybody is for change in general, but it's difficult to get people to do the particular things to achieve those changes.

I think that's important to remember. Somehow, by some magic of harmony with this beautiful nature behind me, and a sense of self-confidence and fairness, men who were in the decision-making process in Wyoming found the self-confidence and the innate fairness, without regard to their other partisan or philosophical differences, to say it doesn't make sense to have half our folks not have the right to vote. And that's a great tribute to the people of Wyoming. It led directly to the passage of the 19th Amendment, without which none of these other things would have happened.

And, of course, as Hillary has already said as she introduced the survivors here of that remarkable slate of women who swept the elections in Jackson in 1920, I thought that was an incredible thing and I liked it a lot until I read that one of the women actually defeated her own husband. (Laughter and applause.) Those guys have even more self-confidence than I do when it came to that. (Laughter.)

If you think about it, it's interesting -- women have always had great symbolic importance in our country's democracy. Our greatest symbols for justice and liberty are women. Think about it -- a woman holding the scales of justice blindfolded; the Statue of Liberty holding a torch. One promises fairness and the other freedom.

We are a country that, more than anything else, is still around after all this time because we kept expanding the boundaries of fairness and freedom; because we never listened to not only the naysayers in -- among us, but also the naysayers in our own spirits. For each of us, inside, every day wakes up with the scales balanced between hope and fear. And somehow we've always found the magic balance to go forward for fairness and

freedom.

Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Esther Morris, Cary Chapman Capp -- they helped to achieve that. Mother Jones fought to end child labor. Sojourner Truth fought to end discrimination and to establish social justice. My

friend, Rosa Parks, set in motion the civil rights movement by simply refusing to sit in the wrong place on a bus. A lot of ordinary women all over this country, decade after decade after decade, have worked to advance the cause of fairness and freedom.

When we look back on them from the vantage point of the present, it's hard to imagine that as recently as 1920 American women couldn't vote. The suffragists had a lot of vision. They knew that the vote would be an opening, a door through which women could help to direct our government to where it should be, and with which women could stand behind issues that

would make their families stronger and their children's lives better.

When you look back, it seems remarkable that all this has happened in the last 75 years. Now, more and more women are completing higher and higher levels of education, entering fields which were closed to them not so long ago. Every time I visit a federal facility, every time I go to these national parks, I marvel at how many of the park rangers are women.

We just celebrated, Hillary and I did, a milestone in the progress to erect a memorial in Washington to the women who are veterans of our wars. And I was so proud to be able to say at this ceremony that in the two and a half years I have been

President, we have opened more than 250,000 positions in the United States military to women that were closed just two and a half years ago. (Applause.)

In the last three years, the Small Business Administration in our administration has cut its budget by 40 percent, almost doubled its loan volume, and increased loans to women entrepreneurs by 85 percent. (Applause.) We're not at 50 percent yet, but I have six women in my Cabinet -- twice the number of any previous administration -- and over one-third of our presidential appointees and about one-third of the new federal judges appointed in the last two and a half years are women. Women are beginning to participate more fully throughout this country in the life of America. And so far as I know, the sky is not falling anywhere. (Laughter and applause.)

We also have to recognize that the people who were

against the right to vote for women were wrong when they said this would abolish all differences between the sexes. And some of the differences that still exist are not such good ones. We know that women are still, in peculiar ways, more vulnerable to violence, and we have established a violence against women section in the Department of Justice which is doing exemplary work. And the former Attorney General of Iowa, Bonnie Campbell, heads that and she is also going to the women's conference.

We have tried to do a lot of work to see that our national medical research focuses more on the health concerns of women. I was stunned, when I started running for President, I never knew before how women had been systematically left out of a

lot of the research efforts in the health area, particularly areas relating to cancer. And so we have done a lot of work to make sure that in medical research and treatment, with heart disease, cancer, AIDS, and other diseases, women are more fully represented in the testing protocols and the research to make sure that we do what we ought to do. (Applause.)

Hillary has launched a national campaign to try to increase the use of mammograms which will help in the early detection and the saving of thousands of lives. And I hope it will be ever more successful.

