First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Excerpts of Remarks by Subject
Non-Health Care Reform Related

AIDS

"[AIDS and HIV] infects our children and our elderly, our rich and our poor. It has ravaged the lesbian and gay community, men and women of all races living in every country around the world ... We have been forced to watch as AIDS and HIV have stolen lives and precious hours from those whom we have cared about. And we have said 'goodbye' far too many times. Yet, among all of the darkness, and yes, the despair, the alienation, the frustration, the anger, there is hope."
Remarks at AIDS Project Los Angelos, Los Angelos, CA 1/27/94 (Internal Use Only)

ARTS

"As you probably know, I live with a President who has an abiding interest and love of the arts. It was given to him as a young child by teachers such as the ones that you have enjoyed at this school. He loves music. We love together painting and museums. We love theater. We know that in a very deep way the arts represent the soul of our nation."
Duke Ellington School for the Performing Arts Commencement Address, Washington, D.C. 6/15/94 (Released)

"Where there is imagination, there is always hope. Where there is potential for creative expression, there is always the possibility for human progress. I believe, as I know you do, that all forms of art -- music, dance, literature, painting, sculpture, poetry -- all of it has an enormous capacity to affect not only your individual lives but the lives of your larger community."
Duke Ellington School for the Performing Arts Commencement Address, Washington, D.C. 6/15/94 (Released)

CHANGE AND THE RELUCTANCE FOR CHANGE

"[B]uilding requires optimism. It requires faith in the future. It requires hope. It requires energy. And those are the commodities that we have to nourish in our political system, in the next years, because they are under attack. It is easy to understand how, in a time of insecurity, and this is sort of classic sociology or psychology, some people withdraw. They become defensive. They want to believe that they can stop the clock and the world will not change and things will somehow just get better. That has never worked.

"Our real challenge is to make change our friend in America, to embrace it and learn to understand its demands, and then to create new ways of dealing with the challenges that confront us.

"...[W]hat we have to do as people who believe in the future, who believe in progress, who understand what it takes to get up everyday and make the best of the day that you're given, is, we have to keep pushing forward, and we have to get, perhaps, a little stronger in our support of causes and people in public life who stand for that kind of approach."
Remarks at a Fundraiser for Gary Mauro, Houston, TX, 6/11/94 (Internal Use Only)

"I don't think any of us ever doubted how important change would be for our country, or how difficult it would be to bring about. We have a lot of obstacles in the way of change, not the least of which are the fears and insecurities that have been bred over the last years by the declining economic fortunes of so many of our fellow men and women, of the disintegration that besets so many of our communities, where people can't find jobs, where they are so afraid to go out of their own homes during the day, where they see good, decent people being ripped apart by the social streses that they confront.

"We look around and we see how much damage has been done to the social fabric in this country and how hard we will have to work to repair it, how we will have to, taking the blessings that we have been given and have worked hard to achieve, begin to give something back -- to our families, our friends, our neighborhoods, our communities, our country, our world.

"For some people, that sounds simplistic and it sounds like Government 101. But for me, it is rooted in a deeply-held set of beliefs about what I owe for the life I've been priviledged to lead, the education I've been given, the kind of sacrifice and commitment of parents and family and teachers and friends. So for me, it's just real basic."
Remarks at the Democratic Women's Leadership Committee Meeting, 9/9/93 (Internal Use Only)

"It has not been an easy journey. There have been many obstacles along the way. The change that we seek now is not going to be easy. It is not going to be, as C. Delores said, always free of controversy. But if we remain committed to the vision about where we are going together, and if we recognize that there are those in this land who do not want any progress for anybody, anywhere, anytime, and that we have to understand what we are up against when we talk about change, when we have to recognize that the kind of change we want to see, that takes us far beyond where we find ourselves today, that really does provide true economic opportunity to people and not just lip service, that restores the dignity of work to workers, that gives people the opportunity again to have the kind of future that we talk about, then we know we have our work cut out for us."
Remarks at the Bethune Dubois Fund Dinner, Washington, D.C. 6/10/93 (Released)

CHILDREN

"As unthinkable as it may seem, over the last 30 years conditions have actually worsened for American children ages zero to three. Yes, we have made progress, and we take pride in it, but as Elie Wiesel has reminded us often, our technological and scientific progress has outpaced our progress as moral beings, and that is certainly true when it comes to the treatment of children.

"We have machines that can detect tumors in the brain for those who are able to access them, yet 60 percent of American children are not immunized by the age of two. We have the finest libraries in the world...,yet we have millions of our children who leave school at an early age, or even graduate unable to read and write adequately. We have the most elaborate and expensive system of justice that has ever been invented, yet more and more American children resolve their disputes not with words or debate, but with guns.

"... It is not enough that we sympathize with the plight of children here and around the world. Sympathy is important, but empathy is even more important, and action is essential.

"... We must do better, and we can start here at home by resolving that in our own lives we will make more of a commitment to the children when we can touch."

Remarks at the Elie Wiesel Humanitarian Awards, New York, NY, 4/14/94 (Internal Use Only)

"...[W]e live in an age of great promise -- and great peril -- for our children. While we have made considerable strides in improving the health, education, and job opportunities of our young people, our children continue to shoulder burdens never encountered by children in any other civilized society before this time.

"To be sure, our children today have advantages that even those of us my age didn't know: things like computers and global information networks, in some ways a more united world, and the absence of Cold War tensions. But they also have disadvantages -- disadvantages that inject cynicism, anxiety, and fear into their young lives."

Remarks via Satellite to the Children NOW Conference, Stanford, CA, 3/4/94 (Released)

"I got this rather odd idea when I was at the Yale Law School: that I wanted to know more about children's development. I went to several of my professors at the law school and said, you know, I'd really like to immerse myself in what happens with children, particularly in their early years, and to really find out what I can about how their needs are met or not met, and particularly what role the legal system plays in a both positive and negative way in helping children and families."

Remarks at Zero to Three National Center for Clinical Infant Programs: the Eighth Annual National Training Institute, Washington, D.C. 12/2-5/93 (Internal Use Only)

"[W]e ought to recongize what should be a common-sense truth -- that children are the result of both the values of their parents and the values of the society in which they live. And that you can have an important [discussion about] how best to make sure parental values are the ones that will help children grow and be strengthened, and how

social values equally must be recognized for the role they play in how childrne feel about themselves and act in the world. And then we can begin to have a sensible conversation about how to strengthen both. That's the kind of approach that has to get beyond the dogma of the right or left, conservative or liberal. Those views are inadequate to the problems we see."
Remarks at the Liz Carpenter Lectureship Series, Austin, TX, 4/7/93 (Released)

CHILDREN AND VIOLENCE

"It is not an accident that finally we are focusing on crime and violence, because it has gotten to such a point that none of us can ignore it any longer. It has been a growing problem in many regions of our country, particularly in our inner cities, for a number of years. But it hadn't quite spilled over, so that it brought the attention of the entire country the way it has now. And I think that much of the reason for its finally grabbing center stage is because of the number of children being killed, the number of innocent children being shot on playgrounds, shot in schools, being the victims of drive by shootings, and the number of children who are killing other children. Somehow that has pierced our consciousness unlike any of the rest of the violence that has been occurring. And I am so grateful that finally it looks like we are on the brink of addressing that. We are on the brink of finally saying, 'Enough is enough.' The most basic duty of a society, and certainly of a government, is to provide for the safety of its citizens....And look what we have done to our children. We have robbed them of their childhoods; we have taken away the opportunity for them to explore and to learn, that all of us took for granted."
Remarks at the Joint Armed Forces Wives Luncheon, 11/19/93 (Internal Use Only)

"The saddest thing I've seen when I go in the cities is to drive down a street late in the afternoon and not see any children playing. And why should they be? Their parents are afraid to send them out to play. They're afraid to let them go to the playgrounds. They're afraid to let them walk to and from school on their own

"... I grew up in a time where it was a lot easier to be a child, where the future was taken for granted, back in the 1950s and early 60s, when my mother would say to me, as I got my bike with friends in the morning, 'Be back in time for dinner,' when I was free to be out on our streets and make my mistakes and learn from them and keep on going, where the neighborhoods were filled with people who looked out for one another, where the neighbor lady across the street was looking out her kitchen window and making sure we were behaving even if my mother wasn't home. It was a life, I would imagine, that most of you can remember.

"And look what we have done to the lives that our children are leading now, because the world around us changed and we refused to understand the new challenges. And we had political leadership that did not lead but pandered and followed.

"So now we have a lot of work ahead of us. And it will not be easy, because we have to reverse some trends and change some values and build some structures that have fallen into disrepair. But if we expect this country, this State, this city to be the kind of place that we are proud of, that makes all of us feel secure about the future so that we can go forward together, then we have to be careful about the kind of leaders we choose. We need healers and builders. We need those who bring hope and optimism. We need people whose lives speak to the struggles that millions are going through right now."
Remarks at Mayor Dinkins Fund-Raiser, New York, NY, 10/16/93 (Released)

"Any of you who have ever been in an inner city, working with young people as I have over the years, will know as I do the heroic stories of parents and grandparents who, against overwhelming odds, fight to keep their children safe -- just physically safe; who hold high expectations for those children; whose values I would put against any other person in the country, but who has no control over the day-to-day violence and influence that comes flooding in the doors of that housing project apartment; and who need a society that is more supportive of their value than the one they currently have."
Remarks at the Liz Carpenter Lectureship Series, Austin, TX, 4/7/93 (Released)

CHILDREN AND VIOLENCE AND MEDIA

"American children are immersed in a culture of violence. They see violence on television. They see violence in movie theaters. They see it on the streets where they live. They see it in their schools. They see it in their homes.

"... The reason we know about these tragic incidents -- the murders, the car jackings, the kidnappings, the beatings, the rapes -- is because the news media reports about them. And I'm sure everyone in this audience today would agree that reporting about these sorts of incidents is part of the news media's job.

"I think we all agree that the public needs to know about crime and violence. I'm sure that, to some degree, news coverage of crime has heightened public support for deterrents such as gun control. And it might also help this Administration and this President get a crime bill with real possible hope for change.

"At the same time, we have to stop and ask ourselves some very important questions:

"First, has the exhaustive -- and perhaps excessive -- coverage of violence contributed to increasing alienation and dysfunctional behavior in the part of our children and youth?

"And second, does the news coverage engender so much cynicism and distrust among young people that they grow up with no faith in any of our institutions and little motivation to make something of their own lives?"
Remarks via Satellite to the Children NOW Conference, Stanford, CA, 3/4/94 (Released)

"The fact is that we all want to stop violence. We all want our children to experience their childhoods without being afraid, without being vulnerable, and without being insecure.

"We want them to be able to be children -- to feel safe in school, to enjoy sports and recreation, to develop extracurricular interests, an to build healthy relationships.

"But those kinds of positive childhood experiences seem less and less real to children who are routinely bombarded with words and pictures that seldom portray young people living that way. Saturating children increasingly graphic and sensational stories of violence prevents them from developing the emotional and psychological tools they need to deal with violence."
Remarks via Satellite to the Children NOW Conference, Stanford, CA, 3/4/94 (Released)

"In the past year, the President has placed children squarely on the national agenda. Virtually all of his legislative initiatives this year are related to improving the lives of families and children -- and to restoring the American dream of opportunity and upward mobility."
Remarks via Satellite to the CDF Conference, 3/3/94 (Internal Draft)

COMMUNITY

"[A]n attitude about one's ability to take responsibility and contribute to society can be yours no matter what your personal circumstances might be. And I would only say to you what I believe with all my heart, what I see my husband doing every day, and that is, never, never give up, no matter how many obstacles are thrown in your way."
Duke Ellington School for the Performing Arts Commencement Address, Washington, D.C. 6/15/94 (Released)

"[T]oo often today we forget what it means to be member of a community. We focus so much energy on ourselves that we forget we are all interdependent and interrelated. And we forget that if we subordinate the needs of the larger community for too long, we often end up hurting or stunting ourselves as individuals."
Keynote Address at Scripps College, CA, 4/26/94 (Released)

"We are now creating a new American community, one that is willing to take responsibility, willing to care, willing to have courage, and willing, above all, to recognize each other's humanity, maybe even, insofar as possible, to put aside the differences that divide us and try to work together, love each other, and create a better future for ourselves and our children."
Remarks at AIDS Project Los Angelos, Los Angelos, CA 1/27/94 (Internal Use Only)

"You know, it is very difficult, when people are insecure, whether it is in a personal or on a broader community basis, to summon them to take care of themselves, to watch out for each other, to lead productive loves, to have faith in the future. And all around us now,

we have millions of our fellow citizens who have been rendered insecure by conditions over which they have little or no control."
Remarks at Mayor Dinkins Fund-Raiser, New York, NY, 10/16/93 (Released)

"I never had to worry about the future as a young person, I was an American. I knew the dream was out there. If I did what I was supposed to do I would be able to take part in it. I now see too many young people who are worried that it won't be there for them. And it is up to us, up to those of us who believe in our political system, who are committed to making it work, to restore that sense of security, starting with decent federal economic policy that rewards work; health care security that takes care of poele and makes them responsible; changes in the way we deal with what happens in the violent sections of our towns and our states; a willingness, again, to make the tough decisions because we know that if we just do it we will move forward together.

"That is the kind of American that I believe in, that I love, and that I am exhilerated to see coming to flower again before our eyes. I know that we can say honestly now the future is brighter."
Remarks at Peabody Hotel, Orlando, CA 10/2/93 (Internal?)

"We want chidlren to be able to play in the parks again. We want men and women who want to work to have the chance to do so. We want those who need our help for some period of time, through a welfare system, to be given dignity, not dependence, and be given the opportunity to lead full and productive lives. We want a political system that pays attention to the real voices that often aren't heard because we are all too busy to stop and listen. We want a system that works so that people feel they are part of something bigger than themselves, and they have a sense of belonging again."
Remarks at the Democratic Women's Leadership Committee Meeting, 9/9/93 (Internal Use Only)

"So is it going to be easy? No. Is it going to be free of controversy? No. Are we always going to agree, even those in the same tent trying to move in the same direction? No. But, you know, there are hopes that bind us together, common causes that link our hearts and our hands. And I'm in it for the long haul. I want to live in a country again where I don't have to feel ashamed because anybody is left out or overlooked, or in any way rejected because of who they are by birth status. I want to live in a country again where I can go to the park at anytime with my daughter and watch children playing without fear and watch older people sitting in the sun because they're glad to be alive. And I want to live in a country again where everybody who wants to be able to seize the American Dream has a chance to do it. There's a job there, there's opportunity, there's education. That's what I want for my daughter. That's what I think we all want. And that's where we're going to end up if we can stay committed to the course ahead of us."
Remarks at the Bethune Dubois Fund Dinner, Washington, D.C. 6/10/93 (Released)

"Now how do we strike the right balance between individual rights and responsibility? How do we create a new spirit of community given all of the problems we are so aware of? Regrettably, the balance between the individual and the community, between rights and reponsibilities has been thrown out of kilter over the last years. Throughout the 1980's we did hear too much about individual gain and the ethos of selfishness and greed. We did not hear enough about how to be a good member of a community, to define the common good and to repair the social contracts. And we also found that while prosperity does not trickle down form the most powerful to the rest of us, all too often indifference and even intolerance do."
Commencement Remarks at the University of Pennsylvania, 5/17/93 (Released)

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

"We need a new politics of meaning. We need a new ethos of individual responsibility and caring. We need a new definition of civil society which answers the unanwerable questions posed by both the market forces and the governmental ones, as to how we can have a society that fills us up again and makes us feel that we are part of something bigger than ourselves."
Remarks at the Liz Carpenter Lectureship Series, Austin, TX, 4/7/93 (Released)

"If we believe that the reconstruction of civil society with its institutions of family, friendship networks, communities, voluntary organizations, are really the glue of what holds us together; if we go back and read deToqueville and notice how he talked over and over again about the unique characteristics that he found among Americans and rooted so many of those in that knd of intermediary institution of civil society that I just mentioned, then we know we have to better understand what we can do to strengthen those institutions, to understand how they have changed over time, and to try to find meaning in them as they currently are."
Remarks at the Liz Carpenter Lectureship Series, Austin, TX, 4/7/93 (Released)

FAMILY

"But remember, as you go forth, no matter what a family unit looks like today, the family remains the essential ingredient in shaping our later lives -- and you have no greater responsibility ahead of you."
George Washington University Commencement Address, Washington, D.C., 5/8/94 (Internal Use Only)

FIRST LADIES

"I'm often asked if what I'm doing in Washington creates a new role model for First Ladies. And I always say, I don't want to create any new stereotypes. I want to free women to live according to their own needs and desires. I do not want to create a new category that anyone after me must somehow fit into. I want all women to be given the respect they deserve to have for the choices they make."
Keynote Address at Scripps College, CA, 4/26/94 (Released)

HISTORY

"James Baldwin once said that history is not a procession of illustrious people. It is a matter of what happens to a people. Millions of anonymous people is what history is all about. Whether it's the millions standing in the hot sun of South Africa or the millions in our country who do not have health care coverage, living under a demeaning welfare system, unable to walk in their neighborhoods or on the streets with safety. These are the people who really make up what it is to live a history."
Remarks at the Harold C. Flemming Award Ceremony, New York, NY, 5/3/94 (Internal Use Only)

NELSON MANDELA/HOPE

"Think for a moment about the inauguration of Nelson Mandela. If there were ever a man who had reason to give up, it was certainly he. Twenty-seven years, longer than you have been alive, he spent in prison. I had the extraordinary privilege of attending his inauguration. I hope you saw much of the television coverage of that historic event. But I want to tell you what personally made the single biggest impression on me.

"Yes, I was overwhelmed by the inaugural ceremonies, by the sight of Nelson Mandela mounting the stairs, surrounded by the military leaders of South Africa who were now part of a new constitutional government. But what really moved me and said more to me about his greatness than anything else was what he said at a function after the inaugural, when he stood before a very large crowd of visiting dignitaries and other people from around the world and told us that he had invited to his inaugural three of his former jailers.

"Stop and think about that for a minute. I felt a rush of emotion like I have never experienced. I sat there thinking, this man is great because he has learned the basic lessons of what it is to be a

human being filled with hope, who continues to forgive, never to forget, but always to forgive, because a hopeful heart has no room for bitterness, has no room for vengeance...

"And I thought to myself, if this man in this extraordinary act of humanity could overcome bitterness and invite his three jailers to his inaugural, certainly every one of us could change our own hearts and our own minds and begin to live with that same level of hopefulness."
Duke Ellington School for the Performing Arts Commencement Address, Washington, D.C. 6/15/94 (Released)

"One of the moments that I will carry with me forever, happened at the lunch today -- many of you were there, others of you were watching it on television -- when President Mandela spoke of inviting three of his former jailers to come to his Inaugural ceremony. He has always represented to many of us who have followed the struggle of this country and its people, the kind of commitment that transcends politics that really does spring from the heart and the soul. And today, by merely saying that he had invited his jailers, he told us more about himself and his vision of South Africa than probably most of the campaign speeches he made so eloquently during the last months. And it reminded me so forcibly of what my husband said during the campaign that he and Vice President waged. That real change must start from the inside first. That we have to change of hearts and our minds before we can change the conditions we find around us. And that as we dig deep to recognize our common humanity, to understand as President Mandela said, there will always be within each of us, as well as the greater world, the forces of darkness waging its war against the forces of light. Or as he said, the force of love and loyalty. The fact is that each of us, each South African, and each American, has a role to play because each of us has the power within our grasp to change ourselves, to change our feelings, our attitudes, our beliefs."
Remarks at the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria, South Africa, 5/10/94 (Released)

MILITARY PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

"[I]t was probably 19 years ago -- 1975 -- I decided that I was very interested in having some experience in serving, in some capacity, in the military So I walked into our local recruiting office. And I think it was just my bad luck that the person who happened to be there on duty could not have been older than 21, was in perfect physical shape.

"So I sat down and said, you know, I wanted to explore. I didn't know whether I thought active duty would be a good idea or reserve, you know, maybe National Guard, something along those lines. I was already a lawyer and thought there were some roles I could perform...

"... And he finally said to me, he said, 'You're too old; you can't see; and you're a woman.' And then he went on; and, since this is the birthday of the Army, I will tell you what the rest was. This man -- young man -- he was a Marine. He said, 'But maybe the dogs would take you.'

"I said, 'This is not a very encouraging conversation, so maybe I'll look for another way to serve my country'."
Remarks at Groundbreakers Luncheon Hosted by Women in the Military Memorial Fund, Washington, D.C., 6/14/94 (Internal Use Only)

SERVICE

"When I talk about service, I often quote my friend, Marian Edelman, with that wonderful like form her in which she said that service is the rent we pay for living. And service is a very fundamental way we connect with one another while we live. It is the way that we find meaning in our lives, both individually and collectively, because we see what we are capable of and we watch it being reflected in the faces of others.

"We see it in the houses we build. We see it in the neighborhoods we help reclaim. We see it in the lives we touch. And then we come home and look in the mirror and know that we've been reclaimed, we've been touched, we've been served. And that is why this whole concept of national service that my husband believes in so passionately is at the root of what he sees as the need to rebuild and reclaim America.

"And it is founded on very simple core values. And I'd like to talk about those core values, because community, opportunity, responsibilitu, and education are really at the core. And the more we can expand the idea that we are interconnected and interdependent, that we need one another in order to be fully whoever we were intended by God to be, the more we understand the role that service has to play in an individual's life, in a community's life, in a nation's life."
Remarks at National Youth Services Ceremony, The White House, 4/20/93 (Released)

"I am very hopeful that the decade of the '80s in which individuality and selfishness and greed were viewed as virtues is over. And I am particularly hopeful that the promise of the '90s will be fulfilled. Now, will it be easy? Of course, it won't. As Eli said, I've been doing service in some way or another for many, many years. And has it always been a success? No, it hasn't. Have I always felt that maybe I helped to change something? Not always. But on balance in my life it has enriched my life and it has given me an opportunity to give back what I've been blessed with."
Remarks at National Youth Services Ceremony, The White House, 4/20/93 (Released)

STEREOTYPES

"[I]n today's world, we too often fall back on stereotypes ... [I]n today's world of soundbytes and efforts to categorize people, holding in one place, the often contradictory features of a whole life, becomes a real challenge."
Keynote Address at Scripps College, CA, 4/26/94 (Released)

VIOLENCE

[L]et me go on the record right now. I have been mugged in my life. I have been the victim of crime."
Remarks at Mayor Dinkins Fund-Raiser, New York, NY, 10/16/93 (Released)

"I don't know how much longer we are going to wait before we recognize that the level of violence is directly related to the number of guns in the hands of teenagers, who themselves have been rendered insecure, who do not know what it means to look forward to the future, whose lives are disorganized, even dysfunctional, who don't understand what it means to postpone gratification or to control impulses, and who need some structure to enable them to lead productive lives."
Remarks at Mayor Dinkins Fund-Raiser, New York, NY, 10/16/93 (Released)

WOMEN

"[W]hat I hope is that, once and for all, we can break free of the stereotypes that imprison women and their potential, that tell them the choices they made are not right because they are not right in somebody else's eyes. And that we respect the choices women make, and support those choices, giving each other the nurturing and the love and the friendship that enable all of us to listen to that internal voice and pursue the direction it gives."
Keynote Address at Scripps College, CA, 4/26/94 (Released)

WOMEN AND MILITARY

"We have come to a point of history where we can be talking about this memorial because so many of you -- many women and many men who supported women in the military against often tough odds -- have been willing to stay the course and it is thrilling to see the final barriers fallen, so that women will be judged by who they are and what their contribution is as opposed to being stereotyped on the basis of their gender."
Remarks at Groundbreakers Luncheon Hosted by Women in the Military Memorial Fund, Washington, D.C., 6/14/94 (Internal Use Only)

WOMEN AND WORLD WAR II

"When my husband and I were in Europe, starting by honoring those who had been in the Italian campaign, including his father and including many women who -- although there in support capacities, often as nurses -- were on the front lines in a brutal, brutal conflict that knew no boundaries, we saw the graves of women who were nurses in hospitals that had been bombed just as they were doing what they could to ease the pain of that particular campaign.

"We went from there to England, where we honored flyers -- American airmen -- who, again, were supported on the ground, as General

Eisenhower said, by so many women who made it possible for those brave men to fly the missions that were necessary, night after night.

"... [O]ne of the things we can do to pay tribute to all that has gone before is to make this memorial not just a beautiful building...but to make it a living memorial that enshrines the sacrifice and contribution of women and really represents one more step toward recognizing that all of us in this greatest of all democracies had a role to play, a contribution to make, and that women who choose to make their contribution through the military should finally, as Pat Schroeder has fought for year after year, be given the chance to serve their country to the fullest of their God-given abilities."

Remarks at Groundbreakers Luncheon Hosted by Women in the Military Memorial Fund, Washington, D.C., 6/14/94 (Internal Use Only)

LM DRAFT 3/13/95

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND THE UNITED NATIONS
THE UNITED NATIONS
MARCH 14, 1995

Ambassador Albright; Ambassador vanden Heuvel [hoo-vell]; officers of the Roosevelt Institute; members of the Group on Equal Rights for Women at the United Nations and the United Nations Association-USA; Excellencies; senior officials of the United Nations, United Nations staff, representatives of non-governmental organizations, and friends:

It is a great honor to join you for this Conference on Women in conjunction with the celebration of International Women's Day, which comes at a time when the role of women around the world deserves renewed attention.

Last week, I was lucky enough to be in Copenhagen as events got underway for the World Summit on Social Development. I had the chance to meet with women and men from around the world whose lives are devoted to eradicating poverty, protecting human rights, and integrating marginalized groups into mainstream society. These issues disproportionately affect women. And for that reason, I and many others came away from Copenhagen even more convinced that women must play a central in helping find solutions, both in and out of government.

At a time when full economic, social and political opportunities for women 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 Cairo and Copenhagen helping elucidate the specific challenges of population and poverty, and with Beijing looming 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 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 this great body or the role of women in it without thinking about Eleanor Roosevelt and many others who have fought to secure a place for women within the United Nations. I happen to be a great fan of Mrs. Roosevelt, so I am doubly pleased to be here on a day when her contributions to the United Nations, and

to humanity, are being celebrated.

So much of what she accomplished as a delegate to the U.N. and throughout her life is instructive to us today, not only as women, but at a time when the end of the Cold War has created extraordinary new opportunities and challenges, along with dangerous new threats to freedom and civil life.

It is easy at times like these, when we see so many nations wasting precious resources on building weapons of mass destruction, on 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 the world's problems to one group of nations or the other and to assume that political and cultural divides among us are too wide to overcome.

Instead of giving in to frustration and a sense of futility, we need only think back to Eleanor Roosevelt who, at least for me, always provides inspiration and incentive to carry forward, no matter how daunting the odds.

Even before she got 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 during World War II. The civil rights of American blacks was a special cause. Migrant workers. Coal miners. The poor and dispossessed. Anywhere she came across human suffering she was determined to do something about it.

The United Nations presented a new and unprecedented opportunity for her. Or maybe I should say "challenge." We know from various histories and from Mrs. Roosevelt's own writing that when President Truman appointed her as a delegate to the United Nations in 1946, she was dismissed by some delegates as a token who should be confined to a committee where she could do "no harm." 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 they argued for hours over rules of procedure, Eleanor Roosevelt would sit and knit.

Certainly, her role within the Assembly was neither welcome nor easy, at least at the outset. But bureaucratic wrangling and personal slights did little to impede her, because she wouldn't allow them to. She outworked almost all of her colleagues. She turned the Third Committee into one of the most important of the entire Assembly. She became instrumental in decisions about the fate of refugees, which required her to negotiate ever so tactfully with representatives from the Soviet Bloc countries.

And only three years after the end of World War II and at the dawn of the Cold War, she helped persuade 55 nations to sign a Bill of Human Rights, something never done before.

Even with her successes, she was under no illusions about the capacity of this organization, or any government body or agency, to affect 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 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 potential and flourish within their 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 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 making.

Although women comprise 52 percent of the world population, although they are the primary caretakers for children and the aged and are a significant presence in the workforce, they continue to be marginalized in many countries.

Worldwide, more than two-thirds of the children who never attended school or have dropped out are girls. Of the one billion people who remain illiterate, two-thirds are women. And a disproportionate number of those we call living in absolute poverty are women.

Investing in the health and education of women and girls is essential to improving global prosperity. In parts of Asia and South America, we have seen education of girls help lift whole populations out of poverty. We have seen the education of women enhance their roles as mothers and increase their participation in civic life. So we must do more to ensure equal rights for

women, along with equal pay and equal access to health care, education, and political power.

I was particularly grateful for the opportunity to announce, as part of International Women's Day, a major new commitment by the United States to expand educational opportunities for poor girls on three continents. This project, which will reach hundreds of thousands of girls and women in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, is ambitious. Its goals include a 20 percent increase in the number of women who are functionally literate in those regions within 10 years.

Another key element of the initiative is that it will assist women in developing their own capacities for improving the education of their own children.

When we think about ways to make progress on behalf of women and children and families, there is a tendency to assume that success can only come at great expense. In fact, we know that great strides have been made in the past decade through low-cost, low-tech strategies like oral rehydration therapy and immunizations.

We know we have saved money over the long term from immunization campaigns that have wiped out polio in the Western Hemisphere and increased vaccination rates among children worldwide from 20 percent to 80 percent between 1980 and 1990.

We have seen the lower infant mortality rates in rural areas of South America where pregnant women have been taught to diagnose their own maternal health problems.

In the Fabella Hospital in Manila, which I visited last year, new mothers stay in the hospital long enough to learn to nurse their babies, which promoted a stronger bond between mother and child and increased the chances of family stability.

And in countries where governments and NGOs have made voluntary, safe and effective family planning available and have provided related health services, we have seen an improvement not only in the lives of individuals but in the economic well-being of their countries.

Economic opportunity is often a precursor of political and social access. When we look at the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh we see what happens if you give people access to credit -- and ask them to take responsibility in return. They will achieve greater economic and social independence.

Through its small loans to the poorest women in rural areas of Bangladesh, the Grameen Bank not only has improved the immediate circumstances of thousands of families, it has also

(out of a total of 89) have been elected judges of the International Court of Justice.[12] Women are also largely absent from the highest ranks of the diplomatic missions to the United Nations in New York. The figures as of January 1994 show little increase from 1949 (from 16% to 22%) and only 11 women at that date held ambassadorial rank out of 240, with 67 missions listing no women members at all.

In the Secretariat the situation of women after 50 years still resembles a pyramid - wide at the bottom and decreasing sharply towards the top where policy is made. While this has been extended somewhat in recent years the target of 25% women in posts D.1 and above seems unlikely to be met in this 50th anniversary year. Throughout the Secretariat women continue to predominate in the general service category and are found mainly in the lower to middle ranks of service oriented or technical language positions. In the substantive areas they are represented mainly in the social sciences and economics. They are very underrepresented in the political areas, in peacekeeping and - surprisingly - in technical cooperation. They are also underrepresented in the regional commissions. The need to secure an equitable balance of men and women in all substantive areas and at all levels seems clear.

Why has progress been so slow? There is no dearth of studies, recommendations, policy statements, strategies, targets, General Assembly resolutions and pledges by successive Secretaries General as well as affirmative action programmes. These have only been touched upon briefly in this paper and have certainly had an impact. A major problem that persists today in this multi-cultural Organization is that of attitudes "Where women are seen by many men as different and therefore either as threatening or not really worthy of becoming part of the inner circle where power is brokered and decisions are taken. The problem of attitudes is compounded by the intercultural nature of the Organization whereby many different value systems are reflected in daily contacts."[13]

The UN experience in human rights demonstrates that a first difficult task is to change discriminatory laws and especially those that discriminate against women. Changing attitudes that are often based on centuries of tradition and custom is an even more challenging task.

How has the UN faced this challenge in the Secretariat? In my opinion with uneven progress. An important achievement has been the removal of the discriminatory provisions from the staff rules and regulations. Attitudes are slowly changing and there is now recognition, at least on paper, that the position of women throughout the United Nations common system does not meet the standards of equality set in the Charter and the many other international instruments that the United Nations and its agencies have initiated and adopted.

Over the years the position of women in the UN Secretariat has frequently been measured against that of women in its Member States and it has been argued time and again that the Secretariat is and can only be a reflection of its Member States. This 50th anniversary

WOMEN AND THE UNITED NATIONS - HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS

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I. Introduction

This one day Conference on Women and the United Nations is dedicated to a great lady - Eleanor Roosevelt - who firmly believed in justice for all persons "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." Her years as a delegate to the UN from 1946 to 1952 and as Chair of its Commission on Human Rights were dedicated to applying this principle in practice. She was the moving force behind the drafting and adoption, without a dissenting vote on 10 December 1948, of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights which sets "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." and declares that "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth.....without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

I was privileged to work with her as a junior officer in the Human Rights Division of the Secretariat during these early sessions of the Commission on Human Rights. She was an indefatigable worker but never expected more of others than she imposed upon herself to achieve results she believed were worthwhile.

Despite her position as widow of the President of the U.S.A. Eleanor Roosevelt was not immune from discriminatory attitudes on the part of her male colleagues. As the only woman on the United States delegation to the first General Assembly session in London in 1946 her colleagues had difficulty in deciding to which of the six General Assembly Committees she should be assigned. They chose the Third (Social, Cultural and Humanitarian) Committee as being the one where "She can't do much harm." It proved however to be one of the most controversial and difficult since the highly sensitive issue of the fate of refugees at the end of World War II was brought up and she had to pit her wits against seasoned diplomats including the "formidable" Soviet representative Andrei Vishinsky.

There is a message for all of us in how Mrs Roosevelt responded to the challenge as demonstrated in her own account of that period. "I might point out here that during the entire London session of the Assembly I walked on eggs. I knew that as the only woman on the delegation I was not very welcome. Moreover, if I failed to be a useful member, it would not be considered merely that I as an individual had failed, but that all women had failed, and there would be little chance for others to serve in the near future."[1] Needless to say she did not fail and she records how after a late night meeting at the end of the General Assembly session when everyone was tired two of the leading Senate members of the U.S. delegation approached her and said: "We must tell you that we did all we could

to keep you off the United States delegation. We begged the President not to nominate you. But now that you are leaving we feel we must acknowledge that we have worked with you gladly and found you good to work with. And will be happy to do so again."[2]

In reviewing the first fifty years of women at the UN I believe that it is necessary to look briefly at the situation of women in general at the time of which Eleanor Roosevelt writes, and to bear in mind the prevailing attitudes of many women, as well as men, towards their respective roles in society. Furthermore, the world of the 1940's was very different from that of the 1990's. Europe was devastated physically and economically by World War II that had just ended. The technological advances we now take for granted had not begun. Computers, word processors and fax machines were unknown. Television was not generally available. Air travel was hardly developed. The pace of life generally was considerably slower than today.

The newly created United Nations consisted of only 51 Member States and many of the now sovereign States which are UN Members were under colonial domination. In many if not most countries women, especially married women, faced serious disabilities both in law and in fact, and in a number of them had yet to win their political rights. The concept of the male as the breadwinner and head of the family with his wife and children dependent upon him legally and economically was the norm in most countries, and this was reflected in both their laws and practices. The particular problems of women in the Third World were not well known prior to the 1960's and 1970's when the UN membership began to expand and eventually to encompass virtually the entire world with its different political and legal systems, traditions and customs.

This paper does not purport to give a comprehensive or even a detailed account of the first fifty years of women at the United Nations. It briefly covers only the highlights based on my knowledge and experience as a former staff member working on human rights and women's issues, and on the records available to me. My knowledge of the early years through the decade of the 1970's is much greater than that covering the more recent past since I was a member of the Secretariat from November 1945 in London until almost 1980. This early period, when pioneering work was undertaken and international standards were developed to promote the equal rights of men and women is, in my view, an important part of the history to bear in mind when evaluating the first 50 years.

The Early Years (1945-1970)

1. The United Nations Charter (1945)

The starting point for examining the situation of women at the UN is the Charter adopted at San Francisco in 1945. In the Preamble "We the peoples" reaffirm faith in the "equal rights of men and women" In Article 1, and again in Article 55, Member States undertake to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. Under Article 56 all Members pledge themselves to

take joint and separate action to achieve this purpose (among others). Article 8 specifically states that:

> *"The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs."*

In hindsight it is interesting to recall the divergent views expressed in 1945 on the scope of this Article. Some thought that the principle of equality of men and women to be formulated in the Charter should apply only to the Secretariat, while others wanted it to encompass also other organs and agencies of the UN. A Uruguayan amendment proposing that "*Representation and participation in the organs of the Organization shall be open to men and women under the same conditions*" was rejected on the grounds that it might imply that Member States would be obligated to apply the principle of equality in appointing their representatives to the various organs of the UN. They considered that such appointments were the prerogative of sovereign States. The present wording of Article 8 was the compromise reached.[3]

Much credit for the various Charter provisions dealing with equal rights of men and women and non-discrimination on grounds of sex goes to the Latin American delegations represented at the Conference, and also to the 42 non-governmental organizations who were accredited to the United States delegation as observers. The active participation of the Latin Americans was no doubt due to the fact that an Inter-American Commission of Women had been in existence since 1928 under the auspices of the Organization of American States (then the Pan-American Union). Two personalities of this time stand out in particular: Bertha Lutz of Brazil, and Minerva Bernardino of the Dominican Republic. Ms. Bernardino is the only woman signatory of the Charter still living and she is to be specially honoured at this Conference. She was a key member of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women for many years, as well as its Chairperson from 1953-1955 and one of the pioneers for women's rights of the early days.

A further Article to be borne in mind is Article 101 which sets the criteria for appointment to the Secretariat. The paramount consideration is " the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity" and "due consideration shall be paid to the importance of recruiting staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible." These provisions have often been cited in defence of why so few women have been recruited.

2. First Session of the General Assembly in London (1946)

At the same General Assembly session at which Mrs. Roosevelt underwent her baptism of fire she initiated informal gatherings of delegates over tea in her rooms, beginning with the other women attending the Assembly, who were mostly alternates or advisors. Together these seventeen women from eleven countries drafted an open letter to the women of the world.

On 27 February 1946 Eleanor Roosevelt, on their behalf, presented this letter to the General Assembly at its 29th plenary meeting. It read:

> *"This first Assembly of the United Nations marks the second attempt of the peoples of the world to live peacefully in a democratic world community. This new chance for peace was won through the joint efforts of men and women working for common ideals of human freedom at a time when need for united effort broke down barriers of race, creed, and sex.*
>
> *In view of the variety of tasks which women performed so notably and valiantly during the war, we are gratified that seventeen women delegates and advisers, representing eleven Member States, are taking part at the beginning of this new phase of international effort. We hope their participations in the work of the United Nations may grow and may increase in insight and skill. To this end we call on the Governments of the world to encourage women everywhere to take a more active part in national and international affairs, and on women who are conscious of their opportunities to come forward and share in the work of peace and reconstruction as they did in war and resistance.*
>
> *We recognize that women in various parts of the world are at different stages of participation in the life of their community, that some of them are prevented by law from assuming full rights of citizenship, and that they therefore may see their immediate problems somewhat differently.*
>
> *Finding ourselves in agreement on these points, we wish as a group to advise the women of all our countries of our strong belief that an important opportunity and responsibility confront the women of the United Nations: first, to recognize the progress women have made during the war and to participate actively in the effort to improve the standards of life in their own countries and in the pressing work of reconstruction, so that there will be qualified women ready to accept responsibility when new opportunities arise; second to train their children, boys and girls alike, to understand world problems and the need for international co-operation, as well as the problems of their own countries; third, not to permit themselves to be misled by anti-democratic movements now or in the future; fourth, to recognize that the goal of full participation in the life and responsibilities of their countries and of the world community is a common objective toward which the women of the world should assist one another."* [4]

At the same meeting the French delegation presented a declaration echoing similar sentiments, and urging that women be given a much greater role in the delegations to the next United Nations conference. The moving force behind this statement made by Georges Bidault as head of the French delegation was Madame Marie-Helene Lefaucheux. Together with her husband, she had led the French resistance to the German occupation of Paris in the 1940's and would play a significant role in the future work of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

No vote was taken on the two declarations, but the President of the General Assembly Paul Henri Spaak of Belgium, and several representatives expressed the hope that these

statements would receive wide publicity and serious consideration. Several also emphasized the importance of the creation of a committee on the status of women to function under the Commission on Human Rights of the Economic and Social Council. *This was 1946.*

3. Role of the Commission on the Status of Women (1947-1970)

From 1946 to approximately 1970 virtually the only impetus for improving the situation of women at the United Nations came from the Commission on the Status of Women and the many non-governmental organizations who have always closely followed its work and assisted in carrying out its recommendations. Initially organized as a sub-commission of the Commission on Human Rights women lobbied hard to have it up-graded to a full Commission reporting, like the Commission on Human Rights, directly to the Economic and Social Council. It held its first session as a full Commission of fifteen members in 1947 and elected Bodil Begtrup of Denmark as its first chairperson. She was succeeded the following year by Marie Helene Lefaucheux of France.

While the Commission was upgraded from a sub-commission to a full commission no corresponding change was made in the Secretariat section responsible for preparing and servicing its annual meetings despite repeated requests by the Commission that this be done. The relevant unit remained under the authority of the Director of the (then) Division of Human Rights who had overall responsibility for work in the human rights field as a whole, including hiring and assignment of staff, determining priorities, and preparing the budget for the entire Division. In 1972 the section was upgraded to a branch and transferred to the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs under the newly appointed Assistant Secretary General, Helvi Sipila of Finland. After the branch moved to Vienna in 1978 it was later made a full division within the Centre.

The mandate of the Commission on the Status of Women was "to prepare recommendations and reports to the Economic and Social Council on promoting women's rights in political, economic, social and educational fields" and "on urgent problems requiring immediate attention in the field of women's rights with the object of implementing the principle that men and women shall have equal rights, and to develop proposals to give effect to such recommendations."

Since women did not enjoy full political rights in many Member States when the United Nations came into existence in 1945 the Commission accorded high priority to this issue. It believed that only when women had full equality in the political arena could they exercise real influence in improving the situation of women in other areas. One of the Commission's first tasks was to draft a Convention on the Political Rights of Women which the General Assembly adopted in 1952, and it was one of the first human rights conventions to be adopted. The Convention provides that women shall be entitled, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination: to vote in all elections; to be eligible to all publicly elected bodies established by national law; and to hold public office and exercise all public functions established by national law. The latter provision was not

included without difficulty and, moreover, gave rise to a number of reservations by States Parties to the Convention - a fortaste of the difficulties women would face at the UN. No such provision had been included in an earlier Inter-American Convention on Political Rights of Women.

The Commission turned its attention to the situation of women at the United Nations initially as part of its concern to promote equal political rights for women. It asked the Secretariat to provide it with information on the nature and proportion of posts in the Secretariat occupied by women, and also on the extent to which Member governments have included women in their delegations to UN meetings and conferences. It usually considered these two issues together. Beginning already in 1949 the Commission included in its agenda and considered at its annual sessions a specific item on "Participation of women in the work of the United Nations." The information furnished showed very few women in senior positions, none at the level of Under-Secretary-General or Assistant Secretary-General, with increasing numbers at the lower professional levels and in the general service categories.

The Commission repeatedly urged that more women be appointed and/or promoted to policy making posts in the Secretariat and to delegations to UN meetings. It also urged that all discrimination in the conditions of employment be eliminated. It emphasized that the United Nations should provide leadership for progress rather than reflect the level of progress achieved by national Governments. These recommendations fell mostly on deaf ears, especially as regards women in the Secretariat. It was argued that matters of personnel policy were the prerogative of the Secretary General and the Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee of the General Assembly and not that of the Commission on the Status of Women.

In 1954 and again in 1955 the Secretary General (Dag Hammerskjold) personally addressed the Commission stating that in his administration there would be no discrimination against women. He pointed out that the emancipation of women was too recent to have produced highly qualified women in numbers approaching those of men and that this situation was apparent in the relatively few women occupying high positions in the public life of their countries. He noted that as the proportion of trained women in public life gradually increased, this increase would logically be reflected in the staffs of the international organizations and that the low number of women at present holding high positions in these Secretariats did not therefore provide evidence of discrimination. He indicated also that the Commission should channel its recommendations in future to the General Assembly's Fifth Committee which was the proper body to deal with matters of personnel and administration.[5]

After his intervention information on women in the Secretariat was not given to the Commission for several years, but it continued to focus its attention on the issue, including the conditions of employment for women and, in particular, the definition of dependency. Noting that this differed for men and women staff members in 1957 the Commission adopted a resolution in which it "expresses the hope that the Secretary General will bear in

mind the necessity of avoiding discrimination against women staff members in respect of dependency allowances....." It would be many years before this request was fully implemented.

Throughout this period of the 1950's and 1960's, when little progress was made for women in the Secretariat, the Commission on Human Rights and the Commission on the Status of Women, as well as the ILO and UNESCO, undertook many studies and drafted and adopted important international instruments dealing with human rights in general and specifically with women's rights.[6] These instruments set standards to be applied throughout the world and, together with the procedures established for review and implementation, have proved an effective means of persuading governments to amend discriminatory legislation and practices at the national level.

II. Developments in the 1970's and Early 1980's

The decade of the 1970's saw important changes for women both nationally and at the UN. While the Commission on the Status of Women continued to be deeply concerned it was no longer the only voice heard on behalf of women. International Women's Year and the three world conferences of 1975, 1980 and 1985,[7] as well as the Decade for Women 1975-1985, focussed world attention on women's issues in a new light under the threefold theme of "equality, development and peace." Women staff members began to organize and form a support group in the Secretariat. The first woman Assistant Secretary General was appointed. March 8 was observed as international women's day for the first time at the United Nations in 1975 and would become an important annual event for women. UNITAR convened two important colloquia of Senior Officials in the United Nations System. The Joint Inspection Unit (JIU) initiated the first of a series of studies on women at the UN (1977), and the International Civil Service Commission (ICSC) and other joint administrative bodies began to turn their attention to the situation of women throughout the common system.

All these events marked important steps forward for women and attitudes as expressed by delegates and within the Secretariat gradually began to change. Old ideas and prejudices die hard, however, and attitudes are still a major obstacle to women's advancement in the Secretariat as elsewhere.

The Commission on the Status of Women and the General Assembly

In 1970 and 1972, spurred on by the Commission the General Assembly for the first time took up the issue of women when it considered the composition of the Secretariat in the Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee.

I well remember the consternation that followed the adoption of a resolution at the Commission's session in Geneva in 1970 (subsequently endorsed by the General Assembly as resolution 2715 (XXV) of 15 December 1970). This urged the UN System "to take or continue to take" appropriate measures to ensure equal opportunities for the employment

of qualified women in senior and other professional positions. It asked the Secretary General to include in his reports on the composition of the Secretariat data on the employment of women at senior and other professionals levels including their numbers and the positions they occupy. The principal sponsor of this recommendation at the Commission was Sylva Gelber Head of the Women's Bureau of Canada. She was supported by the representatives of France, Iran, Liberia, Nicaragua, Norway, the Philippines, the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom and the USA.

The data, provided to the General Assembly for the first time in 1972, showed that indeed little progress had been made in complying with the standards set in Article 8 of the Charter and in the other international declarations and conventions adopted over the previous 25 years. They revealed the startling fact that as at 30 June 1972 no women were employed within the United Nations Secretariat at the Under Secretary General or Assistant Secretary General level, only three of the total of 59 employed at the D.2 level were women, and only four of the total of 181 employed at the D.1 level were women. Further in the less senior and professional ranks the percentage of women was in inverse proportion to the level of the position, ranging from 6.2 per cent at the P.5 level to 40.4 per cent at the P.1 level in posts subject to geographical distribution, and from 7.3 per cent at the P.5 level to 39.8 per cent for the Secretariat as a whole. The data also showed that throughout the UN System there were no women at the highest levels, only one at the D.2 and only 10 at the D.1.

