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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	re: Eureka Springs Attorney Named Chairman of University of Arkansas [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	05/08/1996	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Lissa Muscatine
OA/Box Number: 12085

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC - University of Arkansas 5/11/96

2017-1164-S

rc2709

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]

*when I go to visit a
check at DDA - last
will say, Oh you're
the new lady law prof.*

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS
MAY 11, 1996**

Chancellor Ferritor, President Sugg, Chairman Epley and distinguished members of the Board of Trustees, Dr. Pederson, administrators, faculty, Mrs. Jones, Professor Turpin, Jason, students, and honored graduates of the Class of 1996:

It feels great to be home, *to see some friends, to be
here, to reminisce about the U of Ark*

And I do think of Fayetteville as home. This is the first place I lived when I followed my heart to Arkansas in 1974. Bill and I were married in a little house just a block away, right over on California Drive. We have a beautiful painting of that house, given to us last year for our 20th wedding anniversary, that is now hanging upstairs at the White House. We have come back to Fayetteville many times over the years. So being with you today brings back fond memories of my earliest days in Arkansas, and of the wonderful friends we met in this community and whom we continue to cherish.

*There were some adjustments. Hadn't lived in a place
this small.*

Not that my transition from the East Coast was entirely smooth. I started out as a member of the law faculty. I was very young and very earnest, and I took the position very seriously. So you can imagine how mystified I was when, on certain days of the week, people whom I considered to be intelligent, rational adults, suddenly abandoned all semblance of reason and dressed up in Hogs hats and other Hogs paraphernalia. But it didn't take long before I came around. Pretty soon I was a loyal, if not rabid, fan myself.

And I assure you that one's allegiance to the University of Arkansas never dies. At the White House, whenever the Razorbacks are playing, the whole place comes to a standstill.

*connecting
values*

Living in Fayetteville also clued me in on one of America's best kept secrets: that this university is one of the finest public institutions of higher learning in our nation. I would put this faculty up against any other in the nation. I would put the students in this arena up against any others in the nation. And I have to say that, more than anywhere else that I have lived, Fayetteville embodies a spirit of inclusiveness, egalitarianism and community that people are yearning for across our country.

recommend

So I want to thank all of you who are graduating for inviting me back home to share this special celebration with you.

Since tomorrow is Mother's Day, I also want to thank and congratulate all of the parents -- especially the many proud mothers -- as well as the grandparents, ~~aunts, uncles, cousins,~~ sons, and daughters, who are gathered here with us. Your guidance, support and sacrifice are reflected in the accomplishments of this graduating class -- and in the 2,700 new names that will be carved in the Senior Walk later this year.

It is why we often take for granted -- Stephen & public school

It is common for commencement speakers -- ~~as they struggle to keep the attention of restless graduates who are counting down the minutes until they receive their diplomas~~ -- to try to impart memorable bits of wisdom and advice about how to cope with the future.

*sum up
illustrate*

I don't want to cop out on you. But I can't think of anyone in the world who can predict with any accuracy or certainty what is going to happen tomorrow, or the next day, or the one after that. It becomes even more difficult as we get closer to a new century, let alone a new millennium.

If we look back at history we can see how our lives

*when we have a moment to be
page 84*

Of course, at the end of the last millennium there were a lot of folks who thought the world was coming to an end. They thought civilization had reached rock bottom. There was no hope for the future of mankind. But if you look back on what happened over the next thousand years, you see the great discoveries of medicine, science, industry and technology, and you realize that, to paraphrase Mark Twain, fears about the world's demise were greatly exaggerated.

I don't think anybody today seriously thinks the world is going to end in the year 2,000. But we do feel some of the same uncertainty and anxiety that ushered in the last millennium. And not without reason.

challenges & change are a constant. Yet we

We live in a time of dramatic change. With change come challenges, as well many new opportunities, which is why my husband calls this an Age of Possibility.

*should also
see new
as opportunities*

Just look at the world around us:

Yes A new global economy is taking shape, offering Americans the possibility of greater prosperity ~~as well as~~ the challenge of stiffer competition.

but also

can New technology ~~is~~ bringing us closer together, but also transforming the ways in which we communicate and do business with each other.

*virtual
reality cannot
substitute
human
relationship*

The dynamics of family life have been transformed, with most parents -- mothers and fathers -- holding jobs outside the home.

struggle to make sense of who is

And the world itself is changing. Communism has given way to

*responsible for what
is the most
intimate relationship*

capitalism, tyranny to democracy, closed markets to free trade, forcing us to redefine the ideological labels and geographic boundaries that framed our thinking for the last half century.

In the midst of it always easy to find easy answers. Box it up, eh.

So we find ourselves sifting and sorting out all of the competing tensions and values that emerge in times of such momentous upheaval and transformation. And hopefully we discover that rigid stereotypes and assumptions no longer apply.

You know which ones I'm talking about:

If you're under 25, you're an apathetic Generation X'er.

If you're over 40, you're a self-indulgent Baby Boomer.

If you're a liberal, you're a bleeding heart.

If you're a conservative, you have no heart.

If you're a Democratic President from Arkansas, you're accused of being all of the above, depending on what day it is.

And if you're the wife of a Democratic President from Arkansas, you better just make sure your hair is in place.

The truth is, there is no single label or definition that applies to any one of us, nor to any issue we face. Our world is too complex for that. So we need to shift our thinking away from stereotypes that prevent us from moving forward. We need to find new definitions and structures that account for the realities of modern life.

One place to begin is to find balance -- balance in our families, our communities, our work, and our country.

The search for balance is not new. Every generation grapples with how best to protect individual rights while also guarding the interests of the larger community. In fact, it is the special genius of Americans that, for more than 200 years, we have been able to sort out our values and priorities and resist the lure of political and social extremism.

Look at the people who have come to support you today -- your parents and grandparents and maybe even some great grandparents. They lived through profound changes brought by World Wars and a Great Depression. My generation questioned authority when it appeared to threaten individual freedom. And while we may have pushed some things too far, the process helped usher in greater rights for minorities and women and greater sensitivity to our environment.

When Bill and I lived in Fayetteville in the 1970s, we

*One of
he means*

he should

*educ'n helps
stand up
against
easy
stereotypes*

*you have to
work all
day.
fair
also.*

see is what is happens in most for

where we all come from -- our families,

*work,
communities,
country*

*struggled
for
meaning
on his
relationship
in new.*

gravitated to politics and government because it was a way to fulfill our obligations to the larger community. But it also was a way to derive meaning and fulfillment in one's individual life.

It saddens me that, in recent years, it has become more fashionable to bash politics and government, to look on public service with contempt. Just turn on the radio and you'll know what I mean.

*I hear it all the time. Arguments are filled up with
kind of fall*

While I'm grateful we live in a country that permits us the freedom to criticize our government, I get tired of hearing people blame every problem we have on government. That's why I want to take this opportunity to defend politics and government and to encourage all of you, as you head off to start careers and families, to think about the role that politics and government plays in your own lives and in the life of our nation.

*encourages
to me in
Coryach.
South =
part of
larger
society
which
we need
So our
teachers,
business,
schools,
religion,
for.
we
are
all
resp.*

Now I do concede that our government is not perfect. And the practice of politics is, as the great German sociologist Max Weber once said, "a strong and slow boring of hard boards."

*has never been so
often the progress made seems minuscule in*

But politics is about more than casting and counting votes. Government is not about more than buildings and bureaucrats. Both are essential to the functioning of our democracy and to the way we work together to chart our common future.

*we are a better country
today*

Where would our country be today without the G.I. Bill? Social Security and Medicare? Child labor laws and the minimum wage? The Clean Air Act? Title IX?

we're not a democracy we're a dictatorship. Creative

Where would we be as a society without government's recent efforts to support families through the Family and Medical Leave Act, the new Direct Student Loan program, the V-chip, and the Brady bill, all of which your President has fought for and defended over these last three and a half years?

A journalist whom I admire [E.J. Dionne] put it best when he wrote: "Government cannot raise children, write love songs, create computer languages, invent the technology after the microchip or discover a cure for cancer. But politics and government do shape the conditions under which such acts of creativity are made easier or harder, more likely or less likely. Politics has everything to do with building a more just, more civil, more open society."

When I hear people complain about government, I often think of a young Peace Corps volunteer I met in Nepal last year. To meet with me, she had to walk ten hours from the remote village where she was living and catch a bus that brought her to the capital, Katmandu. She told me that she had been living in a house with no running water or electricity. She was working at a schools where nearly all the students were boys, since most girls

*Education = investment for all of our people - sets a framework for
individuals
to form
larger
society.
Why places
like these
univ.
are so
up.
Must
support
public
educ.*

*up, it's it,
reform it,
but recognize it
is critical to the
democratic we take*

*for
previous
generation
wouldn't be
We have
seen
much A
in the
past
and we
have
benefited.*

Edna my brother indiv, family, & work

which represents 8 us —

we have a stable which he accomplished it
that is cool
I'm

were still denied schooling and were often married by the age of twelve or thirteen.

She had thoroughly enjoyed her experience in Nepal, she said, but she missed her family and all of the blessings of daily life that we take for granted in America: safe drinking water that comes out of every faucet; meats and vegetables that you can eat without fear of getting sick; enough food all year round; free public schools for boys and girls; warm baths and electricity at any time of day or night; paved roads, cars, and phones that always work.

We enjoy all of these things because generations before us paid the price to establish and maintain a stable, democratic government that protects our individual rights and provides public services that benefit us all.

On the way home from that trip, I thought about that Peace Corps volunteer, about the idealism that enabled her to make personal sacrifices in order to help humanity and pursue her dreams. And I was reminded of the poet Edna St. Vincent Millay, who once wrote that "dreams are links in the chain of a common hope." It was our task as citizens of a nation, she said, to "weld" that chain of individual dreams so that every citizen was free to be secure in his or her own future.

You are stewards of our democracy. You are the welders of our chain of dreams. May you go forth from this day with confidence, excitement, hope, and dreams about the world that you are and will be a part of.

Thank you and Godspeed.

###

(Boonin)

Despite our imperfections
& flaws — we

we did it then
politics & work

ideals we continue
to strive for.

5

Book not up

civilian —

Told me what

they had survived

Doctors & nurses who
had kept most
industrial facilities
despite bombardment
with
water etc.

Benildemark is there
winter, but
also hope

Then visited our

Soldiers —

two outposts —

> saw America

bl, white, brown

**UNIVERSITY of ARKANSAS**
1871

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501-575-5555 • FAX 501-575-4745

To:Attention: SabrinaCompany: The White HouseFAX # 202-456-5709 Phone # 202-456-5708No. of pages (including cover) 2**From:**Julie Hegley**Notes:**Let me know if you need
anything else.**FAX**

Julie Kegley, 02:40 PM 5/9/96 -, Jason Oberste (fwd)

>Date: Thu, 9 May 1996 14:28:58 -0500 (CDT)
>From: Suzanne McCray <smccray@comp.uark.edu>
>To: jkegley@comp.uark.edu
>Subject: Jason Oberste (fwd)
>Content-Length: 1089
>
>

>Dear Julie,
> Here is the profile of Jason. --Suzanne
>

> JASON OBERSTE (OHBURSTEE)
> doberst@comp.uark.edu
>

>PARENTS: David and Barbara Oberste
> 11915 Desoto Forest
> Little Rock, AR
>

>GPA: 4.0
>

>MAJOR: Microbiology
>

>PLANS: UAMS
>

>HONORS: Graduating Summa Cum Laude
> Phi Beta Kappa
> NATIONAL:

> American Society of Microbiology Fellowship (1995)
> --only 15 in the country given
> Presidential Scholar (1995)
>

> STATE: SILO Undergraduate Research Award (1996)
>

> CAMPUS: George Johnson Award (Best Junior in Micro) (1995)
> Delbert Swartz Award (1996)
> Teaching Academy Award (1996)
> --Best research project in application
>

> PUBLICATION:
> "Host OX174 Mutations Affecting the Morphogenesis
> or Stabilization of the 50's Complex, A
> Single-Stranded DNA Synthesizing Intermediate,"
> _Genetics_, 140:1167-1174.
>

> HONORS THESIS:
> "Genetic Anlysis of the OX174 DNA Pilot Protein"
>
>

COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY

First lady to speak at UA

Times Staff 4-11-96

One of the most famous women of the century will speak to the University Arkansas 1996 graduating class at its commencement.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will return to Fayetteville to give the address at the May 11 ceremony.

Clinton has frequently spoken about "finding the right balance in our lives," something she had to do as a wife, mother and attorney. Since her time at Yale Law School, she has been committed to education and protecting the interests of children and families.

"Mrs. Clinton was a driving force in Arkansas education,"

said Daniel Ferritor, University of Arkansas chancellor. "As the state's first lady she wanted to make sure every child had the

Commencement

As the state's first lady she wanted to make sure every child had the opportunity to enter school prepared to learn. Some of these young people may be in the commencement audience listening to her speak.

- Daniel Ferritor,
University of Arkansas
chancellor.

See Clinton / A9.

Clinton

Continued from A1

opportunity to enter school prepared to learn. Some of those young people may be in the commencement audience listening to her speak. We are deeply honored to have Mrs. Clinton address the 1996 graduating class.

In 1974 Clinton came to Fayetteville where she joined Bill Clinton on the faculty of the UA

Law School. As a UA professor, she founded and was the first director of the UA Legal Aid Clinic.

Clinton was named Arkansas Woman of the Year in 1983, and in 1984 she was named Arkansas Mother of the Year. During her husband's tenure as governor, she chaired the Arkansas Education Standards Committee and founded the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families.

Clinton will be awarded an honorary doctor of humanities and letters degree. Local

philanthropist Bernice Jones will also receive an honorary doctor of humanities degree at the ceremony. The commencement ceremony will be at 9 a.m. in Bud Walton Arena.

When asked if President Clinton would be joining the First Lady in Fayetteville, Harriet Janama, UA spokeswoman, said "I doubt we'd be lucky enough to get both of them at the same time."

First Lady Will Speak at UA Commencement

4-11-96 The Morning News
First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will speak at the University of Arkansas commencement on May 11 and receive an honorary doctor of arts and humanities degree. Also, Bernice Young Jones, the Springdale philanthropist, will receive an honorary doctor of humanities degree.



In a press release, UA Chancellor

Dan Ferritor said, "Mrs. Clinton was a driving force in Arkansas education. As the state's first lady, she wanted to make sure every child had the opportunity to enter school prepared to learn. Some of those young people may be in the commencement audience listening to her speak."

More than 2,000 students are expected to receive degrees from the university.

Clinton, after graduating from the Yale Law School, became a staff attorney for the Children's Defense Fund. A year later, she joined the Impeachment Inquiry Staff of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives to work on the Watergate impeachment proceedings.

In 1974, she left Washington and came to Arkansas, where her law-school classmate Bill Clinton was teaching law at the university. She joined him on the UA law faculty and taught there from 1974 to 1976. While a law professor, she served as a founder and first director of the UA Legal Aid Clinic.

While Bill Clinton was governor, Hillary Clinton worked on various projects to aid children and families. She chaired the Arkansas Educational Standards Committee and founded the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families. She introduced a pioneering program that teaches parents to help prepare their children for preschool.

