

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	re: personal stories (8 pages)	n.d.	b(6)
002. memo	Griffin Schultz and David Yarkin to First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton re: political (3 pages)	09/12/1995	Personal Misfile
003. memo	re: Mammography Awareness Campaign Kick-Off [partial] (2 pages)	04/30/1995	b(6)
004. speech	re: Remarks of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Mama-Gram Campaign Kickoff [partial] (1 page)	05/01/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20060

FOLDER TITLE:

Working Women - Women's Domestic Issues [1]

2013-0534-S

rc1712

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Working Women

Women's Domestic Issues

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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AFL-CIO [The American Federation of Labor
and Congress of Industrial Organizations]

Working Women



*free working
women*

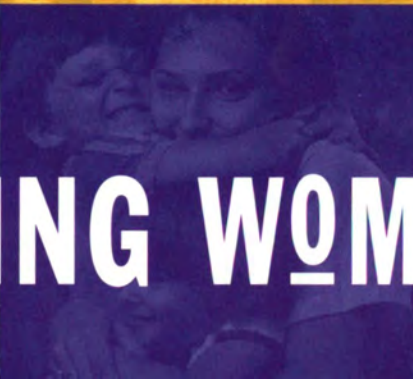
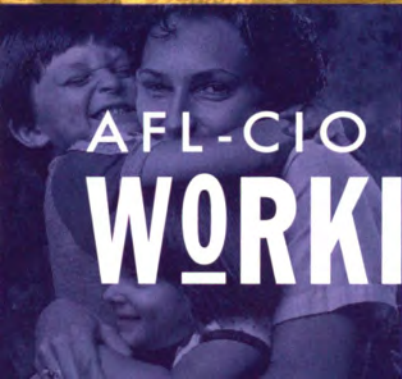
**For every woman who works
for a living and labors for respect...**



**For every mom who raises
up a family and holds down a job...**



**And for every daughter
who follows in our footsteps...**



AFL-CIO

WORKING WOMEN

1996 *Washingtonians of the Year*



The Washingtonian of the Year awards were established in 1971 to recognize people who have made this a better city. Over four hundred men and women have been honored. Winners are selected by the magazine from nominations submitted by the public, and profiles of the Washingtonians of the Year are featured in the January issue of *The Washingtonian*.

WASHINGTONIAN

*1996
Washingtonians
of the Year*

Carolyn Aldigé
Thomas M. Davis III
Rev. Jim Dickerson
Alma and Joseph Gildenhorn
Rev. Eugenio Hoyos
Joyce Ladner
The Founders of the Levine
School of Music: Ruth Cogen,
Diana Engel, and Jaclin Marlin
David Levy
Thomas Lewis
Jair Lynch
Paula Silvert Moore
Robert E. Parilla
Sharon Percy Rockefeller
David W. Rutstein
Bob Ryan

*You are
Cordially Invited
To Attend*

Phil & Ellie Merrill, publishers
of *The Washingtonian* magazine,
and John Limpert, editor,
cordially invite you to
join them in honoring the
1996 Washingtonians of the Year

Wednesday, January 15, 1997

Reception 11:30

Luncheon 12:00

The Ballroom

The Willard Hotel

1401 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC

Please RSVP by enclosed card

202-296-3600

(nontransferable)

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

MEMORANDUM

From: Lauren Asher, Women's Bureau 
To: Karen Finney
Julie Green
Nicole Rabner
Kim Widdess
Date: November 2, 1995
Subject: Press Coverage of 10/31 White House Event

Thanks so much for all your work to make Tuesday's Honor Roll event such a success. The families and employers had a terrific time, and we've already heard from some who were inspired to go back and start drumming up more family-friendly action in their companies or communities.

The event got a great mix of regional and national coverage, both broadcast and print. Below is a list of what we've gotten confirmed so far, and attached is a sampling of print clips. Thanks again, and please call me at 219-6652, x107 if you have any questions.

National TV

ABC - Good Morning America
NBC - Nightside
CNN - Headline News
CNBC - Capital Gains
Conus
Potomac
COX

National Print

AP
Gannett
States News Service
Washington Post -- Mary McGrory (tba)
BNA

National Radio

Bloomberg
Marketplace
NPR - All Things Considered
Working Mom on the Run (syndicated)

Regional Print

Atlanta Constitution
Attleboro Sun Chronicle
Boston Globe

more ->

Regional Print (cont'd)

Boston Herald
Boulder Daily Camera
Cleveland Plain Dealer
Denver Post
Fort Worth Star Telegram
Hartford Courant
Kansas City Star
Paddock Publications -- 22 Illinois community dailies

Regional TV

KRON-NBC (San Francisco, CA)
WFSB-CBS (Hartford, CT)
WMAQ-NBC (Chicago, IL)
KCTV-CBS (Kansas City, MO)
KSHB-NBC (Kansas City, MO)
WJAR-NBC (Cranston, RI)
WFAA-ABC (Dallas, TX)
Rocky Mountain News

Regional Radio

KCBS (San Francisco, CA)
WTIC (Hartford, CT)
WSTC (Stamford, CT)
WTOP (Washington, DC)
WBBM (Chicago, IL)
WARA (Attleboro, MA)
WBZ (Boston, MA)
WSMX (Boston, MA)
WRKO (Boston, MA)
Minnesota Radio Network
WCCO (Minneapolis, MN)
KSTP (Minneapolis, MN)
WMTR (Morristown, NJ)
WBBR (New York City, NY)
WHAM (Rochester, NY)
KLIF (Dallas, TX)

Nation



AP PHOTO

LONG DAY - Hillary Rodham Clinton holds a yawning Stephanie O'Neil of Stoneham yesterday at a White House ceremony recognizing corporations that have implemented "family-friendly" benefits and programs to help working mothers. The 3-year-old's mother, Susan O'Neil, is a full-time administrative aide in the Boston office of Deloitte and Touche, a management consulting firm.

Date: 10-31-95 5:05pm

ASSOCIATED PRESS

First Lady and Labor Secretary Honor Family-Friendly Companies

WASHINGTON (AP) - Hillary Rodham Clinton forged ahead with a speech honoring family-friendly companies, but a 3-year-old in pink neon tights stole the show at the White House Tuesday.

Stephanie O'Neil, daughter of an employee at Deloitte & Touche, one of the companies honored, sat on stage her tights, a matching pink and purple striped tunic and black patent leather shoes.

She greeted late guests by squinting and waving a wadded up tissue. She squirmed onto her mother Susan's lap. She rubbed her eyes at the press, blew her nose at photographers and made lion yawns during Mrs. Clinton's speech. And as Labor Secretary Robert Reich began to address the guests, the Boston toddler climbed onto the first lady's lap and chatted with her.

The ceremony was held to announce a \$100 million initiative by American businesses committed to developing family-friendly workplaces. Mrs. Clinton also thanked the 32 American companies that have already implemented family-friendly policies.

"We can no longer talk about the economy without talking about families," Reich, father of two boys, said.

Senior executives from 20 leading companies of the American Business Collaboration for Quality Dependent Care, families of their employees and 12 representative from companies who have joined the Working Women Count Honor Roll and families of their employees attended the event.

Ruth Katz of Work Family Directions, a consulting firm that advises companies on family-friendly policies said companies are finally learning that generous family policies can help companies save money.

"These are Fortune 500 companies that have to answer to their shareholders," she said. "And they're discovering they can justify the expense as beneficial to the company."

James J. Schiro, senior partner of Price Waterhouse said competitors should put their differences aside when collaborating on regional child care initiatives. "Babies in the child care center are not going to exchange trade secrets," he said.

11/01/95 12:15 202 523 8899
11/01/95 08:44 303 391 8982

OIPA WDC

→→ WOMENS BUREAU DI 002/002

US LABOR/DENVER →→ OIPA D.C.

002

Wednesday, November 1, 1995 THE DENVER POST



Associated Press / Doug Mills

A LONG DAY: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton holds a yawning Stephanie O'Neil, 3, of Stoneham, Mass., during a ceremony yesterday at the White House to recognize corporations and meet with families that benefit from the firms' family-friendly policies.

THE BOSTON HERALD, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1995 3



POOPED OUT: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton holds yawning Stoneham tyke Stephanie O'Neil, 3, during Stephanie's important day of playing stenographer during a White House business summit.

AP Photo

Stoneham tot steals summit show

By BETH ROGERS

Three-year-old Stephanie O'Neil of Stoneham met with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday, but passed up the opportunity to pet first cat Socks to stay inside the White House and color.

Stephanie and her mother, Susan, were part of an American Business Collaboration group that traveled to Washington, D.C., to hall family-friendly businesses.

The O'Neils met with Clinton and Labor Secretary Robert Reich, who were announcing a \$700 million initiative by American businesses commit-

ted to developing family-friendly workplaces.

As Reich began to address the guests, Stephanie climbed onto the first lady's lap and chatted with her.

She decided to play summit stenographer and stay with her mom and the big guns as the other children attended an important meeting with Socks. "She took notes and colored underneath the table on a nice Oriental rug between mine and Mr. Reich's legs," O'Neil said.

Stephanie had already stolen the show by rubbing her eyes at the press and blowing her nose at photographers. The tyke even made lion yawns during Clinton's remarks.

Daily Camera

TUESDAY
October 31, 1995

TODAY

Local woman to be honored by White House

By LINDA CORNETT
Camera Staff Writer

Today, Louisville consultant Cindy Carrillo meets Hillary Clinton at a White House ceremony honoring businesses that make it easier for employees to balance work and family.

Carrillo's 10-year-old daughter, Alexandra, whose birth inspired Carrillo to start her Work Options Group, will be at her side.

Carrillo is one of 10 business owners involved in the ceremony on Working Women Count Day. The event was organized by the Labor Department's Women's Bureau.

Carrillo, who was an administrative aide in U.S. Sen. Gary Hart's Denver office in the early '80s, was working at a Denver center for children and youth when her first child was born. She was also working on a master's degree. "I was one of the lucky ones; I could have a crib in my office. But it wasn't easy. I felt the difficulties firsthand and I thought, 'There are others just like me. I have to find some way to address this.'"

The answer was Work Options Group, a consulting firm that helps businesses meet the needs of employees in dealing with family pressures. The Boulder Business Dependent Care Association — a coalition of 15 businesses that provides emergency child care, sick child care, vacation camps and activities on no-school days — was created and is managed by Carrillo's four-person firm.

Two additional coalitions have been formed, in Adams and Arapahoe counties. Carrillo is planning to expand into the rest of Colorado, Arizona and California to help employers help workers balance work and personal life.

"In my daughter's lifetime, in 10 years, it has changed dramatically," Carrillo said. "I want it to be standard issue that she and her brother will be able to go to work and their employer will have programs in place that will let them be the best employees they can be because they can balance their work and personal lives."

A10 Wednesday, November 1, 1995

WASHINGTON

The Atlanta Journal / The Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON BRIEF

Child steals show at family-oriented White House event

As Hillary Rodham Clinton forged ahead Tuesday with a White House speech honoring U.S. businesses committed to developing family-friendly workplaces, a 3-year-old in pink neon tights stole the show.

Stephanie O'Neil, daughter of a Boston employee of Deloitte & Touche, one of the companies honored, sat onstage in her tights, a matching pink and purple striped tunic and black patent leather shoes.

She greeted late guests by squinting and waving a wadded-up tissue. She squirmed onto her mother Susan's lap. She rubbed her eyes at the press, blew her nose and made lion yawns during Clinton's speech. And as Labor Secretary Robert Reich began to speak, Stephanie climbed onto the first lady's lap and chatted with her.

"We can no longer talk about the economy without talking about families," said Reich, father of two boys.



Associated Press

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has her hands full Tuesday as she holds Stephanie O'Neil, 3, of Stoneham, Mass.

DALLAS
Established 1970

Fort Worth, TX
Fort Worth Star Telegram
(Cir. O. 281,685)

11.1.95

Star-Telegram, 2 other N. Texas

BYRON HUTCHESON

Fort Worth Star-Telegram Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Urging employers to ease the stress on working parents, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton hosted a White House reception yesterday for family-friendly companies that offer benefits ranging from free laundry pickup to on-site child care.

Among the companies honored are three from North Texas: the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Exxon and Texas Instruments. Clinton and Labor Secretary Robert Reich invited high-ranking executives from more than 20 companies to the White House to encourage corporate policies that make life easier for working families.

A White House ceremony recognizes businesses that make life easier for working parents, offering benefits from on-site child care to flexible work schedules.

"We all have a stake in what happens to all of our children," the first lady said. "We all need help in making sure our work and family obligations are fulfilled."

Recalling her experiences as a working mother, Clinton told of the pressures she faced in juggling her legal career with family duties, including reporting to work after sleepless nights with a sick child.

"It really is hard to keep body and soul together on lots of days," she said. "I've been there, done that."

The first lady singled out the

Star-Telegram in her brief remarks, praising the newspaper for permitting flexible work schedules and work at home by some employees. She also cited the paper's maternity care program and its private nursing room for new mothers at the downtown office.

"Now, every reporter here, I hope, will tell their paper, their station, their news service about what the Fort Worth Star-Telegram is doing to make it possible for families to stay together and earn a living," Clinton said, directing her remarks to the bank of TV cameras at

companies honored as family-friendly

the back of the East Room.

Exxon, based in Irving, and Texas Instruments, based in Dallas, were included because they participate in the American Business Collaboration for Quality Dependent Care, a group of 21 corporations that have donated \$100 million toward child- and elder-care programs nationwide.

"Everyone wins when smart companies help working women and working men and working families thrive," Reich said.

Other employers cited for family-friendly policies included the city of Kansas City, Mo., which gives government workers four hours of paid leave each year to participate in their children's school events.

Honoree Kwasha Lipton, a ben-

efits consulting firm in Fort Lee, N.J., provides laundry pickup and delivery for its 600 employees.

Working mother Susan O'Neil of suburban Boston offered a firsthand account of the difficulties of coping with a job and a family. Her 3-year-old daughter, Stephanie, stayed in Clinton's lap for most of the White House ceremony.

O'Neil, an administrator at Deloitte & Touche, said she starts her day at 5 a.m. so she can do the family laundry before work. She praised her company for giving her a flexible schedule.

"We're just the average American working family trying to live and do the best we can, the best way we know how," she said. "The bottom line is, we need to put stock in our families."



Hillary Rodham Clinton says that like most working women with children, she has juggled job and family responsibilities.

Labor Department Regional News Clips

REGION VII

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1995



Nation

Wednesday, November 1, 1995
The Kansas City Star

NS

SLEEPY CEREMONY



The Associated Press

A White House function honoring family-friendly companies seemed to exhaust Stephanie O'Neill, 3, of Stoneham, Mass. The child, whose parent's employer was honored, stayed close to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. The event was held to announce a \$100 million initiative by American businesses committed to family-friendly workplaces.

ROCKY MTN. NEWS 11-1-95

THE INSIDE STORY

Rocky Mountain News
Denver, Colorado
Nov. 1, 1995

Toddler steals the show from Hillary Clinton

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton forged ahead with a speech honoring family-friendly companies, but a 3-year-old in pink neon tights stole the show Tuesday at the White House.

Stephanie O'Neil, daughter of an employee at Deloitte & Touche, one of the companies honored, sat on stage in her tights, a matching pink and purple striped tunic and black patent leather shoes.

She greeted late guests by squinting and waving a wadded-up tissue. She squirmed onto the lap of her mother, Susan. She rubbed her eyes at the press, blew her nose at photographers and made lion yawns during Clinton's speech. And as Labor Secretary Robert Reich began to address the guests, the Boston toddler climbed onto Clinton's lap and chatted with her.

The ceremony was held to announce a \$100 million initiative by American businesses committed to developing family-friendly workplaces.

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Facts on **Working Women**

file

U.S. Department of Labor
Women's Bureau



No. 96-3
October 1996

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: A WORKPLACE ISSUE

Each year about one million women become victims of violence at the hands of an intimate--a husband, ex-husband, boyfriend, or ex-boyfriend. Some estimates are even higher. Women are about six times more likely than men to experience violence committed by an intimate.¹

At work, women are also more likely than men to be attacked by an intimate, whereas men are more likely to be attacked by a stranger. Each year nearly one million individuals become victims of violent crime while working or on duty. During the period 1987-1992, five percent of the women victimized at work were attacked by a husband, ex-husband, boyfriend, or ex-boyfriend compared to one percent of men who were victimized by an intimate.² When an employee is the target of attack in the workplace by an intimate, other employees may also be placed at risk.

Homicide is by far the most frequent manner in which women workers are fatally injured at work. Although more women at work are killed in the course of a robbery or other crime, or by a work associate, during the period 1992-94, 17 percent of their alleged attackers were current or former husbands or boyfriends.

For Black women, the figure was 28 percent, and, for Hispanic women, 20 percent.³

Domestic Violence Doesn't Just Affect a Woman Outside of Work

Domestic violence can interfere with a woman's ability to get, perform, or keep a job.

One small pilot study of employed battered women found that almost three-quarters reported being harassed by their abusive partners in person or by telephone while at work and more than half reported missing three days of work each month because of abuse.⁴

In another small non-random study of domestic violence victims, 96 percent of those who were employed had some type of problem in the workplace as a direct result of their abuse or abuser. These included being late (more than 60 percent), missing work (more than 50 percent), having difficulty performing one's job (70 percent), being reprimanded for problems associated with the abuse (60 percent), or losing a job (30 percent).⁵ Sometimes the abuser actually prevents the victim from working outside the home at all.

What Employers Can Do

Many employers are unaware that domestic violence affects their employees' job performance or don't know how to help them effectively. Others are aware of the problem,

Notes
"The Economist"

Equality Workplace
Home
* Balance work & family

equal pay
2 jobs / most work
in town
no time

Women and work A survey by *The Economist* Publication: July 18th 1998

Fifty years ago, the great majority of women in developed countries stayed at home to look after household and children. Today the new norm in most rich countries is for women to work outside the home--but without abandoning their traditional jobs as housekeepers and mothers. This process has gone furthest in the Nordic countries, North America and Britain, where the proportion of women of working age who have paid jobs is approaching that for men. But with a few exceptions, the same trend is in evidence throughout the developed world.

resp. for older
sick parents
single parents
parently

The driving force is a complicated mix of demographic, economic, political, cultural and social factors. Many women want or need to work because traditional family patterns are breaking down and they may have to do their own bread-winning. But many are also keen to work because they find it enjoyable and fulfilling. In most advanced countries they have ready access to birth control, so they are able to keep their families to a size that allows them to have a career as well. Labour-saving devices and the growing availability of goods and services that reduce the need for domestic effort give them more time to pursue interests outside the home.

wages 70%
7 months
job from

Moreover, at a time when many more women are willing and able to work, labour markets are changing in ways that favour their employment. As manufacturing shrinks and services expand, many more opportunities are being created for the sort of non-standard, flexible jobs, sometimes part-time or with unorthodox hours, that often suit women particularly well. And policymakers in most developed countries are keen to encourage women to take paid jobs, pointing out that the resulting boost to the labour force will promote growth and help to counteract the demographic dangers posed by a shrinking working population and a rising number of pensioners.

College
ad training
Home Schooling

It would seem, then, that everybody's interests coincide. Women want to work, many new jobs are highly suitable for them, and more working women are good for the economy as a whole. But the reality is not as convenient as that. Although women work in ever greater numbers, many of the jobs they do are low-quality and badly paid. Women are still hugely under-represented in top jobs--whether in management, the professions or politics and government--and often face discrimination. They still seem to do most of the domestic chores, and if they have children their problems are compounded because responsibility for child care usually rests with them. In some countries the very infrastructure--shop hours, the school day, the difficulty of finding child care--seems to conspire against working women.

Welfare
reform

This survey will examine the effect of women's move into paid work on the economy, lifestyles and consumption patterns, demography and the family, and society itself. It will conclude that changes are needed to achieve a new equilibrium, and that these will involve men just as much as women.

Families seem under strain

PRESIDENT CLINTON AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE:

Supporting Women and Families

EXPANDING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES:

- **Passed the Family & Medical Leave Act (FMLA).** Family and Medical Leave enables workers to take up to 12 weeks unpaid leave to care for a new baby or ailing family member without jeopardizing their job. Approximately fifteen million workers have already benefited from FMLA since its enactment. And the President proposed expanding the Family & Medical Leave Act to allow workers up to 24 hours per year of unpaid leave for parent-teacher conferences or routine medical care for a child.
- **Cut taxes for 15 million working families** by extending the Earned Income Tax Credit.
- **Increased the Minimum Wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15**, giving 6 million women a raise.
- **Narrowed the wage gap.** Last year, the median earnings of women working full-time increased 2.4%. In 1996, the median earnings of women represented 74% of the median earnings for men, the narrowest gap ever.
- **Highest home ownership rate in history.** There are 67.1 million American families, including 15.2 million households headed by women, who own homes, nearly 6 million new homeowners since the President took office.

MAKING OUR HOMES AND COMMUNITIES SAFER:

- **Putting 100,000 more police on the streets.** Because of President Clinton's Crime Bill, over 70,000 officers are already keeping our neighborhoods and communities safe, on the way to 100,000. And violent crime has dropped five years in a row - the longest period of decline in 60 years.
- **Signed the Assault Weapons Ban** into law as well as **the Brady Bill**, which has already kept guns out of the hands of 300,000 felons, fugitives and individuals under restraining orders related to domestic harassment. The President also signed into law an extension of the Brady Law, which prohibits anyone convicted of a domestic violence offense -- misdemeanor or felony -- from owning or possessing a firearm.
- **Signed Megan's Law** allowing community-notification of sex offenders.
- **Championed the Violence Against Women Act**, the cornerstone of the President's efforts to fight domestic violence, and created an office at the Department of Justice dedicated to combating violence against women.
- **More than tripled funding to domestic violence shelters** and instituted new penalties against men who stalk, threaten or abuse women across state lines.
- **Established nationwide 24-hour domestic violence hotline.** The hotline (1-800-797-SAFE) provides immediate crisis intervention, counseling and referrals for those in need. Since the hotline opened, there have been over 140,000 calls from all 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

INVESTING IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

- **Largest investment in education in 30 years.** Maintaining his longtime commitment to education, the President enacted the largest investment in education in 30 years -- and the largest investment in higher education since the G.I. Bill -- by signing the 1997 Balanced Budget Act.
- **Providing early education to more than 830,000 children with Head Start.** 200,000 more children are enrolled in Head Start today than in 1992.
- **Promoted national service** and educational opportunities through AmeriCorps.
- **Striving for excellence with national education standards** and **signed Goals 2000** establishing world-class educational standards.
- **Fought for passage of education tax breaks to promote lifelong learning.** Representing the largest single increase in higher education since the G.I. Bill, the Balanced Budget includes a \$1,500 Hope Scholarship to make the first two years of college universally available, and a 20-percent tuition tax credit for college juniors, seniors, graduate students, and working Americans pursuing lifelong learning.

Hope
Scholarship
grants

CARING FOR OUR CHILDREN:

- **Imposed strict measures to keep cigarettes out of the hands of our children** by restricting youth-targeted advertising; and the FDA made 18 the minimum age to purchase tobacco products nationwide, requiring photo I.D.s for anyone under the age of 27.
- **Took steps to ensure children have safe medications.** Unveiled an FDA regulation that protects children by requiring manufacturers to study appropriate dosage levels of drugs for pediatric populations.
- **Held First-Ever White House Conference on Child Care and White House Conference on Early Child Development and Learning.** In April 1997, the President and First Lady held the White House Conference on Early Child Development and Learning to highlight the benefits of early nurturing by parents. And in October 1997, the White House Conference on Child Care began a dialogue on the child care challenges facing parents today -- availability, affordability, and assuring safety and quality.
- **Proposed the largest single investment in child care in the nation's history.** Between FY93 and FY97, federal funding for child care has increased by nearly 79%, providing child care services for over one million children. The President's new \$20 billion child care proposal will double the number of children receiving child care subsidies to more than two million and increases tax credits for three million working families to help them pay for child care.
- **Extended health care to millions of children with the Children's Health Initiative,** the single largest investment in Health Care for children since 1965. The President fought to ensure that the Balanced Budget included \$24 billion to provide meaningful health care coverage to millions of uninsured children.
- **Fought for and won \$500 child tax credit for 27 million families with 45 million children under age 17.** Thirteen million children from families with income below \$30,000 will receive the child tax credit as a result of the President's efforts.
- **Signed Landmark Adoption and Safe Families Act.** This law will help thousands of children waiting in foster care move more quickly into safe and permanent homes.
- **Signed the Comprehensive Childhood Immunization Initiative.** Thanks to President Clinton, immunization rates among two-year-olds have reached historic highs.

- **Launched new strategies to reduce the high rate of teen pregnancies.** Teen births have fallen six years in a row, by 7.4 percent from 1991 to 1996.

IMPROVING OUR NATION'S HEALTH:

- **Protected and Strengthened Medicare.** The Balanced Budget Act extended the life of the Medicare Trust Fund until at least 2010; expanded choices in health plans; and provided beneficiaries new preventive benefits, including more affordable annual mammograms for all beneficiaries, cervical cancer screening, and tests to help detect osteoporosis. And the President has put forth a new proposal that will help older women. The new options will help Americans ages 55 to 65 to access health insurance, including buying into Medicare.
- **Increased funding for breast cancer research.** Since the President took office, funding for breast cancer research, prevention and treatment has nearly doubled, from about \$276 million in FY 1993 to \$513 million in the President's FY 1998 budget. Implemented the Mammography Quality Standards Act to ensure the quality of mammograms; women can find a certified mammography facility by calling 1-800-4-CANCER.
- **Fought for greater health security for America's families.** The President signed into law the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act which helps millions of Americans who move from one job to another, who are self-employed, or who have pre-existing medical conditions keep their health insurance.
- **Protecting patients through a Health Care Consumer Bill of Rights.** Called on Congress to pass Federally enforceable consumer health care protections that should contain a range of protections, including: guaranteed access to needed health care specialists -- including access to specialists for women's health services -- to ensure that patients are provided appropriate high quality care; access to emergency room services when and where the need arises, an assurance that medical records are confidential; and access to a meaningful internal and external appeals process for consumers to resolve their differences with their health plans and health care providers.
- **Preventing discrimination based on genetic information both by health plans and employers.** Urged Congress to pass bipartisan legislation to prohibit health plans from inappropriately using genetic screening information to deny coverage, set premiums, or to distribute confidential information. The President also has supported legislation that ensures that employers do not use genetic information to discriminate against employees.
- **Endorsed legislation that would ban drive-thru mastectomies,** allowing women to stay in the hospital at least 48 hours following a mastectomy.
- **Ended drive-thru deliveries.** Proposed and signed into law legislation requiring insurers to cover at least 48 hours of a post-natal hospital stay (72 hours for a Cesarean).

PROMOTING REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES FOR WOMEN:

- **Reversed the "Gag Rule"** limiting the information federally funded family planning clinics could give to women.
- **Increased Funding for Title X.** The President's FY99 proposal will increase Title X Family Planning grants by \$15 million -- a 46% increase since FY92.
- **Signed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act,** establishing a safety-zone around women's health clinics.

GENERATING MORE BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN:

- **Women are starting businesses at twice the rate of all businesses.** There are nearly 8 million women-owned businesses in the U.S., generating nearly \$2.3 trillion in sales. The Small Business Administration's Office of Women's Business Ownership is working to foster this growth.
- **Tripled the Number of Small Business Loans to Women Entrepreneurs.** Between 1993 and 1997 the SBA approved nearly 50,000 loans to women entrepreneurs under the 7(a) and 504 loan programs. Last year alone, the Small Business Administration granted more than 10,000 loans, worth \$1.67 billion, to women small business owners, triple the number of loans granted in 1992.
- **Conducted a survey over 250,000 working women** to learn more about their workplace experiences.

WOMEN AS PARTNERS IN DECISION MAKING:

- **41 percent of Administration appointees are women**, by far the highest percentage appointed by any previous President. And women hold 29 percent of the top positions requiring Senate confirmation (PAS).
- **Appointed the first women ever** to serve as Attorney General, Janet Reno, and Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright. Including the Attorney General and Secretary of State, women make up 27 percent of the Clinton Cabinet: Alexis Herman, Secretary of Labor; Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services; Carol Browner, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; Janet Yellen, Chair of the Council of Economic Advisors; and Charlene Barchevsky, United States Trade Representative.
- **A third of all judicial nominees are women**, the highest proportion ever.
- **Nominate the second woman to serve on the Supreme Court.** During his first year in office, President Clinton nominated Ruth Bader Ginsberg to the United States Supreme Court. Justice Ginsburg is only the second woman to serve on the nation's highest court.

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January 7, 1996, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: VIEWPOINTS, Pg. 7F

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HEADLINE: WORLD FEELS ITS AGE;
SOARING POPULATION;
OF ELDERLY POSING;
A GLOBAL DILEMMA

BYLINE: BARBARA BECK; The Economist (of London)

BODY:

Here is a prediction with a good chance of coming true. A year from now, if spared by the grim reaper, you will be one year older.

And by adding that extra year to your anno domini, you will have made your own tiny contribution to making the world grow older. People are living longer, and the number of births is increasing more slowly.

In 1990 some 18 percent of the OECD countries' population were over 60 years old. By 2030, say experts at the World Bank, that figure will have risen to over 30 percent.

But it is not just the developed countries that are aging: in most other parts of the world, too, numbers of over-60s are set roughly to double over the next 30-40 years. Only Africa, on current form, looks likely to remain a young continent for some decades yet.

Why worry if the world is graying? After all, this is happening for reasons that most people would welcome.

Families even in many of the poorer countries are getting smaller because parents no longer have to allow for high infant mortality; and also because better educated parents find it easier to see that more might mean worse. Birth rates in Japan and the European Union are well below replacement level.

At the other end of life, improved medical care and healthier lifestyles have seen to it that many more people survive beyond the biblical "three score years and ten," and that most of them are a great deal fitter than the Methuselahs of old.

The trouble is that most countries have not been very good at adjusting to this rapid change. The prolonged "baby boom" after World War II made them think about overpopulation and paying for education rather than provision for old age. Now the debate has changed, but there has been more talk than action.

In most developed countries retirement was originally set at 60 or 65 because people did not live much beyond that age. But life expectancy is rising constantly.

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In rich countries, a man reaching the official retirement age can now expect to live another 15 years; a woman about 19. In poor countries their post-retirement prospects are even better.

And, on present trends, by about 2030 all of them can expect to live 10 years longer still.

But it also means that in most countries the deal between the generations -- pay now, be paid for later -- is under severe threat. Most countries' main way of looking after their old folks, the state pension, is becoming too expensive.

Already in the OECD countries a quarter of all government spending goes on public-sector pensions. These usually operate on a pay-as-you-go basis, which means that current pensions are paid for by current contributions. But many countries are running out of people to pay those contributions.

In the European Union, for example, at present every five people of working age (not all of whom, remember, will be working) support one pensioner. On present trends, in 30 or 40 years' time they will have to support two. The chances are that this will prove politically impossible.

Already some governments are beginning to wriggle out of earlier promises of ever-bigger pensions and many have started encouraging their citizens to supplement their state pensions with some kind of private pension.

But the argument between the generations is not just about pensions. Medical expenses too will burgeon as people get older. Already the very old consume a disproportionately large share of the total health-care budget.

In the old days, when people became too frail to look after themselves, the family stepped in. In poorer countries it generally still does. But in richer countries the family is not what it was, and women, who used to be the main carers, are increasingly going out to work.

In Germany, payroll taxes have recently been raised to pay for nursing-home care. In Britain a newly market-oriented National Health Service has made it clear that it is no longer in the business of providing terminal nursing care for the old. Some old people are having to sell the houses they hoped to leave to their children to pay their nursing-home bills.

The problems seem intractable. Unless a society is prepared to encourage its old folks to wander off into the snow, Eskimo-style (or some modern equivalent), it will just have to pay up.

Clearly, though, there is likely to be some rationing of benefits. Not many public-health services, for example, will pay for a heart transplant for an 80-year-old.

Other alternatives being considered:

Demographers advocate higher birth rates to swell the numbers contributing to the upkeep of pensioners. But before they made a contribution, those extra children would cost money to bring up. Besides, people are not easily persuaded to have more children if fewer would be better for them personally.

The Buffalo News, January 7, 1996

A flow of immigrants of working age helps to lower the age profile in the host country. But absorbing such a flow creates its own problems and eventually the immigrants get older like everybody else.

Reduced pensions would bring down costs. But people can vote until they drop dead. In countries such as the United States older voters ("Gray Panthers") are already flexing their political muscles.

Contributions may have to be raised. But the working generation has a vote too, and may demur. Experience in several Latin American countries has shown that if workers get squeezed too hard, they tend to wander off into the black economy.

Expansion of private provision will have to be encouraged. A number of countries are already doing this. But coverage is patchy, and usually fails to reach the poorest part of the population.

A compulsory savings scheme may be needed to make people put something by for their old age. Some experts now argue that the only way of averting a crisis over provision for old age in the early part of the next century is to spread the load.

Three "pillars" -- state pension, an occupational one and a personal nest egg -- are much better than one, they say. Obligatory savings schemes would also do the capital markets a power of good.

Sooner or later, the official retirement age will have to go up, everywhere. At 60 or 65, many pensioners are now still in their prime.

All the same, raising the retirement age may not go down well with voters who had looked forward to a happy period of leisure after decades of grind.

Some countries are running into flak over raising the official retirement age for women, which paradoxically is often lower than that for men even though women on average live longer.

