

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	re: political (10 pages)	11/01/2000	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Josh Gottheimer
OA/Box Number: 19001

FOLDER TITLE:

Video NGLTF [National Gay and Lesbian Task Force] 10/26/00 [1]

2016-0201-S

rc2148

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]

Draft 09/02/99 3pm
Josh Gottheimer

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF GAY AND
LESBIAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROFESSIONALS

Location TBD

Date TBD

I'm so glad to have this opportunity to be a part of the 6th Annual Conference of Gay and Lesbian Criminal Justice Professionals – and to congratulate you on your efforts to enhance the understanding and skills of gays and lesbians in public safety.

It's now been thirty years since the birth of the modern gay and lesbian civil rights movement. For the last six and a half years, my Administration has played an instrumental role in that effort. As you know, we have taken to end discrimination against gays, lesbians, and to ensure that they have the same rights guaranteed to their fellow Americans.

Last year, I signed an Executive Order that amends Federal equal employment opportunity policy to prohibit discrimination in the Federal civilian work force based on sexual orientation. We have also banned discrimination based on sexual orientation in the granting of security clearances. As a result of these and other policies, gay and lesbian Americans now serve openly and proudly throughout the Federal Government, including federal law enforcement agencies. We are also working with congressional leaders to pass the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, which would prohibit most private employers from firing workers solely because solely because of their sexual orientation.

While America's diversity is our greatest strength, we still have a long way to go in our effort to end discrimination – and in our move toward tolerance and understanding. In 1997 alone, there were more than 8,000 reported hate crimes in our country. That's almost one every hour. And in the last year, people across our nation were been shaken by a rash of violent acts motivated by race and sexual orientation. These acts strike at the heart of what it means to be an American – and at the values that have defined us as a nation.

Now is the time for us to take strong and decisive action to end all hate crimes. I urge Congress to act quickly and pass the Hate Crimes Prevent Act – which would strengthen the federal government's ability to prosecute perpetrators of hate crimes, including those based on sexual orientation.

But we cannot achieve true tolerance merely through legislation. We must also change hearts and minds. As gay and lesbian criminal justice professionals – cops, prosecutors, judges, probation officers – you have an important role to play in that struggle. Our greatest hope for a just society is to teach our children to respect one another, to see our differences as our greatest strength, and to recognize the fundamental values that define us as One America. Thank you and God bless you.

ROUTING SLIP

Date: 10/25/00

From: Stephanie Street

Assistant to the President and Director of Presidential Scheduling

File Accept Video 11/1

Comments _____

SUBJECT: commission on the celebration
of Women in American History Video

Kris Balderston	—	Jake Siewert	—
Elizabeth Cotham	—	Lisel Loy	—
Samuel Berger	—	Capricia Marshall	—
Sidney Blumenthal	—	Thurgood Marshall Jr.	—
Chuck Brain	—	Minyon Moore	—
Charles Burson	—	Bob Nash	—
Mary Beth Cahill	✓	Beth Nolan	—
Maria Echaveste	—	John Podesta	—
Terry Edmonds	✓	Steve Ricchetti	—
George Frampton	—	Barbara Chow	—
Sarah Gegenheimer	✓	Rob Rosen	—
Laura Graham	✓	Rozensky/Brown	✓
Nancy Hernreich	—	Kim Tilley	—
Mickey Ibarra	—	Gene Sperling	—
Ben Johnson	—	Carrie Street	✓
Joel Johnson	—	Karen Tramontano	—
Neal Lane	—	Loretta Ucelli	✓
Mark Lindsay	—	Melanne Verveer	—
Bruce Lindsey	—	Mara Silver	✓
Lauren Supina	✓	Megan Moloney	✓
Sondra Seba	✓		

VIDEO PROPOSAL

Date: Sept. 29, 2000

___ ACCEPT

___ REGRET

___ PENDING

TO:

✓ Stephanie Streett

FROM:

Mary Beth Cahill
Lauren Supina

REQUEST:

For the President to videotape a message for the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History accepting their final report.

PURPOSE:

- * To accept the Commission's final report; *what is in report?*
- * To thank the national leaders in the academic and foundation communities who have supported the work of the Commission, and encourage them to continue support of the Commission's recommendations and agenda in the future; and
- * To applaud the Commission co-chairs and members for their good work in identifying the best ways to acknowledge and celebrate the roles and accomplishments of women in American history.

BACKGROUND:

The President's video-taped message will be shown at a black tie dinner honoring the President's Commission on the Celebration of American History (The Commission) co-sponsored by George Washington University, under the personal direction of President Steve Trachtenberg (a personal friend of the President's), and the Eleanor Roosevelt Papers. The event will also honor the President for his establishment of the Commission and his Administration's accomplishments on behalf of women and families.

The President will accept the Commission's final report via video-taped message, and thank the Commissioners, co-chairs and supporters of the Commission for their efforts in identifying the best ways to celebrate women's role in American history.

The President established the Commission via Executive Order 13090 on July 2, 1998, with its goal to broaden and deepen our understanding of our nation's history in order to represent the contributions and experiences of all. The first meeting of the Commission was held on July 16, 1998, at the Canandaigua County Courthouse, the site where Susan B. Anthony was tried and convicted for voting. Since then,

the Commission has traveled across America reaching out to individuals on ways to best celebrate the role of women in American history. Ideas and suggestions were received in their open meetings, by letter and through their website: <http://www.gsa.gov/staff/pa/whc.htm>.

The Commission presented their first recommendation report to the President on March 1, 1999. In order to provide additional time to develop support systems and test the viability of those recommendations, the President extended the life of the Commission from March 1, 1999 to December 31, 2000. The Commission has also published "Women's History is Everywhere: 10 Ideas for Celebrating in Communities -- A How-To Community Handbook" and "A Guide to Women's History Sites in Washington, D.C."

SOURCE OF PAYMENT:

The President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History (GSA is official government contact). Beth Newburger, Commission Co-Chair and Associate Administrator of Communications, GSA
Ph. 202-501-0705.

VIDEO NEEDED:

Wednesday, November 1, 2000, or sooner.

DATE AIRING/ SHOWING:

Wednesday, November 15, 2000.

GW Auditorium Marvin Center - 350 people

DURATION:

2 minutes.

SCRIPT ATTACHED:

Yes.

STAFF CONTACT:

Sondra Seba, ph. 6-7310.

ORIGIN OF PROPOSAL:

Ann Lewis and Beth Newburger, Co-Chairs, the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History.

DRAFT VIDEO SCRIPT FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON'S REMARKS

President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History Dinner

To be shown on November 15, 2000, at GWU

I established the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History when Ann Lewis brought to my attention a few facts about the story of America that our children are learning. Ann said that fewer than 2 percent of our textbooks are about women's history. As a result, our children are given a skewed view of our country's history. While they can name dozens of men who played a part, most cannot name enough women to fill the fingers on one hand.

When you think about it, we all know how important women's contributions are to the very fabric of our communities. Women rode side by side -- and sometimes in front of -- their male counterparts to create the greatest democracy the world has ever known. Yet we do little to recognize their deeds.

In city after city, as I've travelled around this great land of ours, I've seen few monuments to the work of our foremothers. Yet I know, as you do, that the result of their work is all there.

Think about Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton -- women who led the fight for a woman's right to vote. They accomplished the largest single expansion of democracy ever on August 26, 1920, when the twentieth ammendment was signed into law.

Think about Eleanor Roosevelt...whose papers are being so brilliantly documented right here at George Washington University. Here was a woman, born to wealth, who understood human rights for all citizens of the world and made that the cornerstone of the United Nations Charter.

Think about Rosa Parks, not a woman of wealth, who also understood that basic dignity is due every person and sat quietly in the front of the bus to make her point.

It was when I realized how little we know of these women and their sisters that I appointed the Commission whose work we honor tonight. I knew that a group led by Ann Lewis and Beth Newburger...with the impeccable credentials of Anna Roosevelt, Barbara Goldsmith, Johnetta Cole, Ellen Ochoa, LaDonna Harris, Gloria Johnson, Elaine Kim and Irene Wurtzel...would bring the women in American history forward. These Commissioners are, in their own rights, women of history. They understand how to shine that elusive historical spotlight of recognition on their sisters.

Tonight, the Commission will conclude its work by presenting me with their final report. I am told that they will recommend several initiatives to ensure that, never

again, will we tell our children only half the story of how this country was formed. I am truly sorry that I will not be with you to receive that report in person. But you can be certain that I will read it carefully and take its recommendations to heart in my remaining days in office.

I want to thank the Commissioners for their impressive body of work including their first published report, their Community handbook suggesting ten ways to bring women's history into local communities, and their Women's History Trail of the Nation's Capital.

I especially thank my good friend, Steve Trachtenberg, for once again sharing the resources of his great university to make this special event possible. Not only do you understand the importance of the Commission's work but without your vision, Steve, the National Archives and the Commission might still be seeking a home for the Eleanor Roosevelt Papers.

Hillary joins me in wishing all of you a wonderful evening. You have our heartfelt thanks for sharing our love of American history and our desire to set the story straight.

October 20, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR JEFF SHESOL and JOSH GOTTHEIMER

FROM: MARC LEWIS

SUBJECT: Executive Actions of William Jefferson Clinton from 1993-2000

Over his two terms as President, many political pundits have both lauded and criticized President Clinton for his "reinvention of government." Some assert that the Clinton Administration has overstepped the bounds of traditional executive procedure. They claim that since President Clinton has been subject to a Republican-controlled Congress, he has been forced to rely upon non-traditional means of legislation to enact new policy. According to the *New York Times*, President Clinton has used "executive orders, memorandums, proclamations, regulations, and other flexing of presidential power" more than any postwar president, including former Presidents Reagan and Bush. Careful analysis, however, reveals that this claim should be qualified to a degree.

In his article, "Blocked by Congress, Clinton Wields a Pen" (*New York Times*, 5 July 2000), Marc Lacey claims that, on average, President Clinton issues one "executive order or other policy-making declaration" per week, for a total of 450 over the course of his Administration. According to NARA, however, President Clinton has only issued 335 executive orders as of October 20, 2000. This amount is consistent with the number of executive orders issued by postwar presidents:

H. Truman: 896	D. Eisenhower: 486	J. Kennedy: 214	L. Johnson: 324	R. Nixon: 346
G. Ford: 169	J. Carter: 320	R. Reagan: 381	G. Bush: 166	W. Clinton: 335

Clearly, President Clinton has not issued an exceedingly high number of executive orders during his two terms. He has, however, utilized alternate forms of executive policy, which could possibly account for the *New York Times* statistic of 450:

Presidential Determinations and Memos: This year, President Clinton has issued 33 determinations, and averages about 46 per year. This would be a total of approximately 360 mandates of this type, totaling over 700 actions. Since most presidential determinations and memos have little legislative effect, this is not likely the source of the additional 115 presidential actions referred to by Lacey.

Proclamations: President Clinton issues approximately 100 proclamations per year, most of which create the celebration of a particular day, week or month, or recognize the death of various individuals. Most proclamations have little to no legislative efficacy. A **non-hortatory proclamation**, however, has substantive legislative effect. This is a specialized type of proclamation, which might modify a trade agreement between the U.S. and another nation, establish a national park, or suspend immigration from terrorist countries. As of October 20, 2000, President Clinton has issued 89 such proclamations. This, in addition to President Clinton's 335 Executive Orders, most closely accounts for Lacey's statistic of 450 "executive orders or other policy-making declarations."

It is difficult to ascertain the number of presidential determinations, memos, and proclamations issued by former presidents. If Lacey's research is correct, however, it is clear that President Clinton has reinvented government in an important way: he has been able to take tremendous legislative steps both without the aid of Congress and through means other than the traditional Executive Order.

Draft 10/31/00 3:30pm
Gottheimer

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS ON THE CELEBRATION OF WOMEN IN AMERICAN
HISTORY
[LOCATION TBD]
[DATE TBD]

I am delighted to join you this evening to celebrate the work of the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History. I want to thank Steve Trachtenberg and George Washington University for hosting this event.

to celebrate the roles and accomplishments of women in American history.

Too often, we forget just how hard our grandmothers and mothers had to fight to win these rights. I know I'm preaching to the choir, but I don't think America can ever afford to forget their struggle. That's why I created the Commission on the Celebration of Women in History last year.

For more than two years now, you've met with citizens across our country to find new ways for recognizing the achievements and sacrifices of the women who shaped our history. ... listened to citizens all across the country to find ways we could popularize the achievements of the women who shaped our nation.

I thank you for all your work, and I look forward to reading your report and acting on its recommendations.

We must honor how far we've come and imagine both the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead.

Women began the 20th Century with little power and few rights. They had few public role models, few images of women participating in their world creating change for other women. They couldn't go to the ballot box, they couldn't sit on juries, they couldn't own property, they couldn't obtain credit. Our schoolbooks and our classrooms all but ignored the contributions of one-half of our population.

We honor the courage, sacrifice, and commitment of those who fought for the vote and equal pay.

To build a better America, we owe it to our children to tell a full and rich story of our nation's history – one that celebrates the lives and contributions of all our citizens.

Alice Paul, the intrepid feminist, once said of the women's movement, "I always feel the movement is sort of a mosaic. Each of us puts in one little stone, and then you get a great mosaic at the end."

In 1900, near the end of the lifetime of fighting for women's rights, Susan B. Anthony described her bold vision for the future: "The woman of the 20th Century will be the peer of man. In education, in arts and science, in the home ... church ... everywhere she will be acknowledged his equal. The 20th Century will see man and woman working together make the world better for their having lived."

In many ways, Susan B. Anthony's dreams have been realized. Today, so many women work in professions of their own choosing – as elected officials, judges and corporate executives, professional athletes. today women ...

From women's struggle to gain the right to vote ... to gaining access to the halls of academia ... to pursuing the jobs and business opportunities ... to competing on the field of sports ... we have seen many breathtaking changes.

Every girl and boy in America deserves to learn about the courage of Harriet Tubman, the brilliant writings of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the wisdom of Eleanor Roosevelt. We inspire the next generation of activists and organizers by sharing with them the social activism of Jane Addams, the prodigious political skills of Susan B. Anthony, and the commitment of the thousands of nameless women who were the foot soldiers for women's suffrage.

We are still in an era of firsts: Ellen Ochoa, the first Hispanic woman to travel in space. And you may have heard that my wife Hillary has just made history on her own.

American women now serve at the highest levels of government, Justices of the Supreme Court and in increasing numbers in the Cabinet and the United States Congress. Women are cracking the glass ceilings of corporate management to lead some of our country's most prominent businesses. As parents and partners, entrepreneurs and artists, politicians and scientists, women are helping to build an America in which all citizens are free to live out their dreams.

Our nation's cherished values of justice and liberty are symbolized by women: one bearing scales, the other a torch ... one promising fairness, the other freedom. But these symbols would be shallow indeed had it not been for the work of women throughout history who poured their souls into make the promises of fairness and freedom real. Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Carrie Chapman Catt were among them; so was Mother Jones, who fought to end child labor; Sojourner Truth, who fought for social justice. Rosa Parks, who set in motion the civil rights movement; and ordinary women who worked every day and struggled to move our nation in the right direction.

Report will summarize many of the advancement we've experienced – concrete steps that women have taken and will continue to take.

Draft 10/31/00 3:30pm
Gottheimer

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VIDEOTAPED REMARKS ON THE CELEBRATION OF WOMEN IN AMERICAN
HISTORY
[LOCATION TBD]
[DATE TBD]

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**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR MILLENNIUM EVENING
THE WHITE HOUSE
MARCH 15, 1999**

- Thank you. While listening to your presentations, I was reminded that so much of the achievements in women's rights we take for granted today were alien to women just 100 or 50 or 25 years ago. Too often, we forget just how hard our grandmothers and mothers had to fight to win these rights.
- I know I'm preaching to the choir tonight, but I don't think America can ever afford to forget their struggle. That's why I created the Commission on the Celebration of Women in History last year. The Commission, led by Ann Lewis, my longtime aide and brand-new Counselor, and Beth Newburger from the General Services Administration, met with citizens across our country to find new ways for recognizing the achievements and sacrifices of the women who shaped our history. They have just presented me with their report and I look forward to reading their recommendations.
- I want to open tonight's discussion with a question for Professor Kessler-Harris. So many of the great social movements in our nation were sparked by our uniquely American spirit of voluntarism -- by small groups of private citizens coming together to address problems in their communities. You've talked about how volunteering gave millions of women the opportunity to make a difference in their communities -- even as they were barred from the workplace and government. Professor, how did voluntary efforts led by women evolve into social movements and legislative change?

PRESIDENT CLINTON AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE:

Working for American Women

EXPANDING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Moving From Record Deficits to Record Surplus. In 1992, the deficit was \$290 billion, a record dollar high. In 2000, we have a projected budget surplus of at least \$230 billion -- the third consecutive surplus and the largest surplus ever, even after adjusting for inflation. This is the first time we have had three surpluses in a row in more than 50 years.

More than 22 Million New Jobs. 22.1 million new jobs have been created since 1993, the most jobs ever created under a single Administration -- and more new jobs than Presidents Reagan and Bush created during their three terms. 92 percent (20 million) of the new jobs have been created in the private sector, the highest percentage in 50 years. [National Economic Council, 7/29/00]

Tax Cuts for Working Families. 15 million additional working families received additional tax relief because of the President's expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit. In 1998, the EITC lifted 4.3 million people out of poverty -- double the number lifted out of poverty by the EITC in 1993. This year, the President proposed expanding the EITC to provide tax relief to an additional 6.8 million hard-pressed working families.

Highest Median Family Income in History. Since the President launched his economic plan in 1993, median family income is the highest it has ever been. The typical family's income is up over \$6,300 since 1993. Income for median households rose \$1,072, or 2.7 percent, from \$39,744 in 1998 to \$40,816 in 1999, marking an unprecedented fifth year of significant growth in income and the first time in history household income rose above \$40,000.

Highest Homeownership Rate in History. The homeownership rate reached 67.2 percent in the second quarter of 2000 -- the highest ever recorded. In contrast, the homeownership rate *fell* from 65.6 percent in the first quarter of 1981 to 63.7 percent in the first quarter of 1993. There are almost 9 million more homeowners than in 1993. Women's homeownership has increased 14 percent, with 1.9 million new women homeowners since the first quarter of 1994.

Helping Parents Balance Work and Family. The Family & Medical Leave Act (FMLA) -- the first piece of legislation the President signed into law -- enables workers to take up to 12 weeks unpaid leave to care for a new baby or ailing family member without jeopardizing their job. Since its enactment, millions of Americans have benefited from FMLA, and the President has expanded leave options for Federal employees. President Clinton has called for extending this benefit to 12 million more working families and expanding the law to allow workers to take leave for family obligations such as doctors appointments and parent-teacher conferences. Additionally, in his FY 2001 budget, the President is proposing new grants to enable states and regions to develop innovative paid leave options for working parents.

Fighting for Equal Pay. The Clinton-Gore Administration has worked to ensure equal pay for women and close the wage gap. The average woman who works full-time now earns about 75 cents for each dollar that an average man earns. The President and Vice President have called on Congress to pass the Paycheck Fairness Act, which would strengthen laws prohibiting wage discrimination. This year, the President has proposed \$47 million for his Equal Pay Initiative, which will provide training to employers on wage discrimination; train women in nontraditional jobs; provide for apprenticeships; and support

industry partnerships. Within this initiative, the National Science Foundation will invest \$20 million to remove barriers to career advancement for women scientists and engineers.

Increased the Minimum Wage. The President raised the minimum wage to \$5.15 per hour, increasing wages for six million women. This year, President Clinton and Vice President Gore have called on Congress to pass an additional \$1.00 per hour increase in the minimum wage.

Doubled Child Support Collections. President Clinton signed into law the toughest child support crackdown in history. Federal and state child support programs broke new records in 1999, collecting nearly \$16 billion -- double the amount collected in 1992. The number of paternities established was at a record 1.5 million in 1999 -- more than triple the number from 516,000 in 1992. The number of child support cases with collections more than doubled during the Clinton Administration, from 2.8 million in 1992 to 6.1 million in 1999. [HHS Child Support Enforcement FY1999 Preliminary Data Report, 10/00]

EXPANDING BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN

Tripled the Number of Small Business Loans to Women Entrepreneurs. Between FY 1993 and FY 2000 the SBA approved nearly 84,456 loans, amounting to nearly \$12.8 billion, to women entrepreneurs under the 7(a), 504 and MicroLoan programs. In FY 1999 alone, the Small Business Administration granted 10,961 loans, worth \$1.9 billion, to women small business owners, triple the number of loans granted in 1992; in FY 2000 the SBA approved 10,842 loans worth just under \$2 billion dollars.

More Women Starting Businesses. Women are starting businesses at twice the rate of all businesses and staying in business longer. There are an estimated 9.1 million women-owned firms today, employing 27.5 million people and contributing \$3.6 trillion in sales and revenue to the U.S. economy. The Small Business Administration's Office of Women's Business Ownership is working to foster this growth.

Expanded Small Business Opportunities for Women. The Clinton-Gore Administration won \$9 million in FY 2000 for women's business centers, which provide resources to help increase entrepreneurship among women. In his FY 2001 budget, President Clinton has proposed to expand the Women's Business Center Program budget to \$12 million, an increase of 33 percent. Today this network includes about 90 women's business centers, including the Online Women's Business Center. In May 2000, President Clinton issued an executive order requiring departments and agencies to develop long-term comprehensive strategies to expand opportunities for women-owned small businesses, including mentor-protégé programs to include women-owned firms and industry-wide -- and industry-specific -- outreach, training, and technical assistance programs for women-owned small businesses. [Executive Order 13157, 5/23/00]

Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise. The Committee is composed of policymaking officials from various federal departments and agencies. The Committee develops public-sector initiatives designed to foster women's business enterprise, consults with the National Women's Business Council, and reviews public-sector programs relating to women-owned businesses.

STRENGTHENING RETIREMENT SECURITY

Saving Social Security. President Clinton and Vice President Gore have coupled fiscal discipline with a commitment to preserve and protect Social Security. Under the Clinton-Gore Administration, the life of the Social Security trust fund has been extended to 2037. President Clinton has proposed extending the program's solvency to at least 2054 by paying down the national debt and dedicating the interest

savings to Social Security. In April 2000, President Clinton signed legislation to eliminate the confusing and out-dated Retirement Earnings Test in order to encourage work and earnings for older Americans. These steps would be a down payment on truly saving Social Security.

Social Security Reform is Critical to Women. Women live an average of six years longer than men, and because they live longer they become increasingly dependent on Social Security benefits as they age. Women represent 60 percent of all Social Security recipients at age 65, and by age 85, 71 percent of recipients are women. Social Security provides 90 percent of income for 41 percent of all older women; 25 percent have no other source of income. The poverty rate among elderly women is twice the poverty rate among seniors as a whole. President Clinton and Vice President Gore are committed to reforming Social Security in a manner that will ensure fairness and reduce the poverty rate of single elderly women.

Increasing Pension Security. President Clinton proposed and signed the Retirement Protection Act of 1994, protecting the benefits of more than 40 million American workers and retirees. The President also signed the Small Business Job Protection Act of 1996, which provided a tax credit to small business that adopt pension plans; created a simplified and better defined contribution plan for small businesses; and promoted portability.

INVESTING IN EDUCATION

More High-Quality Teachers with Smaller Class Sizes. The Clinton-Gore Administration won a second installment of \$1.3 billion for the President's plan to hire an additional 100,000 well-prepared teachers to reduce class size in the early grades, when children learn to read and master the basic skills. Already, 29,000 teachers have been hired through this initiative. This year's budget provides \$1.75 billion, a \$450 million increase -- enough to fund nearly 49,000 teachers.

Turning Around Failing Schools. 11 million low-income students now benefit from higher expectations and a challenging curriculum geared to higher standards through Title I-Aid to Disadvantaged Students. The FY 2000 budget provides a \$134 million accountability fund to help turn around the worst performing schools and hold them accountable for results through such measures as overhauling curriculum, improving staffing, or even closing schools and reopening them as charter schools. This year, the President is proposing to double funding for this fund to turn around the nation's failing schools to ensure all children receive a quality education.

Protecting Title IX. The Clinton-Gore Administration firmly supports and enforces Title IX, which has enabled young women to participate fully in high school and college athletics. When Title IX was passed more than 25 years ago, only 300,000 girls participated in high school sports. In 1999, well over two million participated. In June 2000, on the anniversary of Title IX, President Clinton issued an Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in federal education and training programs -- ensuring that the federal government holds itself to the same principles of nondiscrimination that it applies to the education programs and activities of state and local governments, and to private institutions receiving federal financial assistance. [Executive Order 13160, 6/23/00]

Providing Safe After-School Opportunities for 850,000 Students Each Year. The 21st Century Community Learning Centers program provides enriching after-school and summer school opportunities for 850,000 school-age children in rural and urban communities in FY 2000. Extended learning time has not only been shown to increase achievement in reading and math, but to decrease youth violence and drug use. Funding for this program more than doubled from FY 1999 to FY 2000. For FY 2001, the President's budget calls on Congress to invest \$1 billion in the 21st Century Program and to ensure that

all children in failing schools have access to quality after-school and summer school opportunities. This proposal will double funding and nearly triple the number of students served to 2.5 million.

Enacted Hope Scholarships and Lifetime Learning Tax Credits. President Clinton proposed and passed the HOPE Scholarships and Lifetime Learning tax credits, which in 1999 were claimed by an estimated 10 million American families paying for college. The Hope Scholarship helps make the first two years of college universally available by providing a tax credit of up to \$1,500 for tuition and fees for the first two years of college. The Lifetime Learning tax credit provides a 20 percent tax credit on the first \$5,000 of tuition and fees for students beyond the first two years of college, or taking classes part-time (in 2003, this increases to \$10,000 of tuition and fees). In his FY 2001 budget, the President has proposed expanding the Lifetime Learning tax credit with a College Opportunity tax cut, which will give families the option of taking a tax deduction or claiming a 28 percent credit for the first \$5,000 of college tuition and fees through 2002, and \$10,000 thereafter.

Expanding Work Study and Pell Grants. One million students will be able to work their way through college because of the President's expansion of the Work Study Program, and nearly four million students will receive a Pell Grant of up to \$3,300, the largest maximum award ever. The maximum award has increased 43 percent under the Clinton-Gore Administration. This year President Clinton proposed a \$77 million increase in Work Study to continue to support one million awards, and a \$200 increase in the Pell Grant maximum award, to raise it to \$3,500.

IMPROVING OUR NATION'S HEALTH

Protected and Strengthened Medicare, Benefiting 22 Million American Women. In the 1997 Balanced Budget, the Clinton-Gore Administration protected, modernized and extended the life of the Medicare Trust Fund while offering new options for patient choice and preventive care. New preventive benefits passed include coverage of annual mammograms, cervical cancer screening, and tests to help detect osteoporosis. The President proposed a plan to reform and modernize Medicare's benefits, including an optional prescription drug benefit that is affordable and available to all beneficiaries. The President has also proposed a reserve fund to help Medicare beneficiaries with extremely high prescription drug costs. In March 1999, the Medicare Trustees reported that the life of the Medicare Trust Fund has been extended until 2025. In 1993, Medicare was expected to run out of money in 1999.

Increased Funding for Breast Cancer Research. Since President Clinton and Vice President took office, funding for breast cancer research, prevention and treatment has more than doubled. This year, the Administration's budget will provide \$27 million in funding -- a 56 percent increase -- to learn more about environmental causes of diseases like breast cancer. In addition, the President has implemented the Mammography Quality Standards Act to ensure the quality of mammograms. Women can now find a certified mammography facility by calling 1-800-4-CANCER.

Providing Protection with the Patients' Bill of Rights. The President and Vice President have called on Congress to pass Federally enforceable consumer health care protections that include: guaranteed access to needed health care specialists including direct access to an OB-GYN; access to emergency room services when and where the need arises; access to a timely internal and independent external appeals process for consumers to resolve their differences with their health plans; and assurances that doctors and patients can openly discuss treatment options. Women are particularly vulnerable without these health care protections because they are greater users of health care services, they make three-quarters of the health care decisions for their families, and they have specific health care needs that are directly addressed by a patients' bill of rights. Leading by example, the President directed all federal agencies to ensure that their employees and beneficiaries have the benefits and rights guaranteed under

the proposed Patients' Bill of Rights. 85 million Americans covered by federal health plans have the security of knowing they will have fair access to health care thanks to the President's work.

Ending Genetic Discrimination. President Clinton signed an executive order banning the use of genetic information in federal hiring and promotion actions and strengthening privacy protections of federal employees' genetic information. The Clinton-Gore Administration has 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.

Passed Meaningful Health Insurance Reform. The President signed into law the Kennedy-Kassebaum Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act, which helps individuals keep health insurance when they change jobs, guarantees renewability of coverage, and ensures access to health insurance for small businesses. As many as 25 million people will benefit from this law. The bill also eliminated the discriminatory tax treatment of the approximately 10 million Americans who are self-employed; strengthened efforts to combat health care fraud, waste and abuse by creating a stable source of funding; and provided consumer protections and tax incentives for private long-term care insurance.

Ended Drive-Through Deliveries. President Clinton 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).

Endorsed Legislation That Would Ban Drive-Through Mastectomies. President Clinton endorsed the Breast Cancer Patient Protection Act, which would allow women to stay in the hospital at least 48 hours following a mastectomy.

PROMOTING REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES FOR WOMEN

Expanding Family Planning Services. President Clinton and Vice President Gore have taken strong steps to promote safe reproductive health services for women. They won a nearly \$25 million increase for Title X family planning, the largest increase since 1993, bringing the program to almost \$240 million in FY 2000. This year, the President's budget includes a \$274 million investment -- a 15 percent increase -- to prevent unintended pregnancy and ensure access to safe, high quality family planning services. This investment will help fund clinics and community-based health services that reach more than 5 million women and families. In 1998 and 1999, the Clinton-Gore Administration successfully defeated parental consent restrictions on contraceptive services for minors.

Provided Contraceptive Coverage to More than a Million Women. The FY 1999 and FY 2000 budgets require the 300 Federal Employees Health Benefits Plans (FEHBP) to cover contraceptive drugs and devices, providing coverage to approximately 1.2 million women of childbearing age.

Protected FDA's Role in Testing RU-486. In 1993, President Clinton reversed the ban on the importation of Mifepristone or RU-486. In 1998 and 1999, the President and Vice President successfully fought for removal of a provision that would prohibit the FDA from testing, developing or approving RU-486, thereby usurping the Agency's role in making scientific determinations about the effect of drugs on the safety and health of the American people.