■ See FIRST LADY/Page 2A

First Lady from 1A

She was named Arkansas Woman of the Year in 1983.

In Bernice Jones, the university will honor one of Arkansas' most generous philanthropists with a doctor of humanities degree for her efforts to improve family life and create community spirit. Her contributions have benefitted higher education, religious groups, medicine, public education and the arts in Arkansas and across the nation.

Jones, who most recently was given the Presidential Citizen's Medal by President Clinton, is the widow of Harvey Jones, the founder of Jones Truck Lines. Bernice Jones has tried to take the fortune made by that company and return it to the community, paying for the creation of such diverse organizations as the Jones Center for Families in downtown Springdale, the Community Design Center at the UA School of Architecture and the Jones Eye Center at the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences.

She has been honored with the Distinguished Service Award from UAMS and the Outstanding Civic Service Award from the Springdale Chamber of Commerce.

See page 3

1000 Indoor Recreation Info

News Notes

Own Flash!

UA Chancellor Donald Peterson has announced that Otto J. Brown, Jr., who headed the biological and agricultural engineering department from 1985 until 1992, has been named the new dean of the College of Engineering. He will assume that position July 1. Brown is currently head of the cultural and biological engineering department at the University of Florida in Gainesville.

Yale Law University, Yale Law and The University On Line) for a formal announcement of a continuing new dean.

Transit Schedule

Chancellor Peterson will operate one bus daily on each regular route. Buses will run from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. May 4 through May 10.

For News Notes on page 3.

Notables

Daniel Bennett, archi-

THE UNIVERSITY

May 1996
Commencement Issue

CAMPUS NEWS
FOR FACULTY AND
STAFF OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
FAYETTEVILLE

First Lady to Speak, Receive Honorary Degree



Returns to U of A Hillary Rodham Clinton will speak at Commencement. She also addressed the 1988 graduates.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will speak at the all-university commencement May 11 at which more than 3,000 students will receive degrees.

The First Lady will receive an honorary Doctor of Arts and Humane Letters degree. Also at the ceremony, Springdale philanthropist Bernice Young Jones will be the recipient of an honorary Doctor of Humanities degree.

Mrs. Clinton has frequently spoken about "finding the right balance in our lives," something that as an attorney, wife and mother she has had to do. In 1984 she was named Arkansas

Mother of the Year.

Since her days at Yale Law School, she has been committed to education and protecting the interests of children and families.

"Mrs. Clinton was a driving force in Arkansas education," said UA Chancellor Daniel E. Ferritor. "As the state's First Lady she wanted to make sure every child had the opportunity to enter school prepared to learn. Some of those young people may be in the commencement audience listening to her speak."

"We are deeply honored to have Mrs. Clinton address the 1996 graduating class and will be

proud to honor both Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Jones during the ceremony," he said.

In 1974, she followed her heart to Arkansas, where her law school classmate Bill Clinton was teaching at the University. She taught here from 1974 until 1976. While a law professor she served as founder and first director of the UA Legal Aid Clinic.

During her husband's tenure as governor, Mrs. Clinton chaired the Arkansas Education Standards Committee and founded the Arkansas Advocates

— Continued on page 2

Law Students Face Judicial Dream Team in Court

By Julie Kegley

It was the judicial equivalent of a dream team — U.S. Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Chief Justice Richard Arnold of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit and U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Morris Arnold.



recovery. Evidently the judges also thought he covered well; they named Baker the best oralist of the competition. His team won for best oral arguments, too.

After court adjourned, Ginsburg met with students and faculty at a reception, signed autographs and posed for pictures with students. She even swore in a new attorney.

"A good work ethic is respected everywhere. Coupled with the capacity to 'work smart' and focus on a goal, it is a powerful force that can usually lead to success."

College of Business Administration

When & Where:

12:30 p.m.
Barnhill Arena

Speaker:

Curt Bradbury,
Executive Vice
President and Chief
Operating Officer of
Stephens Inc. and a
UA alumnus.



Curt Bradbury

College of Education

When & Where:

2:30 p.m.
Barnhill Arena

Speaker:

Charles Stegman,
dean of the college

Quote:

"Be a lifelong learner who models best practices."



Charles Stegman

First Lady

— continued from page one

for Children and Families. She introduced a pioneering program that teaches parents to prepare their children for preschool.

The University will honor one of Arkansas' most generous philanthropists, Bernice Young Jones, with a Doctor of Humanities degree at the ceremony for her efforts to improve family life and create community spirit. Her generous contributions have benefitted higher education, religious groups, medicine, edu-

cation and the arts in Arkansas and across the nation.

Among her many gifts to higher education across the state was a major gift to support the Community Design Center of the UA School of Architecture.

Mrs. Jones has received many honors that recognize her contributions to the growth of communities. Recently, she received a Presidential Citizens Medal that President Clinton awarded to her at the White House. The

medal is awarded to citizens who have performed exemplary deeds for their country and fellow citizens.

Mrs. Jones and her late husband, Harvey, contributed generously — always without revealing the size of their gifts.

He started Jones Truck Lines using two mules and a wagon. The company grew until it became the nation's largest privately owned carrier.

She has continued their

Quote:

"Change and all it represents has become the one major constant of this decade, and it will surely be even more indelible in the next century — an era where members of the Class of 1996 will spend most of their lives. I suggest that — even in this environment of transition after transition — there still remain guiding principles that will help today's graduates to not only survive the turmoil of change but to thrive on it."

Fulbright College of Arts & Sciences

When & Where:

12:30 p.m.
Bud Walton Arena

Speaker:

Carl Whillock,
retired CEO of
Arkansas Electric
Cooperative Corp.
and a lawyer who
has worked in politics
and academia. He
is a member of the UA Board of Trustees.



Carl Whillock

Quote:

"Students should remember that learning should continue throughout life. Learning never ends."

realize. What the Greeks called *supervestire* and the Romans *temperantia* will often take us closer toward our goals than sheer mental or physical power. Sometimes it is more helpful to 'psyche yourself down' than to 'psyche yourself up.' Pause; breathe; reflect."

School of Law

When & Where:

May 18, 2 p.m.
Walton Arts Center

Speaker:

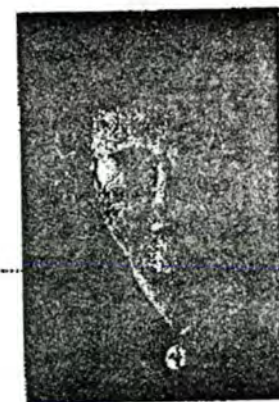
Sen. David Pryor,
Democratic senator
since 1978 and
former Arkansas
governor.

Quote:

"Apart from your memories of wonderful friends and great times, don't tarry on the past." □



Senator Pryor



To Receive Tribute Philanthropist Bernice Young Jones will receive an honorary degree for her continuing support of education.

tradition of giving.

"Whatever we had, we always shared it with other people," she has said. □

FRONT PAGE; SECTION B

Graduates to march at colleges

First lady will speak at UA at Fayetteville

BY CHRIS REYNOLDS *Commercial Appeal Staff Writer*

Graduation ceremonies are scheduled throughout May at colleges and universities in Arkansas.

Ceremonies at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville will begin at 9 a.m. Saturday at Bud Walton Arena. The speaker is Hillary Rodham Clinton, and graduates and spectators are urged to arrive early because of security measures. The first lady will receive an honorary doctor of arts and humane letters degree. Bernice Jones, widow of Harvey Jones, founder of Jones Truck Lines, will receive an honorary doctor of humanities degree.

The Burlington Northern Award for Teaching will be given to Jim Turpin, professor of chemical engineering.

UA will present 3,015 degrees.

Arkansas State University in Jonesboro will hold commencement at 7 p.m. Friday at the Convocation Center. The speaker is Rodney Slater, Federal Highway Administration official and former director of governmental relations at Arkansas State University. Students will receive 579 bachelor degrees, 112 graduate degrees and 154 associate degrees.

Arkansas Tech University in Russellville students will graduate at 10 a.m. Saturday at Tucker Coliseum.

Henderson State University will hold commencement ceremonies at 10 a.m. Saturday in Carpenter Haygood Stadium. Graduates will receive about 300 degrees.

James Robert Baker, a U.S. Department of Agriculture official, will speak at Southern Arkansas University in Magnolia. Graduation is at 8 p.m. Friday at Wilkins Stadium.

University of Arkansas at Little Rock students will graduate at 10 a.m. May 18 at Barton Coliseum. About 1,995 degrees are expected to be awarded to students. Dr. Tom Lynch, winner of the 1995 Faculty Excellence Award and professor of biology, will be the featured speaker.

Pulaski County Circuit Judge Marion Humphrey will speak at the Philander Smith College commencement at 8 p.m. May 11 on the South Mall of the James A. Cox Administration Building. More than 120 seniors will receive degrees.

Students at the University of Arkansas at Monticello will graduate at 7:30 p.m. Friday at Cotton Bowl Stadium. The first Chancellor's Distinguished Service Award will be given to Merle and Deloris Peterson.

The University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences will hold graduation ceremonies for 574 students at 4 p.m. May 18 at Barton Coliseum. Dr. Eugene J. Towbin, chief of staff and associate chief of staff for research and education at the Arkansas Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center, will receive an honorary doctor of science degree. Dr. Roger C. Bone, president and chief executive officer of the Medical College of Ohio in Toledo will also receive an honorary degree. Bone is a UAMS graduate and a former UAMS professor of medicine and chief of the Pulmonary Division.

University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff students will graduate at 5 p.m. Saturday at the Pine Bluff Convention Center. Dr. Charlie Nelms, a 1968 University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff graduate and chancellor of the University of Michigan at Flint will deliver the keynote speech.

Students at the University of Central Arkansas in Conway will graduate at 10:30 a.m. Saturday in the Farris Center. University President Winfred L. Thompson will speak. Degrees include 641 bachelors, 108 masters, six education specialists and three associates.

Tracita Atchley, who will receive a bachelor's degree in occupational therapy, and Tanya Leigh Simpson, who will receive a bachelor's degree in French, are the ranking honor graduates.

Commencement exercises at Hendrix College, a private insti-

tution, will begin at 9 a.m. June 1 on the brick patio near the center of campus. Dr. Paula P. Brownlee, president of the Association of American Colleges and Universities, will be the keynote speaker.

Ouachita Baptist University in Arkadelphia, a private institution, will hold graduation ceremonies at 3 p.m. Saturday in the Roy and Christine Sturgis Physical Education Center. About 230 students will receive undergraduate degrees.

Roger H. Sublett, program director of the Kellogg National Fellowship Program of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in Battle Creek, Mich., will be the keynote speaker.

Graduates will hear first lady

UA to honor her
along with Jones

5-11-96 Commencement
Central Gazette Fayetteville Bureau

FAYETTEVILLE — Returning to the campus where she once taught law, Hillary Rodham Clinton will speak at the University of Arkansas commencement May 11 in Fayetteville.

The first lady and former UA law professor will be awarded an honorary doctorate of arts and humane letters.

Also, Springdale philanthropist Bernice Young Jones will be awarded an honorary doctorate of humanities. About 2,000 UA students will be awarded degrees as well.

Clinton will speak at the all-university commencement at 9 a.m. May 11 in Bud Walton Arena.

"Mrs. Clinton was a driving force in Arkansas education," UA Chancellor Dan Ferritor said in a prepared statement released Wednesday by the UA.

"As the state's first lady, she wanted to make sure every child had the opportunity to enter school prepared to learn," Ferritor said.

"Some of those young people may be in the commencement audience listening to her speak."

"We are deeply honored to have Mrs. Clinton address the 1996 graduating class and will be proud to honor both Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Jones during the ceremony."

Jones, the widow of Jones Truck Lines founder Harvey Jones, has given millions of dollars to higher education, religion, medicine, public education and the arts in Arkansas and across the nation.

Among her gifts is major support of the Community Design Center in the UA School of Architecture.

Her gifts always are given with an undisclosed price tag. Recently, President Clinton awarded her the Presidential Citizens Medal, given to U.S. citizens who perform exemplary deeds.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1996
DRAFT # 2

FAYETTEVILLE, AR/LITTLE ROCK, AR/WASHINGTON, D.C

Lead Advance, David Neslen
Fayetteville, AR Fayetteville Hilton
501-442-5555 RM 1305
501-442-2105 Fax
202-365-8285 Cellular

Lead Advance, Patrick Halley
Ft. Smith, AR/ Holiday Inn
Van Buren, AR 501-783-1000 RM
Fax

Scheduler: Holly Nichols
202-456-7561 Office
202-456-5340 Fax
703-931-2483 Home
WHCA pager # 4096

PREV RON Private Residence

8:00 am **DEPART** Residence
EN ROUTE Bud Walton Arena, University of
Arkansas Campus
[drive time: _____ minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST: LIMO: HRC STAFF VAN: CRAIGHEAD, LATTIMORE
--

8:15 am **ARRIVE** Bud Walton Arena

Greeter(s):

-
-
-
-
-

8:20 am -
8:30 am

PHOTO-OP
XXX
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO ONLY

FORMAT:

- HRC to do 2 separate photo-ops with graduates and families.

8:35 am **PROCEED TO HOLD**

NOTE: HRC to put robe on at this point.

8:40 am - **MEET AND GREET W/ Platform Participants**
8:55 am **Room A113**
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

FORMAT: HRC to meet and greet w/
participants.

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 30 platform participants
to attend.

8:55 am **PLATFORM PARTICIPANTS FORM INTO PROCESSION
LINES**

NOTE: Two single file lines will be formed. HRC to be **SECOND** in
line, behind Chancellor Dan Ferritor.

9:00 am **PROCESSION OF PLATFORM PARTICIPANTS**
Bud Walton Arena
PRESS??

FORMAT:

- Two lines of participants proceed
consecutively to platform.

- HRC proceeds to seat on platform.
NOTE: HRC seated next to ____ and ____.

9:10 am - **UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS COMMENCEMENT**
11:00 am **Bud Walton Arena**
PRESS??

FORMAT:

- Chancellor Ferritor welcomes.
- *The National Anthem* is performed by
Professor
Elaine
_____.
- Innvocation is performed by Arkansas
Cola _____.
- Chancellor Ferritor announces
_____(#?) Platform Participants.
- Chancellor Ferritor intros Lewis Epley,
Jr., Chairman, Board of Trustees.
- Lewis Epley makes remarks.
- Chancellor Ferritor Dr. Alan Sugg,
President, U of A.
- Dr. Sugg makes remarks.
- Chancellor Ferritor intros the remaining
platform participants and makes
acknowledgements.
- Chancellor Ferritor and Lewis Epley
present _____ award to ten Senior
Scholars.
- Jason Oberster, final Senior Scholar to
receive ____ award makes remarks.
- Chancellor Ferritor intros HRC.
- HRC delivers remarks from podium.
- Chancellor Ferritor intros Don Pederson,
Vice Chair, Academic Affairs.
- Don Pederson makes remarks and announces
the Dean of each School individually.
- Each Dean will make very brief remarks
from standing mic (stage right) about
the candidates for degrees in their
respective colleges.
- Diploma presentation begins (Approx. 600
graduates receiving diplomas during this
portion of the Commencement.)