None of the more promising -- and rather unpleasant -- remedies described above will avert the looming crisis on its own. Only a combination of all of them is likely to work.

Sounds grim? Sounds better than ending up, some time in 2030, as a destitute oldie.

Barbara Beck is surveys editor for The Economist.

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HEADLINE: The road to gender equality: progress and challenges. The 1996 Jean Edmonds Lecture: Women and Work.

BYLINE: Bourgon, Jocelyne

BODY:

Friends, colleagues, honoured guests, I am pleased to be with you today during International Women's Week to deliver the third annual Jean Edmonds Lecture.

Many of us in this room knew Jean Edmonds. We remember her as a wonderful person. As a public servant, she was a role model and a pathfinder for many of us. Her contributions to the Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service is well known to all of us in this room. This address is in her honour.

Tonight, I would like to share with you some thoughts about the challenges ahead on the road to equality between men and women. But before I do, I would like to spend a few minutes in reminding us of the progress that has already been made because of the courage and determination of people like Jean Edmonds.

My speech will first of all address women in Canadian society and I am sure it will come as no great surprise that I will then speak of women in the federal public service.

Women in Canadian society

In Canadian society, we have come a long way on our journey toward equality. This progress is a tribute to the men and women who throughout the years have made the personal contributions and personal sacrifices that have brought us closer to the goal of equality. They are the unsung heroes in this cause of equality - the fathers and mothers who encourage their daughters toward higher education, the colleagues and co-workers who truly believe in equality and act accordingly, the spouses and family members who in their daily lives shoulder their fair share of family responsibilities so that all members can achieve their full potential.

It is important to recognize and celebrate these small successes because over time they are the most durable. They also give us the energy and courage to go further.

Progress to date

Women and employment

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One of the most remarkable trends in Canadian society has been the growing participation of women in the paid labour force over the past 30 years. Not only have they increased their participation, they have also increased their range of occupations:

- * they are in management;
- * they are in decision-making positions;
- * they are in traditionally male-dominated professions.

As these changes are taking place, women's earnings are also increasing. In 1991, women employed on a full-time, full-year basis earned 70 percent of the earnings of their male counterparts. A long way still to equality you would say - but also a long way from the mere 59 percent recorded 15 years earlier.

Women and education

The progress accomplished in the labour force has been largely the result of the gains women have made in higher education. Education has always been the way up and it will continue to be in the future. In 1992-93, women accounted for 52 percent of all full-time undergraduate university students in Canada, 46 percent of master's students and 35 percent of full-time doctoral students. These gains will ensure further progress in the labour force in the years to come.

Women and decision-making

Equality is not only better representation in the labour force and better education. It is also the achievement of women's full representation and participation in political and economic decision-making at all levels of Canadian society. There too, women have achieved many significant "firsts" over the last ten years. In 1993 alone, Canada had its first woman prime minister, its first woman deputy prime minister and its first woman government leader in the Senate. The same year saw the appointment of the first Aboriginal woman to the Cabinet, the first Black woman elected to the House of Commons, and the first woman elected provincial premier. Each one of these steps matters. After the first step come a second and a third, until eventually they become part of our culture. That is how real progress takes place.

Future challenges

Overall, if we look at the advances made in terms of employment, education and political representation, Canadian society has changed immensely. In Canadian society as a whole, we have made good progress over the last 15 years, and we should be proud of it. But in our celebration, we must not lose sight of the very serious challenges ahead. I would like to highlight three of them.

Two jobs

Over the next 15 years, I believe that the most important challenge of all to gender equality will have to do with rethinking family values and responsibilities. Over the last 15 years, women's gains in education helped us achieve substantial progress. Changes in the labour market, including legislative changes, have also helped create a more favourable work environment. But over the next 15 years, our approach to parenthood and family

responsibilities will be the determining factor in further progress toward gender equality. We all have a role to play.

Family means different things to each of us, but we can all agree that it is an institution in flux. Today, in most cases both parents are working. In 1990, 71 percent of parents with children under 19 years of age worked outside the home. This is a significant increase from 20 years earlier when only 30 percent did so.

Society continues to take for granted that women are the primary caregivers in the family, despite the fact that many are also part of the paid workforce. In reality, many women have two jobs, one outside the home and another in the home. It is estimated by Statistics Canada that women do two-thirds of the unpaid work in Canada.

A 1995 Universite du Quebec a Montreal study entitled Famille et travail: double statut . . . double enjeu pour les meres en emploi has shown that women work an average of 70 hours a week in paid and unpaid jobs. They feel they do not have enough time for their children or themselves, or even for sleeping. Colleagues, let us be clear - women cannot be as successful in the labour market, they cannot achieve the same career opportunities and the same economic successes as their male counterparts under these conditions. True equality must start at home.

Aging parents

There is a second trend which I find very worrisome for the future, and that is the responsibility for older and/or sick parents.

Based on Statistics Canada estimates, in addition to holding down jobs and, in many cases, raising children, one in four employed women also provides some care for elderly parents. The responsibility for elderly parents can be even more demanding and stressful than the care of young children.

As a society, we are restructuring our health care services. We are trying to ensure that senior citizens remain in their homes as long as possible. We are also reducing the length of stay of patients in hospitals in order to return them as quickly as possible to the comfort of their homes. But, as a society, we have yet to address the tough issues: Who will provide these services to our aging population and to the members of our families who require special care? Who will be home to look after older or sick parents when both spouses are at work and children are at school? what is the role of government, of the community, of the family and, more specifically, of women?

If women are expected to carry most of these responsibilities, equality will be an impossible dream. Of necessity, women will find themselves in positions of lower responsibility and therefore lower pay. They will have access to only part-time, higher-risk and short-term jobs and, therefore, in the long term, will have less economic security.

As a society, our true commitment to gender equality will be seriously tested over the coming years.

Economic dependence

According to Statistics Canada, the number of single-parent families has doubled in the last 20 years. Eighty-two percent of these families are headed by a single-parent mother who, more often than not, lives in poverty.

In Canada, poverty is often a woman's lot. It can be seen when

- * a woman head of a household has neither the education nor the work experience to give her the economic independence she needs;

- * a woman who, after having devoted years to support her family, finds herself alone and without an income - unpaid work having little value in the marketplace following the break-up of a family;

- * a woman who, because of family commitments, has access to only low-paying and part-time work.

The majority of all part-time jobs in Canada are held by women, 69 percent in 1994, a percentage that has changed little over the past two decades. More than half of these women would prefer a full-time job if they could find one and if they had the time.

In summary, in the years to come the most important challenges to equality will be fought not only in the workplace but also in every household. This will be the next stage in the equality revolution and it will involve all of us - men and women.

Women in the public service

Now let us turn to the public service. If Jean Edmonds were here with us today, she would have all kinds of stories to share about what it was like to work as a woman in the public service in years gone by. She would remind us that it was not very long ago - the 1950s - when women were forced out of government jobs when they got married. This was done to make room for men who had returned from the war.

She may have also added that in the 1970s, women entering the public service were still being told not to expect too much in the way of advancement. Of course their contributions would be valued, but they could not expect to hold the most senior positions in the public service. After all, the issues discussed at that level were of critical importance and the decisions affected all Canadians. These attitudes were an impetus for women like Jean Edmonds to work even harder to remove barriers.

It was also in this period that more and more women, well-educated and well-trained professionals, began to progress through the ranks of the public service. These women transformed the workplace by expressing their personal styles as women and as women managers.

Progress since 1990

In 1990, The Report of the Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service helped us focus on achieving further progress. The task force gave us four basic recommendations:

- * take gender balance seriously;
- * treat the lack of gender balance as a management problem, not a women's issue;
- * take action on system improvements; and
- * tackle the attitudes and the corporate culture.

So how have we done? As in Canadian society, we have seen steady improvement in the representation of women at the senior levels of the public service since the task force report was released in 1990. Some examples:

* Then, 17 percent of all deputy ministers of federal government departments were women. It is now 30 percent.

* Then, 11 percent of all heads of agencies appointed by the Governor in Council (including Crown corporations) were women. It is now 22 percent.

* Then, 9 percent of all assistant deputy ministers were women. It is now 15 percent.

* Then, 14 percent of the whole of the executive group were women. It is now 19 percent.

Furthermore, women are being represented in nontraditional positions. In the public service as in the political system we also have our list of "firsts":

* Louise Frechette, the first woman deputy minister of the Department of National Defence

* Jean McCloskey, the first woman to be appointed deputy minister of Natural Resources

* Janet Smith, the first woman principal of the Canadian Centre for Management Development and our chairperson today

* Mary Simon, the first Inuit woman to hold an ambassadorial position

* Agnes Bishop, the first woman president of the Atomic Energy Control Board.

And I could go on . . .

Beyond achieving better representation, we have also improved our practices and our systems. For instance:

* The "Khaki Parachute" clause in the Public Service Employment Act has been repealed.

* Pension reform has benefited employees in part-time positions, most of whom are women.

* The non-harassment policy was recently revised to make it more effective.

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There has been tremendous progress made by individual departments and agencies. For example:

- * The Canadian Centre for Management Development has a program to prepare members of employment equity groups for executive leadership at the highest levels of the public service.

- * Indian and Northern Affairs Canada has helped 27 women make the transition from the support category to officer-level positions.

- * Natural Resources Canada has established a project to increase the representation of women in technical and professional jobs.

- * The Department of National Defence has an initiative to hire women for machine shop "helper" positions designed to qualify them as machine shop operators within two years.

So we have made progress since 1990. We should not forget that these gains have been made during a time of restraint and cutbacks in the public service. We have done well. But, as is the case in society at large, more must be done. Once again, let me mention three challenges that lie ahead.

The future challenges

Representing Canadian society

First, the public service is an institution unlike any other because it serves all Canadians. Affirmative action for us is not simply a program or a policy, it is a necessity. To serve Canadians well, the public service must represent Canadian society as a whole. It must be composed of men and women from across the country men and women of different ethnic origins, with different backgrounds and different experiences.

We have achieved much progress without using crude instruments such as hiring quotas, even in a period of downsizing. Our way has been to create an environment that provides opportunities for all - this must continue to be our way.

In the coming years, we will see the end of downsizing and, at the same time, we will be actively recruiting to replenish our ranks at all levels as large groups of employees are preparing to retire. This will give us an unprecedented opportunity to change the demographic profile of the public service of Canada and to progress toward our goal of better representing the Canadian population. We cannot miss such an opportunity to make further progress.

Transforming the work environment

Second, we must continue to transform our working environment to make it more open to women. In spite of the progress I have described, many women in the public service continue to find that they are facing a hostile environment that is insensitive to their needs.

We have made many changes to systems and legislation. Women are moving forward. But the whole area of attitudes and values is one that needs our attention.

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Parental responsibility

Third, I would like to address public servants and their parental responsibilities.

The pressures on Canadian families which I mentioned previously are equally important for our employees. We must assist our employees to fulfil their parental responsibilities in a more equitable manner.

Our work environment expects women to use their parental leave to care for their family's needs. I am surprised that many men are concerned about the reaction that a similar request for family-related leave would incite in their work environment. Equality requires a change of attitude vis-a-vis both men and women, particularly when it comes to family responsibilities.

Conclusion

As I mentioned at the beginning of my talk, this is International Women's Week and Friday, March 8, is International Women's Day. It is a time to celebrate women's accomplishments and progress made toward equality. It is also a time to focus on future actions. Much remains to be done.

The theme selected by the Government of Canada for this year's International Women's Day is Strategies for Equality: Managing Change. It reflects the situation facing Canadians in these times of globalization, restructuring and technological change.

Maintaining the momentum toward the equality of women in the face of deep and ongoing societal change will be an important goal in the years ahead. There can be no going back. The progress we have made must be protected. Further progress is up to us.

Jocelyne Bourgon was appointed Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet in March 1994.

From 1975 to 1989, Mme. Bourgon assumed various positions of increasing responsibility with the departments of Fisheries and Oceans and Regional and Industrial Expansion, the Federal-Provincial Relations Office and the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. She was appointed Deputy Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs in 1989 and subsequently served as Associate Secretary and Secretary to the Cabinet Development Agency and Deputy Minister of Transport.

Mme. Bourgon attended the University of Montreal and the University of Ottawa.

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March 02, 1998, Monday

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HEADLINE: Busy moms say they can have it all: Working women balance full-time work and family by setting priorities and juggling tasks

BYLINE: By Ruby L. Bailey / The Detroit News

BODY:

It's about noon, and four women in business suits are maneuvering through the aisles of a local grocery store, picking up that night's dinner and bedtime snacks and the next day's lunch.

As they peruse the produce and debate whether to get 2-percent or skim milk in the dairy section, they're giving a new meaning to the term "power lunch"--not to mention a glimpse into the time-crunched world of working mothers.

"There are just as many women in grocery stores today as 30 years ago," jokes working mother Lisa Davis of Southfield as she searches for a fresh-looking pack of ground round. "We're just better dressed."

True, lunch hours aren't necessarily for lunching anymore, what with shopping, banking and the host of other errands working mothers need to wedge into their day. It's one example of how many women are using time-management techniques and juggling multiple tasks--the same skills used daily in business--to balance full-time work with family life.

According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 77.2 percent of all women with children between ages 6 and 17 participate in the labor force, and at least half of them work full time. More than 62 percent of women with children under age 6 have worked outside the home last year.

Combining work and family has always been a balancing act, and despite an increasing trend on the part of women to pull back from the fast lane, not every woman has the flexibility, the inclination or the finances to work part time.

Can women have it all? Yes, says author Kathy Peel, if they want it: All they need to run their families is the same business savvy they use every day at the office. Says Peel, who has written 13 books, most recently the best-selling *The Family Manager's Guide for Working Moms* (Ballantine, \$ 12): "We have to use smart strategies about our time and resources."

Get a pager and cellular phone, delegate everything from the laundry to who walks the dog and make family meetings mandatory.

"Take charge of your family the same way you do at the office," says Peel, who visited Metro Detroit recently. "If you won't stand for an unorganized desk, don't stand for a messy household."

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But the problem with some of Peel's techniques, some local moms say, is that home is different from the office. (How often is jargon like "team building," "multitasking" and "delegating" exchanged at the kitchen table?)

And even Peel herself admits, "You can't downsize yourself out of a family."

So what many working women are left doing is prioritizing--doing the things that absolutely need doing (like grocery shopping) and forgetting about or hiring out the rest.

"You do what you can, when you can, as best as you can, and you get somebody else to do the rest," says Doreen Hawkins, mother of three and director of sales and marketing for Stevens World Wide Van Lines. Hawkins also is pregnant with her fourth child. "Being a working mother is really just that simple. Women have been doing this stuff for, what, 30 years?"

And, notes Pam Tanner, owner of Kid's Stop day-care center in Livonia and mother of two: "If you have time to read a book like (Peel's), you have time to do the laundry."

It has taken two decades for many working mothers to evolve from the 1970s image of the have-it-all woman who brought home the bacon, fried it up in a pan--and well, you know the rest. Like lots of unrealistic images on TV in those days, that ad never mentioned when she ate, slept, did laundry, paid bills or just sat down for five minutes.

Doreen Walker of Detroit says she rarely had time for those things when she entered the workforce 10 years ago with a husband and a young son. Walker says she literally hid her laundry from eye's view because she didn't have time to do it and felt "it was wrong" to ask her husband to pitch in.

"It was in the dryer and the basement pantry. But my desk at the office was clean. Today, my husband's in charge of all dirty clothes."

Walker says she was one of few working moms she knew at the time. "I had no role models back then."

Some mothers say their concerns have shifted from bemoaning the amount of time they don't have to spend with their children to improving the quality of the time that's available.

"The hard parts are giving her focused attention when we are together," says Lucy Benham, who adopted 17-month-old Elisabeth Rose from China seven months ago.

Benham balances motherhood with a caseload of clients as a law partner at Keywell & Rosenfeld in Troy. "It's a challenge," Benham says. "Sometimes at night, I just want to read a book."

According to a Cornell University study, Benham is spending nearly as much time with her daughter as families with stay-at-home moms spend with their children.

Researchers found that children birth to age 18 spend an average of 7.7 hours per day with both parents--23 minutes more a day than the children of mothers

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who work throughout the child-rearing years. The study also found that men whose wives work outside the home provided 40 percent of the parenting responsibilities, compared to 35 percent for men whose wives stay home.

When mothers work, "It's not only good for them and for their marriages, it's good for their children," says Joan Peters, author of *When Mothers Work: Loving Our Children Without Sacrificing Our Selves* (Addison-Wesley, \$ 24).

Peters says some women are still having problems balancing work and family. For them the problem is twofold: "Men don't step up to the plate and take over child-care issues, and women are reluctant to pass on the power."

It was the struggle between the image of the perfect stay-at-home mom and the desire to be a career woman that nearly pulled Tammy Monyer apart.

When she married five years ago, Monyer worked at her full-time job, joined her husband's growing business after work and on Saturdays and still took on the bulk of the cooking, cleaning and caring for two small children.

"Life was hell for about a year," Monyer says, now laughing. The family has since hired a housekeeper, and Monyer spends Saturdays with their children. "We were all frazzled."

Monyer experienced what Peters calls "sacrificial motherhood," where mom's guilt prompts her to pile all the housework as well as the 9-to-5 work onto herself.

"Good mothering does not require working mothers to give up crucial parts of their own identities," Peters says.

Suzanne Maurer can attest to that. Maurer is owner of five B1 Houseware stores (two in Michigan, two in Ohio and one in Indiana) with a total of 30 employees.

Maurer is also the mother of two and a wife (her husband works out of state five days weekly). So Maurer sets her priorities. She's home for dinner "no ifs, ands or buts" if she's in town, which is at least three days weekly.

The kids pitch in with the laundry, and hubby handles the scrubbing of the floors when he's home.

A nanny pinch-hits for the pair about two days weekly, she says.

But she doesn't have time for some things, like books, workshops or seminars about managing, organizing or restructuring her family.

"Women are filled with so much guilt," she says. "A lot of those women are looking for something to make them not feel guilty (about working). There's not a book in the world that can give you that. That's something you've got to find within yourself."

Where to look for help

Need some advice pulling off the working-mom juggling act? We've compiled a list of books that can help.

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* The Frazzled Working Woman's Practical Guide to Motherhood, by Mary Lyon (Starburst Publishers, \$ 14.95).

* When Mothers Work: Loving Our Children Without Sacrificing Our Selves, by Joan K. Peters (Addison-Wesley, \$ 24).

* The 7 Habits of Highly Effective Families, by Stephen R. Covey (FranklinCovey, \$ 25).

* The Family Manager's Guide for Working Moms, by Kathy Peel (Ballantine Books, \$ 12)

Coordinate your activities

Mary Lyon, author of The Frazzled Working Woman's Practical Guide to Motherhood, offers these tips to help working moms run the home and office:

* Coordination can be honed to a fine art, right from the get-go, in the mornings. If you have a child to get ready for school, experiment with the timing of breakfast, showering and dressing by adjusting your own.

* Many efficiency strategies from work do translate well at home, especially working ahead--preparing for everyone's next-day needs the night before.

n Investigate the online world to help expedite your business and home-management.

* Make sure you have copies of everybody's schedules clearly posted. Everyone's plans and needs should be well-coordinated with everyone else's.

GRAPHIC: Photo 1: "The hard parts are giving her focused attention when we are together," says law partner Lucy Benham, who adopted 17-month-old Elisabeth Rose from China seven months ago. David Guralnick / The Detroit News

LOAD-DATE: March 02, 1998

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 21, 1996

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
TO THE WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney, Australia

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. I am delighted to be here in this magnificent opera house, one of the architectural wonders of our world.

I want to thank Mrs. Howard for the warm hospitality that she and the Prime Minister have extended to my husband and me in Sydney and Canberra. I also want to thank Senator Newman for her words, which I deeply agreed with, in terms of the agenda that confronts us and our mutual need to learn from one another as we work on these problems. And I would be honored to take the message back that perhaps we could even strengthen our relationship. Thank you, too, Ambassador Dalrymple, for chairing the host committee. And I want to thank someone else -- Kaarn Weaver -- for the wonderful job you do every day in representing the United States in Australia.

Let me also thank our sponsors this afternoon -- the Australian Center for American Studies at the University of Sydney, the New South Wales branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, and the Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific, also at the University of Sydney.

Finally, I want to thank the Australian people we have met and seen waving in crowds along every street we have traveled. You have made my husband and me feel so welcome and have only increased our desire to return with our daughter to this extraordinary country. The timing of our next visit, and whether we come in disguise, may depend more on the outcome of the golf match my husband is currently playing than on scheduling concerns. He may wish he had encountered a shark in the harbor, rather than on the fairway.

This is my first visit to Australia. I must confess that while growing up I was like many Americans who had a sense of Australia from seeing movies -- images of the vast outback, much like our Wild West, a place occupied by roguish types like Ned Kelly and filled with kangaroos. Just as, I assume, Australians who have not yet visited the United States might perhaps think that our country is one long-running episode of Melrose Place, not to mention that all our children like to dunk basketballs and wear baseball caps backwards.

I was thinking about our countries when my husband and I arrived here the other evening from Honolulu. A few years back I had read Jill Ker Conway's memoir, *The Road From Coorain*, which included a memorable passage about her return home after a long sojourn in Europe. IN it she describes flying into Sydney and seeing from above the beauty of the harbor, the golden beaches and the grey green city lying at the edge of a continent. At that moment she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific not to Europe, but to Japan and continental Asia."

continental Asia."

Having read that passage, and being here for a few days now, before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand -- the Near North, not the Far East -- I feel better oriented in our world, too.

Despite the thousands of miles of ocean that separate your country and mine, we are bound together in friendship and partnership based on common experiences and values. We are united, not least, by our commitment to democracy and the values that democracy seeks to uphold. As proponents of freedom, we rejoice in recent developments around the globe. There is no Iron Curtain anymore. In country after country, dictatorships have crumbled and democracy has come alive. The threat of nuclear war no longer hovers over us. As my husband said yesterday in Parliament, opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater than ever before, and the prospect of a new and even more dynamic century beckons us.

Yet, at the same time, many people in our countries and around the world feel the strains caused by global competition and the rapid pace of change. The superficial cultural homogenization of the world means that people from Boston to Brisbane, Paris to Perth, and Moscow to Melbourne may wear the same jeans, eat the same fast food, and listen to the same music. But these surface similarities do not and cannot override a longing for identity and meaning in their own lives.

Despite improving material conditions in advanced economies, families seem under stress. The gap between the rich and the poor grows wider. Even in the United States and Australia, the social safety net -- health care, education, pensions, good wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying for those less able to navigate this new world.

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for all of us as we approach the 21st century -- questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how parents will raise children in the face of the influences of the mass media and consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Thinking about these challenges, and how free nations like ours will respond to them, we may need to be reminded that democracy is not just about our legally-protected rights, elections, or even free market economies. It's about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds, and everyday lives. It's about how, in the absence of either hot or cold wars, democracy is rooted in the experiences of our young people. It's about developing among democratic nations what I call "an alliance of values" that withstands tyranny and terrorism, an alliance based on the shared values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

Building and sustaining democracy has always required a balance of power that allows those values to flourish -- a balance of public political power, private economic power and the power of civil society -- those formal and informal networks that bring people together to make decisions for themselves and for the common good.

Democratic values are at risk when that balance shifts to the extremes -- when government becomes too cumbersome or too intrusive or too restrictive; when the marketplace, which by definition knows the price of everything but the value of nothing, lures citizens into becoming merely consumers who care only about satisfying their personal wants; when civil society, which consists of local organizations and philanthropies and volunteer associations and neighborhood groups and individual families, is weakened by larger political and economic forces.

Every generation faces the task of achieving the proper balance of power so that democratic

values can survive and thrive. Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women, whose voices are still too often silenced in too many parts of the world. It is equally important for women in countries such as ours who are still striving to attain and define their places in government, the economy, and civil society, and claim their share of personal, political, economic and civil power.

During the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, I said that women's rights were human rights -- and human rights are women's rights. One would think that at the end of this century that should be an unremarkable statement. I have been overwhelmed by the response that speech received, and also bewildered that the proposition would be open to question.

A few months ago I appeared on a radio program for the Voice of America. I fielded questions from all over the world, and many callers referred to my Beijing speech. And one male caller asked what my statement about women's right really meant. I told him to imagine the rights men had and wanted and to apply them to women: the right to be valued as a member of a family, to be protected from violence and exploitation, to be assured equal access to the tools of opportunity -- health care, education, legal rights, political participation, economic empowerment -- tools that equip an individual with the capacity to make responsible decision for one's life. Where women are given human rights they help create conditions in which they, their families and communities flourish.

Yet we know that even in advanced democracies such as ours, where these conditions are present for the vast majority of women, women's roles and rights are still being debated. They are being debated among women as well as between men and women, with implications for whether our democracies will meet the challenges of the future.

I know that some of you may recall we recently had an election in the United States. Many critical issues were raised during the campaign. But for the first time in America, a new set of concerns took on political importance -- concerns about enhancing the quality of our lives, about raising children, about meeting the demands of work and family.

Why were these issues suddenly at the heart of American politics? Because they are real issues on people's minds -- kitchen table issues -- and about how public and private power should be balanced to address them. For example, will a new mother and her infant be allowed to stay in the hospital as long as a doctor deems it necessary, or will private business considerations determine when they are ready to be sent home? Will parents be allowed to take time off from work to care for a sick child or a loved one, or will they be forced to choose between meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and meeting their responsibilities to their families?

The Family and Medical Leave law, the first piece of legislation my husband signed as President in 1993, took on greater political significance because my husband's opponents and leaders of the other party in Congress disagreed about the law and the need to expand it. Family leave became a leading issue during the campaign, along with maternity stays for new mothers and how to protect health care coverage for older and poorer Americans, the majority of whom are women.

Even the book I wrote, *It Takes A Village*, became an issue in the campaign after it was attacked as an endorsement of government taking a dominant role in the raising of children. Anyone who reads the book knows that was not its theme. Rather, I argued that, although families bear the primary responsibility for child-rearing, each individual and institution in society has a responsibility toward children as well. The village of which I wrote is not a geographic location, but a community of shared values and relationships.

People all over America started coming up to me at campaign appearances I made on behalf of my husband wearing buttons that said, it does take a village, or I am a village, or welcome to our village. They recognized that building a sense of community based on

mutual responsibility not only helps all of us to work for our own ends -- but also to help each other succeed as well. From what I know of your country, that is an unassailable tenet of your social contract even though you may disagree over the specifics.

Many observers in America, however, were perplexed that these issues were so important to voters this year. Accustomed to discussions of defense, diplomacy, economic and trade, some commentators never really caught on that so-called "women's issues" mattered because, at root, they were about the way that men and women live together and in society. Such issues instead were often dismissed as marginal to the larger challenges our nation is facing or derided as "the feminization of politics."

What an unfortunate term. After all, don't fathers worry about how long their wives and babies can stay in the hospital when they need care? Don't men want to be able to take time off when a family member is gravely ill? Don't sons want to ensure that their elderly parents have health care coverage in the later stages of life?

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

That represents a maturing of politics. The gender gap we heard so much about in the American election was simply a measure of how women, who are experts on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, voted their self interest and their values. In so doing they delivered a clear message that the issues they care about deserve to be on the front burner of national politics.

I have come up with my own term for this phenomenon. Like some of you, I studied political science in college. I have followed politics closely in my years as a citizen activist and political spouse. And I have come to a fairly good understanding of the historic concept of "realpolitik" among and between nations.

What women are saying -- loudly and clearly -- is that national politics is not just about "realpolitik". It's also about real life "politik", how we live together.

I realize there will be women who disagree with me and with each other about specific issues and where the balance of power between and among institutions and individuals should rest. In my country, some women believe the President and Congress over-extended government's power in legislating family leave and the length of maternity hospital stays. In contrast, other women think government needs more power to control economic forces that can disrupt the lives of families and communities.

And some women are just plain squeamish when the subject of power arises. It is something, they believe, that should be discussed quietly behind the scenes and exercised -- if at all -- by women only within the scope of their personal lives.

Regardless of where we stand on any particular issue or on the larger question of balancing the powers in our lives, we must acknowledge that much is at stake for women collectively in this debate. Not just in the United States but here in Australia and around the world.

Will democracies on every continent come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the progress and prosperity of every nation?

Will public and private institutions help empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take the responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean, among other things, will education be affordable and accessible to all women so that they can acquire the skills and knowledge they need to help themselves and contribute to society? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care,

flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will law enforcement and justice systems act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal rights, particularly from violence in their own homes?

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

Yesterday at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra, my husband and I visited the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. One of the honor guards was a woman. I was heartened that she had the freedom to choose military service as a way to fulfill her aspirations. This was the right choice for her. It would not be the right choice for me, or for many of you. But we should all be able to celebrate the diversity of experiences that women are choosing for themselves today.

And finally, will we acknowledge, once and for all, that issues of concern to women do not just affect women but affect men, too?

These are the questions we are struggling to answer. They are about the balance of power and about the balance we seek in our lives and in the larger community we share.

I welcome the debate. It is a great debate. It is a contentious debate. It is a necessary debate for any democracy on the eve of a new century.

And I am optimistic that women will help to shape the answers we seek. I'm optimistic because I have met women throughout the world who have seized this moment to make their voices heard on behalf of themselves and democracy's values. I have met women in Northern Ireland -- Catholics and Protestants -- who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa -- blacks and whites -- who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid. I have met women in Bosnia -- Croats,

Serbs and Muslims -- who are transcending long-standing ethnic hatreds to keep the peace in that war-torn land. I have met women in Russia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, the Baltic region and in Mongolia who are leading the effort to build democratic governments, free market economies and civil society from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South America who are joining forces to improve literacy and health care for women in South and East Asia who are working to provide economic opportunity for the poorest of the poor through small loans and credit.

I have met women in my own country who have come together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and the environment cleaner. And just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are enriching this nation through their contributions to politics, law, science, education, the arts, journalism and so much else.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But most are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles. They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and to make their voices heard. They had faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they were not going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

So I am hopeful, because every country and every time has its Caroline Chisholm, Edith

Cowan and Mother Mary McKillop -- women who, well-known or not, understand that we must find common ground, and that on that common ground we will build a society that is in balance, where our democratic values are alive and where individuals can live up to their own God-given potentials.

Mary Wollstonecraft once said, "I do not wish women to have power over men, but over themselves." That is what we are striving for. This is what will ensure progress for women and their families, safeguard democracy, and make the world a better place for our children and ourselves. That is the challenge women face in the 21st century.

Thank you very much.



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send feedback to the Web Development Team.*

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WORKING WOMEN COUNT EVENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
APRIL 10, 1995

TRANSCRIPT

Thank you all. I want to welcome you to the White House. This is a particularly important occasion for this Administration. I am sorry that the weather did not cooperate with us staying in the Rose Garden, but the working women of the White House made a decision and moved us indoors. I am grateful for that.

This is the room where we've had two previous events about "Women Count," and I was privileged to participate in both of those. First, the announcement of the survey and introducing some of the people who were going to be involved. The second with the Vice President, receiving the survey results and today, is an especially important moment because now we're going to be looking to the future and what kind of recommendations are coming from this survey.

The survey tells us in no uncertain terms that women are working more than ever -- in the home, outside the home -- balancing two jobs, juggling all of the demands that so many of us know so well. And, that we, as individuals, as family members, as citizens, and certainly those in decision-making positions, have to recognize the challenges and stresses that women are encountering in the workplace and in the balance between work and family. It's not only important for women, it's important for men, children and the larger society.

In a few minutes the President will talk about some of the initiatives that have been put into place over the last two years on behalf of all women, but particularly on behalf of working women. But first let me just mention a few ways in which women count within this Administration.

We know women count because women have had unprecedented access to decision-making positions that are important to the larger society. Appointments of qualified women in the Cabinet and sub-Cabinet and throughout the government really speak for itself as the kind of commitment that this Administration has carried forward on behalf of women.

There has also been a historic commitment to women's health, something that had not been given the attention that it needed in the past. And through the efforts we have taken to coordinate approaches to women's health, we're seeing some breakthroughs in research that is being done in areas such as breast cancer. And we are working on a very large women's health initiative that will make a difference in our lives and in particularly the lives of our daughters.

The President recently announced the creation of an office within the Department of Justice to address the problem of domestic violence. A problem that too often is not given the attention that it needs and even when it receives attention does not lead to remedies.

Under this President also, women who own small businesses have enjoyed greater access to federally guaranteed loans and technical assistance to start and expand their businesses.

It's very important that, when this President became president, he felt absolutely committed to carrying through on putting people first. And putting people first means just that -- and it certainly means putting working women first, and paying attention to their concerns and listening to what we have to say about the challenges we face.

One last thing that I would like to mention is that the "Working Women Count" project, along with all the rest of the Administration, is really just the tip of the iceberg about what our commitment really needs to be on behalf of women and families in our society.

Some of you may know I recently returned from an extraordinary trip to South Asia, where I was privileged to meet women of all different kinds of backgrounds who were working on behalf of themselves and their families. And I recognized, whether I was talking to women academics, business leaders, and civic leaders at the American embassies I visited, or whether I was in villages talking to women there about their dreams and aspirations.

But there is a common thread that runs through the conversations I have, whether I am in Washington or Topeka or Sacramento or Bangladesh or India or Pakistan or Nepal or Sri Lanka. What women are saying in the "Working Women Count" surveys, of the more than two hundred and fifty thousand who responded, is that we are all attempting to make the best possible choices for our own lives, and the lives of those people we hold dear.