The Commission took note of these figures at its next session in 1972 and again presented a draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly (subsequently endorsed as General Assembly resolution 3009 (XXVII)). It called for more comprehensive data on the employment of women throughout the System to show the nature of posts and types of duties performed by women at the professional and policy making levels. It also urged more extensive publicizing of the right of individuals personally to apply for vacant positions, and it called on Member States when proposing nationals for appointment to give full consideration to submitting candidatures of qualified women for all positions, particularly at the policy making level.

At the same session the General Assembly requested the Secretary General to submit to its next session a study "on those provisions of the Staff Rules and Regulations .....whose application might, in certain cases, give rise to discrimination between staff members on grounds of sex." (General Assembly resolution 3007 (XXVII) of 18 December 1972).

These were the first of a great many resolutions dealing in increasing detail with the situation of women in the Secretariat which the General Assembly has adopted almost annually since 1970 on the recommendation of its Third and also its Fifth Committees.

Appointment of the First Woman Assistant Secretary-General

Shortly before the adoption of resolution 3009(XXVII) the newly elected Secretary General (Kurt Waldheim) announced in a TV interview in the USA that he intended to

appoint a woman Under Secretary General or Assistant Secretary General. He subsequently appointed the first woman Assistant Secretary General in the entire UN System - Helvi Sipila of Finland, who took office in the latter part of 1972. The Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs was created to function under her leadership.

Prior to her appointment ***no*** woman had held a post higher than that of Director in any of the Organizations that make up the common system, including UNICEF and very few had held posts at the level of Director (D.2 or D.1).[8]

Progress in this area has been extremely slow. As of June 1994 the figures for posts subject to geographical distribution show: 2 out of 19 women Under-Secretaries General and 2 out of 18 Assistant Secretaries General; 14 women out of 75 at the D.2 level; and 34 out of 232 at the D.1 level.[9]

Formation of the Group on Equal Rights for Women

In the late 1960's and 1970's women in the Secretariat, encouraged by the actions taken by the Commission on the Status of Women and non-governmental organizations in the U.S.A. began to organize and form a support group to concentrate on improving the situation of women in the Secretariat. Its founder and first chairperson was Patricia K. Tsien of China. who joined the Department of Trusteeship and Non Self-Governing Territories in 1947. The group held its first meeting in April 1971 and began by focussing attention on the discriminatory provisions in the staff rules and regulations.

One of its first acts, however, was to collect over twelve hundred signatures for a petition which the Group drew up after noting that no woman had been appointed to the Appointment and Promotions Board in 1971. Citing Article 8 of the Charter the petition asked for an equitable balance of qualified men and women on all appointment and promotion bodies. The petition was not well received. "The Director of Personnel rather angrily told us that there was no discrimination against women at the UN. If there were no women in higher posts it was because there were none adequately qualified."[10]

From its inception the UN accepted married women in the Secretariat, (which was not true of all countries in the 1940's and 1950's), but their entitlements under the staff rules and regulations were not the same. The underlying philosophy of the existing provisions reflected the prevailing view that the man was the breadwinner and as head of the family responsible for the support of his wife and children. It was an uphill battle to change such perceptions and to secure amendments to the rules and regulations as well as the policies based on them. Provisions that were not in compliance with Article 8 of the Charter and the other international instruments included entitlements to home leave, survivors benefits under the pension fund, the award of childrens' allowances, official travel and death in service. By 1980 most of these discriminatory provisions had been changed - a major success for the Group.

In 1975 the Group presented a second petition, signed by over 2000 members, asking for competitive examinations and public advertisement for recruitment, and priority for qualified women in filling vacancies especially at the policymaking levels. It also asked for the provision of daycare facilities and for the appointment of a qualified and independent Ombudswoman from outside the UN system. After much hard lobbying the United Nations established a daycare centre at UN headquarters early in the 1980's. Examinations for certain categories of posts and to enable those in the general service category to move into professional posts have since been introduced, but no Ombudswoman has ever been appointed.

The battle for equal opportunities and equal treatment for women including those in the general service category where the greatest number of women predominates has yet to be won, despite the continuing and persistent efforts of the present Group for Equal Rights for Women and its demands for affirmative action.

UNITAR Colloquia at Schloss Hernstein, Austria 1972 and 1978

The first colloquium on the Situation of Women in the United Nations held at Schloss Hernstein in Austria in 1972 broke new ground by making data available which had not previously been compiled. These highlighted not only the total percentages of women staff members compared to men (19.2% compared to 80.8%) and the dearth of women in senior positions, but also for the first time included comparative data of men and women regarding such factors as age on entry and at various grade levels, length of time it took to advance to higher grades, number of married women compared to men, and length of service at particular grade levels. The participants made concrete recommendations concerning the staff rules and regulations, recruitment, placement and assignment, and conditions of work.

The second colloquium in 1978 focussed on the Role of Women in Decision Making and its discussions were extended to include not only women in the UN system but also women at the national level and the role of non-governmental organizations. Measures were elaborated to improve recruitment, promotion, placement and assignment, training, conditions of work and the development of more adequate statistical data and analysis.

Impact of International Women's Year and the Decade for Women

The events of International Women's Year, the three world conferences on women, and the Decade for Women highlighted the fact that women's rights and issues that affect them are not isolated matters of interest to women only, but are important for the progress of society as a whole, and closely linked to such world problems as poverty, overpopulation, illiteracy, migration and urbanization, food shortages, malnutrition and poor health conditions. The years 1976-1985 saw many changes in programmes affecting women throughout the UN system and there was a new sense of commitment concerning the situation of women worldwide and the need for them to be fully integrated in all

development programmes. New institutions were created like the International Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the Committee to Review the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which was completed in 1979. The regional commissions developed their own programmes and established special units to deal with the integration of women in development. UNDP paid increasing attention to the inclusion of women in its projects, often assisted by seed money made available through the voluntary fund for women which expanded and became an integral and important part of UNDP (UNIFEM).

Despite these positive developments on the world scene the situation of women in the Secretariat was slow to change. They continued to be largely excluded from the higher level policymaking positions although for the first time in the late seventies and early eighties a few women were promoted to the level of Assistant Secretary General from within the Secretariat - representing a new departure. Opportunites for promotion and career advancement generally, however, both for women in the professional category and those in general service posts remained limited.

Each of the three conferences of the Decade made recommendations aimed at improving the situation of women in the Secretariat but the most far-reaching emanated from Nairobi and the "Forward looking Strategies" it adopted by consensus. They widened the scope of the whole issue of the status of women in the Secretariat.

The conference recommendations focussed on such issues as: political commitment, accountable management practices, roster of qualified women, sexual harassment and grievances, a proposal for a high level seminar of heads of personnel, the establishment of 5 year targets of 30 percent women in all professional and higher level posts in the UN Secretariat by 1990, the appointment of a coordinator at the highest level in each UN organization and regional office, and the establishment of training programmes to facilitate changes in attitudes and support management development. The Conference also demanded that policies on recruitment, promotion, career development, training and remuneration of women be reviewed.

The recommendations were directed to all organizations in the UN system. Women generally welcomed them and 1985 opened on an optimistic note.

IV Highlights of the Past 10 Years (1985-1995)

The past ten years have been years of uneven progress for women in the Secretariat and the high hopes and momentum generated by the Nairobi Conference were not sustained despite the action programme adopted in 1985 and the many administrative and other measures taken during these years. The appointment of the Coordinator for the Improvement of the Status of Women in the Secretariat at the level of Assistant Secretary General reporting directly to the Secretary General was short lived (March 1985 - June 1988). The post was downgraded to that of D.1 and renamed the Focal Point for Women within the Office of Human Resources Development. It was also a period of severe

financial constraints in the Organization which imposed a freeze on recruitment. New methods of personnel management were introduced focussing on an integrated human resources approach. Issues of sexual harassment and the need for improved grievance procedures began to be openly discussed. The measures taken resulted in some advances for women but not at the higher levels. In 1990 the General Assembly set a target of 35% women in posts subject to geographical representation, and 25% for women in posts D.1 and above by 1995. While the 35% target may be met this year the 25% target is still far from being achieved.

Appointment of the Coordinator for the Improvement of the Status of Women in the Secretariat and Establishment of the Post of Focal Point for Women

In March 1985 the Secretary General announced the appointment of Mercedes Pulido de Briceno of Venezuela as the Coordinator for the Improvement of the Status of Women in the Secretariat. He also pleged his own commitment "to make the condition of equality for men and women envisaged in Article 8 of the Charter a reality for the Secretariat and I expect this commitment to be shared by all my colleagues."

The post of Coordinator was not continued after July 1988 although the Principal Officer in her office remained in charge of the programme until April 1989. The position was then transferred to the Office of Human Resources Development and renamed Focal Point for Women. Two women have since held this post (Suzan Habachy from April 1989 to October 1993; and Parirokh Soltan-Mohammadi, the present officer)

The Secretary General's Action Programme (1985)

The action programme prepared in November 1985 was prefaced by the statement that worldwide efforts to achieve equality for women had taken on a new dimension with the recognition that political, economic and social development is limited by the absence of women in the decision-making process. Paradoxically this consensus among Governments and non-governmental organizations alike has been achieved at a time when women in the United Nations Secretariat still rarely participate in the formulation and execution of the Organization's political, economic and social activities or in technical cooperation programmes.

The statistical picture in 1985 showed a total of 23.1% of women in posts subject to geographical distribution (no USG, 4 ASG, 3 D.2 and 22 D.1); 30.5% in language posts (none at the USG, ASG, D.2 or D.1) and 6.5% in technical cooperation posts (none above the L.7 level). It noted also that 763 women out of a total of 1043 were in service oriented occupations: administration (382 or 37%), library work (66 or 6%) and language posts (316 or 30%). In the substantive areas women were best represented in the social sciences (112 or 11%) and economics (107 or 10%). The report states that "the lack of women's advancement in the Secretariat has its roots both in their confinement to service-oriented occupations and in the prevailing attitudes among many supervisors, who do not always give the same consideration to women's careers as to those of men." (A/C.5/40/30)

The action programme, which was prepared by the Coordinator after extensive consultations throughout the Secretariat covered five areas: recruitment of professional women; career development in all staff categories; training; conditions of service directly affecting women; and grievance and discrimination issues. Its goal is: to secure and maintain the attitudinal changes and the management commitment required for the full participation of women in the work of the Secretariat under conditions of equality. It was to develop in two stages and be monitored by a high level Steering Committee which would report directly to the Secretary General.

Appointment of the Steering Committee

The Steering Committe, composed of men and women representatives of United Nations departments and Programmes at UN Headquarters was established in 1986 and has met several times since. Most of its recommendations have been adopted.

In 1994 the Committee issued a survey to 28 heads of departments/offices, regional commissions, and Programmes asking about the current status of women (number and level), whether the targets of 35% and 25% would be met by 1995, the constraints which prevented attainment of these goals, and the most important measures required to achieve them. The results of the survey reinforced the importance of commitment at the highest level and of an integrated human resources approach. The committee commented that recruitment, career development, training and work/family related issues have been "much talked about but scarcely addressed, let alone reduced." The Committee also stressed that the work environment must be free from any form of sexual or other harassment and that issues such as flexible working hours, spouse employment and mobility problems required further study.

The Committee concluded its special report issued in December 1994 as follows: "United Nations advocacy in favour of women's advancement throughout the world can be credible only if the Organization plays an exemplary leading role. The policies and guidelines for this exist; lacking are the political will and commitment to implementaion, more effective monitoring and accountability. The visible commitment of the Secretary General to the goal of equality in the new era of human resources management and the new system of accountability and responsibility give reason for cautious optimism."

Strategic Plan of Action (1995-2000)

In November 1994 a Strategic Plan of Action for the Improvement of the Status of Women in the Secretariat was developed, based on the Secretary General's Action Programme of 1985 and updated to reflect the human resources management strategies currently in effect. The long-term goals of this Plan are to create conditions of equality and opportunity for women to participate fully in the work of the Secretariat and to achieve complete parity by the year 2000. Its stated objectives are:

(a) To achieve the target of 35% overall representation of women in posts subject to geographical representation by 1995 through the identification and setting of appropriate rates of recruitment and promotion;
(b) To achieve the 25% representation of women at the D.1 level and above as soon as possible and not later than June 1997 through setting appropriate rates of recruitment and promotion at these levels;
(c) To identify and adopt recruitment and promotion policies and procedures which support the Secretariat's efforts to reach the targets and objectives;
(d) To establish clear opportunities for career development and improved conditions of work for the female staff in posts with special language requirements and in the General Service and related categories;
(e) To formulate specific actions and identify viable means to facilitate the implementation of the plan.

When I reviewed the events touched upon in this section I came to the conclusion that despite the limited gains for women as revealed in the statistics, and the disappointments and frustrations at the slow rate of progress over 50 years women have nevertheless advanced some considerable distance from the days when we were told by the Director of the then Office of Personnel: "There is no discrimination against women in the Secretariat"

V. Conclusion

In looking back over the first 50 years of women and the United Nations I see many positive changes on the credit side of United Nations accomplishments. In virtually all Member States the law now accords equal political rights to women, and many of the legal disabilities in other areas based on the concept of the man as head of the family have been removed. The important work of standard setting through international instruments and the implementation procedures now in effect is of great importance to women generally, as are the many programmes being created throughout the UN system to enable women to become fully integrated into the development process. No doubt the Social Summit and the Fourth World Conference on women in Beijing will bring further progress in these areas.

How have these developments affected women at the United Nations?

While this Conference is to focus on women in the Secretariat - one of the 6 principal organs of the United Nations - it is interesting to note the extent of their participation over a 50 year period in other United Nations bodies. In the General Assembly only two women have ever held the office of President (Ms. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of India in 1953 and Ms. Angie Brooks of Liberia in 1969) and the majority of women representatives are still found in the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee. No women have been elected as executive heads of the Organizations of the United Nations System (as against 89 men) although recently 4 women (compared to 55 men) have been appointed and confirmed by the General Assembly as heads of major UN programmes.[11] No women

year is a time of recommitment and a time for the UN to move ahead and become a model employer whose example its Member States can emulate.

This would be a fitting tribute to Eleanor Roosevelt who faced the challenge of being a token woman at the first session of the General Assembly in London in 1946 and, despite the built-in prejudice of her male colleagues, won their respect by her performance.

fostered a greater sense of purpose of spirit and community among the people.

I only wish every nation and every organization shared Dr. Mohammed Yunus' appreciation of the vital role that girls and women play in the economic, social, and political life of our societies.

These programs offer compelling evidence that we can create and expand opportunities for women around the world in ways that are realistic and cost-effective.

The United Nations must play a leadership role. Every program, policy, and decision that emanates from this building directly or indirectly affects 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.

I'm reminded now that when Eleanor Roosevelt first began her work as a United Nations delegate, she was struck by the way in which women were making their mark within the organization. She noted that the Indian Prime Minister's sister was the leader of her delegation. Madame Lefoucheaux [luh-foo-show] had chaired a meeting of the Commission on the Status of Women; others acted as advisers, information-gatherers, particularly in areas where men may have had less knowledge or experience.

At the same time, 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.

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.

"The important thing is to go on working and growing in understanding," she said. If we follow that one piece of advice, our world will be better for it.

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COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Sunday, May 8, 1994

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
Washington, D. C.

PROCEEDINGS

(11:00 a.m.)

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you. Thank you all very much. Thank you very much.

I must say I have been privileged to attend many commencements, but I have never seen a more enthusiastic in my entire life.

(Applause.)

VOICES: Happy Mother's Day.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you.

I want to thank President Trachtenberg and the trustees. I want to acknowledge the other honorary degree recipients. I want to also congratulate the award winners, and thank all of you -- faculty, alumni, family members, citizens -- who are gathered here. But, most of all, I want to thank the graduates of the Class of 1994.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: It's a pleasure to be here on this Mother's Day, and I am sure there are many proud mothers in this audience, but there are also many grateful sons and daughters, who know they would not be clothed in the cap and gown today were it not for the guidance and support of their parents and families.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: It is also fitting to have this celebration in the neighborhood of our nation's greatest monuments, with all that they represent, on a day that holds great promise for your individual futures as well as the future of our nation.

I feel a special connection to GW for several reasons. For one, your campus served as the Clinton-Gore inaugural press center, and was the gateway for many of the press from around the world when they came to the inauguration.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: For another, we held one of the health care task force public hearings in the Smith Center a few months after the President took office.

Several of your alumni play very prominent roles in the administration, for which we are grateful.

On a more personal level, I lived on the GW campus when I first came to Washington as a college intern in the summer of 1968.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: I remember I used to go to Quigley's Drug Store, which was a soda fountain, at 21st and G, which I gather now is the geography department, and even occasionally I would have to go to the library, which I am told now is Lisner Hall.

But I enjoyed my time, as I do now, when I sneak away from

the White House grounds, usually accompanied by several men with things in their ears, and walk around this campus or maybe ride my bike.

This was a very different time than 1968. To begin with, GW didn't have Mike Jarvis as a basketball coach.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: And I don't recall in '68 hearing anyone from the campus talk about phrases like "the big dance" or "sweet 16." Back then, there were no rollerblades or MTV or even ATM cards, and if somebody said "red hot chili peppers," they were talking about food, not a rock band.

But perhaps the most striking difference between this time and 26 years ago is that we had very different views of our social institutions and of our individual and collective roles in society. In many ways, looking back to 1968 seems as though it is separated from us by hundreds of years as opposed to the 26.

It was a time of great passion and hope, and also a time of great social dislocation. Some conventions were dying out, and some were being born. And today we are sailing in the wake of that social and cultural tidal wave.

If you look even at our most basic institution, which we celebrate today, the American family, you can see the changes. If it ever did, it no longer does consist of two parents, two children, a dog, a house

with a white picket fence, and a station wagon in the driveway. Instead of families looking like the Cleavers on Leave it to Beaver, we have families that include test tube babies and surrogate moms.

Instead of Sunday night family dinners, we now have cross-country telephone conference calls. Instead of aunts and uncles and grandmas and grandpas, we have nannies and day care centers. Instead of a nuclear family of 4.2, we have single-parent families, adoptive families, foster families, step-families from multiple marriages.

But remember, as you go forth, no matter what a family unit looks like today, the family remains the essential ingredient in shaping our later lives -- and you have no greater responsibility ahead of you.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: You know, whether a child grows up with a single mother who works two jobs or with two parents and all the material comforts our society affords, that child needs the intangible bonds of love and support that only caring parents, caring adults can provide.

My husband and I talk about this a lot, particularly in the last weeks since his mother is no longer with us, and the lessons that we have learned from both of our mothers. As my husband has said, family values alone cannot feed a hungry child, and material security cannot provide a moral compass. We need both. We need both within our families. We need both within our societies.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: As we think about our future, and I think particularly about your futures, as I look out and see all of you who are about to graduate, I think we all need to recognize the new challenges. Every time presents an opportunity to the generation that lives in it. Whether you are generation X, Y, or Z, you will have your time to make your mark, and you will have it by trying to construct the unique balance in your own lives between family, work, and service, and faith.

And how you strike that balance will change as you go through life, and how you see your obligations will change. But in line with what the President's charge was, I recall what may have been the shortest commencement speech ever given, and perhaps the most memorable, when, on a day like this, Winston Churchill walked to a podium, lifted his head, and said, "Never, never, never give up."

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: And since today is Mother's Day, I think about all of the mothers who never gave up on any of us.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: And I recall what a great American novelist Alice Walker wrote when she said, "And so our mothers and grandmothers have more often than not anonymously handed on the creative spark, the seed of the flower they, themselves, never hoped to

see, or like a sealed letter they could not plainly read." Neither my husband's mother or my mother ever graduated from college. Both of them believed passionately in what doors education could open, but both of them also believed in the obligations that you took with you when you walked through those doors.

Our mothers communicated the values that we have adopted for life. All mothers are the ones who literally and figuratively call us to the dinner table, remind us to brush our teeth, monitor our progress on homework, and say the things that as you grow up you say to yourself you will never say to your own children, "Until you have your own children" -- and hear unbidden your mother's voice coming from the back of your throat.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: A friend of mine calls mothers every family's designated worrier. Or, as the old Jewish proverb reminds us, God could not be everywhere, and therefore he made mothers.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: What we are taught, what we see, what we experience in the family, we carry with us. And what I hope all of you do is to take the lessons, the lessons of a lifetime, the lessons starting in the family, the lessons going through the schools that brought you here, the lessons you have incorporated here at this great university, and decide

on your own life's course.

There is still too much in our society that tries to put us into comfortable boxes, that stereotypes us, that expects that because we are a fill-in-the-blank we will be or we will feel or we will act a certain way. What is marvelous and wonderful about coming of age in America today despite all of the problems that we face is you do have so many more choices to craft your own life than any generation had. You have within your own power the choices to make about how you will chart this course that for all of us is through un-navigated waters.

When I sat as you sit and graduated from college 25 years ago, I could never have predicted my life's course. I could never have written down what I would be doing 10 years, 20 years, or 25 years later. I cannot tell you what I will be doing 10, 20, or 25 years from now. But I know, in part because of my family's teaching and the marvelous education I received, that I've felt prepared to make the choices that were presented to me day by day.

And just as in an individual's life, a society faces the same kind of challenge. We are now facing such challenges on our national level. I don't think it's a coincidence that the public issues that concern me most today -- health care, education, children, public safety -- all translate back to the family. And it's not hard to see why. When family members are spread across the country, when traditional family roles are

changing, when the traditional bonds of family are too often frayed, we all need to appreciate that in a very real sense we have become an extended family. Our community must be a family. And if we recognize that, then we will accept the larger roles we are forced into as we move out into the larger community, the community of the extended family.

If we find the balance in our individual lives we can then struggle to help find the balance in our larger community life. And I hope that that will be part of your struggle, to find a new spirit of community in our country. As we begin to take care of the larger extended family around us we will need all of your efforts and best thinking to succeed. The great issues of the day, the ones your generation will be entrusted to tackle, are not just about politics and policies or dollars and cents. They are about our moral obligations as individuals to protect and care for all within our larger community.

If we recognize that obligation, there is so much we can do. We've heard it from both the introductions that have been made and the recognitions that have been given as we've heard how individuals have given of themselves as they have attempted to reach the broader community that they are a part of. That opportunity lies ahead for you, as well. And I cannot let this moment go by without talking briefly about one of our primary obligations, and that is to extend the right for affordable quality health care to every single American.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: The President's profound commitment to fixing what's broken and preserving what's right in our health care system is not simply a matter of wanting to reduce our deficit or cut down on paperwork, although we must do both. His interest, and I hope yours, goes much deeper than that.

Today, nearly 10 million children do not have health insurance and millions of others are in families that are underinsured. Millions never see a doctor; nearly 40 percent of all 2-year-olds have not received immunizations against major childhood diseases; half of today's private insurance plans do not pay for basic preventive services for children, such as vaccines and well-baby exams; and all too often children with chronic illnesses cannot get coverage at all.

When you compound the health problems of our children with other burdens, then the problems our society face grow enormously. Think about this not just in terms of abstract statistics or the debates that you'll see over the next months. Think about it in the lives of real people, and particularly children, and let me just say quickly, two of the stories I carry around in my own head.

I was in the Children's Hospital in Cleveland talking to parents, as some of you now are and as many of you will be in the next few years, parents who did not know that when their children were born

they would face serious chronic illnesses. And I had a mother say to me that she and her husband both made a good living, they both were well educated, they'd had one healthy child and then two children, two little girls, born with serious health problems.

They had always paid for insurance; they had always counted on it. But all of a sudden, those two little girls were not insurable, and they went from place to place looking for insurance. They didn't want a handout, they wanted to pay their way. But no one would insure two little girls against certain and expensive medical care because they already were sick.

And finally, the mother told me that she realized she would never, under our current system, be able to insure her daughters when a man across a table she was begging for some way to get insurance looked at her and said, "You just don't understand. We don't insure burning houses." Think, if you will, all of us who are mothers on this Mother's Day, how we would feel if that had been said about one of you, one of our children.

And I think also about the man who grabbed my hand as I left a speech here in Washington and said to me, you know, I didn't really understand what you and your husband were talking about. I've always been well-insured, and thank God my family has always been pretty healthy. But I have a secretary in my office who told me what had

happened in her family, where two of her grandchildren, two cousins who lived together with their families in the same big old rambling house, both got sick.

One of those little cousins was the child of a family with insurance. She was taken to the hospital, she was diagnosed with meningitis, she was admitted, and she was cured. The other little cousin also had meningitis, but her family didn't have any insurance. They took her to one hospital; they were referred to another hospital. They sat in the emergency room and went through all of the rigmarole that we go through to try to prove that we deserve to have medical care, and finally she was looked at, given two baby aspirins, and sent home. She died on the day her cousin was discharged. The little brother of the girl who died then came down with the same illness. The hospital that had turned away his sister took him as a charity case.

I don't want another year to go by where we have to hear stories like this. Not one of our children deserves to have any of that happen to him.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: So, as we face all of these problems -- health care, violence, reforming the welfare system, making our economy grow again -- let's put it into perspective.

I leave later today to go to South Africa to attend on Tuesday

one of the most extraordinary events of the 20th century.

(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: When I think of the challenges facing the brave men and women who have worked their way to this point in that country's history, I think many of our problems pale in comparison. Yet we have our own problems. In addition to wanting to help countries like South Africa realize their own potential, let's recommit ourselves to making this country, in this time, realize its own potential and give to all of you and all of our children the chance to live up to their own God-given potential.

Let's make America work for all of us.

Thank you all very much.

(Standing ovation.)

(Whereupon, at 11:21 a.m., the speech concluded.)

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ROME
THE WHITE HOUSE
APRIL 21, 1994

Ladies and Gentlemen, Chairman of the Centennial, Trustees and Fellows of the American Academy in Rome, Winners of the Rome Prize, Welcome.

Today is an historic day for us. We are celebrating the 2,747th birthday of Rome. And, with the presentation of the Rome Prize, we will launch the celebration of the 100th birthday of the American Academy in Rome, an institution that is synonymous with support for artists and scholars abroad.

As we all can see by being here today, the Academy is still going strong.

The American Academy in Rome has long been known to Presidents. By 1905, it had been chartered by Congress for its contribution to the arts and humanities. Its founder, Charles Follen McKim, became a friend of President Theodore Roosevelt while working on one of the earliest restorations of the White House.

McKim's creativity not only shaped designs within this building, but also shaped generations of architects, landscape architects, painters, sculptors, composers, writers, classicists, and scholars.

Even today, he continues to shape the artistic and humanistic worlds, not by his own hand, perhaps, but certainly by his determination that the Academy send to Rome the best, most promising, and most motivated artists and scholars that America produces.

He wanted these artists and scholars to immerse themselves in the heart of what was one of the greatest cultures in human history. Their experiences in Rome, he thought, would provide invaluable time for study, reflection, and creative pursuits. And those experiences would be lasting, enabling them to return home refreshed and inspired -- and ready to contribute in new ways to expanding cultural life in the United States.

Today we see the artistry and intellectual energy of Rome prize winners throughout our culture -- in great buildings, parks, musical compositions, writing, and works of art.

The beauty of the Academy is that it has consistently recognized promise among our young, and believed in them and their capacity to enrich American culture over time.

We have before us ample evidence of the influence and reach of the Academy over its first hundred years. Academy alumni include four poets laureate, two Noble Laureates, seven national arts medalists, three winners of the Pritzker Prize in Architecture, seven McDowell Medalists, nine MacArthur Fellowship recipients, and 24 Pulitzer Prize winners.

The Academy's mission has not changed, but the people it is sending to Rome today are as diverse as the nation itself.

A hundred years ago, the Rome Prize winners were young, single, white men studying the classics.

Today they are men and women of all backgrounds and ages, from all over the United States, studying many different subjects -- elite only in their promise, vision, imagination, and intellect. They are participants in a larger, international community, joined together in an ancient city to help enhance modern civilization.

Now that the Centennial is here, I think I can safely say that we are off to a great start for the next hundred years. To those of you whose generous support has helped sustain the Academy and the role it plays in expanding American culture, we are grateful. We are grateful, too, to you Trustees, who govern with expertise and passion. You provide the continuity. And to those of you who are staff, you are magnificent on both sides of the Atlantic. Keep up the good work.

To the winners, we offer congratulations. You represent the richness and breadth of American culture, and your experiences will help perpetuate the important role artists and scholars play in strengthening our way of life.

Award to Pres

[Introduce Adele Chatfield-Taylor, ~~who was herself a Fellow in 1984, to present the prizes~~].

to announce awardees

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release November 1, 1993

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY
AT THE ASSOCIATION OF
AMERICAN MEDICAL COLLEGES

MS. CLINTON: Thank you very much, Dr. Koop, for that introduction and, beyond that, for your continuing leadership and commitment to health care, and for your persistence in seeing that we, as a nation, continue to follow through on what is a most important domestic issue confronting us.

Thank you, Dr. Foreman (phonetic). I appreciate the invitation to be here today. Thank you, Dr. Petersdorf (phonetic) for opening this opportunity to me, particularly the chance, after some initial remarks, to answer questions from this distinguished audience.

I must tell you I have given I don't know how many speeches by now, certainly dozens, maybe hundreds. Dr. Phil Lee ~~League~~ (phonetic), who is here at the head table with me, and I have traveled literally from coast to coast and from the Canadian to the Mexican border together, but this audience does strike a little bit of terror in my heart. I am conscious of the extraordinary commitment to excellence among the institutions represented here and to the variety of the institutions represented here.

There is no more important part of that we do as we embark upon the forum than what is entrusted to the member institutions, training the next generation of health professionals, maintaining and enhancing quality, going beyond the boundaries of current research, and providing, really, the foundation upon which the excellence of the American health care system is built.

So we have taken, very seriously, the challenge faced by all of us to bring about reform by preserving what is best about the American health care system while fixing what needs to be changed.

MORE

The most important aspects of what we are attempting to do will be to insure, as soon as possible, universal health care coverage for all Americans that represents not only a commitment to coverage and access but which ensures comprehensive benefits so that we establish, in effect, a floor below which no American can fall.

If we fulfill our commitment to that fundamental principle, than many of the other issues that concern you and me will be taken care of. If we do not fulfill that primary commitment, then we will continue merely to carry out marginal kinds of reforms with unattended consequences that do not lead either to the financial stability of our current system, to a guarantee that we can maintain the excellence that you represent, or that we can continue to afford to provide the quality of care we currently do.

The president has said, and we have repeated in every speech that anyone representing him has made in the weeks since he presented the legislation to Congress, that he will not sign any bill that does not guarantee universal coverage with comprehensive benefits. That has to be the bottom line.

But as Dr. Koop has pointed out, there are many areas of the reform package that we are continuing to seek consultation on. There is no reason why we cannot work out any of the technical details that concern any particular constituency, at least to arrive at what is the best possible outcome under the circumstances available to us.

So with those two thoughts in mind, that universal coverage, the comprehensive benefits, is non-negotiable but that many of the detailed and technical issues certainly are, let me briefly run through some of the issues that I know are a concern to you.

Under the current proposed reform plan, we will be provided a funding screen for academic health centers. That funding screen will actually total more money over the five years of the initial reform implementation than would otherwise be available if we were to maintain the current formulas for graduate medical education, both direct and indirect within the medicare system today. The difference would be approximately 50 billion compared to 46 billion. That funding screen will be routed in a commitment of a percentage of funds from those who are in the health care

system paying premiums.

In other words, all Americans who will be obtaining benefits will be paying a portion of their premium costs, about one-and-a-half percent, to maintain and enhance these services that we take for granted and are really dependent upon provided by academic health centers.

We know that any change is likely to cause some concern. Change makes people anxious. My husband is very fond of saying that people always are in favor of change in general but not often in particular. I think that in today's current climate, that is certainly true. People know things have to change. They are just not sure what direction or what specifics the change should take.

In our efforts to maintain and enhance the roles of academic centers, we believe we are provided a firm funding base that will actually produce more income to the institutions than would be available under current conditions. That is certainly true if instead of health care reform, what we spend our time on in the next month is capping entitlements such as medicare and medicaid.

We have a very difficult situation confronting us today in Washington because many in the political arena have determined that the most effective political statement to make, in effect, to try and be on the right side of change, as they define it, is to cap medicare expenditures in order to lower the deficit.

I cannot stress strongly enough how dangerous that is to every institution represented here today. If we cap the rate of growth in medicare and medicaid in order to obtain further deficit reduction in the absence of health care reform, you will get the worst of all possible worlds.

You will see your income from medicare through both indirect and direct medical education grants diminish rather dramatically over the next years. You will see further very little chance of obtaining further funding because one of the issues you will confront is what is called caps on discretionary spending. So you will have the money taken away from the medicare system decreasing and will find it extremely difficult to add to it because of these caps.

A second and equally threatening development is the

balanced budget amendment. I mentioned that because it would have an even more dramatic impact, almost immediately upon its passage, on institutions such as the ones represented here and nearly every other forum of domestic spending. Now, no one argues that we need to begin to decrease the rate of growth in both medicare and medicaid.

That is why in the president's proposal we do achieve reduction in the rate of growth, but they are reductions that are taken in the context of overall health care reform. We have the kind of funding base that will come from the premiums that will be a secure, and new, and larger funding stream while we reduce the rate of increase in medicare and medicaid.

In medicare, we will provide benefits for older Americans, including prescription drugs and the beginning of long-term care. We also intend to continue both medicare and medicaid disproportionate payments so that the kind of uncompensated care that will remain after universal coverage is achieved will be taken care of.

Now, I mentioned these issues at the front of my remarks because I know they are in the minds of many of you, and I want to put them into a context. Oftentimes, in the face of efforts to reform any system, people become very focused on the details of that reform; in effect, focusing on the trees and perhaps losing the forest.

If we do not permit the growing movement for capping medicare and medicaid, if we do not talk sensibly about a balanced budget amendment that can only, only, balance the budget on the backs of the health care spending that are in the budget, because every other form of discretionary spending has been basically frozen, and defense has been lowered as much as anyone feels is appropriate, all that is left is health care.

To take that money and use it for deficit reduction would mean will never, at least in the foreseeable future, have health care reform, and your institutions will be further impaired by financial cuts that will be unpredictable, arbitrary, and not replaced with any other funding stream.

Now, usually when I speak about the health care reform, I talk about the principles that underlay what we are

attempting to do. I want briefly to mention those, but I would have felt quite remiss if I had not tried to place in context for you what we are up against at this point in time as we move forward. I believe that we may discuss some of those specifics even further with Dr. Koop or with some of you in your questions.

For the basic principles that underlay what we are attempting to do is number one, security which gives universal coverage with comprehensive benefits. Those comprehensive benefits include preventive health care. They include the kind of preventive health care that for too long has not been reimbursed by either the public or the private insurance systems.

They include even some forms of preventive care that we believe are so justified, according to the recommendations of the United States Preventive Services Task Force, that they will be free to every American. It is important for us to try to stress preventive care because we view it as one of the openings to more responsibility for individuals and for the entire system.

Another feature of the comprehensive benefits package that I want to mention is that it includes mental health benefits and substance abuse treatment. If we do not include those two particular services in the benefits package, we will not have recognized the full range of needs that our people have, but it will be a fight to keep both of them in there.

We have twice the benefits package with the extraordinary help of not only all of the government actuaries but outside economists, and actuaries, and benefit specialists as well. The kind of financing that we are putting forth in the plan is more than sufficient to fund those benefits for every American because in addition to reallocating some of the funding currently provided by the federal government, we will be asking all of those who are currently not contributing to do so.

The second principle is savings. We believe there are savings to be obtained in the system, and we have been particularly moved by research that a number of the institutions represented here this afternoon have done in the past years, demonstrating the lack of correlation often between costs and quality. The incredible inefficiency often

found in the delivery of the same services in one region of the country compared to another region to the same type of patients or the same kind of procedure.

We know that we can obtain savings if we run more efficiently. There are some simple things that many of you are already doing and that we will provide opportunities for you to do further. We are changing the anti-trust laws so there can be more corroboration and collaboration.

We are asking that institutions take a hard look at the kind of uses they're getting of technology so that that expensive piece of equipment, rather than being run from 7 to 4 or 7 to 5 be run from 7 to midnight, things like that which, in some places, have already been tried are maybe small steps toward becoming more efficient, but aggregated will be extraordinarily impacted on what we can expect in order of a degree of safety.

The third principle is simplicity. Here we are doing our best to move toward a single claim system both for providers and for patients. There isn't any doubt, and I doubt there is anyone in this room, who would argue that we could free up literally thousands, hundreds of thousands of hours of time for professionals, as well as dollars, by eliminating paperwork that is unrelated to the delivery of quality health care.

There have been too many examples of that even to quote, but in every institution, given the current financial pressures in the existing system, I know that steps are being made to move towards simplification. We want to accelerate that by moving nationally in the same direction.

The fourth principle is choice. There has hardly been a more misunderstood concept and one that has given more horror to the defenders than the status quo. Choice, in today's current health care system, is diminishing on a daily basis. Many of you who run institutions that are academic health centers, or in some way affiliated with one, have had the experience in the last several years of losing patients because their choices were decreased by employer decisions about what health could would be available to them.

When I served on the board of the Arkansas Children's Hospital, which is affiliated with University of Arkansas' Medical Sciences Campus, we were continually

getting reports of large insurance plans that would no longer refer patients or permit patients to go under the plans provisions to the Arkansas Children's Hospital because it was thought to be too expensive in its delivery of high quality tertiary care.

Choice is decreasing as we sit here today, choice both for patients and for physicians who are being told that if they join one particular kind of health plan, they cannot join any other.

Under the president's plan, we reverse that decline in choice. Choice is given not to the employers but to the individuals. Every year the individual will determine what plan he or she will join. Physicians will be permitted to join more than one plan at their choice not at the plan's direction.

So, in fact, we will be increasing choice. In every area, there will probably be at least three and many more plans including an HMO, including a network or a PPO, and a mandate fee-for-service network. A physician under the plan will, at his choice, be able to join all three if that's his decision.

The fifth principle, quality, is one where we will be looking particularly to you for help. We intend to utilize the academic health centers and the other medical centers around the country to really serve as quality providers and to hold the system accountable for quality. That will be, in part, some of the funding that will come to you directly from the premium base that I referred to earlier.

We want to have health plans issuing report cards on themselves. We want to make better use of the clinical information available and to disseminate it more widely so that plans can make decisions about what is and isn't appropriate care. So quality will be a major feature of what we are attempting to achieve.

Finally, the last principle is responsibility. Here we mean a number of things. We mean the individuals need to be more responsible for their own health care. We mean that the profession needs to take increased responsibility to make some of the difficult decisions that confront us with respect to appropriate procedures and the

like. We also mean that a system of universal coverage must be responsibly and fairly financed.

There are only three ways to finance universal coverage. You can either have a tax, which is a very broad-based tax that replaces the existing private investment, sometimes referred to as a single payor system. Our country would require a tax increase of somewhere between four and five hundred billion dollars. Or you have an individual mandate in which individuals are told they must buy health insurance such as now happens in some states where individuals are told they must buy auto insurance.

We looked at both of those alternatives. For a number of reasons, we decided it was not the best choice to pursue either of those. With respect to the single payor system, we absolutely embrace the goal of universal coverage and the kind of simplification and decreased administrative costs that come with it.

But we did not think that we were in a position to try to replace the kind of private sector investment in health care and, in fact, wanted to retain different kinds of approaches to the delivery of health care and financing of health care as we evolved a universal system.

With respect to the individual mandate, we are very concerned as to how one would administer such a mandate and how we would keep track of it, how we would determine who was and wasn't covered, and if we had, as we would have to have, some kind of federal subsidy for that individual mandate, at what level it would be set and how we would either discourage or prohibit employers who currently help to pay for their employee's insurance from deciding not to, which would shed employees into the subsidy pool, or determining that they would keep employee's wages just below the level at which they would have to pick up any of the costs.

So, for a number of reasons, largely administrative, we could not see how that could operate effectively. We determined their floor to build on what works for the 90 percent of insured Americans currently, an employer/employee system.

In fact, we believe that of the insured, 70 percent will actually pay the same or less for same or better benefits because once they are all pooled into these

alliances that are task groups, they are purchasing cooperatives, they are not meant to be regulatory. They are meant to pool the resources so that we can get the best possible price value for all citizens that are now available only to the biggest companies, that we will actually be saving the vast majority of insured Americans money.

Now, all of these issues will be debated vigorously in the next month. What we ask, those of us who are committed to seeing health care reforms through and committed to seeing that Congress act on this in 1994, is that we spend our time debating over real issues, and that we appreciate what is at stake, and that where we agree, do so in a unified manner and where we have disagreed work them out among us.

The biggest threat to reform is the same threat that Franklin Roosevelt faced when he tried to provide health security as a second part of social security, the same threat that Harry Truman faced when in 1945 he presented a comprehensive health care reform bill remarkably similar in many respects to what this president has presented, the same kind of opposition that Lyndon Johnson faced when he finally got medicare and medicaid available for the elderly and the poor, and the same kind of opposition that even Richard Nixon faced when, in 1970, he presented a bill that would have required an employer/employee system for funding health care.

That opposition has been the status quo in its defenders. We have to do better this time. In 1945, we were spending four percent of our national income on health care. Today we spend 14 percent with no end in sight, knowing full well that 100,000 Americans a month lose permanently their health insurance, knowing full well that your hospitals get burned more and more every year by uncompensated, uninsured care.

We have a historic opportunity, and I believe we are going to step up and meet it. That's our most fervent hope. We know that many of you in this audience will be our most committed allies because you see every day what is at stake. Thank you very much. (Applause)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Internal Use Only November 3, 1993

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
VIA SATELLITE

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much, Sheldon, for that introduction. And I was delighted that I got to hear the very end of the speech by your former speaker. Secretary Giltaros (phonetic) is doing an excellent job representing the kinds of interests that all of us care about.

I would like to thank you, Sheldon, and Ann Abbott, and Ann Cook, and Dorothy Fowler, for chairing this conference. And I want to congratulate the awardees of Social Worker of the Year, the Lifetime Achievement Award, and Public Citizen of the Year.

I would also like to thank Sandy Harding, and Madeline Gold, and Sue Hochstetter, and all the members of the NASW, for all of your help, work, and support -- not only, but especially, with health care reform.

You and your organization have been one of the strongest voices for health care reform in this country. While plenty of groups have paid lip service to health care reform, you have actively believed in it.

Earlier in the century, Jane Addams called for the life of the larger cause, and for the need for public-spirited men and women with a thoroughly aroused conscience to push our nation forward in the direction of our highest ideals. I believe that every day you answer Jane Addams' call. And the President and I greatly appreciate your actions and your support.

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It gives me extra pleasure to talk to you all today, for I believe we share a vision of what America can, and must become. Your fundamental belief that social workers must advocate changes in policy and legislation to improve social conditions and promote social justice also drives our plan for health care reform. All of us are committed to ensuring the well-being of every member of our society.

Last week, the President delivered the National Health Security Act to the Congress. This initiative represents the first time in many years that the Congress has had before it a comprehensive measure to provide health security for all Americans, and a President willing to stand behind it and push it.

This is an issue that has been considered in Congresses many times before. It goes back at least as far as when President Roosevelt was attempting to legislate Social Security. At that time, he also intended to legislate Health Security, but could not achieve that objective.

Ever since the 1930s, and in every Congressional session, bills have been introduced, and even Presidents have tried to deal with our health care problems. But there was always some reason, some timing, some excuse why we could not move forward. And so the problem has continued to develop.

We are now at a unique moment in history, when there is a critical mass in the Congress -- both Democrats and Republicans -- who are finally willing to say, "Let us hear Americans from all walks of life who are calling for the reform of our health care system." And, most importantly, we have a President who is absolutely committed to getting the job done, and who is willing to put himself and his administration on the line.

I know that in social work it is very important to start treatment where the client is. Well, in the process of drafting the plan that the President has proposed, we began where our clients -- the American people -- are.

We have listened to those, like yourselves, who care for people, and to those who receive care. We have listened to those who thought they were secure, but lost their health care coverage and joined the 2.25 million Americans who every month, for some period of time, lose their health insurance.

We have listened to the stories of people locked into jobs because they cannot move without losing health insurance. We have listened to the excruciating tales that come from people being denied insurance coverage because they, or a child, has a preexisting condition.

We have listened to all of you, who know first-hand the benefits and pitfalls of our current system. And we have heard what you have said. We have used your suggestions. We believe that we have incorporated the best elements of the various approaches that were put forth, and have created a workable position.

We have adopted the idea of managing care and insurance reforms from the proponents of a market-driven approach to health care reform, while embracing, wholeheartedly, many of the principles of the single-payer approach.

While we may have different approaches, we all want to get to the same place: universal coverage; comprehensive benefits; fair financing, where everybody pays and everybody is responsible; and system-wide cost controls. Our plan also allows states to implement single-payer health care systems, if they choose.

Many of the problems that you face in the current system are addressed in the President's reform plan, because right now -- let's face it -- most of the cards are held by the government, or by insurance companies.

Insurers have the ability to grant and deny coverage. They compete on their ability to attract healthier patients. They have so many different insurance policies, with so much fine print, that we often see coverage exclusions where a company thought they would have coverage, or an individual had actually counted on it.

Every single day, if you are insured, your choice as a health care provider, and as a patient, is being limited by insurance company decisions that undermine your autonomy and your discretion. Now is the time for every American to stand up and say to the insurance industry, "We want our health care system back, and we intend to get it."

Now, how do we do that? The President believes that we ought to adopt the plan he proposes for health care reform, because he thinks this is the best way, the most workable, that which can pass the Congress and have the support of the majority of our people, because our plan is based on what we have heard and learned from the American people.

And we intend to continue our dialogue with all Americans. We are open to discussion, and to negotiation. As I have told representatives of NASW, we welcome changes that will enhance and strengthen our proposal. But make no mistake. There are six basic principles on which we will not compromise, and on which our plan is based.

The first -- and most important -- is security. I know that you, too, are familiar with the human tragedies experienced by so many Americans due to lack of access to health care.

We have to reach universal coverage as soon as possible, not only because of the horror stories that come too often to our attention, but because of the denial of health care, and because of the economic reality that until every American is insured and has health security, there cannot be the kind of cost-effective approaches to health care we expect to achieve.

For too long, our system has rewarded the wrong kinds of behaviors. Why don't we pay for the well-child exam, for the mammogram, for the pap smear, instead of paying for the operation, or the chronic debilitating condition?

It is our firm belief that the package of benefits must include and emphasize primary and preventive health care. And if we can shift our focus to this while we provide security, we will not only be taking care of health problems earlier, we will be saving money.

It is time we put at the head of the list of what people need and deserve, comprehensive benefits with preventive health care. The benefits package must also include mental health benefits, and it must include substance abuse benefits as well.

The Health Security Act, immediately upon implementation, will address some of the most discriminatory practices within the current insurance system and eliminate all differences in coverage between mental illness and physical illness by January 2001 or earlier.

We are starting with a positive base of mental health benefits and substance abuse benefits that we will build on. We are going to -- and I think I need to tell this group -- we are going to have a real fight on our hands to keep the mental health and substance abuse benefits in the comprehensive benefits package.

And we need your help to stand up for mental health. We know that without treating mental health, without treating substance abuse, we are not going to have true health care reform.

But we will have to have you standing with us to make it clear to the American people and the United States Congress that the day of discriminating against mental health is over.

We also recognize the important roles of social workers and other nonphysician providers, in both mental health and physical health care delivery. So if we believe, as we do, that security is our bottom line, then what the President has said is he will not sign any bill that does not contain universal coverage with comprehensive benefits.

We have to make sure -- you and I, working together -- the President gets a bill he can sign. And I will have to have your help in order to get that done.

The second absolute principle is that we have to simplify the system. We cannot permit it to continue unchecked, spewing out more forms and more regulations, in both the private and the public sectors, every year that goes by.

In the last 15 years hospitals, on average, have hired four administrative and clerical employees for every doctor. You have seen social work departments in hospitals be eliminated or decreased, while administrators and bookkeepers have increased.

We have watched as we have tangled our hospitals in a web of paperwork that has no relationship to the care you and I expect when we walk in the door. We have the opportunity, now, to eliminate that paperwork that has beset our health care system.

If we can begin to tackle and finally conquer this system, we will save billions of dollars, and free up, literally, thousands and thousands of hours for health care providers, like medical social workers and psychiatric social workers, to do what they do best -- take care of patients.