Signed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act. President Clinton signed into law the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, establishing a safety-zone around women's health clinics.

Throughout the Administration, the President and Vice President have worked hard to protect a woman's right to choose.

Reversed the "Gag Rule." President Clinton reversed the "Gag Rule," which limited the information federally funded family planning clinics could give to women.

MAKING OUR COMMUNITIES SAFER

Lowest Crime Rates in a Generation. The overall crime rate is the lowest in 25 years, and in 1999 crime fell for the eighth consecutive year nationwide. Violent crime rate fell 7 percent in 1999 and 27 percent since 1993. Since 1993, the murder rate is down more than 25 percent to its lowest point since 1967, and gun violence has declined by more than 35 percent. [Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998 National Crime Victimization Survey; Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States 1998, 1999; FY 2001 Budget, p. 107]

New Tools in the Fight Against Domestic Violence. President Clinton championed and signed into law the Violence Against Women Act, bolstering local law enforcement, prosecution, and victims' services to better address these crimes. The Clinton-Gore Administration more than quadrupled funding to domestic violence shelters and signed the Interstate Stalking Punishment and Prevention Act, making it a Federal crime to cross state lines intending to injure or harass another person. And the Administration established a nationwide 24-hour Domestic Violence Hotline, which provides immediate crisis intervention, counseling and referrals for those in need.

Putting 100,000 More Police on the Streets. In 1999, ahead of schedule and under budget, the Clinton-Gore Administration met its commitment to fund an additional 100,000 police officers for our communities. As a part of the COPS Program, the President announced a distressed neighborhood grant program to increase community policing in high-crime and underserved neighborhoods. To help keep crime at record lows, in fall 1999, the President won funding for the first installment toward his goal to hire up to 50,000 more officers by 2005. This year, the Clinton-Gore budget includes over \$1 billion to continue the successful COPS initiative to hire more officers, hire new community prosecutors, give police the tools and technology they need to fight crime, and to fund community-wide crime fighting efforts. [Justice Department, COPS Program, 5/12/99; National Economic Council, 11/18/99; FY 2001 Budget, p. 109]

More Than Half a Million Felons, Fugitives and Domestic Abusers Denied Guns. Since taking effect in 1994, the Brady Law has helped to prevent a total of more than 536,000 felons, fugitives, domestic abusers, and other prohibited purchasers from buying guns. In November 1998, the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) took effect under the Brady Law, allowing access to a fuller set of records that law enforcement officials can use to conduct checks of all prospective gun purchases -- not just for handguns. As of March 2000, NICS has conducted over 10 million background checks on gun purchasers, and stopped an estimated 179,000 illegal gun sales. [Bureau of Justice Statistics, Background Checks for Firearm Transfers, 1999, 6/00]

FIGHTING FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Appointed More Women Than Any Other President. Women make up 44 percent of Clinton Administration appointees, and 29 percent of the positions requiring Senate confirmation are held by women. Additionally, 30 percent of the President's judicial nominees are women, including Ruth Bader Ginsburg, the second woman in history to serve on the Supreme Court.

Appointed the First Women Ever to Serve as Attorney General, Janet Reno; and Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright. Other women who serve in the Clinton Cabinet include Alexis Herman,

Secretary of Labor; Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services; Carol Browner, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; Aida Alvarez, Administrator of the Small Business Association; Charlene Barshefsky, United States Trade Representative and Janice Lachance, Director of the Office of Personnel Management.

Established White House Office for Women's Initiatives. The Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach was established in June 1995 to help better serve and listen to the President's constituents. The Office was designed to contribute to the development of Administration policy as it relates to women and families and to advocate for these important issues. The Women's Office serves as a liaison between the White House and organizations that work to advance the interests of women and families and serves as a valuable source for information on the Clinton Administration initiatives, programs and resources throughout the federal government.

Ordered an Assessment of Affirmative Action Programs. The President ordered a comprehensive review of the government's affirmative action programs, which concluded that affirmative action is still an effective and important tool to expand educational and economic opportunity to all Americans. This review of federal affirmative action programs has helped to ensure that these programs are fair and effective and that they can survive legal challenges. As a result, programs that benefit African Americans, including students, working men and women, and business owners, remain in effect and are more likely to be upheld by the courts.

President's Interagency Council on Women. In August 1995, on the eve of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, President Clinton established the President's Interagency Council on Women in order to follow up on the work of the U.N. conference. The Council is charged with coordinating the implementation of the Platform for Action adopted at Beijing, including the U.S. commitments announced there. It also develops related initiatives to further women's progress and engages in outreach and public education to support the successful implementation of the Conference agreements.

Celebrating Women in American History. President Clinton established the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History, which recommended the best ways to celebrate women's role in our history -- including a traveling exhibit to celebrate women in history; a how-to handbook for communities to celebrate women's history; and a national women's history umbrella website. In October 1998, the President signed legislation creating the Women's Progress Commemoration Commission, which will work with the President's Commission to help commemorate, celebrate, and preserve women's history in America. [Executive Order 13090, 7/2/98; White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 10/31/98]

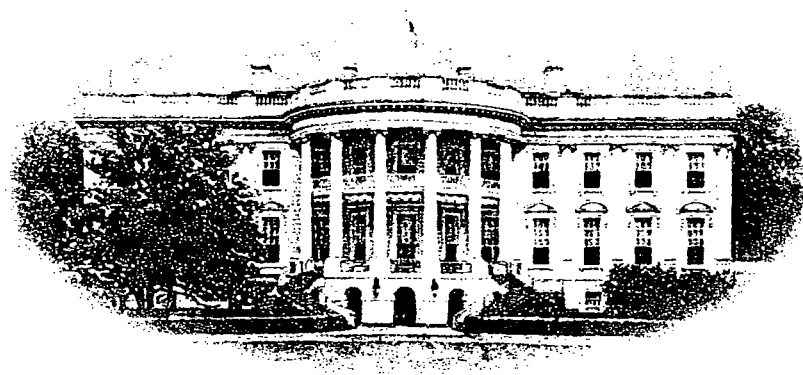
October 2000

“Because we must tell and retell, learn and relearn, these women’s stories, and we must make it our personal mission, in our everyday lives, to pass these stories on to our daughters and sons. Because we cannot—we must not—ever forget that the rights and opportunities we enjoy as women today were not just bestowed upon us by some benevolent ruler. They were fought for, agonized over, marched for, jailed for and even died for by brave and persistent women and men who came before us....

That is one of the great joys and beauties of the American experiment. We are always striving to build and move toward a more perfect union, that we on every occasion keep faith with our founding ideas and translate them into reality.”

Hillary Rodham Clinton

*On the occasion of the
150th Anniversary of the First Women’s Rights Convention
Seneca Falls, NY
July 16, 1998*



“The Commission shall make recommendations to the President, through the Co-Chairs of the Commission, on ways to best acknowledge and celebrate the roles and accomplishments of women in American history. Recommendations may include, among other things, the feasibility of a focal point for women’s history located in Washington, D.C., and the use of the latest technology to connect existing and planned women’s history sites, museums, and libraries. The Commission shall meet to carry out its work concerning the celebration of women in American history.”



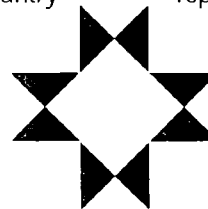
Executive Order 13090 established a Presidential Commission to recommend how America should recognize the contributions of women to our nation’s history. In itself, the Executive Order was a historical document. John F. Kennedy raised the issues affecting women in contemporary society when he authorized the President’s Commission on the Status

*—Executive Order 13090: Establishing the President’s Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History
July 2, 1998*

of Women in 1961. William Jefferson Clinton became the first President to recognize the importance of women’s historical contributions to the creation and development of our country

when he established the *President’s Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History*. The recommendations offered in this report are based on the suggestions

received in the open meetings of the Commission, by letter and through our website. We hope this report will also convey the enthusiasm with which the Commission was greeted as we traveled around the country, and the appreciation expressed everywhere for the leadership of President William Jefferson Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in making this work possible.



MEETINGS OVERVIEW

To develop the recommendations included in this report and required by Executive Order 13090, the *President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History* traveled to every region of the country. In each, the Commission held open meetings and solicited ideas from historians, archivists, activists, academics, business leaders, students and many others. We also heard testimony from other people who came to present their ideas.

The response to our efforts was positive and constructive. Not only were there tremendous excitement and enthusiasm for the work of the Commission, but many invited speakers and members of the public also noted that the Commission itself was making history.

Each of our meetings was held in a historic venue to inspire the dialogue. All meetings were publicized and well attended by the public. The invited speakers represented the full range of diverse cultural backgrounds and issues of importance to women.

"We have spanned the arc of history. Our first meeting was in a courtroom where Susan B. Anthony was convicted of voting. Now we meet in the same building where Madeleine Albright is Secretary of State."

*Ann Lewis
Commission Co-Chair*

Canandaigua, New York

Our first meeting was held at the Ontario County Courthouse in Canandaigua, New York. Commission Co-Chairs Ann Lewis and Beth Newburger called the meeting to order in the very courtroom where Susan B. Anthony was convicted of voting in the 1872 presidential election. The meeting was held in conjunction with First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's visit to Seneca Falls to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the first Women's Rights Convention of 1848.

The public participation in the first meeting was impressive because of the enormous attention focused on neighboring Seneca Falls that day. Each of the Commissioners presented his or her vision for the work we would do as we developed our recommendations. The public discussion revealed an intense interest in

addressing the need to include women's history in our lives and revolved around the lack of women's history in school curricula. A high school student made an eloquent plea for including in her history book the *Declaration of Rights and Sentiments*, the document endorsed in 1848 to specifically declare the equality of all citizens including women.

Albuquerque, New Mexico

The Albuquerque meeting was held in the Albuquerque Museum, where an exhibit of Hispanic women at work was on display. Hosted by Commissioner LaDonna Harris, the Commissioners heard from distinguished American Indian scholars and prominent Latinas. They also heard testimony from Molly Murphy MacGregor, co-founder and president of the National Women's History Project. A recurring theme at this

meeting was the need for inclusiveness and diversity. Again and again, speakers urged the Commission to speak for and to some of the oft-forgotten.

Chicago, Illinois

The Chicago meeting was held in the Claudia Cassidy Auditorium at the Chicago Cultural Center. Hosted by Commissioner Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, the meeting was expanded to two days to accommodate the number of speakers who asked to be heard. The themes that emerged from members of the public, as well as from invited speakers, were the needs to focus on the work of local communities and ways to empower and recognize local programs.

Washington, DC

At the meeting in the East Auditorium, Department of State, speakers introduced a macro approach to women's history recommendations. The Commission heard from respected women's leaders including Betty Friedan, Eleanor Smeal, the Honorable Pat Schroeder and the Honorable

Louise Slaughter. The women gave the meeting a modern historical context, linking the work of our foremothers to the more recent professional and political struggles. National groups, such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Woman's Party Sewall-Belmont House and the National Council of Women's Organizations provided guidance on how to connect national projects with community action. We also heard from archivists who discussed the need to change the way historical documents are catalogued to increase the visibility of women.

Berkeley, California

"History is who is the historian and who collects history. History is also today and what is tomorrow."

Sara Kaplan

When professors and graduate students gathered at the University of California at Berkeley, a frequently expressed theme was that more "recently arrived immigrant women (Latino, Asian and others) must be included in the process of celebrating women in American history." Several speakers stressed the need to recognize that history is today and what happens tomorrow. They strongly recommended that there be support for local community

"As a working grandmother, as a trade unionist, as a woman of color I want two things to come from this Commission. First, I want the voices of all women to be heard at this celebration. Well known women and unknown women, women from the inner cities, farm women, migrant women, educated and uneducated, women in the fields and the mines as well as the schoolrooms, hospitals and offices. Second, I hope the information that is being documented and collected all across the country will be shared with today's working women and their children. Women factory workers should learn not only about their own history but about women scientists, musicians and poets. Our children should know the stories of their mothers and grandmothers and great grandmothers because then they will know what they themselves are capable of doing."

Gloria Johnson
Commissioner

programs that empower these new American women. There was strong support for the notion of a traveling museum, the use of murals and a video project that would be attractive to young people and non-English speakers.

Atlanta, Georgia

The meeting in Atlanta at the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site was held during the celebration of Dr. King's birthday and hosted by Commissioner Dr. Johnnetta Cole.

Inspired by a message from Coretta Scott King, many of the speakers invoked the words and spirit of Dr. King, Jr., as a guiding force in all efforts toward equality and greater understanding of fellow women and men.

Speakers focused on issues important to women and urged the Commissioners to include lesbians, women with disabilities, non-traditional religious groups and women of diverse cultures in any recommendations. Students from local

colleges talked about the need to reach young people. Georgia was recognized for its leadership in establishing the first state historical initiative to memorialize the lives of women, i.e, the Georgia Commission on the Preservation of Women's Historical Landmarks.

FINDINGS

The Commission found that there is growing interest in the field of women's history, with parallel growth in research and scholarship. The result is a body of information in new books, articles and journals, a coordinating council for women in history to encourage networking at local and national levels, and conferences for historians and historic sites. There is more attention to the importance of preserving the papers of women pioneers and an increasing emphasis on oral history projects to preserve the stories of women in every walk of life.

There is also a growing trend to preserve women's historical sites. Community organizations and volunteers have stepped forward to develop innovative ideas, such as the women's park built this past year in Yellow Springs, OH. Women's history museums, either

planned or open, including the International Museum of Women (San Francisco, CA), the Women's Museum: Institute for the Future (Dallas, TX), the Women's History Museum on Wheels (Wheeling, WV), Women of the West (Boulder, CO), the Women In Military Service For America Memorial Foundation (Washington, DC), the National Cowgirl Museum and Hall of Fame (Fort Worth, TX), the National Women's Hall of Fame (Seneca Falls, NY), the Women's Rights National Historical Park (Seneca Falls, NY) and the National Museum of Women's History (Washington, DC).

We can be proud of the leadership in this area by federal agencies, including the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior, National Archives and Records Administration, Department of Education, General Services Administration, NASA, Library of Congress, White House Office of Women's Initiatives and Outreach, and the White House Millennium Council.

As appreciation of the value of recognizing women's history increases, we find an even greater demand for:

- more public recognition of the contributions women have made to building this country

"As a historian I have observed how, whenever women leave the barricades, things slip back and we become invisible again. As Frederick Douglass said, 'There is only one way: Agitate, Agitate, Agitate.' Every tool at our disposal, whether it is the use of the performing arts, or a visual medium, or technology, should be utilized so that women's history will become as much a part of our lives as brushing our teeth, so that people will know the Women's Declaration of Rights and Sentiments that states, 'All men and women are created equal,' as well as they know that other Declaration of Independence."

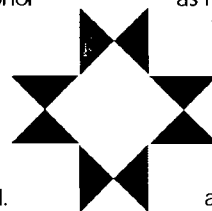
*Dr. Barbara Goldsmith
Commissioner*

- more emphasis on bringing history to life by connecting exciting academic discoveries with community celebrations, with school classrooms and with the popular culture venues
- more attention to ways we honor our past, through acknowledging the roles that women have played and imagining a future in which women's lives and achievements are fully valued.

While professional historians, archivists and academics lead efforts to recognize and document women's lives, much of the work in site preservation and community celebrations has been undertaken by dedicated

volunteers and community activists. The National Women's History Project is an excellent example of a young organization (just 20 years old) that has succeeded in raising the national awareness of the importance of women's history by designating March as National Women's History Month.

The National Women's History Project was cited again and again as a national resource deserving greater support. A constant theme was the request for more attention and support for work specifically dedicated to women's history and — because women do not live separately from men and families — for more attention to women's lives as a part of existing historical celebrations and sites.



RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations that follow represent a distillation of the hundreds of ideas presented to the Commission and suggest ways to celebrate women in American history that will have the greatest impact into the next millennium. This millennial agenda begins at the national level, reaches across the country with 10 recommendations for states, communities and local organizations, recommends a focal point in the nation's capital and provides a challenge to the popular culture.

THE NATIONAL AGENDA

We Recommend

Design and Display a Traveling Exhibit

"Whatever is done to celebrate women in American history, more people will experience it if the celebration comes to where they live, rather than having people come to the celebration... Use traveling interactive exhibits to celebrate women's history... Emphasize ways to reach young

women... Focus on ways that women can make a positive difference..."

*Dr. Janet Hauber
Math/Science Network*

"Traveling exhibits which include posters, postal cards and other memorabilia... The exhibit should feature electronic media such as videos and interactive computer programs."

*Dr. Barbara Woods
Association of Black Women Historians*

The Commission recommends creation of a traveling exhibit that tells the story of women's history and can be installed in communities throughout the country during our millennial year. The exhibit will be made up of panels that feature nationally and locally prominent women in pictorial displays accompanied by their stories. The national women will be selected by a jury of professional historians and academics. Women from the local community will be selected by the exhibiting institution for inclusion in the display.

The Commission recommends building two versions of the exhibit. One will be designed for libraries or other limited pub-

lic spaces. Another version of the exhibit will be specifically designed for children, with interactive features. We anticipate that this exhibit would travel to local children's museums.

To be selected to host the exhibit, local communities would be expected to organize an inclusive, representative host committee. We believe that the attention generated by this exhibit would also encourage local celebrations that would feature the achievements of women in these communities.

The traveling exhibits might spend three weeks at each location. Allowing a fourth week for travel and set up, the two versions would reach 24 communities in one year and about 45 communities if the exhibit were funded for two years.

We Recommend
Write and Distribute a
How-To Community Handbook

"No community should talk about its history, its past or its Founders Day without talking about the contributions of the women

who made life possible with better and better opportunity for everyone... Every community has a local heroine even if they have not discovered her yet."

*The Honorable Louise Slaughter
Congresswoman, Rochester, NY*

Much of the work done by women, individually as volunteers and as members of clubs and organizations, has occurred in local communities.

Women founded libraries, hospitals, schools and parks, but many women pioneers have gone largely unrecognized because most local historical sites identify only the men who lived there.

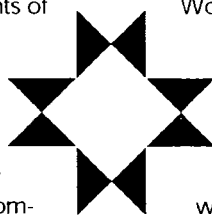
To increase awareness of the important roles local women have played throughout American history, the Commission recommends that a handbook be published to guide communities in recognizing and celebrating local women. The handbook could describe in greater detail several of the recommendations in this report. It should also include guidelines that would ensure the diverse and inclusive

nature of the project.

Possible partnerships would include sponsorship by the General Federation of Women's Clubs and others who agree to sponsor local celebrations and events with inclusive host communities. The guidebook would be privately underwritten and distributed through all organizations and local officials participating in the local events.

We Recommend
Build a National Women's History
Umbrella Website

We recommend the development of an interactive website that would serve as an umbrella for women's history sites. Regularly heard throughout the Commission hearings was the growing importance of Internet technology in disseminating information. There is a growing array of excellent women's history sites, such as the Assumption College (Worcester, MA) U.S. Women's History Workshop website (at <http://www.assumption.edu/whw/>). The Commission recognizes the value of an accessible, well-publicized site that would link to the large



"In addition to celebrating the rich ethnic, racial, and religious diversity of your community, why not celebrate your local heroines—the women who made a difference in your community—with an event that tells their stories and leaves a permanent exhibit behind?"

Ellen Lovell

Millennium Communities Handbook

Published by the White House Millennium Council

number of sites already in existence or likely to emerge. The Commission also recognizes that a centralized point of entry will provide searchers with a gateway that can heighten interest in the subject, encourage academic collaboration and expansion with minimal duplication and generally enrich the body of knowledge.

A recurring suggestion from numerous experts in women's history was the importance of oral histories in telling the stories of women in their own families and communities. Thus, the Commission recommends a site that would feature oral histories and links.

The proposed site would be a costly and time-consuming endeavor. However, given the interest of technology companies in this project, the Commission believes a technology partnership could be created to sponsor and maintain the site.

THE COMMUNITY AGENDA

**WOMEN'S HISTORY IS EVERYWHERE:
10 IDEAS FOR CELEBRATING
IN COMMUNITIES**

**1. We Recommend:
Women Win the Right to Vote:
Tell the Story of Suffrage
in Local Communities**

"I started looking in Colorado, which is the first place on the planet where men voted to give women the right to vote... So we went around and we did not find one statue in the state for women. They had statues for buffaloes, covered wagons, you name it—but nothing for women."

"The courtyard of one of the major banks turned out to be the site of a church where they met to organize the suffrage movement in Denver—half men and half women. We went to see the head of the bank and said, 'You are so fortunate, can you believe what historic grounds you are on?' They were horrified... Finally they agreed to a little plaque in the courtyard. That is our big commemorative for women in Colorado. That is embarrassing."

*The Honorable
Patricia Schroeder
Congresswoman (Ret.)*

"I am here as a daughter, a granddaughter, a sister, a niece, a wife, a mother, a grandmother.... Only in the last four

years have I learned that Tennessee was the last state to ratify the 19th amendment, that my grandmother was the first woman in her county — Humphries County, TN — to vote in 1920, when my mother was three years old and my grandmother was about the age I am now!"

*Linda Muir
BellSouth*

The year 2000 will mark the 80th anniversary of the passage of the Women Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution—the greatest expansion of democracy on a single day in our history as a nation. For 72 years, ever since that first convention in Seneca Falls, NY, women in ever-increasing numbers worked to win the full rights of citizenship. They went door-to-door asking for signatures on petitions. They stood on ladders on street corners

“Eleanor Roosevelt was a prolific writer, a habit born of the last century, but her product describes the twentieth century in personal terms. Unpacking her scattered archives will continue to reveal insights into our nation’s history for decades and generations to come.”

*Anna Eleanor Roosevelt
Commissioner*

and wagons parked at crossroads giving speeches to anyone who would listen. They published their own newspapers, organized massive parades and precinct-level political campaigns and picketed the White House. They encountered insults, ridicule, abuse and even jail to win the rights first promised in the Declaration of Independence.

We recommend celebrating the millennial year by commemorating the 80th anniversary of women’s suffrage. Local libraries can organize story-telling sessions for children where local leaders can tell the stories of the brave women and men who achieved the suffrage victory. City officials can mark the spot where a suffrage meeting was held. Community groups can honor the leaders who organized the campaigns and the state legislators whose votes made the difference. The Commission believes that there is no better way to remember the value of our rights as citizens than to honor the pioneers who made it possible.

2. We Recommend
Find the “Hidden Women:”
Develop Access and Archives

“A graduate student at a distinguished Eastern university was looking for diaries of rural New England women. She found them in a large box, uncatalogued and marked ‘anonymous.’”

*Mary Ellen Henry
American University
Washington, DC*

“Many women’s historic actions and accomplishments have been lost over time. They remain uncollected, uncatalogued and unacknowledged. I stress the importance of documenting, researching, collecting, preserving and organizing for retrieval historic facts, stories, memoirs, achievements, actions and accomplishments of women and making them accessible to the public.”

*General (Ret.) Wilma Vaught
Women In Military Service For
America Memorial Foundation, Inc.*

“The hidden women... women about whom extensive material is actually held but [who] remain invisible because the material is contained in collections whose titles do not indicate their presence... Yesterday one of the speakers remarked about the homes and buildings of famous men, ‘there were women there too.’ The same can be said even more forcefully about the papers held in the nation’s archives.”

*Ann Newhall
The National Historical
Publications and Records
Commission
National Archives and
Records Administration*

“As a biographer of the Founders of the United States and as a historian writing textbooks for college students, I have been constantly frustrated by the difficulty of learning about the lives of women in American history.”

*Dr. Will Randall
Champlain College, VT
January 22, 1999*

The Commission heard from many speakers—especially those with professional expertise as librarians, preservationists and archivists—about the need to allocate serious resources to the identification and preservation of original material. Diaries, letters and other records enable scholars to study and document the history of women’s lives, yet much of this material sits unmarked and unnoticed. Such material could be the source of valuable information that would open history for all of us.

While we share the excitement of the new work that is already underway in the field of women’s history, we realize that more scholarship requires greater access to original materials, more attention to finding and appropriately cataloguing material related to women and more money to make these discoveries accessible to the public.

We recommend the use of supporting technology, such as the Internet, to facilitate the cooperation among institutions that will make these materials accessible in a useful form. We heard about several collaborative efforts to archive materials, but we also heard that institutions are reluctant to commit resources to catalogue and digitize the material. Facsimiles of original documents can be available everywhere, for scholars and students alike, but only if the institutions with custody of the materials make them available.

3. We Recommend

Discover/Preserve Women's History: Establish Statewide Women's History Initiatives

"Of more than 1,600 listings in the *National Register of Historic Places* comprising over 46,000 historic properties in Georgia, fewer than 2% are listed because of their association with women. Of 1,965 Georgia historic markers, fewer than 70 markers relate to women."

Leslie Sharp

*National Register Program Coordinator
and Women's History Initiative Coordinator
Georgia Department of Natural Resources*

"There were approximately 2,000 national historic landmarks when we started our project, and of those only

"As a Comanche woman, I understand the importance of knowing the history of my ancestors and my community. I also understand the importance of knowing the contributions of every community, including my own, to the culture and accomplishments of American society and the global society. One of the greatest benefits of being included in history is to have a sense of who you are and to know that you are a contributing member of a larger community."

*LaDonna Harris
Commissioner*

about 40 focus on women. We increased it by 40, which means that we doubled it, but the downside is that still fewer than 5% focus on women."

*Page Putnam Miller
National Coordinating Committee
for the Promotion of History*

The state of Georgia has begun an exciting new Women's History initiative to integrate women's history into existing programs that record, document, interpret and preserve historic places. The initiative will identify and document historic places associated with women, reinterpret already identified historic places to reflect our understanding of women's history, and produce publications, heritage education programs and guidebooks to increase public awareness.

This program, which began with a regional conference on women's history and

historic preservation, has been funded by the Georgia legislature. Work is now underway to develop a document establishing the historic connection for women-related historic resources. The initiative will also document at least five National Register nominations for women-related historic sites.

We commend Georgia's leadership and recommend that other states and local historic preservation societies undertake similar programs. If every state adopted Georgia's goal of identifying five women-related historic sites, we would add 250 sites in the millennial year!

4. We Recommend

Honor the Work of Women's Organizations: Build an Honor Roll of Local Volunteers

"So much of the important work that women do, we do in groups, working together. We should not talk

about women's history as if women were isolated from one another. We prefer to work together, forming organization and community-based structures."

Katherine Tijerina

"Women have made history by empowering others. Women have volunteered, pioneered, raised money and organized to improve schools, work places and communities."

*Jean Hunt
Chicago Area Women's History
Conference*

"There are tremendously large numbers of women in our communities making a difference, addressing concerns and issues of education, housing, the elderly, and they make a difference... This needs to be recorded... Start at the grassroots level."

*Belen Robles
League of United
Latin American Citizens*

An accurate portrayal of women's history will include recognition of the important role played by women working together in groups. From the earliest days of the Female Anti-Slavery Societies to Chicago's Hull House and today's service organizations, American women have organized

joint efforts to take on some of society's greatest challenges. Women's organizations led the way in establishing public hospitals and public parks. We started libraries in new towns and established relief organizations for families in distress. From campaigns to win the right to vote to bake sales to fund children's programs, women have always been on the front lines. Individual women serving as volunteers have contributed thousands of hours to building our communities. Contemporary service organizations continue in that proud tradition.

We recommend that community organizations join together to identify groups that made significant contributions to the lives of their citizens and develop a community honor roll to memorialize both the groups and their individual leaders. Follow the example of schools and hospitals that honor their largest financial donors with plaques and add the names of volunteers whose time and effort make those institutions possible. Examine the histories of local volunteer organizations and the files of local newspapers to find these

women and their hidden roles.

5. We Recommend
Create Community Women's History Trails:
Develop a Map of Local Women's History Sites

"We are working with fourth and fifth graders, teachers, the principal, the PTA, the neighborhood association, the Colorado Historical Society and a couple of local historians to create a women's history trail. Students are going to do the research. They are going to decide which areas should be highlighted. They are going to publish a guide, and they are going to lead tours of the neighborhood."

Marsha Semmel
Women of the West Museum

Creating history trails can bring history to life in local communities. Trails may trace the path of women's firsts, i.e., the first school to admit women, the first woman doctor or newspaper publisher or engineer, the first woman elected to office. Local communities may have been

the site of a dramatic suffrage campaign, a clean milk campaign or a labor strike led by women workers. Telling the stories through a women's history trail is an effective reminder of the courage shown by those women pioneers.

We recommend bringing students to work on trail projects. Not only will the community find a source of enthusiastic researchers but it also will ensure that young people are engaged. A history trail designed by young people is likely to include information that young people find interesting.

6. We Recommend
Create a City Space to Honor Women:
Build a Women's History Park

"In Yellow Springs, Ohio, population 4,000, practically every public place — the streets the buildings, the parks, the schools — they're all named for men. So we asked the Village Council for a park to honor women. We wanted to honor all women — everyday women and outstanding women, past and present. Our Village Council said 'OK — if you design

it, help with the cost, get it installed.' And so we did."

Gene Trolander
Founder, Women's Park
Yellow Springs, Ohio
January 15, 1999

Building women's parks is a creative and productive way to commemorate the lives of local historical figures and honor the women who live in the community today. In Yellow Springs, Ohio, the Women's Park was financed through the sale of tiles with the names of local women. These tiles, which honor women and their contributions to the community, their service organizations or their families, are incorporated into the park's design. The response to the Yellow Springs Park has been so positive that park organizers are now planning to produce a book featuring the women on the tiles.

Another great example of women's parks is the Hillary Rodham Clinton Women's Park in Chicago. This four-acre green space was dedicated in October 1997, in honor of the First Lady's 50th birthday. It is managed by a 15-member advisory council in the community.

"What we say captures what we mean and our perception of reality. That is why I always note that in our country, there are many heroes but there are also many she-roes, too."

We recommend that communities consider establishing women's parks. Both the informal organization of the Yellow Springs Park and the more formally structured Hillary Rodham Clinton Women's Park bring elected officials and broad cross-sections of residents together to honor some of their best-loved and most respected citizens.

***7. We Recommend
Build a Cooperative
Community Project:
Design and Place Historic Markers***

"Why not create a contest that challenges young people to go out and discover the women whose names belong on those historic markers in their own communities?"

*Linda Witt
Women In Military Service for America
Memorial Foundation, Inc.*

"Design a special marker that incorporates Mrs. Clinton's theme and place it prominently at all women's history sites."