We also want to make a contribution to our larger community. It's a wonderful opportunity for us to recognize the contributions that women make every single day, and to stop for a minute, as we hear these recommendations, and recognize that we can do more to enable women to make the best possible choices for themselves and their families.

I hope we will get to a point where we no longer have to do surveys, or we no longer have to talk about women's issues as a separate kind of emphasis. That instead we just look at the huge array of possibilities that human life presents to us and women, and their role will be accepted as being part of that great effort that all of us are engaged in to define ourselves, to make identities for ourselves, to contribute to the next generation.

It's very exciting for us to have a Secretary of Labor that

cares so deeply about working people, and is so intent upon putting people first. And anyone who follows the work that Bob Reich does day in and day out knows that he cares deeply about what happens in the homes and workplaces of America. And that he is absolutely committed to doing what he can to make sure working people, and particularly working women, get the respect they deserve to have for the contributions they make.

And so it is my pleasure to introduce Secretary of Labor, Bob Reich.

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White House Press Release

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT WORKING WOMEN COUNT EVENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 10, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT WORKING WOMEN COUNT EVENT

Room 450
Old Executive Office Building

1:14 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Marina. Thank you for having the courage to come up here and give that speech. For those of us who do it every day it may seem normal, but I couldn't help realizing what a brave thing it was for her to come up here and just stand in front of all of you and speak so eloquently and powerfully. And I know a lot of you who are out here representing **working women** in so many different walks of life identified with everything she had to say. So maybe you ought to give her another hand. (Applause.)

Thank you, Karen Nussbaum, for the outstanding job you do. And thank you, Secretary Reich, for being the conscience of all **working** Americans in this administration. And thank you, Hillary, for being a good symbol of that. (Applause.)

This is an issue that's very important to me personally. My grandmother was a **working** woman from the 1930s on. My mother was a **working** woman from the 1940s on. It never occurred to me from the first day I met Hillary that we would not have a two-**worker** home. (Laughter.) And as she told those village **women** even in Bangladesh, now they know that until I became President she always made more money than I did. (Laughter.)

The interesting thing to me about this issue is that it really reflects the larger dilemmas of our society today. We want to have opportunities open for **women** to **work** and to fulfill their own dreams, and surely, that is one of the things that drives **women** into the **work** force. But it's also true that a lot of **women work** even under the most difficult circumstances simply because they have to. And either case, what we should want for **women** is to be able to be

successful in the workplace and successful in the home.

This afternoon -- as you heard, I got all these letters from all across the country -- I want to read you just a couple. A **working** mother from Milwaukee said, "Between balancing home and **working** a job, you always feel like you're doing four things at once. You're doing your job, but your thinking about what you're going to cook for supper and who's going to pick up the kids."

A 34-year-old woman put it this way. "Being a **working** woman is like having two full-time jobs. We're expected to be perfect in both career and taking care of the home, but without adequate compensation for either." (Laughter.)

As the son, as I said, the grand-son and the husband of **working women**, I hear these voices. I hear you. The 60 million American **women** who **work** do deserve a better deal. The recommendations that I have received we are committed to putting into action.

If you think about the great challenges facing America today, resolving the dilemmas of **working women** are critical to meeting them. **Women** want to be treated as assets to be developed in the workplace, not costs to be cut. They deserve to **work** in an environment that treats them with dignity, respects the value of their families, and invests in their skills and their future. This is not just the fair and decent thing to do, it is the smart thing to do for America.

More and more as I serve in this office it becomes clearer to me that the decent thing to do is the smart thing to do; that over and over and over again, all the new opportunities that this age offers us require us to fight against the temptation to take the short-cut, to take the easy way out, to hold the wages down, to deny the benefits, to deny the importance of raising children while being in the workplace. What is in our interest over the long run is to take advantage of all these rapid changes which are going on in our society and still allow people to have some stability, some order, some pace in their lives so that they can raise their children and honor their marriages and grow as people at **work** and after **work**. That, it seems to me, is a fundamental mission that this society -- not this administration, this society -- should be pursuing.

My mother **worked** for over 30 years, and she was always proud of what she did. And because we had two **workers** in the family, we always did pretty well. There are a lot of **women** out there now, raising their children alone, and a lot of others in two-**worker** families where one or the other seems to be always out of a job, because of all the changes that are going on today.

Then, there are a lot of people who just have circumstances that are down right almost unimaginable. I never will forget the last race I made for governor of my state. I always made a habit of going to a factory in the northern part of Arkansas, because they had the earliest factory gate in the state; everybody had to show up between 4:00 a.m. and 4:45 a.m. Everybody. And I was there at 4:30 a.m. one morning, and a pickup truck pulled up and in this pickup truck with one seat, there was a husband, a wife and three little kids.

And I saw the mother get out and go to **work** at 4:30 a.m. in the morning. And I asked the father -- I went over to the father and I said, how do you deal with this? He said, well, I don't have to be at **work** until 6:30 a.m. But, he said, my kids can't go to school until 7:30 a.m. or even to day care. So I had to find someone else to take my kids between 6:00 a.m. in the morning when I have to leave and the rest of the time. And we have to get them all up every day so we can drop their mother off, because we can't have anybody coming to our

house.

This sounds like an extreme example, but a lot you sitting in this audience have other examples that are just as difficult. This is the fact of life in America today.

Recently in Atlanta, I was down there for an economic conference and I met a woman who ran a day care center who told me about all of the problems that the children were having from time to time, and she told me that she had a young boy who, one day at lunchtime missed his mother so much, and she could not get off of **work** and come see him at the day care center. And he was crying and crying. So she suggested that he should draw a picture of his mother, and that would make him miss his mother less.

So the boy drew a picture of his mother, but then he taped it to the chair next to his, and he wouldn't let anybody else sit in the chair all day long. (Laughter.) He sat with his mother all day long at the day care center.

I know that if we lived in other countries we would have other problems. I know that America still has more opportunities for **women** than most societies, and I know that most of us are doing the best we can, and most of you will do very well and your children will grow up fine.

But I also know that we cannot become the society we want to be as we move into the next century unless we address the problems that came out of what these 250,000 **women** said to me when we asked all of you what the state of life was like in America today. **Working women** must **count**.

You know, we've already made a down payment -- the First Lady mentioned the Family and Medical Leave Law. When I went home to Arkansas about a week ago and I went to my church, and the first person I met at my church was a woman I didn't know, she came out and she said, if you hadn't signed that Family Leave Law, my family would have been ruined, because I got sick. And my husband and I were able to deal with that, and he could take some time off to deal with me, and neither one of us lost our jobs. It has made a difference. (Applause.)

And I'd like to say to all those who said it was a terrible thing, it would bring down the job growth of the American economy and ruin small business, you were wrong. This was the right thing to do. (Applause.) Our efforts to immunize all of the children in this country, to expand Head Start, to do what we can to expand child care, to strengthen child support enforcement -- all these things are important to help you succeed -- as people, as **workers**, as parents.

But there is more that we should do. I have heard the recommendations. We cannot be satisfied until every person in this country has a chance to make the most of her God-given abilities. You recommended, and I have proposed, giving a tax deduction for all expenses for education after high school. That's very important. (Applause.)

You know, most adults have to change jobs now during a lifetime and many can be out of **work** for a long time, and many will not be able to get jobs paying what their old jobs paid unless they can get more education. This is a terribly important thing. I've said this over and over again, but the community colleges in our country may be the most important institutions in America today as we try to get into the 21st century, because they're handy, they're flexible, they change, they're driven by the local markets, and they're open to everybody.

And we have to do what we can to increase the availability of education, not simply for **working** people to be able to provide it for their children, but to be able to have it for themselves as well. You recommended, and I also support streamlining the federal job training programs. Now, there are 60 or 70 different job training programs, and I'm sure there was some reason that they were all passed separately. But today, most of you know where you need to go to get better training and education. So we want to collapse those, put them into a big pool, and let them become vouchers for unemployed people, or very low-wage **workers**, so you can just use the money where you see fit, for a year and sometimes for two years, if you need it to get further education and training.

You recommended, and I support, expanding more affordable loans for college students through the Direct Loan Program. This will be very important to a lot of you and to a lot of your children. If a person borrows money to go to college, they ought never to be discouraged from going or from staying because of the burden of the loan. Under our proposal, you not only can get the loan at a more affordable rate, but you can pay it back as a percentage of your income, so you'll never go broke trying to pay your college loan back. That's an important thing to America's **women**. (Applause.)

Finally, you recommended, and I support, raising the minimum wage. I am very tired of hearing people say the only people on minimum wage are upper-class college students who live with their wealthy parents and they don't need it. (Laughter.) The other day, on one of the local news programs, I was doing my little channel surfing and I saw they were doing a series on the minimum wage. And they went down to some town, I think it was in Virginia, and they interviewed a lady **working** for the minimum wage. She looked to be about my age. And the television reporter says, well, ma'am, they say here in your factory that if the minimum wage is raised that there will be fewer jobs. You might lose your job. She looked at the television reporter and she said, "Honey, I'll take my chances." (Laughter and applause.)

I don't believe you can support yourself and raise a child or more than one child on \$8,500 a year. And we now have a -- several years ago, we indexed the income taxes of the country so people weren't punished for making higher incomes with higher taxes. Now people in the Congress want to index capital gains tax to protect capital gains against inflation, and they want to index the defense budget to protect that against inflation. Why in the wide world wouldn't we want to protect against inflation the people who are **working** harder for the lowest money with kids to raise and a country to build? We ought to do this. It is time to do this. (Applause.)

So, we've got a lot to do. You've given us some good recommendations. I also want to say that there are a lot of people who would like to be **working women** who aren't -- people on welfare. There's a lot of talk in this town now about reforming the welfare system, and I am for it. I was pleased to hear the Speaker last Friday say that he really wanted to get welfare reform out.

But let us recognize what real welfare reform would be. It would be turning people who are permanently dependent into permanently successful **workers** who also are successful parents. That should be the goal of welfare reform. We should not punish people for the sins they committed in the past. Instead, we should say, we will help you if you will behave responsibly in the future, as parents, as students and as **workers**. If that is the focus of this welfare reform, believe me, there's a lot of reform that needs to be done.

Everybody in this society, we ought to have the same goal

for. And some day we ought to be able to have a meeting like this where men and **women** all have exactly the same problems and exactly the same opportunities. Because what our goal should be is that all of us should be able to live up to our God-given capacities, to follow our dreams and to succeed as citizens, as parents, and as **workers**. And unless we can do that, the American Dream will not mean the same thing in the 21st century as it does today.

For all the wonderful things that are going on, all the millions of jobs we have created, the fact that now we have more new businesses created every year than before, we got more new millionaires every year than before -- that's a good thing. But the world is changing so fast, there are a lot of people that are getting caught at the breaking points, and we've got to have an institutional response to give people the sense that they can preserve their families and preserve some order and stability in their lives even as they are changing.

Every one of you is entitled to that. That's what you are entitled to. And if you really **count**, that's what your country will give you.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END1:29 P.M. EDT



To comment on this service: feedback@www.whitehouse.gov

11/30/94	Working Women	Working Women	D.C.	Trans	National Women's Law Center Dinner
02/19/97	Working Women	Welfare to work	Missouri, Kansas City	Draft	Women's Employment network lunch
05/17/95	Working Women	Tribute to Women's Bureau	Video	Draft	75th Anniversary of Women's Bureau
04/10/95	Working Women	Working Women	D.C., White House	Trans	Working Women Count Event
02/10/97	Working Women	Importance of support	D.C., White House	Draft	Working Mothers Lunch
07/26/95	Working Women	Investment in women	Colorado, Denver	Draft	Women's Foundation of Colorado
05/02/95	Working Women	Working Women Count	Georgia, Atlanta	Draft	Roundtable
11/30/94	Working Women	Working Women	New York, New York	Trans	NY Women's Agenda Star Breakfast

Let me know if you want me to pull any of these. But I think between the Sydney speech & the "working women count" remarks, you are pretty well covered.

September 11, 1995

File
Working
Women

MEMORANDUM FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FROM: Brenda Costello
SUBJECT: Briefings for Tuesday, September 12

Working Women's Roundtable Discussion

- Briefing
- Talking points
- Seating diagram
- Bios
- "Economic Scene: Hurdles are still high for women who want a career and a family.", New York Times, 9/7/95
- Working Women Count Recommendations
- "The Partnership" newsletter of the Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise and National Women's Business Council

Video

- Briefing
- Bio of Dr. Brazelton
- Draft of "Declaration"

Satellite Interviews

- Briefing
- Memo from Melanne re: Issue of Sexual Rights in the Women's Conference
- "Women's Meeting Agrees on Right to Say No to Sex," New York Times, 9/11/95
- Center for Policy Alternatives "Women's Voices" focus group Summary of Findings
- State and city specific talking points on Impact of Republican Budget Cuts on Older Americans, Students, and Working Families
- Education, Medicare, Medicaid talking points
- Clinton Administration Accomplishments
- Recent articles on Women's Conference

Radio Interviews

- Briefing
- "Impact of Proposed Congressional Cuts on Metropolitan New York"
- Impact of Republican Budget Cuts on Older Americans, Students, and Working Families in California and Los Angeles
- Speeches from Beijing (WHO, Conference, NGO Forum, UNIFEM Panel)

Pennsylvania Finance Committee Phone Call

- Briefing with profiles of Committee leaders

Carl Anthony Interview

-Briefing

AARP Interview

-Briefing

-Mammography Awareness Campaign Kick-off briefing and remarks

-Virginia Kelley and Mammography memo

-Excerpts from "Leading with My Heart"

-"HCFA's Medicare Mammography Campaign"

-Articles on Medicare Mammography benefit

Videos

-Briefing

Remarks

-Videos

SEPTEMBER 12, 1995
WORKING WOMEN DISCUSSION

DATE: SEPTEMBER 12, 1995
TIME: 9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.
LOCATION: Mrs. K's Toll House, Silver Spring
FROM: Betsy Myers

I. PURPOSE

This informal, roundtable discussion on economic insecurities with working women will:

- (1) **Bring home the message** from the Fourth World Conference on Women by focusing on American women's economic concerns;
- (2) **Highlight the Administration's advocacy for middle class families and for working women.** In particular, these typical, middle class women will discuss **pocketbook issues:** their daily struggles to make ends meet, provide for their families, and gain fair pay and opportunities to advance. They will describe their individual needs for health care insurance, affordable child care, fair pay, Medicare, Social Security and student loans -- needs that the Administration understands and is fighting to meet.
- (3) Reach out to women through press coverage by discussing the issues most important to them.

II. BACKGROUND

As you may recall, you hosted similar discussions with working women in Atlanta on May 2, 1995, and in Santa Fe on May 26, 1995.

Working Women's Issues:

Recent focus groups and polls show women's primary concerns to be: **Jobs, Education and Crime.**

The Administration's survey of working women, "**Working Women Count!**" asked women how the President could make work better for women. More than 250,000 working women responded with their chief concerns:

- o **Balancing Job and Family.** Affordable Child care is a crucial topic of concern.
- o **Fair Pay and Good Benefits,** especially health care insurance.

- **Valuing Women:** Women say they feel undervalued and face a **Glass Ceiling**.
- **The Labor Department just last week launched a new effort to encourage companies to make workplaces better for women.** Companies that do make a change will be honored in the "Working Women Count Honor Roll." (Karen Nussbaum is present to amplify.)

Note: Madeline Albright announced this initiative in Beijing as one of the Administration's commitments to women.

Facts on Working Women:

- **99 percent of all women work for pay** at some point in their lives.
- **Nearly half the workforce is female.**
- Women remain stuck in lower-paying jobs:
 - **99 percent of all secretaries are women**, while only 2 percent of higher-paying construction jobs are held by women.
 - Women still earn only **71 and a half cents to a man's dollar**, on average. Women who are 46 years old and over earn only 64 cents on the dollar.
 - More than **three-quarters of all working women earn less than \$25,000 per year.**
 - Less than **4 percent of women earn \$50,000 or more a year.**
- Women face a **Glass Ceiling:** Of Fortune 500 companies, women comprise a mere 2.6 percent of corporate officers.
- The **minimum wage** is a women's issue: Women account for nearly two-thirds of minimum wage workers.
- **Women-owned businesses** increased from 6.5 million in 1992 to 7.7 million on 1995.
- **Women are caregivers:** Women spend 11.5 years outside the workforce, on average; men spend only 1.3 years out of the workforce.
- **Women lack pensions:** Only one-fifth of women aged 65 and over have pensions, compared to nearly half of men.

Facts on Maryland's Working Women:

- o Most Maryland women work in office jobs:
 - **Nearly one-third of Maryland women hold administrative support jobs;**
 - One-fifth hold professional positions;
 - A mere 15 percent hold Executive or Management jobs.
- o Women account for half the workforce.
- o **Women are the heads of households** in nearly one-fifth of Maryland's households.
- o 40 percent of female-headed households with children under age 5 are at or below **poverty level**.

The Site

Mrs. K's Toll House was founded in 1930 by Blanche and Harvey Kreuzburg. The restaurant has stayed in the family for four generations -- often led by the women family members.

Both Eleanor Roosevelt and Bess Truman dined at Mrs. K's.

The Kreuzburg family is Democratic. Paula Kreuzburg served as President of the Maryland Restaurant Association from 1993 to 1995.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

- Mrs. Clinton
- 8 middle class, working women (bios attached)

Attending but not participating:

- Karen Nussbaum, Department of Labor Women's Bureau Director
- Lt. Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend
- Paula Kreuzberg, family owner of Mrs. K's Toll House restaurant

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- Paula Kreuzberg introduces Lt. Governor (1 minute)
- Lt. Governor introduces Mrs. Clinton (2 minutes)
- Mrs. Clinton welcomes all and opens discussion
- First working woman speaks - Beatrice Rudder
- Second working woman speaks - Pamela Kiger
- Third working woman speaks - Sandra Odom
- Open discussion follows (45 minutes)
- Mrs. Clinton closes the discussion

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
DISCUSSION WITH WORKING WOMEN
SILVER SPRING, MARYLAND
SEPTEMBER 12, 1995

TALKING POINTS

Opening Talking Points

- I just returned from China and the Fourth World Conference on Women, where one of the primary topics of discussion was economic justice for women.
- Today I want to hear from you -- the real experts -- about your daily lives and the economic issues you face as you provide for your families.

Concluding Talking Points

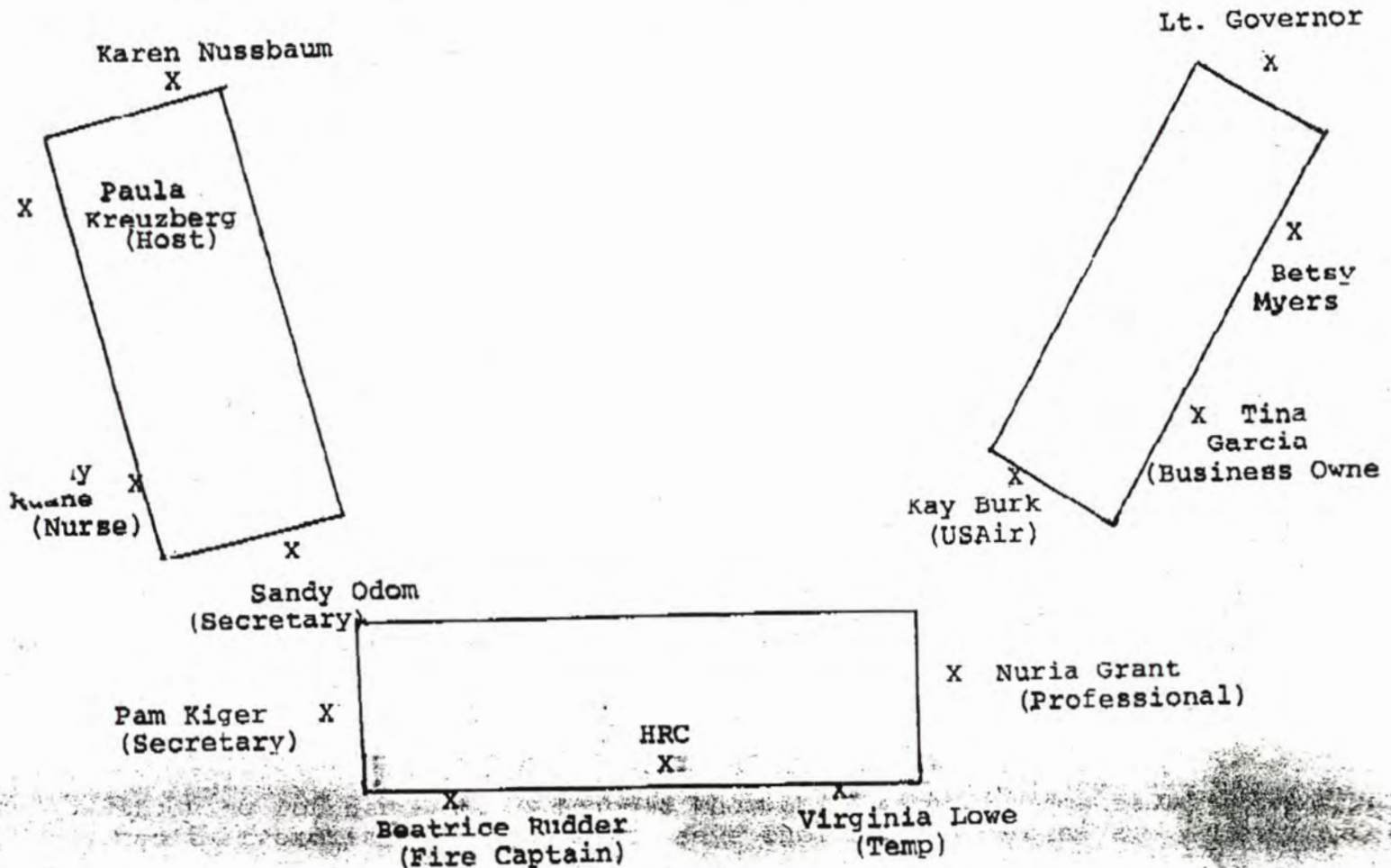
- The President will fight to save Medicare and Social Security. He knows how important they are to the nation's aging parents.
- The President will work to ensure that educational loans for our nation's students are safeguarded.
- This Administration has helped women entrepreneurs by increasing small business lending to women by 80%; by increasing technical assistance to women from \$1.5 million to \$4 million; and opened 20 new technical assistance centers such as Mi Casa, which I visited this summer in Denver.
- At the White House, we recently created a brand new office called the "Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach," run by Betsy Myers who is here today. The office serves as a liaison between the Administration and women, and it coordinates two government-wide task forces: one on women's business enterprise, and a second to follow-up on the ideas discussed at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.
- The President has made a priority of helping middle class families and America's working women:
 - Family and Medical Leave Act;
 - Earned Income Tax Credit;
 - Establishment of a Child Care Bureau;
 - Appointed six women to the Cabinet -- twice the number of any previous administration -- and more than 40% of our appointees and one-third of the new federal judges are women;
 - Adopted an agenda for working women, including fighting for fair pay, a raise in the minimum wage and against

- Republican efforts to expand the 40-hour work week;
Established a violence against women section in the Department of Justice.
- The Labor Department just last week launched a new effort to encourage companies to make workplaces better for women. Companies that do make a change will be honored in the "Working Women Count Honor Roll." [NOTE: Karen Nussbaum will be present to amplify]

###

WORKING WOMEN'S DISCUSSION SEATING DIAGRAM

PRESS



STAIRS

LANDING

STATE OF MARYLAND
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNORKATHLEEN KENNEDY TOWNSEND
LT. GOVERNORANNAPOLIS OFFICE
STATE HOUSE
100 STATE CIRCLE
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND 21401
(410) 326-2804

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lt. Governor of Maryland since 1995, Kathleen Kennedy Townsend is a devoted public servant with a wide range of accomplishments focusing on community service, education, and combating crime.

As chair of the Cabinet Council on Criminal and Juvenile Justice, Mrs. Townsend is responsible for directing Maryland's efforts to control and prevent crime and delinquency. The Cabinet Council, which consists of nine cabinet secretaries and the attorney general, targets the resources of state government on enhancing public safety and involves local officials and citizens directly in the development of state crime policy.

Before her election, Mrs. Townsend served as Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the U.S. Department of Justice, responsible for a billion-dollar budget to support local law enforcement efforts and establish community policing programs around the country.

Committed to providing quality education for all citizens, Mrs. Townsend has taught at the University of Maryland-Baltimore County (UMBC), at Essex and Dundalk Community Colleges, and at the University of Pennsylvania. She was the first Executive Director of the Maryland Student Service Alliance, a public-private partnership she founded with the State Department of Education to inspire young people to serve their communities. Under her leadership, Maryland became the first state to require all high school students to perform community service. The Alliance also launched Civic Works, an urban service corps which puts young adults to work while teaching critical job skills.

In addition, Mrs. Townsend is a long-time advocate for children and families, a life-long champion of environmental conservation, and a strong proponent of international trade and economic development. She has been actively involved in all these issues, both professionally and as a private citizen. Her articles have appeared in The Baltimore Sun, The Washington Post, The New York Times, The Washington Monthly, and in several law reviews. Mrs. Townsend is the founder of the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award.

Born on July 4, 1951, Mrs. Townsend is a cum laude graduate of Harvard University and a graduate of the University of New Mexico Law School, where she was an editor of the law review. She is the recipient of four honorary degrees. Mrs. Townsend lives in Baltimore County with her husband, David, a professor at St. John's College in Annapolis, and their four daughters: Meaghan, 17; Maeve, 15; Kate, 11; and Kerry, 3.

**First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Working Women's Roundtable
Tuesday, September 12, 1995
Mrs. K's Toll House, Silver Spring, Maryland**

Participants

Beatrice Rudder, 42, captain in D.C. Fire Department, Alexandria, Virginia: Beatrice Rudder, married with a 5-year-old son, broke the glass ceiling 18 years ago when she became the first woman firefighter in Washington, D.C. She worries about taking care of her aging parents and her monthly budget. ✓

Kathy Ruane, 45, nurse practitioner, Baltimore, Maryland: Kathy Ruane, a single mother, is a nurse of 23 years and recently adopted a four-year girl. She is worried about providing for her daughter's education and taking care of her parents. ✓

Kay Burk, 53, USAir customer service representative, Arlington, Virginia: Kay Burk, divorced with grown children and grandchildren, worked as a homemaker but then had to enter the workforce 20 years ago. She has concerns about age discrimination and the challenge of re-entering the work force. ✓

Virginia Lowe, 62, temporary receptionist, Reston, Virginia: Virginia Lowe, divorced with grown children and grandchildren, holds a temporary job without health insurance or other benefits. She worries about cuts to Medicare and Social Security. ✓

Nuria Grant, 37, public relations professional, Bowie, Maryland: Nuria Grant, married with a three-year-old daughter, works for Prince Georges County. She and her husband have concerns regarding child care and elder care. ✓

Pamela Kiger, 34, administrative assistant, Dunkirk, Maryland: Pamela Kiger, separated and a single mother of three, worries about child care and meeting her rent payments. In addition to her full-time job, she juggles part-time work at night. ✓

Sandra Odom, 32, administrative support specialist at USDA, Silver Spring, Maryland: Sandra Odom is a single mother of two teenage girls. She worries about budgeting each month, college costs for her children and finishing her own college education. ✓

Tina Garcia, 39, president of a properties management company, Clifton, Virginia: Tina Garcia, engaged to be married, has one grown and one teenage son. She worries about making ends meet, college costs and taking care of her aging parents. She grew up on welfare and put herself through college through a military program. ✓

(Introductions by: Paula Kreuzberg, general manager of Mrs. K's; and Maryland Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend)

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	re: personal stories (8 pages)	n.d.	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20060

FOLDER TITLE:

Working Women - Women's Domestic Issues [1]

2013-0534-S

rc1712

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Economic Scene | Peter Passell

Hurdles are still high for women who want a career and a family.

WITH Labor Day just passed and Hillary Rodham Clinton in China to discuss the status of women around the world, it seems a good time to ask how educated American women trying to reconcile careers with family life are faring. The answer, gleaned from long-term survey data by Claudia Goldin, an economist at Harvard University, is not well.

The formal limits that prevented women from combining financially rewarding work with child-rearing are fading. But the practical constraints are proving very durable. Ms. Goldin found that even by a modest definition, just one middle-aged college-educated woman in six with children can claim career success today.

While sobering, the conclusion should hardly be surprising. Equality of opportunity, Ms. Goldin argues, is not sufficient to generate equality of result. That goal will remain elusive, she predicts, until offices become more friendly to mothers. And most of the accommodation, she suggests, will have to be by men.

The history of career-oriented women in the workplace is illuminating. Educated women of the turn-of-the-century decade — the first generation to attend colleges in substantial numbers — faced a stark choice between family and career. While four out of five women in that period had children, fully half the college graduates remained childless.

No wonder. Ms. Goldin notes that for 60 percent of the female college graduates, a career meant leaching in an elementary or secondary school. And during the 1920's and 1930's, most schools refused to hire married women — and fired those with the temerity to marry while on the payroll.

Such bald discrimination against career women disappeared during World War II. After the



war, far larger numbers of women went to college and a higher proportion of those who graduated married and had children. Just 17 percent of the postwar graduates reached the age of 44 without giving birth. But Ms. Goldin sees a dark lining in this silver cloud.

The trend, she surmises, was largely driven by the changing economic function of college for women. She calculates that relatively few of the new millions of female graduates ended up with jobs that actually compensated for their investment in higher education. Instead, college paid off as a marriage market, a place to meet good providers. College-educated married women often worked — but typically only before their children were born and after they were well established in school. They rarely held jobs with career ladders.

None of this is much of a surprise. What is shocking, however, is that the experience of women in the early baby-boom generation — the first to go to professional schools in numbers approaching that of men or to have access to fast-track jobs — is not as different as you might have thought. Ms. Goldin looked at the experience of women graduates born between 1946 and 1956,

relying on data from the National Longitudinal Survey, which tracks tens of thousands of Americans over their entire lives.

Ms. Goldin defines a successful "career" very modestly. Her standard of success requires simply that a person achieved average earnings better than the lowest 25 percent of college-educated men for two of the sample years (1987 and 1988). By definition, 75 percent of male college graduates achieved that status. Among women, 33 percent made the grade. But many of those were childless. Just 17 percent managed both a career and children.

Other definitions of a successful career only marginally brighten the picture. If the standard is lowered to include all college-educated mothers who were employed full time at any wage during 1985, 1987 and 1988, just 22 percent make the hurdle. Nor, for that matter, does a career seem to mesh well with a definition of family life that requires only a man on the premises: In 1985, 53 percent of women with careers were married, compared with 79 percent of the noncareer group.

What is going on here? Women, Ms. Goldin says, now have a reasonable crack at landing good jobs. Indeed, the pay rates of comparably educated men and women at the starting gate are almost identical. But to stay on the fast track, women must be willing to act just like men: working long hours year after year while carrying what she labels "all the economic baggage of our parents."

Ms. Goldin has little enthusiasm for the northern European approach to easing the burden on career woman — namely, government-subsidized day care. "I'm not in favor of taxing everyone to cover the cost of raising the children of parents with high incomes," she explains.

But in the American workplace and home, the private alternatives — changing the demands of fast-track jobs to accommodate mothers or changing the responsibilities of men in child care — don't seem to be happening. Men and women may now be equal, but apparently one sex remains more equal than the other.

WORKING WOMEN COUNT RECOMMENDATIONS

Making Work Better for Women



PAY AND BENEFITS

- Raise the minimum wage
- Encourage better pay practices through streamlined contract compliance for Federal contractors
- Establish the Fair Pay Clearinghouse for employees and employers interested in improving pay practices
- Initiate a Pension Education Campaign to provide needed information about retirement and pension planning



WORK AND FAMILY

- Hold a series of community forums to promote and support efforts to make child care more available, affordable and safe
- Provide tax relief to families caring for children and elders
- Resist efforts to expand the 40-hour work week
- Form a partnership with the National League of Cities to increase the supply and quality of child care



VALUING WOMEN AND WOMEN'S WORK

- Increase women's access to education and training through skill grants, tax deductions and IRAs
- Establish the "Working Women Count Honor Roll" to recognize employers and others who commit to making work better for women
- Expand the "Don't Work in the Dark" public education campaign to ensure that women know their basic workplace rights

VIDEO

September 11, 1995

DATE:	Tuesday, September 12
TIME:	11:45 am
LOCATION:	Room 459, OEOB
FROM:	Brenda Costello

I. PURPOSE

To videotape remarks with Dr. Brazelton for an upcoming symposium "Stress and Violence in Childhood and Youth."

II. BACKGROUND

Dr. T. Berry Brazelton will join you to videotape remarks for the International Symposium "Stress and Violence in Childhood and Youth" being held in Lisbon, Portugal from September 27-30, 1995. The conference focuses on violence prevention for children and youth, with professional leaders from around Europe discussing means of violence prevention. The overall goal of the symposium is to have all the professional leaders sign a Declaration to prevent abuse (draft Declaration attached).

The idea for the symposium began with the UN Legal Department, which was originally interested in discussing how to handle the problem of child prostitution. This led to a broader theme of violence prevention. Dr. Joao Gomez-Pedro, Officer of Pediatrics and Director of the Medical Faculty at the University of Lisbon, is helping organize the event, along with the Child Development Department of the Pediatric Clinic at the Santa Maria Hospital and the Center for the Study of Child and Family Behavior, all in Portugal.