The third principle is choice. More and more, the current system is limiting choice for consumers, for employers who bear the cost for most people's insurance, for those who are insured, and increasingly limit the choice as to what plans will be available.

With the Health Security Act, individuals will choose from among the plans in their area. They will decide whether they want to join an HMO or a network of doctors or a fee-for-service network or some yet uncreated way of delivering health care more efficiently.

We have to look at how we provide health care in a more organized way and, by doing so, the Health Security Act will actually guarantee more choice than is currently available in the market now.

For those of you who are employed, you have experienced that more and more employers are telling you who you can go to see, what hospitals you can use, what doctors are available to you.

We want to preserve choice. And what we have done is not only to give the power for making that decision to the individual, we have given the responsibility as well.

We need better informed consumers in health care. Most people know more about the car they buy than the health insurance plan they subscribe to. They don't know how to make distinctions among the varying kinds of services that are offered.

We need to provide incentives for them to do so -- for all of us to do so. And choice is the principle that

will lead all of us in that direction. For example, when we have report cards on health care plans, we're going to be able to look at issues that we think are important.

As a woman, I'm going to want to know how well the health plans do in diagnosing and treating breast cancer, for example. As a mother, I'm going to want to know how good their immunization rate is for all the children that are in the plan.

Those are the kinds of informed decisions that we will be able to make, because we will have greater, not lesser, choice.

Fourth, there will be, and will have to be, savings in this system that can be better utilized. This is one of the most misunderstood aspects of health care in America right now.

We are currently spending about 14 cents out of every dollar of our income in America on health care. If we do nothing, just sit here, throw up our hands, and say, "Oh my gosh, we've tried, but just like Presidents Roosevelt and Truman and Johnson and even Nixon and everybody else who has tried, we just can't deal with this problem."

Well, then, we can look forward to spending increasing amounts of our wages on health care. We can look forward to having 20 percent of our national income, by around the year 2000, being spent on health care.

That will come, whether or not we insure one more person. So we'll spend more money without more security, without changing the system toward primary and preventive care.

The status quo is not static. It will decrease our access and quality of health care. We believe we can reallocate money, in both the private and public sector, to deliver health care more efficiently, that will enable us to reach universal coverage, and do so more cost-effectively.

You have seen -- those of you who work in hospitals or in any of our institutions that deal with health care for your clients -- many instances where we could do something more efficiently. But we have no incentives in our current system to bring those changes about.

We will, under Health Care Reform, so that our dollars will actually go further. We are not cutting anything. We are trying to make better use of the money we currently spend.

The fifth principle is quality. There is no debate that we have the best health care system in the world for those who can take advantage of it. But we need to strengthen it and make sure it is accessible to everyone.

Any reform system must not only provide for, but require, quality standards and quality outcomes. That is a statement I think everybody would agree with. But we need better ways of making it happen. We need more information. Quality has to be the key to everything we do.

We have to ask ourselves, "Will this be good for patients? Will this be good for doctors, for nurses, for other health care providers? Will this make quality better?" Any health plan that cannot answer these questions affirmatively is a plan we must reject.

The federal government and the state governments will have to take more responsibility for collecting information about quality, and for disseminating it, so that physicians, and hospitals, and others -- as well as patients -- all know we can make better quality choices.

That's why we're calling for report cards that all of us can understand, so that we can make those choices.

The sixth principle is responsibility. Responsibility should permeate the system, and for too long it has not. We need to make sure, for the first time ever, that everyone pays their fair share in the health care system.

Everybody must pay something, because everybody must assume responsibility for their health care. We believe in a need to instill responsibility at all levels: at the individual level, where we become more responsible for our own health; at the community and public health level, where we take on the plagues of violence and teenage pregnancy and AIDS and drug abuse.

Everyone has to contribute. Everyone has to take responsibility.

Security, simplicity, choice, savings, quality, responsibility -- these are the principles which guide the President. These are our shared goals. And upon the bedrock of these principles, we have devised a health care system that we believe will work for every citizen of our nation.

It will not be easy, but we are committed to building a world for our children where every American will have health care coverage -- and coverage that is secure, no matter who you work for, where you work, where you live, or whether you have ever been sick before -- a world without preexisting condition problems, without portability problems, without job or welfare lock; a world where every American, because you are an American -- not because you work for a big or small company, or live in Florida or North Dakota, but because you are an American -- you will be insured.

This is going to be a long national debate. There will be many who will come forward with opposition, or, what I see even more of, people who say, "We are all for health care reform. We just think we need to do it a different way, and we don't think universal coverage is necessary. But we'll get there eventually."

Let's be very careful to scrutinize every single proposal, to find out who's really behind it, and how it would work. We're confident that if everyone reads the book that the President and I are promoting all across this nation, that we will have a better health care system, because every American will take part in the debate to make it so.

There's no argument that we need to change. The argument will be over how we do it. That is why we need your help. We need you to support this plan. Any differences that we have are among friends, and among people who share the same vision of what this country can and should be.

But we have to stand united against those who do not share our vision, who really don't think it's a national tragedy if millions of Americans are still left out in the cold -- uninsured, or underinsured -- who don't see the daily struggles you see for people to keep themselves and their children healthy.

I've traveled all over this country, and it's been a great and wonderful privilege. And I have, I guess you would say, almost private movies running in my head every day of the people I have met. And they are what keep me going, every single day, because it is for them, and for our children, that we are doing this.

Most of us -- myself and family, and you in this audience -- are insured. But we can't tell that we will be this time next year. This is not a discussion about only taking care of those who do not have. It is about making sure all of us are secure. Because any time one American is not secure, none of us is.

Thank you for caring. Thank you for your commitment. And thank you for following in the footsteps of Jane Addams and others, who, in much more difficult times, always stood for what was right for all people.

We're going to get this done. It won't be easy, but history and right are on our side. Please join us. I look forward to working with you.

Thank you all very much.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Internal Use Only December 2, 1993

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
AT
DARTMOUTH ~~-HITCHCOCK MEDICAL CENTER~~ College

MS. CLINTON: Thank you so much. This is such a treat. I had looked forward to coming back to Dartmouth. It gives me such a real thrill to be here with you, although I have to correct President Friedman for the second time today. Earlier he introduced me and said I had been at Dartmouth back in February of 1992 for my second visit. That was my first visit. This is my second visit. I told the crowd then that that doesn't count all the ~~business~~ visits that I used to make at Dartmouth when I was at (inaudible). Wellesley → Reich

I remember my very first visit to Dartmouth. I came up for some kind of meeting. I also came for a winter carnival. I came to the meeting and the meeting was being (inaudible) organized by Bobby ~~Rice~~ who is still organizing (inaudible) most distinguished along with the Secretary of Labor. I'll never forget we had this incredible discussion, and that was before there were any women at Dartmouth, at least in college. So I must say that I have never had a better time, those of us who came to this meeting that Bobby Rice put on because there were about 10 of us and about 400 of you all.

But it is; it's a real treat to be back, especially for this occasion. What we are trying to do is to make good on what we said during the campaign when so many of you here at the college work for my husband's candidacy both in the primary and then in the general election because you shared with us what we saw as a real historic opportunity, a chance to begin to deal with a lot of the problems in our country, a chance to have a new vision of what it would mean to be a strong productive American in the 21st Century, how we could ensure that this country which has given us all so much would continue to provide the opportunity that you deserve to have.

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In the past year we have worked very hard to build on that vision. We're very proud of the record of legislative accomplishments and the changes that have already begun. I don't think there is any program that is dearer to the president's heart and in which he feels more promised than the national service bill which was passed and signed into law which will begin next year, providing opportunities for young people to do national service and for thousands to begin to finance their way through college because they're willing to do service for America. That's what a new America vision means.

But part of what still lies before us is to tackle a problem that is really one that has developed over decades, but which threatens to undermine one of the strongest parts of our national heritage. There isn't any doubt that America has the finest medical system in the world if you can afford to use it, if you can get there, if you can take advantage of what it has to offer.

There's also, no doubt, that for those who are well insured there is a certain (inaudible) being taken care of. But increasingly, even for those of us who are insured, there is no security. Every month 6.25 million Americans lose their health insurance. Usually they lose it because they change jobs or they're laid off or the business they are working for no longer will provide health care, but sometimes it is because all of a sudden they can't be insured because they've got an illness or child has a problem that nobody wants to take care of. So even for those of us who are insured, there isn't any real health security.

What the president is absolutely committed to doing is providing a health care reform that first and foremost to give every one of you the absolute confidence that no matter who you work for, no matter where you live, no matter whether you have a preexisting condition which is insurance language for having been sick and maybe still having something you have to take care of, like diabetes, that you will always, always be able to afford to have your health care needs met.

I'm very grateful for the leadership that many people are giving to this great reform effort. I'm grateful that Congressman Sanders will join us today from Vermont and I am particularly pleased that Congressman (inaudible) would announce his endorsement of the health care reform, the

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Health Security Act today here at his home state.

But you know there has been efforts in the past to reform our health care system. This is not a problem that is new. Back in the days of your grandparents and great grandparents, Franklin Roosevelt thought that he would use social security which would let millions and millions of Americans in their older years out of (inaudible) poverty and then he would do health security, but he couldn't get it done.

Then President Truman came along and in 1945 said we have to make sure that every person in America has health insurance, no matter what their rate or their residence or their economic status is. But he tried in 1945, he tried in 1947 and he couldn't get it done because there was so many interests that said why do we need to do that. We don't need to worry about that now. Then in the 1960s President Johnson was able to get through both Medicare and Medicaid, two programs that have made a huge difference in the lives of millions of Americans.

Many of your parents, my grandparents were on Medicare which enabled them to deal, my father's last days, with very severe hospitalization and medical costs and knowing that they wouldn't have to sell their house. They wouldn't go bankrupt. They'd have to pay something but it wasn't going to destroy what they had saved all those years. Now we know that the changes that were made then made this a more humane and better society for the very poor (inaudible) elderly.

President Nixon tried to get health care reform through in the early 1970s. Again, it didn't go anywhere. Now is the time. Yes, there will be great discussion in our country for the next months. I'm thrilled to see some of these signs where clearly people are in the campuses around America becoming involved and interested in what health care security will mean to them.

I remember very well when I was in college I didn't think about health insurance. It wasn't something that was on the top of my mind. I realize that I might need it someday. It wasn't really until I was married and probably, not really, until I was a parent that I began to understand what it would mean to me if I didn't have health insurance and what it means to millions of Americans every day.

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I just want to tell you just a very few little stories that may reflect something in your own experience about why this is important for everybody. Remember, what we are trying to do is not just to take care of those people who get up every day and go to work. I bet some of your families fall into this category, but they don't make quite enough money to be able to afford insurance and their employers don't help them. They are uninsured.

Yes, we're going to make sure that every American always has health care benefits. I don't want in the next years to go around our country and to talk to the people I've talked with with the stories they have to tell me.

I sat in the living room of a small farmhouse in Iowa with four or five families who opened their books to show me what it cost them to try to keep health insurance and try to make a living on the farm. There was one family because the father had had an accident on the farm and one of their children had diabetes they were paying $9,000 a year for health insurance. That was as much as they made from their farm on some years.

I've been in New Orleans talking to people who have worked all of their lives for the same company but never could afford insurance. I had a woman look at me and say I've worked here 15 years and I've always tried to take care of myself. Every year I'd go and get a physical and I'd pay for it out of my own pocket because I want to stay healthy. Last year, she said, the doctor found a lump in my breast and sent me to a surgeon. The surgeon said, you know, if you had insurance we would biopsy it for $50. Why don't we just watch it? I thought to myself what if that had been me or my mother or my friend.

I talked to small business people. You can't get insurance in today's market without paying an exorbitant amount of money because we discriminate against small business people. I've looked at a mother and a father who had left their jobs where they had insurance because they wanted to start a small business, but now they couldn't afford insurance. The mother said she had told her two sons don't play sports this year, boys, because if you get hurt, we can't afford it.

I talked to another small business person who insures his family and his four employees and their families.

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And then all of a sudden one of his long-time employees had a child with Down's Syndrome. That's the young man whose hand I shook as I was coming through the corridor there, working here, making his contribution to government. But this man when he was faced with the insurance company had said we're going to have to raise your rates and we mean high because you've got this employee with a Down's Syndrome child and my friend said what can I do about that. The agent said well, you can fire him. That shouldn't be a choice anybody has to make.

Those are the stories that remain every day in America that move us to say we can be better than this. We know this is the smartest, richest, strongest (inaudible) nation in the world in solving problems. It's about time we put our minds to work and solve this one. Once we solve it, we will have provided health insurance for every American no matter who they are, where they live, who they work for, or whatever happens to them.

We would have done something else. We would have made a statement about what our values are as a people. We would have said that it's time we got back to taking care of each other in this country, how we view each other as members of a great extended community, where some of us maybe can help out a little bit to make sure people get taken care of and want to do that because there, but for the grace of God, go you or I.

This is a debate about health care. I hope you all read this book which is going to be in the library or be in the bookstore. I will give this to President Friedman to have available. But more than that, I hope you will think about what we are trying to achieve in our country and what opportunities there are for your generation, be engaged in making sure we are always, always on the cutting edge of change and promise and possibilities so that America lives us to its promise to you the way it did for me and my husband.

Thank you all very much.

(Applause.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release February 15, 1994

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY TO
THE 17TH ANNUAL HMO MANAGED CARE
POLICY CONFERENCE

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. Thank you. Well, I have to confess that I am glad to be home, but it was very hard to leave. It was an exciting time, and I was very proud of our country and all the young people who were competing there. I will, like the rest of you, I will soon be as a couch potato for the next two weeks as I watch the rest of the competition. It was an exciting opportunity.

We have another exciting opportunity in front of us. We have an opportunity to compete and win in the battle over health care reform. I am delighted to have this chance to speak with you because this organization and each of you represent some of the trends in health care reform that we are attempting to build on and that we believe hold the greatest promise for the future of preserving what works in our American health care system but changing what doesn't and enhancing and building on the system that we all rely upon.

I want to begin by thanking you and thanking this organization for your cooperation with the Department of Health and Human Services on the immunization drive. Karen has just told me that something like 300 of the 350 members have already agreed to participate in this immunization effort.

As someone who has fought for years to increase our immunization rate, who has always been bewildered by the fact that even in our hemisphere, countries much poorer than our own do a much better job reaching their young children, I am confident that your assistance in this effort will make a great difference.

I also am pleased that in a spirit of cooperation, you are discussing the matters with HCFA and HHS that are of vital importance to you. That is the way this administration

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likes to work, prefers to work, bringing people around the table and trying to solve problems. So I am grateful that on both of those fronts you are involved.

This is an opportunity for me to talk with you about those areas of agreement between the administration and this association, to ask for your assistance in pushing those areas of agreement, and to talk about some of the other issues that lie before us as we work through these next months in our efforts to achieve universal health care for all Americans.

The President has been in Washington for only over a year. Some days it feels closer to 100, but the calendar says it's only one. We are pleased by many of the changes that have been brought about, the feeling that I think many of us have that a lot of problems which had been denied or ignored over previous years are finally being tackled, the sense that we are once again attempting to control our own economic destiny, and that we are giving Americans a chance to compete and win in the global marketplace.

Thanks to the dedication of millions of Americans, we do have progress to show. That was just the first year. Try to lay a foundation with things like the Family and Medical Leave Act so good workers can also be good parents, to expand the earned income tax credit to reward work over welfare, to launch a new national service initiative and a new student loan program that will help more young people from middle income families go to college and then to participate in rebuilding their community, to reduce the deficit even more than we had projected, to expand trade with NAFTA and GATT.

So for many of us who believe that change was necessary, this has been a very promising beginning to show that drift and gridlock can be broken, that a new sense of renewal and commitments can be engendered. We have a big agenda in front of us this year. We are going to be working very hard to finalize a crime bill that will be real in the lives of Americans, that will put police on their streets, use alternative punishment for first-time offenders like boot camps, try to provide drug and alcohol treatment, try to make it possible for young people to have a chance to straighten out their lives, and to bring down the heaviest possible punishment on career violent criminals.

We will also be looking to move on the President's promise of welfare reform, which is inextricably bound with

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health care reform. It is absolutely provable that millions of Americans are working every day without health care benefits to provide taxes to pay for health benefits for people on welfare. It is also true that many welfare recipients choose to stay on welfare because to leave welfare and move into a minimum wage job without benefits doesn't seem like a very good trade.

So many of these issues are tied together, but certainly there is none that is more important than health care reform. How we handle that will tell a great deal about what we are as a nation at this point in our history. I have spent over a year now traveling around our country learning about what is right with our health care system. I have seen many people come to work for the groups represented here who are working hard every day as physicians, or nurses, or hospital administrators. I have listened to their stories. I have looked into their eyes. I have come away impressed that there isn't any doubt that we have the finest health care system in the world when it comes to delivering health care, but that we have undercut our quality and our access by the way that we finance and organize much of the health care that is delivered.

So what we are attempting to do in the President's approach, the Health Security Act, is to take what works and building on that to try to set into motion incentives that will change those parts of our system that have proven to be inefficient and undermining of the quality of health care.

There are several parts to that, and it is especially important to me that the administration and GHAA share in common the following goals for health reform. These goals, if they can be reached, will largely determine whether or not health care reform has been achieved. It is these goals we ought to be keeping our minds focused on.

The first is universal coverage with comprehensive benefits. Many people have asked me in the last several months what universal coverage means. That's not a term that is common in most American's language. What the President has said repeatedly is that for him it means guaranteed private insurance. It means that the insurance available to all Americans will always be there, will not be taken away, will not contain lifetime limits, will not be offered on the basis of preexisting conditions or age as a device for rating insurance to be more expensive for some Americans than for

others.

The only real way to determine if we have achieved health care reform is to know how we will be able to guarantee that every American does have that private insurance. Often I'm asked, " well, what else does the President really believe is important?" Well, he believes many things are important, but his bottom line is guaranteeing private insurance.

Now, what does that really mean? It means that there has to be some mechanism in place for financing universal coverage for guaranteed private insurance. There are only three ways to do that. The first is that you can, as many countries have, raise a big tax and use it to replace any private sector investments, and to have the government basically run the health care system. Sometimes it's referred to as a single payer system.

That is an option that the President rejected. It is one of the more inaccurate claims made by some who say that the President's plan is a government plan. The President's plan is a mixed plan, as our system is today. Medicare in the government program, there will still be those who are among the very poorest who will be subsidized. There will still be public health facilities. By and large, most Americans will receive their insurance the way they do now, through their employers.

So, if you do not raise a large tax, then what is left for alternatives to achieve universal coverage? There are only two. One is referred to as the individual mandate. The individual mandate would require individuals to go into the marketplace, assuming a reformed marketplace or at least a subsidized marketplace, to purchase their own insurance. This at least recognizes that in the absence of some mandate -- on the one hand, either a tax, which is an obvious mandate, or on the other, an individual or, as we would propose it, an employer/employee requirement, that there has to be some requirement for everyone to get into the system in order for universal coverage to be achieved and cost shifting to cease.

The individual mandate, therefore, at least recognizes that absolute precondition for universal coverage. What it does, unfortunately, is create some additional problems, at least as we analyze them. It makes it very

difficult to determine and monitor who is in the system and who is out. It would require tracking individuals as they moved in and out of jobs, as they move in and out of the insurance market, and it would, if you provided a subsidy scheme to support low wage individuals, a determination as to when their income reached some arbitrary level as to what kind of subsidy they would still be entitled to. It would require and argue the IRS to engage in an enormous administrative oversight of our health care system.

It would also lead to the very unfortunate circumstances of having a cut off for the subsidies. So that, say, everyone below 200 percent of poverty with an individual mandate would receive some sliding scale subsidy. What, then, do we do with those at 201 percent? What do we do with the low wage workers who currently receive some or all health care benefits through their employers? Wouldn't employers, looking at this rationally, say to themselves if I am currently paying benefits for this population group and now the government will subsidize them. I will drop them from my benefits packages, therefore increasing the pool of workers who would therefore require subsidy, a very difficult task, in our view, to both project the cost of and to keep up with administratively.

The only examples we have of individual mandates are those like auto insurance requirements in many states where in spite of the fact that the state has access to all drivers through the licensing process, literally thousands and even hundreds of thousands of drivers remain uninsured in states with such an individual mandate.

If you do not want, therefore, a state financed health care system, and if the individual mandate poses the kind of administrative and equity and cost issues that we believe it does, then from our perspective the sensible approach is to build on the employer/employee system that already serves 100 million Americans.

If you look at what is possible in terms of subsidizing businesses at a rate that would be joined to their employment level so that the smaller they were the more low wage workers they employed, the larger the subsidy or the discounts they would receive, it is a much easier administrative task to keep track of those businesses which already process other government requirements, such as the tax which pays for medicare.

If you have a reformed insurance market in which costs are brought down through the use of pools of purchasers, whether they're called alliances or HIPCs (phonetic), or whatever one calls them, so that small businesses and solo entrepreneurs can compete for the same cost of health insurance with the largest businesses, then the discounts become a relatively stable investment in the whole health care system.

If you believe, as the first principle of this association states, in universal coverage, then I hope you will help us with the employer mandate. The employer mandate is the key to achieving universal coverage. Without the employer mandate, we will continue to tinker around the edges and not provide universal coverage.

The second part of this goal is comprehensive benefits. The President's plan is one of the few that outlines the benefits. A number of the competing alternatives talk about creating a national board that will, at a future date, determine the health care benefits.

This strikes us as the wrong approach for at least two reasons. The first is that legislatively and politically it seems difficult to explain to the American people that Congress would have passed a piece of legislation that promises you insurance but doesn't tell you what you're buying. The second is that in the absence of determining what the benefits are, it is impossible to assign any actuarial value and then to determine what subsidies or discounts in any approach one would choose would have to be.

So, for both the political and the substantive reasons, we think the better course is to determine on the front end what the health care benefits should be to establish a national board that in the future would review possible additions or exclusions as we gain more experience, but that we have to, in good faith with the millions of Americans who currently have insurance, be able to tell them what health care reform would mean to them with respect to a comprehensive, standardized package of benefits.

If you share our belief that we should be setting the benefits, even if you might disagree with what those benefits should consist of, I hope, again, you will express your opinions about doing that. It would strike me that it would be impossible for you to sell your packages of benefits

if you didn't list them, if the way you tried to market to your consumers was to say trust us, we're the greatest HMO in the region, you buy, we'll tell you later what your benefits are. That's, in a sense, what many of these members of Congress want the American public to do with health care reform legislation.

Your second goal, the elimination of preexisting conditions exclusions, is one that we share completely. We would add to it that we would also eliminate lifetime limits and eliminate experience ratings based upon age. The third goal, the annual open enrollment, is part of the President's plan. The fourth, that it would be patient choice of plan, is very important to the President's approach.

A number of the other alternative offer the possibility of enrollment but with penalties. If you do not enroll in the lowest cost plan in an area or if you do not enroll in the lowest cost in the lower third of the plan in the area, then your employer and you lose whatever tax preference you would otherwise be entitled to.

We have a difficult time, again, figuring out what will be the mechanism for determining in 50 states and literally hundreds of regions what is the lowest cost plan on a year-to-year basis. If you are selling a plan that provides more preventive health because you really believe in it, and one of your competitors is selling a plan which claims to provide preventive health, but if you read the small print, it doesn't provide as much as you do, but they're able to offer it at five dollars less a month, then your potential customers are going to say to you, "if I choose your plan, I lose my tax preference. I'm going to use your competitor's plan."

You're going to say, " but we're not comparing apples to apples. We're comparing apples to oranges. We think we've got the lowest cost plan for the benefits that will be provided." They're going to say well, "all I know is the law has said I'm going to lose my preference and on paper, the other is the lowest cost plan. I can't take a chance." Who will arbitrate that? Who will make that determination?

We think there is tremendous danger in the kinds of comparisons, and the monitorings, and accountability, and gaming that will occur if we try to finance health care

reform by removing tax preferences and pushing everybody into so-called low cost plans when, for millions of consumers, they're not going to be able to make the difference. Many of you will be forced to make decisions that you don't think are necessarily in your customer's best interest to try to fall under some arbitrary line that has been established in a piece of legislation. We think this is one of the most dangerous and threatening aspects to health care reform.

So we would argue strongly that patient choice of plan should mean just that. You compete, as you are now doing, on price and quality. You offer the comprehensive benefits package however you best can present it. A customer of yours, because your charges are slightly higher than a competitor's, even though you think you are delivering better quality, is free to make that decision without tax penalty.

The final goal which we share is quality reporting. This is key to everything we hope to be able to do in health care reform. In the President's plan, there will be some new requirements for quality reporting, but they are similar to what you as an association and you individually have already begun to do.

It will be important if we expect consumers to make cost conscious decisions for them to have good quality information. We want to use linkages between providers of care such as youth, and academic health centers, and teaching hospitals, and the government at both the federal and state level both to collect but more importantly to translate and provide in easily acceptable terminology information about quality. So when those open enrollment periods come, each consumer feels comfortable making the choice that they think best fits their families.

Now, if one takes each of those goals on which we already agreed, there is an enormous amount that can be accomplished if we could achieve just those. For us, universal coverage with comprehensive benefits is the most important part of health care reform, more important than many of the other details that are going to take an enormous amount of time and energy in the American political scene in the next several months as people argue and debate over them.

If we do not honestly acknowledge that the only way we can achieve universal coverage is by having some kind of required financing mechanism, then everything else we do, no

matter how it is described, will fall short of what should be the minimum achievement this year with health care reform.

I want to mention just a few things about some issues that we need to work through together and that I hope you will be part of an ongoing consultation and advisory group with us, because what we believe will best help the American people and begin to dampen the rhetoric, cut through the ideology, and spend our time looking for ways that will actually lead us to a consensus.

I know that many of you are concerned by the kinds of charges and attacks that have been made of managed care in the last several months. In fact, the ads that have been run over the last months against the President's Health Security Act, which have introduced us to Harry and Louise, are a pretty unveiled attack on managed care. It's not very subtle, is it? In fact, that has been one of the primary devices used by the opponents of health care reform in general.

Make no mistake, many of those who are attacking this plan on the basis of the failures or the alleged failures of managed care, they try to have it all ways. On the one hand, we're going to try to push everybody into managed care. On the other hand, we're going to have the government run it. It makes no logical sense, but those are two emotional hot buttons that keep being pressed.

What the idea behind that often is is that no reform and no change is what the real agenda happens to be. I think we have to acknowledge that. One of the ways to do that is to get out good information about the successes of managed care and to be honest about the problems that exist that your organizations are working to overcome.

You know that there are those who believe that there's an accepted reliance on gate keepers, that there is what is often called heavy-handed utilization review techniques, and that there are restrictions in providing patients with opportunity to see physicians outside the HMO.

For all of those criticisms, there are many positive trends that you can point to that you should be trumpeting much more effectively than I think is currently happening, because the positive trend far outweighs the negative problem.

We know, for example, that the fastest growing managed care systems are those that are giving patients more choice and more opportunities to see physicians outside the HMO network. That should be something that you talk about. We also know that the increasing reliance on team work, improving the cooperation and communication between nurses, and primary care physicians, and specialists, and hospitals are really producing positive results. Programs in your organization recognize that cost control require a parallel commitment to better health outcomes and ongoing quality improvements.

So if you can recognize what are the kinds of attacks that are aimed at managed care for what they are, a desire to obstruct and derail reform period and to maintain wherever possible the status quo, including a status quo that undermines many of the innovations that you have tried to bring to the health care market, then you will have a very strong voice in trying to reason effectively both with the Congress and with the American public.

There should be, in my view, advertisements running that show the high level of satisfaction in most HMOs, that what you are doing is providing health care that people are feeling more and more comfortable with, that they're moving into at faster and faster numbers because they recognize the kind of management that you provide is useful to them.

This cuts across all demographics. Many of the experiments in managed care for Medicaid patients that some of your organizations are involved in are having excellent results. Some, as you know, are not. We need to be honest about talking about the successes and the disappointments but showing how in this very fast moving industry you are part of, you are learning every day from the problems and difficulties of trying to provide better care in a managed environment for all of your patients.

Your policies emphasizing preventive care are ones that Americans agree with overwhelmingly. Many Americans don't know that that's one of the real hallmarks for managed care. Managed care, as you know better than I, has real regional appeal in some regions and is practically off the radar screen and not existent in other regions. One of our challenges will be talking with members of Congress from states other than places like California or Washington about managed care. They won't believe the TV advertisements

unless you are aggressive in telling them what managed care really can --

So part of what I would ask you to do today is in the months ahead to be a voice for effective quality managed care, to talk about what you are achieving, to acknowledge honestly your problems. I don't believe in papering over any piece of reality when it comes to this. There's too much at stake.

Many of you have learned over the years how to deal with even those problems effectively, to use a gate keeper as a gate opener, for example, to expand preventive care further and further year by year, such as this immunization effort, to make managed care attractive to the Medicare population so that they too see the advantages.

That's a story you have to tell because even though the numbers of millions of American who are in some way involved in managed care look very impressive, it is still a largely regional phenomenon that you have to help us then spread the word to other parts of the country.

There will be differences as we move through this about alliance size and alliance authority and discrimination and the other things that you have raised about that. There will also be issues about how to get effective cost containment, whether premium caps are a good idea, whether they are or they aren't, what other devices could be used to try to make sure that when we start pumping billions of dollars more into the health care system, that we will get our money's worth.

Probably one of the biggest myths of all is that we're going to, in some way, begin to cut into the basic health care when, in fact, if you add all the currently uninsured with their employer/employee contribution, you are talking about an increase of about 50 billion dollars. You are talking about moving our GDP percentage spent on health care from approximately 14-and-a-half to 17-and-a-half percent. We are talking about putting a lot more money into our health care system, and we try to get savings out of it.

So in order for that money to be well spent in the eyes of those who eventually pay the bills, whether they be businesses or individuals or government, there has to be some kind of cost containment structure built in. But those are

issues that we are open to discussing with you. We will need your help and we want your help.

I think you know, as well as those who worked on the administration's plan, that in the absence of real health care reform, what will probably happen is something along the lines of this scenario: increasing budgetary pressures will force further and further cuts in the rate of increase in Medicare and Medicaid, the downward pressure on the crisis in those government programs will put at further risk many of the facilities that you rely on, many of the physicians that are part of your networks, which will, in turn, create greater incentives for cost shifting.

The continuing downward pressure on benefits and layoffs from the largest corporations will leave more and more Americans uninsured or underinsured, which will push them into seeking care later, often at the most expensive point of entry, the emergency room, which will create even further incentives to shift cost onto the backs of the primary payers who are still basically funding the system.

The vicious cycle of those falling into the public programs that will pay less and less, making it more and more difficult even for you to shift costs elsewhere, will only accelerate. We will therefore be spending more and more on less and less health care.

For those who think there has been a respite from the inexorable price increases, those kinds of economic scenarios starting with budget pressures at the federal and state governments on the public programs will explode whatever price restraints have been achieved in the last year or two. That doesn't have to happen and it won't happen if you help give leadership to what you know works in providing health care.

Don't underestimate how difficult it will be because we've been down this road before. Democratic and Republican presidents since Franklin Roosevelt have tried to achieve universal health care and they were unable to do it; Roosevelt and then Harry Truman, Johnson with Medicare and Medicaid which took care of the very poorest and our elderly, Richard Nixon with a program that is remarkably like the one that the president is proposing, building on the employer/employee system, and Jimmy Carter, others, have tried.

I think that the pressures today, both for economic reasons and moral or ethical reasons, are going to overcome the political opposition. But we want to be sure we do this right. In order to accomplish that, we need to combine wisdom and experience of your association and each of your individual organizations.

We want you to be partners in ensuring that finally Americans have health security and can feel good about having their needs met in a reformed health care system. Thank you very much.

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Introduction of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
by Val J. Halamandaris
Caring Awards Ceremony
December 2, 1994, Washington, DC

Good morning honored guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I would like to add my congratulations to both the caring adults and the caring young people. You honor people everywhere by the exemplary manner in which you have used your lives to benefit others. I ask you to take note and remember how you felt this morning. Seldom has so much goodness been gathered in one room at one time.

Since human beings first walked upright upon the earth we have grappled with the question: What is the purpose of life and how do we sustain it?

Aristotle, perhaps the brightest man in antiquity, told us it was "to serve others and to do good." This same answer had been given nine centuries earlier by the Hebrew philosopher, Moses, the author of the first six books of the bible, known in the Judaic religion as The Torah. Interestingly, when the great Chinese philosopher, Confucius, was asked for the greatest secret of human interaction, he cited caring and compassion. "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do unto others," he said.

Mohammed and Jesus, perhaps the two most influential people in history, responded in the same way. Jesus put his admonition in the form of a new commandment: "Love one another as I have loved you."

The same theme has been reinforced down through the centuries by countless individuals including Buddha, Marcus Aurelius, Thomas Jefferson, Frederick Douglass, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and into the Twentieth Century by such individuals as George Bernard Shaw, Albert Schweitzer, Albert Einstein, and Mother Teresa.

When Einstein, perhaps the brightest mind of the modern era, was asked this same seminal question, he responded: "Only a life lived for others is a life worthwhile." Schweitzer offered the observation that, "The only really happy people are those who have sought and learned how to serve." Martin Luther King taught us that "Life's most persistent and urgent question is: What are you doing for others?" Mother Teresa reminds us that the great joy in this life and the greatest glorification of God comes from our service to His people here on earth.

It is my very great pleasure to introduce a person who, like our honorees, understands that caring is the one-word distillation of the Golden Rule, and therefore it is the most powerful force in the universe. She understands that this is what Gandhi used to defeat the British empire and to secure independence for India; it is the quality which allowed Lincoln to preserve the union and which gave Franklin Roosevelt the strength to conquer the Great Depression and subdue the Axis powers.

She is a woman who has spent years listening to the needs of the American people. Her sincere interest is the source of her strength because, as Arthur Flemming is always reminding us, caring begins with seriously listening to others. Beyond that, she has tried her best to take action that would help people.

She is a national treasure and, in the words of Mitzi Perdue, " an inspiration to us all."

Introduction of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
by Val J. Halamandaris, Caring Awards Ceremony
December 2, 1994, Washington, DC
(Continued)

The person I have the privilege of introducing has worked tirelessly. She is a fierce champion of the underprivileged -- fighting especially for chronically ill children, for seniors who suffer the compound burdens of illness and advanced age, and for the disabled who we have relegated to the shadows of life.

She understands the one great secret of the universe, which has been handed down to us from Aristotle to Einstein, from Moses to Mother Teresa. She is leading a crusade to return America to its roots as the most caring nation in the history of the world. Shortly after the death of her father she reminded us that, "We need a new ethos in America of caring and individual responsibility."

She is a mother, a wife, a wonderful role model, and ambassador for the Nation. She personifies Aristotle's formula for leadership -- ethos, pathos, logos, which means lead through caring. This lovely lady understands with Luciano de Crezenzo that, "We are each of us only angels with only one wing and that we can only fly while embracing each other."

She honors us by her presence here today, by her caring example, and by her valiant contributions. Generations from now will count it as a treasured legacy that they saw her, heard her, touched her, or shared her company.

Join me please in welcoming our First Lady and the heart of America, the honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton.

HOMECARE™

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STANLEY M. BRAND
GENERAL COUNSEL

December 5, 1994

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

There is no way that we can adequately thank you for taking time from your busy day to participate in the Seventh Annual National Caring Awards. You elevated the proceedings in a way that only you can. Both the young people and the adults were thrilled beyond words that you would join in honoring them. Your speech, as always, was eloquent and to the point.

The best way I know to thank you is to reciprocate your kindness, and to continue to be there to support you and this great President. Please know I will do everything humanly possible to be of help.

Enclosed please find a copy of my introduction of you as you had requested. You know that I meant what I said right down to the depths of my soul.

When you said: "We need a new ethos in America of caring and individual responsibility," I knew that you understood the root cause of all the problems we face in America and that you are actively working on their solution.

In my view this root cause is apathy (lack of caring), and the selfishness and cynicism which comes from establishing materialism as the fundamental value in our society.

I see no hope for the nation or for the Democratic party as long as we value people by how much money they have, what car they drive or what brand of tennis shoes they wear. By these standards the children in our urban ghettos understand that they are "worthless" and without hope, and naturally they respond with destructive behavior. For better or worse it is members of the Republican party who have the most, therefore our society seems to be saying that to be a success you have to be a Republican.

I see nothing wrong with giving people opportunities to do well and to enjoy the nice things their work will earn, but this should be secondary to our valuing each and every person intrinsically as a child of God. Beyond that we should value people by the extent to which they have used their lives for the benefit of others. People of wealth and privilege should be encouraged to give back as did Andrew Carnegie. We tend to believe that we are the first people on the planet to encounter these problems, but the truth is that they have occurred previously dozens of times. Prince Ghutama Buddha faced and solved similar problems, and Mohammed who was as we remember both a political and spiritual leader, put these same principles at the center of Islam.

Seven years ago I hatched the idea of the Caring Institute, the National Caring Awards and *Caring People* magazine with the hope of changing the values of society. After twenty years as counsel to congressional committees, I could see that it is not enough to pass new laws, you have to change the way that people think. You have to attack problems at their root. I latched on to the words of Albert Schweitzer who said, "When it comes to education, example is not just a factor, it is the only factor that matters." I understand the power of good role models and their inspiration expressed through caring. If it was not for Senator Frank E. Moss, I probably would have been a coal miner in Utah like my father, because that was just about the full extent of opportunity available where I grew up.

The Democratic party has traditionally stood for the values of caring and compassion, although we have lost our way from time to time. Jefferson said plainly the one guiding principle upon which this nation and the party was founded is the Golden Rule, the one word distillate of which is caring. Franklin Roosevelt repositioned the party to this moral center to deal with the tragedy brought on by the selfishness and economic excesses called the great depression. When he was asked what lesson he derived from it, he said: "We have always known that heedless self-interest is bad morals, now we know that it is bad economics."

As we move forward into 1995, it appears to most Americans that the Republican party has harnessed itself to the economic metaphor. Wealth and materialism has been elevated even higher as the predominate value of society. They have promised everyone that they know better how to bring everyone a higher standard of living. At the same time, they have outflanked the Democratic party as the topic of values. It is values which unite or divide people and their incessant emphasis on "family values" is very powerful. These factors, together with the fact that we do not have an external enemy to fight, leading people to the conclusion we need less Federal government, and are, in my view, the reasons that best explain the Republican gains a month ago.

The answers which will cause the pendulum to swing the other way are exactly what you said: "We need a new ethos in America of caring and individual responsibility." There is no reason why we should not prevail. We have the brightest and most caring President since Thomas Jefferson--A President who has as his mantra John F. Kennedy's phrase: "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." We are even more blessed to have you as First Lady. The nation has never had a better role model. I would encourage you to keep listening as you did with the HealthRIGHT events. As our good friend Claude Pepper used to say, "If you want to recruit an army, listen, don't preach."

HOMECARE

You intuitively know all of the above, and I hope you will forgive my zeal in reinforcing self-evident things. As I told you before, you cannot see yourself and therefore underestimate the kind of impact that you are having. Please continue to emphasize that we should value each person intrinsically and thereafter by the extent to which they have used their lives to help others. Listen to people; look for positive role models of people who make a difference and programs that work; encourage people to do their part and not to sit back waiting for someone to do it; preempt the discussion of family values by your example; and continue to maintain a high profile.

As you know, I spent several months over the past two years crossing the country in buses and motor homes, recording the views of the American public on videotape. I can tell you first hand the genuine admiration and affection that they have for you. The "common people", in particular, see you as their champion, and I encourage you to continue this role. You are the best thing this country has going for it at the present time.

I am enclosing an autographed copy of my latest book, *Caring Quotes: A Compendium of Caring Thought* as a small token of my respect and affection. It is my moral compass, and I hope that you find it in some small way, helpful to the wonderful work that you do.

Sincerely,

Val J. Halamandaris
President

VJH:amw
Enclosure

file
we'll need
for Chicago
trip
Health Care:
Remarks, Non-
principles

MAKING THE CASE FOR NOT-FOR-PROFIT HEALTHCARE

HARVARD BUSINESS SCHOOL CLUB OF CHICAGO

JOSEPH CARDINAL BERNARDIN

January 12, 1995

Good afternoon. It is a privilege to address the Harvard Business School Club of Chicago on the critical, but often conflicted issue of healthcare. Because of its central importance to human dignity, to the quality of our community life, and to the Church's mission in the world, I have felt a special responsibility to devote a considerable amount of attention to healthcare at both the local and national levels.

In the last year, I have spoken at the National Press Club on the need to assure access to adequate healthcare for all; I have issued a Protocol to help ensure the future presence of a strong, institutional healthcare ministry in the Archdiocese of Chicago; and in order to be more in touch with ongoing developments in the field, I have joined the Board of Trustees of the Catholic Health Association of the United States -- the national organization that represents more than 900 Catholic acute and long-term care facilities.

In the interest of full disclosure, I must warn you that this considerable activity does not qualify me as a healthcare expert. Healthcare policy is challenging and extraordinarily complicated, and in this area I am every bit the layman. But because of its central importance in our lives -- socially, economically, ethically and personally -- we "non-experts" avoid the healthcare challenge at our peril.

I come before you today in several capacities. First, as the Catholic Archbishop of Chicago who has pastoral responsibility for numerous Catholic healthcare institutions in the Archdiocese -- though each is legally and financially independent. Second, as a community leader who cares deeply about the quality and availability of healthcare services throughout metropolitan Chicago and the United States. And third, as an individual who, like you, will undoubtedly one day become sick and vulnerable and require the services of competent and caring medical professionals and hospitals.

The Growing Threat to Not-for-Profit Healthcare

In each role I am becoming increasingly concerned that our healthcare delivery system is rapidly commercializing itself, and in the process is abandoning core values that

should always be at the heart of healthcare. These developments have potentially deleterious consequences for patients and society as a whole. This afternoon, I will focus on one important aspect of this problem: the future vitality and integrity of not-for-profit hospitals.

Not-for-profit hospitals constitute the overwhelming majority of Chicagoland hospitals. They represent more than three quarters of the nonpublic acute-care general hospitals in the country. Not-for-profit hospitals are the core of this nation's private, voluntary healthcare delivery system, but are in jeopardy of becoming for-profit enterprises.

Not-for-profit hospitals began as philanthropic social institutions, with the primary purpose of serving the healthcare needs of their communities. In recent decades, they have become important non-governmental "safety net" institutions, taking care of the growing numbers of uninsured and underinsured persons. Indeed, most not-for-profit hospitals regard the provision of community-benefit as their principal mission. Unfortunately, this historic and still necessary role is being compromised by changing economic circumstances in healthcare, and by an ideological challenge to the very notion of not-for-profit healthcare.

Both an excess supply of hospital beds and cost-conscious choices by employers, insurers, and government have forced not-for-profits into new levels of competition for *paying* patients. They are competing with one another, with investor-owned hospitals, and with for-profit ambulatory facilities. In their struggle for economic survival, a growing number of not-for-profits are sacrificing altruistic concerns for the bottomline.

The not-for-profit presence in healthcare delivery is also threatened by a body of opinion that contends there is no fundamental distinction between medical care and a commodity exchanged for profit. It is argued that healthcare delivery is like other necessary economic goods such as food, clothing, and shelter and should be subject to unbridled market competition.

According to this view, economic competition in healthcare delivery is proposed as a welcome development with claims that it is the surest way to eliminate excess hospital and physician capacity, reduce healthcare prices, and assure the "industry's" long-term efficiency. Many proponents of this view question the need for not-for-profit hospitals since they believe investor-owned institutions operate more efficiently than their not-for-profit counterparts and can better attract needed capital. Thus, they attack the not-for-profit hospital tax-exemption as an archaic and unwarranted subsidy that distorts the healthcare market by providing exempt institutions an unfair competitive advantage.

This afternoon, I will make three arguments: first, that there is a fundamental difference between the provision of medical care and the production and distribution of commodities; second,

that the not-for-profit structure is better aligned with the essential mission of healthcare delivery than is the investor-owned model; and third, that leaders in both the private and public sector have a responsibility to find ways to preserve and strengthen the not-for-profit hospital and healthcare delivery system in the United States. Before making these arguments I need to clarify an important point.

The Advantages of Capitalism and Free Enterprise

In drawing the distinction between medical care and other commodities on the one hand, and not-for-profit and investor-owned institutions on the other, I am not expressing any general bias against capitalism or the American free enterprise system. We are all beneficiaries of the genius of that system. To paraphrase Pope John Paul II: If by capitalism is meant an economic system which recognizes the fundamental and positive role of business, the market, private property, and the resulting responsibility for the means of production -- as well as free human creativity in the economic sector -- then its contribution to American society has been most beneficial.

As a key element of the free enterprise system, the American business corporation has proved itself to be an efficient mechanism for encouraging and minimizing commercial risk. It has enabled individuals to engage in commercial activities which none of them could manage alone. In this regard, the purpose of the business corporation is specific: to earn a growing profit and a reasonable rate of return for the individuals who have created it. The essential element here is a *reasonable* rate of return, for without it the commercial corporation cannot exist.

Society's Non-Economic Goods

That being said, it is important to recognize that not all of society's institutions have as their essential purpose earning a reasonable rate of return on capital. For example, the purpose of the family is to provide a protective and nurturing environment in which to raise children. The purpose of education at all levels is to produce knowledgeable and productive citizens. And the primary purpose of social services is to produce shelter, counseling, food, and other programs for people and communities in need. Generally speaking, each of these organizations has as its essential purpose a non-economic goal: the advancement of human dignity.

And this is as it should be. While economics is indeed important, most of us would agree that the value of human life and the quality of the human condition are seriously diminished when reduced to purely economic considerations. Again, to quote Pope John Paul II, the idea that the entirety of social life is to be determined by market exchanges is to run "the risk of an 'idolatry'

of the market, an idolatry which ignores the existence of goods which by their nature are not and cannot be mere commodities." (Emphasis supplied.)

This understanding is consistent with the American experience. In the belief that the non-economic ends of the family, social services and education are essential to the advancement of human dignity and to the quality of our social and economic life, we have treated them quite differently from most other goods and services. Specifically, we have not made their allocation dependent solely on a person's ability to afford them. For example, we recognize that individual human dignity is enhanced through a good education, and that we all benefit by having an educated society; so we make an elementary and secondary education available to everyone, and heavily subsidize it thereafter. By contrast, we think it quite appropriate that hair spray, compact disks, and automobiles be allocated entirely by their affordability.

Healthcare: Not Simply a Commodity

Now it is my contention that healthcare delivery is one of those "goods which by their nature are not and cannot be mere commodities." I say this because healthcare involves one of the most intimate aspects of our lives -- our bodies and, in many ways, our minds and spirits as well. The quality of our life, our capacity to participate in social and economic activities, and very often life itself are at stake in each serious encounter with the medical care system. This is why we expect healthcare delivery to be a competent and a caring response to the broken human condition -- to human vulnerability.

To be sure, we expect our physician to earn a good living and our hospital to be economically viable, but when it comes to our case we do not expect them to be motivated mainly by economic self-interest. When it comes to our coronary by-pass or our hip replacement or our child's cancer treatment, we expect them to be professional in the original sense of that term -- motivated primarily by patient need, not economic self-interest. We have no comparable expectation -- nor should we -- of General Motors or Wal-Mart. When we are sick, vulnerable, and preoccupied with worry we depend on our physician to be our confidant, our advocate, our guide and agent in an environment that is bewildering for most of us, and where matters of great importance are at stake.

The availability of good health care is also vital to the character of community life. We would not think well of ourselves if we permitted healthcare institutions to let the uninsured sick and injured go untreated. We endeavor to take care of the poor and the sick as much for our benefit as for theirs. Accordingly, most Americans believe society should provide everyone access to adequate healthcare services just as it ensures everyone an education through grade twelve.

There is a practical aspect to this aspiration as well, because like education, healthcare entails community-wide needs which it impacts in various ways: We all benefit from a healthy community; and we all suffer from a lack of health, especially with respect to communicable disease.