As you look ahead, I ask you to think about what is the agenda for women and for families, for more than any other people in our society, women have always carried on the struggle to find both personal fulfillment and still fulfill the social obligation of maintaining strong families and giving our children a better chance.

And I think now that's what we want for all Americans. If you look at the American economy today, the truth is that most people don't have the option not to work. For those who do, I applaud them for any decision they choose to make because the most important thing in our society is still raising children and doing a good job of it. That is still the first and most important job of our society. (Applause.)

But if you look at this world toward which we are moving, the 21st century, the way we work and live is changing dramatically. And we are in a big, huge debate today, not just in Washington, but in every state in the country, about how we're going to reestablish common ground; how can we agree on the basic things we have to do to enable our people to succeed, first and

foremost, in raising their children; secondly, in being successful in the workplace; and thirdly, in preserving our freedom and our way of life. Those will be the great challenges, the new family values challenges for the 21st century. And we have to ask and answer those questions.

If I might, let me just suggest a few things that I think are quite important if we are going to extol family values and give women a chance to live up to the fullest of their God-given capacities as we move into this next century.

First of all, we've got to say, it is the policy of the United States of America for people to be able to succeed as parents and as workers. It is the policy of the United States for people to be able to succeed. (Applause.)

In that sense, perhaps the most important law I've signed since becoming President is the first one -- the Family and Medical Leave Law. The people, again -- (applause) -- everybody was for change in general, but against it in particular. People got up and gave the awfulest speeches you ever heard about that law. They said it would mean the end of the free enterprise system, businesses would go bankrupt, stores would be boarded up everywhere.

We have no instance -- not a single one -- of a business going bankrupt because of the Family and Medical Leave Law. But there are a whole lot of people out there who can take a little time off from work when their children are sick -- sometimes their children are dying -- without losing their job. And that's a good thing. (Applause.) There are women who can take time off from work to deal with their own illnesses without losing their health insurance, and thereby losing their ability to work because of that law. So I think that's a part of our family values agenda.

If you look at the family values agenda, you have to say in the world toward which we are moving, the level of education people have determines their income and their capacity to earn more than ever before in American history. So I think giving every child a good start in school and guaranteeing everybody the right to go to college with an affordable college loan, preserving programs like the National Service Program that allows people to work their way through college, giving every unemployed person in the country the right to, what I call a G.I.

Bill for America's workers -- a voucher that they can take to the nearest community college so that they can get retrained when they lose their jobs. These are family value issues that will profoundly affect the women of our country and their ability to

do well in the future. (Applause.)

I think immunizing all the children in this country is a pretty important family values issue. I think we ought to keep going until we've got the job done. I think we ought to recognize that, yes, we have to slow the rate of inflation in Medicare and Medicaid, but we shouldn't forget that if we want our working people to be able to educate their children, then we ought not to cut Medicare and Medicaid so much that they will undermine the ability of middle-class people to have their parents get the care they need, and undermine senior citizens' ability to get that kind of care. (Applause.)

Let me make it clear -- I believe balancing the budget is a family values issue. I think it -- this year -- this year, we would have a surplus in the budget but for the interest run up on the debt accumulated in the 12 years before I showed up in Washington. (Applause.) This is a big issue. (Applause.)

Next year, interest on the debt will be bigger than the defense budget. We're worried about getting an adequate budget for the parks here; we're worried about getting an adequate budget for education. No American has a stake in a permanent deficit. That also is a family values issue -- lifting the burden of this awful debt off of our children is a family values issue. But we can do it without breaking Medicare and bankrupting the ability of middle-class families to know that their parents can get the health care they need while they educate their children. We can do both, but we must do both. It's not an either-or choice. (Applause.)

I think maintaining what you see behind me is a family values issue, and making it available for all the American people. (Applause.) And I think being willing to honestly confront some of the most difficult conflicts in our society where short-term economic gain will cause a heavy price over the long run is also an important part of our maturing as a country. And let me just mention one issue -- a difficult one.

Everybody told me that I -- all my political advisors told me I had taken leave of my senses when I said it was time to stop walking away from the terrible health consequences of teenage smoking. But I believe the United States is right to say this is a children's disease. Kids are being addicted, 3,000 kids a day start smoking, 1,000 of them -- 1,000 of them will have their lives shortened as a result of it. I

think that is a family values issue, and we should take it and face it together. (Applause.)