Over 2,000 representatives in the medical profession from Europe and the United States are expected to attend the symposium, including doctors, nurses, educators, therapists, and people concerned about the welfare of children. UNICEF, Save the Children and the World Health Organization will all be represented at the conference. In addition to Dr. Brazelton, there will be eight other speakers from the U.S., all professors from American medical schools, including Dr. Barry Zuckerman, Dr. John Kennell, and Dr. Edward Tronick.

Although plans have not yet been finalized, pending a meeting with the President of Portugal next week, the video will likely be shown at the end of a special afternoon session on the first day of the symposium (Sept. 27th). The First Lady of Portugal, Maria Jesus Barroso Soares, who has been a leader on this issue, will say a few words and mention the video, as will Dr. Gomez-Pedro. The U.S. Ambassador to Portugal Elizabeth Frawley Bagley will most likely introduce the video.

III. PARTICIPANTS

HRC

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

HRC tapes three videos.

V. PRESS

Closed press.

VI. REMARKS

Script prepared by Lissa Muscatine and Sabrina Corlette.

Our Honoree:
T. Berry Brazelton, M.D.

His biography states it upfront, in the simplest of terms:
Born in Waco, Texas. Always wanted to be a pediatrician.

We would add: Succeeded beyond his wildest dreams.
And every child is better for it.

From a remarkably prolific career spanning more than a half-century, Dr. T. Berry Brazelton has emerged as the nation's most trusted and beloved pediatrician. A graduate of Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, he served his medical residency at Massachusetts General Hospital and did his pediatric training at Children's Hospital in Boston. His interest in child development led to



training in child psychiatry at Mass General and, later, a fellowship at the Center for Cognitive Studies at Harvard University. The process of integrating his dual interest in primary-care pediatrics and child psychiatry culminated in 1972, when he and his colleague, Dr. Edward Tronick, founded the Child Development Unit, a research and training center at Children's Hospital.

A practicing pediatrician for over 35 years, Dr. Brazelton introduced into pediatric training the concept of "anticipatory guidance" for parents. Among his pioneering achievements is the Brazelton Neonatal Behavioral Assessment Scale, now used in more than 500 hospitals in the United States and 25 other countries.

Currently Clinical Professor Emeritus of Pediatrics at Harvard Medical School, where he still teaches and does research, Dr. Brazelton is also Professor of Psychiatry and Human Development at Brown University. He is a past president of both the Society for Research in Child Development and the National Center for Clinical Infant Programs. Among his numerous awards and honors is the C. Anderson Aldrich Award for Distinguished Contributions to the Field of Child Development, given by the American Academy of Pediatrics.

Dr. Brazelton, a co-founder of Parent Action, a grass-roots parenthood organization, has voiced growing concern about the mounting pressures on American families. He has spoken before Congressional committees in support of parental and medical leave bills, as well as for child care for all working parents. He was appointed by Congress to the National Commission on Children.

The author of over 180 scholarly papers, Dr. Brazelton has written 24 books including the now-classic *Infants and Mothers*, *To Listen to a Child* and *Touchpoints*, which served as the basis for his popular video series of the same name. A contributor to CBS *This Morning*, he is also the recipient of a 1995 Emmy Award as host of the popular series "What Every Baby Knows" on Lifetime Television. His program's sponsor, Procter & Gamble's Pampers, has funded the establishment of the Brazelton Center for Infants and Parents at Children's Hospital, which will be dedicated this summer.

Dr. Brazelton and his wife Chrissie reside in Cambridge; they have four children and three grandchildren.

DECLARATION

The experts present at the International Symposium "*STRESS AND VIOLENCE IN CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH*", which was planned in order to elaborate a **DECLARATION** to be approved by the international organizations responsible for and involved with children and Peace and afterwards handed over to all Governments in the world, consider essential the following statements, which are the result of their research and experience as clinicians and educators.

- * Investment in Education is the great priority in order to construct a culture of Peace and tolerance. Education should privilege togetherness and tolerance as the pathways leading to effective social cohesion.
- * The concept of Peace should represent the educational ideal of the two main educational communities - Family and School - actively involved in the fight against social and human desintegration as a result of stress and violence.
- * There is the need to construct an Education governed by values, based on the principles of non-violation of human dignity, respect for difference and refusal of violence.

- * Families should be the primary providers of love and support as well as the builders of inner strengths in order to become resilient in the face of adversities.
- * Parent education, support and counseling programs should be developed to help strengthen families and enable them to provide better parenting. Such progress will help prevent child abuse and neglect and, ultimately, violence.
- * To give all children the best start for a less stressful and non-violent childhood, all mothers should have continuous emotional support since the beginning of their pregnancy. This support is supposed to be provided by the husband or by an experienced woman during labour and delivery.
- * All mothers should have the opportunities to establish early contact and rooming-in with their new infants in the hospital as well as a minimum of fifteen weeks of maternity leave with support and guidance to encourage responsiveness and sensitivity to the baby's needs.
- * All children have the right to grow up in an environment sensitive to their needs without exposure to violence such as physical punishment because when they become parents they tend to repeat with their children what was done to them.

- * Domestic violence namely spouse abuse should not be condoned. Wives and children should be safe in their homes.
- * Children exposed to violence should have an adult, preferably a non traumatised parent, available to them on a regular basis to provide support and security. No child exposed to violence should suffer alone.
- * Fostering children's normal emotions of joy and interest, motivation for competence and capacities for coping with stress should be the concern of all peoples and Governments.
- * Social institutions and programs need to be built on the strengths of families to participate in the addressing and overcoming of adversities all families face.
- * Individuals and international organizations should affirm that violence is a socially unacceptable behaviour and instead emphasis should be placed on human values, responsibility and respect for the rights of others.
- * Violence is, nowadays, an "epidemic situation". An international study group should be created in order to organize a structured prevention of social violence, in general.

- * Stress and violence are the result of absent or inadequate communication.
- * More public information is needed about the damaging effects of violence exposure on children and the need for peaceful and non-violent alternatives.
- * Regional training in some areas of each continent is needed in order to organize trainee programs for the basic and integrated care for children, adolescent and families.
- * Children's right to participate in decisions concerning them, to privacy and to rehabilitation and educational support adapted to their specific situation should be fully respected.
- * In terms of violence from either war or community violence, safe areas for children and their parents need to be set up to protect them.
- * Problems concerning minors involved in acts of violence should be adequately studied, distinguishing the cases in which they are victims from those in which they are agents, in order to put into practice, in each situation, appropriate administrative and judicial measures.

- * A research protocol should prospectively track features of parent child relationships for groups of children characterized by different risk factors.
- * A research protocol should be established to prospectively examine the economic "costs" associated with two groups of children, both at risk for violence but one provided with potential prevention techniques and one not (structured in a manner to be ethical and not developmentally harmful for all children involved).
- * U.N., WHO and UNICEF should promulgate a statement indicating the status of current knowledge concerning relative biological and environmental contribution to the genesis of violence in childhood and youth.
- * U.N., WHO and UNICEF should promulgate a statement describing all specific factors known to be associated with the development of violence in children.
- * It is not enough to accuse organizations in countries which, although preaching peace, deal with arms. They must be stopped.

- * Family centered and community-centered approaches are needed for the prevention of violence and the treatment of its consequences.
- * Education for peace involves resilience and faith. When self-centered and alone, Man becomes violent.
- * Governments must establish joint policies of Education, Health, Justice and Social Intervention in order to obtain adequate and fair Prevention of stress and violence in children, youth and families.
- * Love of nature must be a fundamental component in the construction of an ideal of Peace.
- * Each Government should have a Cabinet member who may assess, independently and competently, the values and dangers of each move to children's future.

The experts subscribing these statements consider that survival of human dignity in our stressed society depends on how each society puts children first.

Children coming first is the only way for families to start being valued.

It is a belief of all the experts subscribing the DECLARATION that, at present, our society does not value its future generation.

In short, what the experts subscribing this DECLARATION propose to be remembered, respected and defended are the fundamental needs each child deserves as his essential rights.

These are the fundamental needs each child deserves:

1. Unequivocal love - preferably by one, but hopefully, by two.
2. Respect in order to develop a decent self-image.
3. Discipline in the form of respectful teaching to learn "self limits".
4. Adults who guide him in absorbing the mores and values of the culture in order he may learn respect for stress, including the consequences when he oversteps their boundaries.
5. Responsibility for himself and for the others.
6. Altruism caring for well-being of others.
7. Decent education and a chance to learn a career

8. A good health, being responsible for his health and for the health of others and understanding prevention of disease as a priority.
9. Respect for diversity and differences in others.
10. Strong belief systems - ideals, religion, affection and dedication to society.

Without these needs what can be predicted is emptiness, hopelessness, anger, stress and violence.

The experts subscribers of this **DECLARATION** believe and wish that these principles may be a reason of life and fight for all the men and women who believe in the future.

That's the hope which inspired the Symposium held in Lisbon in order to elaborate a Declaration for the world thought and written at the term of a century and intended as a guide for children and youth in a new era.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SATELLITE INTERVIEWS TO DISCUSS BEIJING TRIP

DATE: Tuesday, September 12, 1995
LOCATION: OEOB Rm 459
TIME: 12:00pm - 1:00pm
FROM: Dave Anderson DA

I. PURPOSE

The purpose of these interviews is to discuss your recent trip to Beijing and to talk about issues raised at the Women's Conference, and their relevance here at home.

II. BACKGROUND

You are scheduled to conduct ten five-minute satellite interviews with stations from Rochester (NY), Saginaw, Harrisburg, Scranton, Kansas City, Louisville, Minneapolis, Sioux Falls, and Green Bay. Seven are live. Almost all of the interviews will air on the stations' noon shows. Stations and interviewer names are listed below.

INTERVIEWS (LIVE INTERVIEWS ARE IN BOLD)

12:00pm - 12:05pm	Mary McCombs	WOKR Rochester	ABC
12:05pm - 12:10pm	Leslie & Sam	WNEM Saginaw	CBS
12:10pm - 12:15pm	Dick Hoxworth	WGAL Harrisburg	NBC
12:15pm - 12:20pm	Susan Houseman	WNEP Scranton	ABC
12:20pm - 12:25pm	Lili & Valissa	KCTV Kansas City	CBS
12:25pm - 12:30pm	Karen Adams	WAVE Louisville	NBC
12:30pm - 12:35pm	Wendy Lubovich	KSTP Minneapolis	ABC
12:35pm - 12:40pm	Julie Koenig	WHAS Louisville	ABC
12:40pm - 12:45pm	SAFETY		
12:45pm - 12:50pm	Joan Russell	KELO Sioux Falls	CBS
12:50pm - 12:55pm	TBD	KFRV Green Bay	CBS

III. PARTICIPANTS

THE FIRST LADY

Lisa Caputo
Dave Anderson
Television Crew (5)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Exclusive to participants.

V. REMARKS

None Required.

To: Hillary
From: Melanne
Date: 9/11/95
Re: Issue of Sexual Rights in the Women's Conference Document

Over the weekend at the Women's Conference, the health contact group approved language which states:

"The human rights of women include their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination and violence. Equal relationships between women and men in matters of sexual relations and reproduction, including full respect for the integrity of the person, require mutual respect, consent and shared responsibility for sexual behavior and its consequences."

The language asserts that a woman has the right to make sexual decisions free from coercion, i.e. that a woman has the right to "say no."

Even though this language has the blessing of the Vatican, the Far Right would like to characterize it as the creation of a "new right," and the promotion of gay and lesbian rights. On the contrary, this language, together with other parts of the platform, recognizes the human rights of every women to be free of violence and coercion in all aspects of their lives. No new rights are created with this language -- it simply recognizes existing rights as they apply to reproductive and sexual health and sexuality.

The Far Right has also circulated rumors that this language supports a right to pedophilia, which it does not. Rights can be enjoyed only in the context of the obligations they impose on individuals to respect the rights of others. In no case can an individual's rights be used to take rights away from anyone else (in this case from the child's right to be free from abuse).

The United States participated in developing the language which draws from the broad middle ground articulated by a broad range of delegations on the sub-contact group, including delegations from Jordan, Morocco, Iran, Argentina, the Holy See, Brazil (for several African countries), Trinidad and Tobago (for Caricorn, Haiti and Cuba, Senegal (for the African group), and the EU.

The intent of the language is to promote equality in relationships.

We have heard that since this action, the health sections may have been completed. We should have details Tuesday morning.

WOMEN'S MEETING AGREES ON RIGHT TO SAY NO TO SEX

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1995

A SPOUSE'S PREROGATIVE

Draft Wording Asserts Right to Make Sexual Decisions Free From Coercion

By SETH FAISON

BEIJING, Sept. 10 — Asserting a woman's right to make sexual decisions free of coercion or violence, delegates to an international conference here agreed tonight to declare for the first time in a United Nations document that a woman has the right to say no.

With the Vatican acquiescing for the time being, a consensus of delegates from nations on every continent attending the Fourth World Conference on Women made what many considered to be their greatest stride yet, agreeing to expand the definition of human rights in their final document.

The agreement is expected to be approved in some form later this week.

"This is a major step forward in defining human rights," said Sally Ethelston, a spokeswoman for Population Action International, a group lobbying the conference. "It is a recognition that a woman is not just a reproductive machine, but is a sexual being with rights."

While the document is nonbinding, it is influential, and although there is a huge gap between reality and what is put on paper at a conference, the draft is still seen as ultimately having both a political impact as well as an effect on the lives of women.

For women who live in countries where husbands can legally force a wife to have sex even, for example, when a husband is infected with the virus that causes AIDS, the agreement can be used as a social and legal tool to ensure greater protection for women, advocates said.

For women in nations where rape within marriage is already considered a crime, the agreement may also serve to improve understanding among women that they can have greater control over whom they choose as sexual partners.

The agreement tonight also appeared to eliminate a major element in a simmering dispute between delegates from the Vatican, who had opposed the wording, and from the European Union, who pushed for more progressive terminology.

Joaquin Navarro-Valls, a spokesman for the Vatican, said that Ro-

Continued on Page A8, Column 1

Continued From Page A1

man Catholic leaders may still voice opposition to the agreement, but had decided not to block the drafting of the document.

"We are not going to block the deliberations," Dr. Navarro-Valls said. "But at the appropriate moment, we will make our comment."

The Vatican has taken a lower-key approach to contentious issues at the conference than it did at a United Nations conference on population last year in Cairo, several participants said.

"I am thrilled and relieved beyond my wildest dreams," said Joan B. Dunlop, president of the International Women's Health Coalition, a New York-based group lobbying in favor of the provision. "We came in here with our backs to the wall to defend Cairo, and we have achieved more than we thought was possible."

In one significant change from the Cairo conference, the Vatican last week dropped its active opposition to the use of condoms as a method for preventing infection with the virus that causes AIDS.

While that did not by any means signify an acceptance of condoms by the Vatican, which still formally opposes all forms of birth control, it meant that its delegates here decided not to fight a battle in which they are badly outnumbered.

The key sentence in tonight's agreement sounds innocuous enough: "The human rights of women include their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination and violence."

But it represents a compromise between delegates uncomfortable with the term "sexual rights," and others who insisted that the issue be addressed in the conference platform. After days of debate the draft-

Delegates assert that women should be free to choose without coercion.

ing committee agreed to omit that term but to define what it means.

"The words 'sexual rights' are not in here, but the substance is," said Ellen Marshall, a member of the United States delegation. "We're starting to talk about it before we call it something."

Mrs. Dunlop said that, although the language adopted tonight is not yet final, it would likely stand in the conference's final document.

Ms. Ethelston added that the agreement was reached with the participation of women from developing nations in every continent, as

well as from the United States and Europe.

"I'm sure the Vatican will try to paint this as another example of Western feminists pushing something on the rest of the world, but that's not accurate," she said. "We had women from the Caribbean, from Africa, from Asia, from Latin American countries — we were all there."

Other women described the agreement as a victory for common sense.

"I think it's one more step toward recognition of life's realities, which this conference is adding each day," said Bella Abzug, the former member of Congress who is now co-chairman of the New York-based Women's Environment and Development Organization. "It shows that a small voice that opposed facing reality in a consensus conference cannot succeed."

"These people didn't want to acknowledge that there is sex, much less that there are sexual rights."

Ms. Marshall, the American delegate, added: "What we're trying to do is ensure that a woman has the right to say 'no.' That is good for everyone. It's not bad for anyone."

Several participants said that although they had made more progress in reaching agreement on various aspects of the document than they expected by the conference's halfway mark, other issues remain unresolved and need to be ironed out by Thursday, when a full document is scheduled to be approved.

"There is still a lot of work to be done, I must admit, in terms of negotiation of language," said Thérèse Gastaut, a spokeswoman for the conference.

Ms. Ethelston also described the agreement as the committee's second significant advance over the weekend. The first was an agreement to urge countries not to punish a woman who has had a illegal abortion.

One principal remaining issue is parental rights. The Vatican has expressed its concern about what it sees as attempts to roll back parental rights, belittle motherhood and undermine religious faith.

Despite the Vatican's relatively soft approach at the conference, Dr. Navarro-Valls sharply criticized the European Union on Saturday for its progressive approach on a host of issues.

"At Beijing, the draft document casts marriage and the family negatively as impediments to women's self-realization," Dr. Navarro-Valls said in a statement.

Dr. Navarro-Valls also said the Vatican opposed attempts to replace the word "family" in the document with "families," which would accommodate nontraditional families including single-parent, polygamous families and families headed by same-sex partners.

Merwat Tallawy of Egypt, chairwoman of the conference's health committee, said today that the committee also is close to agreeing on language recommending how much control parents should have over teen-agers' access to sex education and contraception. She also said that almost all the 189 nations at the conference were ready to urge a review of laws that punish women



Dear Friends and Colleagues:

The Center for Policy Alternatives is very pleased to share a synopsis of the findings from our most current set of *Women's Voices* focus groups, funded as part of the Ms. Foundation's initiative "Beijing and Beyond." Understanding the most pressing concerns, the hopes of American women, across race, age, class and geographic lines, is critical to conveying the significance of the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women (4WCW) at home.

The *Women's Voices* focus groups, led by a bi-partisan, multi-cultural team, aimed to identify priorities which unite women across the United States. Building on the earlier phases of *Women's Voices* surveying, we concentrated on economic issues and did not investigate two aspects central to the United Nations platform -- human rights and reproductive rights. Despite these omissions, the findings are both extremely informative and relevant to 4WCW.

It may not surprise you to learn that while some women believe that they have a variety of issues in common with women internationally, the majority are skeptical. For example, in response to the question, "In September there will be an international conference of women. What issues do you think will be discussed there?" one pink/blue collar woman responded, "We are so different. All the women across the world, I don't think we even have much to talk about in common." *The fact is, however, that the most important concerns to American women virtually parallel the platform of the Fourth World Conference on Women.*

For example:

- ▶ A major tenet of the international platform is health care over the whole life span. Similarly, this issue was among the most frequently mentioned concerns of the women in our focus groups. While women have confidence that they can survive economic hardships, they are extremely worried about what will happen to them and their families if there is a major illness and they do not have sufficient health insurance.
- ▶ Like women around the world, American women struggle constantly to withstand the pressures related to time and money. In their eyes, the workplace is not yet a place of equality, not only in terms of pay and promotions, but in terms of personal respect. Nor is home, where they feel they carry the brunt of the burden.
- ▶ American women, like women abroad, contend that the only guarantee for economic well-being for families is women's ability to be economically independent. Independence is their most pressing hope for their daughters. This means access to education, which requires support from both the private and public sectors. Their interest in owning their own business is powerful -- particularly among younger women.

- ▶ Also like women abroad, American women are deeply troubled by the threat of violence, particularly as it relates to the safety of their children. Without addressing this issue, they believe, we cannot have strong families and healthy communities.
- ▶ Last but not least, most American women believe that things would be better if more women sat at the economic and political decision-making tables. This promotion of women in leadership positions is also a high agenda item in the 4WCW platform.

The challenge for us is to amplify back to our sisters in the United States that this conference abroad is about bringing commitments from the world community and our own country to address the issues most important at home. If we are successful, we will have made great inroads in helping women understand the importance of our participation in this conference and in building momentum for an agenda that will give visibility and energy toward addressing women's concerns and achieving their vision for our country through the 1996 election.

Lake Research

WOMEN'S VOICES '96

In 1992, the Center for Policy Alternatives and the Ms. Foundation presented *Women's Voices*, a groundbreaking report on American women's attitudes toward their economic lives. The research leading to this report, a series of focus groups and a national survey, was instrumental in shaping the political debate prior to the November 1992 elections. American women, said the study, had distinct economic experiences and strong concerns which crossed race, class, age and party lines. They were concerned with finding time for both their children and their jobs, with equal pay in the workplace, and with securing affordable and portable health care.

The last three years have seen significant political change, including Democratic control of the White House and Republican control of the Congress, as well as economic change, with an easing of the recessions of the 1980s, but little easing of the mood among voters. This year, the Center for Policy Alternatives, as part of the Ms. Foundation's Beijing and Beyond Initiative, has launched *Women's Voices '96*, a two-year bipartisan research project to revisit and update the themes and issues raised in the original study. This report outlines the findings of a bipartisan and multi-cultural research team, led by Lake Research, which conducted a new series of focus groups to lay the groundwork for a national opinion survey in 1996.¹

In all, seven focus groups have been conducted across the country, six among women of different ages, races, economic backgrounds and political perspectives, and one among white men to provide a counterpoint. *Women's Voices '96* paid particular attention to women's class and ethnic diversity, and looked in greater depth at younger women (ages 18-29).

¹ Many thanks to Raydean Acevedo, Vince Breglio and Linda Williams for their participation in the research and analysis summarized in this memorandum. Full methodological details are described in the appendix which follows.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

As in 1992, it is apparent that American women have powerful economic concerns to which they long to give voice:

- ▶ **The Economy:** Today, economic insecurity coexists with the reality of more economic independence. As in *Women's Voices '92*, women continue to describe a high level of economic stress in their daily lives. They worry on a daily basis about how to make ends meet, and they struggle with finding enough time for both their children and their jobs. Women feel stretched thin for time and money, and believe that they have to do many jobs well while men only have to do one. Compared to three years ago, however, these women express a somewhat greater sense of economic independence, grounded in a belief that having survived the prolonged economic recession of the 1990s, they can survive whatever economic hardship life throws their way.
- ▶ **Health care and retirement:** Health care was a dominant concern in 1992, and it has reemerged as a strong concern today. The struggle to afford and maintain health insurance for their families is part of what constricts women's choices, and it is a source of tremendous insecurity and worry. In addition, retirement issues have now joined health care as central concerns. These women are not at all certain that Social Security will exist when they retire, and their jobs and their spouses' jobs less and less frequently have secure retirement plans. They know they must rely on themselves, and yet saving for their own retirement is a nearly impossible goal.

It is striking how strong these concerns are when compared to the more basic concern of having a job. Indeed, women today appear even more concerned with the health and retirement benefits that fewer and fewer jobs now provide than with having a job in the first place. At the same time, women do worry about what jobs pay, and they believe that women systematically earn less than men. Whether the issue is pay, health care or retirement, long-term economic and business trends are clearly affecting women in a personal and immediate way.

- ▶ **Violence:** Women remain acutely concerned with violence. In 1992, this concern was just beginning and was expressed primarily as a concern with personal victimization — fear of being assaulted themselves. Today, women's concerns for their own safety seem to be taking a back seat to concerns for their children's safety. They are fearful for their children's safety in their daily lives, in their schools and in their neighborhoods, and these fears are closely intertwined with their sense of

decaying social values and with an out-of-control entertainment media. In today's political environment, concern with children's exposure to violence is a unique issue, uniting many women on the left with many women on the right.

- ▶ **False choices:** In *Women's Voices '92*, "choices" were a powerful theme. Progress for women was viewed as expanding choices — women could choose a career, they could choose to be a homemaker, or they could choose both. They both celebrated choices, and wanted more. In *Women's Voices '96*, women's desire for choices has been tempered by a growing suspicion that, in the reality of their own lives, true choices are rare. For many of these women, working is not a choice; it is an economic necessity for their families. In the end, it is women's frustration with the competing demands for their time that shapes their goals for themselves and their vision for the economy of the future.
- ▶ **Independence, education, and the entrepreneurial spirit:** After surviving recession and confronting the fact that promised choices are not always real, women in the mid-1990s value independence above all. For both themselves and their daughters, the women participating in *Women's Voices '96* want the independence that comes with being able to provide for themselves and their families, and the independence necessary for control over their own time and choices. One key to such independence, they believe, is education — a college education for their children, and continuing education for themselves. In addition, this drive for independence, for control over their own time and money, expresses itself in a strong entrepreneurial spirit, with many of these women dreaming of owning their own business.
- ▶ **Business and government:** Changes in the political landscape since 1992 have bred substantial political alienation, and these women, while believing that government could help if it wanted to, do not now see government as their ally. Nonetheless, they see a government role on some of the issues they care about — including health care and retirement — and they have a clear sense that government can and should promote education. In fact, they believe that a well-educated citizenry is in the government's own best interest. In addition, these women are now turning to business for solutions. They believe that businesses should provide greater flexibility in hours, more help with child care, and more opportunities for education and training — not as unusual benefits offered only by the most generous, but as all businesses' responsibility. Women are ready to demand more of business, and they are looking for a better partnership with their employers.

- **Respect and equity:** In both studies, women were acutely aware of inequities in the workplace and at home, particularly pay inequities. As we near the 21st century, women do not believe that they receive equal pay for equal work or that they have the same opportunities and rewards (for example, in promotion) as men. In *Women's Voices '96*, however, an additional theme emerges: a demand for social equity in the workplace as well as economic equity. The word used most frequently by women to define what they want in the workplace is "respect" — respect expressed personally as well as respect expressed in pay and opportunities.

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Economic Insecurity

Stress and economic insecurity re-emerged as a central theme in the *Women's Voices '96* focus groups. Across race, marital status, and income levels, women feel a very real responsibility for supporting their families, and they worry in specific personal terms about meeting basic expenses and stretching each dollar. As a younger white woman in Baltimore said, "You are always worried about making sure you are going to have enough to make ends meet." Added a Denver woman, "It's a continuous struggle... and it doesn't get any better." Economic insecurity permeates every aspect of women's lives, reducing their choices and robbing them of the time they often feel they need to spend at home with their family.

Women's economic concerns today are not limited to jobs and wages. In fact, women's strongest concerns center on the types of benefits that are no longer provided by most jobs — namely, health care and retirement.

Health care, in fact, is an even stronger concern than it was in 1992. The women participating in these focus groups frequently expressed a sense that they and their families are living on the edge, that illness could wipe out everything they are working so hard to achieve. As an African American woman said, "If I'm sick, and I don't have medical insurance, my children's foundation is crumbled." In addition, making sure that their families have health insurance limits the choices that women can make. Often, the struggle to maintain health insurance traps women into job choices they might not otherwise make, a kind of job lock.

IMPACT OF REPUBLICAN BUDGET CUTS ON OLDER AMERICANS, STUDENTS, AND WORKING FAMILIES IN NEW YORK

Impact on Older and Disabled Americans in New York

Increases Medicare Premiums: Each of New York's over 2.6 million Medicare beneficiaries would pay at least \$2,825 more in premiums and copayments over the 7 years; couples would pay at least \$5,650 more.

Reduces Medicare and Medicaid Funding: Over the seven-year period, the combined Medicare and Medicaid cuts would reduce Federal health care dollars to New York by \$37 billion.

Cuts Coverage for Elderly, Children, and Disabled: Loss in Medicaid funding to the state would have a devastating impact on the state's current 2.9 million recipients. New York would be forced to eliminate coverage for as many as 645,000 recipients in 2002, many of whom may be elderly, nursing home residents, or home care recipients.

Impact on Students in New York

Cuts Head Start: Denies Head Start to 180,000 children nationwide and 9,488 children in New York in 2002 compared to 1995.

Cuts Funding for Basic and Advanced Skills: Cuts funding by \$1.1 billion in 1996, denying this crucial assistance to 1.1 million students nationwide and 78,500 students in New York.

Halts Progress on GOALS 2000: Eliminates Goals 2000 and denies New York funding for as many as 1,337 schools.

Eliminates Safe and Drug Free Schools: Republicans want to gut the program, which 694 out of 716 school districts in New York use to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Denies Access to College: Raises costs for student loans by \$10 billion over 7 years. This could raise the cost of college education by as much as \$2,111 for 447,700 college students and as much as \$9,424 for 64,000 graduate students in New York. Denies Pell Grants to 33,300 students in New York in 1996 alone, possibly forcing them to drop out of college.

Ends National Service: Eliminates AmeriCorps and denies 3,381 young people in New York the chance to serve in 1996.

Slashes Summer Jobs: Eliminates summer jobs, denying meaningful employment to 40,385 New York youths in 1996 and 282,555 New York youths over 7 years. Also drastically cuts the President's school-to-work initiative.

Impact on Working Families in New York

Increases Taxes For Working Families: Cuts the EITC program, increasing taxes for 848,073 working families in New York by an average of \$233 in 1996. For 457,783 families with two or more children, the average tax increase in 1996 would be \$295.

Denies Job Training: Cuts funding by \$84.0 million and denies training opportunities to 35,467 dislocated workers in New York in 1996.

IMPACT OF REPUBLICAN BUDGET CUTS ON OLDER AMERICANS, STUDENTS, AND WORKING FAMILIES IN MICHIGAN

Impact on Older and Disabled Americans in Michigan

Increases Medicare Premiums: Each of Michigan's over 1.3 million Medicare beneficiaries would pay at least \$2,100 more in premiums and copayments over the 7 years; couples would pay at least \$4,200 more.

Reduces Medicare and Medicaid Funding: Over the seven-year period, the combined Medicare and Medicaid cuts would reduce Federal health care dollars to Michigan by \$13 billion.

Cuts Coverage for Elderly, Children, and Disabled: Loss in Medicaid funding to the state would have a devastating impact on the state's current 1.2 million recipients. Michigan would be forced to eliminate coverage for as many as 215,000 recipients in 2002, many of whom may be elderly, nursing home residents, or home care recipients.

Impact on Students in Michigan

Cuts Head Start: Denies Head Start to 180,000 children nationwide and 7,456 children in Michigan in 2002 compared to 1995.

Cuts Funding for Basic and Advanced Skills: Cuts funding by \$1.1 billion in 1996, denying this crucial assistance to 1.1 million students nationwide and 30,100 students in Michigan.

Halts Progress on GOALS 2000: Eliminates Goals 2000 and denies Michigan funding for as many as 715 schools.

Eliminates Safe and Drug Free Schools: Republicans want to gut the program, which 559 out of 561 school districts in Michigan use to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Denies Access to College: Raises costs for student loans by \$10 billion over 7 years. This could raise the cost of college education by as much as \$2,111 for 172,200 college students and as much as \$9,424 for 24,600 graduate students in Michigan. Denies Pell Grants to 14,000 students in Michigan in 1996 alone, possibly forcing them to drop out of college.

Ends National Service: Eliminates AmeriCorps and denies 1,323 young people in Michigan the chance to serve in 1996.

Slashes Summer Jobs: Eliminates summer jobs, denying meaningful employment to 20,164 Michigan youths in 1996 and 141,148 Michigan youths over 7 years. Also drastically cuts the President's school-to-work initiative.

Impact on Working Families in Michigan

Increases Taxes For Working Families: Cuts the EITC program, increasing taxes for 372,556 working families in Michigan by an average of \$223 in 1996. For 201,102 families with two or more children, the average tax increase in 1996 would be \$279..

Denies Job Training: Cuts funding by \$33.5 million and denies training opportunities to 14,059 dislocated workers in Michigan in 1996.

IMPACT OF REPUBLICAN BUDGET CUTS ON OLDER AMERICANS, STUDENTS, AND WORKING FAMILIES IN PENNSYLVANIA

Impact on Older and Disabled Americans in Pennsylvania

Increases Medicare Premiums: Each of Pennsylvania's over 2.1 million Medicare beneficiaries would pay at least \$2,975 more in premiums and copayments over the 7 years; couples would pay at least \$5,950 more.

Reduces Medicare and Medicaid Funding: Over the seven-year period, the combined Medicare and Medicaid cuts would reduce Federal health care dollars to Pennsylvania by \$21 billion.

Cuts Coverage for Elderly, Children, and Disabled: Loss in Medicaid funding to the state would have a devastating impact on the state's current 1.3 million recipients. Pennsylvania would be forced to eliminate coverage for as many as 308,000 recipients in 2002, many of whom may be elderly, nursing home residents, or home care recipients.

Impact on Students in Pennsylvania

Cuts Head Start: Denies Head Start to 180,000 children nationwide and 6,241 children in Pennsylvania in 2002 compared to 1995.

Cuts Funding for Basic and Advanced Skills: Cuts funding by \$1.1 billion in 1996, denying this crucial assistance to 1.1 million students nationwide and 44,800 students in Pennsylvania.

Halts Progress on GOALS 2000: Eliminates Goals 2000 and denies Pennsylvania funding for as many as 758 schools.

Eliminates Safe and Drug Free Schools: Republicans want to gut the program, which 514 out of 521 school districts in Pennsylvania use to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Denies Access to College: Raises costs for student loans by \$10 billion over 7 years. This could raise the cost of college education by as much as \$2,111 for 367,300 college students and as much as \$9,424 for 52,500 graduate students in Pennsylvania. Denies Pell Grants to 14,100 students in Pennsylvania in 1996 alone, possibly forcing them to drop out of college.

Ends National Service: Eliminates AmeriCorps and denies 2,081 young people in Pennsylvania the chance to serve in 1996.