Finally, healthcare is particularly subject to what economists call market failure. Most healthcare "purchases" are not predictable, nor do medical services come in standardized packages and different grades suitable to comparison shopping and selection -- most are specific to individual need. Moreover, it would be wrong to suggest that seriously ill patients defer their healthcare purchases while they shop around for the best price. Nor do we expect people to pay the full cost of catastrophic, financially devastating illnesses. This is why most developed nations spread the risk of these high-cost episodes through public and/or private health insurance. And due to the prevalence of health insurance, or third-party payment, most of us do not pay for our healthcare at the time it is delivered. Thus, we are inclined to demand an infinite amount of the very best care available. In short, healthcare does not lend itself to market discipline in the same way as most other goods and services.

So healthcare -- like the family, education, and social services -- is special. It is fundamentally different from most other goods because it is essential to human dignity and the character of our communities. It is, to repeat, one of those "goods which by their nature are not and cannot be mere commodities." Given this special status, the primary end or essential purpose of medical care delivery should be a cured patient, a comforted patient, and a healthier community, not to earn a profit or a return on capital for shareholders. This understanding has long been a central ethical tenet of medicine. The International Code of the World Health Organization, for example, states that doctors must practice their profession "uninfluenced by motives of profit."

The Advantages of Not-for-Profit Institutions

This leads me to my second point, that the primary non-economic ends of healthcare delivery are best advanced in a predominantly not-for-profit delivery system.

Before making this argument, however, I need to be very clear about what I am not saying: I am not saying that not-for-profit healthcare organizations and systems should be shielded from all competition. I believe properly structured competition is good for most not-for-profits. For example, I have long contended that the quality of elementary and secondary education would benefit greatly from the use of vouchers and expanded parental choice in the selection of schools;

similarly, the Catholic Health Association's proposal for healthcare reform envisions organized, economically disciplined healthcare systems competing with one another for enrollees.

Second, I am not saying that all not-for-profit hospitals and healthcare systems act appropriately: some do not. But the answer to this problem is greater accountability in their governance and operation, not the extreme measure of abandoning the not-for-profit structure in healthcare.

What I am saying is that the not-for-profit structure is the preferred model for delivering healthcare services. This is so because the not-for-profit institution is uniquely designed to provide essential human services. Management expert, Peter Drucker, reminds us that the distinguishing feature of not-for-profit organizations is not that they are non-profit, but that they do something very different from either business or government. He notes that a business has "discharged its task when the customer buys the product, pays for it, and is satisfied with it," and that government has done so when its "policies are effective." On the other hand, he writes:

> "The 'non-profit' institution neither supplies goods or services nor controls (through regulation). Its 'product' is neither a pair of shoes nor an effective regulation. Its product is a changed human being. The non-profit institutions are human change agents. Their 'product' is a cured patient, a child that learns, a young man or woman grown into a self-respecting adult; a changed human life altogether."

In other words, the purpose of not-for-profit organizations is to improve the human condition, that is, to advance important non-economic, non-regulatory functions that cannot be as well served by either the business corporation or government. Business corporations describe success as consistently providing shareholders with a reasonable return on equity. Not-for-profit organizations never properly define their success in terms of profit; those that do have lost their sense of purpose.

This difference between not-for-profits and businesses is most clearly seen in the organizations' different approaches to decision-making. The primary question in an investor-owned organization is: "How do we ensure a reasonable return to our shareholders?" Other questions may be asked about quality and the impact on the community, but always in the context of their effect on profit. A properly focused not-for-profit always begins with a different set of questions:

- What is best for the person who is served?
- What is best for the community?
- How can the organization ensure a prudent use of resources for the whole community, as well as for its immediate customers?

Healthcare's Essential Characteristics

I believe there are four essential characteristics of healthcare delivery that are especially compatible with the not-for-profit structure, but much less likely to occur when healthcare decision-making is driven predominantly by the need to provide a return on equity. These four essential characteristics are:

- access
- medicine's patient-first ethic
- attention to community-wide needs, and
- volunteerism.

Let me discuss each.

First, there is the need for access. Given healthcare's essential relationship to human dignity, society should ensure everyone access to an adequate level of healthcare services. This is why the United States Catholic Conference and I argued strongly last year for universal insurance coverage. This element of healthcare reform remains a moral imperative.

But even if this nation had universal insurance, I would maintain that a strong not-for-profit sector is still critical to access. With primary accountability to shareholders, investor-owned organizations have a powerful incentive to avoid not only the uninsured and underinsured, but also vulnerable and hard-to-serve populations, high-cost populations, undesirable geographic areas, and many low-density rural areas. To be sure, not-for-profits also face pressure to avoid these groups, but not with the added requirement of generating a return on equity.

Second, not-for-profit healthcare organizations are better suited than their investor-owned counterparts to support the patient-first ethic in medicine. This is all the more important as society moves away from fee-for-service medicine and cost-based reimbursement toward capitation. (By "capitation" I mean paying providers in advance a fixed amount per person regardless of the services required by any specific individual.)

Whatever their economic disadvantages, fee-for-service medicine and cost-based reimbursement shielded the physician and the hospital from the economic consequences of patient treatment decisions and, thereby, provided strong economic support for a patient-first ethic in American medicine. Few insured patients were ever undertreated, though some were inevitably overtreated. Now we face a movement to a fully capitated healthcare system which shifts the financial risk in healthcare from the payers of care to the providers.

This development raises a critically important question: "When the provider is at financial risk for treatment decisions who is the patient's advocate?" How can we continue to put the patient first in this new arrangement? This challenge will become especially daunting

as we move into an intensely price competitive market where provider economic survival is on the line everyday. In such an environment the temptation to undertreat could be significant. Again, not-for-profits will face similar economic pressure but not with the added requirement of producing a reasonable return on shareholder equity. Part of the answer here, I believe, is to ensure that the nation not convert to a predominantly investor-owned delivery system.

Third, in healthcare there are a host of community-wide needs that are generally unprofitable, and therefore unlikely to be addressed by investor-owned organizations. In some cases, this entails particular services needed by the community but unlikely to earn a return on investment, such as expensive burn units, neonatal intensive care, or immunization programs for economically deprived populations. Also important are the teaching and research functions needed to renew and advance healthcare.

The community also has a need for continuity and stability of health services. Because the primary purpose of non-profits is to serve patients and communities, they tend to be deeply rooted in the fabric of the community and are more likely to remain -- if they are needed -- during periods of economic stagnation and loss. Investor-owned organizations must, on the other hand, either leave the community or change their product line when return-on-equity becomes inadequate.

Fourth, volunteerism and philanthropy are important components of healthcare that thrives best in a not-for-profit setting. As Peter Drucker has noted, volunteerism in not-for-profit organizations is capable of generating a powerful countercurrent to the contemporary dissolution of families and loss of community values. At a time in our history when it is absolutely necessary to strengthen our sense of civic responsibility, volunteerism in healthcare is more important than ever. From the boards of trustees of our premier healthcare organizations to the hands-on delivery of services, volunteers in healthcare can make a difference in peoples' lives and "forge new bonds to community, a new commitment to active citizenship, to social responsibility, to values."

Role of Mediating Institutions

In addition to my belief that the not-for-profit structure is especially well aligned with the central purpose of healthcare, let me suggest one more reason why each of us should be concerned that not-for-profits remain a vibrant part of the nation's healthcare delivery system: They are important mediating institutions.

The notion of mediating structures is deeply rooted in the American experience: On the one hand, these institutions stand between the individual and the state; on the other, they mediate against the rougher edges of capitalism's inclination toward excessive individualism. Mediating structures such as family, church, education and healthcare are the institutions closest to the control and aspirations of most Americans.

The need for mediating institutions in healthcare is great. Private sector failure to provide adequately for essential human services such as healthcare invites government intervention. While government has an obligation to ensure the availability of and access to essential services, it generally does a poor job of delivering them. Wherever possible we prefer that government work through and with institutions that are closer and more responsive to the people and communities being served. This role is best played by not-for-profit hospitals. Neither public nor private, they are the heart of the voluntary sector in healthcare.

Earlier, I identified several reasons why I believe investor-owned organizations are not well suited to meeting all of society's needs and expectations regarding healthcare. Should the investor-owned entity ever become the predominant form of healthcare delivery, I believe that our country will inevitably experience a sizeable and substantial growth in government intervention and control.

Until now, I have made two arguments: first, that healthcare is more than a commodity -- it is a service essential to human dignity and to the quality of community life; and second, that the not-for-profit structure is best aligned with this understanding of healthcare's primary mission. My concluding argument is that private and public sector leaders have an urgent civic responsibility to preserve and strengthen our nation's predominantly not-for-profit healthcare delivery system.

This is a pressing obligation because the not-for-profit sector in healthcare may already be eroding as a result of today's extremely turbulent competitive environment in healthcare. The problem, let me be clear, is <u>not</u> competition per se, but the kind of competition that undermines healthcare's essential mission and violates the very character of the not-for-profit organization by encouraging it -- even requiring it -- to behave like a commercial enterprise.

Contemporary healthcare markets are characterized by hospital overcapacity and competition for scarce primary care physicians, but also and more ominously by shrinking health insurance coverage, and growing risk selection in private health insurance markets. These latter two features encourage healthcare providers to compete by becoming very

efficient at avoiding the uninsured and high risk populations, and by reducing necessary but unprofitable community services -- behavior that strikes at the heart of the not-for-profit mission in healthcare. Moreover, the environment leads some healthcare leaders to conclude that the best way to survive is to become for-profit or to create for-profit subsidiaries. The existence of not-for-profits is further threatened by the aggressive efforts of some investor-owned chains to expand their market share by purchasing not-for-profit hospitals and by publicly challenging the continuing need for not-for-profit organizations in healthcare.

Advancing the Not-for-Profit Healthcare Mission

Each of us and our communities have much to lose if we allow unstructured market forces to continue to erode the necessary and valuable presence of not-for-profit healthcare organizations. It is imperative, therefore, that we immediately begin to find ways to protect and strengthen them.

How can we do this? Without going into specifics, I believe it will require a combination of private sector and governmental initiatives. Voluntary hospital board members and executives must renew their institutions' commitment to the essential mission of not-for-profit healthcare. Simultaneously, government must reform health insurance markets to prevent "redlining" and assure everyone reasonable access to adequate healthcare services. Finally, government should review its tax policies to ensure that existing laws and regulations are not putting not-for-profits at an inappropriate competitive disadvantage, but are holding them strictly accountable for their tax exempt status.

Let me conclude by simply reiterating the thesis I made at the beginning of this talk. Healthcare is fundamentally different from most other goods and services. It is about the most human and intimate needs of people, their families, and communities. It is because of this critical difference that each of us should work to preserve the predominantly not-for-profit character of our healthcare delivery in Chicago and throughout the country.

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Making the Case for Not-for-Profit Healthcare

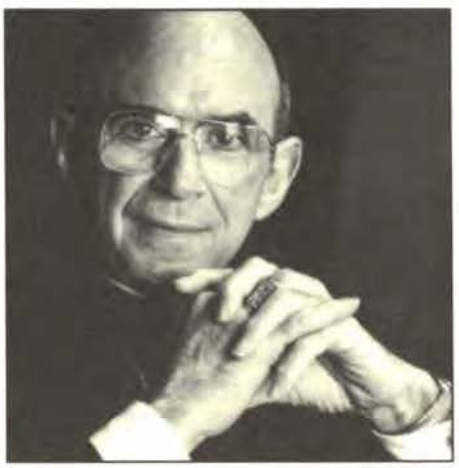
A Speech by Cardinal Joseph Bernardin
Before the Harvard Business School Club of Chicago
January 12, 1995

Good afternoon. It is a privilege to address the Harvard Business School Club of Chicago on the critical, but often conflicted issue of healthcare. Because of its central importance to human dignity, to the quality of our community life, and to the Church's mission in the world, I have felt a special responsibility to devote a considerable amount of attention to healthcare at both the local and national levels.

In the last year, I have spoken at the National Press Club on the need to assure access to adequate healthcare for all; I have issued a Protocol to help ensure the future presence of a strong, institutional healthcare ministry in the Archdiocese of Chicago; and in order to be more in touch with ongoing developments in the field, I have joined the Board of Trustees of the Catholic Health Association of the United States – the national organization that represents more than 900 Catholic acute and long-term care facilities.

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capacities. First, as the Catholic Archbishop of Chicago who has pastoral responsibility for numerous Catholic healthcare institutions in the Archdiocese – though each is legally and financially independent. Second, as a community leader who cares deeply about the quality and availability of healthcare services throughout metropolitan Chicago and the United States. And third, as an individual who, like you, will undoubtedly one day become sick and vulnerable and require the services of competent and caring medical professionals and hospitals.

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In each role I am becoming increasingly concerned that our healthcare delivery system is rapidly commercializing itself, and in the process is abandoning core values that should always be at the heart of healthcare. These developments have potentially deleterious consequences for patients and society as a whole. This afternoon, I will focus on one important aspect of this problem: the future vitality and integrity of not-for-profit hospitals.

Not-for-profit hospitals constitute the overwhelming majority of Chicagoland hospitals. They represent more than three quarters of the non-public acute-care general hospitals in the country. Not-for-profit hospitals are the core of this nation's private, voluntary healthcare delivery system, but are in jeopardy of becoming for-profit enterprises.

Not-for-profit hospitals began as philanthropic social institutions, with the primary purpose of serving the healthcare needs of their communities. In recent decades, they have become important non-governmental "safety net" institutions, taking care of the growing numbers of uninsured and underinsured persons. Indeed, most not-for-profit hospitals regard the provision of community-benefit as their principal mission. Unfortunately, this historic and still necessary role is being compromised by changing economic circumstances in healthcare, and by an ideological challenge to the very notion of not-for-profit healthcare.

Both an excess supply of hospital beds and cost-conscious choices by employers, insurers, and government have forced not-for-profits into new levels of competition for *paying* patients. They are competing with one another, with investor-owned hospitals, and

[The Chronicle of Philanthropy, January 26, 1995, page 27]

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Commercialization of Hospitals Threatens 'Heart of Health Care,' Cardinal Says

By ANNE LOWREY BAILEY

Major health corporations are rapidly buying many of America's non-profit hospitals and health-care institutions, raising the specter of a national medical system that cares more about profits than patients, one of the nation's most prominent Roman Catholic cardinals has warned.

"I am becoming increasingly concerned that our health-care delivery system is rapidly commercializing itself, and in the process is abandoning core values that should always be at the heart of health care," said Joseph Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago, in an appearance at the Harvard Business School Club of Chicago. "These developments have potentially deleterious consequences for patients and society as a whole."

"Health-care delivery is one of those goods which by their nature are not and cannot be mere commodities," he added. "We expect health-care delivery to be a competent and caring response to the broken human condition—to human vulnerability."

'Growing Ideological Challenge'

Cardinal Bernardin cautioned that market forces and "a growing ideological challenge to the existence of America's non-profit health-care system," are eliminating non-profit hospitals at an alarming rate.

Many are under pressure to merge with or convert into for-profit companies to survive financially, he said. Others—including four in his own Chicago Archdio-also vulnerable and hard-to-serve populations, high-cost populations, undesirable geographic areas, and many low-density rural areas," he said.

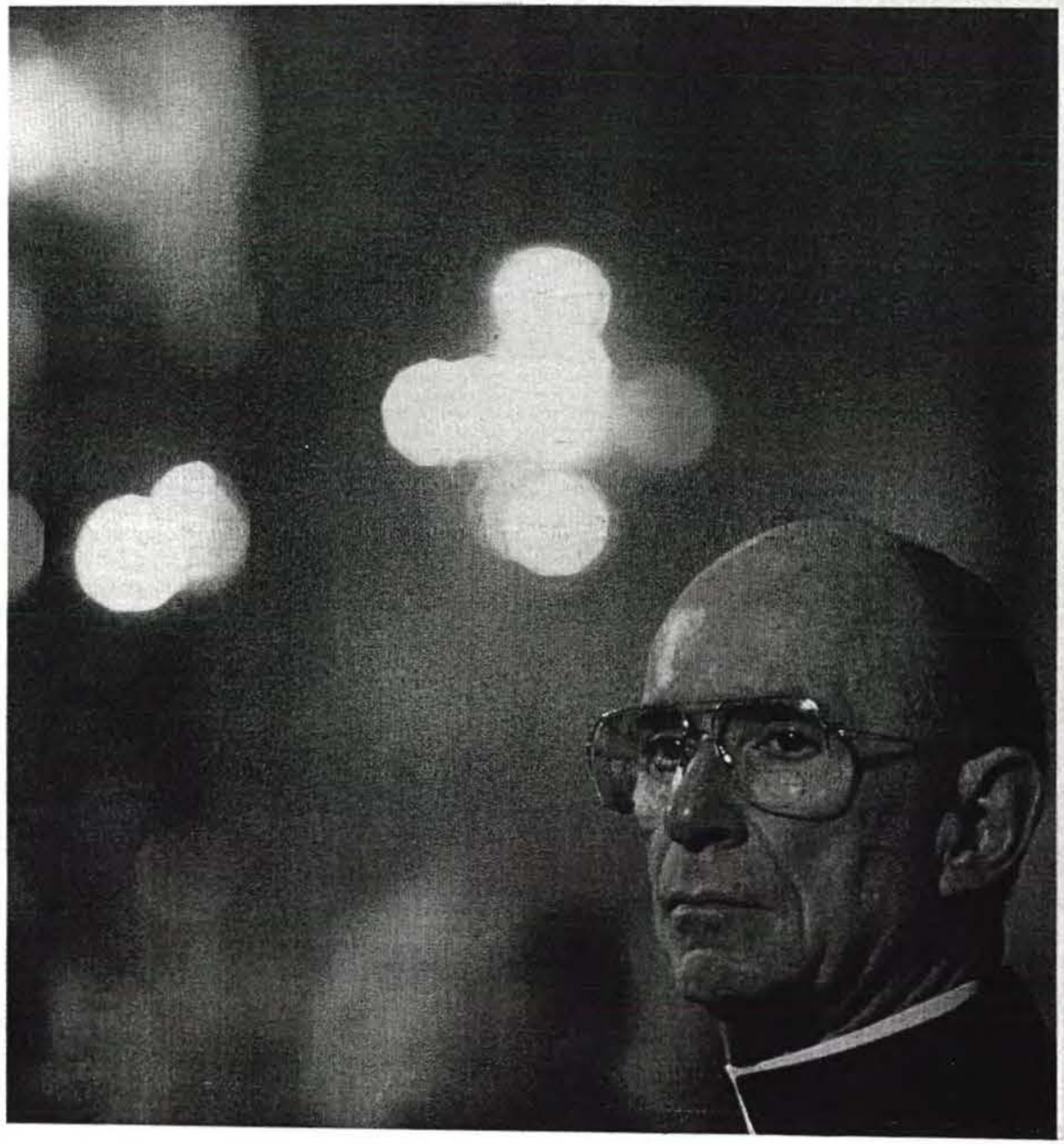
'Who Is the Patient's Advocate?'

As society moves to a system where financial risk is shifted from those who pay for care to those who provide it, non-profit health-care organizations are better suited than their investor-owned counterparts to preserve the "patient first" ethic in medicine, the Cardinal said.

"When the provider is at financial risk for treatment decisions, who is the patient's advocate?" he asked. "This challenge will become especially daunting as we move into an intensely price-competitive market where provider economic survival is on the line every day. In such an environment, the temptation to under-treat could be significant."

Unprofitable types of health care, such as burn units, neonatal intensive care, immunization programs for the poor, and teaching and research, are "unlikely to be addressed by investor-owned organizations," the Cardinal said.

Because non-profit health groups' primary purpose is to serve patients and communities, they tend be rooted in their home towns and are more likely to remain there during periods of economic stagnation, Cardinal Bernardin said. "Investor-owned organizations must, on the other hand, either leave the community or change their product line when return-on-equity be-



merge with or convert into for-profit companies to survive financially, he said. Others—including four in his own Chicago Archdiocese—have been forced to close their doors entirely.

The Cardinal urged business and government to act quickly to preserve the nation's non-profit health-care organizations. He predicted that government intervention would be required if current trends went unchecked.

Refusal to Sell

The Chicago Archdiocese owns 20 hospitals in varying states of financial health, but so far the Cardinal has refused to recommend that the church sell any of them.

In an effort to help the institutions compete with their for-profit counterparts, Cardinal Bernardin has formed the Catholic Health-Care Network of Chicago. Eleven of the Archdiocese's hospitals have joined the network, and the Cardinal said he expected others to join soon.

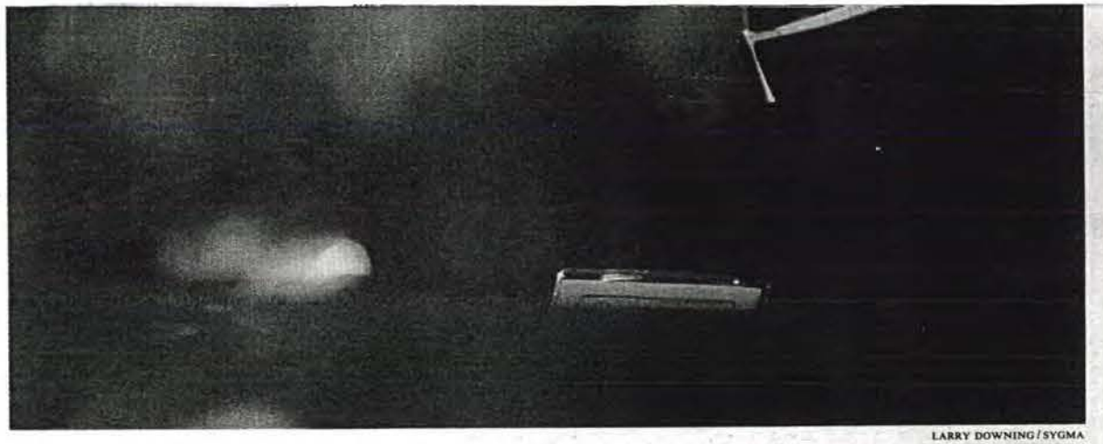
In his speech, he forcefully rejected what he called "a growing body of opinion that there are no fundamental distinctions between between medical care and other publicly traded commodities."

He argued that non-profit institutions were better suited than investor-owned companies to provide "services essential to human dignity and the quality of community life."

Few for-profit companies are willing to serve "undesirable" populations, Cardinal Bernardin noted. "With primary accountability to shareholders, investor-owned organizations have a powerful incentive to avoid not only the uninsured and underinsured, but vestor-owned organizations must, on the other hand, either leave the community or change their product line when return-on-equity becomes inadequate," he said.

Government Role

The Cardinal warned that if non-profit health-care institutions are allowed to fade away now, the government could be compelled to take a greater role in regulating health care. "Should the investor-owned entity ever become the predominant form of health-care delivery," he said, "I believe that our country will inevitably experience a sizable and substantial growth in government intervention and control."



LARRY DOWNING / SYGMA

Joseph Cardinal Bernardin: Market forces and "a growing ideological challenge to the existence of America's non-profit health-care system," are eliminating non-profit hospitals at an alarming rate.

Barnes Foundation, De Mazia Trust Drop Lawsuits Against Each Other

By JENNIFER MOORE

The Barnes Foundation, a museum and educational institution in suburban Philadelphia, and the Violette de Mazia Trust have agreed to an out-of-court settlement that they hope will put an end to a highly publicized dispute.

Under the terms of the agreement, both sides have decided to drop lawsuits they had filed against each other. The foundation had charged the de Mazia Trust—which was created in 1988 by the Barnes Foundation's former art education director to support the artistic theories of Albert C. Barnes—with selling paintings that were stolen from the foundation to build up the trust's assets.

In turn, the trust had charged the foundation's trustees with making decisions in which they had conflicts of interest. The trust had sought the removal of the Barnes trustees and had blocked attempts by the foundation to amend the document written by its benefactor, Mr. Barnes, which spelled out how it should be run.

Both sides have denied the allegations made against them. While they said they had not changed their views, they said they were no longer interested in pursuing their lawsuits.

"Each party, the de Mazia Trust and the foundation, has decided that what they could accomplish in the settlement agreement was of greater importance than what they could have accomplished in litigating the allegations they made against each other," said Jeffrey A. Lutsky, a lawyer who represented the de Mazia Trust.

Under the terms of the settlement, the Barnes Foundation has agreed to offer permanently courses based on Mr. Barnes's artistic theories. In exchange, the de Mazia Trust will give the foundation $2.75-million to help pay for the education programs over the next seven years. The de Mazia Trust will also now be able to make business decisions without going through the Barnes Foundation.

State Regulators Concerned

Lawrence Barth, a Senior Deputy Attorney General for Pennsylvania, said the charges raised by each organization needed to be explored further to determine whether they were true. "To my knowledge," he said, "the settlement doesn't resolve any of those questions, which are concerns to my office and to the people of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania who enjoy those two charitable institutions."

The settlement is still pending approval by the Montgomery County Orphans' Court. Based on the agreement, the de Mazia Trust says it will no longer oppose several changes the foundation hopes to make in Mr. Barnes's 1922 trust, which spells out his wishes for the organization.

Among the changes the foundation is seeking: an increase in the $1 admission fee to its gallery, removal of a ban against holding fund-raising activities at the foundation, and elimination of a ban on investing endowment money in anything other than government securities and railroad stock.

After stirring up strong criticism from arts leaders in 1991, the foundation decided not to pursue an attempt to get court approval to let it sell up to 15 paintings from its collection to cover restoration costs. Mr. Barnes left explicit instructions for the foundation that prohibited the sale or loan of his paintings.

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[The Chronicle of Philanthropy, January 26, 1995, page 29 continued]

Remarks prepared for
U.S. Secretary of Labor Robert B. Reich

National Press Club
Washington, DC
January 5, 1995

The Choice Ahead

In this new season of Republican dominance in Congress, what is at stake, simply, is the future of working Americans. For a decade and a half, ordinary families have been working harder and getting less, puzzled that somehow they've been disinherited from the American Dream Our middle class, as I noted on Labor Day, has become an anxious class

It was this frustration with the present, combined with a fear of the future, that helped make Bill Clinton President in 1992 and Newt Gingrich Speaker of the House last November. If the elections of 1994 were the revolt of the anxious class, the next two years will be a battle for the anxious class's soul. The biggest defections from Democrats last November were among workers who had lost the most -- workers without college degrees The popular consensus to do <u>something</u> to reverse the breakdown of America's middle class has become an unstoppable political force.

But do <u>what</u>? Today I want to talk about the real choice before us. As Washington speculates about reforms in how Congress does business, we must remember that procedural changes--however welcome they may be--are about <u>means</u>, not ends. The end toward which we struggle must be restoring America's heritage of middle-class prosperity When the hoopla of this week dies down and the hard work of the coming month begins, Americans will rightly apply the following test to the Republican agenda, and to ours Will this make my family and me better off? It will become clearer and clearer, in the months ahead, that <u>their</u> agenda does not put ordinary working families first Ours does

The context of this choice--somewhat ironically--is an extraordinary boom in the overall economy. While the employment statistics for December haven't been compiled yet, we know that America has been achieving buoyant job growth -- well over five million new jobs in the past two years, most of them in high-paying occupations. The

unemployment rate is lower than it has been in four years, yet there are no signs of accelerating inflation. Even more important is the resurgence of productivity growth, the vital precondition for rising living standards.

Yet while productivity and corporate profits are up, the wages of most Americans are not. This has been the pattern. Since 1979, household incomes have swelled by $826 billion, in 1993 dollars. But about 98 percent of the increase has gone to the top fifth. Everyone else--80 percent of American households--has shared just 2 percent of the income gains. The typical American family is living on less than it did fifteen years ago, adjusted for inflation. **(Chart One)**

Let me be clear. The problem is not that some of us are getting rich. That's good news. The problem is that most of us are getting nowhere. We are hurtling toward a two-tiered society composed of a minority who are profiting from economic growth and a majority who are not.

The consequences of this erosion extend beyond economics. It helps explain why hard-pressed parents can't find the time to raise their kids the way they were raised, and to pass on the values they grew up with; why voters whose family budgets pinch so tightly are outraged about government inefficiency and waste; why even instinctively generous Americans find their compassion toward the less fortunate flagging; why our politics has become so angry, sometimes ugly.

Perhaps most important are the moral consequences. Put simply, it just isn't right. The glaring, grotesque wrongness of what's happening to hardworking American families spawns despair and cynicism. It affronts our values, mocking the American bargain linking effort and reward. It makes responsible people feel like suckers, and gnaws away at the precious ethic of responsibility. It closes the gate to the very poor. Ultimately, the hollowing-out of the middle class and the creation of a two-tiered, class-ridden society poses a mortal threat to what's always been special about our country.

It didn't used to be this way. During the three decades after the Second World War, nearly everyone's income rose as the economy grew. **(Chart Two)** Millions of Americans--myself included--were raised to believe in a simple bargain: Anybody who worked hard and played by the rules could earn a better life for themselves and their family. That's anybody--not just the well-born, not just the well-connected. Anybody with the drive and discipline to make the most of their opportunities had a decent chance to make it. Corporate America backed the bargain, too. Employees who worked hard and gave it their all could share in their company's success. If the

company did well, their jobs were reasonably secure, and their wages and benefits rose.

In the 1950s, my mother and father worked six days a week in a small clothing shop, selling skirts and dresses to the wives of factory workers. I remember making signs when they had special sales: cotton dresses, $2.99, blouses $1.00. As factory wages went up, local families had a bit more to spend every year, and my parents' little business grew less precarious. We all did better together. Growing together was the way it worked in America. **(Chart Three)** But today, we are no longer growing together. We are growing apart -- and at a quickening pace.

My parents retired before the new economy elbowed out the old. Most of those factory jobs are now gone. Jobs like them accounted for over a third of all American jobs in the 1950s; now, no more than 16 percent. Many of the old service jobs have disappeared as well. Telephone operators have been replaced by automated switching equipment, bank tellers by automated teller machines, gas station attendants by self-service pumps which will now even accept credit cards, and secretaries by computers and voice mail. Any job that can be done more cheaply by a computer is now gone, or pays far less than before. Global competition has accelerated this revolution.

Yet the same forces are creating millions of new jobs, some paying better than ever. The right education and skills don't guarantee a good job in the new economy, and certainly not job security But it is getting harder to have either without education and skills. The three-fourths of American workers without college degrees have suffered the sharpest drop in wages and benefits. Fifteen years ago, a male college graduate typically earned 49 percent more than a man whose formal education ended with a high-school diploma--not too large a difference for the two groups to share the label "middle class." But by 1993 the average male college graduate was earning 83 percent more than his high-school counterpart--a difference so great that they no longer inhabited common territory Women are divided along similar, although less stark, lines. **(Chart Four)**

Thus, the nation's challenge To restore middle-class prosperity. Thus, the nation's choice: Which path promises to lead us there?

The new Republican agenda defines one path. First, cut taxes on capital gains, even on the sale of assets that investors already own. The theory is that such tax cuts will trigger an economic surge that will raise everyone's income. The problem with the Republican approach to capital gains taxation is not simply that almost all the immediate benefits would go to the well-off, with 45 percent collected by the small fraction of families earning over $200,000 per year. **(Chart Five)** Perhaps more

economic inequality would be a tolerable price to pay, if it would reliably boost capital spending, and if more capital spending reliably led to higher incomes for everyone. But the evidence linking their tax-break idea to any significant and sustained investment increase is far too weak to warrant the massive redistribution the Republicans are proposing.

A related proposal is to grant corporations far larger tax deductions for purchasing equipment, machinery, and buildings. This proposal may increase business investment, but at a huge cost: a $169 billion windfall that would essentially eliminate the corporate income tax and resurrect the tax-shelter industry that squandered so much of America's potential productivity in the 1980's. Their corporate tax break proposal is carefully crafted to elude the discipline of the budget process -- a fiscal time bomb set to explode after five years. But the more fundamental problem is that it will not restore the incomes of working Americans. Consider: Over the last 15 years, spending on durable capital equipment, as a share of the overall economy, has climbed by as much as a third. Capital investment has risen. But over the same period of time, most families' real incomes have fallen. Spending on new machines and buildings is necessary. But it is not enough. **(Chart Six)**

A third proposal is to lighten the regulatory burden on business in order to spark higher profits and more job growth. The theory here is that corporations are so entangled in regulations that they are producing paperwork and little else. Release them from these ties, and businesses will increase profits to the benefit of ordinary working Americans. This argument, too, deserves a respectful look. There is no dispute that the benefits of regulations--even those that protect the health or safety of consumers and workers, fight fraud, and maintain the integrity of financial markets--should be weighed against their burdens, and regulations which don't measure up should be scrapped. But blaming the middle class's decline on regulations that strangle job creation does not accord with the facts. Job growth is booming today. Indeed -- despite the cyclical ups and downs of the past fifteen years -- employment has grown even while the middle class has lost ground. **(Chart Seven)**

The words in which these proposals are couched reflect some cherished economic truths. Private investment is important. Government must be efficient and accountable. Regulations that don't make sense should be fixed or ended. On these points, there is little disagreement The ultimate question, the real test, is whether their proposals will make working families' incomes higher and more secure -- whether they will put working Americans back on the path to prosperity.

I am convinced that the hard-won evidence of our recent economic history reveals their proposals to be irrelevant to the cause of restoring America's middle class.

At worst, they move us in the opposite direction. Their tax proposals will drain the Treasury of so much revenue that--unless they allow the deficit to explode once again, or unless they subject national defense, Social Security, and Medicare to major cuts--they would force crippling reductions in education, job training, Head Start, and all other investments in working families. Most of these tax savings, on the other hand, would go to families earning six-figure incomes. And despite their free-market slogans, few Republicans in Congress have shown any inclination to join the President's recent call to curb needless subsidies for well-connected special interests.

They believe--or they want us to believe--that the middle class is breaking down because capital spending is insufficient and corporate profits are too low. But these simply are not the root causes of working Americans' distress, and remedying them will not restore prosperity. The core challenge facing Americans is to adapt to a new economy which is fundamentally different from the old; an economy driven by advanced technologies and global competition; an economy in which productive skills are the keys to individual success.

The best way to increase the wages of most Americans is to follow a different path--one that this Administration has begun to blaze: Equip all Americans to earn their own prosperity in this new economy. The evidence is overwhelming that the sharper a person's skills, the higher that person's wages. Each year of education or job training after high school, whenever it occurs in the course of a career, increases average incomes by 6 to 12 percent

Most of the good-paying jobs that have been created in the last two years require some technical know-how. That doesn't mean that everyone has to get a college diploma. In fact, many men and women whose traditional education ends at high school can earn comfortable middle class incomes. Gas station attendants are lucky to make $12,000 a year, but an auto mechanic skilled in computer diagnostics can earn up to $70,000. Unskilled assembly-line workers rarely take home more than $20,000, but the yearly pay of a programmer or repairer of computerized machine tools begins at $50,000. All across this country there is booming demand for workers with technical skills--sales technicians, physical and occupational therapists, desk-top publishing operators, x-ray technicians, computer-aided designers. There is no quick fix to the plight of working Americans But many technical skills can be learned in a year or two by someone with a high school degree.

Our campaign of human investment is already underway, propelled by a strong bipartisan consensus in the last Congress on the importance of education and job training. Each year, 130,000 additional children are able to enroll in Head Start, a proven first step on the path of lifelong learning. School systems throughout America

have millions of dollars in new incentives to improve their performance, in line with voluntary national standards of excellence. Within a few years, a half-million youth apprentices a year will move from the classroom to a skilled job with a future. Three and a half million people who take out education loans each year can now borrow at lower interest rates -- and can repay their loans at the pace their future income allows. We are transforming the old unemployment insurance system into a reemployment system, ensuring that this year alone an additional 150,000 Americans who have lost their jobs will get the skills or the job-search help they need to find new ones.

A few weeks ago the President mapped the next steps, in his call for a Middle Class Bill of Rights. First, a tax deduction for education and job training, starting at $5,000 a year and rising to $10,000 a year within four years. The significance of this idea has been little noticed in the horse-race coverage of competing tax cut proposals. But tuition deductibility is not merely a tax cut; it is pathbreaking tax reform. It puts a family's investments in skills on an equal footing with corporate spending on machines, advertising, buildings, or business lunches.

Under current law, any business spending that conceivably can be called an investment qualifies for favorable tax treatment. Yet the tax code does little to encourage the investment linked most directly to rising middle-class living standards--investments in education and lifelong job training. It treats them the same way it does expenditures on water skis or bubble gum. This makes no sense. Our plan would fix it. If companies get a tax break on their investments, so should families.

This means that for a typical family, the after-tax cost of equipping a parent with new job skills, or paying the kids' college tuition, would be cut by 15 to 28 percent. Research suggests that well over half a million Americans each year who wouldn't otherwise get advanced education or job training will do so because of this tax break. And there's little reason to fear that the benefits of the tax cut will be swallowed up by rising tuition. Tuition inflation is already slowing, and competition among the thousands of community colleges, technical schools, and other educational institutions will ensure that most of the gains of tuition deductibility will stay with the families who make the investments.

But bringing the tax code into the 21st century isn't enough. If America is to restore its defining bargain -- that if you work hard and play by the rules, you should be able to get ahead -- we need to completely transform the patchwork of federal employment and training programs. For Americans who are unemployed, or whose wages are too low for them to take advantage of tuition deductibility, the President proposes skill grants of $2000 to $3000 per year, for up to two years. This represents a radical shift from programs to purchasing power. Instead of feeding the budgets of

bureaucracies -- federal or state -- we'll channel the resources directly into the pockets of ordinary Americans so they can get the skills they need -- at the time, in the place, in the way that makes sense for them. Workers who need to start new careers, and low-wage workers who need to make a fresh start, will have a new gateway to better jobs--and information on what skills are in demand, to guide them through those gateways.

What the Administration has already set in motion, coupled with the steps the President has just proposed, defines a strategy for empowering working Americans to build a better life for themselves and their families. But it also depends on what happens in the workplace. The future of the middle class will be determined less in hearing rooms here in Washington than in factories and offices across America. Companies must treat their workers not as costs to be cut but as assets to be developed. They may be able to reap short-term profits by cutting payrolls, shifting production to lower-wage nations, replacing older workers with younger and cheaper ones, or substituting temps and independent contractors for full-time employees. But the best-run companies in America are proving that longer-term rewards come through training workers, giving them more responsibility and job security, and linking pay to profits. Forging stronger and more constructive ties between workers and their companies must be part of any plan for restoring middle class prosperity. We are eager to work with Congress and the private sector to develop effective and fair ways to encourage this.

The agenda I have outlined will not create a new middle class overnight. It will take years. But it is the only realistic approach. And it is resonant with American values--that we earn our keep, that opportunity is the solution to inequality, that work is always better than welfare, that people should develop their talents and make the most of their abilities, and that economic growth should work for everyone. Our solution depends on people taking responsibility, but it gives them a chance to turn their responsibility into results. It doesn't look to government or to corporations to rescue hardworking Americans. It empowers working men and women to prosper on their own.

Our strategy is not entirely new. It owes part of its inspiration to the G.I. Bill of Rights enacted near the end of World War II, which helped trigger the transition from a period of conflict and anxiety to an astonishingly prosperous postwar era. The G.I. Bill gave ordinary Americans a chance at world-class skills. The rest is history -- indeed, one of the brightest episodes in our history. The dream of a secure, productive place in the middle class became a reality for a majority of our nation's people.

Nor, of course, is there anything fundamentally new about their ideas. Behind the rhetoric of change is a rerun, on a larger screen, of twelve years of Republican government--twelve years of stagnation or decline for most working Americans. We've seen this movie before, and we know the plot.

We are eager to cooperate with Congress in the days to come. But America cannot simply split the difference between the two visions. The choice cannot be sidestepped.

Their long list of tax cut proposals conspicuously omits investments in skills. What's worse, the price of their bid to boost profits and capital spending will be sharp cuts in education, job training, and other investments in working people. Our strategy centers on building skills.

They ask of corporations no other duty than to maximize profits, and imply that if they do so the future will take care of itself. We say there is no automatic link between economic growth and the living standards of ordinary Americans; that link must be forged.

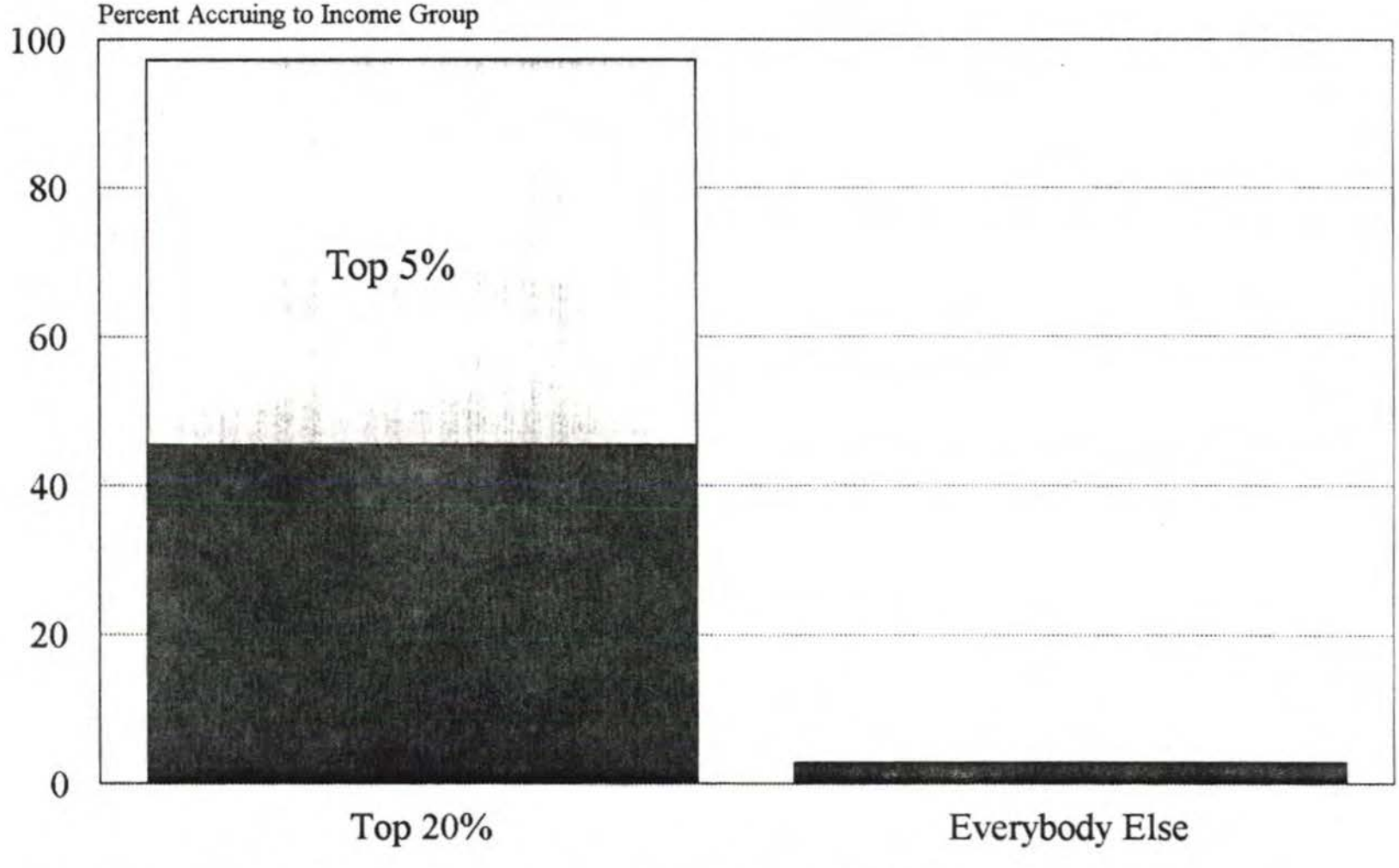
They ask America's middle class to entrust its fate to the masters of physical and financial capital. We want to equip all working Americans to become masters of their own economic fates.

Which is the better path? Which do you believe will make working families better off? This is the choice before us.

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1979 to 1992 -- Who Got the Growth?

Shares of Average Household Income Growth

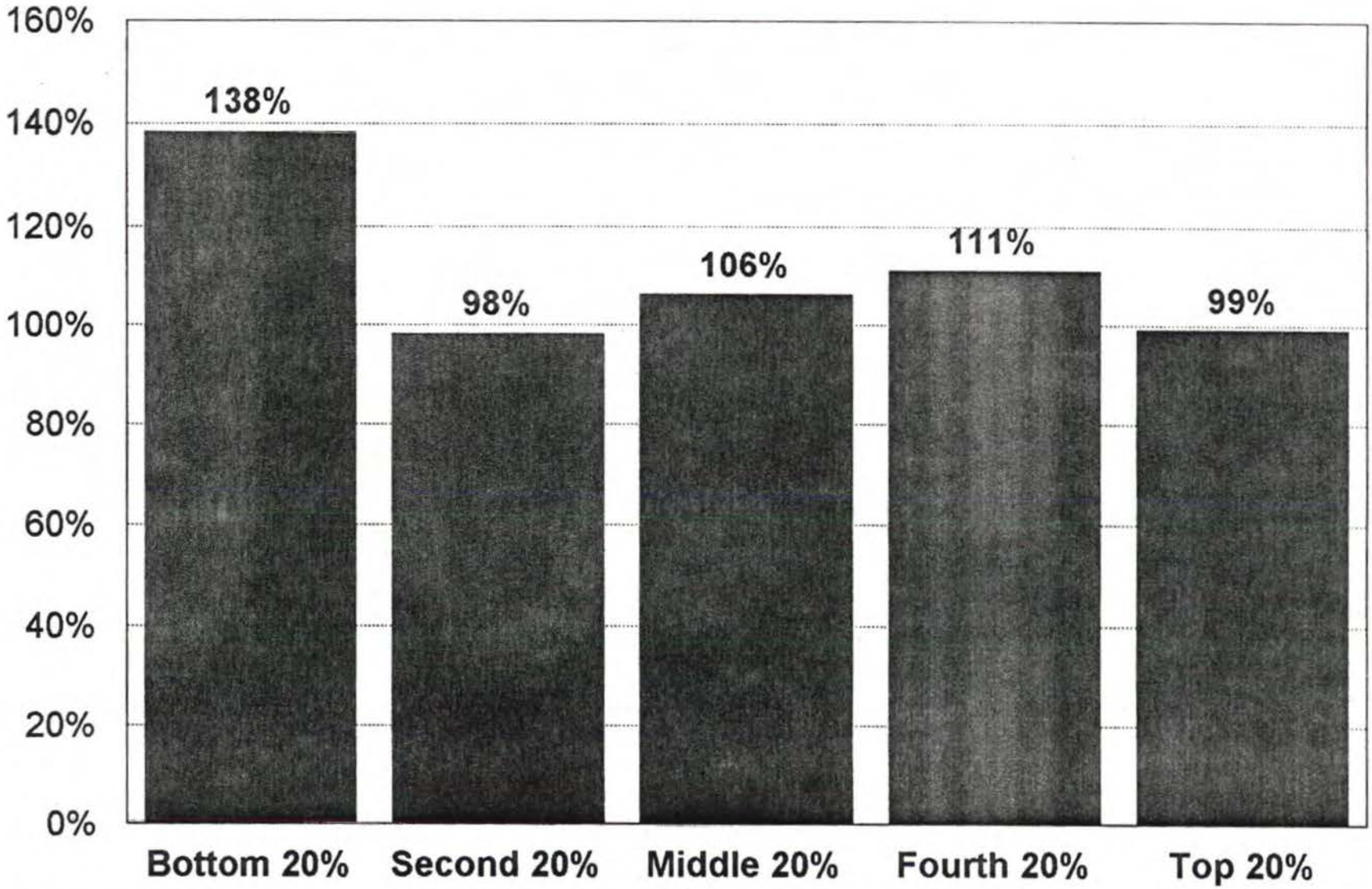


Source: Based on data from the Census Bureau, Current Population Survey. Household income is in constant 1992 dollars, and adjusted by CPI-U-X1, and population is normalized to a constant level.