So if we're going to do this it is important that we remember the kind of self-confidence that was demonstrated in Wyoming when women got the right to vote. It is important that men and women, with all their differences -- political and otherwise -- have the level of self-confidence to sit down and say, America is still a great big family. Like every great big family, there's a whole lot of differences and theirs always going to be a whole lot of argument and we're always going to be looking at some of our family members cross-eyed, like we do our second cousin that we wish wouldn't show up to the reunion. (Laughter.) But there are limits to the extent to which we can demonize one another. We've got to treat each other with respect and work through these things. (Applause.)

And if we really want the day when women will become full partners in the decision-making process in America -- and we believe that's a good thing -- and we want to face these issues which will determine whether we go into the 21st century with the American Dream alive and well, and the American community strong and together, we have got to have that level of self-confidence. We have got to remember that every time -- every time we have to face the choice between going forward with freedom or fairness -- two things symbolized by women -- we have had to deal with the demon of insecurity in our country and even inside.

And we have heard all these proclamations, all these Chicken Little proclamations that every change we make that we knew we ought to make would cause the sky to fall, and we're still around after almost 220 years because somehow, somehow when it came time to make the decision, we decided Chicken Little was wrong.

Blind justice was right, the Statue of Liberty was right, and the kind of self-confidence displayed by the people of Wyoming when they led the world in giving women the right to vote was right. It was right then, and it still is.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

11:50 A.M. MDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Jackson Hole, Wyoming)

For Immediate Release

August 25, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Upon the recommendation of the President's national security team, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will be attending the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing next month. As Honorary Chair of the U.S. Delegation, the First Lady will be at the Conference on September 5 and 6.

The Conference presents a significant opportunity to chart further gains in the status of women, including strengthening families, promoting and protecting the human rights of women, expanding women's participation in decision-making and ensuring access to education and health care. The First Lady's attendance reflects the profound commitment of the United States to ensure that the Conference endorses all of these goals.

Although details of the First Lady's schedule are still to be determined (and will be released shortly), she is expected to address the Conference and other fora sponsored by official and non-governmental organizations.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 5, 1995

**Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
to the World Health Organization Colloquium
"Women and Health Security"
Beijing, China**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you, Dr. Nakajima. Dr. Nakajima, Dr. Sadik, Gertrude Mongella, delegates to the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women, and guests from all corners of the world, I am honored to be here this morning among women and men who are committed to improving the health of women and girls everywhere.

I commend the World Health Organization for making women's health a top priority and for establishing the Global Commission on Women's Health.

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

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

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

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

At long last, people and their governments everywhere are

beginning to understand that investing in the health of women and girls is as important to the prosperity of nations as investing in the development of open markets and trade. The health of women and girls cannot be divorced from progress on other economic and social issues.

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

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

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

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

Today, at least fifteen percent of pregnant women suffer life-threatening complications and each year more than one-half million women around the world die in childbirth. Most of those deaths could be prevented with basic primary, reproductive and emergency obstetric health care.

In some places, there are 175,000 motherless children for every one million families. Many of those children don't survive. And of those who do, many are recruited into a life of exploitation on the streets of our world's cities, subjected daily to abuse, indignity, disease, and the specter of early death.

There must be a renewed commitment to improving maternal health. The WHO launched in 1987 a Safe Motherhood Initiative to halve maternal mortality by the year 2000. To reach that goal, more attention must be paid to emergency medical care as well as primary prenatal care. Providing emergency obstetric care is a relatively cheap way of saving lives—and along with family planning services is among the most cost-effective interventions in even the poorest of countries.

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

One hundred million women cannot obtain or are not using family planning services because they are poor, uneducated or lack access to care. Twenty million of these women will seek

unsafe abortions—some will die, some will be disabled for life. A growing number of unwanted pregnancies are occurring among young women, barely beyond childhood themselves. As we know, when children have children, the chance of schooling, jobs, and good health is reduced for both parent and child—and our progress as a human family takes another step back.