Slashes Summer Jobs: Eliminates summer jobs, denying meaningful employment to 21,744 Pennsylvania youths in 1996 and 152,208 Pennsylvania youths over 7 years. Also drastically cuts the President's school-to-work initiative.

Impact on Working Families in Pennsylvania

Increases Taxes For Working Families: Cuts the EITC program, increasing taxes for 462,314 working families in Pennsylvania by an average of \$225 in 1996. For 249,553 families with two or more children, the average tax increase in 1996 would be \$283.

Denies Job Training: Cuts funding by \$44.1 million and denies training opportunities to 18,524 dislocated workers in Pennsylvania in 1996.

IMPACT OF REPUBLICAN BUDGET CUTS ON OLDER AMERICANS, STUDENTS, AND WORKING FAMILIES IN KANSAS

Impact on Older and Disabled Americans in Kansas

Increases Medicare Premiums: Each of Kansas's over 380,000 Medicare beneficiaries would pay at least \$2,850 more in premiums and copayments over the 7 years; couples would pay at least \$5,700 more.

Reduces Medicare and Medicaid Funding: Over the seven-year period, the combined Medicare and Medicaid cuts would reduce Federal health care dollars to Kansas by \$3 billion.

Cuts Coverage for Elderly, Children, and Disabled: Loss in Medicaid funding to the state would have a devastating impact on the state's current 252,000 recipients. Kansas would be forced to eliminate coverage for as many as 40,000 recipients in 2002, many of whom may be elderly, nursing home residents, or home care recipients.

Impact on Students in Kansas

Cuts Head Start: Denies Head Start to 180,000 children nationwide and 1,408 children in Kansas in 2002 compared to 1995.

Cuts Funding for Basic and Advanced Skills: Cuts funding by \$1.1 billion in 1996, denying this crucial assistance to 1.1 million students nationwide and 6,000 students in Kansas.

Halts Progress on GOALS 2000: Eliminates Goals 2000 and denies Kansas funding for as many as 162 schools.

Eliminates Safe and Drug Free Schools: Republicans want to gut the program, which 296 out of 304 school districts in Kansas use to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Denies Access to College: Raises costs for student loans by \$10 billion over 7 years. This could raise the cost of college education by as much as \$2,111 for 71,500 college students and as much as \$9,424 for 10,200 graduate students in Kansas. Denies Pell Grants to 4,300 students in Kansas in 1996 alone, possibly forcing them to drop out of college.

Ends National Service: Eliminates AmeriCorps and denies 504 young people in Kansas the chance to serve in 1996.

Slashes Summer Jobs: Eliminates summer jobs, denying meaningful employment to 3,215 Kansas youths in 1996 and 22,506 Kansas youths over 7 years. Also drastically cuts the President's school-to-work initiative.

Impact on Working Families in Kansas

Increases Taxes For Working Families: Cuts the EITC program, increasing taxes for 109,568 working families in Kansas by an average of \$228 in 1996. For 59,144 families with two or more children, the average tax increase in 1996 would be \$286.

Denies Job Training: Cuts funding by \$6.1 million and denies training opportunities to 2,564 dislocated workers in Kansas in 1996.

IMPACT OF REPUBLICAN BUDGET CUTS ON OLDER AMERICANS, STUDENTS, AND WORKING FAMILIES IN MISSOURI

Impact on Older and Disabled Americans in Missouri

Increases Medicare Premiums: Each of Missouri's over 823,000 Medicare beneficiaries would pay at least \$2,425 more in premiums and copayments over the 7 years; couples would pay at least \$4,850 more.

Reduces Medicare and Medicaid Funding: Over the seven-year period, the combined Medicare and Medicaid cuts would reduce Federal health care dollars to Missouri by \$6 billion.

Cuts Coverage for Elderly, Children, and Disabled: Loss in Medicaid funding to the state would have a devastating impact on the state's current 669,000 recipients. Missouri would be forced to eliminate coverage for as many as 83,000 recipients in 2002, many of whom may be elderly, nursing home residents, or home care recipients.

Impact on Students in Missouri

Cuts Head Start: Denies Head Start to 180,000 children nationwide and 3,414 children in Missouri in 2002 compared to 1995.

Cuts Funding for Basic and Advanced Skills: Cuts funding by \$1.1 billion in 1996, denying this crucial assistance to 1.1 million students nationwide and 18,300 students in Missouri.

Halts Progress on GOALS 2000: Eliminates Goals 2000 and denies Missouri funding for as many as 321 schools.

Eliminates Safe and Drug Free Schools: Republicans want to gut the program, which 526 out of 546 school districts in Missouri use to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Denies Access to College: Raises costs for student loans by \$10 billion over 7 years. This could raise the cost of college education by as much as \$2,111 for 123,200 college students and as much as \$9,424 for 17,600 graduate students in Missouri. Denies Pell Grants to 7,900 students in Missouri in 1996 alone, possibly forcing them to drop out of college.

Ends National Service: Eliminates AmeriCorps and denies 852 young people in Missouri the chance to serve in 1996.

Slashes Summer Jobs: Eliminates summer jobs, denying meaningful employment to 8,866 Missouri youths in 1996 and 62,062 Missouri youths over 7 years. Also drastically cuts the President's school-to-work initiative.

Impact on Working Families in Missouri

Increases Taxes For Working Families: Cuts the EITC program, increasing taxes for 276,512 working families in Missouri by an average of \$233 in 1996. For 149,259 families with two or more children, the average tax increase in 1996 would be \$296.

Denies Job Training: Cuts funding by \$13.6 million and denies training opportunities to 5,723 dislocated workers in Missouri in 1996.

IMPACT OF REPUBLICAN BUDGET CUTS ON OLDER AMERICANS, STUDENTS, AND WORKING FAMILIES IN KENTUCKY

Impact on Older and Disabled Americans in Kentucky

Increases Medicare Premiums: Each of Kentucky's over 575,000 Medicare beneficiaries would pay at least \$2,075 more in premiums and copayments over the 7 years; couples would pay at least \$4,150 more.

Reduces Medicare and Medicaid Funding: Over the seven-year period, the combined Medicare and Medicaid cuts would reduce Federal health care dollars to Kentucky by \$7 billion.

Cuts Coverage for Elderly, Children, and Disabled: Loss in Medicaid funding to the state would have a devastating impact on the state's current 638,000 recipients. Kentucky would be forced to eliminate coverage for as many as 171,000 recipients in 2002, many of whom may be elderly, nursing home residents, or home care recipients.

Impact on Students in Kentucky

Cuts Head Start: Denies Head Start to 180,000 children nationwide and 3,416 children in Kentucky in 2002 compared to 1995.

Cuts Funding for Basic and Advanced Skills: Cuts funding by \$1.1 billion in 1996, denying this crucial assistance to 1.1 million students nationwide and 19,100 students in Kentucky.

Halts Progress on GOALS 2000: Eliminates Goals 2000 and denies Kentucky funding for as many as 291 schools.

Eliminates Safe and Drug Free Schools: Republicans want to gut the program, which 179 out of 179 school districts in Kentucky use to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Denies Access to College: Raises costs for student loans by \$10 billion over 7 years. This could raise the cost of college education by as much as \$2,111 for 67,300 college students and as much as \$9,424 for 9,600 graduate students in Kentucky. Denies Pell Grants to 6,000 students in Kentucky in 1996 alone, possibly forcing them to drop out of college.

Ends National Service: Eliminates AmeriCorps and denies 663 young people in Kentucky the chance to serve in 1996.

Slashes Summer Jobs: Eliminates summer jobs, denying meaningful employment to 7,381 Kentucky youths in 1996 and 51,667 Kentucky youths over 7 years. Also drastically cuts the President's school-to-work initiative.

Impact on Working Families in Kentucky

Increases Taxes For Working Families: Cuts the EITC program, increasing taxes for 217,386 working families in Kentucky by an average of \$233 in 1996. For 117,343 families with two or more children, the average tax increase in 1996 would be \$296.

Denies Job Training: Cuts funding by \$8.8 million and denies training opportunities to 3,695 dislocated workers in Kentucky in 1996.

IMPACT OF THE PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL CUTS ON METROPOLITAN LOUISVILLE

Both the President and Congress have offered proposals to balance the federal budget, in ten and seven years respectively. The President's proposal builds on his 1993 plan that will already reduce the federal deficit by \$1 trillion. The President's proposal invests in education and training, rewards work and individual responsibility, takes important steps towards health reform while strengthening the Medicare Trust Fund and protecting beneficiaries and targets tax cuts only to working families. By contrast, Congressional proposals would have a devastating impact on working families and the communities in which they live. This document illustrates the cumulative impact of the Congressional budget decisions on metropolitan Louisville.¹

MEDICARE²

Nationally, the \$270 billion in Medicare cuts would mean that the average beneficiary would pay at least \$2,825 more in premiums and copayments over seven years; couples would pay at least \$5,650 more. *Each of Louisville's nearly 144,100 beneficiaries would pay as much as \$2,293 more in premiums and copayments over the seven years; couples would pay \$4,585 more. Overall, metropolitan Louisville would lose over \$223 million in Medicare funding in 2002 and \$887 million over seven years.*

EARNED INCOME TAX CREDIT³

Congress cuts the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) by \$21 billion over seven years, raising taxes on 10 million working families with children, to pay for a tax cut to families earning over \$200,000. For working families in Louisville, the cut in EITC would raise individual taxes by \$233 in 1996.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING⁴

Head Start. The President proposes to expand Head Start in 1996, enabling 1,600 children in Louisville to participate in the program. The House, on the other hand, has approved cuts that would limit Head Start participation to 1,400 low-income children.

Improving Basic and Advanced Skills. The President protects Title I, which helps students from disadvantaged backgrounds with reading, writing, math, and advanced skills. The House would fund Title I funding for Louisville at \$18.6 million in 1996, a 20 percent reduction from the President's proposed level of \$23.2 million, which would deny assistance to 4,700 school children.

Summer Jobs. Summer jobs are an important first opportunity for many low-income youths to get work experience. The House would eliminate the summer jobs program, denying valuable work experience to 785 Louisville youths in 1996, as compared to the President's plan.

Job Training. The President supports lifelong learning by reforming job training programs and putting resources directly in hands of workers. The President provides \$3 million in FY 1996 to Louisville to enable 1,400 adults and dislocated workers to get needed job training and opportunities for reentry into the workforce. The House cuts the program by 44 percent from the President's proposal, providing job training to only 765 adults.

ENVIRONMENT

Clean Water/Drinking Water State Revolving Fund. The President merged the Clean Water and Drinking Water state revolving funds to provide maximum flexibility for State and local governments to meet national water quality standards. The House has cut this program by nearly 50 percent in 1996. Kentucky will receive a 45 percent reduction in the program compared to the President's proposed level in 1996, putting Louisville at risk of maintaining safe drinking water for its residents.

TRANSPORTATION

Mass Transit Operating Subsidies. Louisville will receive nearly \$2.4 million in mass transit operating assistance in FY 1996 under the President's plan, compared to House' \$25 million. The House also intends to eliminate the city's operating subsidies by the year 2000. In Louisville, residents could face reduced services or a 78 percent increase in Louisville's TARC fares.

HOUSING

Homelessness. The President's plan provides Louisville with \$4.3 million in FY 1996 to support homeless programs; the House would provide it with only \$2.6 million. About 340 homeless persons would be denied assistance for transitional and permanent housing and vital support services such as day care, mental health care, and the job training they need to move toward self-sufficiency.

Rental Assistance. The House proposes to eliminate, for the first time in 20 years, funding for incremental Section 8 rental assistance. This would deny rental assistance to 233 poor and working families, and elderly and disabled households who wish to live in privately-owned apartments in 1996.

Public Housing. Louisville would receive \$15.7 million in public housing modernization in 1996 under the Congressional plan, a 40 percent cut when compared to the President's plan. Coupled with the proposed cuts in operating subsidies for local housing agencies, the reductions would threaten the supply of quality housing and harm efforts to reduce crime and provide needed resident services.

HEALTH AND NUTRITION

Utility Assistance. The House has proposed to eliminate the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP), which provides heating and cooling aid to 5-6 million low-income households nationwide, many of whom are elderly or disabled. The Louisville metro area would lose \$1.4 million in 1996, as compared to the President's proposal. 17,500 households would not receive assistance.

CRIME AND DRUG PROGRAMS

Safe and Drug-Free Schools. While the President strongly supports Safe and Drug-Free Schools, the House wants to gut the program. Under the current House proposal, Louisville would receive a 53 percent cut in funding in 1996, from the level the President proposes to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Public Housing Drug Elimination. Louisville will receive \$1.6 million in FY 1996 under the President's plan to fight crime in public housing communities. The House terminates the program.

¹ The Louisville PMSA includes 7 counties: Clark (IN), Floyd (IN), Harrison, (IN), Scott (IN), Bullitt (KY), Jefferson (KY), and Oldham (KY).

² Medicare analysis was provided by HHS.

³ EITC data was provided by the Treasury Department.

⁴ The data for these and the following discretionary programs were provided by the administering federal agencies, as coordinated by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

IMPACT OF REPUBLICAN BUDGET CUTS ON OLDER AMERICANS, STUDENTS, AND WORKING FAMILIES IN MINNESOTA

Impact on Older and Disabled Americans in Minnesota

Increases Medicare Premiums: Each of Minnesota's over 623,000 Medicare beneficiaries would pay at least \$2,900 more in premiums and copayments over the 7 years; couples would pay at least \$5,800 more.

Reduces Medicare and Medicaid Funding: Over the seven-year period, the combined Medicare and Medicaid cuts would reduce Federal health care dollars to Minnesota by \$7 billion.

Cuts Coverage for Elderly, Children, and Disabled: Loss in Medicaid funding to the state would have a devastating impact on the state's current 426,000 recipients. Minnesota would be forced to eliminate coverage for as many as 88,000 recipients in 2002, many of whom may be elderly, nursing home residents, or home care recipients.

Impact on Students in Minnesota

Cuts Head Start: Denies Head Start to 180,000 children nationwide and 2,081 children in Minnesota in 2002 compared to 1995.

Cuts Funding for Basic and Advanced Skills: Cuts funding by \$1.1 billion in 1996, denying this crucial assistance to 1.1 million students nationwide and 14,000 students in Minnesota.

Halts Progress on GOALS 2000: Eliminates Goals 2000 and denies Minnesota funding for as many as 266 schools.

Eliminates Safe and Drug Free Schools: Republicans want to gut the program, which 423 out of 423 school districts in Minnesota use to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Denies Access to College: Raises costs for student loans by \$10 billion over 7 years. This could raise the cost of college education by as much as \$2,111 for 134,400 college students and as much as \$9,424 for 19,200 graduate students in Minnesota. Denies Pell Grants to 7,300 students in Minnesota in 1996 alone, possibly forcing them to drop out of college.

Ends National Service: Eliminates AmeriCorps and denies 658 young people in Minnesota the chance to serve in 1996.

Slashes Summer Jobs: Eliminates summer jobs, denying meaningful employment to 5,720 Minnesota youths in 1996 and 40,040 Minnesota youths over 7 years. Also drastically cuts the President's school-to-work initiative.

Impact on Working Families in Minnesota

Increases Taxes For Working Families: Cuts the EITC program, increasing taxes for 149,851 working families in Minnesota by an average of \$224 in 1996. For 80,889 families with two or more children, the average tax increase in 1996 would be \$280.

Denies Job Training: Cuts funding by \$8.1 million and denies training opportunities to 3,408 dislocated workers in Minnesota in 1996.

IMPACT OF REPUBLICAN BUDGET CUTS ON OLDER AMERICANS, STUDENTS, AND WORKING FAMILIES IN SOUTH DAKOTA

Impact on Older and Disabled Americans in South Dakota

Increases Medicare Premiums: Each of South Dakota's over 116,000 Medicare beneficiaries would pay at least \$1,625 more in premiums and copayments over the 7 years; couples would pay at least \$3,250 more.

Reduces Medicare and Medicaid Funding: Over the seven-year period, the combined Medicare and Medicaid cut would reduce Federal health care dollars to South Dakota by \$912 million.

Cuts Coverage for Elderly, Children, and Disabled: Loss in Medicaid funding to the state would have a devastating impact on the state's current 72,000 recipients. South Dakota would be forced to eliminate coverage for as many as 19,000 recipients in 2002, many of whom may be elderly, nursing home residents, or home care recipients.

Impact on Students in South Dakota

Cuts Head Start: Denies Head Start to 180,000 children nationwide and 492 children in South Dakota in 2002 compared to 1995.

Cuts Funding for Basic and Advanced Skills: Cuts funding by \$1.1 billion in 1996, denying this crucial assistance to 1.1 million students nationwide and 2,600 students in South Dakota.

Halts Progress on GOALS 2000: Eliminates Goals 2000 and denies South Dakota funding for as many as 69 schools.

Eliminates Safe and Drug Free Schools: Republicans want to gut the program, which 178 out of 188 school districts in South Dakota use to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Denies Access to College: Raises costs for student loans by \$10 billion over 7 years. This could raise the cost of college education by as much as \$2,111 for 30,400 college students and as much as \$9,424 for 4,300 graduate students in South Dakota. Denies Pell Grants to 1,500 students in South Dakota in 1996 alone, possibly forcing them to drop out of college.

Ends National Service: Eliminates AmeriCorps and denies 84 young people in South Dakota the chance to serve in 1996.

Slashes Summer Jobs: Eliminates summer jobs, denying meaningful employment to 1,356 South Dakota youths in 1996 and 9,492 South Dakota youths over 7 years. Also drastically cuts the President's school-to-work initiative.

Impact on Working Families in South Dakota

Increases Taxes For Working Families: Cuts the EITC program, increasing taxes for 36,641 working families in South Dakota by an average of \$232 in 1996. For 19,779 families with two or more children, the average tax increase in 1996 would be \$294.

Denies Job Training: Cuts funding by \$.6 million and denies training opportunities to 282 dislocated workers in South Dakota in 1996.

IMPACT OF REPUBLICAN BUDGET CUTS ON OLDER AMERICANS, STUDENTS, AND WORKING FAMILIES IN WISCONSIN

Impact on Older and Disabled Americans in Wisconsin

Increases Medicare Premiums: Each of Wisconsin's over 753,000 Medicare beneficiaries would pay at least \$1,500 more in premiums and copayments over the 7 years; couples would pay at least \$3,000 more.

Reduces Medicare and Medicaid Funding: Over the seven-year period, the combined Medicare and Medicaid cuts would reduce Federal health care dollars to Wisconsin by \$6 billion.

Cuts Coverage for Elderly, Children, and Disabled: Loss in Medicaid funding to the state would have a devastating impact on the state's current 474,000 recipients. Wisconsin would be forced to eliminate coverage for as many as 94,400 recipients in 2002, many of whom may be elderly, nursing home residents, or home care recipients.

Impact on Students in Wisconsin

Cuts Head Start: Denies Head Start to 180,000 children nationwide and 2,904 children in Wisconsin in 2002 compared to 1995.

Cuts Funding for Basic and Advanced Skills: Cuts funding by \$1.1 billion in 1996, denying this crucial assistance to 1.1 million students nationwide and 11,900 students in Wisconsin.

Halts Progress on GOALS 2000: Eliminates Goals 2000 and denies Wisconsin funding for as many as 331 schools

Eliminates Safe and Drug Free Schools: Republicans want to gut the program, which 434 out of 434 school district in Wisconsin use to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Denies Access to College: Raises costs for student loans by \$10 billion over 7 years. This could raise the cost of college education by as much as \$2,111 for 118,900 college students and as much as \$9,424 for 17,000 graduate students in Wisconsin. Denies Pell Grants to 6,200 students in Wisconsin in 1996 alone, possibly forcing them to drop out of college.

Ends National Service: Eliminates AmeriCorps and denies 649 young people in Wisconsin the chance to serve in 1996.

Slashes Summer Jobs: Eliminates summer jobs, denying meaningful employment to 6,274 Wisconsin youths in 1996 and 43,918 Wisconsin youths over 7 years. Also drastically cuts the President's school-to-work initiative.

Impact on Working Families in Wisconsin

Increases Taxes For Working Families: Cuts the EITC program, increasing taxes for 178,656 working families in Wisconsin by an average of \$227 in 1996. For 96,437 families with two or more children, the average tax increase in 1996 would be \$286.

Denies Job Training: Cuts funding by \$7.9 million and denies training opportunities to 3,333 dislocated workers in Wisconsin in 1996.

EDUCATION ALERT



INVESTING IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING VS. CUTTING EDUCATION AND TRAINING

INVESTMENTS	PRESIDENT CLINTON'S BALANCED BUDGET	REPUBLICAN CUTS
PELL GRANTS for Eligible Students	- Increases maximum award to record \$2,620, reaching 200,000 more students next year. - Assistance for 800,000 more students by 2002.	- Sets maximum award at \$2,440. <u>Eliminates</u> eligibility for 360,000 students.
STUDENT LOANS	Retains federal interest subsidies and six month grace period after graduation for loans to all eligible students.	Could raise the costs of college loans by as much as \$3,100 for undergraduates and as much as \$9,400 for graduate students.
DIRECT LENDING Student Loan Reform	Expands lending program which is already saving taxpayers \$6.8 billion; lowers interest rates for students; and allows for flexible repayment plans.	- Could <u>eliminate</u> program. - Could prevent all interested schools from participating in the program.
NATIONAL SERVICE AmeriCorps	- Increases funding by \$345 million next year. - Nearly 50,000 community service and college aid opportunities next year.	<u>Eliminates</u> 50,000 AmeriCorps opportunities next year. <u>Eliminates</u> more than 4 million other service opportunities over 7 years.
HEAD START	- Increases funding by \$400 million, adding 32,000 new Head Start children next year. - Services for 50,000 more children by 2002.	- Funds Head Start \$500 million less than the President's request. - Up to 230,000 children would be denied Head Start in 2002.
GOALS 2000 School Reform	- Increases funding to \$750 million next year, enabling communities to help all children meet higher standards. - Helps states reform education for more than 8 million children in 17,000 schools next year.	<u>Eliminated.</u>
SAFE AND DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS	- Funds at \$500 million per year. - Safer, more drug-free learning environments for 39 million children in 14,575 out of 15,000 school districts.	- Cuts program by 60% to \$200 million. - Deprives over 23 million students of services next year.
TITLE I Improving Basic and Advanced Skills	Increases funding by \$300 million, reducing class size, and helping as many as 300,000 more children master basic and advanced skills next year.	Reduces funding by \$1.1 billion, denying learning opportunities for 1.1 million children next year.
SUMMER JOBS	Funds 615,000 jobs for young people next year.	<u>Eliminates</u> job opportunities for almost 4 million youth over the next 7 years.
JOB TRAINING	- Increases funding by \$2 billion by 2002. 800,000 Skill Grant recipients next year.	- Cuts funding by \$1.4 billion. - No training opportunities for over 500,000 dislocated workers and 84,000 adults next year.
EDUCATION AND TRAINING	INCREASES EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND AID TO STUDENTS BY \$40 BILLION WHILE BALANCING THE BUDGET IN 10 YEARS.	CUTS EDUCATION AND TRAINING BY \$36 BILLION INCLUDING \$10 BILLION IN LOAN BENEFITS TO STUDENTS WHILE BALANCING THE BUDGET IN 7 YEARS.



INCREASING ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION VS. LIMITING ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

	PRESIDENT CLINTON'S 10-YEAR BUDGET	REPUBLICAN CUTS
ALL EDUCATION AND TRAINING	INCREASES EDUCATION, TRAINING AND AID TO STUDENTS BY \$40 BILLION WHILE BALANCING THE BUDGET IN 10 YEARS.	CUTS EDUCATION AND TRAINING BY \$36 BILLION INCLUDING \$10 BILLION IN LOAN BENEFITS TO STUDENTS
Pell Grants -- Scholarships for Deserving Students	- Increases maximum award to record high of \$2,620 reaching about 200,000 more students next year. - By 2002, raises the top award to \$3,128 reaching 800,000 more students.	- Sets maximum award at \$2,440. <u>Eliminates</u> eligibility for 360,000 students.
Direct Lending Student Loan Reform	- Expands lending program which is already saving taxpayers \$6.8 billion. - Lowers interest rates for students. - Allows for flexible repayment plans.	- Could <u>eliminate</u> program. - Could prevent all interested schools from participating in program.
Student Loans: Helping Students and Families Pay for College	Retains federal interest subsidies and six month grace period after graduation for loans to all eligible students.	Could raise the costs of college loans by as much as \$3,100 for undergraduates and as much as \$9,400 for graduate students.
National Service: Americorps	- Increases funding by \$349 million next year. - Provides nearly 50,000 community service and college aid opportunities next year.	<u>Eliminates</u> 50,000 AmeriCorps opportunities next year. <u>Eliminates</u> more than 4 million other service opportunities over 7 years.

I. HEAD START

The President has made expanding and improving pre-schooling the starting point for helping families give their children a good start on the right course. **Republicans** would slash these investments.

- The President has already expanded investment in Head Start by \$760 million from 1993 to 1995 and are proposing to increase annual funding by \$1.5 billion by 2002 to reach another 50,000 children. At the same time, the President has reformed the way the program works to improve teaching and facilities for all the children who participate.
- The House of Representatives has approved reducing FY 1996 funding for Head Start to over \$100 million below the FY 1995 level and over \$500 million below The President's request. Up to 45,000 children would be cut off Head Start in 1996 if HHS is to maintain program quality. Freezing funding at the reduced level would cut off up to 180,000 children in 2002 compared to 1995.

II. ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

The President has lent national support to local schools and communities working to improve the quality of their education by rigorously teaching the basics; making schools safe and drug-free; promoting increased parental involvement; raising student achievement and discipline; getting technology into the classroom; and providing opportunities to go from school to college or work. **Republicans** would eliminate national support for local educational improvement, leaving students without crucial resources and assistance they need to succeed.

GOALS 2000: EDUCATE AMERICA ACT

- The President helped to create Goals 2000, which supports state, community, and school efforts to raise standards of achievement and discipline and encourage students to work hard meet them. Forty-eight states are already participating in this program. In the President's 1996 budget, he proposed nearly doubling the program, to almost \$700 million, with the total level rising to \$896 million by 2002. That's enough to support improvements for all 44 million children in the over 85,000 public schools.
- The House of Representatives has approved **eliminating** Goals 2000 entirely--undermining what was once a bipartisan effort to spur bottom-up school improvement in schools across the nation.

TITLE I: HELPING CHILDREN LEARN THE BASICS

- The President has supported Title I Grants to Local Education Agencies, designed to provide needed resources to help students learn the basic subjects in school. This program has been reoriented to give schools more flexibility and to promote effective innovations, which help all students read and write well and meet challenging standards. The President has already increased Title I funding by \$573 million over two years, and have proposed an increase of \$302 million this year, enough to serve 300,000 additional children, with further increases every year in the future.
- The House of Representatives approved reducing funding by \$1.1 billion in 1996, cutting as many as 1.1 million children from the program. These children, from our poorest communities, would be denied the opportunity they need to reach their full potential.

SAFE AND DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS

- The President has been supportive of this initiative to make our schools safe from drugs and violence. The program funds everything from innovative anti-violence education and after-school programs to metal detectors and security personnel. The President would maintain funding at \$500 million per year.
- **The House of Representatives approved cutting this program by 60 percent to \$200 million, depriving over 23 million students of services in 1996 alone.**

TECHNOLOGY FOR EDUCATION

- Through the Technology Learning Challenge, The President has helped motivate the private sector to join with schools and colleges to raise student achievement through the use of computers and new learning technology in the classroom and in communities. The President has proposed a \$85 million federal investment in 1996, which will leverage hundreds of millions of dollars in private support.
- The House of Representatives voted to cut this program to \$25 million in FY 1996, denying school districts across the country the ability to participate in this initiative, and drastically slowing the effort to leverage millions more from the private sector.
- **We are preparing options for the President on possible announcements for the near future on major Presidential actions/partnership with private sector on Education Technology.**

SCHOOL-TO-WORK OPPORTUNITIES

- With bipartisan support, the President signed into law the most important national program ever to help states and localities set up systems to link Federal, state, and local resources in new effective ways that ensure that all The Presidentng people--including the 70% of young Americans who don't get four-year degrees--get the education they need to obtain good jobs with a future. All states have received planning funds, and eight "leading edge" states are using implementation grants to create systems that are getting positive reviews from companies nationwide. Twenty more states will begin implementation this year. The President has proposed increasing support by 60% for FY 1996 to \$400 million, bringing to 43 the number of states implementing school to work systems. Remaining states would start up the following year.
- The House of Representatives approved slashing The Presidentr request by over 50 percent to \$190 million. This would seriously hamper efforts of 28 states to complete the reforms they started in 1994 and 1995; twenty-two additional states would be denied the chance to implement their reform plans to raise student skills.

SUMMER JOBS

- The President has recognized that the summer jobs program is an important first opportunity to get work experience for many low-income youths, especially those in inner cities where jobs are scarce. Without these opportunities, these The young people might not otherwise have any chance to learn skills and workplace behavior during their formative years. The President has proposed financing over 550,000 jobs in the summer of 1996 alone.
- The House of Representatives has approved eliminating this program, with an \$872 million cut from the President's request. In the summer of 1996 alone this would eliminate this valuable work experience for over 550,000 children.

III. INCREASING ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Scholarships and loans to deserving college students is a critical investment in America's future, helping families give their children a chance to make the most of their lives.

Now, more than ever, post-secondary education and job training are the gateway to America's middle class.

- For instance, studies show that for every year of training a person gets after high school, his or her earnings rise by 6 to 12 percent.
- Higher education has literally become the fundamental fault line running through our economy. 15 years ago, the typical college graduate earned 36 percent more than a worker with only a high school degree. By 1994, this gap had doubled to 74 percent.

After 15 years in which college costs increased far faster than inflation but family incomes stagnated, the President has initiated historic efforts to expand college access. Your balanced budget increases overall funding for education, training, and aid to students by \$40 billion. Meanwhile, the Congressional Majority's proposals cut education and training by \$36 billion, including \$10 billion in loan benefits to students -- devastating access to post-secondary grants and loans, and to job training, setting back college access by years if not decades.

DIRECT LENDING AND INDIVIDUAL EDUCATION ACCOUNTS -- CHEAPER, EASIER COLLEGE LOANS: MAKING COLLEGE MORE AFFORDABLE. *The President supports expanding these initiatives; Republicans want to raise the cost to students and reduce access.*

The President supports expanding the new direct lending program and individual education accounts. With the passage of the Student Loan Reform Act, 104 schools and over 252,000 students initiated the program in 1994. On July 1, 1995, more than 1,400 schools and 1.35 million students --representing almost 40% of all loans and the maximum allowed under this year's authorization--began the second year on schedule. Your balanced budget would expand the program to all schools and students. This program is already saving \$6.8 billion for taxpayers, lowering interest rates for students, and allowing borrowers to choose flexible repayment arrangements. In time, 20 million current borrowers and six million new borrowers per year will benefit.

Republicans have proposed legislation to reduce funds available for direct lending, prevent more schools from choosing to participate in the initiative, and cap participation at 40 percent of all loans. The House Appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor, HHS, and Education would also reduce student loan administration funds by almost 40 percent -- which would deny the benefits of direct lending to low and middle income students, and jeopardize the integrity of both the direct and guaranteed loan programs. These actions will stop the growth of cost-effective, efficient direct lending in order to keep unnecessary payments flowing to banks and unnecessary middlemen.

IN-SCHOOL INTEREST EXEMPTION: HELPING STUDENTS AND FAMILIES PAY FOR COLLEGE. *Republicans would raise college costs for up to 4 million students.*

The President supports the in-school interest exemption, under which **five million** need-tested students with Stafford loans do not have to pay interest while enrolled in school and during the grace period (six months) between leaving school and entering repayment.

Republicans in their budget resolution propose \$10 billion in cuts in student loans. In order to achieve that level of savings and preserve unnecessary payments to banks, secondary markets, and guaranty agencies, they will not only have to eliminate any subsidy for graduate or professional students, but also hit college students with higher fees--for example, eliminating the six month grace period for interest after college or raising the origination fees that all student must pay to get their loans.

PELL GRANTS: SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DESERVING STUDENTS -- PROVIDING THE LIFELINE TO COLLEGE FOR WORKING FAMILIES. *The President would raise the maximum grant to a record high and would increase annual funding by \$3.4 billion by 2002; Republicans would eliminate up to 360,000 students from the program.*

President Clinton has supported the Pell Grant program, and proposed increasing the maximum Pell Grant in his 1996 budget by 12%, to its highest level ever, \$2,620. In his new budget, he would increase annual funding by \$3.4 billion by 2002--enough to reach 960,000 more recipients and increase the maximum award to \$3,128.

Republicans: The House Appropriations Committee would increase the maximum Pell Grant by only \$100, to \$2440. Furthermore, the committee would eliminate about 300,000 students from the program who would receive awards between \$400 and \$600 under the President's proposal. For millions of students, grants make the difference between going to college and not going, between staying in school and dropping out.

NATIONAL SERVICE -- AMERICORPS: HELPING STUDENTS WHO HELP THEIR COMMUNITIES. *The President's balanced budget offers opportunities to nearly 50,000 young people in AmeriCorps next year alone; Republicans would eliminate AmeriCorps.*

The President created AmeriCorps to enable young people to earn money for education by serving their communities--teaching, caring for the sick, making the streets safer. Already 20,000 Americans are serving in AmeriCorps, and nearly 50,000 are expected next year.