CHART 1

1950 to 1978 -- Growing Together

Real Family Income Growth By Quintile

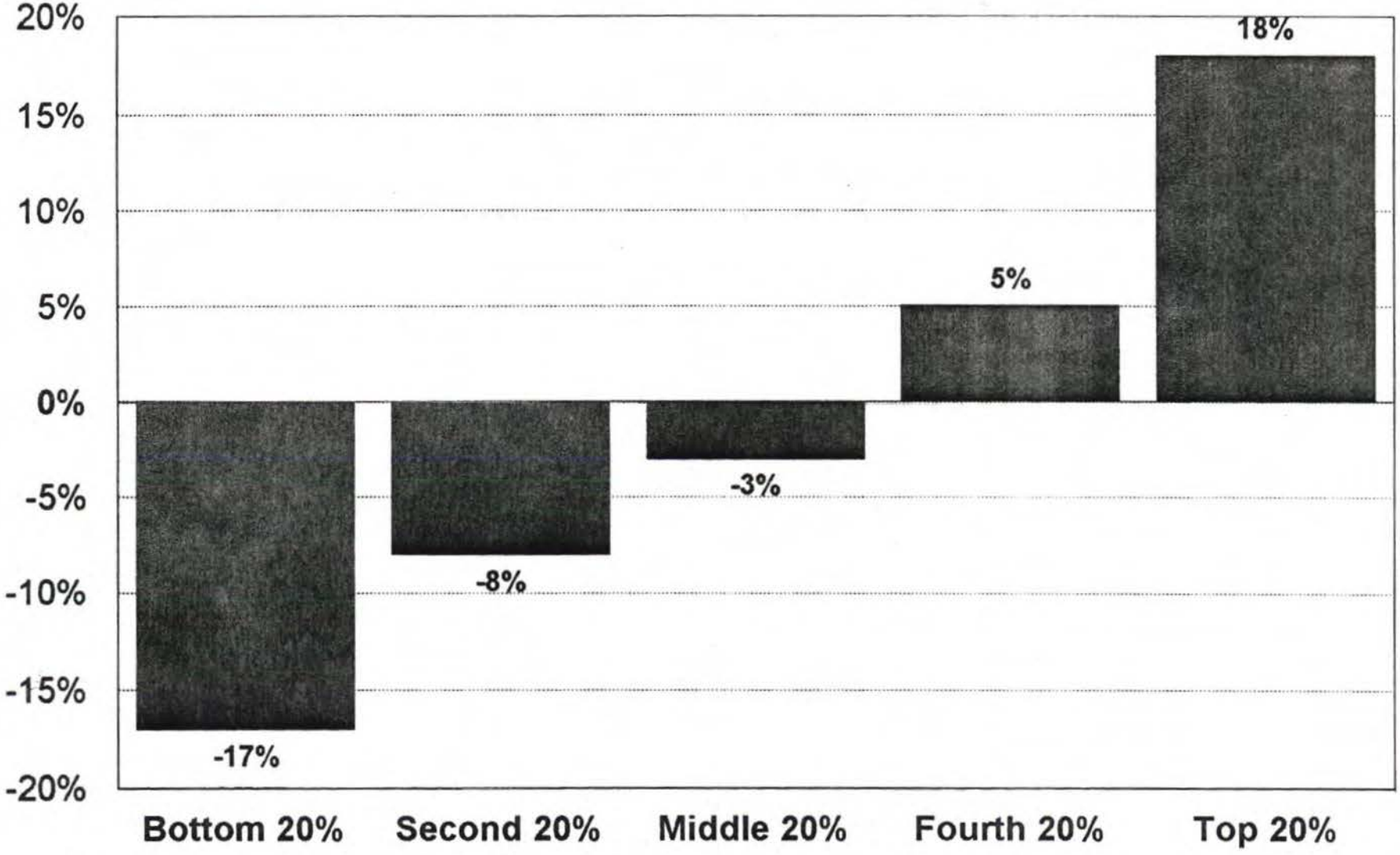


SOURCE: Census Bureau, DOL calculations. All data converted to 1993 dollars.

CHART 2

1979 to 1993 -- Growing Apart

Real Family Income Growth By Quintile

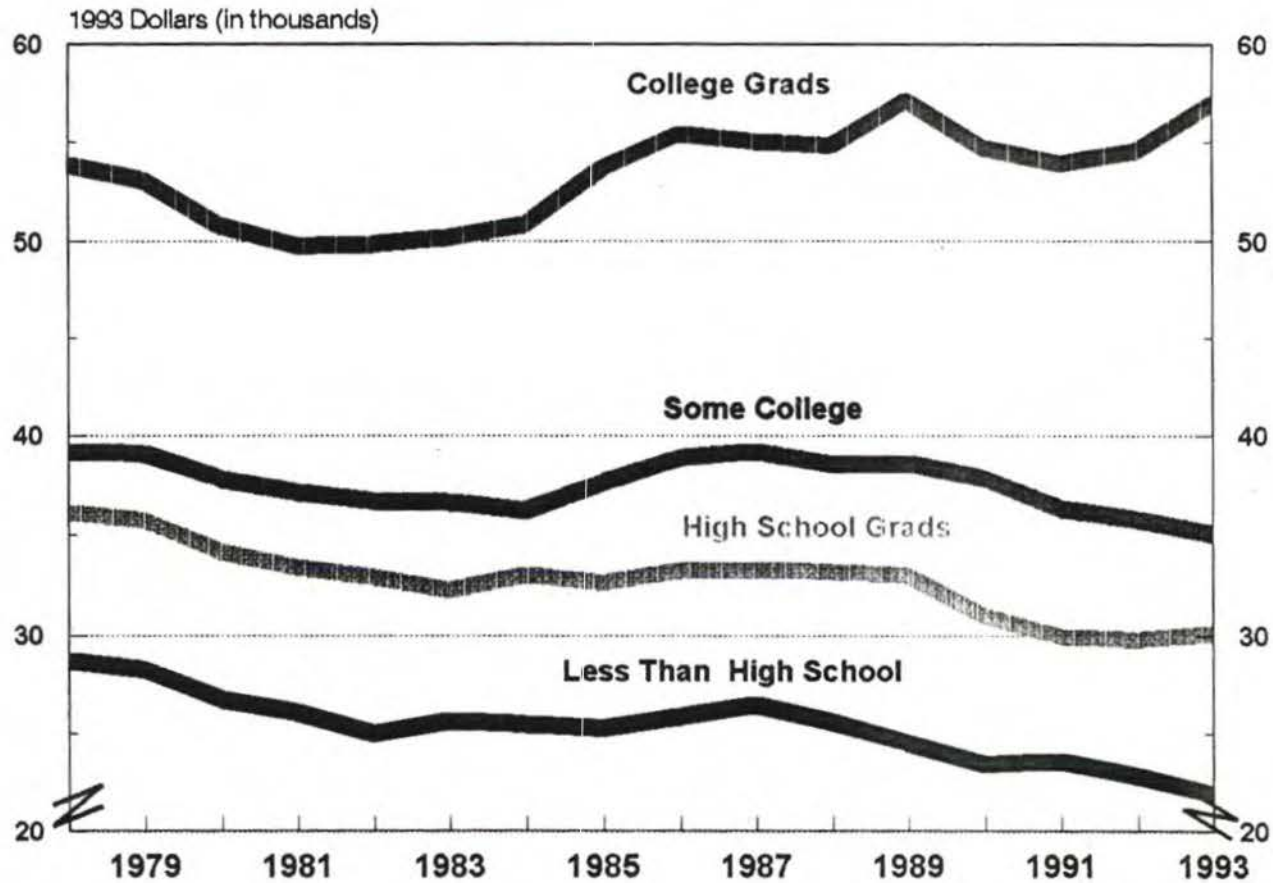


SOURCE: Census Bureau, DOL calculations. All data converted to 1993 dollars.

CHART 3

Skills Matter More

Average Annual Earnings of Men by Educational Attainment



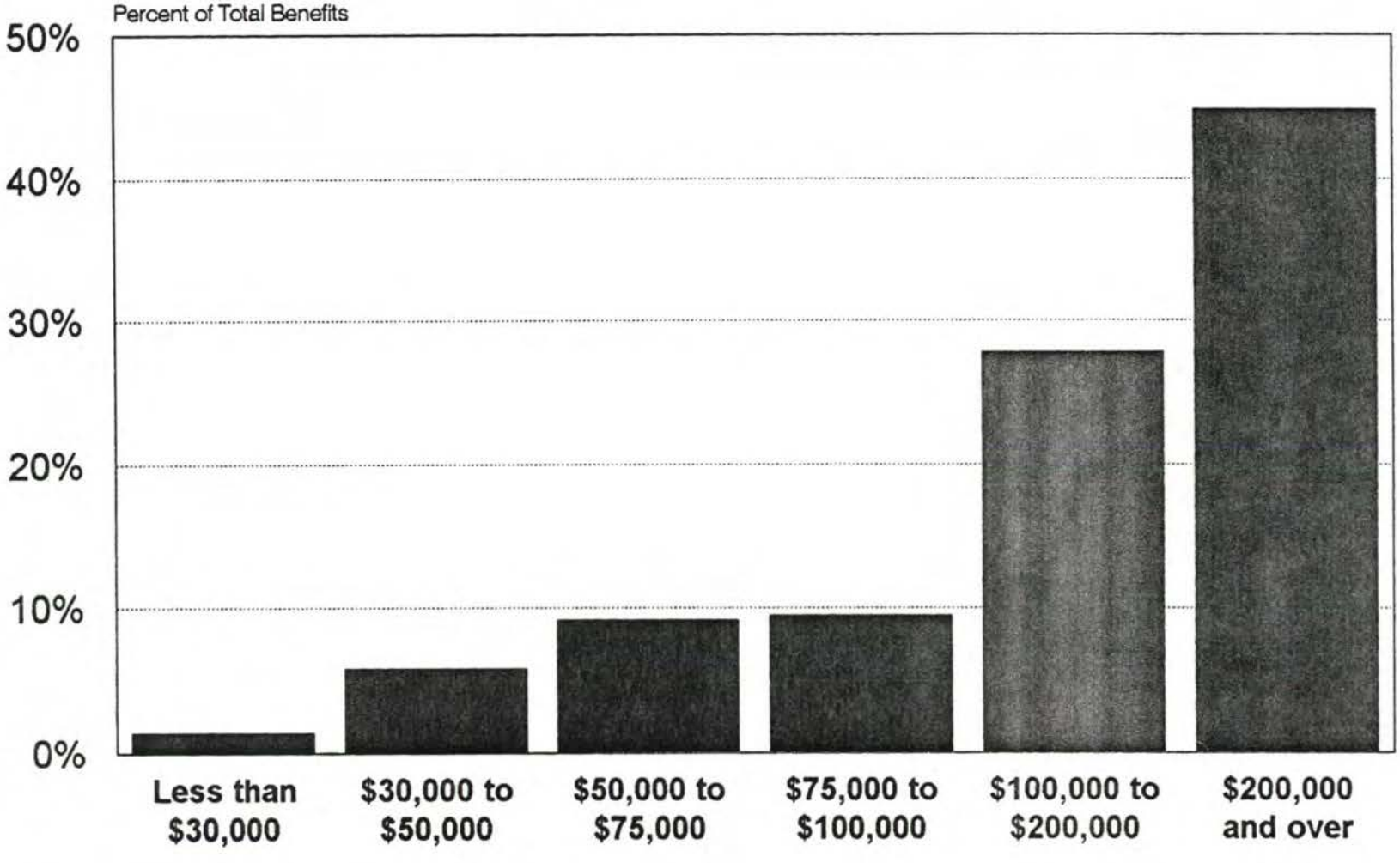
Note: Workers 25 years of age and older, working year round, full time. Data on educational attainment for 1991 through 1993 are not directly comparable to those from prior years. Numbers for 1993 used 1990 population weights, whereas data for other years used 1980 population weights.

Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey

CHART 4

Capital Gains Tax Break: Who Gains?

Distribution of Benefits From the Republican Capital Gains Proposal in 1999

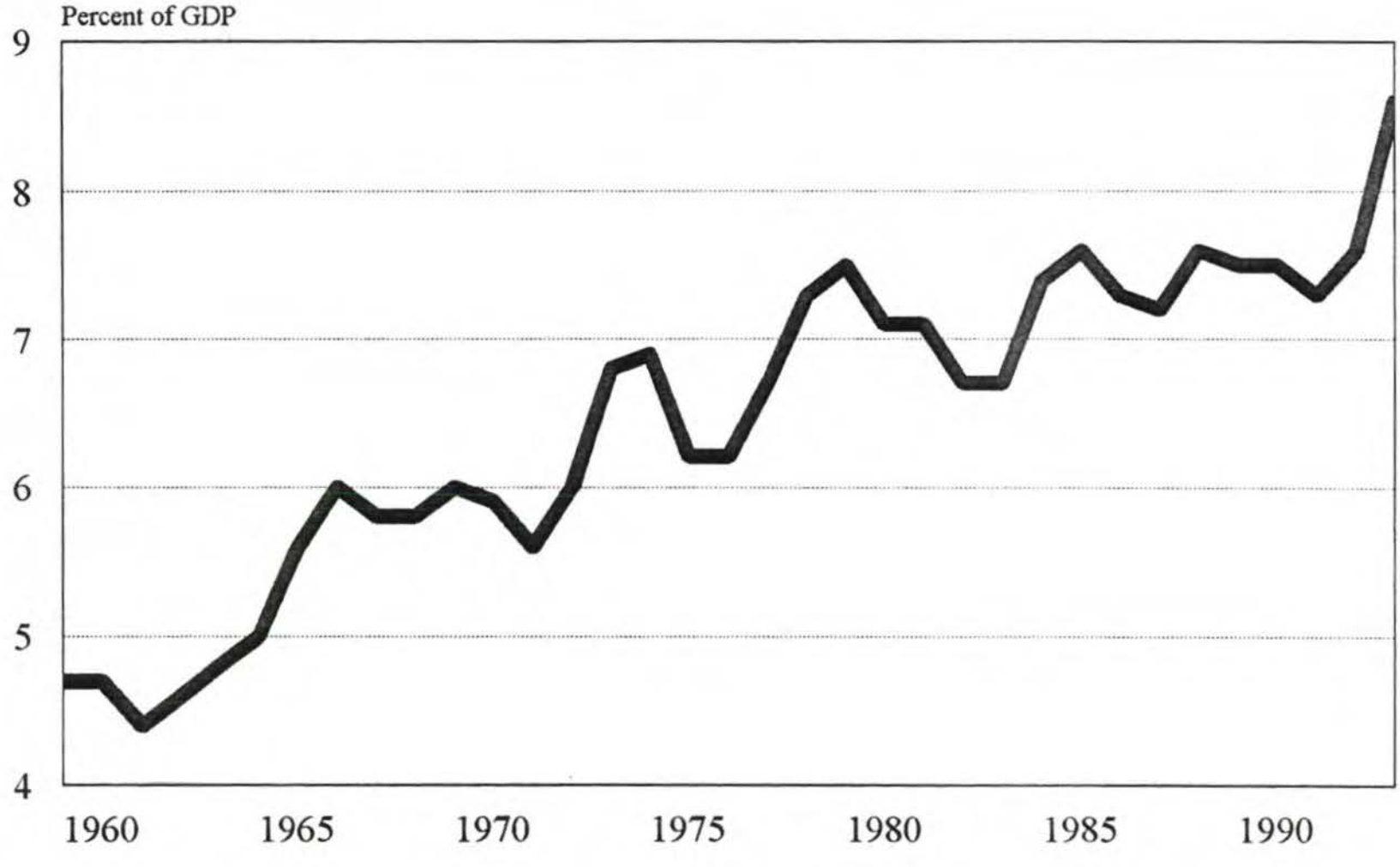


SOURCE: Joint Committee on Taxation, Publication D-94-25, "Distribution of the Change in Federal Tax Liability Resulting From a Fifty Percent Exclusion and Indexation of Cost Basis", October 6, 1994.

CHART 5

Capital Spending is Up

Gross Durable Equipment Investment As A Share of GDP, 1959-1993

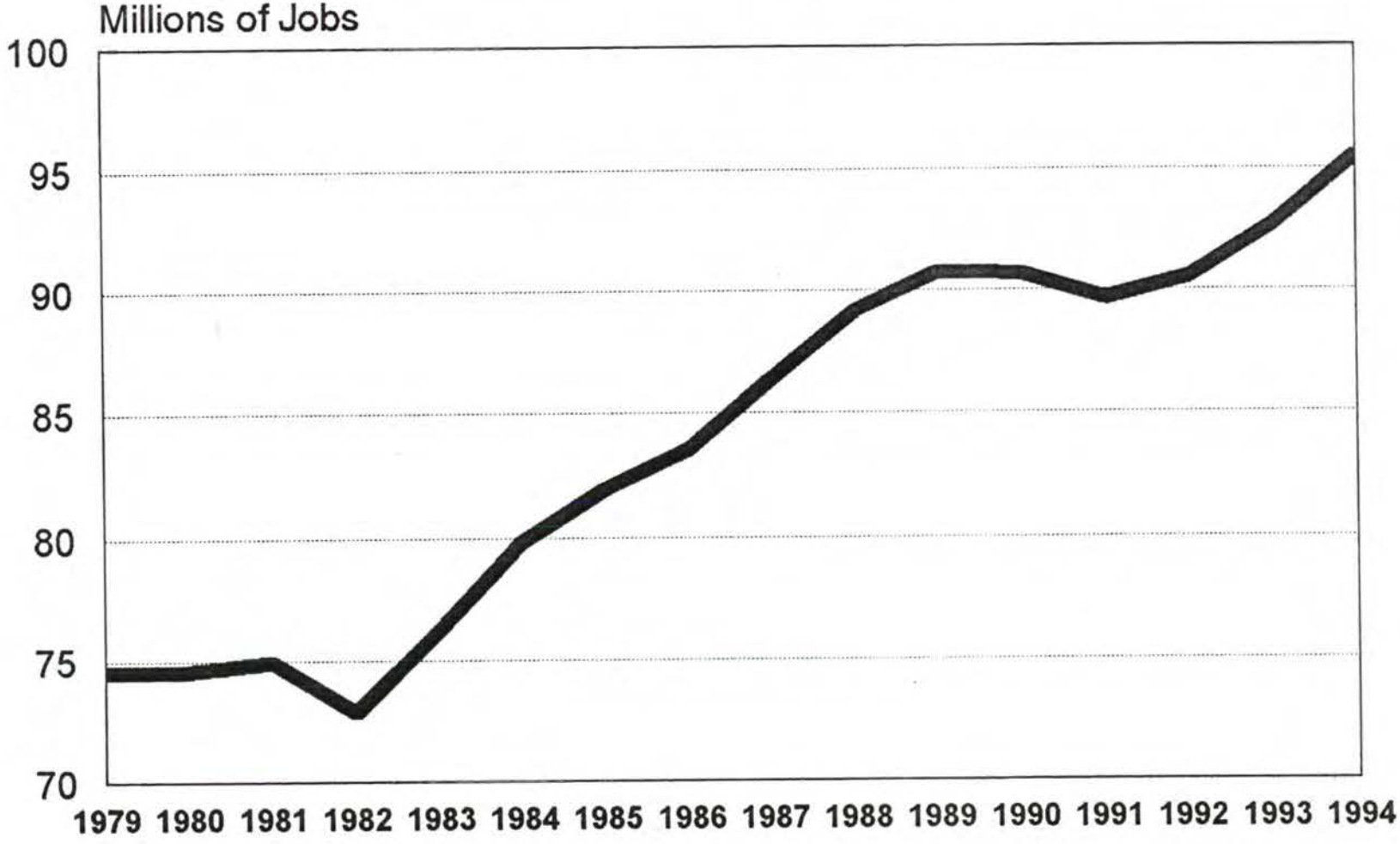


Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis, Department of Commerce.

CHART 6

Companies are Creating Jobs

Total Private-Sector Employment, 1979-1994



Total seasonally adjusted private-sector non-agricultural payroll employment in December of each year. Preliminary November figures were used for 1994.

SOURCE: Bureau of Labor Statistics.

CHART 7

REVISED FINAL

Remarks prepared for
Secretary of Labor
Robert B. Reich

National Alliance of Business
Dallas, Texas
September 27, 1994

TOWARD A NEW SOCIAL COMPACT: THE ROLE OF BUSINESS

Not long ago we all worried about restoring America's "competitiveness." American industry, it seemed, was short-sighted, slow-footed, and dim-witted, and the American economy on an inexorable decline. Europe and Japan -- the inefficiencies of the past seared away by World War II -- were charging past us.

Now let me read you something that appeared in this city's own *Dallas Morning News*, two and a half weeks ago: "The United States has climbed to the top of a list of the world's most competitive economies, displacing Japan." The source is the World Economic Forum, a respected Swiss association that each year charts the economic performance of industrial nations.

What gives? Were the experts crazy then? Are they crazy now? Has everything changed completely in just a few years?

Well, for one thing, the United States is enjoying an economic recovery, while other advanced economies are still struggling to come out of recessions. But beyond the transitory ups and downs is the more fundamental success of American business in restructuring itself and investing in new equipment, with the result that productivity growth since 1990 has been averaging a healthy two percent a year. Factory productivity alone has leapt over 5 percent during the past year.

And yet, are we really competitive? What do we mean by "competitiveness" anyway? Rarely has a term of public discourse gone so directly from obscurity to meaninglessness without any intervening period of coherence. Surely the ultimate test of competitiveness should be the standard of living of Americans. And not just the average American: averages don't always reveal the most telling realities. Shaquille O'Neal and I have an average height of six feet.

Use a different lens and the picture sharpens further. Traditionally, membership in the American middle class included not only a job with a steadily increasing income, but a bundle of benefits that came with employment. Once again, we see a widening gap, related to education and skills. Employer-sponsored health coverage for workers with college degrees has declined only slightly, from 79 percent in 1979 to 76 percent in 1993. But for high school graduates, rates have fallen further: 68 percent to 60 percent over the same period. And rates for high-school dropouts have plunged -- from an already low 52 percent in 1979 to only 36 percent last year. **(SLIDE TWO)** Retirement will only harden these divisions. Nearly two out of every three workers with college degrees get pension coverage on the job. More than three out of four high dropouts do not. **(SLIDE THREE)**

But earnings and benefits don't even tell the complete story. Merely getting a job and holding on to it depend ever more on skills. In the 1970s, the average unemployment rate for people who had not completed high school was 7 percent. By the 1980s, this rate grew to 11 percent; by 1993 it had passed 12 percent. Job loss for high school graduates has followed a comparable trajectory. By contrast, the unemployment rate for workers with at least a college degree has remained around 3 percent. **[SLIDE FOUR]**

In a seeming paradox of today's economic news, financial markets fret that unemployment is too low to contain inflation, even while 8 million willing American workers remain jobless. Part of the answer to the apparent contradiction is that markets for highly skilled labor are becoming tight in many parts of the economy, creating the conditions that can kindle inflation worries. But millions of less-skilled workers remain idle or underemployed. This wasted workforce is walled off by skill barriers from the leading edges of the economy where capacity constraints loom. The best way to expand the economy's capacity and lower the level of unemployment needed to bridle inflation is to dismantle these walls by preparing underutilized workers for more productive work.

When flashed on a screen in a hotel ballroom, bar graphs and trend lines have a certain innocuous quality. They're abstract, and they're fleeting. Click a button and the numbers vanish. But as they take hold in the neighborhoods and workplaces of America, these forces are ominous. Consider the physical separation they have already helped forge. The overclass has moved to elite suburbs -- occasionally into their own gated communities or residential compounds policed by their own security forces. The underclass finds itself quarantined in surroundings that are unspeakably bleak, and often violent. And the anxious class is trapped, too -- not only by houses and apartments often too small for growing families, but also by the frenzy of effort it takes to preserve their standing, with many families needing two or three paychecks to deliver the living standard one job used to supply.

In other words, even as America's economic tide continues to rise, it no longer lifts us all. Only a small portion of our population benefited from the economic growth of the 1980s. The restructurings and capital investments launched during the 1980s and continuing through the 1990s have improved the productivity and competitiveness of American industry, but not the prospects of most Americans. And the people left behind have unleashed a wave of

resentment and distrust -- a wave buffeting government, business, and other institutions that the anxious class believes has betrayed them.

Consider the striking turnaround in public opinion. In 1975, according the Gallup poll, 40 percent of the American public said it had confidence in Congress. Today, the figure is 18 percent. In 1975, more than a third of Americans said they had confidence in big business. Today, only a one-quarter do. Nearly every institution in this country -- public schools, newspapers, television, labor unions, even organized religion -- have suffered declines in public esteem. Nearly every leader in society has become a lightning rod for public frustration.

This creates fertile soil for the demagogues and conspiracy theorists who often emerge during anxious times. People in distress, people who fear their future, naturally cling to what they have and often resist anything that threatens it. People who feel abandoned -- by a government that has let them slide or a company that has laid them off -- respond to opportunists peddling simplistic explanations and sinister solutions. Why are you having trouble making ends meet? We're letting in too many immigrants. Why are you struggling to pay your bills? Affirmative action tilts things in favor of African-Americans and Hispanics. Why is your job at risk? Our trade policies have not been sufficiently protectionist.

Such sentiment transcends ideological divisions. Conspiracy theorists on the left concoct stories of a cabal of corporate puppeteers pulling the strings of global trade; those on the right spin tales of a President who orchestrates murder. Talk radio, that otherwise sparkling tribute to free expression, has taken on a newly malevolent edge -- elevating ratings by escalating rage. And odd alliances have formed to repel the notion that free trade can produce middle class prosperity. Recall the recent debate over NAFTA, from which I still carry scars.

So what's the solution? We can't turn back the clock and return to the safe old world of routine mass production that dominated post-war America. Efforts to do so -- say, by keeping foreign investment and goods outside our borders or by stifling technological advances -- would not resurrect the old middle class. They would only inhibit the ability of every American to prosper amid change.

The real solution is to give all Americans a stake in economic growth, to ensure that everyone benefits from our newfound competitiveness. That way, we can grow together--and increase our capacity for non-inflationary growth. 12 million unemployed or underemployed Americans, and millions more whose wages are stagnant or declining must be puzzled at talk of an overheating economy. We can do better than that. This economy will not be at full capacity until we tap the potential of all our citizens to be more productive.

We must together build a new middle class -- a middle class based on the power of ordinary workers to add ever more value because they have the skills to do so.

Individuals and families shoulder much of the responsibility here, of course. Ultimately, they must face the realities of the new economy, and ensure that they and their children have the basic intellectual tools to prosper in it. Government has a role, too. It can clear away some of the obstacles -- improving the quality of public education, setting skills standards, and smoothing the transition from school to work and from job to job.

But individuals, however resourceful, and governments, however reinvented, can't build a new middle class on their own. Business has an indispensable role to play. And let me put the issue cleanly: Unless business joins in rebuilding America's middle class -- training and empowering ordinary workers to be productive and innovative -- this task cannot succeed. I recognize the stakes this sets. But I believe that business will, in the end, find the motives to fulfil its central role. There are two good economic reasons for business to enlist: First, the members of America's imperiled middle class are key productive assets. Second, they form the majority of most companies' customers. Consider each of these reasons in turn.

It is no news to business leaders that a skilled workforce can be a strategic trump card. Other elements of a business can be replicated by competitors -- machines, processes, raw materials, access to cheap labor around the world. But a skilled, flexible workforce that can create value in ways that matter in the marketplace can offer enduring competitive advantage.

Companies throughout America are demonstrating that success often hinges on treating workers as assets to be developed, not costs to be cut. And they're doing it with front line workers who are not necessarily four-year college graduates. In my travels around the country, I have seen the pattern again and again: at an electro-galvanizing steel plant in Cleveland, a telephone assembly plant in Atlanta, an insurance company in Hartford, an accounting firm in Chicago, a machine-tool company in Rochester. Many of the companies represented here in this room are among the pioneers of this approach to creating profits and productivity in the new economy. In the process, you have helped create the vanguard of this new middle class: technician workers with training beyond high school, but not necessarily a college degree.

Lew Platt, the CEO of Hewlett-Packard, told me the other day about HP's integrated circuit plant in San Jose. Yields had been too low, the reject rate too high, even after HP had installed state-of-the-art machinery. What was the problem? HP discovered that its front-line workers in San Jose, most of them without college degrees, knew a lot about what wasn't working in the plant. What they needed was an extra increment of training, and the authority to implement their solutions on the spot. HP decided to try a campaign of training for the San Jose electronics workers--thousands of them--and it transformed these front-line workers into technicians. It worked. Quality improved dramatically, yields jumped, and the plant became enormously competitive. Not only did HP turn its plant around, it also added thousands of workers to the ranks of the new middle class.

So my first reason for optimism that business will play its part in building a new middle class based on skills is that workforce investments often make excellent business sense, and business increasingly knows this.

The second reason also affects the bottom line, if a bit less directly. For most American companies, their major market remains American consumers. In the 1950s and 1960s, the American consumer market was the most buoyant in the world. Selling into a prosperous, sophisticated home-country market gave American companies a world-beating edge in industry after industry. Company profits and middle class incomes climbed in tandem. Mass production spawned the middle class; the middle class fueled mass production. But since the mid 1970s -- as incomes stagnated, divisions widened, and America's mass market fragmented -- the U.S. market has become less dominant as a commercial launching pad. A revitalized middle class means stronger domestic demand and a better proving ground for global business success.

These are good reasons for business to invest in human capital, but apparently not reason enough. A new survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that not quite half of all establishments provide any formal training in job skills. Other recent data show that employers tend to concentrate training investments on workers who are already skilled. A third of young workers with college degrees receive work-related training. But only one out of six workers with a high school degree got such training, and only one out of ten high school dropouts. **(SLIDE FIVE)**

When nations are wise and lucky--as America has been for much of its history--an implicit social compact knits together business success, rising living standards, and pro-business politics. But the erosion of the old middle class poses a threat to the bargain that has paid off so well for so many American citizens and American companies. Business success no longer automatically brings rising living standards for all. There is a danger that the interests of corporations playing on a global scale will be seen as distant from the interests of American citizens, that higher rates of productivity will not be understood to mean higher living standards for ordinary Americans. As most Americans find themselves working harder for less, and the American dream recedes, the much-vaunted competitiveness of the American economy seems like a cruel hoax.

Now is the time to renew the compact among American businesses, American government, and American working men and women. Now is the time to reknit the connections between the two defining national traditions of free enterprise and broadly shared middle class prosperity.

The Clinton Administration is pledged to deliver on government's side of this new compact. This Administration's commitment to building a new middle class already has produced results -- but perhaps because many were born in bipartisan harmony rather than partisan discord they have gone unnoted. Political conflict is a far more exciting spectator sport.

An additional 130,000 children each year can now be made ready to learn through Head Start. About 120,000 disadvantaged students participated in this year's summer job program. Almost a half million young Americans will be entering youth apprenticeships. Three and a half million Americans each year will gain the option of repaying their education loans as a percentage of future income. Twenty thousand young Americans -- more than ever served in the Peace Corps even at its height -- will be working on national service projects in their communities. Fifteen million working families with modest incomes have gotten the tax relief necessary to make work pay. And -- with your help -- we've begun transforming the old unemployment system, built for another era and another economy, into a modern reemployment system. This year alone more than half a million permanently laid-off Americans will get the help they need to find new and better jobs.

This Administration has made bold moves, in addition, to get the nation's economic house in order. Consider the record: The deficit, as a portion of GDP, is at its lowest level in fifteen years, and is projected to remain there even without additional spending cuts. Government payrolls are being reduced by 250,000 workers. Inflation is low, and there are scant signs of overheating. We are committed to free trade. Thanks to the North American Free Trade Agreement, our exports to Mexico are now growing at three times the rate of exports to the rest of the world. Soon, Congress will approve the latest GATT agreement, opening even more markets to more American services as well as goods. And no Administration has been more vigorous in promoting American business overseas -- from Saudi Arabia's $6 billion aircraft purchase, to Brazil's $1.5 billion contract with Raytheon, to the Commerce Secretary's recent mission to China, to the Energy Secretary's mission to Pakistan.

Today, this Labor Secretary embarks on a mission as well. This mission is to American business, and Dallas is my first stop. The aim of my mission is to stress the urgency of the other side of this compact. For the future prosperity and stability of this nation, American business must reciprocate by investing in American workers.

How should this be done? What should be the specific contents of this compact? I cannot predict the exact provisions. Obviously, one means of committing American business to workforce investment would be through a simple requirement that firms spend a small portion of their payrolls upgrading the skills of all employees.

The administration is not advancing such an option as a formal policy proposal because we are not convinced it is the best way to achieve the goal of stepped-up investments in worker skills. Flat requirements like this can invite endless legal pirouettes, resulting in ever more intrusive regulation. I hope we can discover together a better way--voluntary commitments to, and disclosure of, such workforce investments; cooperative agreements among firms in an industry to share the costs of basic skill training; agreements between large firms and their smaller suppliers and customers to do so; employee education as an object of collective bargaining; awards or certifications for businesses that invest substantially in their

workers; collaborations between high schools and companies to hire school-to-work apprentices; shifts in the tax code to create added incentives for workforce training. These and other approaches--alone or in combination--may be more effective than a uniform requirement. But if we cannot develop a superior approach, it would certainly be better to embrace that method than to abandon the goal. Let's get to work on the options.

You in the National Alliance of Business, and the broader business community you represent, have already accomplished a great deal, and ought to be proud of your achievements. But the centrifugal forces that are pulling America apart call for even greater resolve. We can build a new middle class, and new ladder into it for the underclass. You and I know it's possible. We've glimpsed its beginnings. But without the redoubled energies of American business -- without the fundamental understanding that no task is more central to our future -- the sturdy middle class that was once our country's defining quality will continue its steady erosion.

So as I launch my mission to American business, I ask that you lend your resolve to the creation of a new compact--for profitability, for shared prosperity, for an easing of economic anxiety and the social tensions it spawns. Join in the debate over the terms of that compact, and the business role in building workplace skills. And commit yourselves to renewing the American dream, to nurturing a new middle class that is even more inclusive than the old, and equipped to master the challenges of the new economy.

###

Securing Middle-Class Status For Working Americans

Our efforts to boost the earning power of working Americans must be backstopped by steps to ensure that they aren't robbed of their chance at middle-class status.

Health Care

o Health care reform remains as urgent as ever, despite the lack of action in the 103rd Congress. Today, 39 million Americans are uninsured. Every day we wait to take action, more families live in jeopardy of losing their coverage due to illness or job loss--and with their coverage, losing their grasp on middle-class security.

o At the same time, increasing health-care costs and decreasing coverage burden government budgets at the federal, state, and local levels.

o The Administration plans to work with Congress to take the first steps towards health-care security by passing to reform the insurance market, making coverage available and affordable for children and unemployed workers.

o We must make sure that those currently covered by Medicare and Medicaid remain protected.

o And we must reduce the costs of health care if we are to keep the federal deficit on a downward path.

1995 BETTER JOBS AND WAGES AGENDA

Making Work Pay

o Real average wages have fallen since 1979 for workers with high-school educations, for both men (down by 19%) and women (down by 3%).

o The real value of the minimum wage is now 27% lower than it was in 1979. The last increase in the minimum wage (to $4.25) was in 1991. Since then, inflation has cut its real value by nearly 50 cents.

o Two-thirds of all minimum-wage workers are adults. The average minimum-wage worker brings home about half of his or her family's weekly earnings (based on 1990 data.)

o An American working full time, all year at the minimum wage doesn't earn enough to bring a family of three above the poverty level (even when he or she gets the Earned Income Tax Credit.) The ranks of the working poor are growing.

o The erosion of the minimum wage since 1979 accounts for an estimated 20 percent of the increase in wage inequality among men, and 30 percent of rising inequality among women.

o Recent studies have found that modest minimum-wage increases have not significantly cut employment, and boost total worker income.

o The last minimum wage increase passed both the House and the Senate with overwhelming bipartisan support.

o A December Wall Street Journal-NBC poll found 75-percent support for raising the minimum wage–with even higher support among blacks, women, and young people.

1995 BETTER JOBS AND WAGES AGENDA

Pension Security

o Losing the pension earned by a lifetime of hard work is one of the cruelest risks faced by ordinary Americans. The Administration launched work on pension security in its first months in office.

o The gap between pension promises and pension-fund assets widened from $27 billion in 1987 to $53 billion in 1992.

o In mid-1994 there were 1.2 million workers and retirees in underfunded plans at troubled companies (and 8 million in all underfunded plans) and the deficit of the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation stood at $2.9 billion.

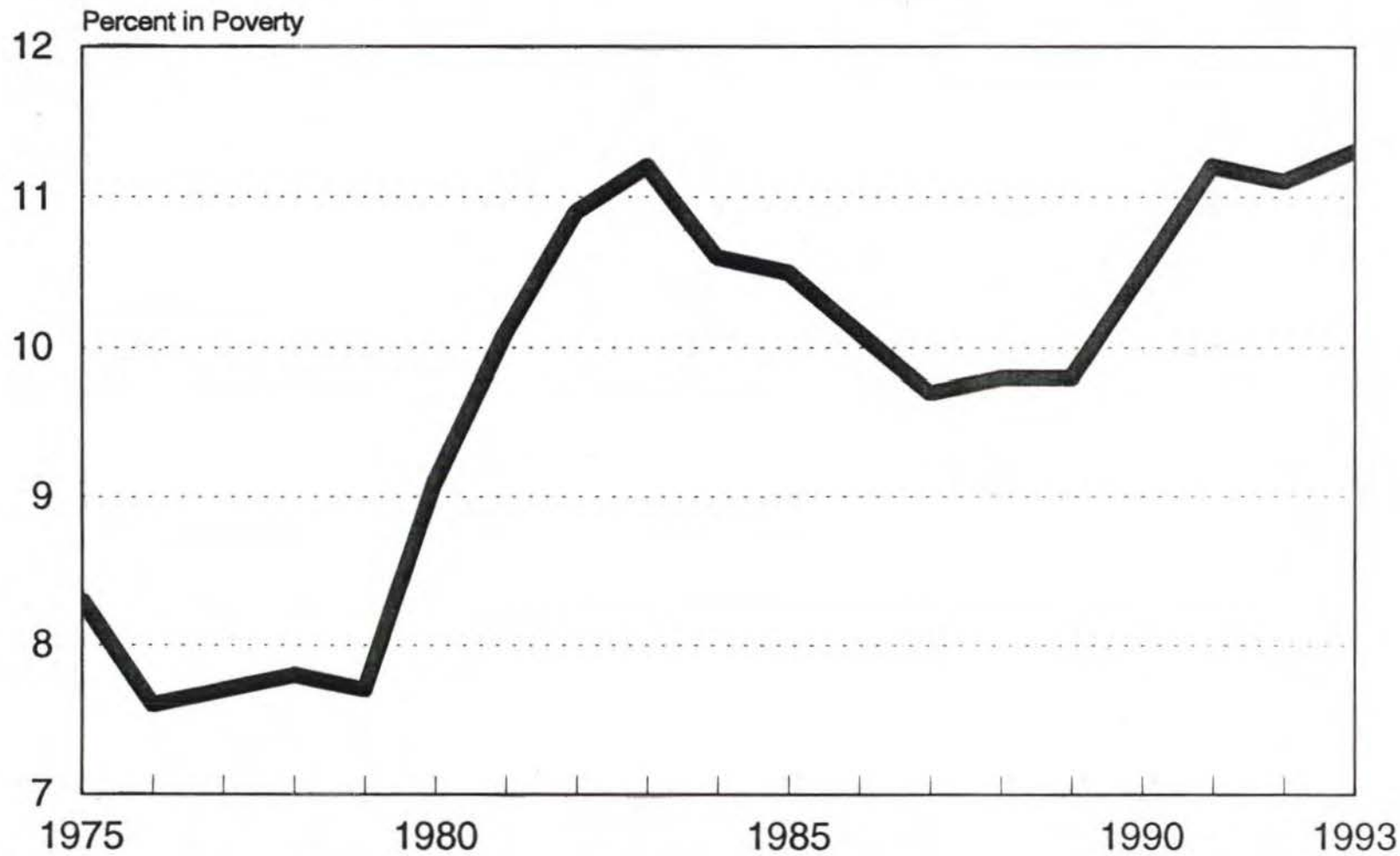
o Last year, the Administration and Congress acted. Reform legislation was drafted to tighten funding requirements, give the PBGC better tools to enforce the law and prevent companies from walking away from pension promises, and putting the burden of insuring against underfunding on the plans causing the biggest problems.

o Congress passed the Retirement Protection Act of 1994 as part of the legislation implementing the Uruguay Round trade agreements under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

o Congress and the Administration have taken action to reduce the pension risk facing ordinary Americans, giving us a model for the rest of the better jobs and wages agenda.

More Working Families are Poor

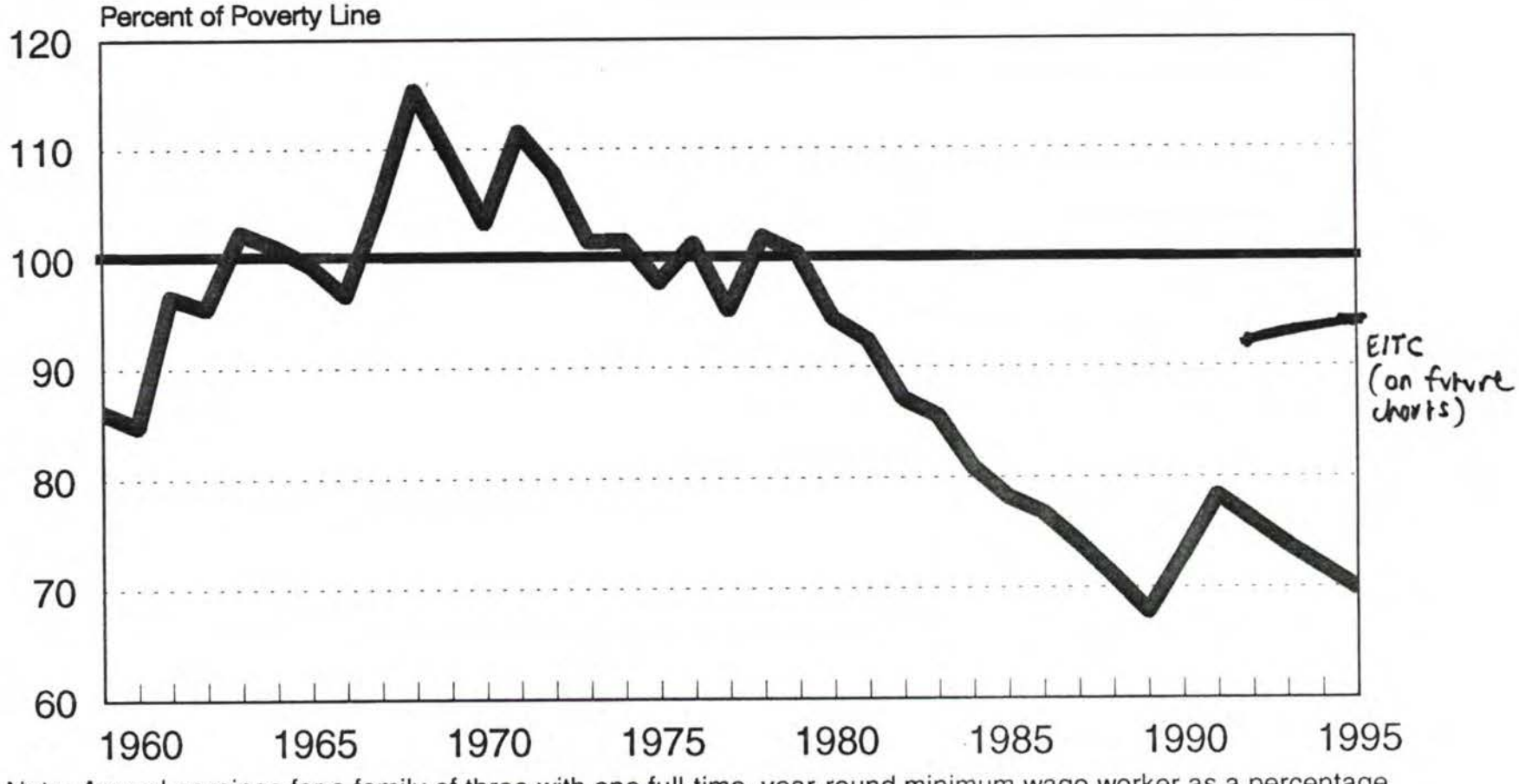
Percentage of Working Families in Poverty: 1975-1993



Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey. A working family is defined as one with children where someone in the household worked.

Minimum Wage Work No Longer Lifts Families Out of Poverty

Annual Earnings at the Minimum Wage as a Percentage of the Poverty Line: 1959-1995



Note: Annual earnings for a family of three with one full-time, year-round minimum wage worker as a percentage of the three-person poverty line. The three-person poverty line for 1994 and 1995 are from Congressional Budget Office projections.

1995 BETTER JOBS AND WAGES AGENDA

The Goal: We need to put working people first. Anyone willing to work hard and play by the rules should have a fair shot at the American dream.

The Problem:

o Since 1979, real household income has grown by $767 billion--about a $2,000 increase for the average household. But the average figure conceals the bigger story: About 97 percent of the income increase (adjusted for inflation and population growth) has gone to the top fifth of households. Everyone else--80 percent of American households--has shared just 3 percent of the growth.

o In the early decades following World War II, we grew together. Every income group, from the poorest one-fifth to the richest, essentially doubled its income. But today, we are growing apart. Between 1979 and 1993, the incomes of the bottom one-fifth fell by 17 percent (adjusted for inflation); the next one-fifth lost 8 percent; the middle fifth lost three percent; the next fifth gained five percent and the top fifth saw their earnings rise 18 percent.

o The problem is not that some of us are getting rich. The problem is that most of us are getting nowhere.

o We've cleaned up the economic mess we inherited, and created 5.6 million new jobs. But more jobs isn't enough. Americans need better jobs with higher pay if we are to rebuild our middle class.

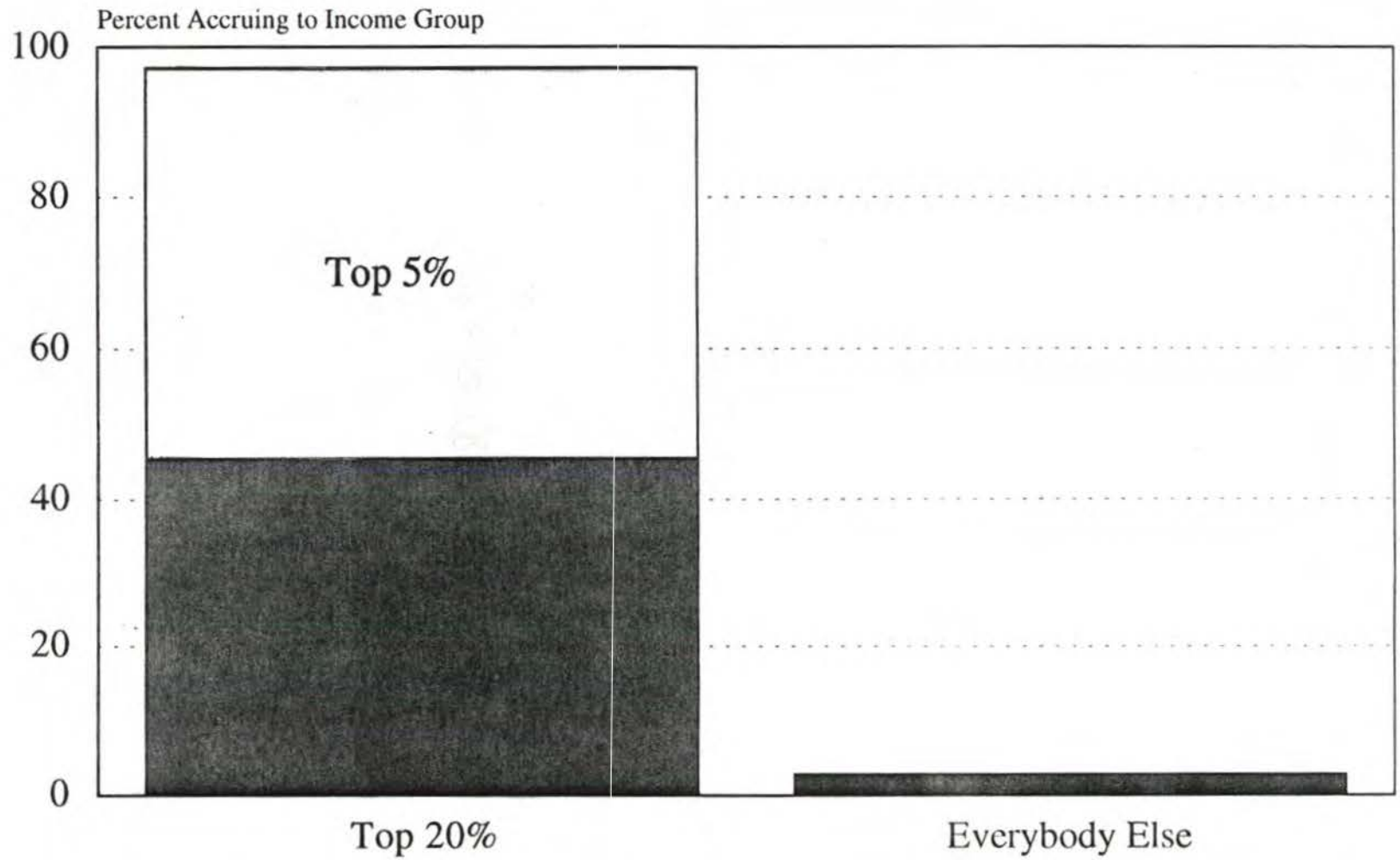
o It used to be that if you worked hard and played by the rules, you had a fair chance to get ahead. This was America's economic covenant.

o Technological transformation and global markets have rewritten the rules. Hard work isn't enough any more. You need education and skills.

o Restoring the covenant means preparing ordinary hard-working Americans to prosper under the new rules. This is our agenda for 1995 and beyond. Doing this--and doing it without increasing the deficit--is the goal of the Middle Class Bill of Rights.