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

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

On these issues, the U.S. supports the provisions in the Beijing Platform for Action that reaffirm consensus language that was agreed to at the Cairo Conference about a year ago. It declared that "in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning." The Platform asks governments "to strengthen their commitment to women's health, to deal with the health impact of unsafe abortion as a major public health concern and to reduce the recourse to abortion through expanded and improved family planning services."

Violence against women remains a leading cause of death among girls and women between the ages of 14 and 44—violence from ethnic and religious conflicts, crime in the streets and brutality in the home. For women who survive the violence, what often awaits them is a life of unrelenting physical and emotional pain that destroys their capacity for mothering, homemaking or working and can lead to substance abuse, and even suicide.

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

HIV/AIDS, and sexually transmitted diseases threaten more and more women—and experts predict that by the end of this decade more than half of the people in the world with HIV will be women. AIDS, which threatens whole families and regions, demands the strongest possible response. Governments and the international community must address head-on the growing number of women who are being infected.

More than 700,000 women worldwide face breast cancer each year—and over 300,000 die of it. It's the leading cause of death for women in their prime in the developed world. In the time I speak to you today, 25 women around the world will die of breast cancer. In my own country, it is hard to find a family, an

office, or a neighborhood that has not been touched by this disease. My mother-in-law struggled against breast cancer for four years before losing her battle.

Tobacco use is the number one preventable cause of death. Ninety percent of women who smoke began to smoke as adolescents—leading to high rates of heart disease, cancer, and chronic lung disease later in life.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- The U.S. is conducting the largest clinical research study ever undertaken to examine the major causes of death, disability and frailty in post-menopausal women.

Women's health security must be a priority of all people and governments working together. Without good health, a woman's God-given potential can never be realized. And without healthy women, the world's potential can never be realized.

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

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

Thank you for the work you do every day to bring better health to the women, children, and families of this world. Thank you for helping governments and citizens around the world understand that we cannot talk about equality and social development without also talking about health care.

Most of all, thank you for being part of this historic and vital discussion, which holds so much promise for our future.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 5, 1995

**Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women
Beijing, China**

MRS. CLINTON: Mrs. Mongella, Under Secretary Kittani, distinguished delegates and guests:

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

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

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

Whether it is while playing with our children in the park, or washing clothes in a river, or taking a break at the office water cooler, we come together and talk about our aspirations and concerns. And time and again, our talk turns to our children and our families. However different we may be, there is far more that unites us than divides us. We share a common future. And we are here to find common ground so that we may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world—and in so doing, bring new strength and stability to families as well.

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

There are some who question the reason for this conference.

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

There are some who wonder whether the lives of women and girls matter to economic and political progress around the globe.

Let them look at the women gathered here and at Huairou—the homemakers, nurses, teachers, lawyers, policymakers, and women who run their own businesses.

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

Wasn't it after the women's conference in Nairobi ten years

ago that the world focused for the first time on the crisis of domestic violence?

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

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

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

And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish.

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

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

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

I have met working parents in Denmark who talk about the comfort they feel in knowing that their children can be cared for in creative, safe, and nurturing after-school centers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Women are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not

valued—not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.

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

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

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

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

I want to speak up for mothers who are fighting for good schools, safe neighborhoods, clean air and clean airwaves; for older women, some of them widows, who have raised their families and now find that their skills and life experiences are not valued in the workplace; for women who are working all night as nurses, hotel clerks, and fast food cooks so that they can be at home during the day with their kids; and for women everywhere who simply don't have time to do everything they are called upon to do each day.

Speaking to you today, I speak for them, just as each of us speaks for women around the world who are denied the chance to go to school, or see a doctor, or own property, or have a say about the direction of their lives, simply because they are women. The truth is that most women around the world work both inside and outside the home, usually by necessity.

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

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

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

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

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

No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture. Tragically, women are most often the ones whose human rights are violated.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights—and women's rights are human rights. Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely—and the right to be heard.

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

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

Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the

views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions.

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

It took 72 years of organized struggle on the part of many courageous women and men. It was one of America's most divisive philosophical wars. But it was also a bloodless war. Suffrage was achieved without a shot being fired.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let this Conference be our—and the world's—call to action.

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

Thank you very much.

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

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