*Maxine Scarbro
Greater Federation of Women's Clubs*

Designing and placing historic markers can help raise the visibility of women's lives and their achievements. Every step of the process calls for public participation—from researching, designing the markers, deciding where to place them and finally arranging the ceremony of actually affixing the markers.

We recommend that local governments work with community organizations to sponsor historic marker projects. Local historic societies, libraries, religious organizations and county and municipal clerks are especially rich sources of information about local historical events and sites. School children can learn about their local communities by working with these officials while becoming involved in every aspect of the work. By designing markers and researching suggested sites, children and their leaders can take history beyond the textbook to the places where women actually lived and worked. Adding markers to exist-

ing sites is also important in helping to make all our historic celebrations more inclusive by reminding us that women lived there, too.

***8. We Recommend
Encourage Young People to
Discover Women's History:
Include Youth in a
Women's History Project***

"Celebrating women's achievements in American history needs to start in the classroom because one of the things I'm angry about is why it took me so long to learn about so much when I'm in college. There are so many women out there, so much about them I didn't know... why am I 20 years old learning about it... when there was all the opportunity in the world when I was in elementary school and middle school?"

*Mashadi Matabane
Spelman College, GA*

"I would go to the library every week and check out the same book. *Clara Barton*, who was the only woman on the shelf.... I don't want my niece Sarah, who's one year old today, and my niece Emily to go to school in the fourth grade and say, 'Where are the women? There are no books about women on these shelves.'"

Lissa McLean

"Ignorance isn't bliss. Think of all the women you've missed."

*The slogan suggested for the
millennium by Samantha Claire
Girls Speak Out, Atlanta*

Among the most frequent reminders made by speakers to the Commission was the importance of reaching out and making women's history accessible to young women and men. College students and teachers told us there is a great deal of interest in women's history at the college level, but students too often arrive at college with little or no awareness of that history.

Some of the most innovative projects now underway include efforts to engage young people as participants. The increased attention to family tourism means that

women's history sites can become family destinations. We are particularly glad to see the growth of women's history sites on the Internet since technology is becoming the medium of choice for young people.

The Commission recommends that millennial planners incorporate at least one women's history project that includes young people as planners, researchers, narrators and/or audience. Projects described elsewhere in this report, such as developing local history trails, historic markers or finding hidden women in the archives are excellent vehicles for involving elementary and secondary school students.

9. We Recommend

Support Local Women's History Institutions:

Create or Host Exhibits About Women

"There are 8,000 museums in America and fewer than 10 have a female focus. Of the 2,000 National Park Service sites, fewer than 10 commemorate women. There are more women heads of muse-

ums in Islamic countries than in the United States and Europe combined."

*Cathy Bonner
Women's Museum:
Institute for the Future,
Dallas TX*

"We want to introduce the public...to the leadership of the Civil Rights struggle in San Francisco in the mid-19th century, to the potters of the Santa Clara Pueblo, and to the scientists at Los Alamos. At our museum, these women will take their places with the history-makers of today."

*Marsha Semmel
Women of the West Museum
Boulder, CO*

A number of women's history museums are emerging around the country. While every community may not have the resources to establish a museum devoted to women's history, the Commission recommends that communities devote some public space to exhibits honoring local

women who contributed time and energy to the life of the community.

The national traveling exhibit recommended earlier in this report may become a starting point for a permanent collection of stories about local women. Town halls, county courts and local libraries are excellent venues for these exhibits, where the installation itself becomes a reason to celebrate women in American history. Communities interested in hosting the traveling exhibit may register their interest on the Commission's homepage (www.gsa.gov/staff/pa/whc.htm).

10. We Recommend

**Women's History Is About Every Woman:
Hold an All-Inclusive Heritage Celebration**

"As you speak of African-American women, don't put us in that chapter all by ourselves.... We are Americans, and we are strong Americans because African-American

women contributed more than we were allowed at the time...We belong side by side."

*Dr. Jane Smith
National Council of Negro Women*

"The British historian E.H. Carr wrote that 'the great person is at once the representative and the creator of social forces which change the shape of the world.'...Countless working women were brave in exactly that way. What they represented, what they did, has changed the shape of our world.

"Rosa Schneiderman, Mary Kenny O'Sullivan, Florence Rood, Margaret Hailey...in the name of the Hawaiian sugar cane workers, the Somerville laundry workers, the millions of other women we will never know, I urge you from the bottom of my heart to give working women in American history the recognition they deserve."

*Linda Chavez-Thompson
American Federation of Labor -
Congress of Industrial Organizations*

"I was at a recent program on women's history in Washington. It talked about women's history but it did not include us. The answer was 'well we didn't have enough facts in the last quarter of this century.' So that meant for a quarter of a century I didn't exist as a person."

Jeannie Jew
Organization of
Chinese-American Women

"Just as gender provides a means of examining power relationships within a historical framework, disability similarly represents power relationships... As a woman with a disability who has participated in political, social and cultural developments that have changed the world for people with disabilities, I think it is critical that we document the role that disability has played in the lives of men and women."

Judith Heuman
U. S. Department of Education

"One of the key rules is to be inclusive: [from] working women to the elite, religion, race and ethnicity... If we know the white Prudence Crandall for her courage in educating blacks and the work she did for African-Americans in Connecticut, we should also mention the Haitian immigrant Elizabeth Lang who in Baltimore in the 1820s began the first school of young women of color and who also organized

"The story of America is one of journey and discovery - of many groups and individuals who shared common dreams and challenges, even as their differences shaped our culture. The Hispanic community, itself of wonderfully varied backgrounds, continues to contribute to every aspect of our society - and understanding America means knowing and celebrating these stories."

Dr. Ellen Ochoa
Commissioner

the first black congregation of Catholic women in 1829...."

Sister Dolores Liptak
Trinity College

At every hearing and throughout our correspondence, the Commission was reminded of the diversity of our nation's citizens and the importance of respecting that diversity in all the projects we recommend. Just as we want to establish that the only accurate history is that which includes the lives and accomplishments of women, we are also committed to the fact that the only accurate representation of women's history is that which includes the lives of all women.

The Commission recommends a her-itage millennial celebration that represents the diversity within the local community and focuses on the stories of the she-roes who brought their children to build a new nation. Religious and service organizations can enlist the seniors

in their memberships to tell the stories of their she-roines, of how their foremothers came to this country and what their own lives were like as children. So many ethnic bazaars, fairs and parades occur across the country, but few are multicultural and fewer focus on the accomplishments of women outside the kitchen or the craft room. Capturing the memories of first-, second- and third-generation Americans can both document their contributions and build a rich tapestry of memories about the women who pioneered the community.

WOMEN'S HISTORY IN
THE NATION'S
CAPITAL

"Millions of schoolchildren and adult visitors tour Washington, DC, every year. We have monument upon monument and museum upon museum glorifying our forefathers. Meanwhile the women's movement has had to fight for seven decades to

have one statue to commemorate some of our foremothers placed in an honorable position in the capitol. With the new exception of Eleanor Roosevelt, there are essentially no monuments in the nation's capital dedicated to women."

Eleanor Smeal
The Feminist Majority

We Recommend
Designate a Washington, DC, Women's History Site

"Washington, DC, is a town, that if someone were to visit one hundred years from now and examine our monuments and historic sites, they would assume that the role of women was of no consequence and no importance to building this country."

Christine Helen Grumm

"Of the 197 statues in the Capitol building, only seven are of women."

Karen Staser
Founder
National Museum of Women's History

At every hearing, the Commission heard concern about the invisibility of women in Washington, DC, especially among the institutions dedicated to teaching and celebrating our nation's history. The success of the National Museum of Women in the Arts and the enthusiastic

response to the new Women In Military Service For America Memorial are examples of the support and interest that await serious representations of women's real roles in our lives — the partnership of men and women that has built this country, sustained our families and communities and maintained the viability of our democracy.

We applaud the visionary leadership of the founders of new institutions that have emerged in the last decade and have already become part of the fabric of our lives. By showing what can be done, they stand in stark contrast to almost all of our other national memorials. That imbalance continues to be a source of concern.

We do not assume that remedying the imbalance between memorials that honor men and women will be easy. There are already a large number of museums and monuments in the capital competing for attention and resources with many others waiting in the wings. The difficulties encountered in moving the statue of the suffragist leaders out of the basement of the Capitol and the fact that the Suffrage exhibit at the Smithsonian's Museum of American History is still designated as

“My son’s history textbooks say that Indians brought ‘us’ corn; blacks gave ‘us’ jazz; Chinese completed ‘our’ railroad and built ‘our’ bridges. When I was young, the few Asian women appearing in the popular culture were lotus geisha girls and dragon ladies... Today our children can choose between contemporary forms of these old stereotypes and absence of images... This Commission will contribute to the vitally important work of remembering buried histories.”

*Dr. Elaine Kim
Commissioner*

temporary were cited by speakers before the Commission as examples of obstacles to be expected. These very problems add emphasis to the importance of creating a venue that celebrates women's history.

Thus, the Commission has concluded that appropriate celebration of women's history in the next millennium should include the designation of a focal point for women's history in our nation's capital.

Several solutions were suggested including a partnership with an existing museum or library or building upon a current historical site. Another approach is offered by the National Museum of Women's History, whose mission is to “preserve, display and cel-

ebate the rich, diverse heritage of women and bring it into the cultural mainstream.” Although it does not yet have a permanent facility, the Museum has already begun to implement its mission by leading the move to bring the women's suffrage statue into the Capitol rotunda. They have also launched a virtual museum in cyberspace with an exhibit on the suffrage movement.

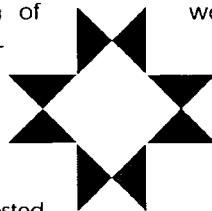
The Commission recognizes the complexity of designating one site. However the focal point is chosen, we recommend that it serve as a destination for families who visit the capital to learn about our nation's history and be linked through technology with sites and

resources around the country. A number of speakers urged us to explore the use of technology in building collaborations among women's historic sites; a national center for women's history would be the logical central point for such connections. Visitors to our Washington site could be virtually transported to Elizabeth Cady Stanton's home in Seneca Falls or to any of the women's historic sites around the country. Their experience on a virtual history trail might encourage them to travel to the real sites at their next opportunity.

We Recommend

Organize March 2000: A National Celebration

Many speakers before the Commission raised the possibility of a national event in March 2000 that would celebrate the changes in women's lives during the last century and reaffirm our commitment to even greater change and opportunity in the next. Among the suggestions were a festival of art and music, an international assembly to assess the changes in the five years since the United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing and a



gathering of young women to make plans for and compare ideas about their futures.

This celebration was viewed as a great opportunity for women to come together in Washington, DC, for one or more days. The Commission agrees that observing Women's History Month in the millennial year deserves a very special celebration.

The Commission recommends that the National Women's Millennial Celebration be inclusive and represent the broadest spectrum of diversity and issues that are important to women. It should also include local communities by virtual participation via the Internet, by interactive satellite broadcast or through simultaneous celebrations in the cities and towns of America.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

Recognition for the importance of women's history and the roles women play in today's lives are reflected throughout the federal government. As in the private sec-

"On the outside of the beautiful new federal courthouse in Boston we have carved in stone the words of Sarah Grimke, the abolitionist daughter of South Carolina who was criticized for daring to speak in public about the evils of slavery: 'Men and women are created equal. They are both moral and accountable beings and whatever is right for men to do is right for women.'"

David J. Barram
Administrator
U.S. General Services Administration

tor, more women are working in the government in mid-level and senior management positions than ever before. Women are starting new businesses and account for two-thirds of new business ventures. Women-owned businesses are doing business with the government in record numbers.

Agencies of the Federal government and Congress have also begun programs to recognize and advance the contributions of women in American history. Under the leadership of the Honorable Senator Chris Dodd, the Honorable Senator Ted Stevens and the Honorable Congresswoman Louise Slaughter, Congress authorized the Women's Progress Commemoration Act to recognize women's history sites. The following descriptions give an indication

of the scope of projects currently underway across the government.

Millennium Council

The President's Commission was inspired by the First Lady's concept for celebration of the millennium with the theme *Honor the Past, Imagine the Future*. The White House Millennium Council was created by the President and First

Lady to give every American an opportunity to participate in meaningful activities to mark the new millennium, with projects involving communities, elected officials and private citizens. Projects of the Millennium Council so far include Save America's Treasures, a public-private partnership to preserve historic sites, documents, art and artifacts; a Millennial Trails program to create, extend or

improve over 2,000 recreational scenic and historic trails; and Millennial Evenings, a series showcasing the best of American culture and history that are broadcast and cybercast from the White House.

Under the Millennium Council's newest project, *Millennium Communities*, states, cities, towns, communities and Native American tribal councils will receive official designation by planning local projects that reflect the national theme *Honor the Past, Imagine the Future*. The handbook for this program includes suggestions for celebrating women's history at the state and local levels.

Department of Education

"Expanding our teaching of history to include examination of the roles and contributions of all women helps boys and girls gain a better, more accurate sense of women's place in history, which in turn increases the aspirations of all children."

Judy Winston
U.S. Department of Education

The U.S. Department of Education is considering options for using computer

technology to assess current efforts that incorporate women's history in schools' curricula. Identifying these "promising practices" is the first important step toward encouraging the integration of women's history throughout all levels of education across the country.

The Department is also considering proposals for the development of curricula for teaching women's history through the Women's Educational Equity Act Resources Center. Grants will be available to those states that include women's history in their history standards. The Department will identify the best methods to make this information available to all schools through the Department's website.

Taken together, these programs can introduce women's history into elementary and secondary school education, thus ensuring that the rich diversity that comprises women's achievements, contributions and life stories is included in all children's education.

General Services Administration

Venues for Women's History Events and Exhibits—As the manager and owner of 8,300 Federal buildings across the United

"When men went off to war, we honored them with monuments in our buildings and town squares. No such honor rolls herald the accomplishments of the women who fought poverty, disease and social injustice at home."

*Beth Newburger,
Commission Co-Chair*

States, GSA can accommodate women's history events and exhibits within its Good Neighbor, Living Buildings and Outleasing Programs under authority of the Public Buildings Cooperative Use Act of 1976. Interested groups or organizations may hold meetings, training sessions or lectures and display film, music, dance or art exhibits under this program. Additionally, through GSA's Public Buildings Heritage Program, exhibits on historic buildings are placed in the lobbies of Federal buildings. A natural extension of this project would be the inclusion of programs about women in American history.

Clara Barton Historic House — As the real estate manager and developer for the Federal government, GSA takes care to preserve all historical and socially significant aspects of buildings and construction sites. In 1997, GSA

discovered that a building in a developing area of Washington, DC, was Clara Barton's home and office from 1861 to 1868. GSA preserved the historic building during renovations to the area and turned over the archival material—including many Civil War period newspapers and other documents—to the National Park Service for further study and preservation. GSA established a website where visitors can explore the place where Clara Barton worked and lived, from the intimate scale of her living space to a broad view of Washington during the Civil War. Most importantly, GSA required developers to preserve Clara Barton's home and work space and interpret it for the public in a historically accurate way.

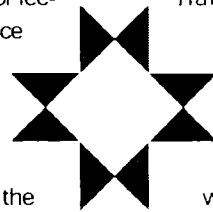
Incorporating Women's Legacies in Construction Projects — GSA's court-

house construction program is the largest new Federal building program since the New Deal. In recent years, GSA has made a concerted effort to incorporate the legacies of local women in construction projects. The exterior and lobby of the new U.S. Courthouse in Boston feature quotes hand carved in stone on jurisprudence, justice and freedom. Five of these quotes are by women.

Notably, the main entrance to the Courthouse features a quotation by Leila Josephine Robinson on the administration of justice. The quotation is taken from the legal brief Robinson wrote seeking, unsuccessfully, to be the first female member admitted to the Bar of Massachusetts:

"The best administration of justice may be most safely secured by allowing the representation of all classes of the people in courts of justice."

Inside the Courthouse a 4-foot by 30-foot Registry of Designers and Builders, lists all the people who worked on the building. Approximately 5% of the 2,600 names belong to Boston-area women in the construction and electri-



"Based on workplace demographics, retaining and advancing talented women is critical to the success of every business. But more than being the smart thing to do, it's also the right thing to do."

*J. Michael Cook
Commissioner*

cal trades.

The Commission recommends that communities take an active role in incorporating local women's legacies and work in these new landmarks by contacting Susan Harrison, director of GSA's Art-in-Architecture program at:

U.S. General Services Administration
Art-in-Architecture Program
Room 2308
1800 F Street, NW
Washington, DC 20405
susan.harrison@gsa.gov

National Archives and Records Administration

"As a direct result of the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History, we are preparing to launch next year an innovative project to publish the papers of Eleanor Roosevelt!"

*Ann Newhall
National Archives and Records
Administration*

The National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), the grant-making agency affiliated with the National Archives and Records Administration chaired by Archivist of the United States John Carlin, will undertake a multi-dimensional project that will explore the work of Eleanor Roosevelt as First Lady, proponent of human and civil rights, and political figure. By combining book, film and electronic publications and using the most modern publication and technological media, the Commission expects to make these important documentary materials available worldwide.

The Eleanor Roosevelt project will draw on the experience of the NHPRC in the Founding Fathers Project and other efforts to make available the papers of some

of the foremost women in American history, including Jane Addams, Margaret Sanger, Emma Goldman, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.

Another Archives publication—the "Our Mothers Before Us" teaching kit—provides schools with exact replicas of early American women's petitions. School children can see for themselves how women who were denied the right to vote used petitions to build support for such important goals as abolishing slavery, fair treatment for American Indians and suffrage for themselves.

The NHPRC is dedicated to ensuring access to primary research material collected from many sources and published under rigorous scholarly standards. The Eleanor Roosevelt project marks a significant step forward in ensur-

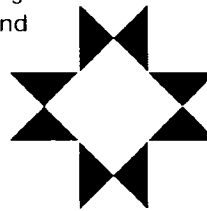
ing that the voices of women and men will join in telling the full story of American history.

NASA

NASA is developing a web exhibit chronicling the achievements of women in aviation and space during the 20th century and profiling women who, in the 21st century, will turn science fiction into science fact. The last component of the exhibit will forecast futuristic aerospace programs and provide links to education and career sites. The first phase of the web exhibit will be on-line by July 1, 1999.

As one element of a larger effort to document the history of spaceflight, NASA is collecting oral histories of women who have been associated with NASA in various capacities. NASA will excerpt portions for publication in a book, tentatively titled *Herstories About Space Exploration*. Many of these oral vignettes will be added to the web exhibit.

When Space Shuttle Columbia lifts off on July 9, 1999, Lt. Col. Eileen Collins



will become the first woman to command a space mission. To celebrate this historic milestone, NASA will convene several outreach and educational events for women and girls that will take place at the Kennedy Space Center, FL, culminating in the shuttle launch. The agency also plans to convene numerous on-line mentoring programs throughout the year to allow students to interact with women in various careers at NASA and with prominent women in America.

Library of Congress

"What's key about an event such as the 1913 Woman Suffrage Parade is that it chronicles women's history as well as reflects the larger context of American history."

Ralph Eubanks

Library of Congress Publishing Office

Specialists in 12 custodial divisions of the Library of Congress are collaborating on an illustrated guide to the Library's vast resources on American women's history. This effort is being directed by the Library's Publishing Office, with guidance from a team of six leading scholars of women's history and culture. The guide will describe materials in many media, including books, newspapers, periodicals, broadsides, legal documents, prints, photographs, films, sheet music, recorded

"Young people, in the throes of creating an identity, are heavily influenced by the popular culture of the day. In the 1800s and early 1900s, women turned to popular magazines, where they encountered illustrations of motherhood and domestic bliss. Soon other visions appeared... of glamorous women who reflected the sexual ideal of the day. Bloomer Girls faded into Gibson Girls who faded into Varga Girls, leaving no doubt about the importance of good looks for young women and the joys of kinder and kuche for mature women."

Irene Wurtzel
Commissioner

sound and songs, maps and folklife documentation. This unprecedented effort will be an invaluable tool for researchers of women's history, from biographers to documentarians and filmmakers to social and cultural historians. The guide is scheduled for publication in the fall of 2000.

A CHALLENGE AND AN OPPORTUNITY FOR POPULAR CULTURE

The Commission agrees with all who testified to the need to do a better job of teaching our children and ourselves about women's history. Perhaps the most powerful means of telling these stories is through the popular culture.

As the film *A League of Their Own* told millions of Americans about women players in the national pastime, so there are opportunities to tell many other stories about women's lives of she-roism and achievement. The winning of suffrage is at once the achievement of a nationwide campaign and a story filled with drama. Women's accomplishments translate into exciting theater. Consider the story of the last vote in the state legislature of Tennessee when the future of suffrage was determined by a young Harry Burns who listened to his mother, or Ida Wells Barnett, the newspaper editor who almost singlehandedly took on the horrible practice of lynching, or Florence Wald founding the Visiting Nurses, or Elizabeth Blackwell winning the right to be a doctor.

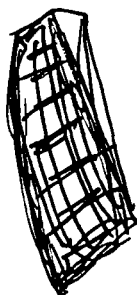
The group Women in Theater, in Los Angeles, has already discovered the dramatic potential in presenting the stories of women in American history. During their March 6, 1999, celebration of Women's History Month, they produced 40 separate performances in a 12-hour marathon of free theater in and around Los Angeles County. Organizer Miriam Reed, herself a performer, hopes to see this celebration become a regular annual March event "in every city and town of the United States—communities everywhere recognizing the contributions of women with performances that praise them."

The Commission urges our friends in the media, who are thinking of plots for movie and television scripts and radio programs, to consider the possibilities offered by these dramatic events. Though a number of fine movies and documentaries have been produced in the last 20 years, we believe that the surge of interest we have found for so many other aspects of women's history recorded in this report — from the growth in visitors to National Park Service sites to the construction of new museums — suggests that these stories will find a receptive and appreciative audience.

WOMEN'S HISTORY CELEBRATION

The President's Commission on the
Celebration of Women in American History

President Clinton has established the Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History to consider how best to acknowledge and celebrate the roles and accomplishments of women in American History. It will hold meetings to consider ideas for such celebration, including a focal point for women's history in Washington, D.C., and the use of technology to connect existing and planned historical sites, museums and libraries. The first meeting of the Commission was held on July 16, 1998, at the Canandaigua County Courthouse, the site where Susan B. Anthony was tried and convicted for voting. The Commission's recommendations will be reported to the President.



[Executive Order Establishing the Commission](#)

[Commission Member Biographies](#)

[Commission Meeting Minutes](#)

[Schedule of Commission Meetings](#)

[First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's
"Save America's Treasures" Tour](#)

[Other Women's History Links](#)

[We Want To Hear From You](#)

The following reports are in pdf format which requires Adobe Acrobat Reader. If Acrobat Reader is not loaded on your computer, you can download it for free by clicking on the icon.



"Celebrating Women's History--Recommendations to President William Jefferson Clinton" (pdf)

**"Women's History is Everywhere:
10 Ideas for Celebrating in Communities
A How-To Community Handbook" (pdf)**

[Go to GSA's Home Page](#)

Josh -

Al. has a "2 second
question, she doesn't
want to buy you"
but she needs to
know before 8:00

- Marc

(215) 382-5959



415079

March 1, 2000

Warm greetings to everyone participating in the Millennium March on Washington for Equality.

Throughout my life and during my tenure as President, I have remained dedicated to ending discrimination and to protecting the civil rights of every citizen in our society. There are more openly gay and lesbian individuals serving in my Administration than in any previous Administration, and their impact, both in expertise and in efforts to advocate for the concerns of gay men and lesbians, is significant. We have increased AIDS funding, research, and educational outreach. We have also opened the door for qualified gays and lesbians to receive top security clearances. I pledge to you that I will continue striving for greater understanding and compassion, working not simply to tolerate our differences, but to celebrate them.

As a nation committed to the ideals of equality, diversity, and excellence, we must never give up the struggle to provide all ~~of our citizens with the opportunity to reach their full potential and to make their own unique contributions to our world.~~ This past century bears witness to many important advances we've made toward building such a society. But much work remains to be done. There is still frustration and misunderstanding in America today about issues affecting the lives of gays and lesbians, and all of us have an important role to play in working to heighten public awareness and inclusiveness. I firmly believe that, together, we can make our national community a better place for all Americans.

Best wishes for a memorable march.

BILL CLINTON *A*

BC/WMW/SK/MAH/emu-ckb (Corres. #7128943)

(2.millennium) (Event: 4/30/00; wants 03/01/00)

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR MILLION MILLENNIUM MARCH
WASHINGTON, DC
April 30, 2000

It is my honor to welcome you to our nation's Capitol for the Millennium March on Washington for Equality. Your presence here today is a moving testament of your commitment to the fundamental values of fairness and equality for all Americans.

Nearly eight years ago, when I first ran for President, I said that I had a vision for America – and that you were a part of it. Since then, with your help, we have made important progress in ending discrimination against gays and lesbians, and in working toward the day that you have the same rights that are guaranteed to every American.

First, we have tried to lead by example. We have created an Administration that is the most inclusive in history – with more than 150 openly gay and lesbian appointees. Additionally, I signed an Executive Order that prohibits discrimination in the Federal civilian workforce based on sexual orientation. And with your help, we are continuing our fight for an employment nondiscrimination act that would ban discrimination against gays and lesbians in the workplace.

As part of our commitment to fight the terrible scourge of HIV and AIDS, our Administration has increased funding for AIDS research by more than 57 percent and for HIV prevention by 36 percent. For the first time in the history of the AIDS epidemic, the number of Americans diagnosed with AIDS has declined.

But while we have come a long way on our journey toward tolerance, understanding and mutual respect, we still have a long way to go. Over the last few years, we've seen a stark increase in the number of hate crimes committed against individuals, solely because of their skin color, faith, or sexual orientation. These crimes tear at the fabric of the American community and at our common values. That's why it is so important that we all work together to pass a strong, fair Hate Crimes Prevention Act.

But we all know that we cannot achieve equal rights through legislation alone. Our greatest hope for a just society is to teach our children to respect one another, to see our diversity as our greatest strength, and to recognize the fundamental values that define us as One America.

As Dr. Martin Luther King once said, "Darkness can not drive our darkness; only light can do that. Hate can not drive our hate; only love can do that." This event, and your numbers, are further evidence that no matter how difficult the road may be, we must keep moving forward and not succumb to the sirens of hate. Thank you again for coming together for this important cause.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Joint Committee of the two Houses of Congress on Chinese Immigration met on Saturday, October 21, 1876, in their rooms at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, California.

There were present the committee, composed as follows: Senator Morton, (chairman,) Senators Sargent and Cooper, and Representatives Piper and Meade; also, Andrew J. Bryant, mayor of the city of San Francisco; Hon. Frank McCoppin, representing the senate of the State of California; Frank M. Pixley, esq., representing the municipality; and Cameron H. King, esq., who appeared on behalf of the anti-cooly clubs of the city.

F. A. Bee, esq., appeared before the committee as the attorney of the six Chinese companies, and B. S. Brooks, esq., appeared also on behalf of the Chinese.

Mr. McCOPPIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, on the 3d of April, 1876, the senate of California adopted the following resolutions, which were offered by Mr. Haymond, of Sacramento, who was the chairman of the committee then appointed:

Be it resolved by the senate of the State of California, That a committee of five senators be appointed, with power to sit at any time or place within the State, and the said committee shall make inquiry:

1. As to the number of Chinese in this State and the effect their presence has upon the social and political condition of the State;
2. As to the probable result of Chinese immigration upon the country, if such immigration be not discouraged;
3. As to the means of exclusion, if such committee should be of the opinion that the presence of the Chinese element in our midst is detrimental to the interests of the country;
4. As to such other matters as, in the judgment of the committee, have a bearing upon the question of Chinese immigration.

And be it further resolved, That said committee, on or before the first day of December, 1876, prepare a memorial to the Congress of the United States, which memorial shall contain a full and complete statement of the facts in relation to the subject of Chinese immigration, and such committee may have arrived at as to the propriety of sending a copy of said memorial to the Congress.

And be it further resolved, That said committee, on or before the first day of December, 1876, prepare a memorial to the Congress of the United States, which memorial shall contain a full and complete statement of the facts in relation to the subject of Chinese immigration, and such committee may have arrived at as to the propriety of sending a copy of said memorial to the Congress.

And be it further resolved, That said committee shall, on or before the first Monday in December, 1876, transmit to the governor of the State of California two copies of said memorial, properly engrossed, and the governor, upon receipt thereof, be requested to transmit, through the proper channels, one of said copies to the Senate and the other to the House of Representatives of the United States.

And be it further resolved, That said committee have full power to send for persons and papers, and to administer oaths and examine witnesses under oath, and that a majority of said committee shall constitute a quorum.

And be it further resolved, That said committee shall have power to employ a sergeant-at-arms, at a compensation not to exceed two hundred and fifty dollars, and a phonographic reporter, at a compensation not to exceed one thousand dollars, and that two thousand dollars of the contingent fund of the senate be set aside, out of which such compensation and the contingent and traveling expenses of the committee shall be paid upon the order of the chairman thereof.

And be it further resolved, That said committee report to the senate at its next session; the same to be reported to the house.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/26/95

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President William J. Clinton

**Remarks on 75th Anniversary
of Women's Suffrage**

Jackson Lake Lodge, Wyoming

August 26, 1995

11-01-71
8/20/98
Acknowledgements - POTUS

**Rosemary Shockley and the
Wyoming League of Women Voters**

The other host organizations:

**Wyoming American Association of
University Women**

**Wyoming National Organization of
Women**

**Wyoming Business and Professional
Women**

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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[Following First Lady's introduction of you]

Thank you. I want to thank Rosemary Shockley and all the representatives and distinguished guests of women's groups here today in celebration of the anniversary of women's suffrage and Women's Equality Day.

I would first like to say a bit more about the World Conference on Women. I am very pleased that the First Lady will be leading our American delegation in Beijing, where I know she will make a difference as she has every day here at home.

The remarkable delegation that we are sending includes women and men of achievement from all walks, from religion, education, business, the sciences, and other fields. They come from all parts of the political spectrum.

→ Disagree on many issues
→ united → Dignity + respect + oppat
for women in fam, Ed, workplace

As the First Lady said, the agenda for the Conference on Women addresses fundamental concerns about education, domestic violence, economics, employment, health care, and political participation -- universal problems that we continue to work on to find solutions for our own people here at home -- and they are all areas of concern to families.