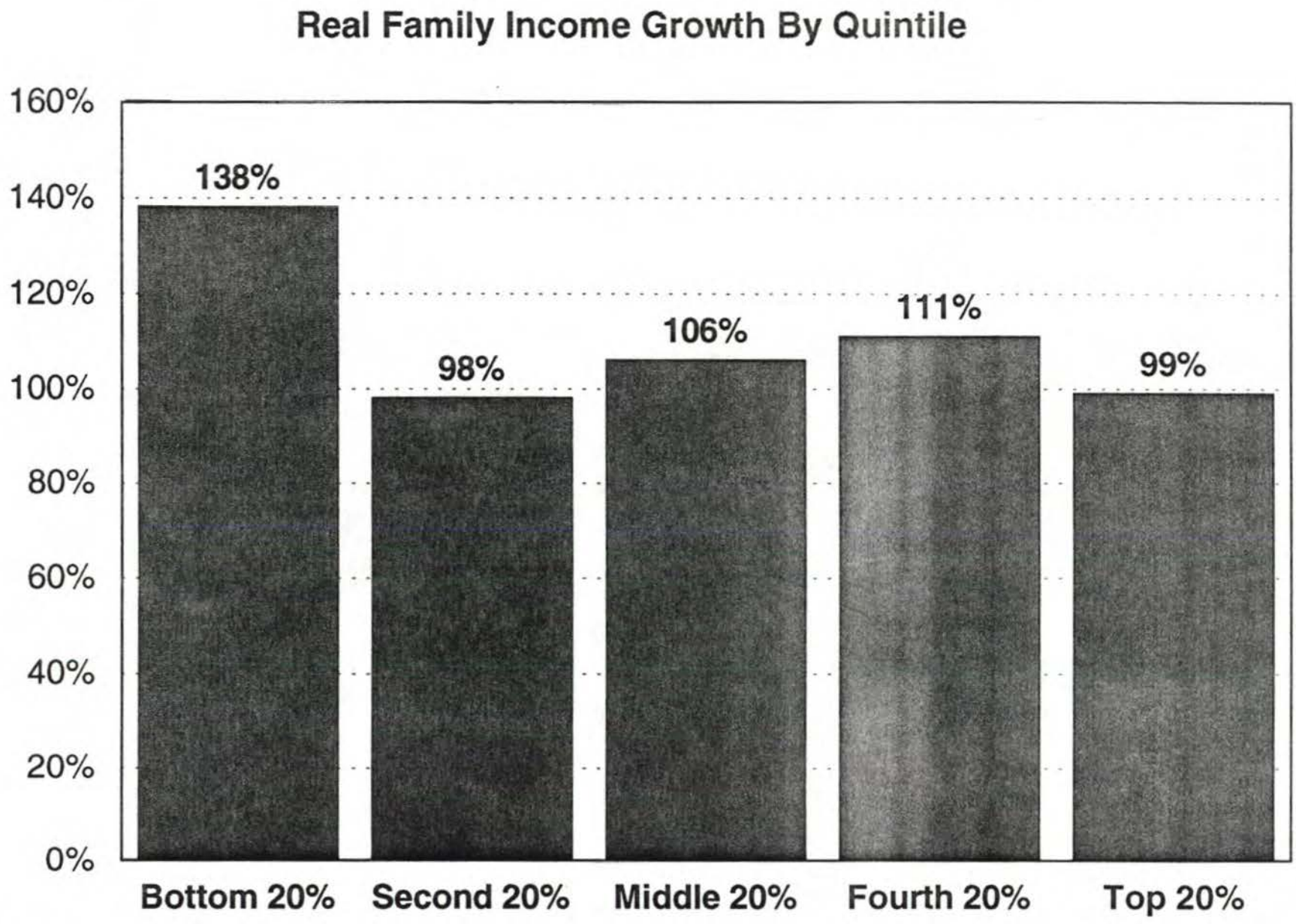
1979 to 1992 -- Who Got the Growth?

Shares of Average Household Income Growth



Source: Based on data from the Census Bureau, Current Population Survey. Household income is in constant 1992 dollars, and adjusted by CPI-U-X1, and population is normalized to a constant level.

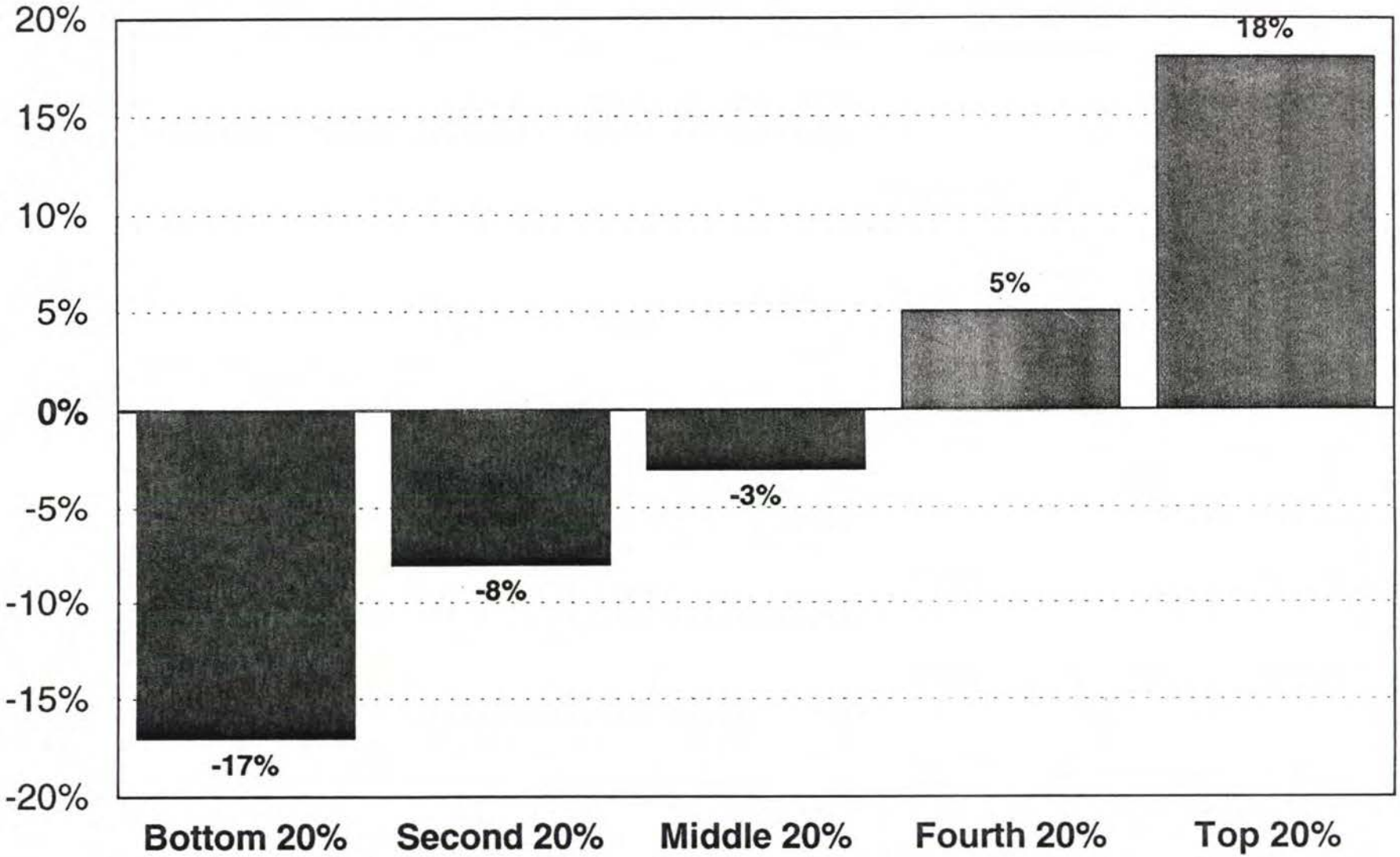
1950 to 1978 -- Growing Together



SOURCE: Census Bureau, DOL calculations. All data converted to 1993 dollars.

1979 to 1993 -- Growing Apart

Real Family Income Growth By Quintile



SOURCE: Census Bureau, DOL calculations. All data converted to 1993 dollars.

1995 BETTER JOBS AND WAGES AGENDA

Skills Matter More Today

o We're well on track for meeting or exceeding the President's pledge of 8 million new jobs. But our success on job quantity highlights the stakes of job quality. Working Americans need a fair shot at higher incomes.

o Increasingly, skills and education are the entry tickets to good jobs paying middle-class wages. The three-fourths of American workers without college degrees have suffered the sharpest drop in wages and benefits.

o Fifteen years ago, a male college graduate earned 39 percent more than a man with a high-school diploma. But by 1993 the average male college graduate was earning 80 percent more than his high-school counterpart. (The gap is just slightly narrower for women.)

o Health-care and pension coverage at work is low, and falling, for less-skilled workers. Better-educated workers get better benefits.

o The lower the level of education and skills, the higher a worker's risk of unemployment.

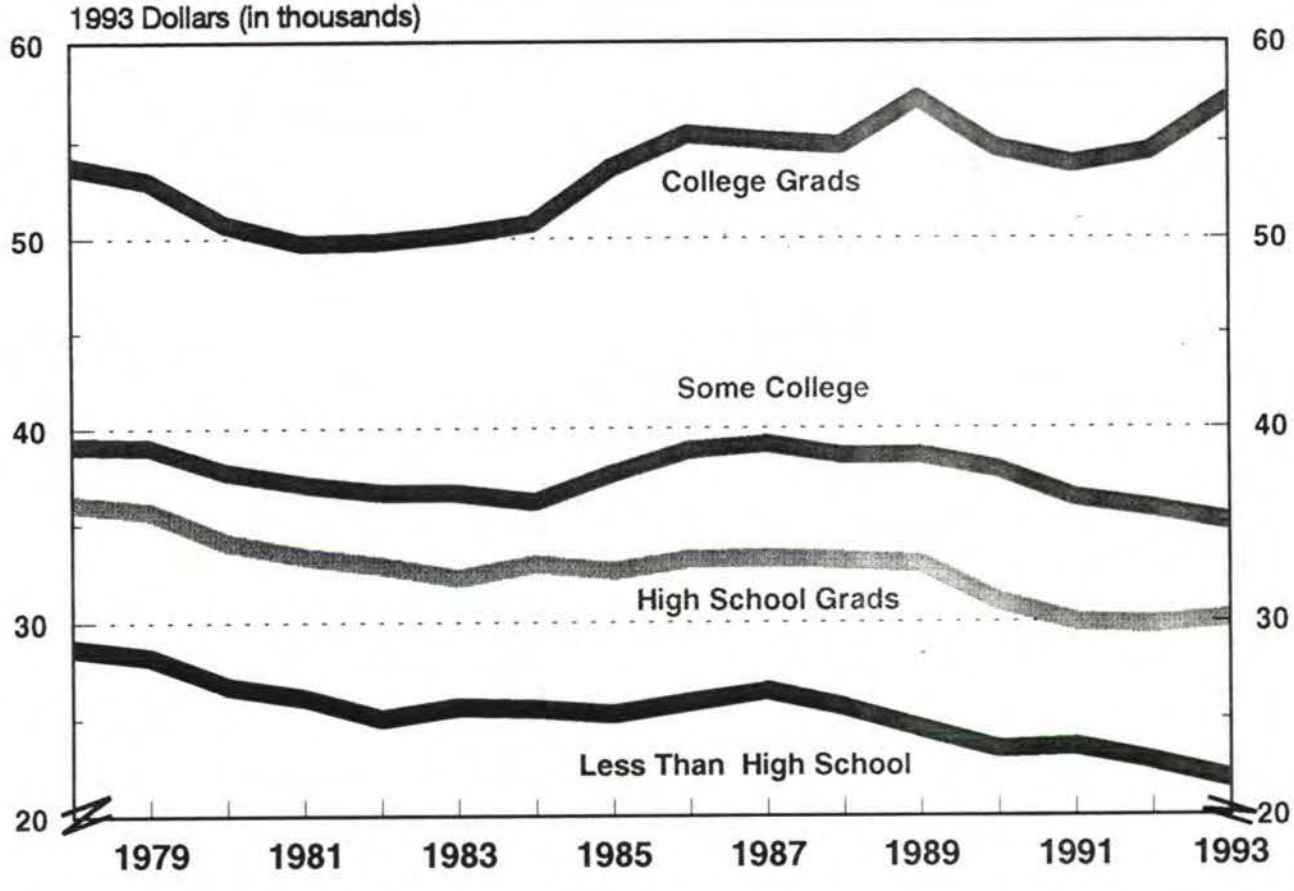
o The key to rebuilding the middle class is empowering ordinary workers with the education and skills they need to earn good livings in the new economy.

o A traditional four-year degree is not the only entry ticket to the middle class. Today's economy is creating new middle-class jobs requiring two years or less of technical training, usually available at community colleges. Some examples of new middle-class careers:

- **Nurse practitioners**
- **Desktop publishing specialists**
- **X-ray technicians**
- **Numerically-controlled machine tool operators**
- **Sales technicians**
- **Spreadsheet operators**
- **Automobile diagnostic technicians**
- **Physical and occupational therapists**

Skills Matter More: Earnings

Average Annual Earnings of Men by Educational Attainment



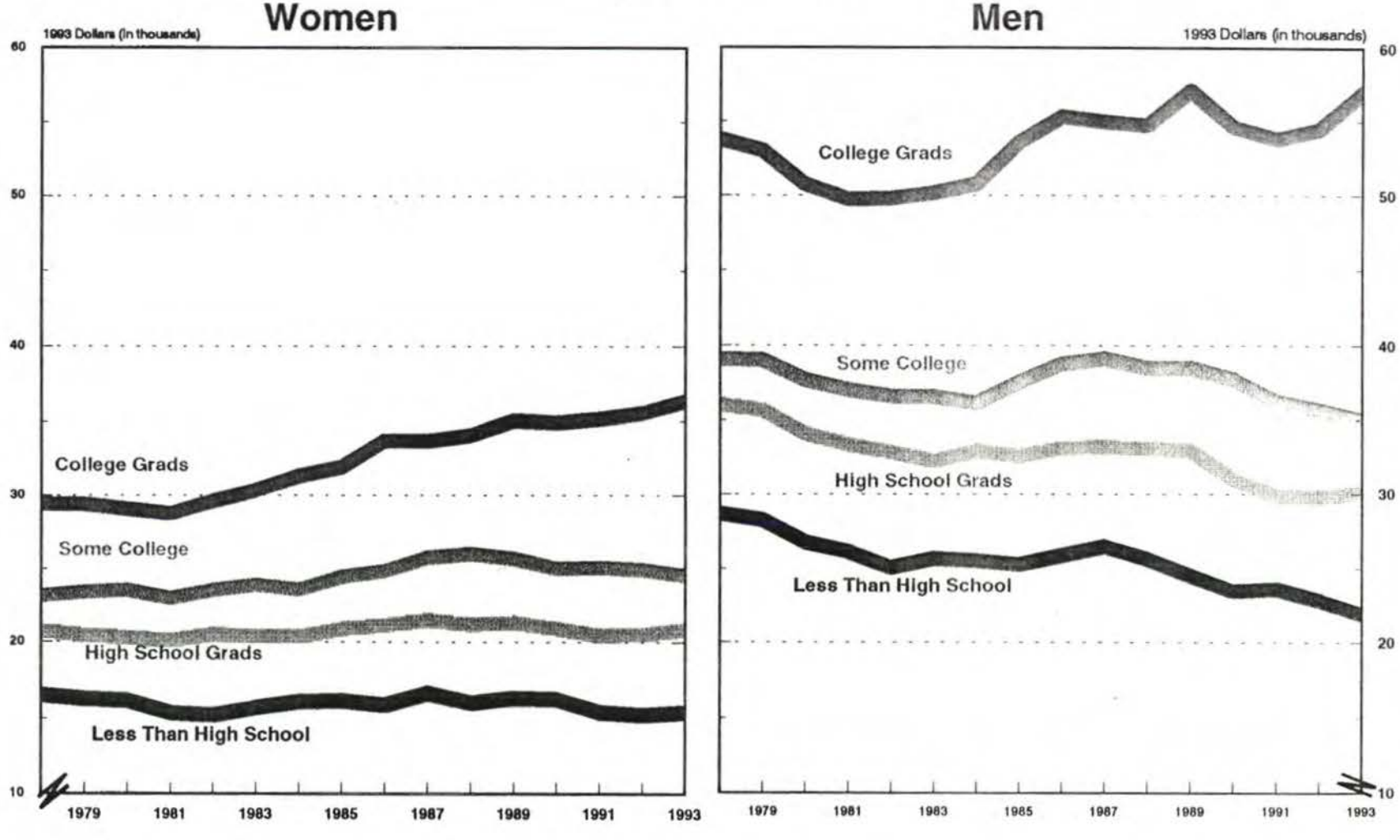
Note: Workers 25 years of age and older, working year round, full time. Data on educational attainment for 1991 through 1993 are not directly comparable to those from prior years. Numbers for 1993 used 1990 population weights, whereas data for other years used 1980 population weights.

Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey

Prepared By: OASP 1/18/95

Skills Matter More: By Gender

Average Annual Earnings by Educational Attainment
1979 - 1993



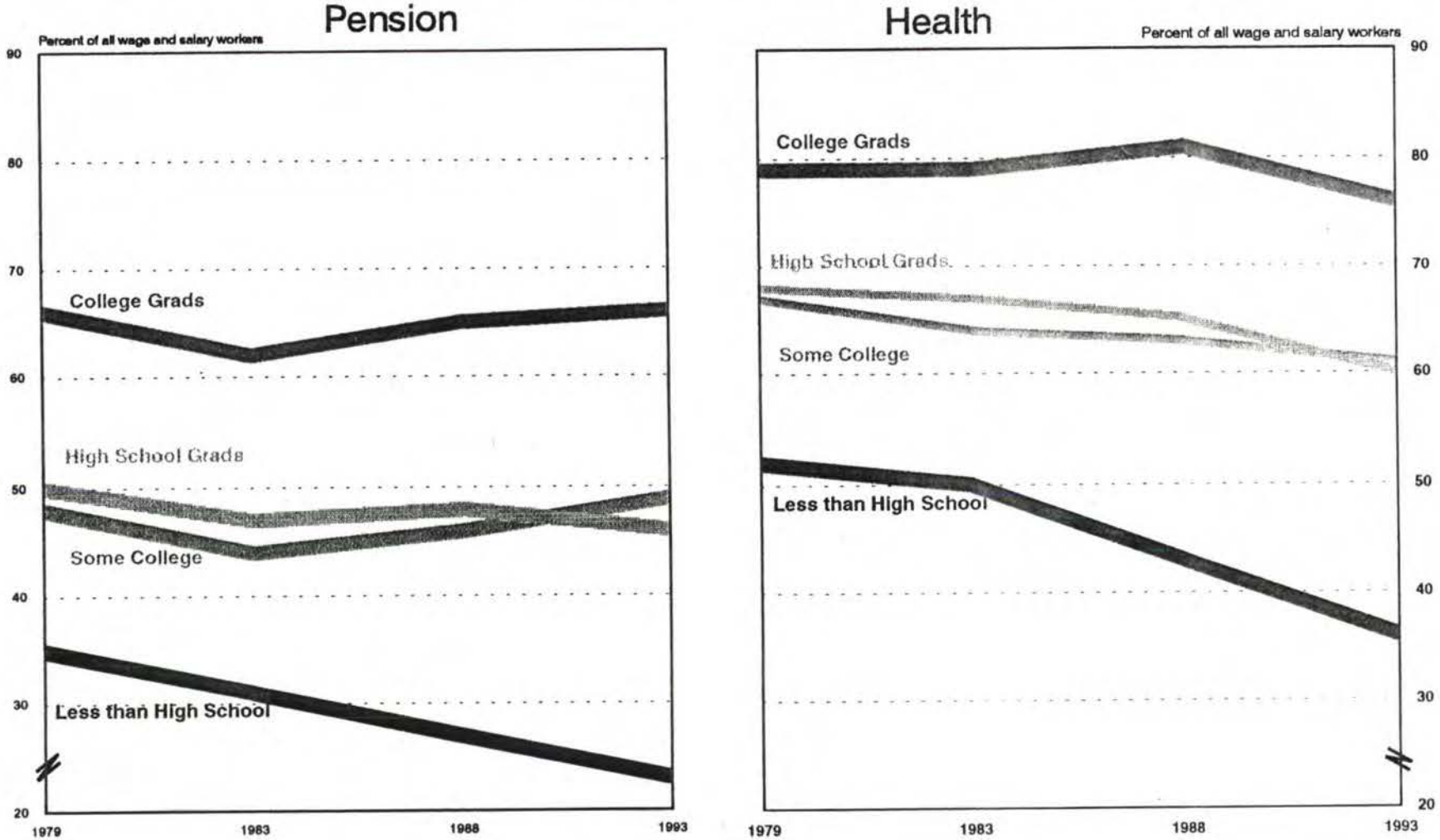
Note: Workers 25 years of age and older, working year round, full time. Data on educational attainment for 1991 through 1993 are not directly comparable to those from prior years. Numbers for 1993 used 1990 population weights, whereas data for other years used 1980 population weights.

Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey

Prepared by: OASP 1/18/95

Skills Matter More: Benefits

Employer-Sponsored Benefits by Educational Attainment, 1979 - 1993

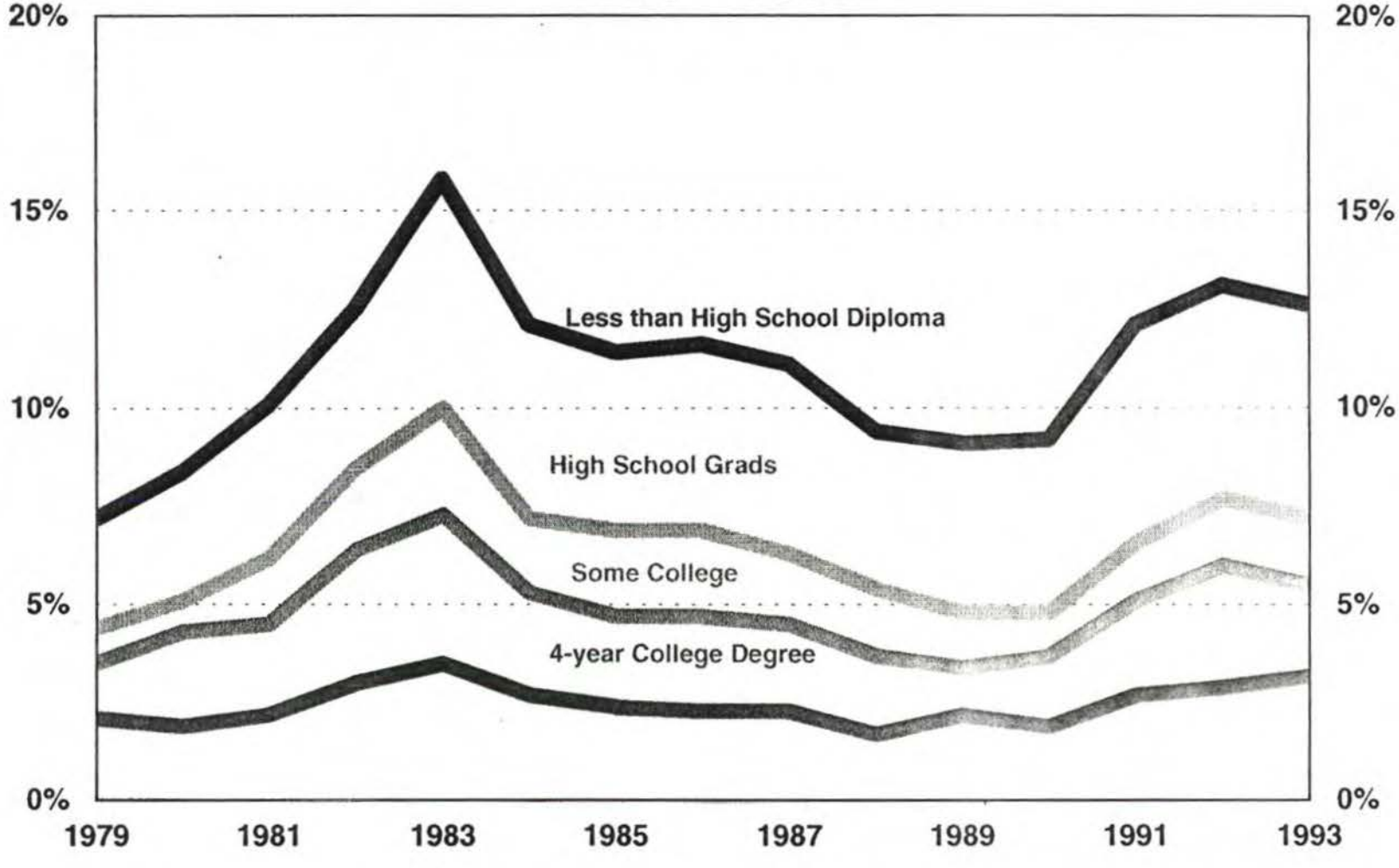


Source: Current Population Survey

Prepared by: OASP 1/18/95

Skills Matter More: Risk of Joblessness

Unemployment Rates by Educational Attainment
1979 - 1993



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Prepared by: OASP 1/18/95

Tax Reform to Favor Skill-Building

o Current tax policy fails to fully reflect the importance of education and training as investments.

o The President has proposed to fix this. Under his proposal, Americans could deduct from their taxable income the money they spend on post-secondary education for themselves or their families. Up to $5,000 of education spending per year will be deductible starting in 1996, rising to $10,000 in 1999.

o Taxpayers would not have to itemize their deductions to get the education and training deduction. And education expenses would not be subject to the 2-percent "floor" on miscellaneous deductions.

o To focus the tax cut on the middle class, deductibility would be phased out over the income range of $100,000 to $120,000 for a couple filing jointly, and between $70,000 and $90,000 for individuals.

o The President has also called for letting more Americans make tax-favored contributions to Individual Retirement Accounts, and letting them use their IRA's to finance education and training.

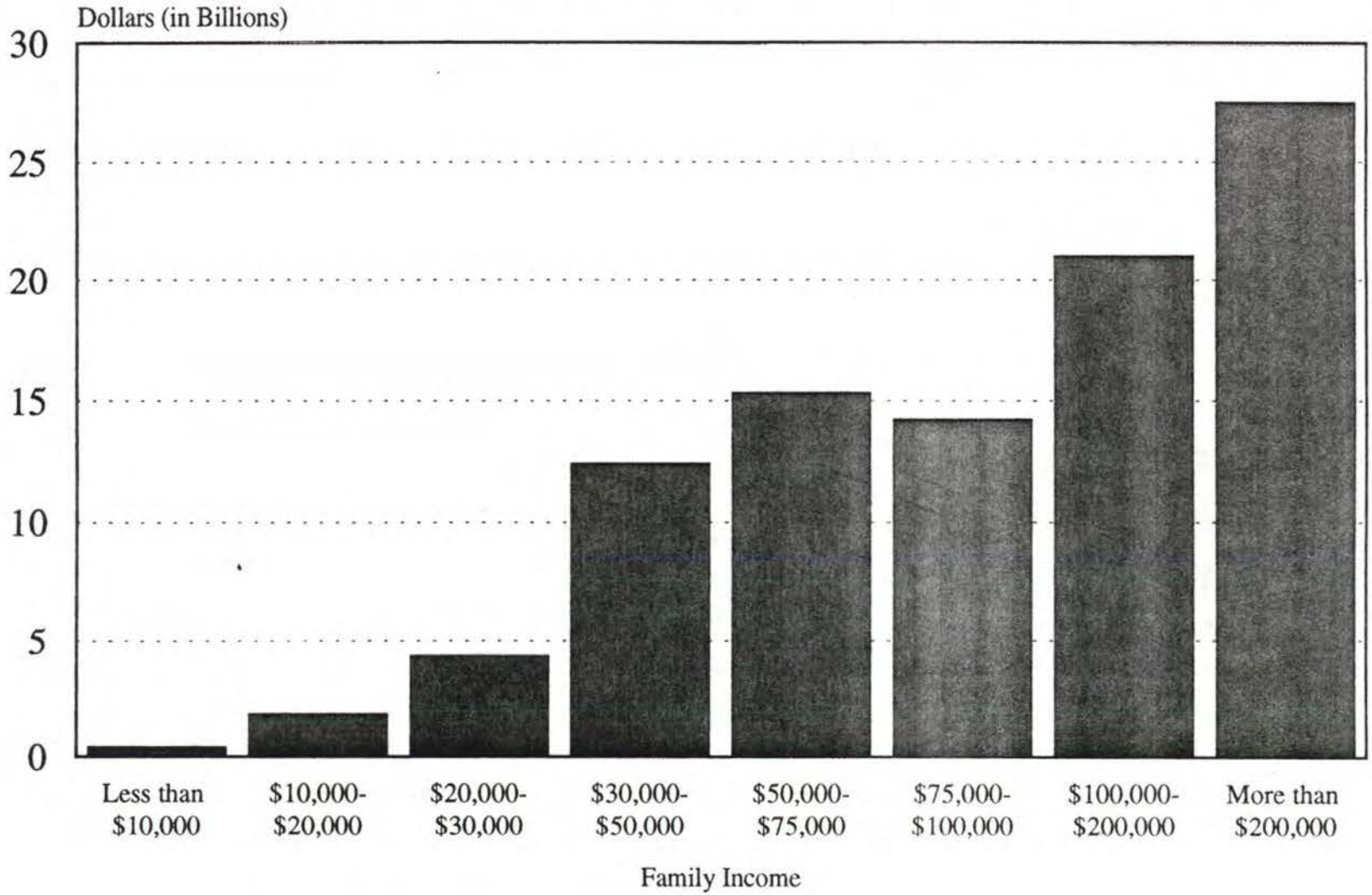
o Competition among America's thousands of learning institutions would block attempts by schools to capture all the benefits of the tax break by raising tuition.

o Paying for school is a potent kitchen-table issue. A December poll, following the President's Middle Class Bill of Rights Proposal, found that 84 percent supported tuition tax deductibility, compared with 78 percent favoring a $500 per child tax credit and 56 percent favoring capital gains tax cuts.

o The Republicans want more tax breaks for corporations, and for people who are already wealthy. We say no more corporate welfare. Instead, we want the tax code to empower hard-working people to make it in America.

Who Gains from the Republican Contract?

Annual Benefits from the Contract's Package of Individual and Corporate Tax Cuts



Source: Office of Tax Analysis, Department of Treasury. Preliminary data.

Education and Training: From Programs to Purchasing Power

o Beyond tax breaks to favor education and training, the Middle Class Bill of Rights also calls for a fundamental reform of federal training programs, oriented around Skill Grants. Seven core principles together define a radical restructuring of employment and training policy:

o *Individual Empowerment.* Instead of going where some bureaucracy sends them, individuals should be empowered with resources so they can choose for themselves what skills they need to boost their earning power.

- **Unemployed and low-income workers, who often can't benefit from the tuition tax deductions President Clinton has proposed, can get Skill Grants worth up to $2,620 per year, for up to two years, that they can use as they choose for learning new skills.**

- **Both tuition tax breaks and Skill Grants will be supplemented by Individual Education Accounts. These low-cost loans will be available to any person, with flexible repayment options, to enable every American to invest in their skills and repay at the pace their future income allows.**

o *Leaner Government.* The proposal included in the Middle Class Bill of Rights would eliminate over 50 separate programs, replacing them with an integrated system that minimizes red tape and maximizes individual choice.

o *Good Data to Guide Choices.* A skill-building system rooted in individual choice requires good data to inform decisions about what skills to get and where to learn them. Reforms woven throughout the initiative--and centered on the networks of One-Stop Career Centers already under construction in the States--will give workers and job seekers access to reliable information on jobs, careers, and the success records of training institutions, so that they can make good choices to improve their futures.

o ***Accountability.*** **Too often today, training providers aren't held accountable for results. The reform package will fix this by emphasizing individual choice and competition so that individuals can pick providers who deliver; by providing good performance data so people know what training pays off; and by setting quality standards for training providers to cut off the frauds and the incompetents.**

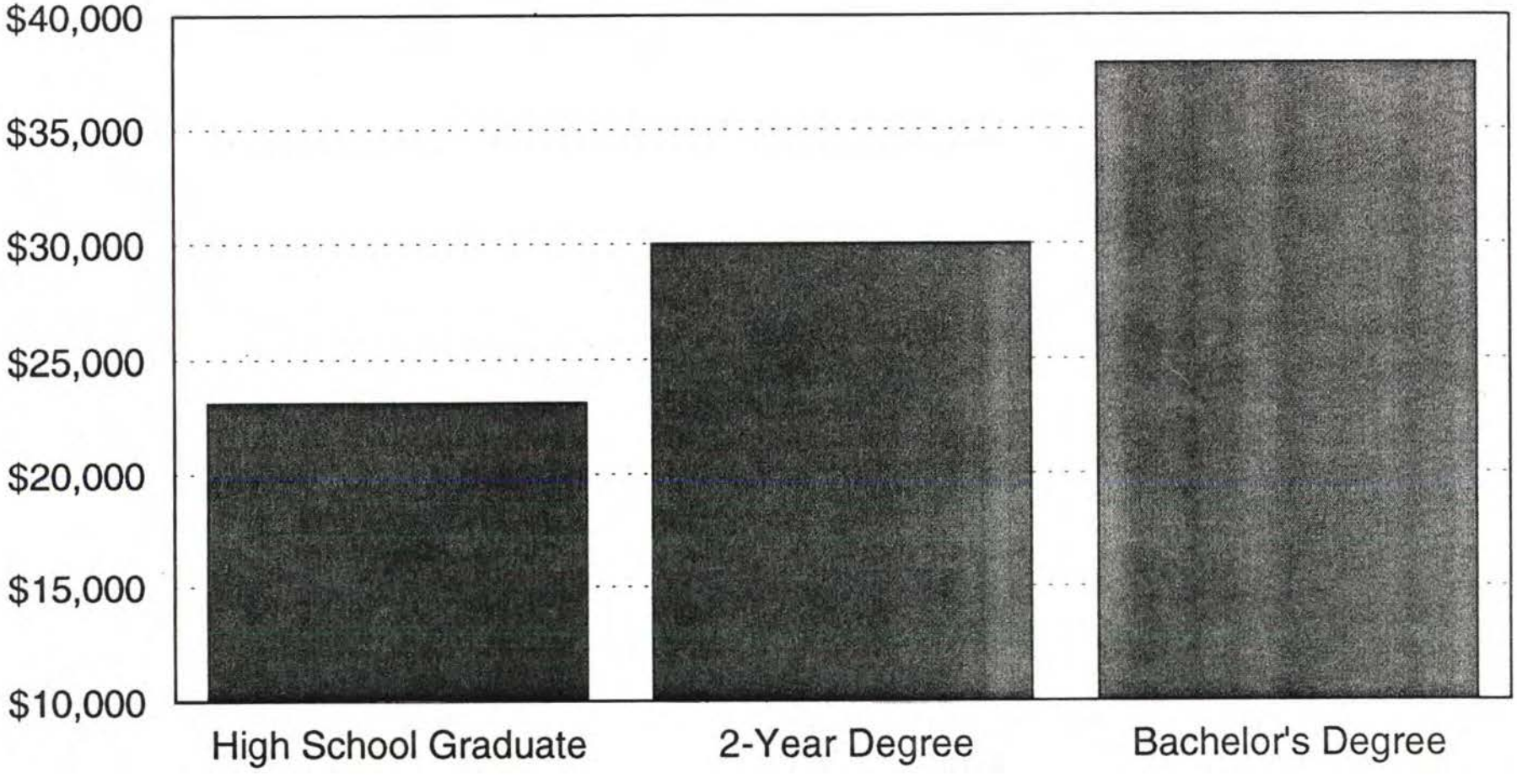
o ***State Flexibility.*** **Washington doesn't have all the answers. States should have the flexibility to reflect local conditions and respect local priorities. The President proposes to give states the freedom to tailor training programs and delivery systems as they see fit. Most federal rules dictating administrative procedures will be wiped out. States can get waivers from most of the rules that remain, and will be able to plow the savings back into individual training.**

o ***Private-Sector Partnership.*** **At base, employment and training policy isn't about government. It's about jobs, and that means the private sector has a central role. Business and labor will be full partners in designing and running training, job-search, and information services. New awards will recognize excellence in creating workplaces that expand opportunity by capitalizing on and rewarding worker skills.**

o ***Paths from School to Work.*** **Preparing America's youth for the world of work, including disadvantaged youth, is a vital task that is too often done badly today. To fix this, employment and training programs for young people, including vocational education, will be folded into the school-to-work movement already underway in every State. The youth component of this reform initiative represents a major extension of the system building and consolidation unleashed by the School to Work Opportunities Act of 1994--including a school-to-work "second chance" to replace most existing youth employment and training programs.**

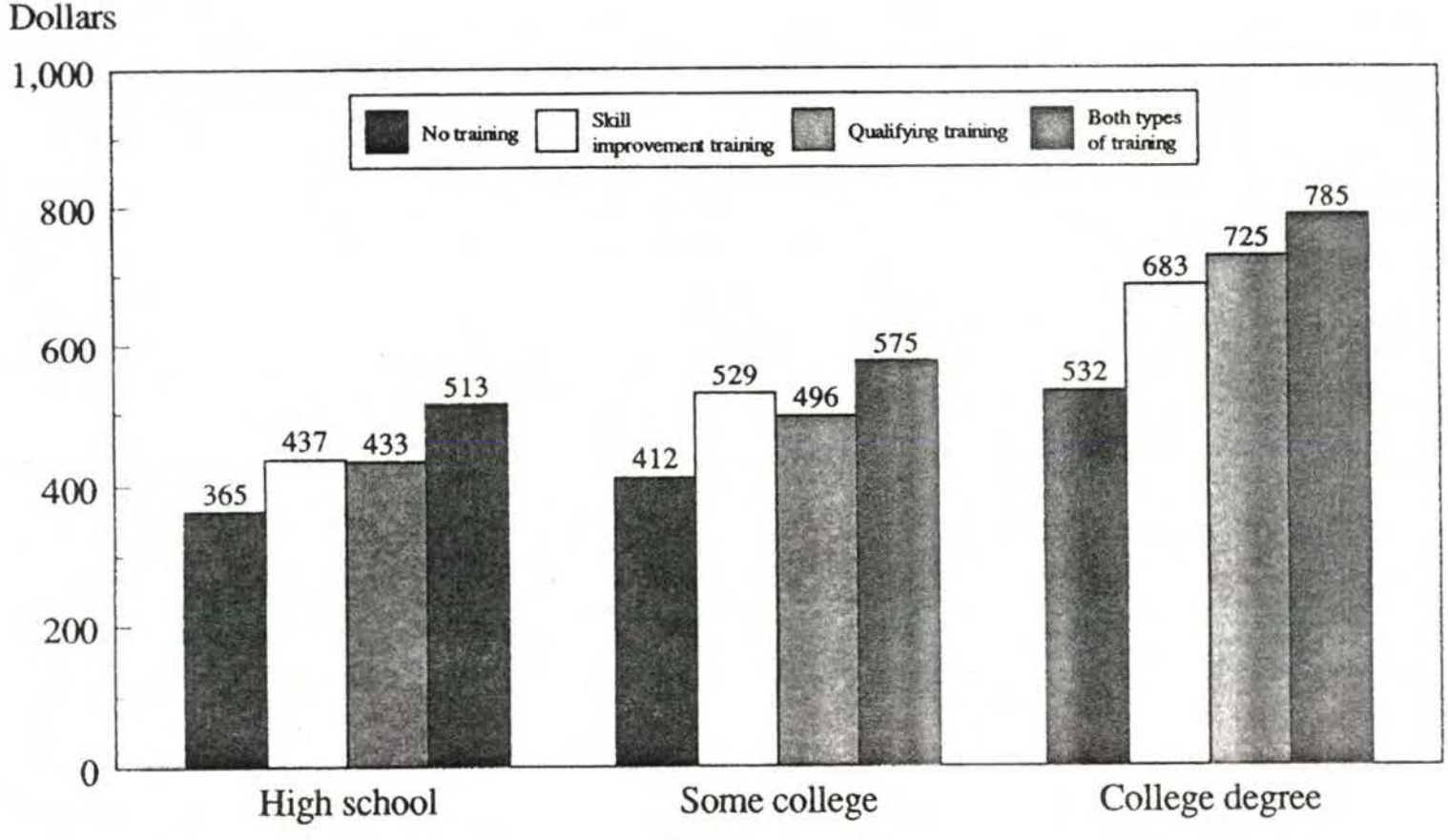
More Education, Higher Earnings

Median Earnings of Male Workers in 1993



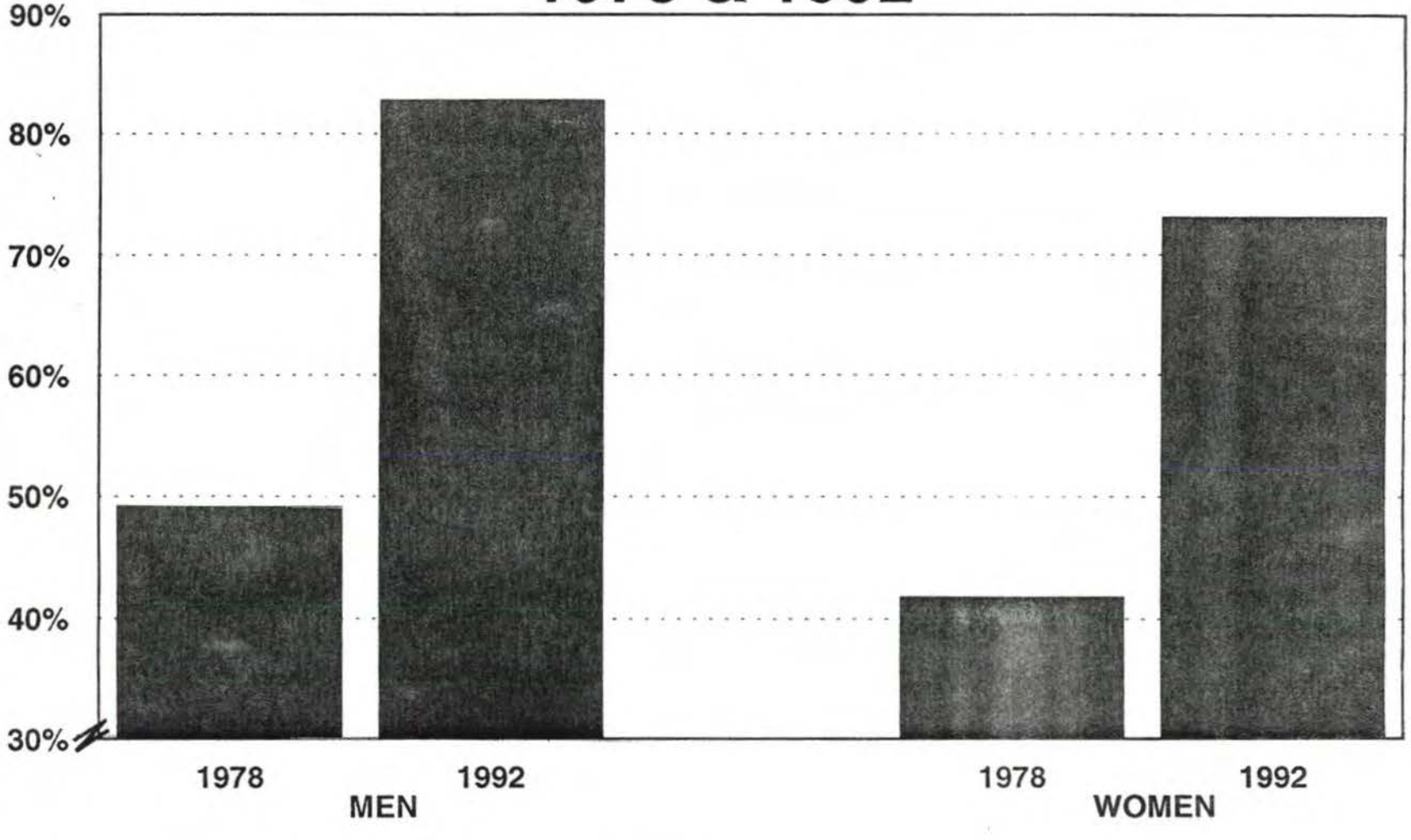
SOURCE: Census Bureau, median earnings of males 25 years and older.