- Collis Geren presents diploma to each graduate as they arrive onto platform.
- Each graduate shakes hands with Chancellor Ferritor, Dr. Sugg, and Mrs. Epely and exits stage.
- Upon conclusion of diploma presentations, Chancellor Ferritor intros Bernice Jones.
- Don Pederson escorts Bernice Jones to podium.
- Bernice Jones is presented with _____ by _____.
- Bernice Jones thanks and makes very brief remarks.
- Chancellor Ferritor intros HRC.
- Dr. Epely makes remarks and invites Dr. Pederson to escort HRC to podium.
- Dr. Pederson escorts HRC to podium.
- HRC is presented with the Doctor of Arts and Humane Letters Honorary Degree by _____.
- HRC thanks and makes very brief remarks.
- HRC returns to seat.
- _____ presents Jim Turbin with the Burlington Northern Foundation Award.
- Alumni Association [T]
- Musical Innvocation [T]
- Benediction [T]
- AM [?]
- Recessional March [T]

NOTE: Immediately following the Recessional March, HRC proceeds _____ (up 2 flights of stairs/elevator??) to hold.

11:00 am - **HOLD**
11:10 am

NOTE: HRC to take off robe at this point.

11:10 am -
1:15 pm

RECEPTION HOSTED BY CHANCELLOR FERRITOR
XXX
CLOSED PRESS/OFFICIAL PHOTO

FORMAT: Informal meet and greet. [T]

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 150 people to attend.

1:20 pm

DEPART Bud Walton Arena
EN ROUTE Fayetteville Airport
[drive time: ____ minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST
LIMO: HRC, MRS. RODHAM [T]
STAFF VAN: CRAIGHEAD, LATTIMORE

1:30 pm

ARRIVE Fayetteville Airport

1:40 pm

WHEELS UP Fayetteville, AR

FLIGHT TIME: 30 MINUTES
MANIFEST: HRC, MRS. RODHAM [T], CRAIGHEAD, LATTIMORE

2:10 pm

WHEELS DOWN Ft. Smith, AR

2:20 pm

DEPART Ft. Smith Airport
EN ROUTE XXXXX (Van Buren Tornado Site)
[drive time: ____ minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST
LIMO: HRC, MRS. RODHAM [T]
STAFF VAN: CRAIGHEAD, LATTIMORE

2:50 pm

ARRIVE XXXX

Greeter(s):

-
-
-
-
-

2:55 pm -
3:25 pm

TOUR

FORMAT:

- Tour Neighborhood
- View one house
- Ropelin w/ neighbors

PARTICIPATNS:

3:30 pm

DEPART XXXX (Van Buren)
EN ROUTE XXXX (Ft. Smith)
[drive time: ____ minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST

LIMO: HRC, MRS. RODHAM [T]

STAFF VAN: CRAIGHEAD, LATTIMORE

4:00 pm

ARRIVE XXXX (Ft. Smith)

Greeter(s):

-
-
-
-
-

4:00 pm -

TOUR

4:30 pm

FORMAT

- Tour neighborhood
- view one house
- ropeline w/ neighbors

4:35 pm

DEPART XXX neighborhood
EN ROUTE Fire Dept. [T]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST

LIMO: HRC, MRS. RODHAM [T]

STAFF VAN: CRAIGHEAD, LATTIMORE, ALSWANG

4:40 pm

ARRIVE Fire Dept. [T]

4:45 pm -

DISCUSSION

5:30 pm

FORMAT:

PARTICIPANTS:

5:30 pm

DEPART XXX (Ft. Smith)
EN ROUTE Ft. Smith Airport
[drive time: ____ minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST

LIMO: HRC, MRS. RODHAM [T]

STAFF VAN: CRAIGHEAD, LATTIMORE

5:10 pm

ARRIVE Ft. Smith Airport

5:20 pm

WHEELS UP Ft. Smith, AR

TBD

**UNIVERSITY of ARKANSAS**

1871

Office of University Relations • 800 Hotz Hall • Fayetteville, AR 72701
501-575-5555 • FAX 501-575-4745

To:Attention: SabeinaCompany: The White HouseFAX # 202-456-5709 Phone #: 202-456-5708No. of pages (including cover) 6**From:**Julie Kegley**Notes:**

FAX

NEWS

University Relations • 800 Hotz Hall • Fayetteville AR 72701



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
March 6, 1996

FOR INFORMATION, CONTACT: Harriet Jansma, 575-6249

EUREKA SPRINGS ATTORNEY NAMED CHAIRMAN OF UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS BOARD OF TRUSTEES

FAYETTEVILLE, Ark. - The University of Arkansas Board of Trustees, at its regular meeting March 1, 1996, elected Lewis E. Epley, Jr. of Eureka Springs to serve as chairman of the UA board for the next two-year term, effective April 1.

Epley was appointed to the Board of Trustees in 1989 by then-governor Bill Clinton, and most recently served as vice chairman.

He is the senior attorney in the law firm of Epley, Epley & France, Ltd. and has practiced general law in Eureka Springs since 1961. In 1986 Epley was named as an outstanding alumnus of the UA School of Law.

He currently serves as vice chairman of the Bank of Eureka Springs.

Epley received his undergraduate degree in public administration and a juris doctor degree from the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, in 1961. At the University, from 1954 to 1961, he was the voice of the Razorback Marching Band as the public address announcer during the band's performances at University of Arkansas football games.

-more-

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	re: Eureka Springs Attorney Named Chairman of University of Arkansas [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	05/08/1996	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Lissa Muscatine
OA/Box Number: 12085

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC - University of Arkansas 5/11/96

2017-1164-S
rc2709

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]

Lewis E. Epley, Jr., page 2

Since his student days at the University, Epley has been active in his support of the University, his community and the state. He presently serves on the UA Foundation Board and the Board of the Arkansas Cancer Research Center Foundation.

He was chairman of the State Building Services Council under former Governor David Pryor and served as a delegate to the 1969-70 Arkansas Constitutional Convention.

Epley was a member of the first Board of Directors of the Northwest Arkansas Radiation Therapy Institute at Springdale and served as its president in 1989.

He is a former chairman of the Eureka Springs Hospital Board and continues to have a long-standing interest in health care issues and facilities. [001]

Born in (b)(6) raised in Springdale, Epley is married to the former Donna L. Swopes of the Siloam Springs area.

- end -

New UA President

Sugg Sets His Priorities

UNIV 3-16-90

B. Alan Sugg, the next president of the University of Arkansas system, has made it clear that he is aware of the challenges facing higher education in Arkansas.

Sugg visited all five UA campuses on January 31 and February 1 as a candidate for the presidency. On that tour he was interviewed by committees of faculty, staff, and students. Speaking to those groups, as well as to the press, he indicated what he views as his priorities for higher education in Arkansas. They include:

Wresting more money from the state legislature: "If this state is serious about economic development, then there must be greater support for higher education."

Private support for higher education: "It has to be a challenge for all the leadership...the industrial, commercial, and financial leadership of the state."

Faculty salaries: "We must have good faculty members and keep them so we can build a margin of excellence for our universities...if we are losing valuable staff members from the state of Arkansas, then that has to be a number one priority for me."

Academics over sports: "If (sports) does in fact drain academic resources, I doubt the faculty will be happy, and that will come to a head quickly. Athletics can play an important role in a university. It helped me pay my tuition...but I do think athletics have to be kept in perspective."

Personal Goals: "I want to do the kind of job here...so I could finish out my academic career at the University of Arkansas."

Sugg, 51, said he is "deeply honored at the opportunity and...very excited" about assuming that position. He is a native of Arkansas and an alumni of the Fayetteville campus. He currently serves as President of Corpus Christi State University in Corpus Christi, Texas.

Sugg was unanimously approved for the system presidency by the board of trustees on February 21. He is expected to assume his new duties June 1, filling a post that was left vacant when Ray Thornton resigned last fall.

The University community is hoping Sugg can raise higher education's profile in the state, a priority Sugg recognized when he said one of his "greatest challenges" will be working with the state legislature.

Sugg has deep roots in Arkansas. He is a native of Helena where his parents were teachers. Jean, his wife and high school sweetheart, grew up practically next door in West Helena. Both attended the U of A. Sugg was a distinguished student serving as president of the student body in 1959-60, as a cadet colonel in ROTC, and as a member of the track team.

He also has a long list of credits to his name in the field of higher education. He received two degrees from the U of A: a bachelor's degree in business and finance and a master's degree in higher education administration. He received a doctorate in higher education administration from the University of Oklahoma in 1971.

Sugg has been president of Corpus Christi State University since 1977. Be-



Sugg

tween 1986 and 1989, he also served as chancellor of a three-campus South Texas University system. However, the three schools comprising the system—Texas A&I University, Corpus Christi State and Laredo State—were absorbed into the larger Texas A&M University system in 1989.

The South Texas University system enrolled about 10,500 students. The University of Arkansas system enrolls about 31,324 students on five campuses.

Prior to assuming the presidency of Corpus Christi State University, Sugg also served as assistant to the president of East Texas State University in Commerce, and held positions as vice-chancellor for academic affairs and executive vice-president at Corpus Christi.

Sugg said he plans to live in Little Rock. "That is where the legislature is and the Board of Higher Education, and that's where the president ought to be," he said.

The Suggs have two daughters, Katie, 25, and Jennifer, 24.

DANIEL E. FERRITOR
CHANCELLOR
UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
FAYETTEVILLE

Daniel E. Ferritor has served as Chancellor of the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville campus since 1986. Chancellor Ferritor has been with the university for over 16 years, serving as Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs, President of the Campus Council, and Chairman of the Department of Sociology. In 1984 he received the University of Arkansas Alumni Association Faculty Achievement Award for teaching and research.

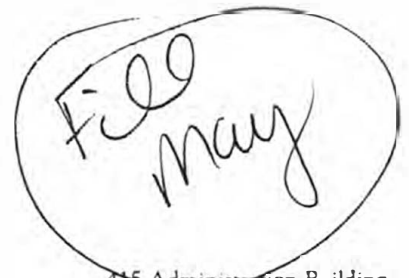
Under Chancellor Ferritor's leadership, the university has raised funds for and begun the \$13 million renovation of Old Main, the statewide symbol of higher education in Arkansas. However, his efforts are primarily focused on the more than 14,000 students and the quality of education available to them. That concern has led Ferritor to establish the University Teaching Academy to foster excellence in the classroom. He has also concentrated on improving the freshman year experience for UA students, and joins UA Distinguished Professors in teaching freshman level classes. Freshman scholarships have increased to more than 1,200 annually, and he established the highly competitive Arkansas Scholars program to recruit and keep our very top students at the Fayetteville campus.

Dr. Ferritor is a native of Kansas City, Missouri, where he received his B.A. from Rockhurst College. He holds a master's degree and a doctorate in sociology from Washington University in St. Louis.

OFFICE OF SCHEDULING FOR THE FIRST LADY

DATE _____

ORGANIZATION/ EVENT	Univ. of Arkansas Commencement
DATE	May 11, 1996
LOCATION	Fayetteville, AR
EVENT DESCRIPTION	Commencement
STATUS	ACCEPT ☒ REGRET ☐ ① (R) Dinner Fri night PENDING ☐ ② (R) Jones center VIDEO ☐ ③ lunch following TBD LETTER ☐
CONTACT	Kay Trumbo 501-575-5104
NOTES	4/25- Holly called Kay to (R) Dinner and Jones center to Kay Trumbo. Sara will call Jones center directly. - Lunch: immediately following Comm. Casual Buffet style no remarks/no program HRC can invite friends lunch is for - distinguished guests students see. Honorary faculty approx 100



Office of Special Events

415 Administration Building
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701
(501) 575-5104

April 10, 1996

Ms. Patty Solis
Room 185.5
Old Executive Building
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Solis:

We are so pleased that Mrs. Clinton will be the speaker for the 122nd All-University Commencement on May 11, 1996.

Commencement exercises are held in Bud Walton Arena beginning at 9:00 a.m. Refreshments will be available at 7:45 a.m. in Room A101 and at 8:15 a.m. members of the platform party will robe in Room A113. The commencement ceremony involves marching in the procession and recession and being seated on stage for well over an hour.

I am enclosing an academic apparel sheet that provides information necessary for us to order Mrs. Clinton's regalia. Please fax the form to me at (501) 575-4913 in order to ensure prompt delivery of the regalia. If she already owns regalia, please encourage her to wear it.

Commencement activities begin on Friday, May 10, at 6:00 p.m. with a reception and dinner for our honored guests at the Hilton Hotel and will conclude at 2:00 p.m. on Saturday, May 11, following a luncheon at Walton Arena. Please send me a list of guests, with addresses, that she would like to have invited to the commencement exercises as well as the commencement dinner and luncheon. I would appreciate receiving this information as soon as possible.

I will be taking care of the arrangements for Mrs. Clinton's visit. Special guests of the university are being provided lodging at the Hilton Hotel. In order to access the best travel schedules, please make her flight arrangements. Please save all receipts, including air fare, for any expenses during her stay and she will be reimbursed accordingly.

Ms. Patty Solis
Page 2
April 10, 1996

If you have any questions about the information contained in this letter,
please call me at (501) 575-5104 or fax me at (501) 575-4913.

We look forward to Mrs. Clinton's participation in these events.

Sincerely,

Kay Trumbo

Kay W. Trumbo
Director of Special Events

KWT:nms
Enclosure

① Honorary Degree

Doctor of Arts & Humane Letters

Immediately following
11:30-12:30

Bullet Line
not speaking

- Chancellor's comm. sur
- Watson Arena
- Student who
- Distinguished guest
- Honorary degree
- We would like

- 100

ORDER FORM - ACADEMIC APPAREL

Collegiate Cap and Gown Company

SOLD TO

School _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

FOR

Individual _____
Address (if order to be shipped to the customer) _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

MATERIAL CHOICE:

GOWN STYLE

HOOD

CAP

☐ Doctor

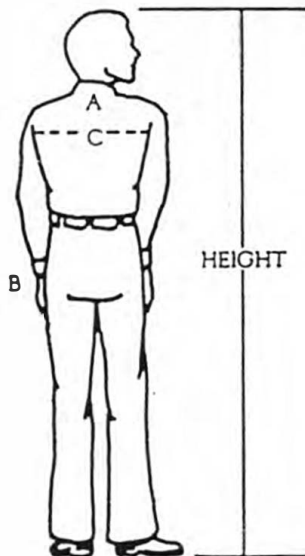
Degree _____
(Give Exact Wording of Degree)

College _____
(Where Degree Was Received)

Address of College _____
(Town and State)

☐ (Color _____)

☐ With Metallic Gold Bullion
Doctor Tassel



MEASUREMENTS

☐ Male ☐ Female

1. Height with shoes (top of head to floor) _____ feet _____ inches

2. Weight in street clothes _____ pounds

3. Chest size (around C) _____ inches

4. Shirt Sleeve Length or Measurement (A-B) _____

(Give usual sleeve length worn or measure from point "A" at center back of the neck, over the shoulders and along the outer arm to the break at the back of the wrist — "B")

5. Cap Size _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Phone No: () _____ Ext. _____

Chancellor Daniel E. Ferritor
of the
University of Arkansas
requests the pleasure of your company
at cocktails and dinner
on Friday, the tenth of May
at six o'clock in the evening
The Fayetteville Hilton
70 North East Street

(R.S.V.P. Card Enclosed
(501) 575-5104

- R
- WTP should we respond to...