However anyone may try to paint this conference, it is true-blue to families, to supporting them, to conserving them, to valuing them.

And because the issues that will be discussed at this conference are so important to women and families here at home, we are not going to walk away from these issues when the conference is over. I am establishing an Inter-Agency Council on Women, which will make sure that all the effort and good ideas and hard work that are going into this conference get put to work for women and families here at home.

I have declared today Women's Equality Day because where women's equality is concerned, there is much to celebrate. But there is still much to do.

~~Today, on this anniversary of women's
suffrage, we reaffirm our commitment to
do the job and to move America forward
together as one.~~

All around the nation there are events commemorating this important anniversary. It is a special honor to be here with you in Wyoming, the frontier of freedom and home of the daughters and sons of a great victory for equality.

The suffragists left us a living legacy and a continuing challenge: The legacy is full citizenship for our ~~_____~~ sisters, our mothers, and our daughters, and the challenge is to honor our legacy by using these privileges to lead and direct our nation.

The vote for women came at the end of a great philosophical war. It was bloodless, ~~yet painful, because it was~~ *but* ~~so necessary~~. It was costly, consuming the lives of thousands of women, ~~and~~ *I* It bears dividends that still pay us all today.

~~...It was divisive, reflecting the strains and conflicts of American life, and yet, it brought us closer together.~~

Opponents said that allowing women the vote would mean disaster for our nation ~~and our families~~ and it would end all distinctions

between the sexes. Happily, they were wrong, on all counts.

Aside: Amer: for Δ in gen, vs in part -
eg Congress 93 - anti Δ - train
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~~And, fortunately, men of good conscience, those who supported and voted for women's suffrage, understood well the principles of democracy in America. The right to vote is the most basic of these principles~~

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The 19th Amendment was the first and most necessary step for women toward the promise of real equality in American life: *It to vote.*

Our nation's cherished values of justice and liberty are symbolized by women, one bearing scales, the other a torch; one promising fairness, the other freedom. *→ For in gut - even for in particular -* But these symbols would be shallow indeed had it not been for the work of flesh and blood women throughout history who poured their souls into making the promises of fairness and freedom real.

Susan B. Anthony, Elisabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Esther Morris, and Carrie Chapman Catt were among them; so was Mother Jones, who fought to end child labor; Sojourner Truth, who fought for social justice; Rosa Parks, who set in motion the civil rights movement; and ordinary women who every day worked and struggled to move our nation in the right direction.

Looking back from the vantage point of the present, when the contributions and influence of women enrich every facet of our national life, it seems remarkable that as recently as 1920 most American women were still denied their right to full participation in the political activity of this country. For the suffragists, the vote was an open door, ~~one that they envisioned would lead to women in political offices everywhere and at all levels~~ ~~They believed that~~ women would help direct government to where it should be, standing behind issues that are important to families, *w/ women mothers in family.*

There is no question that much has been achieved in the last 75 years to give women greater opportunity and a greater voice in our democracy.

More women than ever are completing high school and more than ever are going on to higher education and specialized job training, entering fields closed to them not so long ago.

More women than ever before are becoming entrepreneurs -- in just the

last 3 years, with the help of our

Small Business Administration, the

number of businesses owned by women has

increased by 1.7 million.

increased
by 80%

And now, more than ever, women are a vital part in our Federal government.

In my Administration, I have appointed more women than any other President [32 percent of PAS, 35 percent PA, 41 percent SES]. I have nominated more women to the Federal bench [45 women of 141 nominees; 59 percent of total have been women and minorities].

- 6 Cabinet
- 1/3 + Pres Appointees
- 1/3 Federal Judge

We have established an Office of Women's Initiatives and Outreach at the White House. My administration fought for and won the Violence Against Women Act, and we have established an office at the Justice Department to oversee our efforts to combat domestic violence. [And let me say that I will fight to preserve these important initiatives that are now threatened in the Congress, and with your help, I believe we can.]

We also have made an unprecedented commitment to address the special health concerns of women, by eliminating inequities in medical research and treatment of heart disease, cancer, AIDS and other diseases. The First Lady launched a campaign to increase the use of mammograms, which will help in early detection and the saving of countless lives. SBA → 2x revenue (cut by 40%)
85%

~~We have made a commitment to education, from pre school to college and to job training, helping the children of working families to more affordable college loans and apprenticeships.~~

~~We are fighting to save Medicare for a simple reason: Because our elderly citizens, so many of them women, deserve respect and dignity in their old age.~~

(1) ~~FALLS~~ - 15

Families:

① 20-40% → Colloids

② ~~Fresh~~ - funny, Mexican

③ ~~Real~~ - part of union

④ ~~Heaven~~ → ~~Byam~~: let pay →

→ ~~ELTC~~

~~All this has been long due for~~

→ ~~unhappy~~: can

~~America's families. It has been needed~~

→ ~~Sub~~

~~to build on the work of the brave women~~

⑤ ~~Cham, Hearty~~: ~~Sup~~ ~~Ford~~

~~and men who have gone before us, and to~~

~~Cham~~ ~~the~~

~~keep our contract of civilization with~~

~~the generations to come.~~

~~Un~~ ~~Smoking~~

~~Crim~~ ~~Pain~~

~~PARKS~~

~~There is still so much to do. Our~~

~~Mem-~~

~~economy has enjoyed strong growth in~~

~~the last two and a half years, but not~~

~~enough families have felt its benefits.~~

These women didn't even have the full rights of citizenship, but they moved a country. → ~~New Era~~ → Common Ground

→ New from New well

→ Dignity → my Family

→ Role of women → As in work, Ken

~~In our time we face new questions about~~

what we should be doing about the state

~~of our economy, our environment, our~~

~~society, our communities and our~~

~~families. How do we care for our~~

~~elderly, or protect our children at~~

~~their schools, on the streets and even~~

~~from bad influence on television.~~

~~At the same time, we face challenges in~~

~~the Congress to what we have won for~~

~~working families, to increase their~~

~~educational and economic opportunities.~~

We are at a point in our history when great change makes it imperative that we make hard decisions. Women must be full partners in these decisions if the decisions are to work for women and their families.

The right the suffragists won is precious, and it cannot be taken lightly. All around the world, where democracy has bloomed, people know that; they wait for hours, in all kinds of weather, just to exercise their right to vote, their right to decide.

We should welcome the chance to decide for ourselves, to build on the foundation that was set down 75 years ago. As we remember the sacrifices of the suffragists and the legacy they gave us, let us also keep in mind the legacy we will leave to our daughters and our sons tomorrow, through the decisions we make today. Let's make the decisions we can live with and they can build on.

Thank you and God bless you.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 15, 1999

MILLENNIUM EVENING AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WOMEN AS CITIZENS: VITAL VOICES THROUGH THE CENTURY

The East Room

7:35 P.M. EST

MRS. CLINTON: Good evening, and please be seated. Those who are here with us in the East Room in the White House, to everyone who is watching on television or on the Internet, we welcome you here as well.

In 1900, near the end of a lifetime of fighting for women's rights, Susan B. Anthony described her bold vision for the future: The woman of the 20th century will be the peer of man. In education, in art and science, in literature, in the home, the church, the state, everywhere she will be his acknowledged equal. The 20th century will see man and woman working together to make the world better for their having lived. All hail to the 20th century.

Well, Susan B. Anthony's words were prophetic, for in many ways her dreams have been realized. Yet, early in this century the full participation in civic life that women now take for granted was still out of reach. Women were constrained in their rights to own property, testify in court, or file a lawsuit. No woman served on a jury, and by law a woman's husband was assumed to be the guardian of her children. And a woman's wages, for which she often worked long and horrible hours, belonged to her husband.

He, in turn, was legally obliged to support her. In many states, a married woman could not even open a bank account. And even what a woman wore was restricted.

Now, there are many people who look back at that time and thing, my goodness, how could it have ever been. But we know that change occurred, although change was slow and took the work of many women and men. And certainly we also know that women did not have the most fundamental right of citizenship -- namely, the right to vote. My own mother was born before women could vote.

So I'm pleased to join the President in welcoming all of you to the White House for this Millennium Evening. With our distinguished panelists, we will "honor the past and imagine the future" by listening to the "vital voices of women." We will reflect together on the dramatic changes in the lives of women and all citizens in the 20th century.

Just think of the ideas, the inventions, the social movements that have so dramatically

altered our society. Now, many of those movements and ideas we can trace to our own founding, our founding documents: the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. And we can then follow those ideas as they move toward Seneca Falls, where 150 years ago, women struggled to articulate what their rights should be. From women's struggle to gain the right to vote to gaining the access that we needed in the halls of academia, to pursuing the jobs and business opportunities we were qualified for, to competing on the field of sports, we have seen many breathtaking changes. We've also been helped in our struggle by technological advances like vacuum cleaners and cell phones. We've made strides that, certainly, Susan B. Anthony could never have imagined.

Now, there are clearly far too many topics to cover in only 90 minutes tonight, so we've chosen to concentrate on one of the defining stories of our time: the way women have entered the circle of our democracy and moved America closer to our greatest ideal, that we are all created equal.

Standing here, looking at this audience tonight, I could call the names of nearly all of you who are here that I recognize, women and men who have made a contribution to where we stand here on the brink of a new century, who have struggled over the years to expand the opportunities and enlarge our democratic freedoms. Many of you have mobilized voters; you have worked for electoral change; you've championed issues, you've been advocates. At International Vital Voices conferences I've met other women who have struggled around the globe to bring those same rights and freedoms to the people of their countries.

Whether we know the names of the women who have done these acts because they stand in history, or we see them in the television or the newspaper coverage, we know that for everyone whose name we know there are countless women who are engaged every day in the ordinary, but remarkable, acts of citizenship.

And we will hear from our panelists tonight what it means to be so involved, and how important it is that we continue to build our democracy and keep our freedoms and our rights alive. I'm always moved when I hear the stories of these women. And I think tonight as we honor the National Women's History Month each of us probably has our own stories that we could tell.

This Sixth Millennium Evening at the White House is part of an ongoing series to recognize the words and ideas, the science and scholarship, the innovation and creativity that have shaped our recent history. These evenings are just part of our larger initiative that the White House Millennium Council directs to encourage all Americans to mark this millennium in meaningful and lasting ways, to think themselves about how to honor the past and imagine the future.

I certainly want to thank the scholars who have gathered with us today. And I want to just highlight a few names of some of the people who are with us: Betty Friedan, Ellie Smeal, Carol Gilligan, Karen Nussbaum, Governor Ann Richards, former Congresswoman Pat Schroeder, Lt. General Claudia Kennedy, Dr. Rita Caldwell. As I said, I could go on and on.

And part of what you so represent for all of us are the very concrete steps that women have taken, and will continue to take. The President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History, led by Ann Lewis and Beth Newberger, will be issuing a report that has really tried to summarize many of the advancements that we recognize today. The members of the Commission, I believe, are here, and I just would like to ask them to stand, so that we can thank them for their work in giving us this report. (Applause.) I also want to express my appreciation to everyone who has helped make this evening possible, especially our co-sponsor, the National Endowment for the Humanities, led by its chair, Bill Farris, and NEH's sponsors, the Howard Gilman Foundation and Sun Microsystems, especially John Leahy, who are responsible for the technology that will enable us to reach millions of people around the world via satellite and the Internet.

I also thank Pioneer New Media Technologies for providing the high-definition TV screens in this room. And I also want to thank the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian for the displays in the Grand Foyer.

Now, we are privileged to have with us this evening three remarkable women scholars whose powerful voices have not only tell the story of who we are as Americans, but who we hope to be as we enter this new millennium. Together, they will help us explore three interconnected themes: women as volunteers and reformers; women's struggle for equal rights; and the practice of citizenship.

Our first speaker, Professor Alice Kessler-Harris, is one of the nation's foremost labor historians and a pioneer in establishing women's studies nationwide. Yet her extraordinary career almost ended before it began. In graduate school she was offered a prestigious fellowship, but when the largely male faculty learned she was pregnant, they revoked the grant.

Now, this is not the Dark Ages we are talking about. Alice's pregnancy, they argued, reflected a lack of seriousness about her pursuit of history. (Laughter.) Now, I think we can all agree, including those nameless faculty members that her seriousness is no longer in question.

Today she is a visiting professor at Columbia University, where she holds a joint appointment in the Institute for Research on Women and Gender and in the history department. She also holds a professorship of history at Rutgers University where she directed the Women's Study program from 1990 to 1995. For almost 10 years, she gave working men and women the chance to earn a college degree by teaching courses at the union headquarters of the UAW's District 65 in New York, a program she founded with her husband, Bert Silverman.

Tonight, she will talk to us about the vital civic roles that women have played as volunteers and reformers throughout our history. This is a particularly important subject, because without women volunteers and reformers, none of what we celebrate today would have happened in such a timely manner.

I'm also pleased that our second panelist, Professor Nancy Cott, interrupted her warm sabbatical at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Palo Alto, California, to join us at the White House tonight. She is the Stanley Woodward Professor of History and American Studies at Yale University, where she has taught since 1975. She has written widely on women's history, editing the 20-volume History of Women in the United States, and contributing to historical documentaries, including the film entitled, "One Woman, One Vote."

Like Alice Kessler-Harris, Nancy Cott and, no doubt, many of the women here tonight, had to struggle to have her work recognized. Early in her career, when she was discussing the publication of one of her books, she was stunned by one publisher's decision not to publish her work. The reason? Interest in women's history and women's issues had peaked.

Well, tonight she will speak to us about one of the enduring stories of our time, which has not yet peaked here or anywhere in the world -- namely, the struggle for equal rights.

Our final panelist, Ruth Simmons, embodies the spirit of citizenship and the power of education to set our dreams and our spirits free. The daughter of sharecroppers, she was one of 11 children born and raised in a small, East Texas town. She credits the resilient spirit of her mother for teaching her more about life than any course she took.

Today, Dr. Simmons is President of Smith College. Recognized as a truly gifted administrator, she served for three years as Vice Provost at Princeton, where she wrote a widely discussed report on race relations on that campus. The recipient of numerous prizes and fellowships, Dr. Simmons was awarded the Centennial Medal from Harvard in 1997. Throughout her life and by her own example, she has propelled many young men and women toward lifetimes of achievement. And tonight, Dr. Simmons will share with us her thoughts about the practice of citizenship.

I want to take just a moment to explain how the rest of this evening will work. A video will introduce each theme, and after each presentation by our scholars, a question will be directed to that particular speaker. After our final panelist, Dr. Simmons, completes her remarks and responds to the question put to her, the President will start off the discussion here, and with those of you on the Internet, moderated by our White House Millennium Council Director, Ellen Lovell.

Now, let us look at the first theme, "Women as Volunteers and Reformers." (Applause.)

(A video is shown.)

PROFESSOR KESSLER-HARRIS: Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton, my fellow panelists and distinguished guests: I'm delighted to be here this evening to talk about the many ways that women, through their active participation as citizens, have shaped American democracy.

Ever since Americans rebelled against the British monarch to found their own republic

and to become citizens instead of subjects, we've envisioned citizenship as a process that involved participation in the community as well as the nation. For many, casting a ballot and engaging in formal political processes have been the measure of citizenship. By these gauges, virtually all women and many men were excluded from citizenship in the 19th century and for much of the 20th as well.

With little access to formal politics, women searched for other avenues through which they could exercise the call to active participation in their society. Over the centuries, women from all walks of life have so successfully responded that they have expanded the idea of citizenship, broadening and deepening it by developing innovative and informal modes of participation that aimed to enhance the well-being of all those around them and to influence political decisions as well.

Their activities provide a model for thinking about citizenship in democracy in the next century. Even after they won the national ballot in 1920, women continued to expand the idea of citizenship. Let me give you just three ways that this has happened. First, women's traditional assignment to home and family has provided a model for service to the larger society. Pioneer feminists, like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, believed that love and duty to the home and to motherhood sanctioned, even required, maternal activities in the public realm. As mothers of the world, active female citizens extended their households to clean up corrupt political machines and ensure that every mother could provide for her family.

In the early part of this century, neighborhood women who couldn't afford to feed their families led bread riots and meat boycotts. Around the same time, millions of women organized into hundreds of chapters of the general federation of women's clubs and the National Association of Colored Women. These clubs campaigned against child labor to protect other people's children from the devastating effects of work begun too soon.

Sparked by the vision of the courageous anti-lynching crusader, Ida B. Wells Barnett, African American women fought to protect their sons and brothers from racial hatred. The ideals of home and motherhood extend from the early part of the century into the 1960s and, indeed, into the present. In 1961, thousands of ordinary housewives and mothers joined in a one-day women's strike for peace that called for an end to the arms race, not the human race.

Their feelings echoed those of striking women textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, who, half a century earlier, had tried to send their children to safety, only to be shot down by the bullets of National Guardsmen. Those women, too, had called for bread and roses.

Because women were excluded from most channels of corporate and political power, they developed some special imaginative strategies for exercising citizenship. Being outside formal politics freed women to create alliances across borders of class, race and nation. It freed them as well to imagine a citizenship with more humane dimensions.

Their activities ranged from the YWCA, the Young Women's Christian Association,

which in the early 20th century became one of the very few organizations to experiment with black and white leadership coalitions. They include Rose Schneiderman, an immigrant cap maker whose only schooling was in the workplace, who joined with college graduates to create the National Women's Trade Union League.

They stretched across the world. Eleanor Roosevelt, whose education in issues of social justice came from some of the same settlement workers and union members, also learned about the women's peace movement from them. When she designed the United Nations Human Rights Convention in 1948, she followed in the footsteps of Jane Addams and Lillian Wald, who had traveled to Zurich after World War I to persuade the world's leaders to renounce war.

Finally, millions of women have organized anonymously in their communities to build social institutions. In every community, women from all walks of life built and staffed libraries, orphanages, day nurseries, medical clinics, schools and church programs. Sometimes in black communities, where political structures excluded men as well as women, women's church groups provided the bulwarks of racial self-reliance and developed the organizational skills that moved individuals to promote community change. These skills were used in the 1950s by women who had not yet achieved national prominence -- women like Ella Baker, Daisy Bates and Septima Clark, who joined hundreds of lesser known women in launching the massive protests of the civil rights movement.

Community efforts have also led women to recognize the limits of volunteer activity and to demand governmental improvements in sanitation, transportation, housing, safety and street lights. For example, Chicana in the Mexican American West forged local organizations around such women's issues as neighborhood safety, education and health care. Many of these have now become the province of governments. That's in large measure because women reached out from their communities to demand formal support for their volunteer efforts.

In the past generation, the legal status of American women has been transformed and their economic opportunities vastly expanded. Together, these changes have opened possibilities for increasing women's formal political influence. It's a welcome and an overdue step.

But women's history suggests that exclusion from formal citizenship encouraged women to extend citizenship rights and to broaden their meaning. We might then wonder how, now that women are moving towards full, formal inclusion, we will avoid the passivity among ordinary citizens that women have done so much to fend off. That makes this an important moment to reflect on some of the ways that women's history can motivate and inspire greater participation in the political process and thereby strengthen democracy in the United States and extend the boundaries of social justice for all of us.

Thank you. (Applause.)

MS. LOVELL: Speaking of organizing, I see Evie Dubrow in the room, and she spent over 60 years in the labor movement, including over 40 years with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. And Evie, I know you have a question for Alice Kessler-Harris.

MS. DUBROW: I do, but before I start, may I just take a minute to say that my sister was one of the youngest suffragists in this country, and that she went to jail picketing the White House. (Laughter and applause.) Where she and a number of other suffragists went on a hunger strike. And when they came out, Alice Paul gave each of them a little prison door as a souvenir for their work on the right to vote. So I'm delighted to be here tonight, and my question is an interesting one, I think. How do coalitions of women across race and class lines really work?

PROFESSOR KESSLER-HARRIS: It's a difficult question. And as you know, most of us can think of more failures than we can successes when we try to think of the ways that women have worked across those lines. But just as gender -- well, just as ethnicity and race sometimes are called forward as elements of solidarity, when people try to face the important issues in their lives -- the moral issues, the economic issues that really matter to them -- so I think women, as well as men, sometimes call upon gender solidarity when they want to face those issues. For example, men who are told to go to war often call upon manliness and that kind of generosity to support their patriotic feelings. Well, I think it's been that way with women around issues that they really cared about. For example, anti-lynching crusades, which are sparked and led by African American women, nevertheless led them to organize and call upon white women to join them as sisters in the campaigns against lynching that took place in the 1920s, and especially in the 1930s in the United States. The Women's Trade Union League, which you, I know, are familiar with, crosses class lines when middle-class women join with poorer and working women to organize for issues of social justice, around the conditions under which working women work.

And your own union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, which has now been amalgamated into UNITE, of course, was a pioneer in creating solidarity across racial and class lines -- sorry, across racial lines -- in the interests of organizing working people. In the 1930s, it pioneered strategies which involved social events and occasions where black and white men and women -- but mostly women -- could get together in music classes, on the dance floors of local ballrooms, at basketball games, and so on -- creating a kind of solidarity that then served them well when they were on the picket line later.

And now, what we're going to do is see images of women's fights for rights. And then Nancy Cott will speak to you. (Applause.)

(A video is shown.)

PROFESSOR COTT: President Clinton, Mrs. Clinton, my honored copanelists and esteemed guests, it's an honor and thrill to be here tonight to talk to you about women's political history and their struggle for rights.

Americans don't know a great deal about this history. If they know anything, they usually know that we didn't have the vote at first and then achieved it; and possibly they know that the first organized public demand for women to vote was a meeting at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 -- especially since the 150th anniversary of that was just celebrated. And I can hope that most people know that the amendment that did remove the sex disqualification from voting as

the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, and that it was passed in this century, in 1920.

But we need to know more than these firsts in order to honor the past. We tend to make a big fuss about firsts, but in women's history as in many things, a first breakthrough does not mean smooth sailing and, in fact, in the campaign for the vote, successive generations had to continue to campaign, reinvent the struggle and face failure after failure before they succeeded. In fact, it was half the nation's history in 1920, half the nation's history since the Declaration of Independence, women had been trying to remove the sex disqualification from the ballot when they did succeed.

And the year 1920 is then rightly seen as the great divide between women's non-voting history and their voting history. But it is too simple to say that no women voted before that and all women voted after it. There were states that granted the women to vote, some quite early -- Colorado in 1893, for instance, California in 1911, New York in 1917 -- and it is too simple to say that all women voted after 1920 because women were prevented from exercising the right to vote by race, by poverty, by unstable residence.

The most dramatic example is African American women in the South, who, like the men of their race, were kept from exercising the ballot by state disqualifications such as poll taxes, literacy tests and other forms of voter qualification that were administered unequally to black and white.

Today we tend to assume that voting is a right, even an attribute, of citizenship. But this was not always so. This example makes a very important point, that the rights -- the content and qualities of citizenship in our rights is not a fixed quantity, is not a fixed content. New groups who come into the polity see rights and needs anew, and press for new definitions.

In this century, in the early part of this century, more women than ever before -- more kinds of women than ever before -- thought the ballot was a right that they needed to exercise. In the 19th century, in fact, the vast majority of women did not think they needed the ballot. But in the early 20th century, wage-earning women such as some of those who have been mentioned -- such as, for instance, the very feisty Leonora O'Reilly -- wanted labor legislation to be passed. They realized women wouldn't get this without the vote.

Black women leaders, such as Mary Church Tyrell or Hallie Brown, wanted to fight against lynching, as Alice mentioned; wanted to fight against the disenfranchisement of their race. They needed the ballot to do so. There were middle-class women who were very concerned with the state of the cities and social reform. There were women who wanted to enter professions, like law or medicine, and found sex discrimination dogging their paths. And all these groups of women realized that they had no political clout without the ballot, so they joined the suffrage movement.

And at that time, hundreds of thousands of women devoted their lives to the campaign. Women like Ms. Dubrow's sister, used new flamboyant techniques to alert the public to this need. Some literally devoted their lives. A very beautiful, highly educated and accomplished

Vassar graduate named Inez Mulholland, who was known for riding a white horse to lead a grand suffrage parade on the day of Woodrow Wilson's inaugural in this city, totally upstaging the inauguration -- (laughter) -- devoted herself so exhaustingly to her speaking tour that she died on the tour, because she totally neglected her health, and at barely age 30 ended her life.

Now, once women were enfranchised the ballot certainly provided a gateway, but not all the rights that women wanted or needed. And, of course, it's not only the formal grant of rights that matters, it is the ability to exercise those rights as the prevention of black people in the South from voting showed. But another issue was women and holding political office. Women were not barred by sex from holding political office by this time, but could a political aspirant get a major party to nominate her -- that was the barrier.

Also, state laws at the time, in the time in the 1920s were strewn with discrimination. For instance, a waitress could not work at night in most states when the tips were largest. A married woman could not take out a loan in her own name. Only about half the states put women on juries, and the other half resisted, some for decades.

These many discriminations added up to a lesser legal status, really a lesser enactment of citizenship for women. And there was a small group of women who thought there was a way to address this. They wanted to add another amendment to the Constitution, and they called it the Equal Rights Amendment. If you think this was a feature only of the political landscape of the 1970s, you have to rethink that, because the Equal Rights Amendment was first introduced into Congress in 1923, and it was introduced every decade after that. It almost passed the Houses of Congress during World War II. It did pass, of course in 1972, never to be ratified.

Now, the reason that that amendment never has been ratified are complex. I think one could boil them down to the point that equal to many people means exactly the same, and they are wary about granting women exactly the same rights as men when they feel women are different from men.

This actually reminds me of the 1970s slogan, "Women who want to be equal to men lack imagination." (Laughter.) But the larger truth is that women are the same as men, and are different from men. And the question is, can something as abstract as rights encompass and address that paradox?

The women's movement more recently, in the '60s and '70s and '80s, leapt into that question by trying to re-envision rights, and catapulting many new concepts of rights onto the political stage -- reproductive rights; rights to the control of one's own body; equal pay for comparable work; welfare rights; the right to be free of sexual harassment on the job; the right to maternity leave; the right to equal educational and athletic facilities. All of these new claims extended the horizon of rights and of imaginable rights, and women's invention of them changed the whole political landscape.

Continuing this redefinition, as we look forward to the next hundred years or the next millennium, let us try to think of more inclusive versions of rights that will be advantageous to

all Americans. I think knowing more about the past of women as citizens can help us imagine this more generous future.

Women in this past century, the 20th century, have been struggling to define and to attain rights that will allow us to be equal and different, too. And groups not defined by gender often see that as their task as well. It's a task that is still ahead of us as a society. Thank you. (Applause.)

MS. LOVELL: Thanks, Nancy. I'd like to call on a fighter for rights, Senator Birch Bayh, leader of the Title IX legislation giving young women equal access to physical education, and sponsor of the ERA amendment -- not in 1923, in 1973.

Senator Bayh. (Applause.)

SENATOR BAYH: It's always a privilege for me to be here with so many of you who -- we've worked together. And Evie, you started with a personal observation. Permit me to do the same. Some people may say, how does a fellow from the heartland, right off the farm in conservative Indiana, get involved in equal rights for women. Well, I was blessed by having two wonderful women in my life, one who is no longer with me and one who is still tolerating me -- (laughter) -- who gave me a magnificent Ph.D. in the importance of women's rights. (Laughter.) And I must say that is a continuing learning process.

We all know that women's inclusion as full citizens has had a profound impact on our country. Could you help us understand a little more specifically how women voters use their franchise as a class where there are different patterns that distinguished how women voted from how the majority of men voted that really led our society in a better direction, if you please.

PROFESSOR COTT: Thank you. I'll try to address that. Certainly, when women first got the vote, commentators were very interested in whether they would vote differently. One of the prime reasons it was claimed that women needed the vote was because they were an interest group who differed from men as a group in their needs.

As a result, when women didn't vote entirely differently from men in the '20s -- which would have, in fact, been very difficult, given that we had a two-party system at that time -- when women didn't vote dramatically differently from men, they were declared to vote exactly the same as men, i.e., exactly the same as their husbands. And very quickly after women were first enfranchised, the notion that there was what we today call a "gender gap" was quashed, and the notion that women would form a voting bloc more or less dissipated.

It was also true at that time that women's turnout was lower than men's, that this has happened with several groups of new voters, that it takes a while for a newly-enfranchised group to exercise the franchise, so that the turnout of women was lower than among men in the 1920s; then continued to grow until they were about at parity in the 1950s.

We're hampered as historians from knowing just how differently women might have

voted from men in the past in that the polls were not kept by sex -- it was only in a very few places -- Illinois was interested in this -- before the era of exit polls. This information just isn't gatherable. And it's really a very recent phenomenon, that really since the 1980s that the concept of a gender gap has appeared.

It has been looked for since then and, therefore, it has been found. The percentage differences between women's votes and men's votes on parties, on candidates, rather than on issues, has been tracked very avidly since the mid-'80s. And percentage point differentials from three to eight percent that in the 1920s were absolutely dismissed as meaningless because they expected all women to vote differently from all men, have now become significant.

So I would suggest that patterns of actual voting, given that we don't have a multiparty system in our nation -- if we had seven or eight parties, one might see more difference. But in a two-party system the range is going to be small and it will mainly be trackable on issues. And since it's very rare for candidates to run on single issues, the differences between women and men as voters get spread out through the system and show up in very small percentage differences -- which may be as much attributable to women's or men's race or region or education or age as their gender, in fact.

Now, we're going to see more images, which will be about the practice of citizenship, and that will precede Dr. Ruth Simmons's comments on that topic. (Applause.)

(A video is shown.)

DR. SIMMONS: President Clinton; Mrs. Clinton; Nancy and Alice: It's so moving to be here tonight, honoring the extraordinary advances of women in this century.

You know, as a college president, I have the privilege each year of welcoming a large number of young women to my campus who, in the course of four years, must confront where they stand in relationship to history; what they will make of their world; and how they will maximize their own capabilities in the service of their families and their communities. And then, four years later, I'll have the joy of seeing them off, as they enter the work world, hopefully, advance to higher learning or otherwise take on adult roles.

After studying what others have accomplished down through history, and after apprenticing for so many years, they finally get to choose their own path. And that one phrase, I think, captures the really dramatic change in women's lives in the United States over the course of this century. Today, thanks to Title IX, the civil rights movement, the women's movement, women are able to choose their path.

Young women understand that, they revel in it, and most often, they claim that privilege with considerable pride. This is a difference wrought by the courageous reformers who insisted on the right of women to be fully enfranchised as citizens, with the duty of choice and the right of happiness.