Average weekly earnings of full-time workers by educational attainment and training received, 1991



Source: Current Population Survey

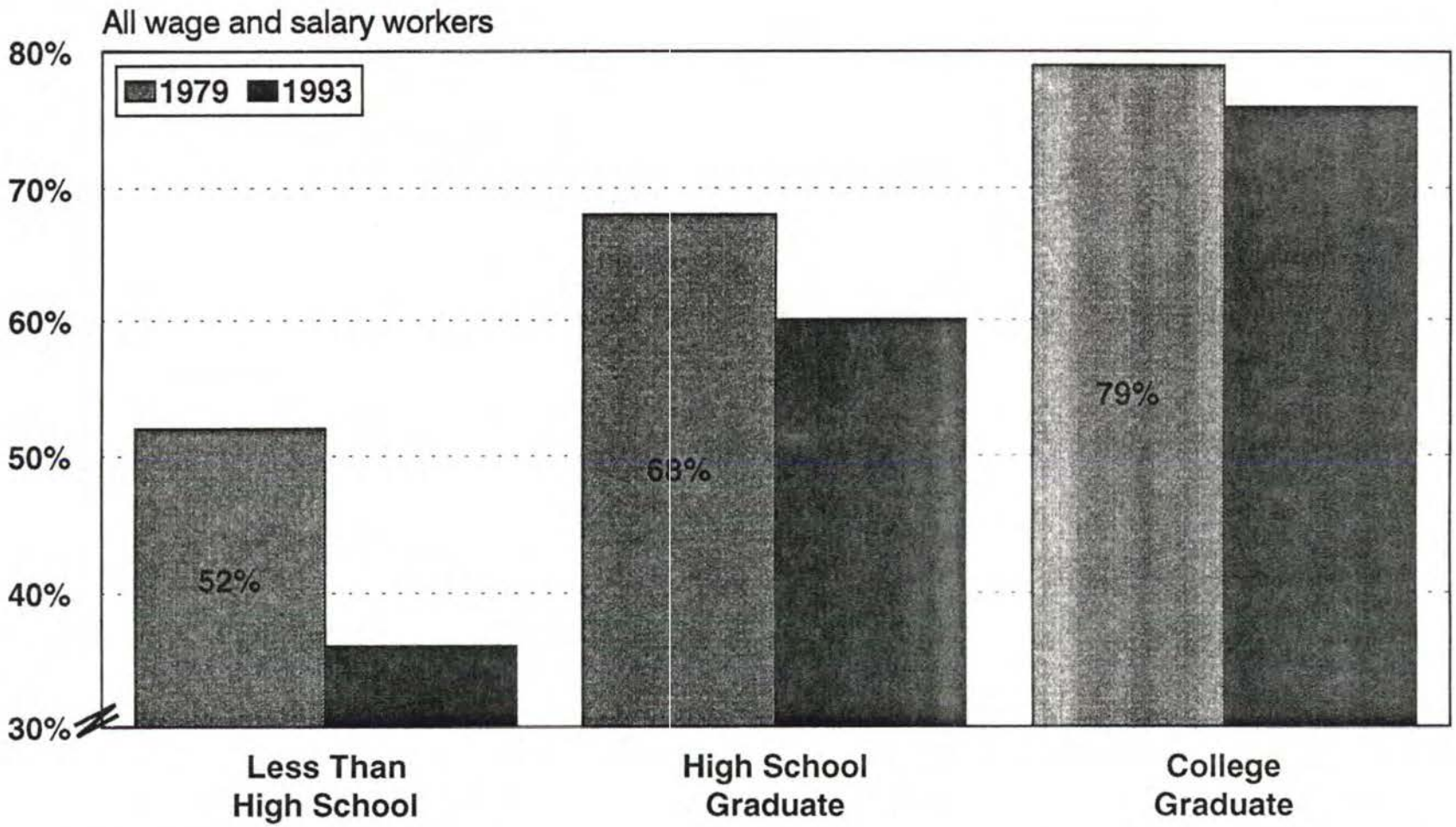
Difference in Average Annual Income College Graduates vs High School Graduates, 1978 & 1992



Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey

Prepared by: OASP 9/14/94

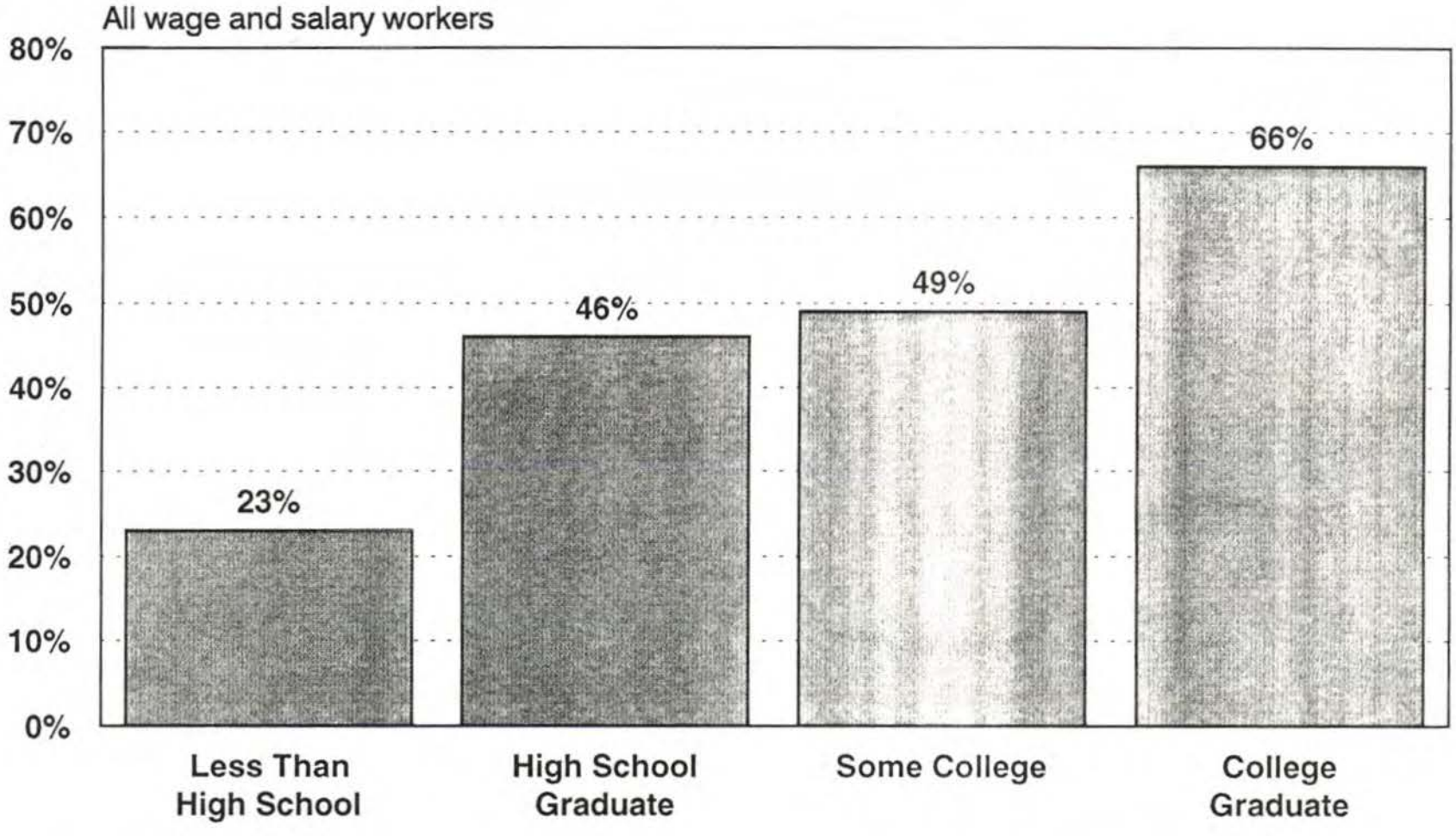
Health Plans Sponsored by Employers
Coverage Rates, 1979 vs 1993



Source: Current Population Survey

Prepared by: OASP 9/14/94

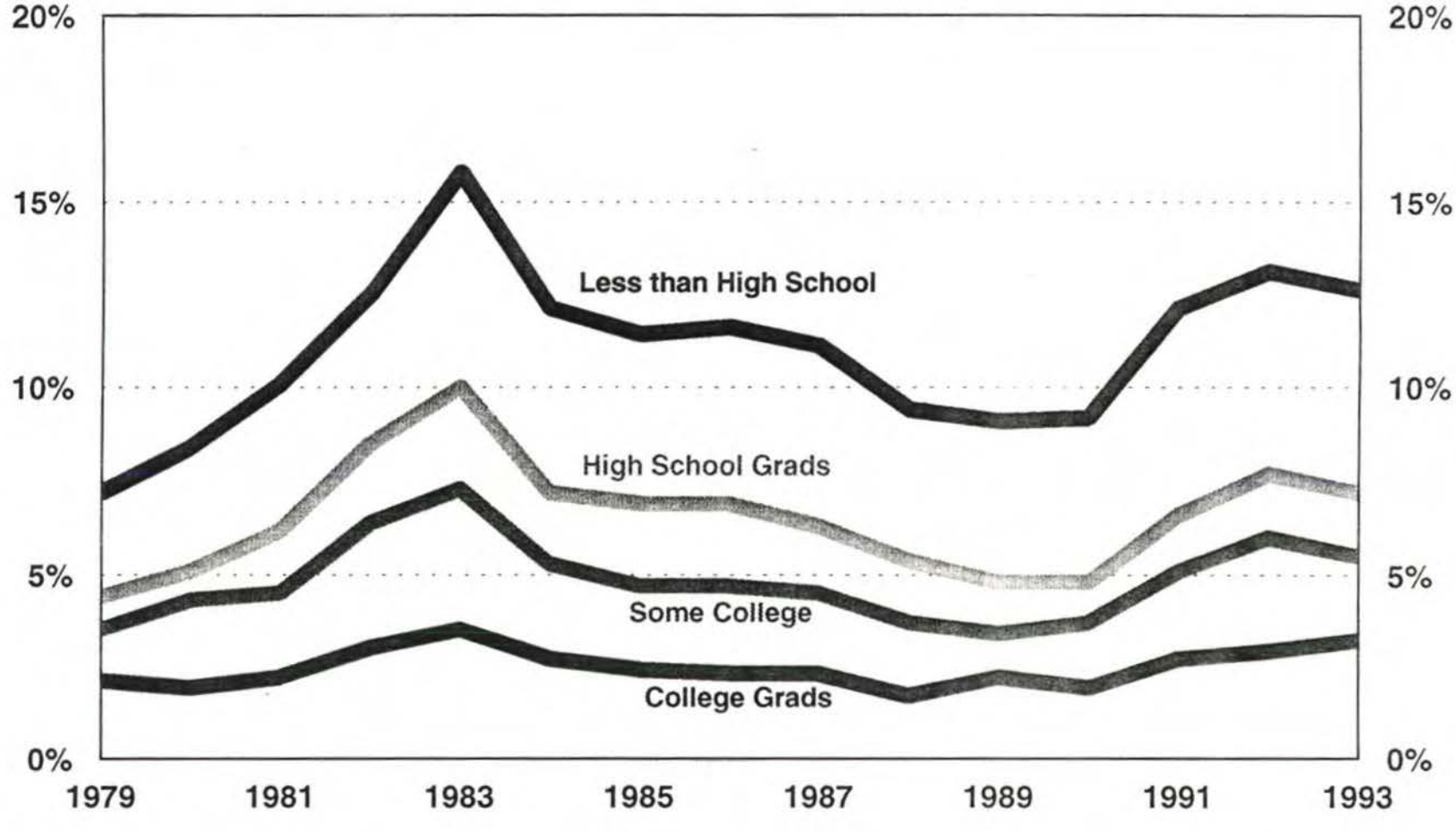
Pension Plans Sponsored by Employers
Coverage Rates, 1993



Source: Current Population Survey

Prepared by: OASP 9/14/94

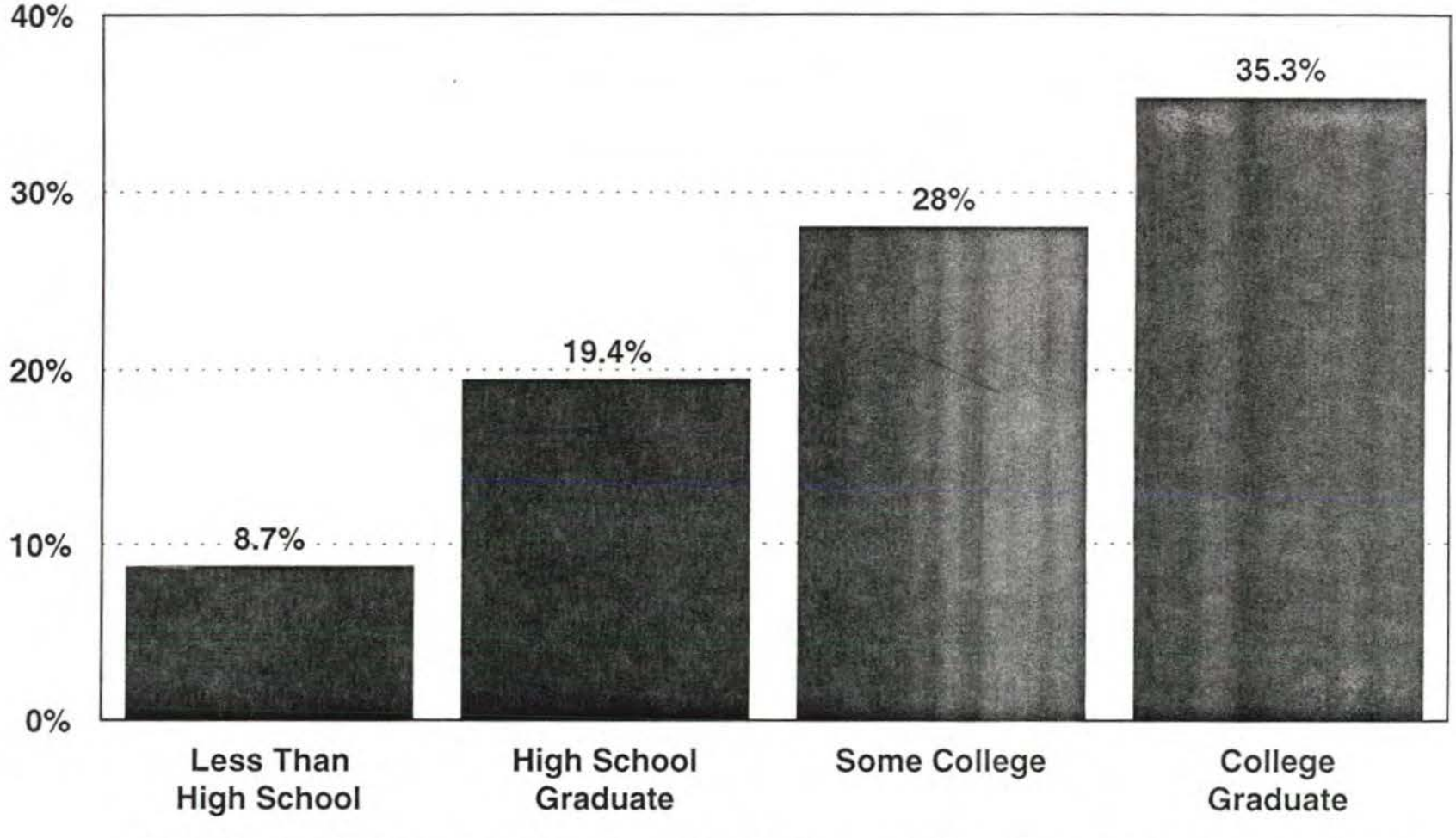
Unemployment Rates by Educational Attainment
1979 - 1993



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Prepared by: OASP 9/14/94

Young Workers Receiving Formal Company Training



Note: Chart depicts workers aged 21-29 in 1986 who received training between 1986 and 1991.

Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth

Prepared by: OASP 9/14/94

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REMARKS OF

AMBASSADOR MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

U.S. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

INTRODUCING FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

MARCH 14, 1995

THANK YOU, BILL VANDEN HEUVEL. I AM DELIGHTED TO BE HERE. THIS IS A TERRIFIC CONFERENCE, ON A TIMELY TOPIC, HONORING ONE OF THE GREAT FIRST LADIES IN AMERICAN HISTORY, AND MADE MEMORABLE BY THE PRESENCE OF ANOTHER--THE WOMAN I AM ABOUT TO INTRODUCE.

IT IS TEMPTING TO COMPARE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON TO ELEANOR ROOSEVELT. MANY OF THE SAME ADJECTIVES APPLY--SMART, CARING, COURAGEOUS, CONTROVERSIAL, INSPIRATIONAL.

BUT AS MRS. ROOSEVELT SAID ONCE:

"YOU CAN NEVER REALLY LIVE ANYONE ELSE'S LIFE...THE INFLUENCE YOU EXERT IS THROUGH YOUR OWN LIFE AND WHAT YOU BECOME YOURSELF."

ANYONE WHO KNOWS HILLARY CLINTON KNOWS THAT SHE MAKES NO GREAT CLAIMS FOR HERSELF. HER MIND IS NOT ON HISTORY, BUT ON

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE. SHE LIVES IN A WORLD THAT CONSPIRES DAILY TO DRIVE HER FROM HERSELF, TO FIT SOMEONE ELSE'S IMAGE OF HER PERSONALITY AND ROLE--BUT SHE HAS STAYED TRUE AND REMAINS A SOURCE OF LIGHT, NOT A REFLECTION OF IT.

BECAUSE SHE IS A PERSON OF PRINCIPLE, HILLARY CLINTON IS SOMETIMES OPPOSED; ALTHOUGH IN MY VIEW, SHE OFFENDS ONLY THE OFFENSIVE; BUT IN THE WORDS OF ROBERT KENNEDY: "IF THERE'S NO ONE IN YOUR WAY, IT'S ONLY BECAUSE YOU'RE NOT GOING ANYWHERE."

A LIFE OF SILENCE AND SUPERFICIALITY IS SIMPLE; A LIFE OF ACTION AND COMMITMENT IS HARD; HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON HAS CHOSEN TO DO, RATHER THAN SIMPLY TO BE. SHE IS A FIGHTER, A TEACHER AND A FRIEND.

A GIRL GROWING UP ALMOST ANYWHERE AROUND THE WORLD MIGHT ASK: SHOULD I LOOK TO SOCIETY FOR INSTRUCTION, OR SHOULD I INSIST THAT THE AUTHOR OF MY LIFE BE ME. HILLARY CLINTON IS

DEMONSTRATING THROUGH HER LEADERSHIP, DIGNITY AND UNYIELDING COMMITMENT TO EQUAL RIGHTS THAT IF WOMEN DO NOT ACCEPT LIMITS ABOUT WHAT EACH OF US ALONE MAY DO; THERE ARE NO LIMITS TO WHAT WE TOGETHER THAN DO.

I AM PLEASED AND PROUD TO INTRODUCE TO YOU THE FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES.

P.S. We haven't asked for your help before—while we have been helping save Seniors thousands of dollars—because you weren't quite close enough to retirement. But now that that time is approaching, all we ask is that you participate in our National Retirement Security Poll and, if you possibly can, make a modest investment of $10 and join the National Committee today. Please help us help you preserve and protect the thousands of dollars you have been paying into the system every year. It could easily be one of the wisest investments you ever make.

P.P.S. If yours is among the first 50 responses received from your state, you will receive a free portable calculator similar to the one pictured on the flap of the enclosed reply envelope.

Before deciding whether or not to make a contribution to our work today, please think long and hard about the thousands of dollars you have been paying into the system throughout your working life. That's your money, every penny of it. Please help make sure you get what's coming to you by making a generous contribution to our work on your behalf today. Thank you for reading my letter.

NATIONAL RETIREMENT SECURITY POLL

(Commissioned by the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare)

1. Before receiving this package today, were you aware of the total amount you have been contributing to Social Security and Medicare every year? ☐ Yes. ☐ No.

2. If you answered "No" above, were you surprised at the size of the amount you have been putting into the system? ☐ Yes. ☐ No.

3. Do you expect Social Security benefits to provide a significant portion of your retirement income? ☐ Yes. ☐ No.

4. What percentage of your retirement income do you expect to be provided for by Social Security benefits? ☐ Less than 25%; ☐ Between 25% and 50%; ☐ Between 50% and 75%; and ☐ Between 75% and 100%.

5. Would you be able to maintain the retirement standard of living you're planning on if Congress cut Social Security and Medicare benefits by 20% ☐ Yes. ☐ No. ☐ Don't Know.

6. Would your expected retirement standard of living be eroded if Congress increased the level at which the benefits you have already earned are taxed? ☐ Yes. ☐ No. ☐ Don't Know.

7. Would your other insurance and savings be sufficient to cover any hospital costs you may expect to incur during retirement if Congress severely reduces the amounts currently paid under Medicare part A? ☐ Yes. ☐ No. ☐ Don't Know.

8. Would your retirement income be sufficient to pay for all the outpatient costs now covered by Medicare Part B for the low monthly premium of $46.10 that is currently in force? ☐ Yes. ☐ No. ☐ Don't Know.

9. How soon do you plan to retire? ☐ Within 1 year. ☐ Within 3 years. ☐ Within 5 years. ☐ Within 10 years.

10. Before receiving this package today, were you aware that the National Committee's work has saved Seniors thousands of dollars in full retirement benefits, such as the $4,521.000 you learned about in the letter? ☐ Yes. ☐ No.

11. Are you willing to become a Member of the National Committee to help us continue to use the political process to protect and defend your retirement benefits in the future? ☐ Yes. ☐ No.

CONTRIBUTION REPLY FORM

DEAR MRS. MCSTEEN: ☐ Yes, I've worked very had and expect to have Social Security and Medicare benefits when I retire. I'm counting on these benefits and that's why I want to become a Member of the National Committee, to join the fight to protect my retirement benefits through the political process in Washington.

My check for just $10 is enclosed. Please enroll me immediately for all the benefits you told me about in your letter. I understand that I may cancel my Membership any time I am dissatisfied for a full refund of my $10.

Please make your check payable to NCPSSM (or National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare). (Dues include $3.00 for annual subscription to Secure Retirement magazine.)

Contributions or gifts to the National Committee are not tax-deductible.

NYU SCHOOL OF LAW'S TRIBUTES TO FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the 1995 Annual Survey of American Law, published by the New York University School of Law, is dedicated to First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and contains a series of tributes that emphasize her remarkable ability, leadership, and contributions to public service throughout her career.

I believe that the tributes will be of interest to all of us in Congress who have worked with Mrs. Clinton and to millions of others throughout the country who admire her service to the Nation. She is a powerful voice for justice and opportunity, and I ask unanimous consent that the tributes may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the tributes were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Tributes to First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, 1995 Annual Survey of American Law, New York University School of Law]

DEDICATION TO HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

(Introductory remarks on behalf of the *Annual Survey* Board of Editors at the Hillary Rodham Clinton Dedication Ceremony, April 25, 1995, by Lauren Aguiar, Managing Editor, 1994–95)

I don't have the advantage of the previous speakers, all of whom possess a unique and personal vantage point on Hillary Rodham Clinton. Yet even though I don't know her, it still seems possible somehow to speak about her with equal passion and conviction. When someone like Hillary Rodham Clinton is the object of praise, someone who is so much a part of our national consciousness and culture, it is easy to pay tribute.

In explaining what prompted the Editors of *Annual Survey* to invite Hillary Rodham Clinton to be our Dedicatee, I'd like to share with you a book which I read several years ago by anthropologist Mary Catherine Bateson, the daughter of Margaret Mead. The book, entitled *Composing A Life*, explores the act of creation that engages us all—the composition of our own lives. Through the comparative biographies of five women, Bateson develops a novel theory about how to assess and value contemporary living.

The author invites us to view life as an improvisational art form: that transitions, diverse priorities, and challenges are not merely a part of our lives, but should be seen as a source of wisdom and empowerment. The book explains how, in modern times, it is no longer possible to follow the paths of previous generations. Our energies are often not narrowly focused on achieving a single goal, but are more divided needing to be continually rebalanced and redefined.

I refer to this book, and Bateson's theory to illustrate the strength and diversity of Hillary Rodham Clinton's life. The Editors selected her as this year's Dedicatee because she serves as an example of the successful composition of a life, and as a role-model for those who will encounter the complexities of modern-day living.

When faced with needing to divide her energies—between family, work, and public service—Hillary Rodham Clinton has inevitably achieved an artful balance. She has managed priorities and combined her multiple commitments.

Because we live in a society which is often recalcitrant to accept change, people are frequently admonished for innovation and self-reformation. In our estimation, though, this flexibility demonstrates strength of character and wisdom. Hillary Rodham Clinton has adjusted quickly, finding ways to affirm herself and her skills in new environments.

In order to advance her convictions, she has remained flexible in the complex world of politics and the law, while holding firm in her fundamental resolve. Certain that her values and her choices are important, she has adhered to the goals of improving education for children, establishing legal services for the poor, creating opportunities for women, and providing health care for all.

Rather than pursuing a route already defined and established, she has practiced stepping off the expected road and cutting herself a new path. By redefining traditional notions of women and their place in this world, Hillary Rodham Clinton has neither played it safe, nor lived a life free of risk. In doing so, she has emerged not only successful and productive, but as an essential figure in the unabating struggle for equality.

Although Hillary Rodham Clinton's accomplishments and choices may be particularly encouraging and motivational for women, they are equally applicable to all people. Each of us has something to learn from how she has composed her life; she upholds her values and pursues her aspirations in a way which serves as an inspiration to us all.

In many ways, law school teaches us to play it safe, to make calculated and planned decisions about our lives and to execute that plan. The model for an ordinary, successful life offered to us is one of a single rising trajectory, and of focused ambition that follows a predetermined track. After graduating from law school, we are expected to take a job that symbolizes the first step on a sole, ascending ladder. In this day and age, though, I am not convinced that these assumptions will be, or should be, valid for many of us. As our lives unfold, we need a new and fluid way to imagine the future, and looking to the life of Hillary Rodham Clinton helps us to gain this insight.

From her example, we can draw an appreciation of a lawyer who has not been afraid to change or explore new prospects. She has worn many professional labels, always proceeding to new situations with graceful transitions. As a member of the faculty at Arkansas she made contributions to the academic and clinical world of law, as a member of a prominent firm she excelled in private practice, and as a mother she managed a home and cared for her family. As an advocate for children, she has continually sought the public good, and as First Lady of the United States, she has navigated the world of politics, the media, and policy making.

When young people so often lament the scarcity of positive role models, Hillary Rodham Clinton is someone from whom we can learn, and derive empowerment to realize our possibilities.

As *Annual Survey*'s 52nd Dedicatee, Hillary Rodham Clinton joins the esteemed company of Harry Blackmun, Barbara Jordan, William Wayne Justice, Judith Kaye and Thurgood Marshall, to name just a few.

In dedicating this year's volume to Hillary Rodham Clinton, we not only note her achievements, but praise her courage and conviction.

I am honored to introduce to you a woman who has composed a revolutionary life in many ways—as attorney, public servant, mother, policy maker, and First Lady—Hillary Rodham Clinton.

REMARKS OF PROFESSOR RICHARD ATKINSON, LEFLAR LAW CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

The work and heart of Hillary Rodham Clinton are happily coincident in her chief contributions to the law in Arkansas. The interests of women and children hold a primary claim on her emotions, and it is precisely in these areas that her legal legacy to the state is most significant. Her public commitment to these concerns has a long history and promises to extend indefinitely into the future.

By 1972, when she was still a law student, Hillary had already worked one summer with the Children's Defense Fund and had begun her association with the Yale Child Study Center. Twenty-three years later and less than a month prior to this writing, with her daughter at her side and the world's attention upon them both, Hillary was in Asia, still in the process of educating both herself and others about the problems faced by women and children.

In 1975 Hillary and Bill met me at the airport on my first trip to Fayetteville, Arkansas, and immediately took me to a volleyball tournament involving law faculty and students. Between games, students were sharing their excitement about participating in the University of Arkansas Legal Clinic, a newly-instituted program which gave law students hands-on experience and provided counsel to students and representation to people unable to afford an attorney.

Though the clinic was on the drawing board before she arrived, Hillary, as its first director, gave it life. Without diminishing the clinic's effectiveness, she skillfully designed the structure to minimize the opposition voiced by some members of the local bar who viewed it as a potential competitor for fees. Through the professionalism and thoroughness she inspired in the students, she won over the judges who were initially concerned about allowing students to be advocates in their courts. The program also benefitted from the reputation she quickly established, through her own court appearances, as an extraordinarily effective lawyer.

The windows of my law school office face the handsome building into which the clinic has recently moved. I more than occasionally glance at the folks entering the clinic and enjoy the thought that for more than two decades these clients, predominately women, have been finding assistance from an institution Hillary helped to shape. I could duplicate the experience if I were across town, observing the activity at Ozark Legal Services. There, too, she played a critical role in its inception while on the law faculty. Later, in 1976, President Carter appointed Hillary to the board of the Legal Services Corporation. She pushed hard for expanded access by the poor to legal assistance, drawing heavily on her experience in setting up both the University of Arkansas Legal Clinic and Ozark Legal Services. Now, in part because of her efforts, in country after country across the nation, the scene from my window is, at least for the moment, daily repeated.

In addition to such institutional impact, she also significantly influenced the law through the attitudinal changes she engendered. Many of her students have now assumed significant leadership roles as judges, lawyers and legislators, and none passed through her classroom unaffected, especially in regard to two areas. First, her high expectations of the students raised their expectations of themselves. Hillary was no less demanding of herself then, without the pressure of the White House glare, as she is now. And by both example and exhortation, she made it clear that she expected others to push toward their potential as well. In particular she had no patience with the argument, occasionally voiced then, that she was importing standards which were inappropriate for Arkansans, and I believe that she succeeded in dispelling, in most instances, that pernicious notion.

Second, she was a role model. There, I've said it, though award that the phrase is daily less fashionable. But we're talking the seventies here, and for anyone who was there, that is exactly what she was. Word was out that she was a tough litigator, that she had played a significant role in the Watergate hearings, that she had a Yale law degree, and that she could have gotten virtually any legal job she wanted. They saw that she was smart as hell and was in complete control of both her classroom and her subject matter. Their contact with Hillary was for many of these students, male and female alike, a catalyst that triggered a rethinking of the roles they assigned to "lady lawyers".

When Bill was elected Attorney General in 1976, they moved to Little Rock, and the lawyers and judges there were no more immune to her ability to confound conceptions than were their counterparts in Fayetteville. She joined the Rose Law Firm and consciously set out to hone further her skills as a litigator. In short order she became the firm's first female partner and helped to create opportunities for other women lawyers across the state.

Ultimately specializing in commercial litigation, Hillary savored its competitiveness, appreciated the living it provided, and both enjoyed and deeply respected her colleagues at the firm. That work, however, did not fully engage her emotionally. It was not her mission. She continued to take cases involving children's rights, devoted considerable energy to the formation of Arkansas Advocates for Children and Family, took a leadership role on the board of the Children's Defense Fund, and actively participated with her husband in thinking about how they could help address the significant social and economic problems Arkansas faced.

In November 1980, Bill was seeking election to his second term as governor. On election day, Hillary came to Fayetteville to vote and to work the five o'clock shift change at the Standard Register Company. I drove her back to the airport. Unsuspecting of the impending defeat, Hillary was tired, ready for the campaign to be concluded, and eager, she said, to get back to work. The work she had in mind was not her law practice, though she was thankful it would be there. Rather it was for her the reviving process of using her talents to improve the lives of women and children.

After an electorally enforced two-year hiatus, Bill returned to the governor's office, and Hillary began the work that would become, in my opinion, her single greatest contribution to Arkansas. In his inaugural address in January 1983, Bill singled out educational reform as the critical component in any plan to improve Arkansas' economic future. He then appointed Hillary as the chairperson of the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, a commission he created to devise a set of minimum standards for public schools. Her task was two-fold: to craft the standards and to create a public consensus about their desirability in order to make a tax increase to implement them politically feasible.

She held hearings across the state, both gathering information and dispensing it. If there is a high school gym in Arkansas where she did not meet the public, I am unaware of it. Her extraordinary knowledge, her exceptional skills as a facilitator, and, most important, the depth of her conviction about the rightness of this project galvanized public opinion. Less than eleven months after the creation of the standards committee, Arkansans passed a sales tax increase to fund the standards, which included minimum class sizes (no more, for example, than twenty students in a kindergarten class), a longer school year, a much lower counselor/student ratio, and enhanced curricular offerings, especially in the areas of science and math.

Back to my office window. A month ago, before the leaves intervened, I could see, to the left of the Clinic and a few hundred yards behind it, Leverett Elementary School. There too, Hillary is still at work.

In 1985 Hillary brought to Arkansas a preschool program that had impressed her on a trip to Israel five years earlier. The Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters, known as HIPPY, was a logical extension of her work on the standards. She had found that a critical determinate of a child's performance in school is the educational level of the mother. HIPPY involves home visitations by teams of educators to show impoverished mothers how best to teach their preschool children in the home. It continues to be an enormously successful program.

Hillary has a good friend, Dr. Robert A. Leflar, who was her former law faculty colleague and who has a special connection to New York University. In fact, she lived in his Fayetteville home one summer when he was teaching, as he did for decades, at NYU's Appellate Judges Seminar, which he was instrumental in creating. At 94, he is the towering figure in the history of legal education and reform in Arkansas and ranks respectably among the great legal minds of the nation in this country. His autobiography, ONE LIFE IN THE LAW, modestly recounts his immersion in those pursuits. The definitive biography of Hillary will surely recount a similar immersion and a similar effectiveness.

The nation is now the beneficiary of the intellect, spirit, and commitment that continues to enrich Arkansas through the people and institutions Hillary Rodham Clinton touched. "How do these decisions affect women and children?" has become a refrain in the Clinton Administration. This is not an accident.

REMARKS OF LLOYD M. BENTSEN, FORMER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY AND UNITED STATES SENATOR

It's a privilege to join in this tribute to Mrs. Clinton, a First Lady Americans know for her first-rate intellect, her engaging personality, and her commitment to serving the public.

B.A. and I have known eight First Ladies. I think each one has felt her job was the best job in America.

Over the last 40 years, each has followed a great tradition, using her special office to highlight a need in our country or help others improve their lot. They've all made contributions, as Americans would expect them to.

But I can't recall ever seeing anyone so committed to an issue and anyone work with the intensity and feeling that Mrs. Clinton

and the President did this past year on health care. When Congress reforms this country's health care system, we'll have Mrs. Clinton to thank.

The President often says we live in a time of change, and Mrs. Clinton—because she's been a working mother and an extraordinary lawyer—has changed the role of a First Lady.

She still maintains the great traditions. I've seen her at State Dinners, serve as a gracious hostess in America's most honored home. I've seen her raise funds for charities, and work with children who need special help, as every other First Lady before her has done.

But she also has taken on added responsibilities. I had never been in a policy meeting with a First Lady, until Mrs. Clinton entered the White House. I watched the President, in his moments of decision making, turn to her for advice and counsel in areas she's the expert on.

They're partners. They're a team. And their collective wisdom guides our country.

In a different time, this may not have worked. If Mrs. Clinton wasn't as talented as she is, it may not have worked. Knowing human nature, some of the people in the room would probably have played to her, thinking through her, they can get to the President.

I believe as more couples have two careers, and as more women enter public service, Mrs. Clinton serves as an inspiration to them.

She has a huge fan club in this country, and B.A. and I are proud to be among the admirers. You've picked a very worthy lady and lawyer to honor.

REMARKS OF DIANE D. BLAIR, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

In Carol Shield's recent novel The Stone Diaries, one character observes, "Life is an endless recruiting of witnesses." When Hillary Rodham moved to Fayetteville in 1975, to teach at the University of Arkansas, nobody was consciously "recruiting witnesses." Rather, as two of only a handful of female faculty members, she in law and I in political science, we quickly discovered many strong mutual interests (books, politics, children, education, the status of women) which drew us together and have sustained our relationship ever since.

However, as the friend with whom I once batted worn tennis balls in the city park and rode in a truck moving furniture became a national figure (and a media obsession), I have frequently been called by the press to share my memories and observations. At first, I was eager to do so: when one is familiar with and enthusiastic about a subject, sharing is a pleasure. And so I happily recalled instances of Hillary's devotion to her own daughter and her abiding interest in my five children; of her concern for her parents (and, again, for mine); and of her knack for thoughtful acts of friendship. I gave the inquiring press vivid vignettes illustrating her determination to bring out the best from each of her students when she was a teacher, and then her resolve to excel in the courtroom as well as the classroom. I gladly recounted the courage and wisdom and tenacity she demonstrated in leading the battle for better schools in Arkansas, working to upgrade Arkansas Children's Hospital, and helping establish Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, and a statewide Single Parent Scholarship Fund.

Little of which was ever reported, or even—I began to suspect—recorded. As I enthused on about this attentive parent, devoted daughter, fun-loving friend, supportive spouse, talented teacher, advocate extraordinaire, the clicking computer keys of my interviewer would slow, and finally grow silent. And then, often, would come the question: "Yes, but what is she really like?"

It may well take future historians, more interested in telling the truth than in "exposing" imaginary evils, to offer the complete portrait of Hillary Rodham Clinton; but perhaps this dedication issue, contributed to by those who actually know her work and her life, is a good contemporary beginning. So, for the record, here are a few moments I have "witnessed" since my friend became First Lady, and what I think those incidents signify.

President Clinton's first State of the Union Address, in February, 1993, was a home-run, a thrilling triumph. Afterwards, when aides and friends gathered in the Solarium to toast a very sweet success, someone called for a special salute to the First Lady, for whom the standing ovation from Congress had seemed especially heartfelt and fervent. Hillary was not there to receive the tribute, however. Upon returning to the White House she learned that Chelsea needed help with her homework, and so she had quickly excused herself from the celebration and hastened to her daughter's side.

In September, 1993, the national media gave rave reviews to Hillary's marathon, flawless, sequential presentations before U.S. Congressional Committees on health care reform. While I was delighted to see some positive press for my friends in the White House, two things struck me about these stories. First, there was something almost insulting, certainly patronizing, about the seeming astonishment (no staff! no notes!! complete and thoughtful sentences!!!) that a woman, a mere spouse, could execute so excellently on so public a stage. Second, what seemed so impressive to me about Hillary's achievement was that on the day preceding her unprecedented performance, (a day when most of us would have been demanding seclusion, cramming information, snarling at subordinates, and putting our families on hold), Hillary traveled to New York because it was important to the President that she be present for his first address to the United Nations, then rushed home for a school meeting where her presence was important to Chelsea. Only then, late at night, did she have time to fully focus and prepare.

None of these, or countless other daily juggling acts, makes Hillary Rodham Clinton eligible for martyrdom. Rather, as she would be the very first to point out, they simply illustrate the lives that most of the women who are her contemporaries are now living: trying to meet and balance all of our responsibilities, and find ways to usefully exercise all our talents.

The press grows impatient, I think, because they want an easily identifiable image, a simple story, someone who either cares about making herself and the White House look good, or cares about health care and women's rights. But most of the women I know (and surely many women in the media, which makes some of the strange stories especially bewildering) care about all those things, and many more besides. Few of us today have the luxury of choosing this *or* that, homemaker *or* professional, wife *or* worker. We are all those things, because they all must be done. Hillary Rodham Clinton simply happens to be the first of our First Ladies who has dared to do them all openly, and well, and without apology.

When I was a schoolchild I was both fascinated and horrified by stories of the canaries who were carried down into the mines as early warning systems for the miners; if poisonous gases started seeping into the mineshafts, the canaries would quickly expire, thereby giving warning to the men in the mines. I wonder now whether Hillary is playing the risky part of national canary for the women of America. If she can survive the distortions and misrepresentations, the poisonous slurs and constant criticisms, it will be easier breathing for us, and our daughters, and all the millions of women who are coming on behind. The smart money is on the canary.

REMARKS OF DR. ERNEST L. BOYER, PRESIDENT, THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING

In every generation, since the United States began, notable women have turned their talents to great causes, often becoming advocates for the least advantaged. Going beyond mere good works, and private acts of benevolence, these leaders, of great competence and conviction, profoundly influenced the public-policy issues of their day.

Consider, for example, Dorothea Dix, the Unitarian school teacher in Massachusetts, who led a national mental health crusade. By the time of the Civil War, in large part through her labors, twenty-eight states, four cities, and the federal government constructed public institutions to treat, more humanely, the mentally disabled.

In 1889, Jane Addams, with Ellen Gates Starr, founded Hull House in a dilapidated mansion, in a crowded Chicago neighborhood. Addams, combined a remarkable capacity for human sympathy with a brilliant gift of theoretical insights, derived from personal experience. Far from being a naive do-gooder, Jane Addams viewed settlement houses as a way to help new immigrants become empowered.

Earlier in 1882, Florence Kelly, a graduate of Cornell University, was refused admission to the University of Pennsylvania law school. Still, with her formidable political and legal skills, she crusaded against child labor—investigating, for example, the shocking working conditions of children, including the glass-bottle factories of Alton, Illinois, where boys as young as seven and eight worked from dawn to dusk, carrying trays of red-hot glass bottles through-out the factories.

At a time when protecting wildlife was gaining national attention, Kelley angrily noted the paradoxical neglect of children. "Why," she demanded, "are seals, bears, reindeer, fish, . . . buffalo [and] migratory birds all found suitable for federal protection, and not children?"

Largely through Kelley's efforts, the Illinois legislature, in 1893, prohibited child labor. In 1912, Congress created a federal Children's Bureau, through her influence. And then, six years after Kelley's death, Congress finally banned child labor.

Josephine Baker, a physician in New York City at the turn of the century, understood the link between health and learning. She aggressively promoted school nurse programs and basic health services for needy children that became routine throughout the country.

All of these women possessed a passion for the downtrodden. They also brought sharp wits, political skill, and, not least, infinite patience and persistence, in the face of setbacks. They overcame the prejudicial barriers of their times, pursuing self-fashioned careers that helped shape, profoundly, the history of this nation.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is a part of this great tradition. Her intelligence and determination, brilliant flashes of humor, plus an unswerving commitment to human justice, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to Dorothea Dix, Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Josephine Baker, and a host of other leaders who have made America a more just and caring country.

Hillary Clinton is, above all, a consensus builder. In her commencement address, upon graduating from Wellesley, she told the audience: "The challenge now is to practice politics as the art of making what appears to be impossible, possible. . . . It is such a great adventure. If the experiment in human living doesn't work, in this country, in this age, it is not going to work anywhere."

Years ago, I followed, with great admiration, Hillary Rodham Clinton's remarkably successful efforts to implement as the First Lady of Arkansas, Governor Clinton's comprehensive plan for school renewal. She conducted meetings in every one of the state's 75 counties, and eloquently asserted a common sense reform strategy that raised academic standards, tested teachers, increased salaries, and improved performance.

More recently, I have been struck time and time again, that key ideas in our work at The Carnegie Foundation could be traced to the State of Arkansas where Governor and Mrs. Clinton pursued a shared vision of excellence for all.

This leadership became dramatically apparent at the National Education Summit Meeting in 1989. On that historic occasion, Governor Clinton argued forcefully, and with success, that the nation's first and most essential education goal should be school readiness for all children. The Governor credited Mrs. Clinton for articulating the importance of the early years. The Carnegie Foundation, persuaded by the importance of this first national goal, issued a report in 1991 called Ready to Learn: A Mandate for the Nation.

While preparing that report, I kept hearing about the HIPPY program in the state of Arkansas—which stands for the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters. This program, which Hillary Clinton brought from Israel to Arkansas, has spread nationwide. It's now in twenty-four states reaching 20,000 families.

On yet another front of child advocacy, Hillary Rodham Clinton confronted the agonizing problem of teenage pregnancy, moving the infant mortality rate in Arkansas, from one of the highest, to one of the lowest in the nation.

Our most recent Carnegie Foundation report called The Basic School, brought us to the state of Arkansas once again. We learned that through Hillary Clinton's supportive leadership, the state mandated, in 1991, counselors for every elementary school, which has become a model for the nation.

As First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton's commitment to children has remained energetically unchanged, beginning with health. She brought common sense to an enormously complicated problem. And we have no choice as a nation but to achieve reform, not for political or even fiscal reasons, but for the sake of all Americans and, most especially, our children.

Today, when the climate seems particularly unreceptive to calls for caring and compassion, Hillary Clinton reminds us, with elegance, about our obligations to the coming generation. "There is no such thing," she said, "as other people's children. There are only the hopes and dreams all parents share, which we must do everything in our power to preserve and strengthen."

In accepting the Lewis Hine Award, Hillary Rodham Clinton said: "No matter how much work we do, from the White House to the courthouse, up and down every street in every large city and every small town, what children need more than anything else are adults who care abut them and love them, teach them, and discipline them, and are willing to stand up and fight for them in a world that is often cruel and unfair."

One of my favorite American authors, James Agee, wrote on one occasion, "With every child who is born, under no matter what circumstances, the potentiality of the human race is born again."

Hillary Rodham Clinton has devoted a lifetime to affirming both the dignity, and the potential, of all the nation's children.

REMARKS OF DR. JOHN BRADEMAS, CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES, PRESIDENT EMERITUS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

I have the honor for a third time of paying public tribute to the First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton. The first occasion was in March 1992 when, as President of New York University, I introduced Mrs. Clinton as principal speaker when the New York University School of Law marked its "Celebration of 100 Years of Women Graduates." As a woman who is herself a highly regarded lawyer, Mrs. Clinton was a most appropriate and distinguished speaker at a salute to the education of women in the law and recognition of their achievements in the legal profession.

Since then, of course, Mrs. Clinton has become our First Lady and has elevated her long-time advocacy of children's rights, public schools and universal health care to the level of national debate and attention.

On September 21, 1994, President Clinton did me the honor of appointing me Chairman of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities while asking the First Lady to serve as Honorary Chair. At a reception at the White House that day, Mrs. Clinton spoke eloquently about this responsibility. She said then:

We want to support and nurture our artists and humanists and the traditions that they represent. And we want also to bring those traditions alive for literally millions and millions of children who too often grow up without opportunities for creative expression, without opportunities for intellectual stimulation, without exposure to the diverse cultural traditions that contribute to our identity as Americans.

Too often today, instead of children discovering the joyful rewards of painting, or music, or sculptering, or writing, or testing a new idea, they express themselves through acts of frustration, helplessness, hopelessness and even violence.

. . . We hope that among the contributions this Committee makes, it will be thinking of and offering ideas about how we can provide children with safe havens to develop and explore their own creative and intellectual potentials.

The arts and humanities have the potential for being such safe havens. In communities were programs already exist, they are providing soul-saving and life-enhancing opportunities for your people. And I am delighted that as one of its major endeavors, this Committee will be considering ways of expanding those opportunities to all of our children.

Last month I had the privilege of being at the United Nations to hear the First Lady speak of the challenge to men and women everywhere, and particularly women, actively to participate in promoting social progress. Clearly Mrs. Clinton has been inspired by the life of her eminent predecessor as First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt. And like Eleanor Roosevelt before her, Hillary Clinton breaks new ground in public service.

Like Eleanor Roosevelt, Hillary Rodham Clinton has been criticized for undertaking responsibilities some consider inappropriate for First Ladies, indeed, for women in general. But like Eleanor Roosevelt, Hillary Clinton has persevered. Hers is an unwavering voice on behalf of the rights and needs of human beings, especially children, not only in our own country but around the world.

In recognizing the responsibility of women in helping shape America's future, Hillary Rodham Clinton has earned, and continues to earn, our admiration and our respect. I am proud to join in this tribute to her.

REMARKS OF REV. DR. JOAN BROWN CAMPBELL, GENERAL SECRETARY, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE USA

Day by day, Hillary Rodham Clinton is building an enduring contribution to our national life that can be discerned even amid the rush and tumult of current events. She is serving the nation in one of its defining moments and when historians place these events in perspective, surely she will be given a prominent place. By her style, her sensitivity, her presence and her competence, Mrs. Clinton has already expanded the nation's understanding of the role of the First Lady. Never again will it be limited to the single role of national hostess and helpmate. Called by circumstance and equipped with the extraordinary gifts of grace and intelligence, she has broken that mold—a task that has often placed her in an unenviable position and that places all those who follow in her debt.

This is what history may say, but for those who identify themselves as people of faith we acknowledge Hillary Rodham Clinton today, and in all the days to follow, as a woman of faith.

The New Testament urges believers to "be doers of the word and not merely hearers" (NRSV James 1:22). Hillary Rodham Clinton has taken this admonition to heart, as is evident from the way her many achievements have contributed to the common good.

In the language of theology I salute her as an incarnational person, in that her words become incarnate in deeds. Throughout her life she has been deeply involved in work that protects children, that upholds the dignity of women, that supports families in concrete, meaningful ways and that seeks health and wholeness for all people.

As a very busy attorney, she showed her commitment by giving time and energy as an active director of the Children's Defense Fund, advocating a morally grounded and highly practical approach to caring for all children, and especially for the very young who suffer from the effects of material and spiritual poverty. As First Lady, her work toward health care reform in this nation combined passionate careing with knowledge and skill. Because of the sacrifices she made to pursue this work, the issue was raised to a level that it had never been raised to before and in a way that ensures it can never be removed from the American agenda. Most recently I admired her role at the United Nations Social Summit in Copenhagen where she spoke eloquently on behalf of the people of the United States on the issue of social development and the role of women in that process.