NO
tell Capricia

(R)

4/25 Holly to
Kay
Trumbo
OK

M/M _____

_____ will attend

_____ will not attend

The Commencement Dinner at the Fayetteville
Hilton on Friday, May tenth at six o'clock.

Please respond by May 2.



UNIVERSITY of ARKANSAS

1871

**Office of Special Events
415 Administration Building
Fayetteville, AR 72701
Fax # 501-575-4913**

Fax Transmission Information Page

Date: 4/22/96

To: Patty Solis

Department: _____

Fax #: 202-456-2461

Phone: 202-456-7560

From: Kay Thumbo Phone: 501-575-5104

Total number of Pages: 2 including this page.

Special instructions or message: This invitation was mailed to
Mrs. Clinton on Friday.

SOUTHERN ARKANSAS UNIVERSITY**Magnolia, AR 71753****B-5**
(501) 235-4040**Full-time:** 1026 men, 1238 women**Faculty:** 128; IIB, -\$**Part-time:** 95 men, 289 women**Ph.D.s:** 51%**Graduate:** 33 men, 104 women**Student/Faculty:** 18 to 1**Year:** semesters, summer session**Tuition:** \$1232 (\$1940)**Application Deadline:** open**Room & Board:** \$2200**Freshman Class:** 792 applied, 792 accepted, 532 enrolled**ACT:** required**NONCOMPETITIVE**

Southern Arkansas University, founded in 1909, is a state-supported coeducational liberal arts institution offering undergraduate and graduate degrees in business administration, education, liberal and performing arts, and science and technology. There are 4 undergraduate schools and one graduate school. In addition to regional accreditation, SAU has baccalaureate program accreditation with NASAD, NASM, and NCATE. The library contains 152,198 volumes, 93,059 microform items, and 5980 audiovisual forms, and subscribes to 906 periodicals. Computerized library sources and services include the card catalog, interlibrary loans, and database searching. Special learning facilities include a learning resource center and radio station. The 781-acre campus is in a small town 2 miles north of Magnolia. Including residence halls, there are 27 buildings on campus.

Student Life: About 78% of undergraduates are from Arkansas. Students come from 41 states, 17 foreign countries, and Canada. Ninety-nine percent are from public schools; 1% from private. Seventy-seven percent are white; 20% African American. The average age of freshmen is 19; all undergraduates, 27. Forty percent drop out by the end of their first year; 30% remain to graduate.

Housing: A total of 1068 students can be accommodated in college housing. College-sponsored living facilities include single-sex dormitories and married-student housing. On-campus housing is guaranteed for all 4 years. Fifty-five percent of students commute. Alcohol is not permitted. All students may keep cars on campus.

Activities: About 10% of men belong to 7 national fraternities; about 10% of women belong to 7 national sororities. There are 50 groups on campus, including art, band, cheerleading, choir, chorale, computers, drama, drill team, honors, international, jazz band, marching band, musical theater, newspaper, pep band, photography, political, professional, religious, social, student government, and yearbook. Popular campus events include Spring Fling and Celebration of Lights (Christmas).

Sports: There are 5 intercollegiate sports for men and 5 for women, and 15 intramural sports for men and 15 for women. Athletic and recreation facilities include a 6500-seat stadium, and a 2500-seat gymnasium.

Disabled Students: Forty percent of the campus is accessible to disabled students. The following facilities are available: wheelchair ramps, elevators, special parking, specially equipped rest rooms, special class scheduling, lowered drinking fountains, and lowered telephones.

Services: In addition to many counseling and information services, tutoring is available in most subjects. In addition, there is remedial math, reading, and writing.

Campus Safety and Security: Campus safety and security measures include 24-hour foot and vehicle patrol, informal discussions, pamphlets, posters, and films, and emergency telephones. In addition, there are lighted pathways and sidewalks.

Programs of Study: SAU awards the B.A., B.S., B.M.E., B.B.A. and B.S.E. degrees. Associate and master's degrees also are awarded. Bachelor's degrees are awarded in BIOLOGICAL SCIENCE (biology/biological science), BUSINESS (accounting, banking and finance, business administration and management, business economics, business law, marketing/retailing/merchandising, and personnel management), COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS (advertising, broadcasting, communications, English, French, journalism, music, Spanish, and speech/debate/rhetoric), COMPUTER AND PHYSICAL SCIENCE (chemistry, computer programming, computer science, earth science, and mathematics), EDUCATION (business, early childhood, elementary, guidance, health, middle school, music, science, secondary, and teaching English as a second language/foreign language), HEALTH PROFESSIONS (medical laboratory technology, nursing, predoctoral, and premedicine), SOCIAL SCIENCE (community services, economics, geography, and history). Business and nursing are the strongest academically.

Required: All students must complete 43 semester hours of general education courses, including humanities, social sciences, mathematics, natural science, and physical and health education. A total of 124 semester hours, with a minimum GPA of 2.0, is required in order to graduate.

Special: Work-study programs at SAU and a general studies degree are offered. There is a freshman honors program on campus, as well as 1 national honor society, Phi Beta Kappa.

Faculty/Classroom: Fifty-one percent of faculty are male; 49%, female. Ninety percent teach undergraduates, and 10% also do research. No introductory courses are taught by graduate students. The average class size in an introductory lecture is 35; in a laboratory, 50, and in a regular course offering, 35.

Admissions: About 37% of the 1993-94 applicants were accepted. The ACT scores for the 1993-94 freshman class were as follows: 71% below 21, 18% between 21 and 23, 9% between 24 and 26, and 1% between 27 and 28. About 20% of the current freshmen were in the top fifth of their class; 42% were in the top two fifths. There were 4 National Merit semifinalists. Six freshmen graduated first in their class.

Requirements: The ACT is required. Applicants should have completed 4 high school units in English, 3 each in mathematics, science, and history, and 2 in social studies. AP and CLEP credits are accepted. Important factors used in the admissions decision are recommendations by school officials, leadership record, personality, intangible qualities, advanced placement or honor courses, and evidence of special talent.

Procedure: Freshmen are admitted to all sessions. Entrance exams should be taken in the fall prior to enrollment. Application deadlines are open. The university accepts all applicants. Notification is sent on a rolling basis. There is an early admissions plan.

Transfer: About 170 transfer students enrolled in 1993-94. Applicants must be eligible to return to the school from which they are transferring. A total of 30 credits out of 124 must be completed at SAU.

Visiting: There are regularly scheduled orientations for prospective students. There are guides for informal visits and visitors may sit in on classes. To arrange for a visit, contact the admissions office at (501) 235-4040.

Financial Aid: In 1993-94, 58% of all current freshmen and 62% of continuing students received some form of financial aid. About 48% of freshmen and 53% of continuing students received need-based aid. The average freshman award was \$1200. Of that total, scholarships or need-based grants averaged \$1050. Most undergraduate students work part-time. Average earnings from campus work for the school year are \$1800. The FFS is required. The deadline for financial aid applications is August 1.

International Students: There are currently 47 international students enrolled. The school actively recruits these students. They must take the TOEFL and achieve a minimum score of 500. The student must also take the SAT I or the ACT.

Computers: The university provides computer facilities for student use. The mainframe is a DEC I 500. All students may access the system in the afternoon or early morning. There are no time limits on using the system and no fees.

Graduates: In 1992-93, 262 bachelor's degrees were awarded. The most popular majors among graduates were nursing (30%), elementary education (10%), and accounting (6%). Some 60 companies recruited on campus in 1992-93.

Admissions Contact: James E. Whittington, Jr. Director of Undergraduate Admissions.

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS SYSTEM

The University of Arkansas system, established in 1871, is a system in Arkansas. It is governed by a board of trustees, whose chief administrator is president. The primary goals of the system are teaching, research, and public service. The total enrollment of all 5 campuses usually exceeds 32,000, with more than 2300 faculty members. Altogether there are 236 baccalaureate, 112 master's, and 30 doctoral programs offered in the system. Profiles of the 4-year campuses, located at Fayetteville, Little Rock, Pine Bluff, and Monticello, are included in this chapter.

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS AT FAYETTEVILLE**Fayetteville, AR 72701** **(501) 575-5346; (800) 632-0035 (in-state)** **A-1****Full-time:** 5466 men, 4512 women**Faculty:** 732; I, --\$**Part-time:** 722 men, 808 women**Ph.D.s:** 79%**Graduate:** 1360 men, 1052 women**Student/Faculty:** 14 to 1**Year:** semesters, summer session**Tuition:** \$1946 (\$4970)**Application Deadline:** August 15**Room & Board:** \$1000**Freshman Class:** 3700 applied, 3500 accepted, 2350 enrolled**SAT I or ACT:** required**COMPETITIVE**

The University of Arkansas, founded in 1871, is a land-grant institution and part of the University of Arkansas System. It offers undergraduate and graduate programs in liberal arts and sciences, agriculture, home economics, business administration, engineering, architecture, and education. There are 6 undergraduate schools and one graduate school. In addition to regional accreditation, the university has baccalaureate program accreditation with AACSB, ABET, ACEJMC, ADA, AHEA, ASLA, CSWE, NAAB, NASM, NCATE, and NLN. The 6 libraries contain 123,782 volumes, 1,342,017 microform

items, and 11,805 audiovisual forms, and subscribe to 16,088 periodicals. Computerized library sources and services include the card catalog, interlibrary loans, and database searching. Special learning facilities include a learning resource center, art gallery, natural history museum, planetarium, radio station, and numerous research centers. The 329-acre campus is in an urban area in a small city 180 miles northwest of Little Rock. Including residence halls, there are 167 buildings on campus.

Student Life: About 84% of undergraduates are from Arkansas. Students come from 45 states and 51 foreign countries. Eighty-two percent are from public schools; 5% from private. Eighty-nine percent are white. The average age of freshmen is 19; all undergraduates, 21. About 32% of freshmen remain to graduate.

Housing: A total of 4300 students can be accommodated in college housing. College-sponsored living facilities include single-sex and coed dormitories, on-campus apartments, and married-student housing. In addition there are honors and special interest floors. On-campus housing is guaranteed for all 4 years. Seventy-eight percent of students commute. Alcohol is not permitted. All students may keep cars on campus.

Activities: About 23% of men belong to 21 national fraternities; about 23% of women belong to 12 national sororities. There are 200 groups on campus, including art, band, cheerleading, chess, choir, chorale, chorus, computers, dance, drama, drill team, ethnic, film, gay, honors, international, marching band, newspaper, opera, orchestra, pep band, photography, political, professional, radio and TV, religious, social, social service, student government, symphony, and yearbook. Popular campus events include Homecoming and Academic Festival.

Sports: Athletic and recreation facilities include a 51,500-seat stadium, 4 gymnasiums, indoor and outdoor jogging tracks, 2 dance studios, 10 racquetball courts, a fitness and weight training center, 2 swimming pools, an outdoor recreation center, 18 tennis courts, and 10 multipurpose playing fields.

Disabled Students: The entire campus is accessible to disabled students. The following facilities are available: wheelchair ramps, elevators, special parking, special class scheduling, lowered drinking fountains, and lowered telephones.

Services: In addition to many counseling and information services, tutoring is available in some subjects. In addition, there is a reader service for the blind, and remedial math, reading, and writing. Tutoring also is offered through the Learning Laboratory and the Model Student Program.

Campus Safety and Security: Campus safety and security measures include escort service and foot and vehicle patrol, crime prevention lectures, property engraving, and key checks in residence halls.

Programs of Study: The university awards the B.A., B.S., B.S.Ag., B.Arch., B.F.A., B.M., B.S.Ag.E., B.S.Bus.Adm., B.S.Ch.E., B.S.C.I.E., B.S.Comp.E., B.S.E., B.S.E.E., B.S.H.E., B.S.I.E., B.S.I.M., B.S.M.E., and B.S.P.A. degrees. Associate, master's, and doctoral degrees also are awarded. Bachelor's degrees are awarded in AGRICULTURE (agricultural business management, agricultural economics, agricultural mechanics, agriculture, animal science, dairy science, horticulture, plant protection (pest management), and poultry science), BIOLOGICAL SCIENCE (botany, microbiology, and zoology), BUSINESS (accounting, banking and finance, business administration and management, business economics, fashion merchandising, international business management, marketing management, marketing/retailing/merchandising, personnel management, and retailing), COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS (classics, communications, dance, dramatic arts, English, fine arts, French, German, journalism, music, Spanish, and speech/debate/rhetoric), COMPUTER AND PHYSICAL SCIENCE (chemistry, computer science, earth science, geology, mathematics, natural sciences, and physics), EDUCATION (agricultural, art, business, early childhood, elementary, health, home economics, industrial arts, music, physical, recreation, secondary, special, and vocational), ENGINEERING AND ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN (agricultural engineering, architectural engineering, chemical engineering, civil engineering, computer engineering, electrical/electronics engineering, industrial administration/management, industrial engineering, interior design, landscape architecture/design, mechanical engineering, transportation engineering, and urban design), HEALTH PROFESSIONS (speech pathology/audiology), SOCIAL SCIENCE (anthropology, clothing and textiles management/production/services, criminal justice, dietetics, economics, fashion design and technology, food science, geography, history, home economics, human development, philosophy, political science/government, psychology, public administration, social work, and sociology). Accounting has the largest enrollment.

Required: To graduate, all students must complete at least 124 credit hours, including 6 in freshman English and 3 in American history or government, and maintain a GPA of at least 2.0. No more than 25 percent of grades may be D or below.

Special: Co-op programs and internships are available. Students may study abroad in Japan, Costa Rica, Italy, and other countries. B.A.-B.S. degrees in natural sciences and mathematics, a 3-2 engineering degree, dual majors, and nondegree study also are possible. The university offers a unique graduate program in agricultural law at the National Center for Agricultural Law Research and Information. There is a freshman honors program on campus, as well as 18 national honor societies, including Phi Beta Kappa.

Faculty/Classroom: Eighty-one percent of faculty are male; 19%, female. The average class size in an introductory lecture is 75; in a laboratory, 15; and in a regular course offering, 35.

Admissions: About 95% of the 1993-94 applicants were accepted. About 55% of the current freshmen were in the top fifth of their class; 80% were in the top two fifths. There were 62 National Merit finalists.

Requirements: A minimum GPA of 2.0 is required. The SAT I or ACT is required. In addition, applicants must be graduates of an accredited secondary school with 4 units of English and 3 each of natural science, social studies, and mathematics (including algebra), plus 3 additional years of courses from these areas, a foreign language, or oral communication. The GED is accepted under some circumstances. Students meeting these requirements and presenting a GPA of 2.75 will be admitted unconditionally. Those with a GPA of at least 2.25 may be granted admission under a transitional status. AP and CLEP credits are accepted.

Procedure: Freshmen are admitted fall and spring. Entrance exams should be taken in October or December of the senior year. Applications should be filed by August 15 for fall entry and January 1 for spring entry, along with an application fee of \$15. Notification is sent on a rolling basis. There is an early admissions plan.