Republicans: The House Appropriations Committee would eliminate AmeriCorps and the Corporation for National Service and cut opportunities in other service programs. Over 4.3 million service opportunities for youth in their communities would be abolished over the next seven years. In FY 1996 alone nearly 50,000 young Americans from hard-working, middle class families will lose the opportunity to serve their communities through AmeriCorps in locally-identified areas of crucial need such as health care, social service, and crime prevention, and to earn an educational award to help pay for college or other training.

HHS NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Monday, Sept. 11, 1995

Contact: HHS Press Office
(202) 690-6343

STATEMENT BY
Donna E. Shalala
Secretary of Health and Human Services

The Speaker yesterday stated that the Republicans' plan to raise Medicare premiums would cost beneficiaries only \$7 more per month in 2002. Press reports, however, have made clear that Republicans are assuming \$50 to \$60 billion in savings over seven years from this provision, which would require far steeper premium increases.

In fact, to achieve the savings targeted by the Republicans for this provision, 39 million seniors and disabled Americans would be forced to pay three times the amount estimated by the Speaker in 2002. Indeed, this proposed Medicare premium increase would cost the average senior couple \$2,666 (\$1,333 more per beneficiary) over the next seven years and \$515 (\$258 per beneficiary) in the year 2002 alone.

The Speaker has suggested that beneficiaries, whose average income is only \$13,000, would not mind paying more to "save" the trust fund. The fact is that not one penny of savings from the increased Part B beneficiary costs would help the Medicare Trust Fund. Rather, they would go into general revenues, where they would be used to pay for the Republicans' excessive and unnecessary tax cut. In fact, they would not need any of these savings if they simply reduced their tax cut for the wealthy.

This Part B premium proposal, along with all the other cuts the Republicans have suggested, still leave the Congressional Majority far short of their desired \$270 billion Medicare target.

The President has shown how we can balance the budget and strengthen the Medicare Trust Fund without imposing any new costs on Medicare beneficiaries. Regardless of the merits of any proposal, we must make certain that older Americans and their families be provided with accurate and clear information.

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Budget Notes

September 7, 1995

Republican Beneficiary Cuts Leaking Out --

Regardless of the merits or demerits of any of the Republican proposals, we must insist on honesty. When Republicans talk of increasing the Part B premium to 31.5% of program costs, they are talking about every Medicare beneficiary in the country paying \$1,333 more over the next 7 years than they would under the President's proposal. "This means the premium would increase as the cost of the program rises." [Wall Street Journal, September 7, 1995].

Even Cato Agrees: Seniors Will Have No Choice At All. The Congressional Majority claim that their Medicare proposal will offer seniors more choice. In reality, their plan will just coerce the elderly to either pay more or get less. Michael Tanner, the director of health care studies at the Cato Institute, agrees. He recently told the *Washington Times* (August 11, 1995) that "those seniors who do not choose the managed care option will have to pay higher premiums, deductibles, and co-payments. Thus, many seniors, particularly low-income seniors, will find that their choice is really no choice at all."

Misinformation on Medicare: You Can't Hide The Facts. The GOP cannot hide the fact that assuming 50% of their cuts come from beneficiaries, their Medicare cuts would effectively push at least 500,000 elderly Americans into poverty by 2002. They can't hide the fact that older couples will have to pay as much as \$5,650 more out of their own pockets over the next 7 years. And they can't hide the fact that they want to use their \$270 billion Medicare cut to help pay for their \$245 billion tax cut. Since they can't hide from the facts, they have resorted to promulgating distortions.

Myth: Republicans claim that if you use the same analysis that shows that their plan would increase Medicare beneficiaries out-of-pocket costs by at least \$600 more in 2002 (\$2,800 over 7 years), the President's balanced budget plan would cost the elderly \$443 more seven years from now.

Reality: The President's balanced budget proposal has **NO** new Medicare cost increases. The comparison is \$600 in the Republican plan vs. **ZERO** under the President's plan.

Budget Notes

August 22, 1995

GOP MEDICARE CUTS TAKE FROM OLDER AND DISABLED AMERICANS TO PAY FOR TAX CUTS FOR THE WEALTHIEST AMERICANS

Stealing From The Pockets of Elderly and Disabled to Hand Tax Cuts to The Rich. Republicans claim that their \$270 billion in Medicare cuts are necessary to save the Part A Trust Fund. This is false. A substantial part of the cuts they seek--at least \$100 billion--*would seriously hurt seniors without contributing one penny to the Trust Fund.*

On Sunday, August 20, GOP Chairman Haley Barbour confirmed that the some \$100 billion of their Medicare cuts won't go to save the Trust Fund. In an interview with NBC's *Meet The Press*, after saying that the Republicans were trying to "save" Medicare, Barbour acknowledged that "the other \$100 billion [in cuts] would be in Part B. That's where you come up with the \$270." Those Part B cuts will seriously hurt seniors, while not strengthening the Trust Fund and not extending the Trust Fund's life by one single day.

But Part B Savings have nothing to do with the Trust Fund. Not one penny of savings from Medicare Part B, which basically covers visits to the doctor) would go to the Part A Trust Fund (covering mostly hospital stays). As a result, those cuts would not extend the life of the Trust Fund by one single day. The cuts in Part B spending will just go to help fund an enormous tax cut for the wealthiest Americans.

Barbour Contradicts Republican Working Documents. According to the *Washington Post*, a leaked version of GOP Medicare options under consideration suggests that Part B premiums could increase to 33 percent, 35 percent, or 50 percent of costs. However, Barbour asserted on Sunday that Part B premiums would not increase from their current level of 31 percent of costs: "We will not increase the percentage beyond what it is in Part B... I agree that the percentage...will not go up from there." Who should we believe: Barbour or the documents produced by the Republican Ways and Means Committee?

The Congressional Majority Is Cutting Medicare, Not Increasing It As They Claim. The Republicans continue to call their Medicare proposal an increase, not a cut, since spending will be higher in 2002 than it is today. But it is a cut. It's a cut because it means a cut to older Americans incomes after they pay more out of their pockets in higher premiums, deductibles, and co-payment; it's a cut, because for many it may mean less services, a cut in choices or a cut in quality; and it's a cut because it will effectively drive half a million seniors into poverty.

We Should Not Place Extreme Financial Burdens on Older Americans and the Disabled Just to Finance Tax Cuts for the Wealthiest Americans. The Republican budget cuts Medicare by \$270 billion \$71 billion in the year 2002 alone. The cuts shift costs to seniors who already spend 21 percent of their income out-of-pocket on health care. Since 75 percent of these beneficiaries have incomes below \$25,000, it is hard to see how they can afford to pay more. The fact is that if the Congressional majority wasn't insisting on their \$245 billion in tax cuts for wealthy Americans, they wouldn't have to impose these burdens on middle class Americans.

The Misinformation Campaign Continues...

The Republicans Are Knowingly Deceptive on the Medicare Trust Fund. The GOP cannot hide from the facts, so they have resorted to propagating distortions about their plan to cut Medicare and the President's plan to secure it. Here are the facts that they won't tell you:

- **The President's Balanced Budget Will Strengthen Medicare Without Burdening Beneficiaries.** Under the President's balanced budget plan, the payment of Medicare benefits would be ensured through October 2006--eleven years from now. That puts the insolvency of the Medicare Trust Fund farther into the future than 9 of the last 14 years.
- **Stealing From The Pockets of Elderly and Disabled to Hand Tax Cuts to The Rich.** Republicans claim that their \$270 billion in Medicare cuts over seven years are all necessary to save the Part A Trust Fund. This is false. A substantial part of the cuts they seek--at least \$100 billion--*would serious hurt seniors without contributing one penny to the Trust Fund.* None of those savings (taken out of what is called Medicare Part B, which basically covers visits to the doctor) would go to the Part A Trust Fund (covering mostly hospital stays). As a result, those cuts would not extend the life of the Trust Fund by one single day. The cuts in Part B spending will just go to help fund an enormous tax cut for rich people.

And here are some GOP myths, followed by the reality:

Myth: The Republican National Committee claims that when it comes to the impact of their cuts on the elderly "the Democrats simply made up their facts, creating their own hypothetical which certainly are not grounded in reality."

Reality: All three versions of Republican Medicare Working Documents leaked to the press show that Medicare premiums, deductibles, and co-payments are going to increase under their plan. Indeed, after reviewing the most recent leaked document, the *Washington Post* stated that "Medicare premiums would soar under new options in GOP plan." (August 12, 1995)

Myth: Republicans claim that if you use the same analysis that shows that their plan would increase Medicare beneficiaries out-of-pocket costs by at least \$600 more in 2002 (\$2,800 over 7 years), the President's balanced budget plan would cost the elderly \$443 more seven years from now.

Reality: The President's balanced budget proposal has **NO** new Medicare cost increases. The comparison is \$600 in the Republican plan vs. **ZERO** under the President's plan.

Myth: Republicans claim that the President's \$124 billion in Medicare savings really amounts to \$192 billion off the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) baseline.

Reality: In an analysis of the President's balanced budget proposal, CBO (see June 16, 1995 letter to Sen. Domenici) assumed that the Administration's Medicare savings amounted to "\$128 billion" over seven years. Moreover, CBO and the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) have different baseline estimates for Medicare. Thus, one cannot simply compare a CBO baseline to an OMB one--it's like comparing apples to oranges. Historically, when the proper comparisons are made, CBO and OMB--despite the differences in baselines--have scored specific policies very similarly.

Budget Notes

September 8, 1995

WHAT THE REPUBLICANS AREN'T TELLING YOU ABOUT THEIR MEDICAID PROPOSAL

Unprecedented Cuts. The Republican Budget Resolution would cut Medicaid by 20 percent -- \$182 billion over the next 7 years.

- The Republicans would achieve these savings by imposing a 4.5 percent average annual growth rate cap on aggregate spending. That is less than enrollment growth plus inflation.
- Taking enrollment growth into account, the Republican Budget would limit growth in Medicaid spending per person to only 1.4 percent annually.

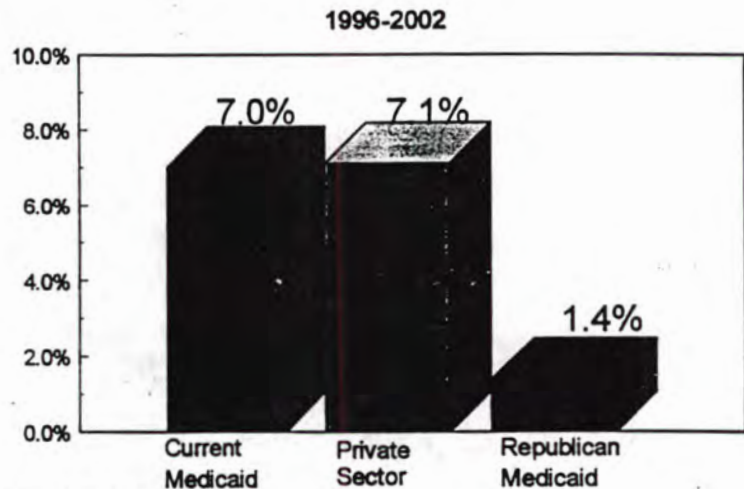
Republicans say their Medicaid proposal is not a cut.

However, a 1.4 percent cap on growth per beneficiary is a cut in real terms.

It is:

- 80 percent below the projected private health spending per person (7.1 percent).
- 75 percent below projected medical inflation (5.3 percent).
- 50 percent below the projected consumer price index (3.3 percent).

Medicaid Growth Per Beneficiary: Effect of the Republican Proposal



Source: CBO Projected Benefits for Fiscal years 1996-2002.

People Will Lose Coverage. The Urban Institute estimates that even if states were able to achieve half the needed savings from reducing services and reimbursement to providers, states would still be forced to eliminate coverage for 8.8 million people in 2002 alone, including:

- 6.3 million adults and children.
- 920,000 older Americans.
- 1.4 million persons with disabilities.

CLINTON ADMINISTRATION ACCOMPLISHMENTS

ECONOMY:

- Signed the **Economic Package**, August 10, 1993.
The economy created **7.3 million new jobs** in the first 31 months of this Administration.
Passed the largest **deficit-cutting plan** in history -- resulting in over **\$1 trillion** over seven years.
- On track for three consecutive years of **deficit reduction** -- for the first time since Harry Truman.
- **Cut federal spending** by \$255 billion.
- Made **new tax cuts** available to over 90% of small businesses.
- Lowest **unemployment** in over 4 years.
- Lowest **combined rate of unemployment and inflation** in 27 years.
- 1994 **GDP Growth** was the highest in a decade.

EDUCATION:

- Signed the **Student Loan Reform Act**, August 10, 1993.
- Signed the **National Service Act**, September 21, 1993.
- Signed the **Goals 2000: Educate America Act**.
- Signed the **School-to-Work Opportunities Act** on May 4, 1994.
- Signed the **Elementary and Secondary Schools Act**.
- Increased **Head Start** funding by \$1.2 billion.
- Introduced the **Reemployment Act**.

CRIME:

- Signed a tough \$30 billion **Crime Bill**, September 13, 1994
- Signed the **Brady Bill**, November 30, 1993.
Signed the **Assault Weapons Ban** as part of the Crime Bill.
Put **100,000 new police** on the street -- nearly 25,000 more officers have been funded.
- Signed the **Violence Against Women Act** as part of the Crime Bill.
- Signed the **Safe and Drug-Free Schools Act**, October 20, 1994.
- Signed Presidential Directive enforcing a "**Zero Tolerance**" **gun policy** in schools, October 22, 1994
- Introduced **Operation Safe Home** to fight crime in public housing.

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT:

- Already cut the **Federal Workforce** by over 160,000 -- on the way to lowest level in 30 years.
- Abolishing **16,000 pages** of obsolete regulations and rewriting **31,000 more pages**.
- **\$58 billion in savings** are already in the bank. **\$46 billion in savings** are still to come.
- Over 180 new recommendations will save **\$70 billion**. Eliminated **284 federal advisory committees**.
- Developed government-wide **Customer Service Standards** for the first time.
- Appointed the most diverse Cabinet and Administration in history.
- Signed the most important federal procurement act ever to **streamline government purchasing**.
- Reformed **Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation** to protect 8.5 million pensions.
- Signed the **Unfunded Mandates Reform Act**, March 22, 1995.

COMMUNITY & ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:

- Created nine **Economic Empowerment Zones** and 95 **Enterprise Communities**.
- Signed the **Community Development Banking Bill**, September 23, 1994.
- Signed the **Interstate Banking Bill**.
Introduced the **Housing and Community Development Act** of 1993.
- Instituted the **Defense Reinvestment and Conversion Initiative**.
- Made the **Low-Income Housing Tax Credit** and **Mortgage Revenue Bond Program** permanent.
- Reformed the **Community Reinvestment Act** to focus on performance rather than paperwork.

ENVIRONMENT:

- Signed a new executive order to **require polluters to disclose information** to the public and **expanded the public's right-to-know** about toxic releases.
- Launched "**reinventing environmental regulation**" to cut red tape and better protect public health. Issued a new standard to **cut pollution from chemical plants 90% by 1997**. Signed **executive orders to increase recycling** and cut pollution in federal buildings.
- Signed the **California Desert Protection Act**.
- Issued a new standard to **cut pollution from incinerators 95%**.
- Introduced comprehensive **Safe Drinking Water and Superfund** reforms.
- Developed a plan to **restore Florida's Everglades**.
- Ended decades of conflict over the allocation of **California Bay-Delta water**.

HEALTH CARE:

- Introduced the **Health Care Security Act**, November 20, 1993.
- Signed the **Family and Medical Leave Act**, February 5, 1993.
- Signed a comprehensive **Child Immunization Plan**.
- Revoked the Reagan/Bush restrictions on **abortion counseling ("the gag rule")**, abortions in military hospitals, "Mexico City" policy and RU-486 imports.
- Increased **Ryan White CARE Act** funding for outpatient **AIDS care** by \$231 million.
- Put the **Women, Infants and Children Program (WIC)** on a full-funding path.
- Increased NIH Funding **65% for breast cancer research**.

FAMILIES AND CHILDREN:

- Expanded the **Earned Income Tax Credit** by \$21 billion over five years.
- Introduced the **Work and Responsibility Act** - comprehensive welfare reform. Passed the **Family Support and Preservation Program**. Passed major funding increases for **homeless programs** in both Houses.
- Approved **34 waivers** to states permitting comprehensive **welfare reform** demonstrations.
- Signed the **Social Security Independent Agency Act**.
- Increased **adoption and foster care funds** by almost \$600 million from 1994-1995.

POLITICAL REFORM:

- Signed the **National Voter Registration Act (Motor-Voter)**, May 20, 1993.
- Eliminated the tax deduction for **lobbying** expenses.
- Imposed strictest Administration **ethics guidelines** in history.
- Barred top officials from becoming **foreign lobbyists** after leaving government.
- Fought for passage of **Campaign Finance Reform**.
- Fought for passage of **Lobbying Disclosure Bill**.
- Fought for passage of and signed into law the **Congressional Accountability Act**.

FREE TRADE:

- Signed **NAFTA** into law, December 8, 1993, which will create hundreds of thousands of US jobs.
- Signed **GATT** into law, December 8, 1994, the largest trade agreement in history.
- Secured free-trade commitments from **Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)** leaders.
- Hosted **Summit of the Americas** and agreed to negotiate a Free Trade Area of the Americas by 2005.
- Developed **National Export Strategy**, eliminating export controls on \$35 billion in exports.
- Opened **15 different market sectors** in Japan ranging from telecommunications procurement to rice. Reached historic agreement with Japan on **opening its automotive market to billions of dollars worth of American cars and parts**.
- Reached agreement with China to provide **intellectual property rights protection** for billions of dollars worth of U.S. exports.

SECURITY CHALLENGES/PROMOTING PEACE

- Reached agreement with Russia to **detarget** all its missiles trained on U.S. citizens and cities.
- **Eliminating nuclear weapons** in Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan; in 1994 brokered agreement with Russia and Ukraine that opened way to elimination of nuclear weapons in Ukraine; all nuclear weapons in Kazakhstan have been returned to Russia.
Worked with Kiev to bring Ukraine into **Nonproliferation Treaty**, which permitted START I entry-into-force, which will reduce by over 9,000 (40%) U.S. and Russian strategic nuclear weapons.
- Facilitated agreement between Russia and the **Baltics** allowing the complete withdrawal of Russian troops. All Russian troops are out of Central and Eastern Europe for the first time since World War II.
- Proposed and helped create **Partnership for Peace** and led start of orderly NATO expansion process.
- Maintained strong commitments to **military readiness** and weapons modernization, including a \$25 billion increase over 6 years and a defense supplemental of \$3.04 billion for Fiscal Year 1995.
- Prepared a **"Bottom-Up-Review"** strategy for our armed forces to fight two major regional conflicts nearly simultaneously.
- Agreed to framework with **North Korea** that freezes and leads to the eventual elimination of North Korea's dangerous nuclear program.
- **Reversed Iraqi military threat** against Kuwait.
- Pursued and apprehended **terrorists**, including World Trade Center bombers.
- Helped **Israel and Jordan** achieve a historic peace treaty and **Israel and the Palestinians** fulfill their historic accord.
- Contributed to an historic cease-fire in **Northern Ireland**.
- Carried out a massive humanitarian operation in **Rwanda**.
- Undertook, with NATO allies and UN, actions to alleviate the suffering and end the conflict in **Bosnia**.
- Reached an agreement with **Cuba** to normalize immigration and avert a mass influx of boat people.
Signed into law the most comprehensive **counterintelligence legislation** since 1976.
Worked to **safely dispose of nuclear materials** from the former Soviet republics and took steps to combat smuggling.
- Played leadership role in **halting conflict between Peru and Ecuador**, participated in 4-country observer mission.
- Expanded **sanctions against Iran** in response to its continuing unacceptable behavior.
- Worked cooperatively with the states of the FSU to **prevent nuclear theft and nuclear smuggling**.
- Air-lifted more than half a ton of **vulnerable, highly enriched uranium**, enough to make dozens of nuclear bombs, from Kazakhstan to safe storage.

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY

- Assisted states, such as **Russia and Ukraine**, make progress toward democracy and market reforms.
- Assisted **South Africa's** transition to democracy, providing support for elections and development.
- Restored democratically elected **Haitian President Aristide** to power October 15, 1994; created a secure and stable environment which will enable UN to take over the operation.
- Hosted White House Conference on **Africa**.
- Made **promotion and consolidation of democracy** and free market reforms a foreign aid priority, especially in **NIS, Russia, Central Europe and South Africa**.

First lady's words speak for thousands

By Charles Hutzler
The Associated Press

HUAIROU, China — The rain fell steadily, and the tent city housing a global women's gathering was a sea of mud. But that wasn't going to stop the women who came to hear first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Thousands of activists from around the world, clad in ponchos or clutching umbrellas, waited outside a crumbling cinema-turned-conference hall Wednesday, hoping to hear the first lady speak, or just catch a glimpse of her.

"Give 'em hell, Hillary!" a group of about 20 shouted.

They had done just that the previous day, using her speech at the U.N. women's conference in Beijing to issue a ringing call for respecting human rights and to indirectly rebuke the Chinese for heavy-handed treatment of activists at the private forum here.

White House officials said Wednesday that President Clinton had helped polish the first lady's speech and that the text had been reviewed by pertinent foreign policy agencies, giving even further weight to the first lady's remarks.

But the president denied



By Doug Mills, AP
EMOTION: Crowds broke into song in honor of the first lady.

that the speech was specifically targeted at Beijing.

"What she said was what we have both said many, many times on the issues that affect China, and much of her speech pertained to conditions in other countries, not China," Clinton said. "Some of it related to conditions in our country as well."

The gathering of non-governmental organizations, which activists say the Chinese have tried to muzzle by staging



By Greg Baker, AP
NEVER MIND THE RAIN: Supporters wait for Hillary Rodham Clinton to arrive at the women's forum Wednesday at Huairou, China. Hundreds were turned away from the crowded hall.

it in a remote locale 30 miles away from the U.N. conference site in Beijing, has been plagued by logistical problems. Wednesday was no exception.

Clinton's scheduled speech began more than an hour and a half late. Hundreds were turned away despite waiting for hours in the rain. Even Betty Friedan, godmother of the U.S. women's movement, couldn't get in.

Even so, the conference hall designed to hold 1,500 people was packed with a crowd of more than 3,000, nearly all women, who sat in the aisles, packed a small balcony and jammed into doorways.

Outside the building, Chi-

nese security broadcast announcements blaming the United States for the crowd-control problems by moving the speech indoors.

The crowd waiting to get inside passed through metal detectors, creating a huge backup. The tight security initially prevented Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord and Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala from entering, though they entered, soaked, through a side door.

Shalala later said China "will never get another international event again."

Inside, the expectant crowd broke into gospel songs, including one tune with a refrain un-

fortunate under the circumstances: "People pushing forward, never turning back!"

They were still singing when Hillary Clinton finally stepped to the stage after having been brought in by a back entrance. A roar went up.

Before she was introduced, the singing started up again. She clapped her hands in time, then plunged into a spirited speech praising the private activists for doing the real work to change women's lives.

Afterward, before leaving China to fly to Mongolia for a visit, she walked off the stage and shook hands with women in the front row. The crowd broke into song again.

France's nuclear test unleashes worldwide protest

By William J. Koles
The Associated Press

PARIS — Half a world from the island lagoon that heaved and frothed from the force of an underground nuclear test, France's president is feeling the heat.

Protesters marched, burned French flags and chained themselves to French embassies around the world Wednesday as anger flared over Tuesday's test blast in the South Pacific, ordered by Jacques Chirac.

He was scorned at home, too, where more than 60% of the public opposes the tests. The front page of the leftist newspaper *Libération* ran a large photograph of the conservative president altered to make half of his face appear melted or mutated.

About 5,000 Greenpeace activists rallied Wednesday at a symbolic site in Paris: the Place de la Bastille, where the French Revolution began. One demonstrator styled her hair in the shape of a nuclear mushroom cloud.

That protest drew a sharp reaction from Defense Minister Charles Millon, who noted that 86 nuclear tests were conducted under the 14-year presidency of Chirac's Socialist predecessor, Francois Mitterrand.

Despite the opposition, Chirac could still ride out the backlash. The neo-Gaullist, who has won respect for asserting France's role in Bosnia since being elected in May, drew relatively mild reaction from Germany, Britain and the United States.

Prime Minister Alain Juppe said Chirac faces "temporary unpopularity to preserve, in the medium and long term, the essential interests of the country."

France has set off 205 nuclear blasts in the South Pacific and in Algeria since 1960, when then-President Charles de Gaulle brought the country into the Atomic Age. France stopped atmospheric testing in 1974.

In the wake of protests, France said it may not conduct all eight tests, as originally contemplated.



AP
CHIRAC: Says he'll sign test ban treaty after current tests

CONNIE MORELLA

Cultivating common ground

What happens when 50,000 women get together to talk about their children, their health, and their jobs? Lively discussion, heated debate, and new ideas. And that is what those of us attending the U.N. Fourth World Conference on women this week are counting on.

Conference Secretary Gertrude Mongello of Tanzania has said, "The problems [of women] are not different from country to country. They only differ in intensity." And she is exactly right. Women the world over are concerned about the prevalence of violence in their lives, the quality of their children's schooling, the challenges of pregnancy and childbirth, and economic security for themselves and their families.

This conference presents an important opportunity to strengthen the world's families, to increase the numbers of women in decision-making positions in government and business, and to ensure access for girls and women to education and health care.

This conference is not about adding genders, redefining families, denigrating motherhood, or tearing down capitalism. And it is certainly not about ignoring China's dismal record on human rights — if anything, the conference has focused the world's attention on the terror the Chinese people, particularly women, suffer day in and day out.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Burma's Nobel laureate, said it well in a videotaped message to the conference: "For millennia, women have dedicated themselves almost exclusively to the task of nurturing, protecting, and caring for the young and the old, striving for conditions of peace that favor life as a whole. It is time to apply in the arena of the world [this] wisdom and experience."

Before that can happen effectively, however, there are many challenges to overcome. Take, for example, crimes of violence against women. Domestic violence is the leading cause of death worldwide for women between the ages of 14 and 44. But, according to a report just issued by Human Rights Watch, "it is typically ignored by the state or only erratically punished."

The study, *The Human Rights Watch Global Report on Women's Human Rights*, states that the types of violence women face — murder, rape, assault and battery — are "condemned by the criminal laws of virtually all countries." Yet, these laws are not always enforced and in too

many instances the perpetrators — when they are husbands or boyfriends — are rarely punished. Human Rights Watch offers up a disturbing and long list of examples.

For example, in Brazil, where 70 percent of the violence against women is domestic violence, courts routinely refuse to convict men who kill their unfaithful wives or lovers. The men are exonerated because they acted to protect their "honor" and did so in the heat of passion.

In the United States, where every eight seconds a woman is physically abused, we have evidence that the "heat of passion/honor" defense is alive and well right here. Sentencing a man who killed his wife after he found her in bed with her lover, a Maryland judge said last year. "I seriously wonder how many married men... would have the strength to walk away without inflicting some corporal punishment."

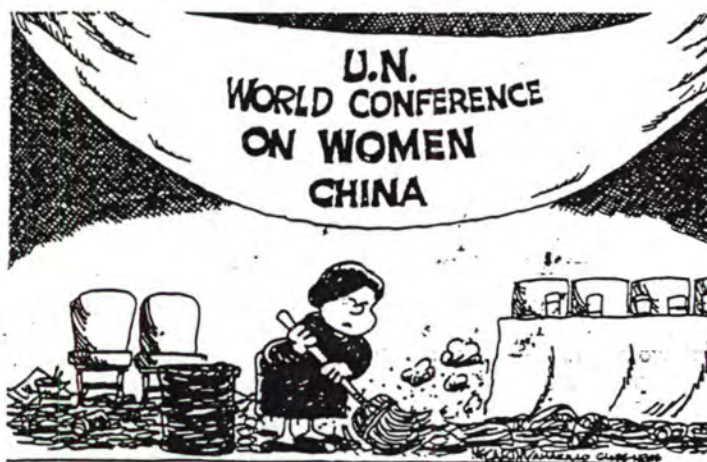
In Russia, where one in five mur-

nations including Haiti, Pakistan, and even in the United States.

Other issues also will be high on the conference's agenda. The education of girls and the advancement of health care for women will be discussed and debated this week. Two-thirds of the world's illiterate adults are women and two-thirds of the 130 million children who go without primary school education are girls.

Women's health worldwide is often precarious, especially in developing countries. Of particular concern is the HIV-AIDS epidemic among women. Today, women represent 40 percent of HIV-infected adults; by 2000, it is predicted that 15 million women will become infected. During the 1990s, 2.9 million women around the globe will die from AIDS.

All of us in the U.S. delegation — from the first lady to members of Congress to Sister Ann Kelly, presi-



der victims is killed by a spouse and most of those killed are women, battered women who call the police for help are ignored because domestic violence is a private matter.

Rape is prohibited under every national law and under all international laws regarding international and internal conflicts. Yet, the rape of women and girls as a consequence of warfare and as a tool of political repression is an accepted fact of life in many parts of the world. Combatants in such places as the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Peru, and Kashmir have routinely used rape to terrorize civilian populations, to expedite "ethnic cleansing," or to reward mercenary soldiers.

Human Rights Watch has documented rape by security forces and prison guards to get information or confessions or simply to abuse incarcerated women in many

dent of the College of New Rochelle — are here in Beijing because we want a world for our children that is free of hate and terror, poverty and disease, a world where they will be free to develop their gifts and talents unhindered by bias and discrimination. Some may deride these goals as unattainable and perhaps naive, but engage the effort we must.

Whether the issue is advancing human rights, promoting sustainable development, or mediating issues of war and peace, women will take an active role in their countries and around the world. The U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women is charting their course.

Connie Morella is a Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Maryland.

Rare U.S. common ground in Beijing

The Beijing women's conference has accomplished something extraordinary: It has brought together for one brief moment the American liberals and conservatives who fight to destroy each other back home.

Abortion-rights opponent Rep. Christopher H. Smith, R-N.J., praised abortion-rights advocate Hillary Rodham Clinton for what he called an "eloquent" speech in Beijing.

While the Chinese hosts barred their own people from hearing her statement against forced abortions, political rape, infanticide, female mutilation and the enslavement of women, it was beamed widely around the globe.

One wonders how many Americans actually listened to the facts that were so dangerous to say in Beijing.

Our talk radio describes a nation tuned out to foreign realities, convinced that it has lost its freedoms to a "feminazi" culture and a repressive government.

These verbal bomb-throwers encourage the paranoid fantasies of the Unabomber on the left and the Oklahoma City bombers on the right. Are they blind to the magnitude of difference between their concerns



By Ellen Hume
Guest columnist

and the real struggles of most women, men and children around the world?

The horrors exposed at the United Nations Conference on Women should embarrass not just the Chinese hosts, but also Americans who so readily dismiss their own civic life. All too often, our politicians frighten citizens with phantom conspiracies and caricatures because that's how they have learned to mobilize support.

No wonder the American people, cast as dupes and victims, deny responsibility for their own institutions just when their honest engagement is needed the most.

While some Americans turn their backs on public life and others divide to conquer, the Beijing conference teaches us how real — and fragile — our own freedoms truly are. No one will leave China convinced that it is easy to overcome the oppressors.

But perhaps those who engage in the politics of hate and fear can be shamed into finding a new way to mobilize support for their causes — a way that honors the common ground found unexpectedly in Beijing.

Ellen Hume is a senior fellow at the Annenberg Washington Program.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 11, 1995

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE RADIO INTERVIEWS

DATE: September 12, 1995
LOCATION: OEOB Room 415
TIME: 1:00 PM EDT
FROM: Richard Strauss

I. PURPOSE:

These radio talk show interviews will give you the chance to talk about your overall impression and reaction to the United Nations Women's Conference.

II. BACKGROUND:

You will conduct two interviews on the Women's Conference in China. Both interviews will last between ten and fifteen minutes and focus entirely on the conference. There will be no listener call-ins.

The **first** interview is "taped as live" with **Joan Hamburg**, who hosts the midday show at station WOR-AM in New York City from 10:00 AM - Noon. The interview will run in its entirety on Wednesday. As you know, Joan's show focuses on women and families. She is a huge fan of yours and has interviewed you previously about health care and other issues. In addition to your overall impressions, she may ask you about the number of divergent groups at the conference that she described as out of control.

The **second** interview will be live with host **Michael Jackson** from KABC-AM in Los Angeles. You have interviewed with Michael numerous times, including once during the campaign and once at the KABC studios in Los Angeles.

Michael has received numerous awards over the years for his fairness and interviewing style. Michael will stick to the message of the conference and will most certainly be friendly. The show has constantly been rated as one of the most popular shows in Los Angeles.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

1. Lisa Caputo, Richard Strauss, White House Photographer.

IV. PRESS PLAN:

In addition to the interviews themselves, local newspapers and television stations may also be covering the interviews from the various cities where they will occur.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

You will arrive at the radio studio (OEOB Room 415) at **1:00 PM.**

You will conclude the radio interviews at **1:30 PM.**

VI. REMARKS:

There are no pre-written remarks for the radio interviews.