Women of the next century will be molders of their future and proprietors of their fate. Provided that society continues to protect that freedom, women will have that most extraordinary, precious thing -- ownership of themselves.

We know that history can record and interpret only a small portion of the many compelling stories that have influenced the phenomenal changes that we've seen. One of the most encouraging trends of recent times has been what seems to be a greater inclusion of unheralded lives and different voices, through oral histories, unconventional and ahistorical sources, and first-hand accounts, with all the problematical aspects of those accounts. Past struggles for justice are rich in these stories of lesser, lesser actors, who have helped to shape our civic culture and transform society, without themselves qualifying for history's hall of fame.

As one who is inspired by countless lesser heroes of the women's rights and civil rights movements, I rather like to remind people on such occasions as this, that it's also acceptable -- desirable even -- to be inspired by the common folk. It's important to acknowledge the often invisible efforts that are the backbone of all struggles for justice. For such small examples, too, can inspire in the young civic engagement at the highest and most socially transforming levels. Those who live the rather routine life of involved citizens are our quotidian heroes. They are our models for daily life.

My grandmother, Emma Campbell, grew up in the South during Reconstruction. Although she was a smart, enterprising woman, the legacy of slavery gave her no rights, essentially, few protections under the law. And, yet, when her husband died she had to farm and rear her children. Though poor, she engaged in community and church life in her small town.

Her daughter, my mom, Fannie, was born in 1906. She married a laborer and a sharecropper. And for much of her life as a domestic worker she was consigned to brutal, unprotected labor at meager wages. After a century -- almost a century after the birth of her mother, she remained in legal, social and economic servitude, bounded by the system that had denied her mother equal rights.

So enduring was the legacy of racial and gender discrimination in the country of her birth, but emulating her courageous mother, she persevered. And finally, because of her efforts and the critical mass of reformers pushing for elimination of the laws that held her to limited education, low wages and an economically-deprived life, her children and Emma's grandchildren were finally able to see the light of freedom and experience greater life choices.

There is earnestness and valor to be found in the simplest acts of civic engagement, and especially, I think, the civic engagement of poor people. Like Emma and like Fannie, Oceola McCarty was unnoticed until she surprised the world with her bequest of scholarship funds to the University of Southern Mississippi. Well, the world now knows of her lifetime of saving and self-denial. But her entire life before this act of generosity could be examined for what it offers us about the spirit of concern and commitment that ought to underpin our social relations and civic attitude. Indeed, with women just beginning to come into their own as philanthropists, Oceola's gift is especially important in inspiring women of means to do better than the small gifts that have proved typical of women's philanthropy.

Imagine: If women could found and endow colleges like Spelman and Smith in the last century, an act that contributed greatly to the reforms of this century, just imagine what women's philanthropy will mean to the century ahead, with women controlling 60 percent of the country's wealth. Women's philanthropy, surely, will be one of the most decisive dimensions of women's activism in the new century.

Young people today -- they don't often know it or say it -- but they've really benefitted enormously from the endeavors of all those who worked so hard for women's rights, both on the front line and behind it; whether visible or not; whether recognized or not. Together, these reformers have prepared the leaders of today by inculcating a will to change the status quo, and they have prepared the leaders of tomorrow by proving that wrongs can be made right. They've given our young people the best gift they could have, and that is the ownership of their future.

Thank you. (Applause.)

MS. LOVELL: I'm going to call on another college president, Dr. Jeanetta Cole, anthropologist and former president of Spelman College.

DR. COLE: I do have a question for the sister president of one of our nation's women's colleges. Sister president, there have been many victories, but many challenges remain for all women. For women of color we need to give particular focus on our inequalities. What do you think we can do to more effectively address the ongoing inequalities experienced by women of color?

DR. SIMMONS: Thank you, Jeanetta. It's wonderful to see you. Well, I've been quite moved -- and I know you have, too -- by the telling of these stories from the last century and this, when women, reformers, worked very hard to achieve rights for women of color. That's one of the most moving aspects of the women's movement, frankly. Spelman, itself, was founded of course by white women from Massachusetts who went down with a fervor of freedom to Atlanta to work with Reverend Quarles to found a college for black women.

I think more than anything it's to continue to say to would be reformers that it's not enough for women to achieve equal rights. It's not enough for women to achieve equal rights for women who are white. We must not leave anybody behind. And with the pay differential today, with the differential in access to many different aspects of society, I think we have to continue to press for equality for women of color.

I'm especially concerned that we emphasize education. I don't like to raise an unpleasant topic, but I must say I'm very concerned about the attack on affirmative action, because -- (applause) -- let me say that I don't think for a moment that affirmative action is a panacea or that it's perfect, but I do think that it provided opportunities for women to come into their own. And I just don't want people of color and women of color to be left out of that.

So now that we see women achieving so much, white women particularly, I want to see

them reach back and embrace women of color, and say, come on and go with us. That's the most important thing we can do to carry that message home. Thank you. (Applause.)

DR. SIMMONS: Mr. President, you've listened to us patiently and I know that you have some remarks to make and that you might even have some questions to ask. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. First of all, let me welcome all of you here tonight and thank our participants. I will be very brief, because the only thing that frustrates me about these Millennial Evenings is that you will be amazed -- we will get literally thousands of questions that will start coming in on the Internet and lots of frustrated people out there. So I don't want to take a lot of time.

I would like to say again -- I think I speak for all of us -- when Hillary had the idea to do these evenings, I thought they sounded interesting -- or at least maybe most of them would be interesting. (Laughter.) They have all turned out to be fascinating and, each in their own way, better than the ones before. And I think this is a great gift she has given our country for the millennium and I thank her for it. (Applause.)

The remarks generated scores of questions in my mind and one fact I want to say. If you ever want an example of whether or not the gender gap exists, you are looking at it. (Laughter.) Because I would not be here if it did not exist. (Applause.) Or if it did not exist in the right way I would have had bigger margins, depending on how you look at it. (Laughter.)

One of the things I wish that somebody would comment on before we get through -- although, it's not my question -- is, if women learn different ways of doing things through the century of struggle, how would this Congress be different if the party divisions were exactly the same, but 55 percent of the members were women? That would be interesting. I don't know the answer to that, but feel free to comment if anyone wants to. (Laughter.) I want to ask Professor Kessler-Harris to answer a question that has concerned me quite a great deal, just from remembering the patterns of life with my working grandmother and my working mother. Now that we have opened more opportunities for women in the workplace, but they still are spending, I think, even in two-parent households, more than half of the time spent raising children, and we've even opened more opportunities for women in the political workplace, and more are being opened all the time, I would like to have you comment on what you think the potential is for voluntary citizens' groups of women to still produce both social movements and specific legislative changes. That is, will voluntary groups still have the same impact? And if so, how are we going to continue to encourage that?

Because I think that that's really the unique story of the whole 20th century, all those parades and everything we saw in the films. Will more women in the workplace, still having to raise the kids -- and in the political workplace, which may make women think they're represented in more ordinary ways -- lead to a reduction or an increase in these voluntary associations? And what are some specific examples where we might see voluntary movements produce social movements and legislative change?

PROFESSOR KESSLER-HARRIS: Well, that's another lecture I could give you all -- (laughter) -- but thanks for the question. I think there are two ways of answering that question, and the first is to say that the entry of women into the workplace, entry which, of course, I, like most of this room welcome, nevertheless poses enormous challenges, not only to what women can continue to do at home, but to what women can continue to do in their communities. And I think that those challenges have to be met on a series of levels that are not individually based.

I think we have to meet those challenges by providing opportunities for men as well as for women, but for people to take care of both their homes and their workplaces. And I would suggest that some ways of doing that are to think about issues, for example, of working time -- you know, perhaps it's time to start thinking about reducing the working week from 40 hours to 35 hours a week. Perhaps it's time to take seriously flex-time for many different kinds of workers so that people can both work and take care of their homes and their communities.

It may be time to think about a broader concept, like thinking about Social Security as not only a benefit that we get at the end of our lives, but a benefit that we can get during our lives, drawing rights on Social Security -- so that we can take a year or two off here or there to take care of our families and our children. Those are some of the ways I think that we could think about the legislation that would provide opportunities.

And just to segue from that into your first question, I think it would not be unusual to imagine that such legislation could be pushed for and pioneered by the kinds of women who pushed for and pioneered early labor standards legislation.

My favorite example, for example, of the kinds of legislative consequences that happen when groups of volunteers committed to producing social change get together probably rotates around the state-based branches of the national consumers league, which for decades -- two, three decades -- organized to try to get minimum wage legislation for women, maximum hour legislation for women because they thought they couldn't get it for all workers, tried to get child labor legislation. And of course, we know that in the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act, their efforts came to fruition.

So there are examples. In other words, the kinds of examples that I suggest might actually answer your question. Let's think as a community about the kinds of opportunities we can develop, actually do a precedence in the past with groups of women who could imagine legislation to create broader social justice, and then actually discover that it was implemented first on state levels and then on the broader national levels.

MS. LOVELL: Thank you. We are going to take our first question from the Internet. And, Mrs. Clinton, it's for you.

MRS. CLINTON: This is from Brock Hope in Ft. Wayne, Indiana, and the question is: We all know that sports competition among children provides friendship and team skills for the future. As the First Lady, what have you done to further this for women?

This must be a question for me because of my well-known sports abilities. (Laughter.) You know, I one time was being interviewed on a radio show back in 1992, and this young interviewer was looking at his notes that he had gotten from somewhere, and he said, well, we see here that you were a diving champion in your young years. And I said, no I wasn't. And he said, well, yes, it says right here you were a diving champion. (Laughter.) And I had long since given up arguing. Anyone who knows so much more about my life than I do -- (laughter) -- so this must be from the same crib sheet.

You know, I think, though, that it's a serious question because we've learned a lot in the last several years about some of the socializing that goes on among young children and what creates opportunities for both young men and women to see themselves as competitive and to understand what they might do physically and what kind of mental challenges they can confront, and sports certainly does that.

Just last week, here at the White House, in this room, we screened an HBO special about women in sports, called "Dare to Compete." And I really recommend that to anyone, because it's a wonderful story about how women gradually have broken down the barriers that stood in the way for those who did have athletic abilities to pursue those abilities.

And thanks to things like Title IX, which transformed the world of women's sports, so many more young girls in high school and college are now able to enjoy sports and enjoy the benefits that come from being part of a team, and pushing oneself. And we, of course, now have even professional athletes who earn their living in the world of sports.

And so I've tried to promote that through the President's Council on Physical Fitness, through events that we've held here at the White House. But I think it's something all of us should do more to encourage, so that any young girl who's interested and has abilities can take advantage of the opportunities that are now available that really weren't when many of us in this room were young women in school growing up, and didn't have that chance. (Applause.)

Q Thank you, Mrs. Clinton.

MS. LOVELL: I'm going to recognize Deborah Tannen, a linguist and Georgetown University professor.

THE PRESIDENT: She's coming.

PROFESSOR TANNEN: Thank you. I guess for either of you, I'm interested in the evolution of language and how that reflects our times, and the evolution of the times. It seems that there has been a gradual change in the language that women reformers have used to describe their struggles. So whereas at one time we heard about the fight for women's rights that was going to focus on women's liberation. I wonder if you observe any current trends here in the '90s, what is the language that you're hearing that women are using to describe their struggles today?

PROFESSOR KESSLER-HARRIS: I think I'd probably describe it as the language of

human rights; that is, I think we've now -- which is not a new language for women, women have used that language at least since World War I, but it's become increasingly the language of the women's movement, I think. And it reflects not nearly the sense that the liberation of women or the achievement of women's rights will advance women to a better place in society, but the sense that in so advancing women all of society will benefit.

And I think it also reflects the fact that we are increasingly conscious of a kind of global dimension to both our own experiences and how those experiences are affected by an in-turn effect -- those of women as well as men in the rest of the world.

So I'd say that human rights is probably the new way in which advocates for women's rights are now imagining that they can influence the world around them. That's really, I think, what we all imagine we're fighting for.

PROFESSOR COTT: I would just add something. It seems to me in terms of parlance, that often the term "women's issues" is used when people want to talk about things like this, and there's a certain vagueness to that terminology. and I think there is reason for that, that many people feel women's rights, formal rights, have been achieved, or even that women's freedoms, liberation have been achieved. Yet, there's still something out there.

There still are all the questions of masculinity and femininity, of what the relations between the sexes really are in public, in private, why there are differences, some of which seem unwanted. And I think women's issues expresses that the same way that in the last century the general term "the woman question" similarly gestured that a whole realm of unresolved and clearly not easy questions that remain there. and while I agree with Alice that international human rights is a context in which formal searches for rights are more likely to be conducted, that there's a whole other realm of questions that require a more vague sort of rubric.

DR. SIMMONS: I would definitely say that among the young students that I see, that there is almost an evasion of language, in a sense, a shying away from using those conventional terms to express what they are doing, what they are all about. It's intriguing, actually, to see where they're going to come down in the end, because they're going to have to call it something -- (laughter) -- and I don't know what that will be. But a kind of antipathy for labels of any kind, really. MRS. CLINTON: But I think there's something else at work here that you probably could explain, as a linguist. Part of the reason that women shy away from any labels is because the labels have been attacked and devalued. It is rare to find a woman who will admit that she's a feminist. And there's nothing wrong with that. If you look at it in the dictionary, you know, feminist is someone who believes in the equality of legal economic and social rights between men and women -- and not that women are the same as or better than, but that under legal and economic systems they deserve to have the same rights as men. But that word has taken such a beating from those who have different conceptions or agendas that there is a backing off.

And I was interested in seeing a recent article in a newspaper talking about the feminization of politics. And that began to creep into the political parlance back in the '96 election, when many of the initiatives that the President and the administration took -- whether it

was on child care or talking about issues that are kitchen-table kinds of issues, were all of a sudden derided as being insignificant and leading, therefore, to the feminization of politics.

And I'm not sure that that was intended as a compliment by the people who were using it, but I think it was really missing the point, because part of what the women's-rights-as-human-rights agenda is meaning to do is to lead to the humanization of politics, to take the legitimate interests of women and men as they attempt to shape their own lives, and give it some life in the political process.

You know, shortly after I said that phrase at the speech in Beijing, I was on a Voice of America show where a man called in from Iran. And he said to me, just what did you mean saying that women's rights are human rights? And I said, well, shut your eyes and think of your rights under any legal system that you function in, and those should be the same rights that women have.

But it seemed like such a shocking concept that the language is attacked -- not the underlying concept so much as the language -- as a first effort to try to diminish or marginalize these remaining issues that are difficult to talk about, to put into language that people can agree upon. And that's part of the great effort, it seems to me, that we're going to face in the next years, is to give voice to this human rights agenda in ways that really do resonate in average people's lives, and withstand political opposition, which will surely come. (Applause.)

MS. LOVELL: And since Professor Tannen is an expert about language, I should say that she may be a linguist, but she's also an expert in linguistics. And we have another question from the Internet.

MRS. CLINTON: This is a question from Laura Montaith (phonetic) of St. Martin in Canada, and it's for Professor Simmons: What would you suggest as a means for involving men in the education of boys about the importance of women in our society? (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Good question.

DR. SIMMONS: Well, I love that question and I'm very happy to have it. Because I think that it's a very important issue for us. As the mother of a son, who has come along with his peers and who -- I can't believe it -- as strongly as I feel about these issues, somehow I missed the boat with him because he didn't quite get it. (Laughter.)

So I think it's very important in the home for fathers to take their sons by the hand and to lead them into this wonderful light where people are equal and there doesn't have to be supremacy of one gender over another or one race or ethnic group over another. And it can be lovingly taught from the time a child is very young in the home. That's one of the best ways to do it.

For those men who are taking the time to mentor young boys who don't have fathers in the home, one of the things that they can do, in addition to taking them to athletic events and showing them how boys can be boys, they can also talk to them about women's rights and girls

and how smart girls can be and how girls aspire to do the same kinds of things as boys.

So I think it's in the home, I think it's in the schools, obviously, I think it's by mentors who are involved in young boys' lives.

THE PRESIDENT: I just wanted to say one thing that I have learned from a lifetime of sort of listening to the way people talk and relate. And this goes to Deborah's, the previous question, too -- I think if you will really study the Americans and how they vote, you will see that sometimes they vote based on income; sometimes they vote based on racial experience; sometimes they vote on philosophy. But a lot of the gender gap is a cultural gap, it's almost about the way we relate to one another and define winning and losing in our own lives.

And I think in order for men to ever get through this, one of the things that men are raised to believe is that fulfillment and success is defined in terms of winning and control; whereas people who -- women, historically, have had more nurturing roles. They have to raise their children. So you don't think -- maybe you have to control your child for a while, but sooner or later you -- but winning is defined not just as winning against someone else, but it's doing something in the context of your family, in the context of your child-rearing.

And I think a lot of subconscious patterns that men are raised with make it almost impossible for them to really get there on this issue. And I think that for a father to raise a son to believe that there is a way to win in life and find fulfillment in a shared victory and shared decision-making and not always victory over someone else and continued control over someone else, I think it's something that takes some doing.

But it's something that doesn't come naturally to men once we've been socialized. And I think that's an important part of this -- that until we can change it, it will never be just like it should be.

MS. LOVELL: I want to go to one of the students in our audience, Kristin Gayman (phonetic), who is here with her teacher, Gloria Cobbs (phonetic) from the School Without Walls.

Q My question is addressed to Dr. Simmons. It is evident that women have overcome many obstacles throughout the 19th and 20th century -- obstacles faced women of today's society and how can women prepare for this struggle for equal rights? DR. SIMMONS: So many of the obstacles that young women face today are both similar and quite dissimilar to what we actually experience. I think one of the things that young women your age, and a little bit older, want to do is to move into those areas that are still frontiers for us.

And we have, for example, at my college, been thinking about women in careers that have not particularly been hospitable to women -- science and engineering, for example. Women are still trying to get their foot in the door in so many areas, and I think that's one of the things to think about. Being educated at the high school level in all dimensions. Stay in your math courses; stay in your science courses -- all the way through high school. Because if you do that,

you'll have the opportunity to choose, at the college level, to do anything that you want. Poetry is wonderful. Literature is wonderful. Social sciences are very strong. Environmental science is wonderful. But you also want to be able to choose other careers as well. We're surrounded by technology this evening, and it's wonderful. But so many young women are not learning technology in the way that boys are, or young men are. So it's important, especially, not to be shut out of that dimension. Those are just a few things that I would suggest.

MS. LOVELL: This question is from Gary Daley (phonetic) -- also in Terre Haute. There must be a group or people in Terre Haute watching this. And this is for Professor Cott: How has the term "feminism" been defined in this century, and is it a term, in your view, which has value politically, inspirationally, and philosophically, for the next century?

PROFESSOR COTT: Well, this fellow's right on your very eloquent remarks, which I second very heartily.

The term "feminism" in fact, is a word of this century. It was not used by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. It was first used in about the 19-teens by young women who wanted to grasp rights beyond the formal political rights. They wanted the rights to be as free as men in the economic arena and the arena of personal life, as well as in political life.

And it was also a term adopted by the pioneers of the ERA in the 1920s. So that this is not the first time that feminism has, as a term, has been battered. Because when it stood for equal rights at a time when equal rights was seen as posed against certain special privileges or certain special protections that women had in the law earlier in this century, it was also a term that was demeaned as narrow or just undesirable.

And I think it really was not until the 1970s and in the height of the public movement of women of various sorts -- in the '70s the term was embraced again, and since then there has been, as you were suggesting, Mrs. Clinton, a real devolution. I sometimes worry that my students today think feminism means either hating men or not shaving your legs, or both. (Laughter.)

And I try to tell them that it means -- roughly, the dictionary definition -- that women ought to have the same rights or have the same opportunities as men, and however, I think that the terminology, as much as I, myself, am in favor of the term feminism, I actually think that it can have inspirational characteristics, but that what we ought to work toward is a proliferation of more words that will express women's political, social, economic struggle, the ways in which they share needs and wants for justice with men; and that the words for women's political actions and civic action have been very limited, even in our century, and we need to discover and discuss other terms and put them into use to express really the great variety of activities that women have undertaken.

MRS. CLINTON: Still, I hope we don't run from feminism --

PROFESSOR COTT: No, I don't want to abandon it, I think we ought to supplement it.

DR. SIMMONS: One thing that strikes me, though, Nancy, is that the further we get towards achieving some of the content of what we normally include under feminism, the more young people seem to back away from using the word itself. So the more opportunities they actually have in the work force, the more possibilities they have for political engagement and so on, the more they're willing to say, no, no, I'm not a feminist. And it's an odd sort of juxtaposition that the more young women get, the less they understand either the history of feminism and its achievements or what the term can mean for them.

PROFESSOR COTT: Although, I think this is not unique to feminism, it's part of the promise of America, in fact, that so many groups who have been historically subordinated or repressed in one way or another, when they come into a fuller life, they tend to want to forget the past rather than remember the past, which may have been a painful past. So it isn't unique, I think, to young women to feel that way about this.

MS. LOVELL: We can -- Marsha Semmel, I found you. The Director of the Museum of the West and, I think, women in your state could vote 23 years before the 19th Amendment?

Q Yes, and actually that's my question, is about remembering the past, as we move into the future. And I also wanted to say that we're privileged to be one of the satellite downlink sites, so we have a whole group on the front range of the Rocky Mountains who are able to share this, and thank you for allowing us to share this.

My question is for Nancy Cott, and it's: why did it take so long for women to get the national ballot after states like Colorado granted women the right to vote in the 19th century?

PROFESSOR COTT: Yes. And I should mention Wyoming, which granted women the right to vote in 1869. So that really deserves the first credit.

Well, there are several levels of reasons, and I'll try to be brief. And I think the reasons were somewhat different in the 19th century than they were in the early 20th. But the very deepest-based, in terms of political understanding of citizenship in this country, and in the whole western political tradition, the fully active citizen was not only conceptualized as a male person, but as a man who was head of a household, and whose vote represented not only himself but his dependents, his wife and his minor children. But it was his household that deserved representation through his vote, so that, at the deep structure level of political understanding, for women to vote would have meant removing a man's reason for voting, would have removed the important part of his dependents, whom he was representing.

And this had a more social representation in the strong feeling through the 1800s and much of the early 1900s that it just wasn't suitable for women to vote, that women had different concerns. The way they expressed their political influence was to be different, through the household.

And there were many, many women who were not in favor of the ballot, on the basis of thinking that women exercised their civic responsibilities better without the ballot by influencing

their husbands, sons, brothers, nephews and by acting as volunteers along some of the lines that Alice was describing.

By the early 20th century the concept of the vote itself changed, becoming both more of an individualized exercise and more of a way that groups in the polity could express their group interest -- groups like working class industrial laborers, or groups such as people who wanted to expand land rights in the west or certain new immigrant groups. The whole scene of voting was different in the early 20th century. And women suffragettes made a strong plea for their interests as women needing to be represented and that was what began to carry them into success in various states.

They were then opposed by specific interest groups like liquor interests, who thought that women were all enfranchised; certainly, prohibition would be national. And both of those things did happen, although in a different sequence. So I'm not sure their analysis was entirely right. And then there were certain industrialists -- a lot of the Southern states were rock-ribbed against women's suffrage, not so much on issues of race -- although, that was certainly very important -- but because there was a huge, burgeoning textile industry in the South and Southern -- influential Southerners -- many of them thought that if women were enfranchised the kinds of conditions in Southern industries would be changed by women reformers and they didn't want those women reformers to have the power of the vote.

So the constitutional amendment went through without any of the southern states voting for it, ratifying it.

MRS. CLINTON: This is from Lela Turner from Lineham, Delaware. Professor Kessler-Harris, what are the vital voices you hear when listening to the sound of the new women's movement? Who are today's leaders?

PROFESSOR KESSLER-HARRIS: Well, present company excepted, of course, (laughter) -- I think probably today's leaders are some of those anonymous voices that we have not yet heard from. My guess would be that some of today's leaders are still young people, grappling with the problems that still remain from an incomplete women's movement and from some of the tremendous tensions that have resulted from the transformation of households and work in the past decade or so.

I think some of today's leaders are women who are just now entering the grass-roots of political organization, political strategies. That is, women who have been inspired, perhaps, by people like Mrs. Clinton, and by other political leaders as well to think about how they, too, can contribute along formal, as well as informal lines.

My guess is we don't know who the next generation of leaders are. And we know who some of the people who have led us this far are, but we've yet to discover the people who are already moving us forward into the future. MS. LOVELL: Well, I'd like to recognize one of our Vital Voices, Judith Lichtman, President of the National Partnership for Women and Families. And you have a question, I know.

Q I was once again thrilled to hear the President's question involved the real struggle for balancing work and family responsibilities, because as the authors of the Family and Medical Leave and as the first law that President Clinton signed, enacted into law, we have a special bond and great respect for his commitment.

It was Mrs. Clinton who chided me ever so gently a couple of years ago not to think anymore or speak anymore with respect to language of juggling family and work responsibilities, because she reminded me that for many women it's a struggle. Women are struggling to balance work and family responsibilities.

And so I thought both about the question of how do we raise boys and men to be involved in family responsibilities and then Professor Cott's quick comment about juries and women being excluded from juries really, I know, until quite the mid-70s, and wondered if that's the reason? Was it stereotypic notions about women's work, responsibilities within the family and the home that kept us from participating in public life, i.e., juries, until the 70s, in many states?

PROFESSOR COTT: Well, yes, to put it most simply. There were many, many arguments brought against women as jurist, some of which were about feminine characterizations that women were irrational -- simple things of this sort. (Laughter.) But in fact where the fight lasted the longest was on differential jury requirements -- that is, that all men would be required to serve, but women only when they chose to. And that, of course, meant that women exempted themselves from juries, as most people, being lazy by nature, would.

However, the question was why was this so, why could a woman, say, just by being female she could choose to exempt herself. And the argument was, well, women are needed at home to cook the dinners, to take care of the children. In fact, I mean, we've dealt with this for decades now. But many things, differences in the law, particularly, that appear as privileges to women can also be seen as lesser obligations which, therefore, mean a kind of lesser capacity as citizens.

And there is language even in a Supreme Court decision of 1961 which allowed a state statute of that sort to stand, which basic language in the discussion at the Supreme Court in which said, well, who will cook the dinners if women are off at jury service?

This is in a period when a very high proportion of women were already in the labor force. But it was really due to the transformative work of Ruth Bader Ginsburg and women in the 1970s who worked so hard on so many transformative sex discrimination cases that the jury difference statutes were overruled by the Supreme Court, which said in '75 that men and women had to serve on the same terms.

As much as we can differ honestly as reasonable people on the question of whether equal rights mean the same rights, I think that we do want to say that women and men have the same obligations as citizens, and one of those very basic obligations and basic to our system of democracy is jury service. PROFESSOR KESSLER-HARRIS: Could I come in on that, just for a second, to say that -- of course, one of the things that prevented women from participating

in public life, or prevented them until the 70s, was that notion of discrimination, and what it was -- it used to be said that discrimination against women was benign discrimination.

And under the guise of protecting women against all kinds of things -- against working, as Nancy mentioned, as waitresses at night; under the guise of protecting them in their future motherhood; under the guise of protecting their families and households -- it was said that this kind of legislation that prevented women from doing certain things -- serving on juries, working at certain jobs, and so on -- was good discrimination, not bad discrimination.

And that argument was made by both men and women through the 1960s, until finally, in the early 1970s, it was sort of confronted plainly, and we began to see -- it was a matter, sort of the perception of men and women, as well as changes in the law, that we began to understand that such discrimination could not be seen as benign, and that it was as destructive as any other form of discrimination.

MRS. CLINTON: Of course, many of those arguments were raised again to defeat the ERA, and that is a very recent history. You know the debates that were held in the 1970s over that.

This next question is from Marie Theresa Penwillio (phonetic) from Cambridge, Massachusetts, and it's for me, but it really is for everybody: As a first-year student at Harvard University, it's often somewhat difficult for me to understand the struggle which so many women went through to give me the opportunities that I oftentimes take for granted. Yet, it seems to my generation as if the struggle is over. Yet, we know that there is still a heavily unbalanced power distribution in government and top executive positions. Do you foresee an end to this inequity?

MRS. CLINTON: I will just start, and I hope everyone will contribute. You know, the very fact that this question could come from a young woman who says that she's a student at Harvard as opposed to a student at Radcliffe makes a very telling statement, because certainly when I was her age, Harvard was not open to young women.

So within her lifetime, or my lifetime, anyway, there have been a lot of changes, and I do hope that young women are least aware of the history. I mean, it's very important for them to be looking forward, but I think they do so at their peril if they don't have some understanding of the past and the struggles of their own mothers, as well as people whose lives they might read about in history books.

Clearly, the unbalanced power distribution is a worldwide phenomenon. This is not an American phenomenon. And one of the interesting issues that I've looked at as I've traveled in other countries and spoken with many, many women in various positions of leadership and advocacy roles, is how even in societies that have given much greater lip service to women's equality, it often falls far short of the aspiration that is set as an ideal.

And I think that has to do with many of the questions we were just beginning to discuss. And those are the very difficult and personal matters of this balance or this struggle, as Judith said, about the choices in women's lives.

And, you know, it's wonderful to have the choices that we now have to chart our own futures. But the result is that there are still many more complexities involved in women's choices, in general, being very stereotypical, than there are in men's choices. And that for women it's a constant stream of choices that have to be met. Does one take the promotion that is offered when one has a young child, knowing that that means you won't have the time to really invest in your child the way you want to. And, if so, does that mean you're forever off the track in government or business.

If you are an older woman, after you've raised your children, you've done what you thought you needed to do -- not what someone else expected of you -- will you be judged fairly if you attempt to re-enter the work force, even though you have an enormous amount to give to any organization that would be willing to employ you.

These are very difficult, personal decisions. And, of course, the lesson that young women often receive is that they can't "have it all." Which means that they cannot have the kind of family life they think they would like, plus the kind of professional life they would like to pursue. And until we get to a point where that is either a question that young men pose themselves, or neither young men or women have to pose, then there will continue to be an imbalance. And the imbalance will reflect the different life choices that are now open to women, but which exact consequences down the road as women attempt to try to have a fulfilling personal and professional life, as well as to make public contributions.

And I think it's important we keep all three of those aspects in mind, which is part of the reason why the speakers addressed different characteristics, because there are public roles that are not paid for, that are outside the home, that are critical to the functioning of any community, which women have traditionally carried out, but which more and more women feel, under the pressure of work, and paid work, and work in the home, they can no longer fulfill. And so we're losing a lot because of the absence of that volunteerism that was always a hallmark of women's contributions.