Transfer: A total of 982 transfer students enrolled in 1993-94. Transfer applicants must present a GPA of 2.0 in all college course work attempted. Those with fewer than 24 transferrable semester credits must meet the requirements of entering freshmen. A total of 30 credits out of 124 must be completed at the university.

Visiting: There are regularly scheduled orientations for prospective students. There are guides for informal visits and visitors may sit in on classes and stay overnight at the school. To arrange for a visit, contact the Admissions Office.

Financial Aid: In a recent year, 32% of all current freshmen and 68% of continuing students received some form of financial aid. Scholarships or need-based grants averaged \$650 (\$12,000 maximum); and work contracts averaged \$67 (\$134 maximum). The university is a member of CSS. The FAF, the college's own financial statement, and the Arkansas scholarship application (AAFSSA) are required. The deadline for financial aid applications is April 1.

International Students: There are currently 421 international students enrolled. The school actively recruits these students. They must take the TOEFL and achieve a minimum score of 550. The student must also take the SAT I or ACT. Electrical engineering and computer science engineering plans require a composite score of 1000 on the SAT I or 25 on the ACT, and a Test of Spoken English (TSE) score of 220.

Computers: The university provides computer facilities for student use. The mainframes are an IBM 4381/R14 and an HP 9000/835. More than 350 Apple Macintosh, Zenith, and IBM or IBM-compatible microcomputers are available for academic use in student laboratories and in the computer center. All students may access the system 24 hours daily. There are some time limits, and fees vary by department.

Graduates: In a recent year, 1699 bachelor's degrees were awarded. Some 225 companies recruited on campus.

Admissions Contact: Office of Admissions.

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS AT LITTLE ROCK C-3

Little Rock, AR 72204

(501) 569-3127

Full-time: 2660 men, 3219 women

Faculty: 481; IIA, -\$

Part-time: 1686 men, 2426 women

Ph.D.s: 46%

Graduate: 734 men, 1345 women

Student/Faculty: 12 to 1

Year: semesters, summer session

Tuition: \$2054 (\$5090)

Application Deadline: August 1

Room: \$2365

Freshman Class: 1774 applied, 1330 accepted, 1202 enrolled

ACT: 19

COMPETITIVE

The University of Arkansas at Little Rock began in 1927 as Little Rock Junior College, took the name of Little Rock University in 1957, and joined the University of Arkansas system in 1969. There are 5 undergraduate and 2 graduate schools. In addition to regional accreditation, UALR has baccalaureate program accreditation with AACSB, ABET, ACEJMC, ASLA, CSWE, NASAD, NASM, NCATE, and NLN. The library contains 367,648 volumes, 691,612 microform items, and 6403 audiovisual forms, and subscribes to 2322 periodicals. Computerized library sources and services include the card catalog, interlibrary loans, and database searching. Special learning facilities include a learning resource center, art gallery, planetarium, radio station, TV station, and a speech and hearing clinic. The 150-acre

Talking Points for the First Lady: The Arkansas Tornadoes

- As the First Lady, I have had the opportunity to travel across the country and around the world. I have met literally thousands of people, each with their own stories and needs.
- Despite this exposure, it always pulls at my soul to come home to Arkansas. I only wish it could be under better circumstances.
- I have always said that Arkansans have something special inside them -- an inner strength that is all too rare in our society. Arkansans know how to pull together and get things done, even under trying times.
- I am pleased to be able to say that the people I have seen today -- each of you -- have yet again confirmed my feelings.
- Despite all the damage around us from the tornadoes which hit a few weeks ago, I don't see despair or longing, or people who have been beaten down by Mother Nature. What I see is the faces of people with dreams and aspirations, who are pulling together to make things happen for themselves. It's what I've come to expect from Arkansans, and it's enough to warm the heart.
- Unfortunately, I also see a great deal of work that needs to be done to help people recover from this devastation. Let me assure you that the President is committed to providing the assistance you need to make this happen.
- As we speak, representatives from the Federal Emergency Management Agency, or FEMA, are working with State and local officials to fully assess the damages and get you and your communities the assistance you need.

- Since April 23, FEMA has been accepting applications for Federal assistance from disaster victims using a 1-800 telephone number. Nearly 3,000 have already applied.
- Assistance checks are already flowing to people whose homes were damaged, so that they can either find alternative housing or make immediate repairs to make their homes livable again.
 - Well over \$2.5 million dollars have already been disbursed to impacted households and businesses, in the form of either low-interest loans or grants.
- In addition, over \$1.3 million has been provided to the State of Arkansas so that they can begin working with communities to move debris, and repair damages to public buildings and roads. And more funds will be coming as additional projects are approved.
- The State of Arkansas and the Federal government have also set up two Disaster Recovery Centers, one in Fort Smith and one in Van Buren. These centers are staffed by representatives from Federal, State, local, and non-profit agencies who can offer you "one stop shopping" when you want to ask questions about what comes next.
- The process of rebuilding lives and communities has begun, and the President has committed that the Federal government will be here for as long as it takes to help you in this process.
- But in order for us to help, we need your help.
- The most important thing that each of you can do now is apply for assistance, if you haven't already done so. FEMA operates a 1-800 telephone line with operators standing in ready to take down your application information and get you the assistance you need.

- By calling the teleregistration number, 1-800-462-9029 you can take the first step in the process toward recovery.
 - The call will be painless. It takes only about 20 minutes to apply over the phone. But the information you will provide will be critical to speeding the delivery of disaster assistance.
 - To date, over 440 families have already received their first assistance checks because they took the time to call.
- It may not seem like it now, but you will all get through this. I've seen what Arkansans can do.
 - Your local leaders should be commended for all of the hard work they've done so far on your behalf. And each of you have pulled together, as I knew you would, to help each other through this disaster.
 - When I return home, I am going to report what I have learned here with the President and Director James Lee Witt at FEMA, in hopes of further assisting them in meeting your needs.
 - You're not alone. The Federal government, the State of Arkansas, your local leaders, and your communities are all here for the long haul.
 - The President and I both send our thoughts and good wishes to you all.

Max
Webster / Politics not for me
faint headed
slow boards

draft #1

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS
MAY 11, 1996

Chancellor Ferritor, President Sugg, Chairman Epley and distinguished members of the Board of Trustees, administrators, faculty, Mrs. Jones, Professor Turpin, Jason, students, and honored graduates of the Class of 1996:

It feels great to be home.

And I do think of Fayetteville as home. This is the first place I lived when I followed my heart to Arkansas in 1974. Bill and I were married in a little house just a block away, right over on California Drive. We have a beautiful painting of that house, given to us last year for our 20th wedding anniversary, that is now hanging upstairs at the White House. We have come back to Fayetteville many times over the years. So being with you today brings back fond memories of my earliest days in Arkansas, and of the wonderful friends we met in this community and whom we continue to cherish.

Not that my transition from the East Coast was entirely smooth. I started out as a member of the law faculty. I was very young and very earnest, and I took the position very seriously. So you can imagine how mystified I was when, on certain days of the week, people whom I considered to be intelligent, rational adults, suddenly abandoned all semblance of reason and dressed up in Hogs hats and other Hogs paraphernalia. But it didn't take long before I came around. Pretty soon I was a loyal, if not rabid, fan myself.

And I assure you that one's allegiance to the University of Arkansas never dies. At the White House, whenever the Razorbacks are playing, the whole place comes to a standstill.

Living in Fayetteville also clued me in on one of America's best kept secrets: that this university is one of the finest public institutions of higher learning in our nation. I would put this faculty up against any other in the nation. I would put the students in this arena up against any others in the nation. And I have to say that, more than anywhere else that I have lived, Fayetteville embodies a spirit of inclusiveness, egalitarianism and community that people are yearning for across our country.

So I want to thank all of you who are graduating for inviting me back home to share this special celebration with you.

Since Mother's Day is tomorrow, I also want to thank and congratulate all of the parents -- especially the many proud mothers -- as well as the grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, sons, and daughters, who are gathered here with us. Your guidance, support and sacrifice are reflected in the accomplishments of this graduating class -- and in the 2,700 new names that will be carved in the Senior Walk later this year.

It is common for commencement speakers -- as they struggle to keep the attention of restless graduates who are counting down the minutes until they receive their diplomas -- to try to impart memorable bits of wisdom and advice about how to cope with the future.

I don't want to cop out. But I can't think of anyone in the world who can predict with any accuracy or certainty what is going to happen tomorrow, or the next day, or the one after that. It becomes even more difficult as we get closer to a new century, let alone a new millennium.

Of course, at the end of the last millennium there were a lot of folks who thought the world was coming to an end. They thought civilization had reached rock bottom. There was no hope for the future of mankind. But if you look back on what happened over the next thousand years, you see the great discoveries of medicine, science, industry and technology, and you realize that, -- to paraphrase Mark Twain, fears about the world's demise were greatly exaggerated.

I don't think anybody today seriously thinks the world is going to end in the year 2,000. But we do feel some of the same uncertainty and anxiety that ushered in the last millennium. And not without reason.

We live in a time of dramatic change. With change come challenges, as well many new opportunities, which is why my husband calls this an Age of Possibility.

Just look at the world around us:

A new global economy is taking shape, offering Americans the possibility of greater prosperity as well as the challenge of stiffer competition.

New technology is bringing us closer together, but also transforming the ways in which we communicate and do business with each other.

[Moral]

And the world itself is changing. Communism has given way to capitalism, tyranny to democracy, closed markets to free trade,

The structure of families is changing
Domestic life
Families are A's w/ mother's work home
w/
two parents w/
see by

forcing us to redefine the ideological labels and geographic boundaries that framed our thinking for the last half century.

So we find ourselves sifting and sorting out all of the competing tensions and values that emerge in times of such momentous upheaval and transformation. And hopefully we discover that rigid stereotypes and assumptions no longer apply.

You know which ones I'm talking about:

If you're under 25, you're an apathetic Generation X'er.

If you're over 40, you're a self-indulgent Baby Boomer.

If you're a liberal, you're a bleeding heart.

If you're a conservative, you have no heart.

If you're a Democratic President from Arkansas, you're accused of being all of the above, depending on the day.

And if you're the wife of a Democratic President from Arkansas, you better just make sure your hair is in place. *looks good.*

The truth is, there is no single label or definition that applies to any one of us, nor to any issue we face. Our world is too complex for that. So we need to shift our thinking away from stereotypes that prevent us from moving forward. Instead of labels, we need balance -- balance in our individual and collective lives that keeps us from going too far in one direction or the other.

How to find a suitable def: that accommodates our interests
[transition] Nearly every issue we face as individuals, communities and government comes down to one question: Who will be responsible? Who will be responsible for ensuring that our water is clean, our streets are safe, our jobs are secure, our wages are fair, our schools are good, our health is protected, our communities are vibrant, and our families are strong?

And what values and ideals can we fall back on that have withstood the test of time?

balance
The search for these ~~answers~~ *answers* is not new. Every generation grapples with how best to protect individual rights while also guarding the interests of the larger community. In fact, it is the special genius of Americans that, for more than 200 years, we have been able to sort out our values and priorities and resist the lure of political and social extremism.

Look at the people who have come to support you today -- your parents and grandparents and maybe even some great grandparents. They lived through profound changes brought by

We need values & ideas that we can fall back on that have

In the search for a new definition we always come

It's not some role but

World Wars and a Great Depression. My generation questioned authority when it appeared to threaten individual freedom. And while we may have pushed some things too far, the process helped usher in greater rights for minorities and women and greater sensitivity to our environment.

When Bill and I lived in Fayetteville in the 1970s, we gravitated to public service because it was a way to fulfill our obligations to the larger community. But it also was a way to derive meaning and fulfillment in one's individual life.

Now it is your generation's turn, not necessarily to rebel against the past, but to help lay the groundwork for a better future.

I know, as I say all of this, you're probably rolling your eyes, thinking, "C'mon, Mrs. Clinton [Hillary?], how are we supposed to build a better future when all we hear is that we may not be able to find jobs; that even if we do, we will probably get down-sized; that no matter how much we make, we won't be able to afford health care, child care or a monthly mortgage; and that ~~by the time we're 65, Social Security will be drained of every last dime?~~"

If you look back at the course of American history, you see that every generation has fallen back on certain guideposts to help navigate through periods of change.

The first guidepost is family. Our family is the first community we belong to. It is our first arena for sharing duties and responsibilities with others. It is an incubator for citizenship in the larger world.

It is also the social backbone of our society -- and has been from the pilgrims of Colonial times to the pioneers of the 19th century to the immigrants of today.

We all have a stake in the stability and security of our own families, as well as in the stability and security of every family. That's why we have to rise to the first and most important challenge the President laid out in his State of the Union address -- to cherish our children and strengthen our families. [specifics?]

The second guidepost is community. Community is what binds us together and reminds us of the duty we owe to one another.

Anyone who has gone to college or university, particularly a university such as this one, is already something of an expert in community and the meaning of civic responsibility. That's because a university is a meeting point for individuals of different interests, ideas, attitudes, tastes, and aspirations. It's a

place where we learn to listen to each other, understand and respect our differences, and strike a balance between "me" and "we."

Since democracy relies on a critical mass of people who are responsible, decent, and respectful of each other, your university experience will prove a valuable starting point for striking a balance in other aspects of your life.

[some discussion here of the challenges of building a strong community: education, economic security]

I know you are in a hurry to get those diplomas. But let me just say that the third great balancer in our society is our political system and government.

I realize there is great cynicism in some quarters about government. Some people think government has all the solutions. Some people think government creates all our problems.

Of course, neither is true. A journalist whom I admire [E.J. Dionne] put it best when he wrote: "Government cannot raise children, write love songs, create computer languages, invent the technology after the microchip or discover a cure for cancer. But politics and government do shape the conditions under which such acts of creativity are made easier or harder, more likely or less likely. Politics has everything to do with building a more just, more civil, more open society."

So when I hear people complain about government, I often think of a young Peace Corps volunteer I met in Nepal last year. To meet with me, she had to walk ten hours from the remote village where she was living and catch a bus that brought her to the capital, Katmandu. She told me that she had been living in a house with no running water or electricity. She was working at a schools where nearly all the students were boys, since most girls were still denied schooling and were often married by the age of twelve or thirteen.

She had thoroughly enjoyed her experience in Nepal, she said, but she missed her family and all of the blessings of daily life that we take for granted in America: safe drinking water that comes out of every faucet; meats and vegetables that you can eat without fear of getting sick; enough food all year round; free public schools for boys and girls; warm baths and electricity at any time of day or night; paved roads, cars, and phones that always work.

Why is it that we enjoy all these things? Because generations before us paid the price to establish and maintain a stable, democratic government that protects our individual rights and provides public services that benefit us all.

Think about it this way: That Peace Corps volunteer might not have been in Nepal teaching children and spreading the fruits of democracy without the education she got in America, the compassion she got in America, the understanding of human rights she learned in America, and the willingness to make personal sacrifices for the larger good of humanity that she learned in America.

*Repair
Ideation - she was more sacrifices but in exchange was able to*

The poet Edna St. Vincent Millay once wrote that "dreams are links in the chain of a common hope." It was our task as citizens of a nation, she said, to "weld" that chain of individual dreams so that every citizen was free to be secure in his or her own dreams.