IMPACT OF THE PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL CUTS ON METROPOLITAN NEW YORK

Both the President and Congress have offered proposals to balance the federal budget, in ten and seven years respectively. The President's proposal builds on his 1993 plan that will already reduce the federal deficit by \$1 trillion. The President's proposal invests in education and training, rewards work and individual responsibility, takes important steps towards health reform while strengthening the Medicare Trust Fund and protecting beneficiaries and targets tax cuts only to working families. By contrast, Congressional proposals would have a devastating impact on working families and the communities in which they live. This document illustrates the cumulative impact of the Congressional budget decisions on metropolitan New York.¹

MEDICARE²

Nationally, the \$270 billion in Medicare cuts would mean that the average beneficiary would pay at least \$2,825 more in premiums and copayments over seven years; couples would pay at least \$5,650 more. *Each of New York's nearly 1,115,000 beneficiaries would pay as much as \$3,107 more in premiums and copayments over the seven years; couples would pay \$6,214 more. Overall, metropolitan New York would lose over \$2.5 billion in Medicare funding in 2002 and \$9.9 billion over seven years.*

EARNED INCOME TAX CREDIT³

Congress cuts the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) by \$21 billion over seven years, raising taxes on 10 million working families with children, to pay for a tax cut to families earning over \$200,000. For working families in New York, the cut in EITC would raise individual taxes by \$233 in 1996.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING⁴

Head Start. The President proposes to expand Head Start in 1996, enabling 23,300 children in New Orleans to participate in the program. The House, on the other hand, has approved cuts that would limit Head Start participation to only 20,260 low-income children.

Improving Basic and Advanced Skills. The President protects Title I, which helps students from disadvantaged backgrounds with reading, writing, math, and advanced skills. The House would fund Title I funding for New York at \$344 million in 1996, a 24 percent reduction from the President's proposed level of \$455 million, which would deny assistance to 76,200 school children.

Summer Jobs. Summer jobs are an important first opportunity for many low-income youths to get work experience. The House would eliminate the summer jobs program, denying valuable work experience to 25,440 New York youths in 1996, as compared to the President's plan.

Job Training. The President supports lifelong learning by reforming job training programs and putting resources directly in hands of workers. The President provides \$77 million in FY 1996 to New York to enable 36,000 adults and dislocated workers to get needed job training and opportunities for reentry into the workforce. The House cuts the program by 40 percent from the President's proposal, providing job training to only 21,100 adults.

ENVIRONMENT

Clean Water/Drinking Water State Revolving Fund. The President merged the Clean Water and Drinking Water state revolving funds to provide maximum flexibility for State and local governments to meet national water quality standards. The House has cut this program by nearly 50 percent in 1996. New York will receive a 38 percent reduction in the program compared to the President's proposed level in 1996, putting New York at risk of maintaining safe drinking water for its residents.

TRANSPORTATION

Mass Transit Operating Subsidies. New York will receive nearly \$82 million in mass transit operating assistance in FY 1996 under the President's plan, which is 20 percent more than the House plan. The House also intends to eliminate the city's operating subsidies by the year 2000. In New York, residents could face reduced services or an increase in New York Transit Authority fares.

HOUSING

Homelessness. The President's plan provides New York with \$85.8 million in FY 1996 to support homeless programs; the House would provide it with only \$51.8 million. About 1,038 homeless persons would be denied assistance for transitional and permanent housing and 5,851 people would be denied vital support services such as day care, mental health care, and the job training they need to move toward self-sufficiency.

Rental Assistance. The House proposes to eliminate, for the first time in 20 years, funding for incremental Section 8 rental assistance. This would deny rental assistance to 4,735 poor and working families, and elderly and disabled households who wish to live in privately-owned apartments in 1996.

Public Housing. New York would receive \$416 million in public housing modernization in 1996 under the Congressional plan, a 37 percent cut when compared to the President's plan. Coupled with the proposed cuts in operating subsidies for local housing agencies, the reductions would threaten the supply of quality housing and harm efforts to reduce crime and provide needed resident services.

HEALTH AND NUTRITION

Utility Assistance. The House has proposed to eliminate the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP), which provides heating and cooling aid to 5-6 million low-income households nationwide, many of whom are elderly or disabled. The New York metro area would lose \$52.5 million in 1996, as compared to the President's proposal. 38,900 households would not receive assistance.

CRIME AND DRUG PROGRAMS

Safe and Drug-Free Schools. While the President strongly supports Safe and Drug-Free Schools, the House wants to gut the program. Under the current House proposal, New York would receive a nearly 60 percent cut in funding in 1996, from the level the President proposes to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Public Housing Drug Elimination. New York will receive \$45.7 million in FY 1996 under the President's plan to fight crime in public housing communities. The House terminates the program.

¹ The New York PMSA includes 8 counties: Bronx, Kings, New York, Putnam, Queens, Richmond, Rockland, and Westchester.

² Medicare analysis was provided by HHS.

³ EITC data was provided by the Treasury Department.

⁴ The data for these and the following discretionary programs were provided by the administering federal agencies, as coordinated by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

IMPACT OF REPUBLICAN BUDGET CUTS ON OLDER AMERICANS, STUDENTS, AND WORKING FAMILIES IN CALIFORNIA

Impact on Older and Disabled Americans in California

Increases Medicare Premiums: Each of California's over 3.6 million Medicare beneficiaries would pay at least \$4,100 more in premiums and copayments over the 7 years; couples would pay at least \$8,200 more.

Reduces Medicare and Medicaid Funding: Over the seven-year period, the combined Medicare and Medicaid cuts would reduce Federal health care dollars to California by \$54 billion.

Cuts Coverage for Elderly, Children, and Disabled: Loss in Medicaid funding to the state would have a devastating impact on the state's current 5.0 million recipients. California would be forced to eliminate coverage for as many as 1.2 million recipients in 2002, many of whom may be elderly, nursing home residents, or home care recipients.

Impact on Students in California

Cuts Head Start: Denies Head Start to 180,000 children nationwide and 17,233 children in California in 2002 compared to 1995.

Cuts Funding for Basic and Advanced Skills: Cuts funding by \$1.1 billion in 1996, denying this crucial assistance to 1.1 million students nationwide and 236,100 students in California.

Halts Progress on GOALS 2000: Eliminates Goals 2000 and denies California funding for as many as 2,061 schools.

Eliminates Safe and Drug Free Schools: Republicans want to gut the program, which 1,049 out of 1,064 school districts in California use to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Denies Access to College: Raises costs for student loans by \$10 billion over 7 years. This could raise the cost of college education by as much as \$2,111 for 430,800 college students and as much as \$9,424 for 61,500 graduate students in California. Denies Pell Grants to 34,500 students in California in 1996 alone, possibly forcing them to drop out of college.

Ends National Service: Eliminates AmeriCorps and denies 5,883 young people in California the chance to serve in 1996.

Slashes Summer Jobs: Eliminates summer jobs, denying meaningful employment to 93,584 California youths in 1996 and 655,088 California youths over 7 years. Also drastically cuts the President's school-to-work initiative.

Impact on Working Families in California

Increases Taxes For Working Families: Cuts the EITC program, increasing taxes for 2,045,255 working families in California by an average of \$245 in 1996. For 1,104,012 families with two or more children, the average tax increase in 1996 would be \$315.

Denies Job Training: Cuts funding by \$194.5 million and denies training opportunities to 81,631 dislocated workers in California in 1996.

IMPACT OF THE PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL CUTS ON METROPOLITAN LOS ANGELES

Both the President and Congress have offered proposals to balance the federal budget, in ten and seven years respectively. The President's proposal builds on his 1993 plan that will already reduce the federal deficit by \$1 trillion. The President's proposal invests in education and training, rewards work and individual responsibility, takes important steps towards health reform while strengthening the Medicare Trust Fund and protecting beneficiaries and targets tax cuts only to working families. By contrast, Congressional proposals would have a devastating impact on working families and the communities in which they live. This document illustrates the cumulative impact of the Congressional budget decisions on metropolitan Los Angeles. ¹

MEDICARE ²

Nationally, the \$270 billion in Medicare cuts would mean that the average beneficiary would pay at least \$2,825 more in premiums and copayments over seven years; couples would pay at least \$5,650 more. *Each of Los Angeles's nearly 927,300 beneficiaries would pay as much as \$4,525 more in premiums and copayments over the seven years; couples would pay \$9,050 more. Overall, metropolitan Los Angeles would lose over \$3.0 billion in Medicare funding in 2002 and \$11.2 billion over seven years.*

EARNED INCOME TAX CREDIT ³

Congress cuts the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) by \$21 billion over seven years, raising taxes on 10 million working families with children, to pay for a tax cut to families earning over \$200,000. For working families in Los Angeles, the cut in EITC would raise individual taxes by \$245 in 1996.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING ⁴

Head Start. The President proposes to expand Head Start in 1996, enabling 25,500 children in Los Angeles to participate in the program. The House, on the other hand, has approved cuts that would limit Head Start participation to only 22,100 low-income children.

Improving Basic and Advanced Skills. The President protects Title I, which helps students from disadvantaged backgrounds with reading, writing, math, and advanced skills. The House would fund Title I funding for Los Angeles at \$2.5 million in 1996, a 26 percent reduction from the President's proposed level of \$292 million, which would deny assistance to 196,400 school children.

Summer Jobs. Summer jobs are an important first opportunity for many low-income youths to get work experience. The House would eliminate the summer jobs program, denying valuable work experience to 32,098 Los Angeles youths in 1996, as compared to the President's plan.

Job Training. The President supports lifelong learning by reforming job training programs and putting resources directly in hands of workers. The President provides \$94.6 million in FY 1996 to Los Angeles to enable 44,370 adults and dislocated workers to get needed job training and opportunities for reentry into the workforce. The House cuts the program by 40 percent from the President's proposal, providing job training to only 25,600 adults.

ENVIRONMENT

Clean Water/Drinking Water State Revolving Fund. The President merged the Clean Water and Drinking Water state revolving funds to provide maximum flexibility for State and local governments to meet national water quality standards. The House has cut this program by nearly 50 percent in 1996. California will receive a 50 percent reduction in the program compared to the President's proposed level in 1996, putting Los Angeles at risk of maintaining safe drinking water for its residents.

TRANSPORTATION

Mass Transit Operating Subsidies. Los Angeles will receive nearly \$35.6 million in mass transit operating assistance in FY 1996 under the President's plan. The House also intends to eliminate the city's operating subsidies by the year 2000. In Los Angeles, residents could face reduced services or a 22 percent increase in Los Angeles Transit Authority fares.

HOUSING

Homelessness. The President's plan provides Los Angeles with \$58.5 million in FY 1996 to support homeless programs; the House would provide it with only \$35.3 million. About 700 homeless persons would be denied assistance for transitional and permanent housing and 4,000 people would be denied vital support services such as day care, mental health care, and the job training they need to move toward self-sufficiency.

Rental Assistance. The House proposes to eliminate, for the first time in 20 years, funding for incremental Section 8 rental assistance. This would deny rental assistance to 2,741 poor and working families, and elderly and disabled households who wish to live in privately-owned apartments in 1996.

Public Housing. Los Angeles would receive \$35.2 million in public housing modernization in 1996 under the Congressional plan, a 40 percent cut when compared to the President's plan. Coupled with the proposed cuts in operating subsidies for local housing agencies, the reductions would threaten the supply of quality housing and harm efforts to reduce crime and provide needed resident services.

HEALTH AND NUTRITION

Utility Assistance. The House has proposed to eliminate the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP), which provides heating and cooling aid to 5-6 million low-income households nationwide, many of whom are elderly or disabled. The Los Angeles metro area would lose \$6.7 million in 1996, as compared to the President's proposal. 72,000 households would not receive assistance.

CRIME AND DRUG PROGRAMS

Safe and Drug-Free Schools. While the President strongly supports Safe and Drug-Free Schools, the House wants to gut the program. Under the current House proposal, Los Angeles would receive a nearly 60 percent cut in funding in 1996, from the level the President proposes to keep crime, violence, and drugs away from students and out of schools.

Public Housing Drug Elimination. Los Angeles will receive \$3.2 million in FY 1996 under the President's plan to fight crime in public housing communities. The House terminates the program.

¹ The Los Angeles PMSA includes all of Los Angeles County.

² Medicare analysis was provided by HHS.

³ EITC data was provided by the Treasury Department.

⁴ The data for these & the following discretionary programs were provided by the administering federal agencies, as coordinated by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	Griffin Schultz and David Yarkin to First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton re: political (3 pages)	09/12/1995	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20060

FOLDER TITLE:

Working Women - Women's Domestic Issues [1]

2013-0534-S

rc1712

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: Hillary
FR: Lisa
RE: Interview with Carl Anthony
DT: September 11, 1995

You are scheduled to do a 30 minute interview with Carl Anthony for his book on Jackie Kennedy Onassis. The book, entitled As We Remember Her, is being published by Harper Collins and will be out in May 1996. The focus and purpose of the book is to emphasize Mrs. Onassis' artistic and literary skills and sensibilities, her work on behalf of the humanities and arts and historic preservation, her political contributions to the Kennedy Administration and others, and the many civic, educational and cultural projects which interested her.

Anthony has been guided by Nancy Tuckerman, a close friend of Mrs. Onassis, and Melody Miller of Senator Kennedy's office. He is due to have a lengthy interview with Senator Kennedy. Among the people with whom he has spoken are: John Kenneth Galbraith, Arthur Schlesinger, Ted Sorenson, Bernard Boutin, Tom Hoving, Yusha Auchincloss, Rosewell Gilpatrick, Karl Katz, Senator Pell, Gloria Steinem, childhood friends from East Hampton and Newport, classmates from Miss Porter's, Vassar and George Washington University, and those who worked with her at Doubleday, the Municipal Arts Society, The Kennedy School of Government, 42nd Street Development Corporation, American Ballet Theater, and The Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Carl is hoping to speak with you about your time with Mrs. Onassis in 1993 and some of the issues or ideas you may have discussed. Mrs. Onassis told Carl that you and the President were the first First Couple to whom she felt a real connection. He would like to speak with you about that.

TO: Hillary
FR: Lisa
RE: Interview with the AARP Bulletin
DT: September 12, 1995

You are scheduled to do a brief interview on Tuesday in the Map Room with the AARP Bulletin on breast cancer, mammograms, the Medicare mammography benefit and older women. Your interview will run in the October issue of the publication for Breast Cancer Awareness Month.

You will be interviewed by Lea Glasheen. Lea will ask you about the importance of mammography, the mammography campaign you kicked off for Mother's Day, your personal perspective on breast cancer with regard to your mother-in-law and the Medicare mammography benefit.

You should also take this opportunity to talk about all the women you met across the country through the listening sessions and relate some of the stories you heard.

An AARP photographer will take pictures during the first five minutes of the interview.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. memo	re: Mammography Awareness Campaign Kick-Off [partial] (2 pages)	04/30/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20060

FOLDER TITLE:

Working Women - Women's Domestic Issues [1]

2013-0534-S

rc1712

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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April 30, 1995

MAMMOGRAPHY AWARENESS CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF

DATE: Monday, May 1
TIME: 11:45 a.m.
LOCATION: East Room, White House
FROM: Karen Guss, Liz Bowyer

I. PURPOSE

To launch the Medicare mammography awareness campaign and highlight its first phase, the "Mama-gram" campaign.

II. BACKGROUND

This event will serve as the formal kick-off of the Administration's mammography awareness campaign. At the event, the mammography awareness and "Mama-gram" initiatives will be announced and the video news release and public service announcements that will be used during the campaign will be unveiled. Program speakers will include you, Secretary Shalala, and two senior women (profiles attached). During your remarks, you will unveil the video news release and the PSAs. At the end of the program, you will give a Mother's Day bouquet to (b)(6) breast cancer survivor who attended the listening session in Des Moines (profile attached). She will not be expecting the bouquet or to play any part in the program. 003]

The audience of approximately 180 will be comprised of participants from the listening sessions, corporate sponsors of the "Mama-gram" campaign, public relations professionals involved in the campaign, officials from HHS and representatives of various seniors groups, breast cancer advocacy groups, and health professional organizations (see attached list of corporate sponsors, public relations firms and organizations sponsoring the mammography awareness initiative and/or "Mama-gram" campaign).

Before the formal program begins, you will take official photos with the corporate sponsors of the "Mama-gram" campaign and the public relations professionals who worked on the campaign (see attached list). The sponsors who have contributed the most to the campaign are the PSA sponsors (Zeneca Pharmaceuticals, Avon, Inc., Bristol-Myers, PCS (a subsidiary of Eli Lilly)) and FTD, American Greetings, the Food Marketing Institute, and the National Association of Chain Drug Stores (see attached list of each sponsor's and each public relations firm's contribution). You will receive a copy of a brochure about breast cancer from Avon, a plaque of the "Mama-gram" point-of-purchase display from American Greetings and the Food Marketing Institute, and a bouquet of flowers from FTD.

After you meet with the sponsors, you will take official photos with the "Expedition Inspiration" Climbing Team (see attached list). The Expedition Inspiration Climbing Team is

a group of breast cancer survivors who climbed Mount Aconcagua in the Andes, the highest mountain outside the Himalayas. Three members of the team reached the 23,000 foot summit, and the others attained their goals of from 15,500 to 21,500 feet. The team members, ranging in age from 22 to 61 and including two grandmothers, carried 170 Tibetan prayer flags inscribed with the names of over 400 women who have had breast cancer. The Climbing Team is just one part of Expedition Inspiration, a two-year campaign launched in early 1994 by the Breast Cancer Fund in San Francisco, California, to raise awareness about breast cancer and money for breast cancer research, education, and support services. Andrea Martin, the founder of the Breast Cancer Fund, and Laura Evans, the founder of Expedition Inspiration, will present you with a certificate of the prayer flag tribute to the memory of Virginia Kelley (the actual flag was carried to the mountain and will become part of the Breast Cancer Fund's permanent prayer flag exhibit) and a framed prayer flag dedicated to you.

Mama-gram Campaign

The "Mama-gram" campaign will feature a number of promotional efforts centering around Mother's Day, including greeting and floral card inserts, store displays, department store and drug store billing inserts, grocery store bags, and public service announcements. In addition, the Health Care Financing Administration will distribute "mammography kits" with information on Medicare and the mammography benefit to various advocacy and professional organizations, Medicare carriers, and HMOs and other providers (see sample kit). These kits will continue to be distributed throughout the year.

A series of PSAs have been developed, two of which will be unveiled at this event. One spot, featuring your voice-over, highlights mammogram "success stories" -- including breast cancer survivors who discovered their cancer through mammography and are leading active lives today and a woman who talks about how her clean mammograms give her peace of mind. In the second PSA, the President talks about his mother's struggle with breast cancer and the importance of mammography in a voice-over, as still pictures of his mother appear on the screen. Both PSAs include the slogan, "Get a mammogram. It's a picture that can save your life." Although the PSAs are being unveiled during the "Mama-gram" campaign, they will continue to be used after Mother's Day.

The video news release which will be shown at the "Mama-gram" kickoff is also suitable for use after Mother's Day. It is drawn from the listening sessions in Hollywood, Florida and San Diego.

Mammography Awareness Campaign

After the "Mama-gram" campaign in May, the awareness campaign will continue throughout the year with additional PSAs and outreach efforts through Medicare carriers and intermediaries, state health departments, local aging agencies, and advocacy and professional groups. In addition to Mother's Day, the campaign may also be integrated into activities

surrounding Grandparents Day in September and Breast Cancer Awareness Month in October.

New England Journal of Medicine Article

In an article appearing in the New England Journal of Medicine on Thursday, April 27, 1995, Dr. Jan Blustein of Columbia University describes a study he conducted of Medicare claims data for 1991 and 1992. The study found that only 14 percent of women without Medigap or other supplemental insurance obtained a mammogram during those years. (Only about 11 percent of women on Medicare aged 65 and older have Medicare only.) The study also looked at women with supplemental health insurance through their employers, women who paid for their own supplemental insurance, and women covered by Medicaid. It found that 45% of the first group, 40% of the second group and 24% of the third group had had mammograms.

The study's author noted that cost is not the only factor in women's decisions about mammograms; he found that less than half of the women for whom expense was not a factor obtained mammograms. He was quoted by Reuters as saying that his findings "underscore the opportunity to encourage and educate older women about mammography" and Medicare coverage for mammograms.

Attached are articles about the study as well as the New England Journal of Medicine article itself.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Program Participants

HRC

Secretary Shalala

Zennie Cummings

Lou Glasse

(b)(6)

(receives bouquet only)

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

See scenario.

V. PRESS

Open press.

VI. REMARKS

Prepared by Karen Guss and Lissa Muscatine.

MAY 1, 1995

LIST OF SPONSORS FOR THE MEDICARE MAMMOGRAPHY INITIATIVE

American Academy of Family Physicians
American Association of Retired Persons (AARP)
American Cancer Society
American College of Radiology
American College of Preventive Medicine
American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists
American College of Surgeons
American College of Physicians
American Greetings
American Hospital Association
American Managed Care and Review Association
American Medical Women's Association
American Medical Association
American Nurses Association
American Society of Internal Medicine
Arkansas Business and Professional Women
Asociacion PRO Personas Mayores
Avon, Inc.
Biologix
Breast Cancer Action
Bristol Myers Squibb
Burson Marsteller
Church Women United
CTFA Foundation
Food Marketing Institute
FTD, Inc.
Glamour/Hanes Hand in Hand
Group Health Association of America
Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound
Harvard Community Health Plan
Helen Harris Associates, Inc.
Hill, Holiday Advertising
Hill and Knowlton
J. C. Penney Company, Inc.
Kmart Corporation
Maidenform, Inc.
National Alliance of Breast Cancer Organizations
National Association of Retail Druggists (NARD)
National Association of Chain Drug Stores (NACDS)
National Black Nurses Association
National Breast Cancer Coalition
National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare

National Council of Negro Women
National Council of Senior Citizens
National Council of Negro Women
National Council on Aging
Older Women's League
PCS - a wholly owned subsidiary of Eli Lilly and Company
Porter-Novelli
Speak Out
Susan G. Koman Breast Cancer Foundation
US Healthcare
Y-Me National Breast Cancer Organization
YWCA of the USA
Zeneca Pharmaceuticals

CONTRIBUTIONS OF CORPORATE SPONSORS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS

Funding PSAs

Avon, Inc.
Bristol-Myers
PCS (wholly owned subsidiary of Eli Lilly)
Zeneca Pharmaceuticals

Other Sponsorship Activity

American Greetings	point of purchase display with "Mama-grams" to be inserted in greeting cards
CTFA Foundation	placed cancer information supplement in October Harper's Bazaar
Food Marketing Institute	designed camera-ready copy for buttons grocery store bags distributed packets to FMI members including sample news release and camera-ready copy of advertising slick and HCFA mammogram brochure
FTD, Inc.	distributing 2 million "Mama-grams" to 23,000 florists
Glamour/Hanes Hand-in-Hand	distributing material including reminder for mothers to get mammograms
J.C. Penney	Medicare mammography message insert with May billing statements
Maidenform	distributed point-of-purchase pamphlets to 100 retail stores
National Association of Chain Drug Stores	distributed video news releases distributed point-of-purchase displays distributed packets to 30 chains including camera-ready advertising slick, sample Q & A, press releases, brochures, suggested text for computer prompt for pharmacists

National Association of Retail Druggists . distributing Medicare mammography information

Public Relations Firms

Biologix Communications . developed PSAs

Burson-Marsteller . committed to other involvement

Helen Harris Associates, Inc. . distributed literature at Senior Sports Classic
committed to other involvement

Hill and Knowlton . committed to other involvement

Hill, Holiday Advertising . developed PSAs

Porter-Novelli . committed to other involvement

REMARKS OF FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MAMA-GRAM CAMPAIGN KICKOFF
EAST ROOM
MAY 1, 1995

[Acknowledgements: Secretary Shalala and staff from HHS; Bruce Vladeck and Dr. Helen Smits from Health Care Financing Administration and their staff; Dr. Susan Blumenthal and Public Health Service's Office on Women's Health]

Good morning. I am delighted to welcome you here to the East Room to join me in kicking off the Clinton Administration's "Mama-gram" campaign. We'd like to thank all of you for being with us today, and even more importantly, for your help in developing this campaign to increase awareness of the importance of mammography among our nation's older women.

The threat of breast cancer is increasing in this country -- one out of eight women in America will contract this terrible disease during her lifetime. We all know someone -- a grandmother, mother, sister, aunt, daughter, friend, or in my case, a mother-in-law -- who has suffered or is suffering from this illness.

But what many Americans do not know is that the risk of breast cancer increases with age. In fact, 80% of new breast cancers occur in women aged 50 and older, and half of all new cases occur in women 65 and older. That is why -- thanks in large part to advocacy by many of the organizations represented here today -- mammography was added to Medicare in 1991 as one of the few preventive or screening services that Medicare covers.

And that is why I was so distressed to learn that fewer than 40% of women aged 65 and older on Medicare have used the Medicare mammography benefit.

Over the past months, I looked at studies on barriers to mammography use among older women. And I talked to older women all over the country who are of different races and backgrounds, and who have had different experiences with mammography and with breast cancer. I believed that through these meetings -- which we called "listening sessions" -- we could gain a better understanding of how we could increase the use of this lifesaving technology.

I learned a great deal from the physicians, nurses, and older women who took part in these listening sessions -- as did the experts from the Health Care Financing Administration and the Public Health Service's Office on Women's Health.

We learned that older women value the advice of their doctors and that a great number of older women will get a mammogram if their doctors recommend it.

We learned that some older women don't realize that you never outgrow the need to protect yourself against breast cancer; that some women mistakenly believe that mammograms are extremely painful or even dangerous.

That some women fear getting a mammogram because they believe that finding breast cancer -- even in its early stages -- is a death sentence.

And we learned that some older women -- women who have spent their lives caring for others -- simply don't know how to switch gears and take care of their own health.

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

So we are pleased to welcome all of you here to announce the beginning of the Clinton Administration's national Medicare and mammography awareness initiative. In honor of Mother's Day and all of our nation's older women, we are kicking off our initiative with a "Mama-gram" campaign. The Mama-gram campaign will give husbands, sons, daughters, grandchildren, friends -- and anyone else with a close relationship with an older woman -- a way to let that woman know that her family and friends care, that part of that caring means wanting her to get regular mammograms, and that Medicare covers these mammograms.

I'd like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Administration, to thank all of you who have done and will do so much to make this Mama-gram campaign a success. This campaign has been a wonderful coordinated effort among government agencies and between the government and the private sector.

I'd like to thank health care professionals organizations, who will be communicating with their members about the importance of reminding their older women patients to get regular mammograms.

I'd like to thank the seniors and cancer advocacy organizations who will be activating their grassroots networks to get the message out, often in coordination with their own excellent breast health awareness campaigns.

I'd also like to thank the creative public relations professionals who donated their time and effort to design the Mama-gram campaign, and the generous corporations and trade associations who have provided funding or are distributing and displaying the message or the materials that have been developed for this campaign.

And I would most certainly like to thank the women who participated in the listening sessions, some of whom were able to

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. speech	re: Remarks of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Mama-Gram Campaign Kickoff [partial] (1 page)	05/01/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20060

FOLDER TITLE:

Working Women - Women's Domestic Issues [1]

2013-0534-S

rc1712

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

be here with us today, who so generously and openly shared their personal stories with us.

Our efforts will not end with Mother's Day. The Mama-gram campaign is just the first stage in a yearlong Medicare and mammography initiative that will include outreach through Medicare carriers and intermediaries, state health departments, local aging agencies, and, we hope, many of you who are here today.

As I think about these initiatives and about this awareness campaign, I can't help but also think about the voices we're hearing in Washington today that are trying to tell us that there's nothing that the federal government can do for people. I think the Medicare mammography benefit belies that. I think this awareness campaign belies that too. Working together with local government and the private sector, we can use the Medicare mammography benefit to save lives. And if you ask me, that's not nothing -- that's everything.

We have here today someone I met in our listening sessions, and who's words and thoughts helped us shape this campaign. I'd like to welcome Zennie [ZIN-EE] Cummings from Church Women United, a brave and determined woman who is one of mammography's success stories. [Zennie Cummings makes remarks]

[Introduce Video News Release]

[Video News Release played]

[Introduce Lou Glasse, of the Older Women's League. Ms. Glass gets peace of mind from her regular mammograms.]

[Lou Glass makes remarks]

[Introduce PSAs, both yours and the President's]

[PSAs played]

Because my mother-in-law could not be here today to accept the first Mother's Day bouquet of the year, I would like to invite (b)(6) whom I had the pleasure of meeting during a listening session in Des Moines, to come up on stage to receive this bouquet. 2004]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 29, 1995

TO: Mrs. Clinton
FROM: Nicole Rabner
RE: Virginia Kelley and Mammography

Lisa told me that you wanted information about Mrs. Kelley's experience in being diagnosed with breast cancer and specifically, about her personal history of getting mammograms. I contacted Linda Dixon in Little Rock, who was very helpful in tracking down information. According to Dixie Seba and Dr. Haggard, Mrs. Kelley did have a yearly mammogram, and had been having them annually for several years before the cancer was discovered. However, the year that the tumor was detected, 1990, Mrs. Kelley was a few months late in having her annual checkup. In Leading With My Heart, she wrote:

"I ... made time for my annual checkup. Ever since I'd turned forty-five, I'd made sure to go. Besides, Dr. John Haggard was an old friend, and I was always glad to see him. I usually scheduled my appointment for June, the month of my birthday, because then it was easy to remember. But I had been so busy that summer that I hadn't gotten around to it until August."
(p.262)

According to Dr. Haggard, during this visit he detected the tumor by his own examination and then confirmed it with a mammogram. Dr. Haggard explained that Mrs. Kelley's specific type of cancerous tumor was one that grows and spreads very quickly and explosively and that her mammogram from the previous year had not indicated a tumor. In her autobiography, Mrs. Kelley wrote:

"I was lying on the examining table looking straight up at Dr. Haggard when I noticed his expression change. He had already checked my left breast and was concentrating on the right. I could tell by his face he had found something he didn't like. 'Virginia,' he said, 'have you not felt this?' And I hadn't -- even though I checked myself regularly, the way we're told to."
(p.262)

As you know, Mrs. Kelley spoke out about breast cancer and about her own experience as a breast cancer survivor. She stressed the importance of the combination of the three forms of examinations: self examination, doctor's examination and mammography. She underscored that in combination these forms of detection are far more dependable than any is alone. In her speech on 10/28/93 in Ottawa, Mrs. Kelley said:

... I want to encourage everyone that there are three forms of examination: self-examination, doctor's examination and mammography. I think each and every one is as important as the other, because you see, I had had two and I'm a member of the medical profession. I'm a retired nurse anestheticist. You would think that I could find a tumor of this size. It was big. It was big. It had escaped me. I had had a mammogram, and my doctor found this, so you see I'm a believer it takes all three examinations...

Enclosed with your briefing book is a videotape of Mrs. Kelley's speech in Ottawa, in which she provides a compelling account of how she learned about her cancer and how she dealt both with the cancer and the subsequent treatments she received.

Virginia Kelley

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Chelsea is the one who made me quit. Whenever I went to her house—which is to say the Governor's Mansion—I wasn't allowed to smoke inside. Hillary had strict rules against that. So I would step outside and light up, and when I would come back inside, Chelsea would look at me with eyes so sad she reminded me of those big-eyed-waif pictures you used to see all over the place. "Ginger," she would say, "why do you smoke? Don't you love me enough to quit?" What a manipulative little so-and-so. Naturally, it worked. On Chelsea's eighth birthday I declared myself officially smoke free. I quit cold turkey and never lit up again.

I did begin to chew an awful lot of gum, however.

It was during the campaign of 1990 that my doctor found the lump in my breast.

Bill's career had reached a new level. There was talk, serious talk, about his someday being a candidate for President. Of course, I wasn't the least bit surprised. For the moment, however, we had to get him reelected governor. I had been doing my usual press-the-flesh and pass-the-word politicking, but I had made time for my annual checkup. Ever since I'd turned forty-five I'd made sure to go. Besides, Dr. John Haggard was an old friend, and I was always glad to see him. I usually scheduled my appointment for June, the month of my birthday, because then it was easy to remember. But I had been so busy that summer that I hadn't gotten around to it until August.

I was lying on the examining table looking straight up at Dr. Haggard when I noticed his expression change. He had already checked my left breast and was concentrating on the right. I could tell by his face he had found something he didn't like. "Virginia," he said, "have you not felt this?" And I hadn't—even though I checked myself regularly, the way we're told to.

To say that Dr. Haggard looked worried is an understatement, though he turned his face to try to keep me from noticing. He checked his watch. It was late afternoon, but the sun was still high. "I don't

LEADING WITH MY HEART

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want you to leave until we have a surgeon look at you," he said.

I nodded and he left the room. I lay there staring at the ceiling.

The lump was such that all they had to do was touch it, and they knew. They would've operated the next morning, but I told them I needed forty-eight hours. I called Roger and Bill, both of whom were stunned. Here I had worked around sick people all my life, and none of us had ever given a thought to anything like this happening to one of us.

Two days later, Dick, Bill, Roger, and my friends were all in the hospital waiting for the outcome. Me, I wasn't at all surprised to wake up and find my breast gone. I had seen this too often. I knew.

I also knew I had to pull myself together one more time. It's interesting—I can be stronger when something happens to me than when it happens to my sons. That's why I nearly fell apart watching Roger go through his ordeal. My cancer was my problem, and I could handle it.

I almost scared Nancy to death, though. The day after my surgery she came to my hospital room and I wasn't there. *My God, something's happened*, she thought, and she tore out looking for the nurse. Nancy found me walking the halls in my robe (but with my makeup on), rolling my IV along. I had been visiting with the nurses, the doctors, people I hadn't seen for a while, and getting my strength back. I may've even been politicking for Bill a little bit. "Don't ever do that to me again," Nancy said.