So I think that the question that Marie Theresa poses goes to the heart of the most difficult area, and perhaps the one that we're now ready to address as a society, and that is this intensely personal area of how one democratizes relationships. And that is a very difficult challenge. And so for the issues that young women will particularly confront, that will remain at the forefront of how they define their own lives, and how we as society define the conflicting roles that women take on, and between men and women.

Perhaps -- Alice, or Nancy, or Ruth?

PROFESSOR KESSLER-HARRIS: I mean, I completely agree with everything you've said, and think that perhaps we could even push it one step further. And that is to say that, in order to do that, I think we have to begin to think about the issue that was raised by one of the earlier questions, which is how men are socialized and whether we can't begin to imagine households in which men and women take equal responsibilities, or divide the responsibilities in

some kind of more equitable way than is now the case.

But then I think we have to go yet one step further to say that I don't actually think we'll be able to do that until we begin to reduce some of our emphasis as families and as a society on the kinds of materialist values that we now possess. But I think in order to do that, we're going to have to think a little less as individuals, as families and as a society about what we possess and how we use it than -- and a little more about the sort of sharing of some of the social goods and social well-being of our society -- that until we can drop some of those materialist values or push them back a little bit and do a little more sharing, it will be very difficult to start reevaluating relationships in any one family until we think about how we're relating in the world as a whole.

MRS. CLINTON: You know, I was recently in California with Congresswoman Ellen Tauscher and I was in her district, and we're told by many of the people there that they commute two and a half hours to jobs at places like Sun Microsystems and others, and that they spend three to five hours on the road in their cars, away from their children and away from their spouses.

It makes it nearly impossible for them to think about how to balance family and work, let alone participate in the PTA, be a coach of a Little League team or whatever. And that's just one example, and it's certainly not confined to California or to the high-tech industry; you can find it throughout our country. And so there are social aspects of how individuals make these decisions, and I think that's an important lesson to be reminded of as we end this century.

You know, there were certainly social aspects as to how people lived their lives at the beginning of the last century that influenced how many hours they had to work. And there are stories of Jane Adams going through the neighborhood around Hull House and finding children tied to chairs because both parents had to be in the factories for 12 hours a day and there was no child care. So that sparked a movement that led to a lot of the changes that increased the quality of life for people in our country.

Well, today we may have to rethink how do we do this. And technology may be a friend in this because if there can be more opportunities to work at home or more decentralized work places, ways that both women and men can feel that they're more connected both to their home and to their community, that might create the kind of environment for some of these changes.

MS. LOVELL: And that's a perfect introduction to Ron Menson's* question to Dr. Simmons, isn't it? And Ron Menson is a senior project officer of the Ford Foundation.

If you notice I'm speaking faster it's because our time is fleeing so fast, so I'm going to encourage you to keep your answers short so we can get to the rest of the questions.

Q Well, thank you. I'd just like to say, though, prior to my question, that I think in the personal choices that you've spoken of, Mrs. Clinton, the whole question of how couples manage a dual career is part of it. And I think, just personally, I'd like to commend you and the President for that modeling, that helps a lot of people figure out what the possibilities are. (Applause.)

You've talked a great deal about the work of women as volunteers. In my own work at the Foundation, I see the need for men to become more involved in family and in community. Dr. Simmons, does having more women in public life mean that fewer volunteers will be available to conduct or direct activities that were specialized by women? And how can more Americans be encouraged to play this wider role?

DR. SIMMONS: I actually don't think so. And my reason for saying that is just my own experience in, for example, the communities of which I'm a part, and particularly African-American communities. I think that, if anything, people are committing themselves more to civic engagement. Older Americans who have retired -- some of them retiring older, some of them retiring quite young. I have a niece, who's only 50 years old, who's retired from corporate life. And what's she doing? She's volunteering in a local school, and also for the Diabetes Association.

So I think there is something -- I see also on the other end of the age continuum, young people who are engaging in these kinds of activities to an incredible extent. All of our students do this kind of service, more or less, today. It's a dramatic change. These are not individuals who will let go of that feeling of being involved in those communities. So they will mature as adults, and retire, and put even more time into community endeavors.

So I think not. I think that also those people who are in public life are also finding ways to volunteer, to be involved in various dimensions. So I think, personally, it's a very rich environment for volunteer efforts. And so it's wonderful on this day to be thinking back about the ways in which this started for women and to see that today, women still have that fire in them to get things done in this country.

There's a whole world out there where women are still suffering bondage, and where children are in incredible circumstances. And women care about that, as men do as well, and want to help. So I just see many opportunities for more involvement.

MRS. CLINTON: Dr. Simmons's last comment leads, amazingly, and totally unplanned, to this e-mail question from attorney Vicky LeBlanc of Delafield, Wisconsin, and this is for the President: What can we as ordinary Americans do to help the women of Afghanistan? (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Vicky. First of all, I'm sure all of you here know how horrible the conditions are for women in Afghanistan. Hillary and I had an event here at the White House not very long ago, we had two Afghan women here, among others, to sort of stand for what women in their country are going through.

I want someone in the audience to help me. There is a national organization of women, a group now focused on this, and mostly the leaders are in California, although some in the East Coast -- Ann, what's the name of it?

MS. LEWIS: The Feminist Majority. And Ellie Smeal is here --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, Ellie is here working -- Feminist Majority is working on it. And I'm going to have a meeting with some of their leaders very soon to talk about what more I can do, aside from not recognizing the Taliban and speaking against it.

I think the important thing is that we need people to support this organization. We need women and men around the country to engage in contributing to a common effort to highlight what is going on, who is being hurt, what the consequences are to the society as a whole and what we can do to help the people that are being hurt.

This is the 50th anniversary of the International Declaration of Human Rights. It is simply not acceptable to say that this is nothing more than an expression of religious convictions. We just had an election in Iran, local elections. There were hundreds of women candidates. We see, even in Iraq, a country we have serious differences with, their women are not subject to these sorts of constraints because they are women.

And I think the most important thing I could say to an ordinary citizen is, write your member of Congress and tell them not to acknowledge or recognize the government under any circumstances until there are changes, and -- (applause) -- get in touch with the Feminist Majority and get all the material, and make sure that you are doing whatever you can do to help those women over there and to give support for the ones that are sticking their necks out to try to change things.

MS. LOVELL: Thank you. A last quick question from Carol Gilligan, the founder of the Harvard Project on Psychology, and a quick answer.

Q This is for Professor Cott. Nancy, we've heard a lot about women's reformers and the fight for rights. But I wonder if you could say more about what you see as women's responsibilities as citizens.

PROFESSOR COTT: Well, briefly, I think we all share responsibilities as citizens that women and men are similarly indebted to the public and have a respect for the public interest and participate in it. I do think that as the President was referring to before, if women's historical and social situation has lend them some special qualities or lent many of them special qualities, then perhaps those can be especially valuable.

I mean, two areas that I think they might be are, one, in the area of finding ways to end war-making, not because I think women are intrinsically peaceful -- I don't -- but because in fact, historically, they have been much less involved in war-making as a gender group, and so -- this is certainly what women pacifists of the '20s, '30s, '40s thought and hoped, and I think there is potential for that for finding different means of reconciliation of differences.

And secondly, I mean, a very big problem of the world in general, not so much of our country, that I think women have a special interest in is the question of world over-population. I

mean, it's clear around the world that where women are more educated birth rates drop.

So I do think that there are -- those are two very major areas. The 20th century has been the most destructive century in human history in terms of states' destruction of human lives. And let's hope the 21st reverses that pattern and maybe women citizens have something special to contribute to that.

MRS. CLINTON: And, Carol, I would just add that one of the ways we can honor the past is by voting. And there are still too many women who, for whatever reason, do not choose to exercise their right to vote -- which Evie's sisters and others fought for, for so many years. And it doesn't have to be different from men's voting, it just has to be an expression of one's own beliefs and a way of demonstrating one's responsibility as a citizen, the most fundamental obligation, it seems to me, in a democracy.

So anything we can do informally and formally to encourage women to feel empowered at least to vote is a step in the direction of making them feel that they have responsibilities which they will fulfill in this democracy.

MS. LOVELL: I'm sorry, didn't get to all your great questions. Mr. President, your final thoughts?

THE PRESIDENT: When the Founders wrote the documents that got us all started, they said they were doing all this so that we could better protect life and liberty, and pursue happiness. And even they were smart enough to know that they weren't really writing that for white male propertyholders only, even though those were the only folks that could vote then. So a great deal of the history of this country is about the expansion of the notion of liberty, with notions of equality and justice. And we hardly ever think about what they meant by the pursuit of happiness. They didn't mean riding the rides at the county fair. They really meant the pursuit of a good life, dreaming dreams and trying to live them.

When I think about what the women's issues of the 21st century will be, I do think there will still be some significant liberty, equality issues related to wealth and power -- closing the wage gap, the earnings gap, dealing with the enormously complicated problem of the fact that there are more elderly women than men -- because you may be genetically superior to us after all -- (laughter) -- and that, as a consequence, their poverty rate is twice the rate of elderly men. Breaking all the glass ceilings that have been alluded to.

But I predict to you that there will be increasing focus, more than at any time in our history, on the latter purpose of our getting together as a nation -- and that is the pursuit of happiness. And I believe that will require us to deal with questions of balance and interdependence, more than ever before. The one we talked about a little tonight is a balance between work and family. There is no more important job for any society than raising children. And men have to recognize that, too. But I think that will be a big deal, how to balance work and family.

The other big balance questions will come involve with how do you keep society together with all the diversity we share, not just gender, but the racial diversity, the cultural diversity, the religious diversity. And women will be uniquely positioned to play a major role in that.

And, finally -- I'll just give one other example because we're running out of time -- how do we balance our obligation to prosper as well as we can and preserve the planet in the face of the evidence on climate change and other things.

So I believe there will be a huge challenge, which is an enormous opportunity for women, in the whole area of our pursuit of happiness properly defined.

When Susan B. Anthony came here in 1906 and gave what turned out to be her last public comment, in a church here in Washington, D.C. -- the last public word she ever uttered was, "Failure is impossible." I am persuaded by the presence of you in this crowd and those whom you represent that on the edge of a new century she's still right.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 9:30 P.M. EST

Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

February 29, 2000

CITE: 36 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 415**LENGTH:** 727 words**HEADLINE:** Proclamation 7277 -- **Women's History Month, 2000****BODY:***By the President of the United States of America**A Proclamation*

Last spring, three women astronauts paused during a shuttle mission to pay homage to the past. Thousands of miles into space, floating above the floor of the shuttle, they raised a women's suffrage banner and posed for a picture. Astronaut Ellen Ochoa, a participant in this special tribute and a member of the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History, said, "We wanted to show how far women have come in this century and to honor the people who fought for our rights." Each year during the month of March, citizens across our country pause to honor the many heroes whose diligence and determination have helped to forge our Nation and enable people like Ellen Ochoa and her colleagues to soar so high.

Women's History Month is about highlighting the extraordinary achievements of women throughout our history, while recognizing the equally significant obstacles they had to overcome along the road to success. It is about the women who bravely donned uniforms and fought for our country. It is about the passion and vision of women educators like Mary McLeod Bethune, who, with only \$ 1.50 in her pocket, founded a school for young black women. It is about the perseverance and pioneering spirit of women like Margaret Chung, the first Chinese American woman physician, who supported herself through medical school by washing dishes and lecturing on China. It is about Alice Paul's fight for the vote and Elizabeth Wanamaker Peratrovich's campaign to end discrimination against Alaska Natives. It is about the writings of Zora Neale Hurston, the paintings of Georgia O'Keeffe, the leadership of labor organizer Dolores Huerta, and the trailblazing artistry of photographer Margaret Bourke-White. It is also about the millions of unsung women whose contributions have made life better for their families and their communities.

Inspired by the courageous pioneers who came before them, women today continue to shape our Nation's destiny. Last year, Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Eileen Collins became the first woman commander of a space shuttle mission. American violinists Sarah Chang, Pamela Frank, and Nadja Salerno-Sonnenberg were the first women to take home the prestigious Avery Fisher Prize in its 25-year history. And, in a game attended by the largest crowd of all time for a women's sporting event, the U.S. women's soccer team captured the World Cup. Today, 58 women hold seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, and 9 women are United States Senators. More women hold high-level positions in my Administration than in any other in history. And in the private sector, women own nearly 9 million small businesses, employing millions of Americans and contributing significantly to the strength of our economy.

As we honor the past and celebrate the present, we must also focus on the future. Our choices today will have an enormous impact on the destiny of our daughters and granddaughters, our sons and grandsons. We must rededicate ourselves to forging a society in which gender no longer predetermines a person's opportunities or station in life. We must shatter the glass ceiling; eradicate wage discrimination; and ensure that every American has the tools to meet both family and work responsibilities and to retire in security. By breaking down the remaining barriers and opening wide

the doors of opportunity, we can make the future brighter for women and for all Americans.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim March 2000 as Women's History Month. I encourage all Americans to observe this month with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities, and to remember throughout the year the many contributions of courageous women who have made our Nation strong.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-ninth day of February, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fourth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., March 1, 2000]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on March 2.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

March 1, 1999

CITE: 35 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 335**LENGTH:** 702 words**HEADLINE:** Proclamation 7170 -- **Women's History** Month, 1999**BODY:***By the President of the United States of America**A Proclamation*

A little more than a century ago, an editorial in the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* opposing women's suffrage and criticizing women in the work force so infuriated a young reader that she wrote a letter in protest. Her articulate response prompted the newspaper's editor to offer her a job, and thus Elizabeth Cochrane -- later known as Nellie Bly -- began her career in journalism. A pioneer of investigative reporting, she exposed the brutal conditions in the care of the mentally ill, reported on poor working conditions in factories, and wrote of the indignities suffered by women in prison. This year, as we reflect on America's past in preparation for our celebration of the new millennium, we recognize that the talent, energy, intellect, and determination of countless women like Nellie Bly have shaped our destiny and enriched our society since our earliest days as a Nation.

From the women who organized the East India Company tea boycotts before the Boston Tea Party to Deborah Sampson, who fought as a soldier in the Revolutionary War; from Angelina and Sarah Grimke, who spoke out against slavery to Harriet Tubman, who risked her life as a conductor on the Underground Railroad; from suffragist Carrie Chapman Catt to sharecropper Fannie Lou Hamer, who faced violence and endured intimidation to become a leader of the Civil Rights movement; from environmentalist Rachel Carson, who changed our way of looking at the world, to physicist Chien-Shiung Wu, who changed our way of looking at the universe, women's history is truly America's history. That is why I was pleased to establish in July of last year the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History, whose recommendations will help us to better understand and rejoice to appreciate the role and accomplishments of women.

During Women's History Month, we honor the generations of women who have served our Nation as doctors and scientists, teachers and factory workers, soldiers and secretaries, athletes and mothers. We honor the women who have worked the land, cared for children and the elderly, nurtured families and businesses, served in charitable organizations and public office. And we remember the good friends we have so recently lost -- women such as Bella Abzug, Majority Stoneman Douglas, and Florence Griffith-Joyner -- whose achievements and example continue to light our lives.

But we must do more than remember. We must build on the legacy of the millions of women, whether renowned or anonymous, who have contributed so much to the strength and character of our Nation. We must ensure that women have equal access to the education and opportunities they need to excel. We must guarantee that women receive equal pay in the workplace. We must promote policies and programs -- including affordable, high-quality child care -- that enable working women to succeed both on the job and in their homes. And we must work to ensure that women have the comfort of knowing they can retire in security. Women who have gone before us accomplished so much, often in the face of hardship and discrimination; we can only imagine what women will accomplish in the future if we break down the remaining barriers that prevent them from reaching their full potential.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim March 1999 as Women's History Month. I encourage all Americans to observe this month with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities, and to remember throughout the year the many heroic women whose many and varied contributions have enriched our lives.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this first day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-third.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:21 a.m., March 2, 1999]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on March 3.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 12, 1999

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Public Papers of the Presidents

March 2, 1998

CITE: 34 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 362**HEADLINE:** Proclamation 7071 -- **Women's History** Month, 1998**HIGHLIGHT:**

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the Federal Register on March 4.

BODY:*By the President of the United States of America**A Proclamation*

The Preamble to the Constitution begins, "We, the people." Yet that phrase, inspiring as it is, has not always included all Americans. Women's history in America has been the story of the struggle of women of all racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds to be included in that simple but powerful statement. It is the story as well of how, in striving to reach their own great potential, women have strengthened and enriched our Nation.

In every era of American history, women have braved enormous challenges to change our world for the better. Women of faith in the early 17th century dared a dangerous journey and the unknown wilderness to seek freedom of conscience in a new land. As our Nation struggled for independence and to establish a new, more enlightened form of government, women like Esther DeBerdt Reed and Sarah Franklin Bache supplied food, clothes, and funds for Washington's soldiers. Freedom fighters like Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman led hundreds of enslaved men and women to liberty through the Underground Railroad, and social reformers like Gertrude Bonnin advanced the human rights of American Indians. Suffragists like Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Luisa Capetillo challenged the conventions of their times and sought to secure for women one of the most basic rights within our democracy.

This year marks the 150th anniversary of the women's rights movement in America and its immeasurable contributions to our Nation's promise of justice and equality for all. The visionary women and men who gathered in Seneca Falls, New York, in July of 1848 for the first Women's Rights Convention in history gave voice so powerfully to women's aspirations for inclusion and empowerment that their vision continues to shape our world today.

Once disenfranchised, American women now serve at the highest levels of government, as Justices of the Supreme Court and in increasing numbers in the Cabinet and the United States Congress. Once denied the resources and opportunities to play organized sports, American women made sporting history this year by winning the first-ever Olympic Gold Medal in women's ice hockey. Women are cracking the glass ceilings of corporate management to lead some of our country's most prominent businesses. As parents and partners, entrepreneurs and artists, politicians and scientists, women are helping to build an America in which all citizens, regardless of gender, are free to live out their dreams.

Thanks to the efforts of women leaders, little girls across America today know far fewer limits than did their mothers and grandmothers. But there still remains work to be done to create a more just America, and we must rededicate ourselves to ending the discrimination that women still face. We must continue our efforts to help women succeed at work and at home, to be free from violent crime, and to enjoy quality health care. In doing so, we will confirm our conviction that "We, the people" includes us all.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim March

1998 as Women's History Month. I encourage all Americans to observe this month with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities, and to remember throughout the year the many voices and stories of courageous women who have made our Nation strong.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this second day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-second.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:31 a.m., March 3, 1998]

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Remarks at a Democratic Leadership Council Gala,
October 13, 1999

Thank you. Let me say, first, it's good to be back. I want to thank Al From and Senator Joe Lieberman. And I have seen Senator Robb and Senator Breaux. I understand Senator Landrieu is here. I saw Cal Dooley, and I know there are some other Members of the House here. My former Chief of Staff and Envoy to Latin America, Mack McLarty, is here. I saw Harris Wofford, who has done a magnificent job with our national service program. And I know there are a lot of others here.
[p.2028]

But I want to say something about Sam Fried, the gentleman who introduced me. First of all, he gave a good speech, didn't he? I mean, he's got a great gift in capturing our vision. And he also did the nicest thing imaginable; he said how much he liked my phrase about putting a human face on the global economy, which I use three times a day. He didn't tell you the truth. He gave me that phrase, Sam Fried. So he could either be a speechwriter or a Senate candidate from Ohio or anyplace else he wants to run. But I think we need to recruit people from the private sector to run for office with the DLC message. And thank you, my long time friend.

This conference is designed to talk about trade in the global economy in the information society. And I want to talk about that tonight. But I want to try to put it into some sort of context.

I began a conversation with many of you, and led by and prodded by Al From, 15 years ago now. Tonight we know some things about the Third Way and about our credo of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community of all Americans. We know some things tonight about that that we only believed 15 years ago. We know that if this credo is translated into meaningful ideas and real policies, that it's not only good politics; it's very good for America.

In 1992, when Al Gore and I went before the American people, we made an argument. And that's all it was; it was an argument. We said, "We want to put people first. We want a country that's run by opportunity, responsibility, and community. We want a new economic policy. We want a new crime policy. We want a new welfare policy. We want a new environmental policy. We want a new foreign policy. We want to make America strong, America united, America a responsible partner and leader for peace and prosperity and security in the world." And it was just an argument. Thank goodness it was a good enough argument, under the circumstances, to win the election, thanks to an awful lot of you.

Tonight, it is not an argument anymore. We took those ideas—we took the specific commitments of policy; we implemented them. We did what we said we would do in our very specific campaign—and I've got to say something parenthetically, because I owe this to a lot of you in the DLC. I've always believed ideas matter. But when I ran for President, I violated all the conventional wisdom. We made more specific commitments on more issues than any candidate ever had who was a nominee of a major party. And a scholar of the Presidency, Thomas Patterson, said that we had kept a higher percentage of those commitments, even though we made a larger number of them, than any of the previous five Presidents.

And what really mattered to me is, when I went back to New Hampshire in February of this year, on the seventh anniversary of the New Hampshire primary, people there who pay attention to what you say, because you have to ask every individual 14 times for his or her vote, or you can't play there—and I love the place; you know, it was like running back home—but person after person after person came up to me on the street that day, not at the Democratic Party event at night, on the street, and said, "Mr. President, it's a good thing we've got an"—they had an unemployment rate of below 2½ percent—they said, "Things are good here, but the thing we really appreciate is, you did what you said you would do."

It would not have been possible if I had not been part of the DLC. It would not have been possible if we hadn't thought through in advance what it was we wanted to do, if we hadn't gone from an identification of our guiding values to an analysis of the situation, to a description of what we wanted to achieve, to a strategy, to specific tactics. This organization made that possible.

So let me say, first of all, it's not an argument anymore. The results are in. We have the lowest unemployment rate in 29 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest crime rates in 26 years, the lowest poverty rates in 20 years, the first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years, the highest homeownership in history, the longest peacetime expansion in history. It is not an argument any more; it works, and you should be proud of that.

The other thing I want to say is, a lot of our specific ideas have worked. The Vice [p.2029] President's leadership in reinventing government has given us the smallest Federal establishment since 1962, even though the most active executive initiatives in memory.

We have proved you could grow the economy and protect the environment. I went down to Virginia today to a national forest and announced that we were going to close 40 million acres of the nearly 200 million acres of national forest to roadbuilding, to preserve water quality and biodiversity and recreational quality.

We have proved that you can empower poor people to make the most of their own lives, with the earned-income tax credit, the empowerment zone program, the community development financial institutions, and now the new markets initiative.

AmeriCorps, which was a DLC idea—national service—has now enlisted over 100,000 young people in the service of our country at the community level in 5 years, a goal that took the Peace Corps 20 years to reach.

We also supported the Brady bill. We supported the family and medical leave law, two bills vetoed in the previous administration. And all of the objections to them turned out to be wrong.

So I say to you, you can be proud of that. We pursued an aggressive policy to become engaged in the rest of the world, to recognize that we live in an interdependent world in which we ought to lead. And whether it has been pursuing peace from the Balkans to the Middle East to Northern Ireland; to building self-capacity to prevent hardship through the Africa Crisis Response Initiative to give the African nations the capacity to prevent future Rwandas; to developing economic capacities in poor countries; to our efforts to combat terrorism and the spread of the weapons of mass destruction, we have made progress. And I thank you all for that.

Now, by contrast, it is interesting to me to watch the debate in the present election, which I'm not a part of, and to see how people try to say, "Well, maybe there can be a new Republican Party like there is a new Democratic Party." Remember this: They're like we were in '92; it's just an argument.

The Democratic Party—a heavy majority of the Democratic Party has come together to move forward. But their party still is overwhelmingly, including all those people they've got running for President—they supported that tax cut, which would have completely undermined our ability to save Social Security and Medicare and get this country out of debt over the next 15 years, and which they said they could pay for, even though now they admit they can't even pay for the money they've already spent this year. They all stuck with the NRA, and the Republican congressional leadership, when we tried to close the gun show loophole, after we proved that background checks do not undermine people's legitimate hunting and sporting interests. They're over there opposing the hate crimes legislation in the face of painful evidence that we are still in the grip of bigotry. They're not for the "Employment Non-Discrimination Act."

We see that on so many other issues. On education, we're for high standards, no social promotion, making failing schools turn around or close down, and thousands of charter schools. They're still hawking vouchers, even though we know the Federal Government only provides 7 percent of the total educational expenditures in the first place. On health care, they're out there all against the Patients' Bill of Rights, even though their own Members, who were doctors, in the House of Representatives couldn't bear the position that the party had taken.

So I would say to you, I'm proud of where we are. I'm proud of where the Democrats are. I'm proud of where our party has gone. And I still believe that when it comes to defining the future, the American public will be with the new Democratic Party instead of the right wing of the Republican Party which is driving their agenda.

And we saw it again tonight when they rejected on a party-line vote the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, after it had been ratified by 11 of our NATO Allies, including Britain and France, nuclear powers, endorsed by the President and four former Chiefs of Staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 32 Nobel laureate physicists, the heads of our own nuclear weapons labs. They basically said, "Don't bother me with that. I just don't think it's good." And it now has come out, [p.2030] of course, that there was a partisan commitment to vote against the treaty by more than enough to defeat it before it was ever brought up and anybody ever heard the first argument.

We are trying to work with Republicans, independents, and Democrats to move this country forward. That is the difference in the new Democratic Party. And we are still confronting a level of extremism and partisanship which is truly chilling for the long-term interests of America.

But tonight I ask you not to think about our differences with the Republicans but to think about the one remaining issue on which we have not forged a consensus within our party. And that is how we're going to respond to globalization, to the global economy, the information age, and the whole nature of how we relate to other countries in terms of economics, the environment, and trade.

For all of our changes, we had overwhelming majorities of both parties in both Houses voted for the Balanced Budget Act, overwhelming majorities of our party in both Houses voted for welfare reform. We are still not of one mind, and we do not have a consensus on the way forward with trade. So tonight I would like to talk to you about what I think we should do and where I think we should be, not only because I think we have serious responsibilities to the rest of the world but because we know that, until the Asian financial crisis, 30 percent of our growth in this marvelous expansion came from the expansion of trade and the opportunities that we found there.

I believe a strong, properly constructed global trading system is good for all the nations of the world. I know it's good for America because of the evidence of what has happened here. Today, the worst of the global financial crisis is behind us, and I think the time has come to take an important step forward. I believe we can make our economy even stronger and make open trade an even greater force for peace and prosperity in the new century.

I know some believe that isolating ourselves from the world will shield us from the forces of change that are causing so much disruption, so much instability, and so much inequality. I understand why they fear it, but I disagree that they can hide from it. America can only seize the problems of the new century if we shoulder our responsibility to lead to a responsible system of worldwide trade.

If we fulfill that responsibility, if we lead boldly and resolutely, pairing solid principles with concrete proposals, we can fulfill our promise in the global economy and help other people as well. We can create for billions of people the conditions that allow them to work and live and raise their families in dignity, and I might add, we can give those nations the kind of greater prosperity necessary to have more responsible environmental and public health policies. We can expand the circle of opportunity, share the promise of prosperity more widely than ever, and in so doing also help to bring down walls of oppression in other countries. We can, in short, put a human face on the global economy.

How are we going to do it, and how are we going to begin? In a little more than a month's time, in Seattle, Washington, our Nation will host a gathering of leaders from government, business, labor, and civil society. That meeting of the World Trade Organization will launch a new round of global trade talks that I called for in my State of the Union Address last January.

We've had eight such rounds in the last 50 years, helping trade to grow fifteen-fold worldwide. It's no coincidence that this period has seen the most rapid sustained economic growth ever recorded. Every trade round in this half-century has served to expand frontiers of opportunity, to expand the circle of prosperity and the rule of law and the spread of peace. I want the round we launch in Seattle to do the same.

But I also want it to be a new kind of trade round for a new century, a round that is about jobs and development, a round about broadly shared prosperity, about improving the quality of life and work around the world. I want to ensure that the global trading system of the 21st century honors our values and meets our goals.

Of course, different nations will bring different perspectives and different interests. To reach a truly global agreement, of course, we've got to work together in good faith. America will do its part.^[p.2031]

Tonight I want to set out our agenda for Seattle and the ways we intend to expand opportunity from the world's oldest business, farming, to its newest, electronic commerce.

First, we want to ensure that in this round agriculture is treated as fairly as other sectors in the global economy. That's long overdue. In America, farmers are the lifeblood of our land, as they are in so many other places. They help to fuel our unprecedented prosperity. Unfortunately, too few of our farmers are reaping the bounty they themselves have sown. Flood and drought and crop disease, as well as the financial crisis in Asia, have threatened the livelihoods not only of many farmers but of some entire farm communities.

Every American has a stake in the strength of agriculture. So let's be clear: One way we can revive the rural economy in America is to open markets abroad. The family farmer in America finds trade not an abstraction. It is vital to the bottom line and to their survival.

America is the largest exporter of agricultural products in the world. One in every three acres planted here is growing food for abroad. Five years ago, during the last trade round, we joined with our trading partners to put agriculture on the WTO's agenda. In Seattle, we should move forward fairly but aggressively to expand our opportunities for farmers and ranchers.

We must eliminate export subsidies. All farmers deserve a chance to compete on the quality of their goods, not against the size of other countries' Government grants. In the European Union, fully half of the overall budget is spent on agricultural subsidies. The EU accounts for 85 percent of the world's farm export subsidies—85 percent. This stacks the deck against farmers from Arkansas to Argentina to Africa. In Seattle, we'll work to end this unfair advantage and level the playing field.

At the same time, we have to lower tariff barriers. Tariffs remain much too high, and on average, they're 5 times higher abroad than they are in America. And we must work to reduce the domestic supports that distort trade by paying farmers to overproduce and drive prices down. These steps will help farmers to produce the vast and varied variety of food for the best possible prices. The benefits will accrue not just to them but to the global fight against hunger and malnutrition.

We should also see that the promise of biotechnology is realized by consumers, as well as producers, and the environment, ensuring that the safety of our food will be guaranteed with science-based and transparent domestic regulation and maintaining market access based on that sound science.

Second, we can lift living standards worldwide if we level the playing field for goods and services. Manufacturing remains a powerful engine of our own economic growth; it generates nearly a fifth of our GDP and two-thirds of our exports. It employs more than 18 million Americans in good jobs. This sector has grown since 1992, accelerated greatly by expanded trade, boosted by agreements made at previous trade rounds. If the Asian crisis has hurt our manufacturers—and it certainly has—it's because expanded trade is vital to their economic health, and it will remain so.