No, government is not perfect. And politics are not always pleasant. But our system is the most resilient, durable, and equitable system ever devised by man.

You are stewards of our democracy. You are the welders of our chain of dreams. May you go forth from this day with confidence, excitement, hope, and plenty of dreams about the world that you will be a part of.

Thank you and Godspeed.

###

*live her dream.
On way home
I thought abt
Milly poe not
talks*

draft #1

Mother's Day

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS
MAY 11, 1996

Chancellor Ferritor, President Sugg, Chairman Epley and distinguished members of the Board of Trustees, Mrs. Jones [a philanthropist receiving an honorary degree], Professor Turpin, Jason [student speaker], students, and honored graduates of the Class of 1996:

It feels great to be home.

And I do think of Fayetteville as home. This is the first place I lived when I followed my heart to Arkansas in 1974. Bill and I were married in a little house just a block away, right over on California Drive. We have a beautiful painting of that house, given to us last year for our 20th wedding anniversary, that is now hanging upstairs at the White House. We have come back to Fayetteville many times over the years. So being with you today brings back fond memories of my earliest days in Arkansas, and of the wonderful friends we met in this community and whom we continue to cherish.

Not that my transition from the East Coast was entirely smooth. I started out as a member of the law faculty. I was very young and very earnest, and I took the position very seriously. So you can imagine how mystified I was when, on certain days of the week, people whom I considered to be intelligent, rational adults, suddenly abandoned all semblance of reason and dressed up in Hogs hats and other Hogs paraphernalia. But it didn't take long before I came around. Pretty soon I was a loyal, if not rabid, fan myself.

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Living in Fayetteville also clued me in on one of America's best kept secrets: that this university is one of the finest public institutions of higher learning in our nation. I would put this faculty up against any other in the nation. I would put the students in this arena up against any others in the nation. And I have to say that, more than anywhere else that I have lived, Fayetteville embodies a spirit of inclusiveness, egalitarianism and community that people are yearning for across our country.

So I want to thank all of you who are graduating for

inviting me back home to share this special celebration with you.

I also want to thank and congratulate all of the parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, sons, and daughters, who are gathered here today. Your guidance, support and sacrifice are reflected in the accomplishments of this graduating class -- and in the 2,700 new names that will be carved in the Senior Walk later this year. *Mother's Day*

It is common for commencement speakers -- as they struggle to keep the attention of restless graduates who are counting down the minutes until they receive their diplomas -- to try to impart memorable bits of wisdom and advice about how to cope with the future.

Then one day -
I don't want to cop-out on you. But I do believe that no one in the world could stand before you today and tell you with any accuracy or certainty what is going to happen tomorrow, or the next day, or the one after that. *Last a millennium - 21st century*

~~That is because~~ We live in a time of unprecedented change. A time of extraordinary opportunity as well as immense challenge. A time of sorting out -- of sorting out our values and ideals as we prepare for a new century and a new millennium.

One of the greatest challenges we must answer in the 21st century is how we will take care of each other, and the next generation, in an era of rapid economic, political and social transformation. Nearly every issue confronting us comes down to one question: Who will be responsible? Who will be responsible for ensuring that our water is clean, our streets are safe, our jobs are secure, our wages are fair, our schools are good, our health is protected, our communities are vibrant, and our families are strong?

As father, community as a part -

And at a time of such momentous change, what values and ~~ideals~~ *institutions* can we fall back on that have withstood the test of time?

Now, too often, as we try to answer these questions, we fall into a trap of rigid stereotypes and assumptions about who is supposed to do what in our society. And the result is that we become more confused than ever about the rules of modern life:

You know what I'm talking about:

If you're under 25, you're an apathetic Generation X'er.

If you're over 40 but under 55, you're a self-indulgent Baby Boomer, ~~who wants to spend everyone else's money.~~

If you're a liberal, you're ~~tied to a dated and nostalgic~~ past. *a bloody past.*

If you're a conservative, you have no heart.

If you're a man, you . . .

If you're a woman, you . . .

And if you're a politician [Democratic President], God spare you from the wrath of [Rush Limbaugh].

We need to free ourselves of these kinds of rigid stereotypes and assumptions and admit that all of us are responsible -- as individuals, as families, as institutions -- for ensuring that the great promise and potential of America is met. We have to be engaged in a partnership that makes it possible for us to do more together than we could ever accomplish alone.

But that will only happen if we are willing to sift and sort through our values and priorities and accept that, with all the tensions inherent in a vibrant, democratic, pluralistic society such as ours, some interests and ideals will inevitably collide or compete.

[here, something like: you can take pride in your ethnic heritage and still be an American; you can be devoutly religious without using religion as a vehicle for hatred; you can believe government needs streamlining without joining a militia]

So we have to work harder to find the proper balance in our individual and collective lives. It is by striking a balance -- between individual rights and community needs -- that we maintain our democratic way of life and resist the lure of political and social extremism.

[transition]

The dynamic relationship between individualism and community is what enabled earlier generations of Americans to meet the tests of a Civil War, World Wars, and a Great Depression. My generation sorted out values and priorities by rebelling against what it perceived as excessive authority and threats to individual freedom. And while we may have pushed some things too far, the process helped usher in greater rights for minorities and women and greater sensitivity to our environment.

Now it is a new generation's turn, not necessarily to rebel against the past, but to help lay the groundwork for a better future.

I know, as I say all of this, you're probably rolling your eyes, thinking, "C'mon, Mrs. Clinton, how are we supposed to build a better future when all we hear is that we may not be able

to find jobs; that even if we do, we will probably get down-sized; that no matter how much we make, we won't be able to afford health care, child care or a monthly mortgage; and that by the time we're 65, Social Security will be drained of every last dime?"

What lessons does our generation draw
No one said it's going to be easy. But if you look back at the course of American history, you see that every generation has fallen back on certain guideposts to help navigate through periods of change.

You want have to do this alone - family
The first guidepost is family. Our family is the first community we belong to. It is our first arena for sharing duties and responsibilities with others. It is an incubator for citizenship in the larger world.

It is also the social backbone of our society -- and has been from the pilgrims of Colonial times to the pioneers of the 19th century to the immigrants of today.

are
But we can't have strong families when children *have* children; when parents are on drugs or addicted to alcohol; when mothers are subjected to violence in the home and fathers don't take responsibility for the children they bring into the world. We can't have strong families when wages remain stagnant over two decades, the gap between rich and poor grows wider, and corporate executives are more interested in short-term profits than long-term security.

In his State of the Union address earlier this year, the President outlined the challenges we face as a nation. Our first challenge, he said, was to cherish our children and strengthen families. [transition]

The second guidepost is community. Anyone who has gone to college or university, particularly a university such as this one, is already something of an expert in community and the meaning of civic responsibility. That's because a university is a meeting point for individuals of different interests, ideas, attitudes, tastes, and aspirations. It's a place where we learn to listen to each other, understand and respect our differences, and strike a balance between "me" and "we."

Volunteer /
Since democracy relies on a critical mass of people who are responsible, decent, and respectful of each other, your university experience will prove a valuable starting point for striking a balance in later life.

[some discussion here of the challenges of building a strong community: education, economic security]

Our third guidepost is our government and political system.

*Have faith in your gov't 4.
Obv. this has been my life. :)*

When I hear people complain about government, I often think of a young Peace Corps volunteer I met in Nepal last year. To meet with me, she had to walk ten hours from the remote village where she was living and catch a bus that brought her to the capital, Katmandu. She told me that she had been living in a house with no running water or electricity. She was working at a schools where nearly all the students were boys, since most girls were still denied schooling and were often married by the age of twelve or thirteen.

She had thoroughly enjoyed her experience in Nepal, she said, but she missed her family and all of the blessings of daily life that we take for granted in America: safe drinking water that comes out of every faucet; meats and vegetables that you can eat without fear of getting sick; enough food all year round; free public schools for boys and girls; warm baths and electricity at any time of day or night; paved roads, cars, and phones that always work.

The reason we enjoy all these things is that generations before us paid the price to establish and maintain a stable, democratic government that protects our individual rights and provides public services that benefit us all.

~~It's not that~~ ^{not} government is responsible for every good -- nor every ill -- in society. A journalist whom I admire [E.J. Dionne] wrote recently that "government cannot raise children, write love songs, create computer languages, invent the technology after the microchip or discover a cure for cancer. But politics and government do shape the conditions under which such acts of creativity are made easier or harder, more likely or less likely. Politics has everything to do with building a more just, more civil, more open society."

No, government is not perfect. And politics are not always pleasant. But our system is the most resilient, durable, and equitable system ever devised by man.

You are stewards of our democracy. And it will be your job to keep perfecting it.

[dream stuff here?]

End w/ girl in Nepal.

Reverse w/ E.J.?

quell her up a little bit - make her more idealistic

medicine
educ'n

compassion
builds to

5

then rights + opportunities

} sacrifices she
had to make
no free lunch.

There are many ways of helping children. You can do it through your own personal lives by being dedicated, loving parents. You can do it in medicine or music, social work or education, business or government service, by making policy or making cookies.

It is a false choice to tell women - or men for that matter - that we must choose between caring for ourselves and our own families or caring for the larger family of humanity.

In their recent Pastoral Letter, "Putting Children and Families First," the National Conference of Catholic Bishops captured this essential interplay of private and public roles: "No government can love a child and no policy can substitute for a family's care," the Bishops wrote, but "government can either support or undermine families ... There has been an unfortunate, unnecessary and unreal polarization in discussions of how best to help families ... The undeniable fact is that our children's future is shaped both by the values of their parents and the policies of our nation."

As my husband says, "Family values alone won't feed a hungry child. And material security cannot provide a moral compass. We need both."

Forty-five years ago, the biggest threat to our country came from the other side of the Iron Curtain; from the nuclear weapons that could wipe out the entire planet. While you were here at Wellesley, that threat ended.

Today, our greatest national threat comes not from some external Evil Empire, but from our own internal Indifferent Empire that tolerates splintered families, unparented children, embattled schools, and pervasive poverty, racism, and violence.

Not for one more year can our country think of children as some asterisk on our national agenda. How we treat our children should be front and center of our national agenda, or it won't matter what else is on that agenda.

My plea is that you not only nurture the values that will determine the choices you make in your personal lives, but also insist on policies with those values to nurture our nation's children.

"But, really Hillary," many of you may be saying to yourselves, "I've got to pay off my student loans. I can't even find a good job, let alone someone to love. How am I going to worry about the world? Our generation has fewer dreams, fewer illusions than yours."

And I hear you. As women today, you face tough choices. You know the rules are basically as follows:

If you don't get married, you're abnormal.

If you get married but don't have children, you're a selfish yuppie.

If you get married and have children, but work outside the home, you're a bad mother.

If you get married and have children, but stay home, you've wasted your education.

And if you don't get married, but have children and work outside the home as a fictional newscaster, then you're in trouble with the Vice President.

So you see, if you listen to all the people who make these rules, you might conclude that the safest course of action is just to take your diploma and crawl under your bed. But let me propose an alternative.

er answer vital ques-

soziologie 1927:5. →
e S. Riesterer.

ety and existence are
matter of sociology is
developing the human

55:209.

nist

n we are interested is
e reality (Wirklich-
understanding of the
reality in which we
he one hand the rela-
ficance of individual
ifestations and on the
historically so and not

e and Social Policy

t of gain, of money, of
ney, has in itself noth-
mpulse exists and has
s, coachmen, artists,
diers, nobles, crusad-
ay say that it has been
s of men at all times
wherever the objective
en.

Spirit of Capitalism

g from the world into
orld which it had re-
through the Church.
naturally spontaneous
d untouched. Now it
slammed the door of
rtook to penetrate just
ethodicalness, to fash-
neither of nor for this

Spirit of Capitalism

lling; we are forced to
urried out of monastic
to dominate worldly
the tremendous cos-
er. This order is now
nic conditions of
ermine the lives of all
this mechanism, not
economic acquisition,
ill so determine them
is burnt. In [Richard]

Baxter's view the care for external goods should only lie on the shoulders of the "saint like a light cloak, which can be thrown aside at any moment." But fate decreed that the cloak should become an iron cage [ein stahlhartes Gehäuse].

The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1904–1905) 1930:181. → For a discussion of the translation of this phrase as "iron cage," see Edward A. Tiryakian, *The Sociological Import of a Metaphor: Tracking the Source of Max Weber's "Iron Cage"* (1981).

- 5 No one knows who will live in this cage in the future, or whether at the end of this tremendous development entirely new prophets will arise, or there will be a great rebirth of old ideas and ideals, or, if neither, mechanized petrification, embellished with a sort of convulsive self-importance. For of the last stage of this cultural development, it might well be truly said: "Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved."

The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1904–1905) 1930:182.

- 6 To this day there has never existed a bureaucracy which could compare with that of Egypt. This is known to everyone who knows the social history of ancient times; and it is equally apparent that to-day we are proceeding towards an evolution which resembles that system in every detail. . . . But horrible as the thought is that the world may one day be peopled with professors — we would retire on to a desert island if such a thing were to happen — it is still more horrible to think that the world could one day be filled with nothing but those little cogs, little men clinging to little jobs and striving towards bigger ones. . . . This passion for bureaucracy. . . is enough to drive one to despair.

Bureaucratization (1909) 1955:127.

- 7 *Man muss, wie oft gesagt worden ist, "nicht Caesar sein, um Caesar zu verstehen." Sonst wäre alle Geschichtsschreibung sinnlos* [As is often said, "one need not be Caesar to understand Caesar." Otherwise, all historical writing would be meaningless].

Über einige Kategorien der verstehenden Soziologie 1913:254. → Noting Georg Simmel's earlier use of this aphorism, Weber drew upon it here and elsewhere. It has since been adopted by others, including Alfred Schütz. See SIMMEL:11 and SCHÜTZ:1.

- 8 In spite of all "social welfare policies," the whole course of the state's inner political functions, of justice and administration, is repeatedly and unavoidably regulated by the objective pragmatism of "reasons of state." The state's absolute end is to safeguard (or to change) the external and internal distribution of power; ultimately, this end must seem meaningless to any universalist religion of salvation. This fact has held and still holds, even more so, for foreign policy. It is absolutely essential for every political association to appeal to the naked violence of coercive means in the face of outsiders as well as in the face of internal enemies. It is only this very appeal to

violence that constitutes a political association in our terminology. The state is an association that claims the monopoly of the *legitimate use of violence*, and cannot be defined in any other manner.

Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions (1915) 1946:334.

- 9 Not ideas, but material and ideal interests, directly govern men's conduct. Yet very frequently the "world images" that have been created by "ideas" have, like switchmen, determined the tracks along which action has been pushed by the dynamic of interest. "From what" and "for what" one wished to be redeemed and, let us not forget, "could be" redeemed, depended on one's image of the world.

The Social Psychology of the World Religions (1915) 1946:280.

- 10 Like everyone else, the professor has other facilities for the diffusion of his ideals. When these facilities are lacking, he can easily create them in an appropriate form, as experience has shown in the case of every honest attempt. But the professor should not demand the right as a professor to carry the marshal's baton of the statesman or reformer in his knapsack.