Examples abound of the care and high seriousness with which she takes every assignment that life gives her. More testaments to her grace, integrity and competence could be shared in a lengthier forum. Taken together, her work provides a powerful model for women everywhere. She is the image of a woman with expertise, poise, and credibility. In recasting the role of First Lady she helps all women to be taken seriously, and at the same time, she demonstrates those qualities that have been traditionally held up as womanly virtues. We see her as wife, as life companion, as loving protective mother, as daughter, and as empathetic friend. Both in the focus of her work and in her personal demeanor she shows a concern for the comfort and well-being of others. She extends a sense

of hospitality to all around her, thus she carries a vision of what a woman can be—for the sake of her own daughter and for the sake of all women and their daughters. Such a visible model is also a lightning rod for criticism by those who do not share this vision. Mrs. Clinton has borne this criticism with courage and without rancor.

Mrs. Clinton is truly a "doer" in every sense of the word. The book of James quoted earlier also promises that those who "persevere, being not hearers who forget but doers who act—they will be blessed in their doing." So to you, friend and faithful servant, Hillary Rodham Clinton, all God's blessings in your life and work.

REMARKS OF MARION WRIGHT EDELMAN, PRESIDENT AND FOUNDER, CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

I have known First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton for more than two and a half decades. I first met her when she was a student at Yale Law School—even then interested in figuring out ways to help families provide for the basic needs of children. I have known her in the intervening years as a gifted advocate—in court, in the legislature, and in public education; and inspiring and insightful author; a loving, concerned, and attentive mother; a supportive wife; a dutiful and loving daughter; a warm and loyal friend; an effective leader of the Children's Defense Fund's board of directors; a dedicated friend for children; and a tireless First Lady.

At a time when many women, but particularly women in the public eye, have been faced with the difficult challenge of juggling career and family, the First Lady has balanced those dual demands with courage, grace, and humor. She has held her family together with love and resiliency in the face of extraordinary professional and political demands.

The First Lady is a committed, persistent, thoughtful, and *balanced* advocate for children and families. Since she was a law student, she has understood the crucial need to nurture families as they struggle to rear the children who will be our future parents, voters, employees, entrepreneurs, and leaders. The First Lady has cared deeply that low- and moderate-income working families and children have access to decent childcare so that they can develop to their fullest potential; she has cared that children have access to the preventive healthcare services necessary to long-term individual health and reduced national healthcare costs; she has striven to ensure that children have access to quality education and early childhood development opportunities necessary to productive adulthoods.

In each of her many roles, the First Lady has excelled. Perhaps most importantly, she has never lost sight of her spiritual commitment to values that transcend self and partisanship. I am constantly grateful to have had her as a friend and colleague, and we as a Nation are extraordinarily lucky to have her as our First Lady.

REMARKS OF ARTHUR S. FLEMMING, CHAIR, SAVE OUR SECURITY COALITION, FORMER SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Hilliary Rodham Clinton has dedicated her life to helping her fellow human beings deal with the hazards and vicissitudes of life. She has kept at the center of her life the Commandment that is at the center of our Judeo-Christian religion: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Her dedication to others has been shown in many ways, such as her outstanding contributions to the Legal Services Corporation and the Children's Defense Fund.

This dedication reflected itself in a dramatic way when she committed her talents to the cause of universal coverage of health care.

She immersed herself in the issue. Some of the finest leaders in the health care field provided her with advice. She emerged with a plan that not only set forth the goal of universal coverage but recommended to the Nation a comprehensive plan for achieving that goal.

Then along with her husband, the President of the United States, Mrs. Clinton became one of the most effective advocates for universal coverage that this Nation has even known. The Nation became well acquainted with here as an effective advocate. As she traveled throughout the Nation she was not content with speaking. She listened to real people discuss their real problems. They were the persons that convinced her that our present system for the delivery of health care has broken down. They were the persons that convinced her that without universal coverage they and their children faced premature death and unnecessary suffering.

As a result of Mrs. Clinton's dedication, 1994 was the greatest year in the history of this Nation in the area of health care.

Never before had we had the in-depth national dialogue on health care that we had in 1994. As a result of that dialogue, poll after poll showed that 75–80 percent of our people believe that we must have universal coverage. A real concern developed throughout the Nation about the breakdown of our present health delivery system.

We are now in a position as a national community to add universal coverage for health care and roundout President Roosevelt's concern for a complete system of Social Security. If we build on the accomplishment of 1994 we will reach our goal.

We can and will reach this goal because of the dedication of Hillary Rodham Clinton to the people of this Nation. Her deep-seated concern is one of our Nation's great treasures. The Annual Survey of American Law's recognition of this fact is deeply appreciated.

REMARKS OF DR. DAVID HAMBURG, PRESIDENT, THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION OF NEW YORK

It is a privilege to write about Hillary Rodham Clinton from the perspective of her lifelong dedication to children. As First Lady, she has established a track record in the great tradition of Eleanor Roosevelt as a tireless exemplar of humane, compassionate, democratic values and creative problem-solving. In this capacity, she has played a highly significant role in expanding the reach of immunization while also broadening the scope and enhancing the quality of Head Start. She also facilitated a new federal initiative on the school-to-work transition for youth. In her travels as First Lady, at home and abroad, she has called attention to innovative ways of strengthening healthy child development. In the years ahead, millions of today's children will live better lives as a consequence of her efforts.

She was the First Lady of Arkansas for twelve years, during which time she worked thoughtfully on behalf of children and youth. For example, she chaired an education committee that set public school standards in Arkansas. Indeed, she exemplified in her own life as well as her professional work the complex integration of family, work and public service that is so precious in modern democracies.

My own distinctive view of her work on behalf of children comes from her relationship with the Carnegie Corporation of New York over almost a quarter of a century.

While a student at Yale Law School, she developed her strong concern for protecting the interests of children and their families. In 1993, when speaking at Yale about young children, she made a few remarks about the meaning of the Yale experience. "I got this rather odd idea when I was at the Yale Law School that I wanted to know more about children's development. . . . particularly in the early years, and to really find out what I can about how their needs are met or not met, and particularly what role the legal system plays in both a positive and negative way in helping children and families."

One of her earliest professional positions was on the staff of the Carnegie Council on Children, starting in the Spring of 1972. She had already been involved in civil rights law, children's advocacy, and work in Head Start. The Council took a very broad view of our nation's children, their problems and ways to improve their opportunities.

The Carnegie file from 1972 contains a letter from Professor Kenneth Kenniston, the Chairman of the Council. He wrote, "I am very happy with this staff which is young, lively, committed, iconoclastic, open and energetic. They are going to be hard to handle." I don't know whether he was talking about Hillary in referring to that brilliant, iconoclastic, hard-to-handle staff, but there is no doubt she made valuable contributions. In that period, she published a landmark paper, "Children Under the Law," in the Harvard Educational Review.

In 1980, she came back into the Carnegie orbit again as the founder and president of Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families. Carnegie made a grant to that organization to improve services for children and families. Her long and thoughtful dedication to the Children's Defense Fund is well known, from a staff job in the early 1970s to her chairmanship of the board in recent years.

In the late 1980s, Hillary served on the W.T. Grant Foundation's Commission on Youth, Work, and Family, that produced a very important report, "The Forgotten Half," emphasizing the school-to-work transition for students who do not go on to college. She pursued this interest later with Carnegie support, relating it to the Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce. She thought creatively about ways to implement an effective school-to-work transition in the United States, where we lag so far behind Europe and other countries. She paid particular attention to the role of the states in this process. So there are many manifestations of her devotion to children, youth, and families—from the youngest children through late adolescence.

In 1994, she spoke at the opening of a Carnegie Conference on the first three years of life. In eloquent terms and with deep insight, she clarified ways of meeting the essential requirements for healthy child development in the earliest years. She has seen to it that the national discourse on health care reform can never again leave out children and youth.

For decades to come, Hillary Rodham Clinton's clear voice will be heard on behalf of America's, and the world's, children. The life chances of children everywhere will be improved as a consequence of her actions. If there is a more important contribution any one can make, I wonder what it could be.

REMARKS OF EDWARD M. KENNEDY, UNITED STATES SENATOR, COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

In 1993, America welcomed an impressive and extraordinarily talented woman to the White House, Hillary Rodham Clinton. In the time since then, all of us who knew her in earlier years and were impressed by her ability and commitment to public service have

come to admire her even more, especially her grace under pressure—her courage—in enduring the controversies that have swirled around her as she redefines the role of the modern First Lady.

I have had the privilege of working closely with her in the past two years on an issue I have been especially committed to—the ongoing struggle to bring health security to all Americans. In the years I have been involved in this important effort, I have never met anyone more committed to the cause than Hillary Rodham Clinton. We came closer to success in the past Congress than ever before, and the progress we made was primarily the result of the energy, intelligence, and political skill she brought to the battle.

I vividly remember our first Senate hearing on the comprehensive health reform package proposed by President Clinton. It was held on September 29, 1993, in the historic Senate Caucus Room. The First Lady was the only witness. For several hours, she answered the toughest questions seventeen Senators could throw at her, and she did so with an eloquence and persuasiveness that impressed Democrats and Republicans alike. If we could have taken the bill to the full Senate in the days after that hearing, I believe we could have passed it.

Powerful vested interest groups and partisan tactics of obstruction designed to deny President Clinton a legislative victory succeeded in blocking action by the past Congress. Bipartisan efforts are now under way in the current Congress to adopt the most needed reforms, and whatever progress we make will in large measure be due to the groundwork Mrs. Clinton laid. She is an effective advocate for making the fundamental right to health care a basic right for all, not just an expensive privilege to the few, and I have been proud to stand with her.

Mrs. Clinton has also been a tireless advocate on children's issues. As First Lady of Arkansas, she successfully led efforts for education reform and for increased investment in early childhood development. She discovered a model home-visiting, parenting-training, early childhood and school readiness program in Israel, adapted it to Arkansas, and implemented it across the state. This program has become a national model and has been replicated in communities across the country.

In addition, as chairperson of the Board of Directors of the Children's Defense Fund for several years, Mrs. Clinton was at the forefront of numerous major initiatives to improve the lives of children and families. Her causes have included expanding access to Head Start, encouraging childhood immunization, and shaping a "one-stop-shopping" approach to reduce bureaucracy and streamline the delivery of services to families and children. In May 1991, in an earlier impressive appearance on Capitol Hill, she testified at a hearing by the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources on these and other children's issues, and reminded us that the heart of these serious problems is not lack of resources but lack of will.

I know that in the years ahead, Hillary Rodham Clinton will continue to be a powerful voice for justice and opportunity and a role model for millions of Americans. This tribute by the Annual Survey of American Law is a well-deserved honor, and it is a privilege to participate in it.

REMARKS OF C. EVERETT KOOP, M.D., FORMER SURGEON GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

Hillary Rodham Clinton and I first met when President Clinton asked me to advise Mrs. Clinton on the ways that her Task Force on Health Care Reform might respond to growing opposition of the medical profession to the Clinton health care reform plan. After only a few minutes of conversation with Hillary Clinton, I was delighted to discover that any negative impressions generated by the media's caricature of her were dispelled immediately. I found her to be a woman of great sensitivity, keen intellect, and a delightfully winsome charm. Since I shared the Clintons' desire to bring equitable reform to our health care system, with special attention to the needs of the uninsured, I agreed with the President's suggestion that I moderate a series of forums between the First Lady and the medical profession.

Convened in several cities across the nation, these forums provided a much-needed dialogue between physicians and the head of the Task Force on Health Care Reform. The medical profession saw first-hand the sincerity and dedication of the First Lady, and they achieved her sympathetic understanding of the ways in which certain provisions of the Health Security Act disturbed the medical profession. She was able to assure the physicians that, as long as the main thrust of reform was not threatened, the language of the reform would be altered to meet their concerns. Hillary Clinton quickly demonstrated that she was able to see the many facets of the President's health care reform plan through the eyes of physicians who were dedicated—above all—to caring for their patients and acting as their advocates.

I have met no one who has a better grasp of the American health care system—or non-system, which might be a more accurate term—than Hillary Rodham Clinton. Yet, she was already ready to learn more, to accommodate a nuance not clear before, to adjust to a new wrinkle in the complicated tapestry of health care delivery.

The President's plan failed in Congress for many reasons, but mostly because the nation had not been prepared for changes as sweeping as those proposed. The last major reform health care, the Medicare and Medicaid programs, came in the midst of the reforming zeal of the Great Society, and they were preceded by several years of national education and debate.

Politics aside, the health care reform plan failed because each of us was being asked to do something for all of us. And each of us may have feared that what was best for all of us was not necessarily best for each of us. It was that simple. It was that complicated.

The President's plan for health care reform provided a diagnosis of the problems with our health care system, and then it proposed a series of remedies. The Congress and the people may have rejected the proposed remedy, but they have not challenged the diagnosis. No one can fault Hillary Clinton's diagnosis of the health care system's ailments. Her diagnosis was far-reaching, comprehensive, and right on target. Her diagnosis will be the springboard for the next round of the debate on health care reform.

REMARKS OF PHILIP R. LEE, M.D., ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR HEALTH, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

Hillary Rodham Clinton is a woman of extraordinary intelligence, understanding, compassion and commitment. In more than thirty years of involvement in health policy at the federal, state, and local levels, I have never met an individual who was able to grasp the complexities of health care organization, delivery, and financing as well as Mrs. Clinton. She not only has this extraordinary ability to grasp complex information, but she was able to communicate it to a range of audiences, professional, and public, more clearly and accurately than anyone in my experience.While these talents are important, even more important is her capacity to listen to individuals and families about their experiences in order to learn fully how the system does and does not operate. Her deep compassion was evident as she listened to individuals and families throughout the country—from tribal chiefs in Montana, to parents in a children's hospital in Washington, to a broad range of citizens in Lincoln, Nebraska, to sick patients in nursing homes, parents of disabled children, and to citizens of the broadest range across the country. She read the thousands of letters sent to her by people from throughout the nation in order to better understand what health care meant to people and what needed to be done to assure everyone in the United States access to a decent level of health care.

These are all great qualities and ones to be admired, but I think, even more, I admire Hillary Rodham Clinton's integrity and strength of character. She has a clear sense of who she is, what here values are, and what she believes. She does not wet her finger, stick it up to the wind, and determine what she will believe on particular issue at a particular moment in time.

Finally, Mr. Clinton has been an inspiration for many of us who have had the opportunity to work with her as Presidential employees. When the times are toughest, when the road is most rocky, when the tasks seem insurmountable, she has been a source of not only encouragement, but energy and inspection. While many of us have been beneficiaries, directly and individually, of her support, her knowledge, her understanding, her commitment and her incredible energy, all of the American people benefit from her extraordinary qualities, but most of all from her integrity.

REMARKS OF LORETTA MCLAUGHLIN, OP-ED COLUMNIST, BOSTON GLOBE

As we honor our distinguished and endearing First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, do not expect faint praise from me.

I belong to that vast company of Americans, women and men, who are openly admirous of this woman who has such an enormous and difficult job, balancing countless demands on her time and talent along with myriad points of view—and yet who handles it all with uncommon grace and seeming ease.

People who work on the line in my business—on newspapers, radio, and television—are especially drawn to her.

She's our kind of person, our kind of woman. An activist. Approachable. Quick-witted, quick study. Absorbing. Serious. Informed. Expressive. We genuinely like her. We honestly respect her.

And I, from the vantage point of long experience, worry for her. I don't want her hurt needlessly, don't want her feelings trammeled by shallow detractors.

She simply thrills American women. She appeals to all women who work for wages, women on payrolls, salaried women. Women who earn money in the workplace. And she inspires young professional women who are combining jobs, husbands, children, Parent Teacher Association meetings, dentist and doctor visits, car pools, community activities, and the whole nine yards of today's lifestyles for families trying to cope with everything at once.

All these women see a small piece of themselves in her. They see her obviously trying hard to do a good job, as they are. They see her performing so well, doing them proud—doing all women proud who are trying to keep a house, hold a job and contribute meaningfully to society.

They love her because she, like them, went out to compete in the real marketplace and tested her mettle in the way that American business demands. She earned money; her

work was valued enough to be compensated; she bolstered the family income.

My daughter-in-law has urged me to "please tell Mrs. Clinton how much we would like to be like her. She's so articulate. So focused. So prepared. So effective." It is no small accomplishment to have a new generation—in your own time—want to become like you. It is the highest of compliments.

In Mrs. Clinton's case, it is well-deserved. She is new generation. She is tomorrow. More than highly intelligent and finely educated, she is capable and competent and absorbing.

And she keeps getting stronger as she moves fully into this new role. Two years into the Presidency, she has set a standard of excellence on par with Eleanor Roosevelt for health and social services and civil rights, with Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis for arts and the humanities, and with Bess Truman for honesty and personal loyalty. The nation remains intrigued by Mrs. Clinton.

The Washington Post calls her "the first lady of paradox. . . . both old-fashioned and post-modern. . . . a contradiction of perceptions." That is her gift; she is sensible and sensitive at the same time.

However, we should be mindful that she occupies the White House at a time of extreme transition. The paradox of being both old-fashioned and post-modern applies to our society as well. Despite the rock-em, sock-em, depictions of American life that glut our television screens, as a people we remain quite traditional.

With the dawning of a new age, a new century, a new millennium, we are even more demanding of our leaders on both fronts. We want them to respect and retain the formalities and rituals of office and we want them to master and reflect each new technology, technique and trend that comes along.

We have empathy for every First Lady—each woman, wife, mother who has to live in full public view in the nation's most scrutinized residence. But history must concede it has fallen to Mrs. Clinton to break new ground. She is a pioneer First Lady, the first to be a credentialed and active lawyer, qualified as a member of the American bar, a professional person fully in her own right.

She and the President serve at a time when the nation has profound problems that cry out for expert attention. Instead of allowing the Presidency with its vast network of advisors to provide a setting for quiet, thoughtful and comprehensive analysis, the office is constantly being distracted by those who flood the halls of government with foolish partisan themes and empty political ploys.

Such tactics make it difficult for all of us to concentrate on what we need to do as citizens. And they threaten to blunt the enthusiasm and energy, the resiliency that Hillary and Bill Clinton have brought to the White House. It is shameful that Mrs. Clinton who has sincerely tried to be helpful is made the butt of cheap jokes by rightwing extremists preaching provincialism and zealotry. What the Clintons would have us do is to seek greatness again.

Others will speak of Mrs. Clinton's work on behalf of children and education and in pursuit of better opportunities to lead productive and useful lives for all Americans. It is for me to speak of Mrs. Clinton in connection with health care reform—my favorite issue and one near and dear to her.

That is the ground upon which she and I first met in Boston and continue to meet. It is the legislative turf that she made most her own during the first half of the Clinton Presidency.

Since the Congressional election last November, it is considered journalistically chic in many quarters to criticize Mrs. Clinton for what some in the press like to label her failure to enact health care reform.

But Mrs. Clinton didn't fail at this. She did her job. She researched the problem, pinned down the facts, and outlined a solution. Her recommendations were consistent with the President's oft-expressed view that health care coverage should be universal, comprehensive, job-linked, and cost-controlled. He proposed a national health care plan based on a managed competition model. But he and she made it clear from the beginning that the plan was open for negotiation.

The failure to come to grips with any part of health care reform—not even to grasp the urgent need for it—lies with a very confused and lethargic 103rd United States Congress.

The immobility of its members was abetted by the multi-million dollar lobbying effort staged by health insurers and others on the business end of the health care industry. To maintain the status quo on health care, a trillion-dollar-a-year industry in the United States, the lobbyists generously fed campaign kitties around the country for Congressional candidates standing for re-election.

Mrs. Clinton was clear about what was needed. She made stellar appearances on the Hill, testifying before House and Senate committees more extensively than any previous First Lady.

We can all agree there is room for differences of opinion on the Clinton-proposed solution as to how best to achieve an equitable and affordable system of universal health care. But we should bear in mind that the facts speak for themselves when we examine the existing patchwork of health care delivery in this country and the vagaries of its funding.

Mrs. Clinton learned all there is to know about our unevenly delivered and inadequately funded health care non-system. And she now knows, as do experts in the field, that it cannot be fixed piecemeal—despite the partisan rhetoric to the contrary.

What a nappy surprise it was to see the front-page headline in the New York Times on a recent Sunday saying that "now it's Republicans who see a health care crisis looming" and they now want to persuade the public that the crisis is real. Too bad they couldn't see it last year when Mrs. Clinton needed them.

It comes as no surprise, however, that when Mrs. Clinton looked at the situation she saw as the most serious problem within the heath care dilemma the number (now 41 million) of Americans with no coverage.

But even at this late date, the Republican majority is obsessed with proposals to trim the Medicare budget. Medicare is the program that pays for medical care for 37 million Americans over 65 years of age or disabled.

It figures, doesn't it, that the new Newtonian-style Republican reformers would want to meddle with a group of Americans who already have the most solid coverage. But, as Willy Sutton well knew, that's where the money is. Medicare currently spends about $170 billion a year. While we could agree on the need to conserve Medicare dollars and discuss the pluses and minuses of moving the elderly into managed care plans, the real point is that doing so would also pour billions of Medicare dollars—that now directly buy health care—into the coffers of private health insurance companies.

This is not what Mrs. Clinton and the President had in mind when they set out to make all Americans medically secure. And I am convinced he and she will yet see that goal achieved. Health care reform remains a top tier concern of the American public.

Congress's failure to enact health care reform does not mean that the problem has gone away. To the contrary. The most recent analyses indicate that since 1993, every facet of health care coverage continues to worsen. More Americans than ever before are uncovered; and those with coverage are getting less for their money and must spend more out-of-pocket for medical care.

Meanwhile, let us see the First Lady in her own light. Let us put away the old view of First Ladies. You know, the one where she figuratively and actually stands slightly behind and slightly below the President.

In the wonderful new world of this accomplished couple, let us have the First Lady and the President stand on level ground as all enlightened men and women should. Not in confrontation, but side by side, looking out together from the same perspective but with individual insight.

In the long run, defining anew the role of First Lady, carefully and distinctively, may prove to be her most arduous but most outstanding accomplishment. I salute you, Mrs. Clinton.

REMARKS OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN NOOR OF JORDAN

I was very pleased to be asked to write a few words of dedication about Hillary Rodham Clinton, because it allowed me to express some of my thoughts about a truly remarkable person, who has also become a good friend.

Hillary Clinton, in many ways, has enhanced the importance of the challenging roles of public servant and First Lady through her unfaltering personal courage and sense of compassion, her unwavering support for social justice and human rights, and her dedication to the welfare of American society, particularly to those whose voices are too seldom heard, such as children. Those qualities, coupled with Mrs. Clinton's education, legal experience and political and social awareness, have enabled her to be an articulate champion of issues of concern to many throughout the world.

But it is Mrs. Clinton's personal integrity, her intellectual honesty and commitment to dialogue and understanding in international relations that have impressed me most.

In the past year, Jordan has witnessed some of the most critical and momentous events in its history. In July of 1994, the Washington Declaration, signed on the South Lawn of the White House, ended 46 years of conflict between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Mrs. Clinton was more than simply a gracious and generous hostess; she was a partner in Jordan and Israel's shared hopes for a better future for the Middle East and all its peoples. Like a mirror of her country, the United States, she was our partner in peace.

REMARKS OF LETTY COTTIN POGREBIN, AUTHOR

As a professional scribbler, I usually find it hard to write about Hillary Clinton because of the journalistic imperative to avoid superlatives. Thankfully, no such rule applies at the Annual Survey of American Law, which means your tribute book will likely reflect a more authentic view of this remarkable woman than has been evident in the average "objective" media profile.

The fact is, one cannot talk about Hillary Rodham Clinton without using superlatives. The National Law Journal listed her among the "100 most influential lawyers in America" (one of only four women), and she appears in Best Lawyers in America, Who's Who in American Law, and the World Who's Who of Women. What interests me far more than her professional honors is the way her friends and colleagues talk about her, their recollections of her personal warmth, her lifelong commitment to justice, her breathtaking intellect, the balance of mind and

heart, dazzling eloquence and down-home humor that make this woman so unique.

Hillary Clinton is not a recent invention of First Ladyhood; she has been who she is for more than 25 years. Her Wellesley classmates remember her as a pre-eminent intellectual but also as the kindest, most principled student leader on campus, totally focused, a gifted mediator, well-centered, and mature beyond her years. Several of her Yale contemporaries have told me she was not simply an editor of the Review of Law and Social Action, but the smartest person (not woman, person) at the Yale Law School—and unselfconscious to boot.

Sara Ehrman, veteran Democratic activities who ran George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign in south Texas, first met Hillary Rodham when she came to San Antonio as a volunteer. Ehrman remembers being bowled over by the young law student's grasp of arcane election law, but says the reason the two became friends and remain close to this day is because "Hillary's the best company in the world." In 1974, while she was serving on the impeachment Inquiry staff of the Judiciary Committee working on the Watergate proceedings, Hillary Rodham was Sara Ehrman's houseguest for nine months.

As Ehrman tells it: "She was brilliant, she was a star, she could have done anything in Washington. When she came home one night and told me she'd decided to teach at the University of Arkansas and make a life with Bill Clinton, I said, 'Are you out of your mind going to this godforsaken place to marry this country lawyer?!' She just looked at me and said, 'Sara, I love him.' So I drove her to Arkansas, which was the most raucous, wonderful journey of my life. We laughed all the way through the Blue Ridge Mountains and the Shenandoah Valley. It took us four days because every 20 miles we stopped to go shopping."

Ambassador Mickey Kantor, now U.S. Trade Representative, joined the Legal Services Corporation Board in 1978 when Hillary Clinton was its Chair. "I can't say enough good things about her," he begins. "She had a tremendous dedication to local programs and a deep commitment to making justice accessible to poor people in everything from spousal abuse cases to landlord-tenant or wage disputes. Plus, she could always balance conflicting interests, ideologies, and personalities on the Board and among the lawyers and staff. The Corporation was never in better shape than when she chaired it."

Kantor, a friend for 17 years, believes the media has trouble capturing Hillary Clinton because she is so multi-dimensional. He describes her as a terrific wife, mother, daughter, sister, lawyer, public servant, and friend; someone with a great sense of humor, who has contributed so much to her community, is "extremely well-organized, speaks in perfect paragraphs, knows how to take complicated issues and break them down into manageable pieces, and operates as every good lawyer should—zealously on behalf of the client."

Not only has she always been willing to take on intractable issues whether related to the legal system, quality education, or health care, but, Kantor says, by the example of her own strength and dignity "she is blazing a trail for future First Ladies—or First Husbands. She is a fascinating combination of talents. For once, all the superlatives are true."

Elaine Weiss was Executive Director of the ABA Commission on Women in the Profession when Hillary Clinton was its Chair. "Hillary was instrumental in getting the American Bar Association to take an activist voice in advancing women's status," says Weiss. "She saw women's issues as economic issues. She'd go into a room full of predominantly white guys and their body language bespoke their discomfort. But she had this incredible ability to break down barriers and get men to listen to the problems of women. She came across very mainstream, and sounded so reasonable, and presented herself as a working lawyer just like them. And she got them to embrace change because of her leadership."

Under Hillary Clinton, the Commission held national hearings on the status of women in the profession. It published a report on gender bias in law schools, government, courtrooms, and Bar Associations. It identified the double barriers experienced by minority women lawyers. It developed policy manuals to guide law firms on how to better deal with parental leave, part-time work, or sexual harassment.

"A woman lawyer anywhere in the country, not just a Wall Street magister, could take this manual to a partner and say, 'Look, we can work this out.' The Commission really made a difference for me because she was a role model of a successful woman who never sacrificed her family or friends. Working for her was the best part of my life."

When Elinor Guggenheimer brought Hillary Rodham Clinton onto the board of the Child Care Action Campaign, on which I also served, I remember thinking Guggenheimer must have recruited her for show, because she was cute, young, blonde, and the wife of an up-and-coming governor. To my surprise, at the first meeting she attended, Hillary Clinton offered the most knowledgeable, clear-headed assessment of this country's child care crisis I'd ever heard in one mouthful. During the years we served together, I developed an abiding respect for her problem-solving skills and her genuine dedication to guaranteeing quality care to every American child.

"Hillary always approached the child care problem with passion but not emotionalism," says Guggenheimer. "She's not one of those simplistic 'I just love little children' types; she looks at what legislation is needed, what policy changes, what strategies. She brings cerebral power to her caring."

To Ellie Guggenheimer, there's much more to Hillary Clinton than her brains. "I never recognize her when I read about her in the press. They miss her whimsy and her sensitivity. Whenever she stayed over at our apartment in New York, we put her up on a convertible couch. She was First Lady of Arkansas at the time but she refused to be waited on by anyone. My husband Randy fell in love with her and he's a Republican. After one visit, she sent us a picture of herself and Randy on which she'd inscribed, "Hope the tabloids don't find out about us."

Hillary Clinton's eloquence is the eighth wonder of the world. "She never speaks from notes and she never says er, ah, or um, no matter how complex the subject," says Guggenheimer. "I don't know how she does it."

I've marveled at the same phenomenon. In the summer of 1991, I organized a week-long series on family issues at the Chautauqua Institute and invited Hillary Clinton to speak on the challenge of blending marriage, work, and childrearing. When she took to the podium in front of 5,000 people with not a shred of paper in hand, my heart stopped, but of course she gave a speech of great substance, an inspiring mix of personal experience and policy analysis—and did so, indeed, without a stammer.

Leon Friedman remembers a recent Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference in Colorado Springs at which the speakers and panelists included Supreme Court Justices Byron White, John Paul Stevens, and Harry Blackmun, plus various Circuit and District Judges, a United States Senator and Congressman, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency, and a passel of professors. Friedman, a Hofstra Law School professor, and Hillary Clinton of the Rose Law Firm, did joint service on a panel on "Recent Developments in the Area of Civil Rights." He took race, age, and disability, and she took sex discrimination.

"I was awed by her technical legal experience," says Friedman, "but what really blew me away was the impromptu keynote address she gave earlier in the day when she was asked to stand in for her husband, the Governor, who was called away on state business. She had no time to prepare, yet she got up there and, without a single note, gave a talk that was so perfectly parsed, so well-organized and elegantly presented that Justice Blackmun just kept raving, 'Wasn't Hillary wonderful? Wasn't she great?!'

"I remember how she summoned this very distinguished audience of 500 lawyers and judges to think about the well-being of the nation's children. She said we must start at the bottom, with attitudes and education. She cited a survey that asked Americans and Europeans, 'What is more important to your child's success: hard work or innate ability?' The Europeans said hard work, the Americans said innate ability. She speculated that America's sports culture may cause us to give too much credit to innate ability and we must do things at all levels of society to inspire education and hard work so every child can perform to his or her best potential.

"Most people are not used to hearing a woman do public policy analysis. Wives, especially, aren't supposed to effect policy. Wives are supposed to be there to open up the garden in the spring. But we lawyers can recognize intellectual excellence when we see it, and you couldn't miss it with Hillary. I came home and told everyone 'Watch out for this woman. You're going to hear more from her.'"

Hillary Rodham Clinton is a great national resource, a fine legal mind, an inspiration to aspiring women, a model of the loving yet autonomous wife, a consistent champion of children, and a good soul. I look forward to hearing more from her in the years to come.

REMARKS OF RONALD F. POLLACK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, FAMILIES, USA

When I was eleven years old, I had the opportunity to listen to a speech by, and then spend precious moments with, Eleanor Roosevelt. As part of the multiple celebrations that year marking the tenth anniversary of the United Nations, my mother organized a remarkable evening for several thousand New Yorkers, featuring Mrs. Roosevelt.

My mother organized the event on an unpaid, voluntary basis, but she decided to retain two "perks" for her family. First, she made sure that her only child would go on stage to present a bouquet of roses to the former First Lady immediately upon the conclusion of her speech. Then, she made sure that we would transport Mrs. Roosevelt from the event in our family car—an arrangement that undoubtedly presaged the need for a tighter and more protective Secret Service.

That evening, 40 years ago, is etched indelibly in my memory. Mrs. Roosevelt was eloquent and compassionate, dignified and warm, purposeful and friendly. She inspired a genuine sense of goodness about public life.

Years later, I carefully observed my daughter's reactions when she met—and when she watched television interviews with—another very remarkable First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton. My daughter, Sarah, who (unlike her younger brothers) is not particularly awed by famous people, has an unmistakable

glow when she listens to the First Lady. On one such occasion, during the Presidential campaign, Sarah declared most emphatically: "Hillary Clinton makes me feel very good!"

As Sarah later explained to me, Hillary makes her feel good to be a woman. Sarah finds inspiration and reaffirmation from women who are strong and gentle, determined and kind, and who have a finely-tuned, life-affirming social conscience. It is those qualities that Hillary enlivens in Sarah.

Above the din of shrill acrimony and demonization that passes as political discourse these days, Sarah—through Hillary's example—has gained a much better understanding about the positive potentialities of public service.

Sarah's perceptions about the First Lady are well grounded. Of Hillary's many fine qualities that abundantly substantiate Sarah's impressions, three are particularly salient for me.

First, empathy. Although the First Lady's virtuosity in testifying before five Congressional committees on health reform was properly chronicled, her interactions in meetings with ordinary people were, in my judgment, even more impressive. For people experiencing unfathomable emotions watching loved ones bear the direst consequences of an inequitable health system, Hillary was a reassuring presence. She listened. She consoled. She explained. She gave hope. She infused strength, and she seemed to gain strength in return.

Second, an indomitable spirit. No one can deny that the First Lady has had to confront difficult, and undoubtedly emotional, moments of a profound adversity during the past four years. But, even during the most troubled periods of the campaign, and the denouement of the health reform fight, and this past November's elections, the First Lady demonstrated a resiliency that is truly remarkable. She remains focused. She moves on. Through her example, and with her words of encouragement, she helps us to find the next, highest ground.

Third, her unswerving support for low-income and other vulnerable constituencies. Time and again, throughout her career and her ascendancy to national leadership, Hillary Clinton has been a steady, reliable and thoughtful voice for people who are poor and deserve a helping hand. At the Legal Services Corporation, in the fight for universal health coverage, as an eloquent spokesperson for America's children, and in the quest for improved educational opportunities, Hillary Clinton has effectively opened doors and championed new possibilities for "the other America." In so doing, she has enriched us all.

Sarah instinctively knows why I and our family's best friends, felt overjoyed on the night of November 8, 1992. For so many of us, it was an opportunity to dream once again. Although we now know better how difficult it will be to achieve our dreams, Hillary Rodham Clinton's vitality, inspiration and encouragement will keep us going, keep us working, keep us fighting—and keep us dreaming.

REMARKS OF ROBERT RUBIN, UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

Hillary Rodham Clinton is an unusual woman who has spent her life doing extraordinary things.

She graduated from law school at a time when few women chose law as a profession. Since then, she has balanced with grace the demands of public life with the pressures of protecting and nurturing a child being raised in the national spotlight. And with great effect, she has used her personal and professional experiences as an advocate for women, children, and families, and to advance their rights in the eyes of the law.

There is no constitutionally defined job description for the role of First Lady. She can look to tradition, to the times in which she lives, to the demands placed upon her by the President and her family. But the women who have made the greatest impact on our nation are the ones who have blazed a trail that is uniquely their own.

This is the course Hillary Rodham Clinton has followed so remarkably these last two and one-half years.

As First Lady, she has opened the White House to more Americans than have visited the First Family's residence in our history. On health care, she opened the policymaking process to victims of disease, families haunted by extraordinary health care expenses, and to the community of healers, practitioners and administrators. As a result, we are closer today than ever before to reforming our nation's health care system.

Most of all, she has opened the minds and hearts of Americans about the role, the pressures and the opportunities that come with being a First Lady, a mother, and a President's partner at this important time in our history.

As a member of the President's Cabinet, and as a former member of the President's staff, it has been my privilege to know and admire Hillary Rodham Clinton. She is a wise counselor, an enormously sensitive, decent and compassionate person, and someone to whom we have well entrusted the role of First Lady in our national life.

REMARKS OF ELIE WIESEL, ANDREW W. MELLON PROFESSOR IN THE HUMANITIES, BOSTON UNIVERSITY, NOBEL PEACE LAUREATE, 1986

Hillary Rodham Clinton is worth knowing better. The more closely one observes her, the more impressed one is by her intellectual curiosity and human sensitivity.

A woman with a mind of her own, deeply committed to social values, she sets high standards for others and ever higher ones for herself.

She does what she says and says what she wants to say—not what others want to hear.

Whatever she does, she does well, with genuine though subdued enthusiasm.

Her language is clear, her words precise, her initiatives courageous. She knows what she wants, though she also knows that one cannot obtain everything one wants.

I wish she were appointed by the President of the United States to the unpaid cabinet position of Secretary for Human Rights—a field in which she could do wonders for all those who need an intercessor.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Born: October 26, 1947, in Chicago, Illinois.

Husband: President William Jefferson Clinton.

Daughter: Chelsea Victoria Clinton.

Education: B.A. Wellesley College, 1969; J.D. Yale Law School, Yale University, 1973.

Law Practice and Professional Associations: Admitted to Arkansas Bar, 1973; U.S. District Court (Eastern and Western districts of Arkansas); U.S. Court of Appeals (8th Circuit); U.S. Supreme Court, 1975; Children's Defense Fund, Cambridge, MA and Washington, D.C., and Carnegie Council on Children, New Haven, CT, 1973–74; Counsel, Impeachment Inquiry Staff, Judiciary Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1974; Chair, American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 1987–91; Chair, Legal Services Corporation, Washington, D.C., 1978–80; Member, Board of Directors, 1977–81; Partner, Rose Law Firm, Little Rock, AR, 1977–92.

Law Teaching: Assistant Professor of Law and Director of the Legal Aid Clinic; University of Arkansas School of Law at Fayetteville, 1974–76; Assistant Professor of Law, University of Arkansas School of Law at Little Rock, 1979–80.

Publications: "Children Under the Law," Harvard Educational Review, January 1974;

Hillary Rodham, Book Note, Children's Policies: Abandonment and Neglect, 86 Yale L.J. 1522 (1977) (reviewing Steiner: The Children's Cause) (1976);

"Handbook on Legal Rights for Arkansas Women," Carolyn Armbrust [et al.], a project of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, 1977, 1987 editions;

"Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," Children's Rights, Teachers College Press, New York, 1979;

"Teacher Education: Of the People, By the People and For the People," Beyond the Looking Glass: Papers from a National Symposium on Teacher Education Policies, Practices, and Research, March 1985 and Journal of Teacher Education, January–February 1985;

"The Fight Over Orphanages," Newsweek, January 1995;

"The War on America's Children," New York Newsday, March 12, 1995;

"Investing in Sisterhood," The Washington Post, May 14, 1995.

Honors and Awards:

Honorary Doctor of Law: University of Arkansas at Little Rock, 1985; Arkansas College, Batesville, Arkansas, 1988; Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas, 1992; University of Michigan, 1993; University of Pennsylvania, 1993; University of Sunderland, England, 1993; University of Illinois, 1994; University of Minnesota, 1995; San Francisco State University, 1995.

Honorary Doctor of Public Service: The George Washington University, 1994; Who's Who in the World, 1995; Who's Who in America, 1995; Who's Who in American Law, 1994–95; Who's Who of Emerging Leaders in America, 1993–94; Who's Who of American Women, 1993–94; International Who's Who, 1994–95.

Honorary Life Member, The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi

Arkansas Bar Association and Arkansas Bar Foundation Award, 1985

Arkansas Woman of the Year, 1983

Phi Delta Kappa Award for Outstanding Layman of the Year, 1984

Pulaski County Bar Association Lawyer Citizen Award, 1987

Gayle Pettus Pontz Award, Women's Law Student Association, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, 1989

Director's Choice Award, National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation, 1991

Outstanding Lawyer-Citizen Award, Arkansas Bar Association, 1992

Lewis Hine Award, National Lawyer and Child Labor Committee, January 26, 1993

Albert Schweitzer Leadership Award, Hugh O'Brian Youth Foundation, May 10, 1993

The Iris Cantor Humanitarian Award, July 19, 1993

1993 Charles Wilson Lee Citizen Service Award, Committee for Education Funding

1993 Awareness Achievement Award, National Breast Cancer Awareness Month

Claude D. Pepper Award, The National Association for Home Care, October 19, 1993

Distinguished Service Award, National Center for Health Education, November 16, 1993

Healthcare Advocacy Award, National Symposium of Healthcare Design, November 19, 1993

National Public Service Award 1993, The Bar Association of the District of Columbia December 4, 1993

Fannie Lou Hamer Human Rights Award, Clergy and Laity Concerned, December 16, 1993
Distinguished Pro Bono Service Award, San Diego Volunteer Lawyer Program, 1994
Commitment to Life Award, AIDS Project Los Angeles, January 27, 1994
Distinguished Service Health Education & Prevention Award, National Center for Health Education, February 2, 1994
First Annual Eleanor Roosevelt Freedom Fighter Award, Alachua County Democratic Executive Committee, March 21, 1994
Social Justice Award, United Auto Workers, March 22, 1994
Brandeis Award, School of Law, University of Louisville, April 1, 1994
Benjamin E. Mays Award, A Better Chance, Inc., April 4, 1994
Ernie Banks Positivism Trophy, Emil Verban Memorial Society, April 6, 1994
Humanitarian Award, Alzheimer's Association, April 11, 1994
Elie Wiesel Foundation Award, April 14, 1994
International Broadcasting Award, Hollywood Radio and Television Society, April 26, 1994
Ellen Browning Scripps Award, Scripps College, April 26, 1994
Legislator of the Year Award, The American Physical Therapy Association, April 27, 1994
HIPPY USA Award, May 6, 1994
Women of the Year Award, Yad B'Yad Award, May 7, 1994
C. Everett Koop Medical for Health Promotion and Awareness, American Diabetes Association, May 17, 1994
Distinguished Pro Bono Service Award, San Diego Lawyer's Program, May 17, 1994
Humanitarian Award, Chicago Chapter, Hadassah Medical Organization, May 26, 1994
Coalition of Labor Union Women 20th Anniversary Award, May 20, 1994
Women of Distinction Award, National Conference for College Women Student Leaders, June 2, 1994
Mary Hatwood Futrell Award, National Education Association, June 14, 1994
Woman of Achievement Award, B'nai B'rith Women, June 15, 1994
Claude Pepper Award, National Association for Home Care Board of Directors, June 19, 1994
Women's Legal Defense Fund Award, June 23, 1994
Shining Star Award, Starlight Foundation, August 2, 1994
Martin Luther King, Jr. Award, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., August 12, 1994
Children's Diabetes Foundation Brass Ring Award, October 28, 1994
Women's Media Group Award, Women's Media Group, November 1, 1994
American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyers Family Advocate of the Year Award, Greenfield & Murphy, November 4, 1994.
Woman of Distinction Award, Women's League for Conservative Judaism, November 13, 1994
30th Anniversary of Women at Work Award in Public Policy, National Commission on Working Women, December 6, 1994
Boehm Soaring Eagle Award for Excellence in Leadership, National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation, December 12, 1994
National Woman's Law Center Award, 1994
Award for Excellence in Communication, Capital Speakers Club, January 18, 1995
National Federation of Black Women Business Owners Black Women of Courage Award to Hillary Rodham Clinton, February 8, 1995
Greater Washington Urban League Award, March 8, 1995
Golden Acorn Award, Child Development Center, March 9, 1995
Servant of Justice Award, New York Legal Aid Society, March 23, 1995
Health Educator of the Year Award, The Ryan White Foundation, April 8, 1995
Golden Image Award, Women at Work, April 9, 1995
1995 Outstanding Mother Award, National Mother's Day Committee, April 13, 1995
Eleanor Roosevelt Award, Citizen's Committee For Children of New York, Inc., April 24, 1995
United Cerebral Palsy Humanitarian Award, 1995
World Health Award, American Association for World Health, World Health Day, April 24, 1995
Brooklyn College, Presidential Medal, 1995
Memberships and Associations:
Member, Arkansas Bar Association
Member, Arkansas Trial Lawyers Association
Member, Pulaski County Bar Association
Founder and President, Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, Founder, President and Member of Board of Directors, 1977–84
Chair, Arkansas Rural Health Committee, 1979–80
Chair, Board of Directors, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, D.C., 1986–91, Member, Board of Directors, 1976–92
Chair, Arkansas Education Standards Committee, 1983–84
Yale Law School Executive Committee, New Haven, CT, 1983–88, Treasurer, 1987–88
Member, Southern Governors Association Task Force on Infant Mortality, 1984–85
Member, Commission on Quality Education, Southern Regional Education Board, 1984–1992
Member, Youth and America's Future: The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship, 1986–88
Board of Directors, Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., 1986–92
Board of Directors, Child Care Action Campaign, New York, NY, 1986–92
Board of Directors, Southern Development Bancorporation, 1986–92
Chair, Board of Directors, New World Foundation, New York, 1987–88, Member, Board of Directors, 1983–88
Board of Directors, Co-Chair for Implementation, Commission on Skills of the American Workforce, National Center for Education and the Economy, 1987–92
Board of Directors, "I Have a Dream" Foundation, 1988–89
Board of Directors, Arkansas Children's Hospital, 1988–92
Board of Directors, New Futures for Little Rock Youth, 1988–92
Member, HIPPY USA Advisory Board, 1988–92
Board of Directors, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, 1988–93
Charter Member, Business Leadership Council, Wellesley College, 1989
Board of Directors, Children's Television Workshop, 1989–92
Board of Directors, TCBY Enterprises, Inc., 1989–92
Board of Directors, National Alliance of Business Center for Excellence in Education, 1990–91
Board of Directors, Public/Private Ventures, 1990–92
Arkansas Business and Education Alliance, 1991–92
President, Board of Directors, Arkansas Single Parent Scholarship Fund Program, 1990–92
Chair, National Board of the Claudia Company, 1991–93
Honorary President of the Girl Scouts of America, 1993-present
Member, Visiting Committee, University of Chicago Law School, 1991–92
Alumnae Trustee, Wellesley College, 1992–93

DEDICATEES OF ANNUAL SURVEY OF AMERICAN LAW

1942 Harry Woodburn Chase
1943 Frank H. Sommer
1944 Manley O. Hudson
1945 Carl McFarland
1946 Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., A.S. Mike Monroney, George B. Galloway
1947 Roscoe Pound
1948 Arthur T. Vanderbilt
1949 Herbert Hoover
1950 Bernard Baruch
*1951 Robert P. Pattersonn
1952 Phanor J. Eder
1953 Edward S. Corwin
1954 Arthur Lehman Goodhart
1955 John Johnston Parker
1956 Henry T. Heald
1957 Herbert F. Goodrich
1958 Harold H. Burton
1959 Charles E. Clark
1960 Whitney North Seymour
1961 Austin Wakeman Scott
1962 Fred H. Blume
1963 Laurence P. Simpson
*1964 Edmond Cahn
1965 Charles S. Desmond
1966 Tom C. Clark
1967 Francis J. Putman
1968/69 Russell D. Niles
1969/70 Jack L. Kroner
*1970/71 Frank Rowe Kenison
1971/72 Robert A. Leflar
1972/73 Justine Wise Polier
1973/74 Walter J. Derenberg
1974/75 Robert B. McKay
1976 Herbert Peterfreund
1977 Charles D. Breitel
1978 Henry J. Friendly
1979 David L. Bazelton
1980 Edward Weinfeld
1981 William J. Brennan, Jr.
1982 Shirley M. Hufstedler
1983 Thurgood Marshall
1984 Hans A. Linde
1985 J. Skelly Wright
1986 William Wayne Justice
1987 Frank M. Johnson, Jr.
1988 Bernard Schwartz
1989 Barbara Jordan
1990 Harry A. Blackmun
1991 Martin Lipton
1992/93 John Paul Stevens
1994 Judith S. Kaye
1995 Hillary Rodham Clinton
*In memoriam.

SOUTH PACIFIC NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE TREATY [SPNFZ]

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I was gratified yesterday by the French announcement in support of a complete ban on nuclear testing next year. Unfortunately, at present, France intends to conduct a series of nuclear tests in the South Pacific during the remainder of this year and the first part of next year.

The decision of the new French Government has brought about a storm of protest from Pacific nations who had fervently hoped that they would never see nuclear testing in their region.

So far, the United States, Britain, and France have maintained a relatively united public position with regard to nuclear testing. This changed with the decision of the French to resume testing while Britain and the United States have placed a moratorium on their own nuclear testing.