Since 1948, we have cut major industrial nations' tariffs on manufactured goods by 90 percent. Where they remain too high, we can do better, beginning in Seattle where we'll join other nations in pressing to lower barriers even further, some entirely and immediately.

Eight key industries, from an environmental technology to medical instruments to chemicals to toys, stand ready to take this step now. They account for nearly a third of our exports. So let's take that step at Seattle and set ambitious goals for other manufacturing sectors.

And there's one special aim we should achieve at Seattle: We should follow the lead of Korea and Hungary and work together on an agreement to promote transparent procedures and discourage corruption in the \$3.1 trillion government procurement market worldwide.

We should set equally ambitious goals for services. Trade is no longer just agricultural and manufactured goods. It's construction and distribution and entertainment. America is the world's largest exporter of services, in quantity and quality. And though we've made really important advances in agreements on [p.2032] financial and communication services, too many markets remain closed to us. In Seattle, I want to open those markets more fully and unlock the full creative and entrepreneurial potential of our people.

Third, we have to have a trading system that taps the full potential of the information age. The revolution in information technology can be the greatest global force for prosperity in this century. Last year, in the U.S. alone, electronic commerce totaled about \$50 billion. That number may reach \$1.4 trillion in 3 years. Three years later almost half our work force will either be employed by the new information industries or rely on their services and products.

Around the world, the ~~number of internet users~~ may reach 1 billion in 5 years. Now, currently, no country charges customs duties on telephone calls, fax transmissions, E-mail, or computer links when they cross borders. That's the way it should be. The lines of communication should not crackle with interference.

Last year the world's nations joined the U.S. in placing a moratorium on tariffs on E-commerce. In Seattle, we should pledge to extend that ban and reach a second agreement to eliminate remaining tariffs on the tools of the high-tech revolution.

Fourth, as I have often said, in the immortal words of Sam Fried, we must put a human face on the global economy. We're Democrats; we've got to make sure this deal works for ordinary people. We need to ensure working people everywhere feel they have a stake in global trade, that it gives them a chance for a better life, that they know that spirited economic competition will not become a race to the bottom in labor standards and environmental pollution.

I know to some people in some nations open trade seems at odds with these basic human goals, but I think the opposite is true. A strong system of trade and a dialog like the one we'll begin in Seattle are our best means to achieve those goals.

For those of us who believe the global economy can be a force for good, our defining mission must be to spread its benefits more broadly and to make rules for trade that support our values. It is nothing more than an international commitment to doing what we're trying to do here with the new markets agenda and with the empowerment zones. I really believe, if we work it right, we can bring the benefits of enterprise to the people and the places in America that have not yet felt it, from Appalachia to the Mississippi Delta to the Indian reservations to the inner cities. And I feel that way about the rest of the world.

So I ask you to support our efforts to have international organizations work to protect and enhance the environment while expanding trade and to have a decent regard for the need to have basic labor standards so that people who work receive the dignity and reward of work.

The American agenda in Seattle includes a thorough review of the round's environmental impact, as well as win-win opportunities that benefit both the economy and the environment. We will continue to ensure that WTO rules recognize our right to take science-based health, safety, and environmental measures even when they are higher than international standards.

In Seattle, the WTO should also create a working group on trade and labor. And I know you're going to have some labor people here tomorrow, and I congratulate you on that. We have got to keep working on this and banging our heads together until we reach a consensus that is consistent with the reality of the modern world and its opportunities and consistent with the values that we both share.

How can we deny the legitimacy or the linking of these issues, trade and labor, in a global economy? I think the WTO should commit to collaborate more closely with the International Labor Organization, which has worked so hard to protect human rights and to ban child labor, and with the International Environmental Organization. To facilitate this process, in the last year or so, I have gone to Geneva twice, once to talk about new trade rules for the global economy and once to meet with the ILO to talk about the necessity of banning child labor everywhere in the world.

This organization needs to be on the forefront of integrating our objectives and trying to build a global economy that will promote open trade and open prosperity and lift the [p.2033] standards of living and the quality of life for people throughout the world. They should be reinforcing efforts, not efforts in conflict.

I also believe that the WTO itself has got to become more open and accessible. You know, every NGO, just about, with an environmental or a labor ax to grind is going to be outside the meeting room in Seattle, demonstrating against us, telling us what a terrible thing world trade is. Now, I think they're dead wrong about that. But all over the world, when issues come up, a lot of people representing these groups have some legitimate question or legitimate interest in being heard in the debate. And the WTO has been treated for too long like some private priesthood for experts, where we know what's right, and we pat you on the head, and tell you to just go right along and play by the rules that we preach.

The world doesn't work that way anymore. This open world we're trying to build, where anybody can get on the Internet and say anything, is a rowdy, raucous place. And if we want the world trading system to have legitimacy, we have got to allow every legitimate group with any kind of beef, whether they're right or wrong, to have some access to the deliberative process of the WTO. And I hope you will support that.

Finally, let me say, we have got to expand the family of nations that benefit from trade and play by the rules. In Seattle and beyond, we have to be guided by Franklin Roosevelt's vision, a basic essential to a permanent peace is a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in the world. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want.

It was this understanding that led the generation of postwar leaders to embrace what was still a revolutionary idea: that freedom, not just of commerce but of governments and ideas and human transit, was the surest route to prosperity for the greatest number of people. This new round should promote development in places where poverty and hunger still stoke despair.

We just went over, I think in the last 24 hours, 6 billion people on the face of the Earth. Half of them live on \$2 a day or less; 1.3 billion live on \$1 a day or less. One of the reasons that I want to expand the reach of global trade is because I want more people to be able to lift themselves up. One of the reasons I want to expand the reach of global technology is that I believe if we work to bridge the digital divide here at home and around the world, we can help poor people in poor countries skip 20 or 30 or 40 years in the ordinary pace of development because of the explosion of technology. And I believe we can prove to them that they grow a middle class and grow a wealthy country without have to pollute the atmosphere, as their forebears did in the industrial era. I believe that.

But for those who share our views and our party, we must make clear there is no easy way to this. We can't get this done if we're not willing to build a global economic system and tear down these trade barriers and trade with people more and give them access to our markets and try to get our technology and our investments into their markets and build the right kind of partnership.

We can't just say we want all these things and then always find some reason to be against whatever trade agreement is worked out. We have got to have a global trading system, and we're either going to keep pushing it forward, or we're going to fall behind.

Let me just say, to kind of amplify this, there are some specific things that I hope we will do to show that we're acting in good faith. I hope we will get congressional approval in this session of Congress to expand our trade with Africa and the Caribbean Basin. I have proposed two initiatives there. There is broad bipartisan support for it. I hope and pray we will get that out of this session of Congress.

I hope we will bring more countries into the WTO in Seattle. Thirty-three nations are applying for WTO membership today. Two-thirds once had communist command and control economies. It is remarkable and hopeful to all the—listen to this—Albania, Estonia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, and Mongolia wanting to enter the world trading system.

This is not charity. This is an economic and political imperative. It is good for us because we want more trading partners. Never forget, your country has 4 percent of the world's people and 22 percent of its wealth. We've got to sell something to the other 96 percent if we want to hold on to our standard [p.2034] of living. And the more people we bring into our network of possibility, the better they do, the better we'll do. It is very, very important to remember this.

It's also important to remember that as these countries that are new to the experience of freedom and the rule of law and cooperation with other nations that has no element of coercion in it—they are new to all this—the more they have chance to be a part of it, the more they will like it and the more they will become a part of an international system of democracy and law that is so important to the future of our children.

In that same spirit, I am still determined to pursue an agreement for China to join the WTO on viable, commercial terms, again, not as a favor, but to reinforce China's efforts to open, to reform its markets, to subscribe to the rules of the global trading system, and, inevitably, as more and more people have access to more and more information, more and more contacts, to feel that stability comes from openness and not repression of thought or religion or political views.

What is at stake here is more than the spread of free markets or the strength of the global economy, even more than the chance to lift billions of people into a worldwide middle class. It is a chance to move the world closer toward genuine interdependence rooted in shared commitments to peace and reconciliation.

This is a moment of great promise, a moment where we have to lead. A lot of things happen in this country that send mixed signals to people around the world that I regret. And most of them come out of the initiative of the other party in Congress: the failure to pay our U.N. dues; the failure to embrace the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; the abysmal budget for foreign affairs, when we can spend a little money in helping our neighbors and get untold benefit; and the zeroing out of our market-oriented initiative to meet our responsibilities to reduce global warming.

But one thing is still on our plate: We have not granted renewed fast-track authority; we are not pursuing the Free Trade Area of the Americas; we haven't yet passed the Africa trade initiative and the Caribbean Basin one, although I think we might get that done, because in our party, we have not been able to resolve these conflicts.

They've got a lot more work to do in their party than we do in ours, as I explained at the outset. We have worked through where we are on budget discipline, on economic management, on foreign policy, on environmental policy, on crime policy, on education policy, on health care policy. There has been an enormous modernization of the thinking and direction of the Democratic Party, and we can be proud of it. But we can't go to the American people and say we have a whole vision for the future that will be a unifying vision until we get over this one last big hump.

This is an exciting issue, and it is a difficult issue. And the labor people who will come here tomorrow have real interests at stake which ought to be heard. The environmental community people have real interests at stake which ought to be heard. But we're going to globalize one way or the other, and we'll be at the front of the line or the back or somewhere in the middle. And I believe it is profoundly in our interest and in the interests of the world for America to be leading the pack.

And I promise you, if we take initiative, it will lead to a cleaner environment and higher labor standards and more values that are consistent with ours, including letting more people be part of the process.

So what you are doing here is real, real important. It's our last big challenge to be the party that reflects the values, the heart, and the dreams of 21st century America.

Good luck, and God bless you. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. at the Omni Shoreham Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Al From, president, Democratic Leadership Council; Senator Joseph I. Lieberman and Representative Calvin M. Dooley, cofounders, New Democrat Network; event chair Samuel P. Fried, senior vice president and general counsel, The Limited, Inc., who introduced the President; and Thomas Patterson, professor of Government and the press, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. [p.2035]

Source: United States. Executive Office of the President, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, Week Ending Friday, October 15, 1999 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995), 35:2027-2034

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The Administration's Proposal to Protect American Workers' Health and Safety

October 30, 2000

In order to protect the health and safety of America's workers, the Clinton-Gore Administration has proposed a new rule aimed at reducing approximately 1.8 million ~~repetitive stress~~ injuries **resulting from repetitive motion or overexertion** that affect workers. Based on extensive scientific research and public comment, the Administration's proposal – which is expected to be finalized shortly -- would **save prevent 300,000 workers the pain and suffering associated with these injuries of these injuries per year**, and save American businesses \$9 billion a year in workers compensation and lost productivity.

At the behest of special interests, the Republican Congressional Leaders have tried to block these standards with a legislative rider on the Labor-HHS-Education Appropriation Bill. In rejecting a compromise reached by Republican and Democratic negotiators, the Republican Leadership has forced a budget stalemate, which has kept Congress in session to the latest date in an election year since World War II. The President has called on Republican Leaders to set aside partisan bickering, drop their efforts to delay important protections for America's workers, and pass a budget that funds America's priorities.

Millions of Workers Every Year Suffer From Repetitive Stress and Overexertion Injuries on the Job:

- ✓ Repetitive injuries are the most prevalent type of occupational injury in today's workplaces, affecting **1.8 million workers** annually and accounting for **one-third of all lost-workday injuries**. These "on the job" repetitive stress injuries include carpal tunnel syndrome, tendinitis, and herniated spinal discs.
- ✓ These "on-the-job" injuries cause **600,000 American workers to miss work** and cost employers an estimated **\$15 to \$20 billion in workers' compensation costs** annually.

The Administration's Proposal Would Dramatically Cut Repetitive Stress Injuries

- ✓ **The Administration's proposed rule would reduce the considerable physical and economic toll imposed by repetitive stress injuries by requiring employers to put in place new programs to address these injuries and prevent them in the future.** A basic program would consist of management leadership, employee participation, and hazard identification and reporting. This proposed rule applies to employers in general industry whose employees work in manufacturing jobs or manual handling jobs or report repetitive stress disorders (This proposed rule does not apply to agriculture, construction, or maritime operations.)
- ✓ The proposed rule would **reduce these injuries by 26 percent** over a ten-year period, saving **3 million fewer workers the pain and suffering associated with these injuries**.
- ✓ The proposed rule would reduce costs in workers compensation and lost productivity, **saving employers a total of \$9 billion a year**.

The Rules Are Based on Strong Science and Extensive Public Comment

- ✓ The Department of Labor's OSHA initiated its studies of repetitive stress injuries and ergonomic standards more than **10 years** ago under Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole.
- ✓ A substantial body of evidence indicates a relationship between repetitive stress injuries and exposure to workplace factors, and many case studies demonstrate the ability of ergonomic programs to reduce these injuries.

- ✓ The Department of Labor has engaged in outreach to employers and workers and has conducted several months of public hearings, collecting 7,000 pre-hearing comments and hearing more than a thousand witnesses.

The Rules Build on a Strong Record of Protecting America's Workers

- ✓ President Clinton has revitalized enforcement at the Labor Department by adding more front-line enforcers, streamlining and targeting enforcement, and has opposed efforts that would make workplaces less safe. *Workplace injuries and illnesses are occurring at the lowest rate since the government started keeping statistics in the early 1970s.*

Good Evening: On behalf of Hillary and myself, I would like to congratulate The National Gay and Lesbian Foundation for presenting *Creating Change 2000: The National Conference for the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender movement*.

For the past 8 years I have had the honor of serving as your President. And I believe that America today is fundamentally a more fair and humane place. Many of the changes have been made in partnership with NGLTF through your tireless leadership and commitment to educating and organizing, on the local, state and national levels.

On the Federal level, we've had many successes. We've implemented an executive order mandating that security clearances no longer be denied based on sexual orientation, and another E.O. that prohibits discrimination against 1.8 million Federal employees. We expanded the Office of Public Liaison to provide outreach to gays and lesbians. And we have the most inclusive administration in history with over 150 openly gay appointees including James Hormel, as the nation's first openly gay ambassador.

Considerable progress has been made at the local level as well. Here in Atlanta, residents have just elected Karla Drenner to be the first openly gay state representative in Georgia's history.

But we know that much work remains to be done. It's past time to enact Federal hate crimes legislation. We continue to grieve for the loss of Matthew Shepard, James Byrd, Joseph Ilceto, Brandon Teena and countless others whose names did not make the newspapers.

It's also time to pass Federal legislation banning workplace discrimination based on sexual orientation – a law that would cover all 50 states. Today, I know that in 39 states, a person can be fired from their job just because of his or her sexual orientation. That is wrong, and one of my regrets is that during most of my administration, we faced a hostile Congress that repeatedly refused to pass the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA).

Yet, it is not just about passing legislation. It is about fundamental fairness and equal rights for all. We're making progress because more people are identifying with our common humanity. The American people are fundamentally good people. They nearly always get it right once they have a chance to be educated, have a personal experience or an opportunity to understand. That's what *Creating Change* is all about. Thank you NGLTF for all the work you have done and the work you

Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

August 26, 1995

CITE: 31 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1458**LENGTH:** 3673 words**HEADLINE:** Remarks on the 75th Anniversary of **Women's** Suffrage in Jackson Hole, Wyoming**BODY:**

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

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

Yesterday we were up in Yellowstone, and I remarked that I had had a lot of incredible things happen to me in my life, but in spite of that, if anybody had ever told me that within the space of about 8 minutes I would be feeding bison to wolves and then would be hailed on in August -- [laughter] -- or as one of the park rangers said, this is "hail on the Chief" -- [laughter] -- I would never have believed it. So this has been an incredible thing for me, and I'm so profoundly grateful to everybody here in Wyoming who has made our vacation so wonderful.

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

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

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

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

There are still countries in the world that try to force women not to have children, and that's something we can't imagine in this country, where that's the most profound right that women have

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

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

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

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

And I want you to know that I think America will have some things to learn from this conference as well. And we don't intend to walk away from it when it's over. I'm going to establish an interagency council on women to make sure that all the effort and the good ideas actually get implemented when we come back home.

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

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

The vote for women came at the end of an enormous philosophical war. Some of the things said kind of remind me about what people are saying about this conference on women now. It was bloodless, but it was highly costly. It literally consumed the lives of thousands of American women who were dedicated to gaining the right to vote. The dividends that were won we are still reaping today.

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

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

So it turned out that the results of that program were that we reduced the deficit from \$ 290 billion to \$ 160 billion. We got about halfway home toward our goal of balancing the budget before anything is done this year. We got 7 million new jobs, 2 1/2 million new homeowners, 1 1/2 million new small businesses, the largest number in American history, the stock market at 4,700, and things are rocking along pretty good. And they still say it was just the worst thing that ever happened. Everybody is for change in general, but it's difficult to get people to do the particular things to achieve those changes. I think that's important to remember.

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

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

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

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

Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Esther Morris, Carrie Chapman Catt, they helped to achieve that. Mother Jones fought to end child labor. Sojourner Truth fought to end discrimination and to establish social justice. My friend Rosa Parks set in motion the civil rights movement by simply refusing to sit in the wrong place on a bus. A lot of ordinary women all over this country, decade after decade after decade, have worked to advance the cause of fairness and freedom.

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

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

We just celebrated, Hillary and I did, a milestone in the progress to erect a memorial in Washington to the women who are veterans of our wars. And I was so proud to be able to say at this ceremony that in the 2 1/2 years I have been President, we have opened more than 250,000 positions in the United States military to women that were closed just 2 1/2 years ago.

In the last 3 years, the Small Business Administration in our administration has cut its budget by 40 percent, almost doubled its loan volume, and increased loans to women entrepreneurs by 85 percent.

We're not at 50 percent yet, but I have six women in my Cabinet, twice the number of any previous administration, and over one-third of our Presidential appointees and about one-third of the new Federal judges appointed in the last 2 1/2 years are women. Women are beginning to participate more fully throughout this country in the life of America. And so far as I know, the sky is not falling anywhere. [Laughter]

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

We have tried to do a lot of work to see that our national medical research focuses more on the health concerns of women. I was stunned when I started running for President, I never knew before how women had been systematically left out of a lot of the research efforts in the health area, particularly areas relating to cancer. And so we have done a lot of work to make sure that in medical research and treatment, with heart disease, cancer, AIDS, and other diseases, women are more fully represented in the testing protocols and the research to make sure that we do what we ought to do.

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

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

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

But if you look at this world toward which we are moving, the 21st century, the way we work and live is changing dramatically. And we are in a big, huge debate today, not just in Washington but in every State in the country, about how we're going to reestablish common ground, how can we agree on the basic things we have to do to enable our people to succeed, first and foremost, in raising their children, secondly, in being successful in the workplace, and thirdly, in preserving our freedom and our way of life. Those will be the great challenges, the new family values challenges for the 21st century. And we have to ask and answer those questions.

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

First of all, we've got to say, it is the policy of the United States of America for people to be able to succeed as parents and as workers. It is the policy of the United States for people to be able to succeed. In that sense, perhaps the most important law I've signed since becoming President is the first one, the family and medical leave law. The people -- again everybody was for change in general but against it in particular. People got up and gave the awfulest speeches you ever heard about that law. They said it would mean the end of the free enterprise system, businesses would go bankrupt, stores would be boarded up everywhere.

We have no instance, not a single one, of a business going bankrupt because of the family and medical leave law. But there are a whole lot of people out there who can take a little time off from work when their children are sick -- sometimes their children are dying -- without losing their job.

And that's a good thing. There are women who can take time off from work to deal with their own illnesses without losing their health insurance and thereby losing their ability to work, because of that law. So I think that's a part of our family values agenda.

If you look at the family values agenda, you have to say in the world toward which we are moving the level of education people have determines their income and their capacity to earn more than ever before in American history. So I think giving every child a good start in school and guaranteeing everybody the right to go to college with an affordable college loan, preserving programs like the national service program that allows people to work their way through college, giving every unemployed person in the country the right to what I call a "GI bill" for America's workers, a voucher that they can take to the nearest community college so that they can get retrained when they lose their jobs, these are family value issues that will profoundly affect the women of our country and their ability to do well in the future.

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

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

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

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

And let me just mention one issue, a difficult one. Everybody told me that I -- all my political advisers told me I had taken leave of my senses when I said it was time to stop walking away from the terrible health consequences of teenage smoking. But I believe the United States is right to say this is a children's disease. Kids are being addicted, 3,000 kids a day start smoking, 1,000 of them -- 1,000 of them will have their lives shortened as a result of it. I think that is a family values issue, and we should take it and face it together.

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

And if we really want the day when women will become full partners in the decision-making process in America -- and we believe that's a good thing -- and we want to face these issues which will determine whether we go into the 21st century with the American dream alive and well and the

American community strong and together, we have got to have that level of self-confidence. We have got to remember that every time, every time we have faced the choice between going forward with freedom or fairness, two things symbolized by women, we have had to deal with the demon of insecurity in our country and even inside.

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

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

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 11:30 a.m. at Jackson Lake Lodge on the 75th anniversary of the ratification of the 19th amendment to the Constitution. In his remarks, he referred to Rosemary Shockley, president, League of Women Voters of Wyoming.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 24, 2000

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN STATEMENT ON EQUAL PAY

Presidential Hall
Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building

11:44 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Well, first of all, I think Sharon was a little apprehensive coming out here because she doesn't do public speaking for a living, but I thought she was magnificent and I thank her for it. (Applause.) I want to thank Secretary Herman, for her leadership on this issue, and Secretary Shalala, and our EEOC Chair, Ida Castro, who is here.

We have a number of members of Congress who are here and I would like to acknowledge their presence, because this will be a bipartisan effort. I thank -- we'll start down here, Congressman Eliot Engel, from New York; Congressman Jim McGovern, from Massachusetts; Congresswoman Ellen Tauscher, from California; Representative Eleanor Holmes-Norton, from the District of Columbia; Representative Eddie Bernice Johnson, from Texas; Representative Rosa DeLauro, from Connecticut; Representative Ted Strickland, from Ohio; Representative Connie Morella, from Maryland; and Representative Albert Wynn from Maryland. Thank you all for coming. (Applause.)

I'd also like to thank Donna DeVarona for being here. She was the World's Cup organizing chair last year, and herself a great athlete; and she's now working with General McCaffrey and the Olympic's Committee to try to make sure that the Olympics in Sydney and all future Olympics are properly conducted in every conceivable way. Thank you very much for being here, we're delighted to see you. (Applause.)

I want to thank Michelle Akers for coming here and telling the story of her life and her family's. I think all of us who saw the Women's World Cup final -- and I had the privilege of being there, much to the dismay of my wife and daughter, I had the privilege of going -- (laughter) -- were truly overwhelmed by the experience. It was one of those just excruciatingly exciting moments. Grown people of both genders were weeping in our group.

And afterward, you may remember that Michelle took quite a blow and was hurt. And I saw her walking through the stadium after the game and I went up to her and I said, you're my favorite because you can take a punch, and I know something about that. (Laughter.) And so I am delighted that she was able to come here and be with us today; and delighted that she has both continued to fight for the interests of women athletes, and never forgotten about the experience of her own mother.

You heard Michelle talking about the role of Title IX. Whenever something really magnificent happens, like that World Cup final, it's a tribute to -- it's not just a moment. In that moment, you see years and years and years of hard work and determination and victory and disappointment -- all the things people go through -- that is all lost in the glory of the moment. And something no one ever thinks about is,

how did these people get this opportunity? What kind of framework was there so that they got to develop their talents, and live their dreams?

Well, that's what Title IX is all about, and we've had the honor, Hillary and I have, of having big events here at the White House to celebrate Title IX, and that wonderful HBO series on the history of women and sports, which I hope you've all seen -- if you hadn't, you ought to make arrangements to do so.

But if you were thinking about the application of the principle of Title IX to the workplace, and you think about Sharon Long's heroic story -- and how many people like her there have been; how many countless people like her there have been, who didn't stand up and fight like she did -- then you have to view the Equal Pay Act as Title IX for the playing field of life. That's why I'm glad both these women are here today.

We want to make sure that in every field of endeavor, everyone knows that those who work hard and play by the rules will have the chance to make the most of their abilities. This is about the value of work, the values of our country. It's about whether people can truly have a chance to choose the life they will lead; and for women, increasingly, it's about whether they'll have the chance to succeed both at home and at work.

That's what the Family Leave Law was all about. Twenty million people have now taken advantage of that, to take some time off and not lose their jobs when there's a baby born or a sick parent. It's what the Earned Income Tax Credit and the minimum wage and the child care reference and the strengthened pension coverage that these members of Congress have worked with me on over these last few years are all about. And so, today, because there's still a big need, as you have heard, we want to take new steps this year to reward work, to strengthen pay and to make equal pay a reality for all Americans.

First of all, I want to propose a \$27-million equal pay initiative, which will be part of my budget, to expand opportunities for women and to do more to end wage discrimination. If Congress agrees, we'll be making the largest investment ever to promote equal pay. There's never been a better time to take on this challenge. We have the strongest economy in generations; more than 20 million new jobs; next month, the longest economic expansion in American history.

Working women have had a big role in this economic expansion. You heard Secretary Herman detailing that in just the last year. And women are sharing in the progress. Listen to this: even though we have a higher percentage of women in the work force than ever before, the female unemployment rate is now the lowest since the end of World War II -- the lowest female household poverty rate -- female-headed household poverty rate we have ever recorded; wages for women up 25 percent since 1992. The pay gap has narrowed by about half since the Equal Pay Act was passed back in 1963.

But that means that we've still got half to go, after 37 years. And 25 percent is a lot of money. You heard -- Secretary Herman gave you her grocery store analogy. How would you like to show up for work every day, but only get to take home three out of every four paychecks? If someone tried to do that, there would be riots in the street; but if you get paid 75 percent for the same kind of work, it's as if you were only picking up three paychecks, instead of four, in four pay periods.

The average woman has to work, therefore, an extra 17 weeks a year to earn what a similarly-qualified man in the same kind of job makes. And even after you make adjustments -- and that's why I thought what Sharon said was so important today, to hammer home this point. Yes,

some of this can be explained -- by differences in education, experience and occupation. But even after you make all those adjustments, there is still a very significant gap. As women get older, the gap gets wider. And it is widest, regrettably, for women of color. African-American women earn 64 cents for every dollar earned by white men; Hispanic women just 55 cents.

Now, this is not just a women's issue. And I appreciate the fact that we have five women members of Congress and four men here. I'm the son of a working mother, the grandson of a working grandmother, the husband of a working wife, and my daughter plans to follow suit. I've joked, every time I do an event like this, that the first time in our entire marriage that I made more money than Hillary was when I became President -- (laughter) -- and all I'm really doing is trying to give other men the privilege of riding on the same gravy train I did all these years. (Laughter.)

But it's not a women's issue. If a woman with a family is being denied equal pay for equal work, then her husband suffers. Her children suffer. The family dynamic suffers. You think about how much time you spend at work every day, you can't go to a workplace and feel like you're getting the shaft and not have it have an impact that goes even beyond economics on your home life. And I'm glad -- Sharon has her husband and family members here today, they all paid. Everybody pays.

So this is a big issue in that sense. I'd also like to point out that it's a much bigger economic issue, even in the paycheck. Why? Because if you make less, then you have less going into your Social Security account and you'll earn less in your Social Security check. Because if you make less, you're far less likely to be able to have your own retirement plan. And if you do have one, it'll be smaller.

The average woman who is about to retire -- keep in mind the pay gap is 75 percent -- the average woman who is about to retire, if she even gets a pension in the first place, can expect only about half the pension benefits of the average man who retires. So the pay gap leads to an even bigger retirement gap. And this is something we have to think about more and more and more. And again, it's not just a women's issue.

The poverty rate among elderly women is about twice the poverty rate for people over 65 generally. The number of people over 65 will double in the next 30 years. Americans today who are 65 years old already have a life expectancy in excess of 82 years. And women live a few years longer than men, on the average. This is a huge deal, with implications for our entire society -- even for families where women do not experience discrimination in the workplace. They, too, will be affected in an aging society where more and more retirees are women who are severely disadvantaged.

So today we want to close those gaps. First, I propose \$10 million for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to train more than 1,000 EEOC enforcement personnel to identify and respond to wage discrimination. This would be, believe it or not, the first time the EEOC has ever received funding for this kind of training. The resources will also be used to educate employers and workers about their responsibilities and their rights under the law.

I made this request last year, and Congress failed to pass it. I again implore Congress to do the right thing and pass this funding. And I hope you will help us do this. If we train enough people to spot the problems early and work on them aggressively, the EEOC can help give us more stories like Sharon Long's, without the waiting time.

Second, another important way to close the wage gap is to open new

opportunities. So we propose a \$17 million investment in the Department of Labor, to include resources to expand opportunities for women in non-traditional jobs. We're making headway in the construction industry. We're also going to put a special focus on the jobs of the future in the high-tech industry.

Today -- listen to this -- men outnumber women by more than two to one in many high-tech occupations. These are among the highest-paid jobs in our economy, paying on average almost 80 percent above the average jobs. Now, that's another element of the digital divide. We need to close the divide in employment and expand opportunities for women in these kinds of jobs.

Third, and finally, we need to clearly send the message that wage discrimination against women is just as unacceptable as discrimination based on race or ethnicity. So once again I ask the Congress to pass the paycheck fairness act sponsored by Representative DeLauro and Senator Tom Daschle. Pass it. It's a good bill. There is no excuse not to pass it. We plainly need to strengthen the law. We've had the other Equal Pay Act on the books since 1963, and we've still got a 25 percent gap. The evidence is there. We should have been able to eliminate this problem after 37 years, and we have to do more.

Again, I say -- and I thank, particularly, Representative Morella for being here, this is not a Democratic or a Republican issue. It's a family issue and it's an American issue. It's about what kind of country we want our children to grow up in. I am delighted that these young women and the soccer team have come here as a team. And it must be a great thrill for them to see Michelle Akers, and I hope it spurs them to greater achievement in athletics and in academics. Most of them won't be professional soccer players. Most of them will be in the work force.

We do not want them to grow up and have children in a country which still has not solved this problem. And we can do better. Again I say that the same rules that apply on the playing field ought to apply in life. People who work hard and play by the rules ought to be rewarded, and rewarded in proportion to their contribution, not their gender.

This is a time of enormous promise. As I always say when I urge greater action to bring economic opportunity to poor areas that have been left behind, if we can't deal with this issue now, at a time of unprecedented prosperity, when in the wide world will we ever get around to dealing with it?