The Meaning of "Ethical Neutrality" in Sociology and Economics (1917) 1949:5.

- 11 What we must vigorously oppose is the view that one may be "scientifically" contented with the conventional self-evidentness of very widely accepted value-judgments. The specific function of science, it seems to me, is just the opposite: namely, to ask questions about these things which convention makes self-evident.

The Meaning of "Ethical Neutrality" in Sociology and Economics (1917) 1949:13.

- 12 The possibility of questioning the meaning of the world presupposes the capacity to be astonished about the course of events.

Ancient Judaism (1917–1919) 1952:207.

- 13 I am slowly working away on the [new] edition of "The Protestant Ethic" and other articles, and I shall see things through. I think I shall manage in the winter too, after a good rest and the fading of all the depression that is weighing me down.

Letter to Karl Rothenbücher, 1919 1988:665.

- 14 The early Christians knew full well the world is governed by demons and that he who lets himself in for politics, that is, for power and force as means, contracts with diabolical powers and for his action it is *not* true that good can follow only from good and evil only from evil, but that often the opposite is true. Anyone who fails to see this is, indeed, a political infant.

Politics as a Vocation (1919) 1946:123. → See GOETHE:1.

- 15 Politics is a strong and slow boring of hard boards. It takes both passion and perspective. Certainly all historical experience confirms the truth — that man would not have attained the possible unless time and again he had

reached out for the impossible. But to do that a man must be a leader, and not only a leader but a hero as well, in a very sober sense of the word. And even those who are neither leaders nor heroes must arm themselves with that steadfastness of heart which can brave even the crumbling of all hopes. This is necessary right now, or else men will not be able to attain even that which is possible today. Only he has the calling for politics who is sure that he shall not crumble when the world from his point of view is too stupid or too base for what he wants to offer. Only he who in the face of all this can say "In spite of all!" has the calling for politics.

Politics as a Vocation (1919) 1946:128.

- 16 One's own work must inevitably remain highly imperfect. Only by strict specialization can the scientific worker become fully conscious, for once and perhaps never again in his lifetime, that he has achieved something that will endure. A really definitive and good accomplishment is today always a specialized accomplishment. And whoever lacks the capacity to put on blinders, so to speak, and to come up to the idea that the fate of his soul depends upon whether or not he makes the correct conjecture at this passage of this manuscript may as well stay away from science. He will never have what one may call the "personal experience" of science. Without this strange intoxication, ridiculed by every outsider; without this passion, this "thousands of years must pass before you enter into life and thousands more wait in silence" — according to whether or not you succeed in making this conjecture; without this, you have no calling for science and you should do something else. For nothing is worthy of man as man unless he can pursue it with passionate devotion.

Science as a Vocation (1919) 1946:135.

- 17 No sociologist... should think himself too good, even in his old age, to make tens of thousands of quite trivial computations in his head and perhaps for months at a time. One cannot with impunity try to transfer this task entirely to mechanical assistants if one wishes to figure something, even though the final result is often small indeed.

Science as a Vocation (1919) 1946:135.

- 18 In science, each of us knows that what he has accomplished will be antiquated in ten, twenty, fifty years. That is the fate to which science is subjected; it is the very *meaning* of scientific work, to which it is devoted in a quite specific sense, as compared with other spheres of culture for which in general the same holds. Every scientific "fulfilment" raises new "questions"; it asks to be "surpassed" and outdated. Whoever wishes to serve science has to resign himself to this fact. Scientific works certainly can last as "gratifications" because of their artistic quality, or they may remain important as a means of training. Yet they will be surpassed scientifically — let that be repeated — for it is our common fate and, more, our common goal. We cannot work without hoping that

others will advance further than we have. In principle, this progress goes on *ad infinitum*.

Science as a Vocation (1919) 1946:138.

- 19 The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the "disenchantment of the world." Precisely the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human relations. It is not accidental that our greatest art is intimate and not monumental.

Science as a Vocation (1919) 1946:155.

- 20 "Power" (*Macht*) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.

"Domination" (*Herrschaft*) is the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons. "Discipline" is the probability that by virtue of habituation a command will receive prompt and automatic obedience in stereotyped forms, on the part of a given group of persons.

Economy and Society (1922) 1968:Vol. 1, 53.

- 21 There are three pure types of legitimate domination. The validity of their claims to legitimacy may be based on:

1. Rational grounds — resting on a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority).

2. Traditional grounds — resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them (traditional authority); or finally,

3. Charismatic grounds — resting on devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him (charismatic authority).

Economy and Society (1922) 1968:Vol. 1, 215.

- 22 The whole administrative staff [of a bureaucracy] consists, in the purest type, of individual officials... who are appointed and function according to the following criteria:

(1) They are personally free and subject to authority only with respect to their impersonal official obligations.

(2) They are organized in a clearly defined hierarchy of offices.

(3) Each office has a clearly defined sphere of competence in the legal sense.

(4) The office is filled by a free contractual relationship...

(5) Candidates are selected on the basis of technical qualifications... They are *appointed*, not elected...

(6) They are remunerated by fixed salaries in money...

(7) The office is treated as the sole, or at least the primary, occupation of the incumbent.

(8) It constitutes a career...

(9) The official works entirely separated from owner-

Diane Blair

5/7/96

Coming together of families = commencement

- grandparents / great grandparents who started out the idea of bldg the future
- some students w/ their own children

Univ of Ark

- v. tough to teach -- bc so often 1st in family to go to college -- when checked in to college brought whole family w/ them

Her good friend James Caville in Fayetteville, Ark.

Land grant university -- reflects Nat American promise -- graduates are recipients of that promise

ARKANSAS

- ① Great mystification when she arrived here was the fetish abt

why wld adults dress up in hog hats?

- even she now loves - even all transactions - LWH stp when the Razorbacks are play.

- She has always felt that U of A was one of the best kept secrets of educ'l world

- ② Faculty ↑ - probably one of the collectively best faculties anywhere -- here bc of psychic rewards of living in Fayetteville v. democratic place

Sat. a.m. -- e.b. is there -- banks, post, pool hall

one public high school

Egalitarian, inclusive spirit here

Diane Blair

- Chelsea, if you are really lucky, you'll have the chance to live in a place like Fiville
- prob reasons out an outstdy fac. that could teach elsewhere for more \$\$ but love Fiville
- Area where she's fig speech is one block away from where she & Bill lived when they got married -
picture hangg upstairs at WHse -
that Fiville artist & painted & friends gave us for 20th anniversary
little Hse. on Calif Drive
- hob. not a single agency / bureau etc.
of Univ of Ark holdg responsible positions - enormous part in products of this inst'n

House
on Calif
Drive.

Jacob
Weisberg.

NOTES / COMMENTARIES

Old Progression -

time of gross disparity in wealth
disenchantment w/ the 2 major parties
(political corruption / econ. exploitation)

Crisis: economic
political
moral
int'l / nat'l

Q/ Gingrich → back to radical, unregulated
capitalism of the Gilded Age
(lobbyists writing laws)

Not rebelling vs big govt but vs. bad govt

Proper conservative trad'n = attempt to strengthen
institutions of civil society

These conflicts are deeply understood & their
own lines - Almost ch. that these things are a
play-

→ Look at least # of my book

Americans are instinctively cynical abt govt
They are proud of our system & govt
Paradox is that they hate govt but
love the system

OUTLINE / U of ARKANSAS

Opening Anecdotes

Coming Home

- Metaphor for what so many of us feel + yearn for in a complicated era
- Commencement - a coming together of families, many of whom have made great sacrifices
- Fayetteville as an oasis of "community spirit" + inclusiveness
- Importance of home + family: ^{community} of security + stability that each provides

Central Challenges

- How to take care of each other + of the next generations?
 - Crime, economy, the environment, moral values
- Central challenges facing us as individuals + as a society

Sorting Out the Competing + Conflicting Values + Tensions is an inherent part of American democracy

public/private

black/white

indiv/community

men/women

We discover some things never &

The American Promise → challenges (Porous)

families as a building block (earliest unit of democracy)

- discussion of our family

- respons. for next gen'n → educ, health, environment.

← community (pluralism)

← optimism

- must create citizens for democracy

- corporate respons. for families

OUTLINE (2)

→ rethink 8 challenges.

End w/ creation of citizenship / participation in a democracy

(Need a critical mass of ppl...)

Greeks, Magna Carta etc. Foundi Fathers

We're still perfecting it

ENDING / NEW PROGRESSIVE ANTHROLOGIES

Govt. as enabler

Why does e.o. want to convert?

every nation model after us?

ES. Politics - democratic politics -- is abt ordinary people using politics in a free society to do extraordinary things -- organize themselves, demand + win improvements in std of living; create opportunities for their children + insist on basic social equality.

This century has not been about the fertility of politics but the triumph of democratic politics

HRC / COMMENCEMENT

Family as backbone of American progress

Pioneer families

Pilgrim families

Slave families

Immigrant families

- didn't have luxury to
drift apart



her own family roots

her husband's family

Twentieth Century Fund
41 East 70th Street
New York, New York 10021
PHONE # (212) 535-4441
FAX # (212) 535-7534

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE: May 10

TO: Lissa Muscatine

FAX #: 202-456-5709

FROM: Ellen Chesler

COMMENTS:

You're so admirable in your capacity to remain calm and focused in the midst of chaos and under the pressure of a deadline.

Hope this helps.

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS ONE:

5

Twentieth Century Fund
41 East 70th Street
New York, New York 10021
PHONE # (212) 535-4441
FAX # (212) 535-7534

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE: May
TO: Lissa Muscatine
FAX #: 202-456-5709
FROM: Ellen Chesler

COMMENTS:

- ① Here are the articles I mentioned, just to get you going - plus a synopsis of EJ's Book - I'll spend some time today trying to track down more quotable material on this message to them
- ② I also enclose several pages from a recent article I wrote on
NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS ONE: (18)
Settlement houses - that summarizes the arguments in a different way which may or may not be helpful. You are welcome to use any language that may work!
- ③ Finally - the list I talk of

Ungolden age

Historical analogies in American politics are always treacherous if they are taken too literally. Still, there has been enough continuity in our political institutions over the past two centuries for historians to note some recurring patterns of reform, reaction and voter realignment. In the mid-1960s, for example, C. Vann Woodward helpfully described the continuing civil-rights revolution as a Second Reconstruction, a revisiting of some of the basic themes that had dominated politics exactly one century earlier. In a similar spirit, it may be worth considering developments since the demise of the Second Reconstruction in the late 1960s and 1970s as a Second Gilded Age, one that has reached a crisis in 1996 much as the First Gilded Age did in 1896, and one that could well pre-empt the arrival of a new Progressivism.

Certainly the past twenty-five years or so have brought to mind the crassness and cynicism of the original spoils-men. Whereas a century ago the nation began its encounter with a bewildering urban industrialism, it recently entered into a bewildering edge-city, computer-chip, global post-industrialism, with some familiar symptoms: widening gaps in income and wealth, political corruption and insider-trading scandals on a gargantuan scale, a parvenu culture of ostentation, glitz and celebrity. After deciding, now as then, that the problems of race relations and poverty are beyond government's powers to solve—that, indeed, government action only makes the problems worse—Americans settled down to celebrate the mythic benevolent market as the truest arbiter of who deserves to win or lose in the great national bonanza. Away with the sentimentalism of reform, the doctrine of losers, we have told ourselves; let the shrewd and the domineering actually dominate, and there is no end to what the country can achieve. "Nothing is lost save honor," the Gilded Age buccaneer Jim Fisk proclaimed; "Greed is good," echoed the Keatings and Milkens of the Second Gilded Age.

The parallels become even more striking if we take a closer look at party politics. During the First Gilded Age, political loyalties turned chiefly on cultural divisions that cut across class and region. At the simplest level, party alignments replicated the Civil War, pitting a largely Republican North and Midwest against the Democratic South.

But Republicans were also guaranteed the backing of Southern blacks, while the Democrats held the ethnic Catholic (and especially the Irish) vote in the burgeoning Northern cities.

By 1890, the Democrats appeared to be gaining the national political edge, thanks largely to the growth of the urban vote; and, in 1892, Grover Cleveland, who had been defeated for reelection in 1888, regained the White House. But the politics of populism helped to do in the Democrats and went on to shake the Gilded Age party system to its foundations. As early as 1890, distressed farmers in the South and the Midwest, alienated from both major parties, organized independently, elected several sympathizers to governorships and won control of ten state legislatures. Two years later, united under the banner of the new People's Party, the protesters carried four states and won 9 percent of the popular vote for their presidential candidate, James B. Weaver (who ran on a radical platform that demanded, among other things, a progressive income tax and nationalization of the railroads).

The depression of 1893, along with Cleveland's adamant anti-relief and anti-labor stance, encouraged the revolt, and the Democrats suffered huge losses in the congressional elections the following year.

The 1896 presidential election, a debacle for the standard-bearer William Jennings Bryan and the pro-silver and agrarian Democrats he represented, destroyed the Populist movement—but it also marked a transformation in party affairs. Promising that industrial growth and sound money would bring prosperity to all, the Republican nominee, William McKinley, cut deeply into the Democrats' Northern urban base and forged a new national majority that would remain largely intact until the 1930s.

Yet McKinleyism, the quintessence of sober big-business Republicanism, soon faced fresh challenges, above all from a new breed of reformers who envisioned activist measures to curb the ills of industrialism—concentrations of corporate power, devastation of the natural environment, child labor, slums. Theodore Roosevelt, who succeeded the slain McKinley as president in 1901, became the first national political emblem of the sprawling reformism that, by 1910, had acquired the name "Progressive." When Roosevelt's zeal proved too great for the more narrow-minded business-Republican leaders, he was forced to

go it alone with his own Progressive Party. The reformist mantle then fell to the Democrats who elected Woodrow Wilson to the presidency in 1912.

What, then, can all this tell us about the politics of the Second Gilded Age? Will a new progressivism, or a new populism, transform the old party alliances as they did last century? The party system's latest crack-up began in earnest (and, more or less, on schedule) with the rise of Ross Perot in 1992. In contrast to the genuinely democratic farmers of the original People's Party, Perot offered up a post-modern faux populism. (See "Fox Populi," *TNR*, August 9, 1993.) Still, he hit a nerve among middle- and working-class whites who had been battered by stagnating and declining wages, felt anxious about the globalist restructuring of the economy and saw both major parties as sinkholes of corruption. Opting out of the culture wars, Perot declared that the nation's problems were basically economic and political; by joining attacks on the deficit and free trade with calls for government reform, he thoroughly confuted the established political logic of the Second Gilded Age.

Whether Perot will return to the presidential fray this year and how much credibility he retains with the voters remain to be seen. But the tone of politics over the past three years, particularly among the fragmenting Republicans, betrays a fundamental shift since Perot's challenge, with some eerie evocations of a century ago. Some of the leading lights of what passes for the conservative intelligentsia have moved from attacking the welfare state and multicultural liberals toward cruder theories about the genetic and "civilizational" inferiority of blacks and immigrants, recalling such racist classics of the last turn-of-the-century as Thomas Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots* and Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race*. Another group of conservative thinkers, the people who hatched the supply-side hoax of the Reagan years, have found a new front man in Steve Forbes—a social moderate who would flatten one of the lasting legacies of the Progressive era, the graduated income tax, and pull us that much closer to the First Gilded Age. Pat Buchanan, still a ferocious cultural warrior, has done the most to exploit the populist anxieties that surfaced four years ago, substituting the symbolic issue of protectionism for the symbolic issue of the

silver standard that animated William Jennings Bryan. Unlike the Democrats in 1896, though, the Republican Party of 1996 will resist putting a quasi-populist at the head of its ticket.