They say that living with cancer is attitude, so I felt from the beginning that I had a good chance. Besides, surviving cancer runs in my family. My uncle Buddy had a lung removed—I bet it's been twenty years now. That was cancer, and he's lived long enough to become a philosopher. His sister, Opal, the one I called Otie, had cancer of the colon. I would go to see her thinking it would be the very last time—but she would just keep on living. She lived for years after they told her she was terminal. Whenever a cloud of doubt crossed my mind, I thought of Buddy and Otie.

Dick has been a pillar of strength, as usual. Early on in our marriage, he and I settled into a routine at night. We sit in the same

Virginia Kelley

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room, but we don't talk much. When Linda Ellerbee came to interview us for a TV special on breast cancer, she talked with Dick out in the yard. I didn't hear what he said, and he didn't tell me. A month later, as he and I sat in the living room together watching the show, I was so touched I cried. He had told her how strong I had been, and how he didn't care a whit that I was missing a breast, he loved me anyway. That meant the world to me. Another time, I was worried about a bone scan I was going to have the next morning. Dick and I had sat reading and watching TV all night, and I finally told him I was going to bed. Obviously, he had known how worried I was, because he got up from his chair and walked over to me and cupped my chin in his hand. "It's going to be okay," he said, and he kissed me on the forehead.

Dixie became my regular cancer companion. That was only natural, because she and I had a history with cancer. Besides all the other crises we've shared over the years, I was with her when she had a breast removed. That was twenty years ago. She recalls it to the day, because Jeff and I came to visit her in the hospital the night before, and we were all dressed up to go partying on New Year's Eve. Actually, Dixie hadn't known she was going to have surgery the next morning. They had done the biopsy, but hadn't yet told her the results. I knew, though. As I held her hand, she talked about everything being fine, about going home and getting back to normal. She remembers that I squeezed her hand and told her, "You're not out of the woods yet." That night she prepared herself.

After her operation, I went with her to be fitted for a prosthesis. Now, two decades later, she insisted on being with me every step of the way. She wanted to be the one to take me to the doctor, and after my first session of chemotherapy had gone so well, we both started looking on Dixie as my good-luck charm. I'm not generally a superstitious person, but I do stick with what works. For example, when I go to the track, I always make sure I have on one piece of jewelry from each of my sons. Roger gave me a gold racehorse that I wear around my neck most of the time. And years ago. Bill gave me

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a ring—a horse's head with a horseshoe around the neck. In the horseshoe are little diamonds. I remember when he gave me that ring I looked at it closely—it was a beautiful ring, but there was something wrong. I counted the diamonds. There were thirteen. *What does Bill Clinton know about gambling?* I thought, and I took the ring to the jewelry store and had a fourteenth diamond put in, right smack in the horse's eye. You can't hope to win at the track wearing a thirteen-diamond ring.

By the same token, I came to think that I couldn't hope to win at the doctor's office without Dixie. She once begged me to postpone a doctor's appointment for a day because she had to be out of town with her husband. I didn't give it a second thought—I called and told the doctor I'd have to make it later.

And when it came time for me to shop for a prosthesis, Dixie was right by my side. I'd rather lose a breast than a friend any day.

~

The older you get, the more you see life in relative terms. For example, once I had been diagnosed as having cancer, any little ache or pain stopped me in my tracks: *Oh, Lord, I would think, it's back.* I strained my shoulder one day, and I just knew it was cancer. That night, Dick rubbed some Icy-Hot on it, and the pain went away. I slept like a baby. Later, a technician told me it was probably just a touch of arthritis. That's what I mean by seeing life in relative terms: Suddenly I was thrilled to think I had developed arthritis.

I was trying my best to stay positive, not just for me but for my friends and family. Roger was working in California for Harry and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason—he started as a gufer on their TV shows, and then they began letting him and his band entertain the studio audience between sets—and he would call me all the time, just worried sick. Bill was trying to decide whether to run for President. I assured them both that I was fine. Say it enough and there's a chance you'll start to believe it.

One day at the Birthday Club, Elizabeth Ross gave me a beauti-

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Virginia Kelley

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ful gift. Elizabeth, as I've told you, has had a terrible time with cancer—and still she battles on. She's had it show up just about everywhere and has had so many operations you can't believe it. Whenever I started feeling like Pitiful Pearl, I just took a look at Elizabeth and that set me straight.

The gift was one she had made herself—a sampler that read. "Lord, help me to remember that nothing is going to happen to me today that You and I can't handle." Coming from her, it meant as much as any gift could mean. I told her I would find the perfect place in my house for it, and I did. I finally settled on the bathroom, where I start my day. I can't tell you how much that little framed saying has done for me. If I have any advice for cancer sufferers, it's to get up and go as long as you can. It's amazing what you can do once you make up your mind.

In June 1991, about four months after my chemo was over, my Hot Springs doctor, Timothy Webb, told me he thought it would be good for me to visit with specialists in Little Rock, who might have better access to investigational therapy. One of the doctors was Kent Westbrook, and after he examined me he sat me down and we had a little talk. Dick was with me. I had known what the doctor was going to tell me. My cancer, while there was no sign of it at the moment, was a particularly bad kind. Dr. Webb had already told me that. It wasn't just in my breast, it was down the nodes of my arm. There are thirty nodes in your arm, and when doctors see someone with more than six or seven nodes positive, they figure it's just a matter of time. I had twenty-seven nodes positive.

What Dr. Westbrook was trying to tell me, I guess, was that I was going to die of breast cancer. I listened to him, and I smiled, and I thanked him. He didn't actually say the word *die*, as I recall, but even if he'd said it, I just couldn't have allowed myself to hear it. One of my sons was about to run for President of the United States, and the other was busy rebuilding his life. I looked the doctor straight in the eye. "If they ask," I said, "you tell my boys I'm fine."

Bill announced his candidacy in October, and from then on we were traveling a mile a minute. I made it my business to go to the

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LEADING WITH MY HEART

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Little Rock campaign headquarters and meet everyone from James Carville on down. To me, everybody was important—and it was important for everybody to be doing his job. Johnette Taylor laughs at me. "They all thought you were up there socializing," she says, "but you were really assessing their work." She's right, too, I guess, though the tendency is so ingrained that sometimes I don't even know I'm doing it. But Bill can't be everywhere. I try to be his eyes and ears whenever I can.

Through that first fall and into the winter I did what I could to make sure we turned out for all his rallies. Nancy, who had run so many of his Garland and Montgomery county campaigns, had a job this time around, so she couldn't be as involved as she'd have liked. At my urging, Johnette organized caravans to wherever Bill was speaking. We had come up with the caravan idea years before, but it had taken a bit of tinkering to work the bugs out. One of our first successful ones, during Bill's second gubernatorial campaign, had been to a town called Kirby, Arkansas; we only turned out about seven cars, but what we lacked in number we made up for in color and noise. We looked like a homecoming parade for a high school football team. After that, people seemed to get the idea, and we never again launched fewer than fifteen or twenty cars decorated with signs and crepe paper and packed with very vocal Clinton supporters.

Nobody ever talks about what cancer does to your good-looking legs.

I had always prided myself on having legs that others took a second glance at. In my younger days I wore hose with seams, of course, and I was a late convert to the seamless kind. I just thought the ones with seams were sexier. For the first year after other women wore seamless, I kept my seamed hose. Then one day I noticed I was the only woman left in the world who was constantly looking around to see if her stockings were straight. I gave the seamless hose a try and I liked them.

Panty hose are something else again. I've got a drawer full of them

Virginia Kelley

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that I've never had on my legs—life's too short to be bound up like that. If you ask me, thigh hose are the perfect answer. Today they've even come out with thigh hose that stay up without garters. You live long enough and miracles *do* happen.

Starting in 1991, though, I developed a condition called lymphoedema. Women who've had breast surgery often develop lymphoedema in their arms, especially on the side where the breast was removed. In my case, it's in my legs and mostly on my left side, opposite the breast that was removed. It makes my feet and ankles swell. It's really ugly. I used to paint my toenails and wear pretty sandals in the summer, but I can't anymore. Now I pray for winter when I can wear boots to cover up the swelling. That's just one of the unsung laments of cancer.

Another is, you might as well forget dieting and exercise. The poison they pump into your system makes you queasy around food, so you need to eat as much as you can manage to keep from withering away. And the treatments sap your strength, making what used to be a whirl around the mall seem like a trek around the world. Now I think all my friends are using me as an excuse not to exercise.

In May 1992, almost two years after the surgery, my cancer came back. I had been taking hormone treatments and checking in regularly with Dr. Webb in Hot Springs. That May, however, he told me I needed to go to Little Rock and see Dr. Westbrook again.

The word wasn't good. The cancer had spread to my spine. When they took bone X rays, they found it was also in my skull, my pelvic bones, and down into my leg bones. Dr. Westbrook stopped short of giving me a time frame—he could tell I didn't want to hear one. What difference would it make? Certainly no positive difference—I already intended to live life to the fullest. Plus, I knew I would do that better by keeping this distressing news at arm's length for as long as possible. Bill had taken an awful beating in the media that winter, and right then I had some politicking to do.

Dr. Westbrook told me I needed radiation therapy to keep the bones from crumbling and possibly causing paralysis. "I understand," I said. "But you can't tell my sons my condition."

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His mouth dropped open. "What are you going to tell them about these radiation treatments?"

"I'm going to tell them it's a new treatment for a herniated disk." He just shook his head. I smiled—I liked that answer.

After that, I began what has been a constant, never-ending combination of radiation and chemotherapy treatments. Two months after those started, I sat at the Democratic Convention in New York watching my son become his party's candidate for President. During that trip, I also went to see "The Will Rogers Follies" on Broadway, and that was the very first time I noticed any change in my own status. Mac Davis, the star, announced from the stage that "there's a celebrity in the audience." I craned my neck to look, until I realized he was talking about me. Then I half-expected some attention-starved girl to run up and hog the spotlight, the way a girl I used to know had so many years ago.

If I thought I was busy before, I hadn't seen anything. I had made a deal with Johnette—she would run the Garland and Montgomery county headquarters, and I would get out and shake hands and pound the pavement. My friends laugh at me still, because my car was just about as well stocked as the national headquarters in Little Rock. I would be driving along and people would wave me down wanting buttons, pins, flags, bumper stickers. I'd screech to a stop and get out my wares. And just in case they had a notion of sticking a bumper sticker in some scrapbook somewhere, I would put it on their car myself. I'd plaster a second one on, too, when I could get away with it. After that, I asked if they wanted anything else. I carried copies of Bill's speeches on education, AIDS, health care, the economy. They wanted it? I had it.

I met more people in that one year than I had in all my other years put together. Every major newsperson in the country came and sat at my dining room table to interview me. I went on the talk shows. I remember the morning I did the "Today" show—I had thought of Katie Couric as flippant before I actually met her and was prepared to pounce if I detected the slightest sign of that with me. I don't recall what had given me that impression, but I couldn't abide any-

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body being flippant—especially about something as important as electing my son President. The moment I sat down for the interview, though, I fell in love with her. She was so nice, she treated me with such respect, that I just couldn't help it. And I thought, *I wish some of these media people who're prejudging Bill and Hillary could just get to know them. They would change their minds, just like I did with Katie Couric.*

I did meet some bona fide jerks, of course. Once I was in Las Vegas with Lynda Dixon, who was Bill's secretary when he was governor and now helps run his Arkansas office. When you're campaigning in Las Vegas, you need to take a little time to rest and rejuvenate, and that's how I happened to be placing a little wager one day at the Sportsbook in the Mirage Hotel. The man taking bets asked where I was from. When I told him, he cackled. "Home of Slick Willie," he said. I won't repeat what I said to the man, but here's one bet you can take to the bank: In the future, whenever he hears the words *Slick Willie*, chills will run down his spine.

Along with Dick, Lynda Dixon became my constant traveling companion during the campaign—afterwards, too, for that matter—and I knew right away that she and I were well matched. One of her jobs was to keep an eye on me, to keep me from wandering off and getting into fights with rude casino employees. Slot machines are mighty attractive, however. One night Lynda and I were playing slots a few feet away from each other. She recalls that she looked over at me and there I was, pouring money into the machine. Then her machine started paying off—every time she pulled the lever, quarters flowed into the tray and washed over onto the floor at her feet. She looked up to see if I had noticed . . . and I was nowhere to be found. *Oh, my God*, she thought, *Virginia's disappeared*. Suddenly she had a moral dilemma on her hands.

In a flash, Lynda says, the answer came to her: *Virginia wouldn't want me to leave a winning slot*. She was absolutely right. She told others to look for me while she stayed and played until the machine stopped paying. When she finally came upstairs, I was fast asleep in my bed.

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You have to celebrate life, not brood about death. Life isn't neat, life isn't orderly. Too many people seem to think life is the tablecloth, instead of the messy feast that's spread out on it. They want to keep the cloth clean and pressed and tucked safely in a drawer. That's not life. Done right, life leaves stains. That's why I don't judge Bill Blythe for the things I found out about him. That's why I feel sorrow, not hatred, for Roger Clinton. That's why I love my mother, even though many a day she made me feel like murdering her. Heck, that's why I even feel warmth for Buddy Klugh. He may've set out to do me harm, or maybe that was all in my mind. But I *know* I did him harm. Suing him is probably my biggest regret in life.

Why focus on regrets, though?

I've always gotten a chuckle out of people thinking there's something heroic about my ability to find some joy in every day. What's heroic about that? There's plenty to find joy in—my sons, my work, my friends. If there's nothing else to laugh about, then I'll laugh at how miserable I am. My friends are that way, too. They all have stains on their tablecloths, but that doesn't keep them from coming back to the table. I like that. It's called resilience.

Bill told a friend recently that he's always been more obsessive than I—than his brother, too, for that matter—but that during the presidential campaign he consciously thought of my life and tried to draw strength from it. That makes me very proud. "She knew," he said, "that almost no matter what happened, the sun would come up the next morning. During those really tough days in the campaign I would think about how so many of Mother's difficulties had gone on for years and years. In my case, the voters would simply make up their minds and everything would be resolved with the election, so I might as well get up each day and do my best and do what I believed in and try to have a good time."

I didn't let Bill know exactly how serious my cancer was until months after the election was over, and even then I was reluctant. Linda Bloodworth-Thomason had been calling me and talking about

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an experimental treatment in Colorado that she and Harry had heard about. They had met a woman in California whose breast cancer had responded remarkably well to this treatment, and they wanted me to go investigate it. Harry had also called Bill and urged him to try to get me to go. The treatment involved removing and freezing your white blood cells and then keeping you in a clean room for a month—during which time they bombarded you with chemotherapy. Once your red blood was up to par, they reinjected the white cells. The whole process took six weeks.

Harry Thomason's mother had died of cancer, so he and Linda were acutely aware of the nuances of the disease, and they were concerned about me. Plus, of course, since Roger worked for them, they lived with his worry every day. Linda had called the doctor in Colorado—a woman named Elizabeth Shpall—and asked to bring someone for an interview. She didn't say who it was. I talked with Dr. Westbrook, and he knew Dr. Shpall's work. He thought it was worth a trip. So did Bill. I told Linda and Harry I would do it—providing that neither of my sons would be told the seriousness of my cancer.

It was March 1993. Harry flew his plane to Little Rock and picked up Dick and me. Lynda Dixon went with us, as did Harry's brother Danny, and Dick's brother and sister-in-law, Al and Nancy. When we got there, we all took a tour of the facility. Then Harry, Lynda, Dick, and I sat down with the doctor. She said things like, "You should do this soon." We all knew what she meant by that.

During a break, Harry and I happened to be standing together in a corridor. Nobody else was around. "You heard her," Harry said. "I want you to do this."

Harry Thomason is a wonderful man. He and Linda care so much, and have done so much, for my family. Because they care, they want me to explore every last possibility for staying alive. To my mind, though, living and staying alive are two different things. At my age, with my cancer as bad as it was, I didn't want to leave my home and friends and go sit in a pristine room in Colorado for six weeks.

I smiled at Harry to let him know how much I appreciate him. "You tell my boys I'm doing fine," I said.

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I'm convinced that that's exactly what he did. Still, soon after the Colorado trip, Bill got suspicious that maybe I wasn't as healthy as I'd been saying, and I finally decided it was time for him to know. I suggested that he call Dr. Webb and Dr. Westbrook for a heart-to-heart talk. To them, I said, "It's all right. Go ahead and tell him."

There was nothing duplicitous about my not telling Bill and Roger this news earlier—news they couldn't do a thing in the world about. Roger would be devastated, I knew. And I had wanted Bill to focus on getting elected. Once he was elected, I wanted him to focus on getting his administration off on the right foot.

To be honest, there was also a bit of selfishness involved in my determination to keep my condition secret. Once Bill and Roger found out, all my friends would hear, and then the media would get wind of it, and then *everybody* would know. Next thing I knew, I wouldn't be able to walk into a room without people blubbering all over me, dropping tears on my clothes, smudging my makeup. Who needs it? I prefer to laugh, not cry. I prefer to celebrate life, not stand around waiting for the grim reaper to show up. That's how I've lived for nearly seventy years, and I don't intend to stop now.

As a matter of fact, soon after Bill was elected, I did something that gave me as much joy as anything I've done in my entire life. Most of us in the Birthday Club had made our reservations for the inaugural as far back as August. I don't mean we'd just phoned Washington and held a hotel room with a credit card; we had paid cash money. Not only that, we had persuaded others to do it, too. Three months before the election, we had more than one hundred people signed and paid so they'd be sure to be there when Bill became President of the United States.

Seven of the Birthday Club girls were going, but five weren't. Age, not money, was the main problem. You probably wouldn't notice, but we Birthday Clubbers have logged quite a few birthdays among us—which only means we've had an awful lot of good times. But the prospect of getting on an airplane, making connections, arranging transportation to the hotel, then fighting through crowds of people for days—well, it just seemed like too much for some of my friends.

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I hated it, though. Oh, how I hated it. I knew they wanted to be there. How many times had I heard Estelle Blair say, "All I want out of life now is to see Bill Clinton President."

I decided I had to do everything I could to make that happen. I called Johnette and told her my plan, and we started working. We called the Inaugural Committee to get invitations. We talked with United Airlines to get tickets. We arranged cars, hotel rooms, and people to help smooth the way everywhere we'd be going.

The Birthday Club had planned a bon voyage luncheon at the Sawmill, and it promised to be some kind of party. This group had seen many a lively luncheon in its day, but this was a once-in-a-lifetime occasion. But even though everyone was laughing and talking, and drinking, I sensed that a handful of the girls—the five who weren't going to be at the Inaugural—were feeling a little left out.

I called for silence. I looked at all those women, those dear, dear friends who had seen me through so many hard times. There wasn't a subject that hadn't been discussed among us. Every one of us knew the intimate details of every other one's life: If they had all been there to share my pain, how could they not all be there to share my joy? I passed out the invitations and tickets to the other five, and the room burst into laughter and tears. It was a moment I cherish. *The Birthday Club was going to Washington.*

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HCFA'S MEDICARE MAMMOGRAPHY CAMPAIGN

In *Healthy People 2000*, DHHS set a goal that 60% of women in the Medicare age group should have a mammogram every two years. The current level is 37%.

Reasons for the gap include lack of knowledge of the benefit, lack of physician support for mammograms in this age group, fear of pain or harm from the mammogram, fear of detecting an untreatable disease, modesty and a general sense that it is possible to be "too old" to need screening.

BACKGROUND

HCFA plans to use its network of communications with consumers and physicians to promote use of important existing medicare benefits and to help consumers choose wisely among alternative treatments. The first full scale campaign in 1994 promoted use of covered flu shots.

Mammography is the second campaign. Later campaigns will help beneficiaries choose among treatment options for localized prostate cancer and early stage breast cancer. All campaigns make use of HCFA's claims data to highlight current practice and to monitor effectiveness.

CAMPAIGN MATERIALS

Materials for use in each campaign are developed in central office with the collaboration of other HHS agencies. In the case of mammography, we have been working most closely with NCI, CDC and AHCPR on the content of materials, with FDA on issues of safety and effectiveness of the screening and with AOA on the best ways to reach the elderly. We have also worked with external groups including the National Alliance of Breast Cancer Organizations, AARP and the College of Radiology.

Campaign materials will include:

- An analysis of recent claims data on a state by state basis
- Availability of county data to interested parties
- A brochure developed for this campaign which both encourages mammography and describes the benefit.
- A full press kit with newsletter articles, posters, "slicks" for magazine and newspaper advertisements and radio and television PSA's.

DISSEMINATION

Dissemination is handled through HCFA's ten regional offices. The basic elements of communication include:

- Medicare carriers and intermediaries, working through their medical advisory committees and newsletters to reach the medical community.
- Peer Review Organizations in each state which work with physicians and also directly with consumers. Four PROs have already undertaken mammography promotion campaigns and will take the lead in replicating their experiences.
- Health Insurance Information and Counseling Programs, organizations in each State, funded by HCFA, which use volunteers to inform beneficiaries about Medicare.
- Area Agencies on Aging.
- State Health Departments.

COLLABORATION WITH OUTSIDE GROUPS

The success of this project is very dependent on the support and enthusiasm of outside groups. Collaboration is extensive, involving both consumer-oriented and professional groups.

Interaction takes place at many levels. For example, we are working nationally with the AARP on the development of materials and on mention of the campaign in their magazine; the regional offices will make speakers available for State and local AARP meetings; PRO's have consulted with local AARP chapters about the best way to reach beneficiaries. Similar multi-level interaction is taking place with organizations such as the National Cancer Society and the YWCA.

HCFA is close to finalizing a formal, funded collaborative agreement with the National Medical Association to improve access of persons of color to Medicare services. We expect to make good use of this agreement in the mammography campaign.

SCHEDULE AND ORGANIZATION

The project is coordinated by a central office committee headed by Dr. Anne Trontell; once it has been formally "kicked off" responsibility will shift to a committee of regional office staff, headed by Mr. Chet Stroyne in the Chicago Regional Office. We plan a kickoff sometime in May with the most active central office involvement in the period between May and July. In order to be effective, we believe the regional campaigns should continue throughout 1995.



MAMMOGRAPHY CAMPAIGN

This material has been provided by the:
Health Care Financing Administration
For further information,
contact HCFA's press office
(202) 690-6145



MEDICARE MAMMOGRAPHY BENEFIT

- o Medicare pays for both diagnostic and screening mammograms that are furnished by facilities that meet FDA certification requirements.
- o A screening mammogram is defined as a radiological exam that examines both breasts and is provided to an asymptomatic woman. Screening mammograms:
 - Are furnished to a woman where there is no existing or suspected diagnosis.
 - Need not be ordered by a physician.
 - Are paid for by Medicare only once every 2 years.
 - Are subject to a maximum charge of \$60.88
- o A diagnostic mammogram is defined as a radiological exam, either unilateral or bilateral, that is provided to a symptomatic woman for the purpose of detecting or evaluating breast disease. Diagnostic mammograms:
 - Are furnished to a woman where there is an existing or a suspected diagnosis by a physician of a problem based on factors such as symptoms, physical findings, personal medical history, or abnormalities observed on a previous mammogram.
 - Must be ordered by a physician.
 - Are not subject to any specific limits on frequency.
 - Are subject to a maximum charge of \$67.16 for a bilateral study.



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MEDICARE MAMMOGRAPHY USE RATES

Key Findings

Older women face a greater risk of developing breast cancer than younger women. Yet older women do not take full advantage of the life-saving potential of mammograms to detect early breast cancer. The Department of Health and Human Services' (DHHS) goal for the Year 2000 is for at least 60 percent of all older women to receive a mammogram and a clinical breast exam every 2 years.

Attached is a chart displaying mammography services paid for by Medicare by State. In the 1992 and 1993 period, no state had reached the Year 2000 goal of 60 percent. By state, biennial rates of mammography ranged from 29 to 47 percent. On average, Caucasians had higher biennial rates (range: 31 to 47 percent) than African Americans (range: 16 to 44 percent).

When applied to the approximately 18 million elderly women on Medicare who receive services in the fee-for-service sector, these percentages imply over 10 million elderly women have not received a mammogram in the past 2 years. When translated by race, these data imply approximately 9 million Caucasian women and nearly 1 million African American women did not receive this important Medicare-covered preventive service.

HCFA Data

The HCFA data displayed in the attached chart:

- o Reflect the most current biennial data on total mammography use by Medicare women aged 65 and older who are enrolled in the Part A and Part B programs.
- o Are based on all mammography claims submitted by health care providers under Medicare Part B.
- o Include Caucasians, African Americans, members of all other racial groups, and persons of unknown race in the category "all".
- o Exclude approximately 6 percent of elderly women enrolled in managed care settings, such as HMOs. Managed care settings do not submit claims for individual services.
- o Exclude women who obtained an unbilled or free mammogram provided by public and private programs administered in hospitals, clinics, mobile vans, or local organizations such as the YWCA.

What HCFA Mammography Data Represent

The mammography rates reported here include the two types of mammograms, those that were done preventively (screening type) and those that were done because the woman had suspicious clinical symptoms of breast cancer (diagnostic type).

Sources of Additional Information

HCFA is planning to have a comprehensive data book in the spring available which will contain county and state data for the single year 1993 and for the combined years 1992-1993. The book also will include information on female Medicare beneficiaries aged 50 to 64 for the year 1993.

MAMMOGRAPHY SERVICES PAID FOR BY MEDICARE:
Percentage of Women Beneficiaries Age 65 or Older with At Least One
Medicare-Paid Mammogram in 1992 or 1993

State Rates of Mammography by Race

STATE	ALL	WHITE	BLACK	BLACK/ WHITE RATIO	STATE	ALL	WHITE	BLACK	BLACK/ WHITE RATIO
ALABAMA	37	39	25	0.64	MONTANA	39	39	34	0.87
ALASKA	40	43	38	0.88	NEBRASKA	33	33	30	0.91
ARIZONA	45	45	37	0.82	NEVADA	36	37	31	0.84
ARKANSAS	32	34	16	0.47	NEW HAMPSHIRE	42	42	38	0.90
CALIFORNIA	42	43	31	0.72	NEW JERSEY	31	31	27	0.87
COLORADO	39	39	32	0.82	NEW MEXICO	35	35	27	0.77
CONNECTICUT	40	40	36	0.90	NEW YORK	35	36	30	0.83
DELAWARE	44	45	35	0.78	NO CAROLINA	37	39	27	0.69
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	38	39	38	0.97	NO DAKOTA	41	41	44	1.07
FLORIDA	45	46	28	0.61	OHIO	35	35	33	0.94
GEORGIA	36	38	26	0.68	OKLAHOMA	32	32	21	0.66
HAWAII	37	35	30	0.86	OREGON	42	42	35	0.83
IDAHO	38	38	29	0.76	PENNSYLVANIA	37	37	37	1.00
ILLINOIS	33	34	26	0.76	RHODE ISLAND	40	40	40	1.00
INDIANA	33	34	25	0.74	SO CAROLINA	37	40	26	0.65
IOWA	38	37	32	0.86	SO DAKOTA	38	38	43	1.13
KANSAS	39	39	27	0.69	TENNESSEE	31	33	20	0.61
KENTUCKY	33	33	26	0.79	TEXAS	32	33	20	0.61
LOUISIANA	31	33	23	0.70	UTAH	37	37	33	0.89
MAINE	45	45	42	0.93	VERMONT	42	42	41	0.98
MARYLAND	42	43	37	0.86	VIRGINIA	37	38	29	0.76
MASSACHUSETTS	42	42	44	1.05	WASHINGTON	44	44	36	0.82
MICHIGAN	47	47	42	0.89	WEST VIRGINIA	35	35	28	0.80
MINNESOTA	40	40	35	0.88	WISCONSIN	37	37	36	0.97
MISSISSIPPI	29	33	17	0.52	WYOMING	37	36	41	1.14
MISSOURI	33	34	28	0.82	NATIONAL	37	38	28	0.74

The rates are based on non-HMO women beneficiaries age 65 or older continuously enrolled in Part A and Part B from January 1992 to December 1993.

Rates include both screening and diagnostic mammography.



THE MAMMOGRAPHY QUALITY STANDARDS ACT OF 1992

The Mammography Quality Standards Act of 1992 went into effect on October 1, 1994 replacing previous rules which required facilities seeking payment for mammography screening to meet quality standards defined in Medicare regulations. To lawfully perform under either Standards Act, facilities must obtain a certificate from the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) by meeting quality standards for personnel, equipment, quality assurance and reporting established by the FDA. A facility must also pass a review of clinical images in order to be accredited by an FDA-approved body and successfully complete an annual inspection by the FDA or state personnel to retain its FDA certificate. HCFA has agreed to minimize duplication by accepting the FDA certificate as evidence that the facility is qualified for Medicare reimbursement for mammography.



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OVERVIEW OF THE HEALTH CARE FINANCING ADMINISTRATION'S MEDICARE MAMMOGRAPHY CAMPAIGN

The Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA) will launch a consumer and provider awareness campaign this Spring to promote Medicare's mammography benefits. Screening mammograms became a Medicare-covered benefit on January 1, 1991. Medicare now covers four preventive or early detection services: screening mammograms, influenza immunizations, pneumococcal immunizations, and pap smears.

The mammography campaign is the second in HCFA's Consumer Information Strategy -- a series of new Departmental initiatives to provide information to help beneficiaries become better informed partners in making decisions about their health care. During the Fall of 1994, HCFA conducted a major campaign to increase influenza immunization rates. Many agencies within the Department, as well as hundreds of consumer and provider organizations, collaborated on this flu shot campaign. Later campaigns will provide information to help beneficiaries choose among treatment options for prostate cancer and breast cancer.

Despite the high incidence and mortality of breast cancer among elderly women, recent Medicare claims analyses indicate that fewer than 7 million (less than 40 percent) of 18 million female Medicare beneficiaries age 65 or older received a diagnostic or screening mammogram during the past 2 years. This means that nearly 10 million female Medicare beneficiaries age 65 or older are potential candidates for screening mammograms. The Department of Health & Human Services Year 2000 Goal is 60 percent of women age 50 or above during the previous 2 years. HCFA will use Medicare claims data to continuously monitor the use of the mammography benefit.

HCFA will encourage physicians to order, and its female beneficiaries to obtain, regular mammograms, in addition to clinical breast exams. HCFA's campaign will include a variety of materials, including a new beneficiary brochure. This brochure will describe the Medicare mammography benefit and urge women to seek mammograms through their health care provider or other local organizations. The language will be understandable to a non-medical audience, and should be suitable for distribution directly to women, as well as through intermediaries such as physicians' offices, hospitals, cancer societies, public health agencies and clinics, and consumer and breast health advocacy groups. In addition, HCFA will work more vigorously with Medicare contractors to assure that regulations are followed which limit patients' financial liability for mammograms.



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**BASIC MEDICARE
Questions & Answers**

Q. Who is eligible to apply for Medicare?

A. Both United States citizens and lawful foreign residents who have been in this country for 5 years can be eligible. To qualify, a person must be 65 years or older and have 40 quarters of work history. Individuals who have never worked and are married to someone who is at least 62 years old may qualify on the basis of their spouses' work history. Elderly residents who do not qualify on the basis of work history or spouse's work history may purchase Part A Medicare for \$3,132 per year.

Medicare is also available to the disabled and those with end stage renal disease.

Q. How many people are enrolled?

A. In 1994, 32.8 million individuals aged 65 and older were enrolled in Medicare; 30.8 million of these were enrolled in both Part A and Part B. Those in Part A are approximately 96 percent of all legal residents in the age group.

Q. How can people enroll in Medicare?

A. Enrolling is easy. The elderly who are already receiving social security or railroad retirement benefits receive enrollment information in the mail about 3 months before they qualify for Medicare. Others may call or visit their local Social Security Office. The Social Security Administration will continue to enroll beneficiaries in Medicare after it becomes an independent agency.

Q. What is Part A? What does it include? What does it cost?

A. Part A is provided without additional charge to all eligible beneficiaries. It helps cover costs of hospitalization, skilled nursing care, home health care, and hospice care. Beneficiaries must share in the costs of their care; in 1995 beneficiaries must pay the first \$716 of covered hospital costs.

Q. What is Part B? What does it include? What does it cost?

A. Unlike Part A, Part B is voluntary; individuals must choose to enroll and must pay a monthly premium of \$46.10. Those who do not elect Part B at age 65 will pay a higher premium if they choose to enroll later. Part B helps cover the costs of outpatient services including doctors' fees, outpatient surgery, X-rays and other tests, outpatient physical and occupational therapy, and medical supplies. In addition to the monthly premium, beneficiaries must also pay the first \$100 of covered services per year and 20 percent coinsurance on all allowable charges after that.

Q. What is Medi-Gap and how does it help beneficiaries pay for their medical care?

A. Supplemental insurance policies are available to help beneficiaries pay their share of charges for clinical services; approximately 75 percent of all Medicare beneficiaries take advantage of these policies. Ten different standard plans are offered, which vary by the extent and type of supplemental services covered. Annual premiums range from \$219 to \$3,312. Most Medigap policies will cover copayments and deductibles.

Q. What programs help low-income beneficiaries with Medicare expenses?

A. Low-income Medicare beneficiaries are served by two programs: The Specified Low-Income Medicare Beneficiary program [SLMB] or the Qualified Medicare Beneficiaries Program [QMB]. Under SLMB, beneficiaries with income at or up to 20% above poverty level do not have to pay the Medicare premium for Part B. Under QMB, beneficiaries with incomes at or below poverty level do not have to pay the Medicare premium, co-pays or deductibles.