I thank the members of Congress for their commitment. I thank you for being here. I ask you to help us bear down, and act, now.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

12:00 P.M. EST

The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20566-0001
202 416-8000
FAX 202 416 8205

October 20, 2000

To Steve Hunt

*To: JOSH 6 2505
MARA 6 1213*

TO: Ellen Lovell

FR: Ann Stock *A.S.*

CC: Beth Mohsinger

FYI: Melanne Verveer
Capricia Marshall

RE: Script for POTUS Video/Larry Wilker Farewell Dinner

Attached, please find a draft of the script for President Clinton's video for Larry's farewell dinner. I have timed it and it should take approximately a minute and a half.

Thanks so much for helping with this. Please send the invoice for the filming to me care of the Kennedy Center.

The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20566-0001
202 416-8000
FAX 202 416 8205

Good evening.

We've gathered tonight to honor the achievements of a man who, over the past ten years, has made a considerable impact on the cultural life of our country—a man who's opened the doors to the arts to millions of Americans.

When I came to Washington in 1993, I knew the Kennedy Center as many Americans do—a place where the arts are celebrated, where the Kennedy Center Honors are awarded, where the great ballet companies, international theater troupes, and finest musicians perform. I soon learned that the Kennedy Center does much more.

Under Larry Wilker's guidance, the Kennedy Center has become a national leader in arts education. During his tenure, hundreds of thousands of school children have learned the value—and the lifelong joy—of the arts. Through Kennedy Center programs, their teachers have learned to incorporate the arts into every part of the curriculum, sparking imagination, spurring creativity, and fostering discipline and thinking skills. And their parents and community leaders have learned to advocate for arts education, so the work begun here will be carried on into the future.

Ten years is a long time in the life of a child—more than enough time to learn the values of a lifetime, to develop talents and skills, and to discover what makes them unique and valuable. The work that the Kennedy Center has done with these children will have far-reaching and fortunate effects on the future of our nation.

Hillary and I thank you Larry, for your leadership, your insights, and your passion.
Thank you for a job well done.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

August 30, 1996**CITE:** 32 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1596**LENGTH:** 4279 words**HEADLINE:** Interview With Tabitha Soren of **MTV****BODY:**

Ms. Soren. Welcome, Mr. President, to our Choose or Lose bus.

The President. Thank you.

Antidrug Efforts

Ms. Soren. Thank you very much for taking the time to do this on your bus tour.

In your speech last night you said that drugs were wrong and deadly. But on **MTV** a couple of years ago, someone asked you if you could inhale -- if you could do it over again, would you inhale, and you said, "Yeah, I tried the first time."

The President. That was true.

Ms. Soren. Do you wish that you had answered differently? Because Republicans are planning on using this to attack you.

The President. Oh, they're using it, but all I said was -- I was just trying to make the point that I had never -- when I answered the question I told the truth. I just told the truth about the question.

Ms. Soren. It was a joke?

The President. Yes.

Ms. Soren. The question was, in context, it was a light-hearted --

The President. It was a light-hearted question, and it wasn't in the context of some sort of endorsement of drug use, and they know that. If you look at the record I established as Governor, the record I've established as President, the things I've worked on, and if you look at the terrible price my own family has paid and my brother's problem which literally nearly killed him, I think that my position on this is clear.

I'm very concerned about it really because every so often, you know, years go by and we see drug use going down. We still see drug use going down among adults; that's the interesting thing. In the last 4 years, drug use among people 18 to 34 has gone down because people have begun to think more about their own lives, their responsibilities then when they have children, and they began to be concerned about the risks.

But every few years, apparently, younger people believe it's not dangerous anymore and believe that the risks, if there are any, can be borne. The risks of, let's say, cocaine, heroin, and hallucinogens and marijuana are different kinds of risks, but there are real risks associated with all of them. And I'm very hopeful, now that General McCaffrey has come on and agreed to be our drug czar and we're focusing now -- I wouldn't say exclusively but clearly primarily on people under 18, that we and people around the country will be able to do something about this.

Convention Format and Message

Ms. Soren. I wanted to ask you another question about the convention. I think a lot of people were confused by what they saw at both conventions; they saw singing Senators and delegates macarena-ing. Obviously it's a party, you know, but many people didn't hear the message coming from the conventions.

For instance, obviously Christopher Reeve has done a lot of good for people who suffer from his disability, but why is his disability an argument to **vote** for you?

The President. For two reasons. One is, Christopher Reeve made an impassioned plea for research. In my budget we have consistently invested more in research, both in health care areas like spinal cord disease, breast cancer, HIV, and AIDS, and also in science and technology. We're now building with IBM a computer, a supercomputer that will do more calculations in a second than a person with a hand-held calculator could do in 30,000 years -- 30,000 years. It's unbelievable. And I believe that it's very important to **vote** for a President who believes in the future and who is really committed to science and technology and research.

The second reason is, as Christopher Reeve so eloquently told me when we were visiting in the Oval Office, not everyone who gets a serious injury and becomes disabled is wealthy; most people aren't, and even wealthy people can quickly be bankrupted by the cost of care. The Medicaid program which the Federal Government has maintained for 30 years contains a guarantee of aid to families with disabilities who are middle class or below, to enable them to maintain a middle class life, to keep their jobs and still give their disabled family member some help.

In the budget -- which I vetoed -- of the Republican Congress, which Senator Dole and Mr. Gingrich led through Congress, they would have removed that guarantee, just sent some money to the States, put a lid on it, and then let the States decide what to do. And I think it's highly likely that the first people to be sacrificed would have been people with disabilities.

So those are the two reasons that his being there embodied the human connection to the President and his actions, the Congress, and what happens to people's lives. And every other person that was there on Monday night, the same thing. The Brady bill, it was obvious because they talked about it. Mike Robbins, the Chicago police officer, was riddled with bullets by an assault weapon. The young AmeriCorps girl was important because the Republicans have tried to abolish AmeriCorps twice. The educator is important because they wanted to cut back on educational aid; I wanted to invest more money in education. So everybody there -- the Toledo autoworker was important because we've opened new markets to Japan and other parts in the world and America is number one in auto production again.

So we started our convention in a very different way. We had a whole series of citizens speaking to establish the connection between their **vote** and their lives.

1996 Election Issues

Ms. Soren. Speaking of Senator Dole and the Republicans, the Republicans are accusing you of theft of their values agenda, stealing their ideas and making them your own. How do you plead?

The President. Well, the Republicans tried for years to convince the American people that only one party had values. And unfortunately -- I believe it was unfortunate -- they were too often rewarded for that. But I never believed that only Republicans could stand up for the American family. I never believed that only Republicans could be tough on crime. I thought those were American issues.

But if we were going to argue that they belonged to one party or another -- I mean, here's a fact: The first bill I signed was the Family and Medical Leave Act. My predecessor, my Republican predecessor, vetoed it twice, and Senator Dole led the fight against it. Now, who is the more

pro-family?

I fought the crime bill through, which put 100,000 police on the street, banned assault weapons, and had tougher punishment programs and prevention programs for young people. The bitterest, I mean really, literally, bitterest opponent of the crime bill in the entire Congress was Senator Dole. Now, who is strong against crime? We've got 4 years of declining crime.

So I didn't steal their values. On welfare reform, long before they ever passed a bill, 3 months into my Presidency I granted the first waiver to a State to try a welfare-to-work experiment. We now have 1.8 million fewer people on welfare than we did the day I took office -- before this welfare bill takes effect.

So I didn't steal their values agenda. I believe they're American values, and I did something about it. And I think they're angry because they made so many **votes** for years just by talking about it and not doing anything about it. So we did something about it, and they're complaining about it.

Ms. Soren. Are you afraid of being seen as sort of -- are you afraid of your politics being perceived as sort of Republican-like, a less radical approach to their ideas?

The President. No. Let me just take one other example.

Ms. Soren. The only reason I ask is because people are wondering if you're the same person they elected in '92.

The President. If you look at what we talked about at the convention, if you look at what we've done over the last 4 years -- including in the last 2 years -- the budget that I passed, I put the Democrats on the side of deficit reduction and balancing the budget, because I believe that. That's what I ran on. But all the Republicans voted against our budget because it also made the Tax Code fairer; it lowered taxes on 15 million working people, asked those of us in the highest income groups, the top one percent of us, to pay a little more.

They opposed me on family and medical leave, most of them did. They opposed my education reforms, all progressive things. They opposed the crime bill. Then when we finally got some action out of this last Congress, there was -- the health care reform proposal was a big part of my health care reform bill that I signed. The minimum wage bill, the pension relief for small businesses, was legislation that I always advocated. So I think it sounds good. But what was the biggest thing I did in the last 2 years? I vetoed their budget.

So I don't see how they can say I'm Republican-like. I just think that they like saying, "We're for a balanced budget; the Democrats are big spenders. We're tough on crime; the Democrats are weak on crime. We're for work instead of welfare; the Democrats are for welfare instead of work." And even some of our own commentators kind of got hung up in that.

If we protect children and we give families the right to and the tools they need to make the most of their own lives, we should be for a balanced budget, a growing economy, work instead of welfare, and tough on crime. So I feel very good about it, and I don't think it's inconsistent.

Political Consultant Dick Morris

Ms. Soren. Dick Morris helped you make a political comeback over the last 2 years, and he's been running, according to just about everyone, a phenomenal campaign. Now he's resigned. Will you still be talking to him on the phone about politics?

The President. I don't plan to do that, no. But we do have a good team, and we all work together.

Ms. Soren. You're not worried at all with him not being there?

The President. No, because we have a good team. And everybody had a role to play, and we all agreed early on on a strategy. And then when we -- we had a decisionmaking process which I think is very good, which I'm just going to keep in place. I'm going to keep the team I've got; I'm going to keep the decisionmaking process in place. And I think we'll do very well.

Ms. Soren. So you won't be communicating with him anymore?

The President. I don't have any plans to do that. I don't say I won't communicate with him. My wife and I and the Vice President all called him and just had a purely personal conversation.

But this campaign is now the product of a record we have made and the proposals we have out there and the fact that we -- our administration stood against what Mr. Gingrich and Mr. Dole tried to do in '95 and early '96. And those will be the salient elements that the American people will have to decide on, and we'll do the best we can. But I feel good about it.

1996 Election

Ms. Soren. There's talk in Republican circles of renewing character attacks on you because of their opinion that you surround yourself with questionable people. How are you going to respond?

The President. I'm not. I'm going to keep doing my job. I think the reason that talk is there, though, is that way they don't have to talk about over 10 million new jobs; they don't have to talk about the fact that my Democratic administration is the first one to reduce the deficit in all 4 of its years, since before the Civil War; that our budget would be in surplus today if it weren't for the interest we pay on the debt run up in the 12 years of the Republican Presidencies before me; that we have made college loans more available and more affordable, and they tried to cut back on it; that the crime rate has come down under our strategy, and they opposed it.

They don't have to talk about those things. But I'm going to talk about what is right for the American people. The American people will make their judgments about -- and probably already have made their judgments about that. And I do not intend to respond in kind. I'm going to keep saying what I said before: I like Senator Dole. I've had a good relationship with him. I honor the 35 years he gave this country in Congress, and I respect him for the way he fought back from his injury in the war. And I just don't think that it's good for America, and I'm going to try to make this election about big things that touch the people we just saw on the side of the road there.

Ms. Soren. Or little things that touch them, too.

The President. And the little things that touch them.

Ms. Soren. You captured the imagination of young people in 1992, along with their **votes**. I saw young people at the **MTV** Inaugural Ball weeping when you arrived. Maybe their expectations were too high, but even with national service and all your educational programs, a lot of them feel just as disconnected today as they did 4 years ago. Do you feel like you've let people down? Have you not gotten your message out as clearly as you could have?

The President. Well, I think the campaign will help. But all I can say is --

Ms. Soren. Were their expectations too high?

The President. I don't know, because I don't know what their expectations were. I want them to be high. But if you look at what happened on this train trip, that was my first real -- I don't think polls can tell you these things. I don't think you can poll this. But when we were out there, and on this train trip we stopped -- most of our rallies were in very small towns. We only had 2 stops where there were fewer than 10,000 people there. There were more than 150,000 total people who came to our rallies in those 3 days on the train. And then there were hundreds and hundreds of people, place after place after place, just on the side of the road as we were going. We had 30,000 in Cape

Girardeau, Missouri, today, our first bus stop.

I think people do feel connected. Look, I think they feel like they're part of something bigger than themselves. I think they think the country is moving again. I do believe in the first 2 years that -- one of the things that I've learned over many years is that there is a time lag between when a President or a Governor or a Congress takes an action and when it can be felt in the lives of the American people. So that we saw real economic growth coming from 1993 on, but there was no evidence until really about 8 months ago that the American people were beginning to feel it in their own lives, when paychecks finally started to go up again, when people saw that there were enough new jobs to make a difference in the local economy.

It's the same thing with education. Now we're beginning -- we've got a critical mass of young people who have been either in national service or even many, many more are getting the new college loans, the direct loans that they can pay back as a percentage of their income. We've reduced the welfare rolls by enough now that people are beginning to perceive it. The crime rate has come down now 4 years in a row so that people are finally beginning to perceive it. Their streets are safer, even though the crime rate in America is far too high still.

I think that's a part of it. And so I think that my obligation is to go back to the young people of America and say, here's what I said I'd do 4 years ago; here's what we've done; here's what we're going to do in the next 4 years. And that's a lot of what we tried to do at our convention.

Campaign Financing

Ms. Soren. Young people are alienated from politics. Young people think politics is rigged by money, and they're right. Democrats received tens of millions of dollars in corporate contributions. What are those corporations getting for their money?

The President. Well, I think it's fair to say that most of the corporations that contribute to either party agree with their policies. But keep in mind, almost all the wealthy individuals and some of the corporations that contributed to the Democratic Party are doing so even though their tax bills went up, because only the top 1.2 percent of individuals and corporations with incomes over \$ 10 million a year had an income tax increase under our tax bill. And a lot of them supported us anyway, first of all because they knew I was right, that to get the deficit down, get interest rates down -- they'd all do better with a healthier economy. I don't believe that any of them have supported me for some sort of bad or unseemly reason.

On the other hand, I think it would be better if we had a campaign finance reform system that would enable people in public life to spend less time raising money and to be less dependent on it. But the only way you can do it is to give greater access to the airwaves, to candidates or parties, because it just costs so much to communicate.

Ms. Soren. So it's our fault. *[Laughter]*

The President. No, no, it's not your fault. No, no, I don't mean it that way.

Ms. Soren. I'm just kidding.

The President. Look, here's a country with a \$ 1.5 trillion budget, an annual income of over \$ 6 trillion. So you talk about a party raising and spending \$ 150 million in a year and a half for an election, it sounds like a lot of money. Against that, it doesn't sound like so much money. It just costs a lot of money to communicate. The communications costs -- not just on television -- radio, print, mail, travel, it's very high.

Ms. Soren. Right. Do you think -- so corporations aren't getting access? I read a report that they get to sleep in the Lincoln Bedroom once in a while, CEO's or --

The President. Well, the people who sleep in the Lincoln Bedroom are people I personally invite, who have been my friends, and a lot of them have supported me. But I don't think any President has made a habit of inviting his opponents to sleep in the Lincoln Bedroom. I mean, I think you normally invite your supporters.

Ms. Soren. Sure.

The President. But I can say this: There's never been any attempt to raise any money with the promise that you can spend the night in the Lincoln Bedroom. I have invited people who have been helpful to me to spend the night in the Lincoln Bedroom, but it was never a quid pro quo there.

Politics and Personal Attacks

Ms. Soren. No, I'm not trying to imply that.

You're doing really well in the polls, but there's a certain percentage of people who not only don't support you but they seem to actively dislike you. Why do some people dislike you so much? Nobody is --

The President. Well, I think -- there's a sign on the side of your bus; it's a quote of Bill Cosby's that I just love. He says, "I don't know the secret of success. But I know the secret of failure is trying to please everybody." And I have always believed that in public life, when you were given an office, you should outline the major challenges and go after them and really try to get something done. And you should enlist the energies of people and try to bring them together and do it.

And I have always had a certain core of people who have opposed me. When I was Governor of my State, I got elected five times and would regularly get nearly two-thirds of the **vote**. There would always be a core of people who were intensely opposed to my policies.

Ms. Soren. But people didn't necessarily like Reagan's policies, either, but it didn't seem to get as personal. Do you think it has to do with your generation?

The President. Perhaps. And it may be -- well, I just don't know. I don't know. It may have more to do with the comparative tactics of the two parties. I have no idea. It may have more to do with the way people are talked about now.

One of the reasons I have tried so hard -- especially since the Oklahoma City bombing, which I say had a profound impact on our country and on me -- I have really tried hard to bring a sense of civility and decency back into public discourse. I went back and read some of my own speeches in '92, and while they're not rough at all by the standards of today, I thought, well, I want to elevate what I'm saying and how I'm saying it a little more now.

I just think that politics has always been a rough-and-tumble business, and people have always disagreed. And if you go back to the early 1800's, for example, it's a period of real tumult in our country, what was said and done and how much people had it pretty rough. I mean, when Thomas Jefferson was elected President, the John Adams party -- because Mr. Adams was trying to hold onto the Presidency -- said that he would kill religion in America, he would end godliness among the American people. So we've always had some of this, but I think we need to resist it.

Ms. Soren. I remember a very proud group of your inner circle of friends at the convention 4 years ago walking around boasting FOB pins. How does it make you feel that bad things have happened to those who have helped you get where you are today: Jim Guy Tucker, Vince Foster, Webb Hubbell, even the First Lady?

The President. Well, I feel very badly, obviously, about Vince Foster because he was my longtime friend, and it's always tragic when someone commits suicide. And I do feel that a lot of people were targeted just because they were from Arkansas. Governor Tucker, for example, had -- he was my

Lieutenant Governor, we had been friends for a long time, but he'd never been part of my political life. But he was targeted, and I feel badly about that. And the country is going to have to evaluate, when this whole thing is over and there will be time for a fair accounting, whether they think it was the right thing to do. And I feel very badly about Hillary and a lot of her staff have been subject to, because it was just pure naked politics from the get-go.

But that's what I'm talking about. That's sort of the way of the cycle. It's the cost of doing business in Washington. I mean, the people --

Ms. Soren. Was that a surprise to you, that it was as harsh as it was?

The President. Well, it's just gotten worse and worse; it's been deteriorating over time.

Yes, it surprised me that you could be exonerated from one thing after another and it would never be noticed and then just another set of charges just to keep these going. That bothered me. But you know, the thing I think is important that I'd ask the American people to look at is that all these folks in our administration sustained all these hits, and we kept producing for the American people. We said, we can't control this, we can't do anything about it; all we can do is get up tomorrow and try to do our job. Why did we come here? We came here to help move the country forward and bring the country together, and that's what we're going to do. And our convention showed how productive our administration had been and our country had been in the last 4 years. And I think the fact that we could do it while having people like Senator D'Amato on us day-in and day-out I think is a tribute to the character and the public devotion of the people in this administration. I'm proud of them.

Ms. Soren. That's what I wanted to ask you. If you can just -- try to take this in the way that I mean it, but you've suffered incessant character assassination over the past 4 years; your family has been maligned. You get up, there's another funeral; you've probably only had a couple hours of sleep that night. Between the funeral, a scandal, another country maybe going to war, why do you want 4 more years? I mean, what are you thinking?

The President. Well, first of all, there's been a lot more good than bad.

Ms. Soren. Really?

The President. Oh, yes. It is the most rewarding thing in the world for a citizen of our country, who loves our country and believes in the promise of its people, to be President. To look back on the last 4 years and to go out here as I did on the train ride or on this bus trip, and you look into the eyes of people and you go through these crowds, and somebody will say, "I've got a home because of one of your programs"; "I've gotten a job since you were here"; "I'm on one of your college loans"; "I'm an AmeriCorps student." -- when you see how the country is changing for the better, it's immensely rewarding.

And in this day and time -- you know, as I said, we've had periods like this in our politics before. In the early 1800's, Mr. Jefferson faced many of the same things. When you live in a time which is really rough, with no holds barred, and a lot of people seek personal advantage by what I call the politics of destruction, you have to be always, always, always defining yourself and the quality of your life by what is inside. And you can't confuse who you are and the quality of your own life with whatever is going on in the day-to-day headlines. It's destructive. Otherwise you shrivel and become little.

The President should always be trying to be bigger than he is and lifting the country up. And you just have to keep putting that out of your mind; you just have to let it go. I can't do anything about anything that happened yesterday or even an hour ago; you just have to let that stuff go and keep trying to lift the country up.

Ms. Soren. Well, thank you very much.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview began at 6:12 p.m. aboard the **MTV** Choose or Lose bus. The President referred to comedian Bill Cosby; and Jim Guy Tucker, former Arkansas Governor. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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1-00 10:42A

202.456-2505

To: Josh Gottheimer

Fr: Julian Potter

RE: Creating Change
NGLTF VDO

DT: Oct 31

You can reach me through
Signal or cell 206.851.4673

Draft 11/01/00 2pm
Josh Gottheimer

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS ON THE CELEBRATION OF WOMEN IN AMERICAN
HISTORY
[LOCATION TBD]
[DATE TBD]

I am delighted to join you this evening in celebrating the work of the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History. I want to thank Steve Trachtenberg and George Washington University for hosting this event – and Ann Lewis and Beth Newburger for their work in leading this effort. I also want to recognize the efforts of the entire commission. I look forward to reading your report and reviewing your recommendations.

Two years ago, as part of the First Lady's Millennium Project, we created this commission to celebrate the achievements of women in American history. That's no simple task. As you know so well, women have played an integral role in our nation's history – in winning the rights women now enjoy. Of course, for too long their contributions went unrecognized -- not just by historians, or by our government, but by most Americans. I know I'm preaching to the choir here, but I don't think America can ever afford to forget that struggle. Your commission has been instrumental in setting the record straight.

American women began the last Century with little power and few rights. They couldn't go to the ballot box ... they couldn't sit on juries ... they couldn't even own property. But visionaries like Susan B. Anthony were determined to change all that. A hundred years ago, she described her vision for America's future. She said: "The woman of the 20th Century will be the peer of man. In education, in arts and science, in the home ... church ... everywhere she will be acknowledged his equal."

In many ways, Susan B. Anthony's dreams have been realized. From securing the right to vote ... the gaining access the boardroom, the factory floor, and the halls of academia, women have made profound progress as citizens of our nation. Today, they work in professions of their own choosing – as Justices of the Supreme Court, as members of our Congress, at the highest levels of our government. They are breaking through the glass ceilings of corporate management. Most important, women from all walks of life are helping to build an America in which all citizens are free to live out their dreams.

Alice Paul once said, "The [women's] movement is sort of a mosaic. Each of us puts in one little stone." By celebrating the courage of Harriet Tubman, the writings of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and the wisdom of Eleanor Roosevelt, we inspire the next generation of activists to add their own stones, helping to complete this great and enduring mosaic. Thank you again for all your work, and God bless you.

Joshua S. Gottheimer
10/31/2000 05:00:38 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: draft video

Draft 10/31/00 5pm
Gottheimer

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS TO NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE
[LOCATION TBD]
[DATE TBD]**

I am delighted to have this opportunity to be a part of the 13th annual conference of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force – and to congratulate you on your efforts to “create change” through organization and education.

Of course,
~~But~~ that's really nothing new to your organization – or, for that matter, to your community. For more than a quarter century now, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force has been breaking down barriers and building bridges. Your leadership training has empowered your members with the skills they need to organize for justice and equality. Your advocacy at the federal, state, and local level has brought your issues to the political forefront, and has been responsible for so many ~~important~~ *key* victories. *→ ? important*

Nearly eight years ago, when I first ran for President, I said that I had a vision for America – and that you were a part of it. Since then, with your help, Vice President Gore and I have made important progress ~~in~~ *toward* ending discrimination against gays and lesbians, and in working toward the day that you have the same rights that are guaranteed to every American.

First, we have tried to lead by example. We have created an Administration that is the most inclusive in history – with more than 150 openly gay and lesbian appointees. Additionally, I signed an Executive Order that prohibits discrimination in the Federal civilian workforce based on sexual orientation. And with your help, we are continuing our fight for an employment nondiscrimination act that would ban discrimination against gays and lesbians in the workplace.

(?) But while we have come a long way on our journey toward tolerance, understanding and ~~(mutual)~~ respect, we still have a long way to go. Over the last few years, we've seen a stark increase in the number of hate crimes committed against individuals, solely because of

their skin color, faith, or sexual orientation. These crimes tear at the fabric of the American community and at our common values. That's why it is so important that we keep working together to pass a strong, fair Hate Crimes Prevention Act.

But we all know that we cannot achieve equal rights through legislation alone. Our greatest hope for a just society is to teach our children to respect one another, to see our diversity as our greatest strength, and to recognize the fundamental values that define us as One America.

Thank you for your unwavering support these last eight years, and for all you do every day to advance the cause of justice. Keep up the good fight, and God bless you.

look crimes/legislation,

do we want to cite specific bill or just gen.?

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Draft 10/31/00 3:30pm
Gottheimer

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS ON THE CELEBRATION OF WOMEN IN AMERICAN
HISTORY
[LOCATION TBD]
[DATE TBD]

I am delighted to join you this evening to celebrate the work of the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History. I want to thank Steve Trachtenberg and George Washington University for hosting this event.

to celebrate the roles and accomplishments of women in American history.

Too often, we forget just how hard our grandmothers and mothers had to fight to win these rights. I know I'm preaching to the choir, but I don't think America can ever afford to forget their struggle. That's why I created the Commission on the Celebration of Women in History last year.

For more than two years now, you've met with citizens across our country to find new ways for recognizing the achievements and sacrifices of the women who shaped our history. ... listened to citizens all across the country to find ways we could popularize the achievements of the women who shaped our nation.

I thank you for all your work, and I look forward to reading your report and acting on its recommendations.

We must honor how far we've come and imagine both the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead.

Women began the 20th Century with little power and few rights. They had few public role models, few images of women participating in their world creating change for other women. They couldn't go to the ballot box, they couldn't sit on juries, they couldn't own property, they couldn't obtain credit. Our schoolbooks and our classrooms all but ignored the contributions of one-half of our population.

We honor the courage, sacrifice, and commitment of those who fought for the vote and equal pay.

To build a better America, we owe it to our children to tell a full and rich story of our nation's history – one that celebrates the lives and contributions of all our citizens.

501-1231
for 5
501-1300
Eleni Martin

Alice Paul, the intrepid feminist, once said of the women's movement, "I always feel the movement is sort of a mosaic. Each of us puts in one little stone, and then you get a great mosaic at the end."

In 1900, near the end of the lifetime of fighting for women's rights, Susan B. Anthony described her bold vision for the future: "The woman of the 20th Century will be the peer of man. In education, in arts and science, in the home ... church ... everywhere she will be acknowledged his equal. The 20th Century will see man and woman working together make the world better for their having lived."

In many ways, Susan B. Anthony's dreams have been realized. Today, so many women work in professions of their own choosing – as elected officials, judges and corporate executives, professional athletes. today women ...

From women's struggle to gain the right to vote ... to gaining access to the halls of academia ... to pursuing the jobs and business opportunities ... to competing on the field of sports ... we have seen many breathtaking changes.

Every girl and boy in America deserves to learn about the courage of Harriet Tubman, the brilliant writings of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the wisdom of Eleanor Roosevelt. We inspire the next generation of activists and organizers by sharing with them the social activism of Jane Addams, the prodigious political skills of Susan B. Anthony, and the commitment of the thousands of nameless women who were the foot soldiers for women's suffrage.

We are still in an era of firsts: Ellen Ochoa, the first Hispanic woman to travel in space. And you may have heard that my wife Hillary has just made history on her own.

American women now serve at the highest levels of government, Justices of the Supreme Court and in creasing numbers in the Cabinet and the United States Congress. Women are cracking the glass ceilings of corporate management to lead some of our country's most prominent businesses. As parents and partners, entrepreneurs and artists, politicians and scientists, women are helping to build an America in which all citizens are free to live out their dreams.

Our nation's cherished values of justice and liberty are symbolized by women: one bearing scales, the other a torch ... one promising fairness, the other freedom. But these symbols would be shallow indeed had it not been for the work of women throughout history who poured their soles into make the promises of fairness and freedom real. Susan B. Anthony, Elisabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Carrie Chapman Catt were among them; so was Mother Jones, who fought to end child labor; Sojourner Truth, who fought for social justice. Rosa Parks, who set in motion the civil rights movement; and ordinary women who worked every day and struggled to move our nation in the right direction.

Report will summarize many of the advancement we've experienced – concrete steps that women have taken and will continue to take.



Script for video for Pres. commission on the Celebration of Women in American History

It is a great honor for me to send greetings to you this evening as you celebrate the work of the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History. I want to thank Steve Trachtenberg and the George Washington University for hosting this event. Nearly eight years ago, I took the oath of office committed to appointing an Administration that looks like America - an Administration dedicated to building a more inclusive, a more tolerant and a more just nation. The President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History has helped me to fulfill that goal.

in the past effort

I believe that to build a better America we owe it to our children to tell a full and rich story of our nation's history - one that celebrates the lives and contributions of all of our citizens. For too long our schoolbooks and classrooms all but ignored the contributions of one-half of our population.

I did not need to be persuaded when my friend Ann Lewis first approached me to suggest a commission on women's history. Every girl and boy in America deserves to learn about the courage of Harriet Tubman, the brilliant writings of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the wisdom of Eleanor Roosevelt.

We inspire the next generation of activists and organizers by sharing with them the social activism of Jane Addams, the prodigious political skills of Susan B. Anthony and the commitment of the thousands upon thousands of nameless women who were the foot soldiers of the non-violent revolution for women's suffrage.

Specific

We are still in an era of women's firsts: Ellen Ochoa, a member of the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History, is the first Hispanic woman to travel in space. And you may have heard that my wife Hillary has just made history on her own.

We have uncovered a vast women's history archives in recent years thanks to organizations like the National Women's History Project and historians like Alida Black, Ann Gordon and Barbara Goldsmith. I congratulate them all for their fine work.

I want to thank Ann Lewis and Beth Newburger for their commitment as Co-Chairs of the Commission. Although the term of this Commission is drawing to a close, I encourage all of you to continue to tell the story of women's history.

TH NEWBURGER 0954.300

William Jefferson Clinton

Commission 2 1/2 years -



71 (a report - in museum celebrate women's history) (need book is not text book)

74 for report - 74 for out