It is left to the old party professional Bob Dole to try and hold the pieces together and recapture the White House. But, even in the unlikely event that Dole succeeds, the most interesting Republicans, at least in the short run, will be Newt Gingrich and his band of congressional revolutionaries. Although Gingrich still fights the culture wars, he has also emerged (as E.J. Dionne Jr. suggests in his new book, *They Only Look Dead*) as the closest thing to a McKinley for the twenty-first century, a true believer in the new Third Wave, global-information economy. Gingrich's revolutionism lies precisely in his efforts to align the Republican Party with what he takes to be the dominant classes of the future, much as McKinley and his chief manager, Mark Hanna, did in 1896. The difficulty he faces is that to achieve his revolution, as he sees it, Gingrich must also complete a radical *counterrevolution*, fully liberating the Third Wave capitalists by discarding the entire legacy of Progressive reform dating back to Theodore Roosevelt. Selling that counterrevolution to the voters may depend on whether some reinvigorated form of Progressivism emerges quickly enough to head it off.

In retrospect, Bill Clinton seems all along to have had some intuitive sense of himself as a reborn Progressive, in search of a fresh rationale for modified activist government—or so his liberal supporters might like to believe. And some of the more prominent members of his administration—Al Gore, the environmentalist and reinventor of government, for example, or Robert Reich, retrainer of labor—talk a lot like efficiency-minded Progressive reformers. But, over the first two years of Clinton's term, the results were at best a hodgepodge and at worst a disaster. By winning on the North American Free Trade Agreement but losing on health care, for example, Clinton loomed as the worst nightmare of alienated middle- and working-class voters. Those voters punished him and his party in 1994—an electoral trouncing comparable to the Democrats' in 1894. And, although Clinton has recovered brilliantly, he has done so mainly by promising to fend off the Gingrich counterrevolution—a defensive stance that may win him re-election but that inspires no Progressive crusades. A

quick recollection of some of the earlier crusaders' achievements confirms the narrowness of today's liberal reformist vision. Between 1901 and 1920, less than a generation, came the first serious federal efforts to rein in untrammelled corporate power; the enactment of consumer protection laws; the proliferation of expert social commissions; state-level political reforms like initiative, referendum and recall; a thorough reform of the banking system; women's suffrage; and an immense array of urban settlement-house projects. Even taking into account the failed health care initiative, the Clintonian vision of reform seems much flatter.

If the analogy with a century ago holds, however, it would be a mistake to look for a new Progressivism coming from a single president or even a single party. For Progressivism never represented a clear-cut set of political principles; it was always more a mood than a coherent movement. There were big-business and anti-big business Progressives, statist and local Progressives, ethnic working-class and old-stock patrician Progressives. What set them off from the politics of the Gilded Age was not a systematic creed or ideology but a general discontent with the effects of unregulated, atomized power—discontent that could lead to any number of contradictory proposals.

As the historian Daniel T. Rodgers has written, the Progressives' multifarious concerns tended to cluster around three sets of ideas: antimonopolism and a fear of concentrated private power; a concern about social cohesion and the decline of communal bonds; and a drive for social efficiency and the elimination of waste in both government and industry. The politics of Progressivism, in turn, involved heated debates over how best to address these concerns—by regulating the great trusts or by smashing them, by building social bonds to a reinvigorated national state (as Herbert Croly, the founder of this magazine, prescribed) or to local neighborhoods, civic institutions and the family (along the lines of the urban settlement houses).

Without squinting too hard, we can sense some of these clusters surfacing once again, though less, at the moment, among the politicians than among the political intelligentsia—in the neo-Crolyism of a writer like Michael Lind, for example, or in the neo-Tocquevillian concerns about civil society expressed by Robert Putnam

and others, or in the government-efficiency ideas of David Osborne.

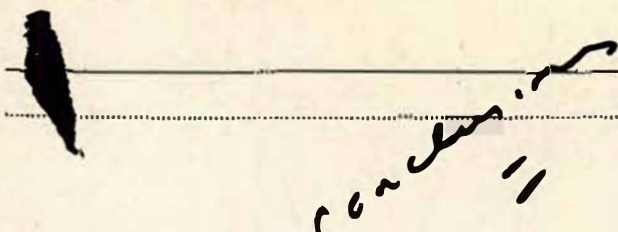
Some of the forces that helped propel Progressivism at the last turn of the century are fundamentally different or missing altogether today. In the case of race, that's a sign of hope. It's true that the nation's retreat from the Second Reconstruction has led to an ominous heightening of racialized politics. But the scary side of Progressivism—its association with the formal disenfranchisement and segregation of blacks—is something all but inconceivable today.

What bodes particularly ill for a revived movement today, though, is the absence of a concerted neo-Progressive critique of corporate power. In the heyday of Progressivism, Theodore Roosevelt, no radical, could denounce "the tyranny of mere wealth" and really mean it. Today, such words barely register in mainstream politics, while, on the left, there is nothing approaching even the small but creative socialist movement of a century ago and no figure who commands the respect that Eugene Debs once did. Buchanan, in his own crude way, has lambasted corporate arrogance from the right; and the recent changes at the AFL-CIO and media attention to corporate downsizing could signal a revived labor liberalism. But, so far, the public's mounting anxiety and outrage have been consigned to the political margins.

Missing as well is much of the moral passion for reform that made the Progressives so optimistic that a new and better world was at hand. How and why that idealistic passion faded is a long and complicated story that has yet to find its teller. The last time passion turned up in liberal American politics was in 1968; and it seems to have died with Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. Since then, liberals and leftists have adopted a more cramped attitude about changing the world—in part because of their own sense of political powerlessness; in part because of the fragmentation of reformist efforts into so many finely calibrated interests and identities.

In the absence of a more expansive fervor for reform, and a more direct confrontation with the looming forces of corporate power, the signs of a genuine Progressive revival are weaker than they could be. But clearly the politics of the Second Gilded Age have run out of steam—and that, at least, is cause for cautious optimism.

SEAN WILENTZ



Five ways to revive the Democrats.

LEANER, CLEANER LIBERALS

By Jacob Weisberg

Those who do remember the past may be condemned to repeat it anyway. In uncanny fashion, our politics seem to be recapitulating the scenario of a century ago. In 1896, the dislocations brought about by industrial capitalism fueled a populist movement that nearly carried William Jennings Bryan to the White House. In 1996, the consequences of deindustrialization drive the populist rebellion led by Patrick Joseph Buchanan, the silver-tongued orator of Chevy Chase.

But, like late-nineteenth-century populism, the late-twentieth-century version fails as a rational response to the problems it says it's concerned about. Bryan's principal answer, the free coinage of silver, was a means of producing inflation; it would have benefited heavily indebted farmers at the expense of the nation as a whole. Buchanan's proposal, like his forerunner Ross Perot's, is protectionism, which would take back from his supporters as consumers whatever it might contribute to them as wage-earners. In both instances, nativism, conspiracy-mongering, race-baiting and anti-Semitism are bound up with the movement. So, too, is a demand for international disengagement that barely camouflages a bellicose nationalism.

But a look at what happened the last time around offers encouragement. While the populists never came to power, their energy was diverted in the more productive direction of Progressivism. The early twentieth-century Progressives borrowed the moral fervor of Bryan's supporters while purging the movement of most of its prejudicial excesses. They took populism's most valid preoccupations—political corruption and economic exploitation—and left the eccentric ones behind. To those problems, the Progressives addressed sensible policies: the prohibition of child labor, the eight-hour workday, the minimum wage, workplace safety, disability compensation and pensions. While they were at it, they checked the might of the trusts, saved the American wilderness and gave women the vote.

The Progressive movement arose not at a moment of crisis, as did the New Deal, but, rather, at a time similar to our own—one of growing aggregate prosperity

accompanied by increasingly glaring disparities in wealth. The Progressive era was also a period, like the present one, characterized by disenchantment with the two major parties, though the movement's influence was ultimately felt through them.

Still, though we could use a progressive revival today, there are serious obstacles to its taking place. Both the federal government as an instrument of collective action and the legatees of the Progressive tradition—Democratic Party liberals—stand largely discredited in the public mind. Liberals have, for the most part, failed to come to grips with what this loss of public trust means. Most persist in thinking that disenchantment is the product of conservative propaganda, an irrational mood that can be dissolved at the level of public relations.

But faith in government is not a given, it is earned. If liberals want an activist government again, to take on the problems of rising social inequality or stagnating middle-class incomes, of the medically uninsured or the urban underclass, they will first have to reassess their own governing philosophy. It's not enough to get rid of a failed program now and again. Rather, liberals must relearn the habits of restraint.

Limited government is too important an idea to cede to conservatives. It's the essence of the liberal tradition and an integral part of the American ideal. "In all the American republics the central government is only occupied with a small number of matters important enough to attract its attention," Tocqueville wrote of the Jacksonian Republic. "It does not undertake to regulate society's secondary concerns, and there is no indication that it has even conceived the desire to do so."

The Progressive movement is often viewed as a departure from the tradition of limited power. But, while Progressive thinkers like Walter Lippmann and Herbert Croly did hold an excessive faith in the possibilities of benevolent, "scientific" public administration, they did not advocate unbridled growth in government control. They were motivated by the need to restrain a new kind of power—industrial gigantism—which seemed to threaten the state itself. Progressives asserted the need for a government that could cage the new beast and protect citizens from its ravages. But they

This essay is adapted from *In Defense of Government*, to be published next month (Scribners).

remained cautious in using the federal tool. "This, I know, implies a policy of a far more active government interference with social and economic conditions in this country than we have yet had," Theodore Roosevelt acknowledged in the first of his "New Nationalism" speeches of 1910. "But I think we have got to face the fact that such an increase in governmental control is now necessary." Roosevelt's own expansion in federal power had been reluctant; he had no good alternative.

It was during the New Deal that liberals began to lose touch with the old habit of limits. As the historian Otis Graham notes in his book *An Encore to Reform*, the surviving Progressives objected to FDR's eagerness to use federal power. They didn't see in him the hesitancy to deploy government shown by his cousin Theodore, or by Woodrow Wilson. Though FDR set the precedent, it still took some time for the idea of comprehensive government to diffuse through society. In his classic work *The End of Liberalism*, Theodore Lowi marks 1961 as the year when what he calls the Second American Republic was born, the moment when consensus enveloped Roosevelt's boundless vision. "This new attitude at its most general level can be described as an eagerness to establish and maintain a national government presence in all aspects of social and economic life," he writes.

By the time Lowi's book was published in 1969, many liberals were arguing openly for an unlimited state, albeit cast in the more attractive terms of the Swedish model. While we never moved toward the redistributive example of northern European countries, we did develop a tendency toward heavy-handed interference in private affairs, a "nanny state," as the Thatcherites liked to call it in England. In the 1970s, a Republican president imposed wage and price controls, enforced by a pay board and a price board; a Democratic one lowered the highway speed limit from 75 mph to 55 mph. Through the early 1990s, government spending and taxes continued to rise every year, both in real terms and as a share of gross domestic product.

The fear of unchecked public-sector growth inspired the Reagan Revolution of 1980 and, when that failed to stop it, the Gingrich Revolution of 1994. If the size of government is not convincingly contained this time around, greater spasms are sure to follow. Liberals cannot realistically hope to use government to answer what they consider to be society's most pressing problems without first making clear that they, too, believe in clearly defined and contained collective action.

The good news is that most of the groundwork for reversing the drift toward ever-bigger government exists within the liberal tradition. Progressivism in its earlier incarnation provides the corrective to the big-government liberalism of the past few decades. If that sounds vague, here are five specific practices new progressives can adopt in pursuit of limited government. Call them five habits of highly effective liberals.

1. Accepting risk.

In the old days, risk was part of life. The hazards of

poverty, unemployment and disease might be mitigated by government but not eliminated. But, in the 1960s and 1970s, the moderation of the Progressives was supplanted by an unarticulated sense that government was responsible for ensuring health and safety throughout society. The late *NEW REPUBLIC* writer Henry Fairlie noted this change with respect to the space program. When three Apollo astronauts were killed in a launch-pad fire in 1967, there was no question of abandoning the program. The occupation was understood to be inherently risky. By contrast, the Challenger disaster of 1986 stopped manned space exploration for years. Under the new mindset, the federal government was responsible for every potential hazard. If members of the public, or even members of the military, faced dangers—knowingly or unknowingly, willingly or unwillingly—it was up to Washington to Do Something about it.

There's a chart in the 1979 second edition of Lowi's book that maps the administrative explosion of the early 1970s, under presidents Nixon and Ford. In those years the U.S. adopted legislation to deal with toy safety, egg safety, workplace safety, fish safety, port and waterway safety, boat safety, car safety, medical safety, consumer product safety, unsafe drinking water, the risk of poisoning, the dangers of lead, pesticides, noise pollution, water pollution, consumer fraud, violations of privacy and unscrupulous leasing practices. A case might be made for each of these as a legitimate exercise of federal authority—the people doing collectively what they cannot do individually. But, taken together in a short space of time, they constituted a threat both to liberty and common sense. Liberals failed to recognize that gains in safety can often be won by consumer pressure on the private sector. To take only one example, airbags now come as standard equipment in most American and foreign automobiles not just because Washington mandates them but because consumers want and willingly pay for them. There's sometimes no alternative to federal regulation, but the options should be exhausted first.

In using government to attack risk, liberals have generally been unwilling to honestly address the trade-offs involved. The goal of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, for instance, was "to assure so far as is possible every working man and woman in the nation safe and healthful working conditions and to preserve human resources." The Consumer Products Safety Commission was created two years later to reduce "unreasonable risk" from household products. Workplace and product safety are surely valid public undertakings, areas where government ought to force some reduction in economic output in exchange for protection. But how much? The only truly safe coal mine is a closed coal mine. The only safe chainsaw is no chainsaw. But Congress isn't about to drive whole industries out of existence. Instead, it declares absolutist goals and leaves the details to the bureaucracy, which must accommodate political reality. By making the federal government responsible for vagaries of life over which it can have no real control

liberals enhance their reputation as hopeless utopians instead of winning credit for measured gains.

Nor did they learn their lesson in the 1970s. A recent manifestation of this phenomenon has been the crusade to regulate cigarettes out of existence. The surgeon general's warning, adopted in 1964, was part of a traditional public health campaign based upon simple discouragement of an unhealthy practice. It was cheap, and it worked. But it didn't end all smoking. This provoked liberal legislators, led by Henry Waxman of California, to try to treat smokers as wards of the state. In the summer of 1995, President Clinton took a giant step in that direction by accepting a recommendation from FDA administrator David Kessler to classify nicotine as a dangerous drug on the basis of its addictive properties.

Few things contribute more to the liberal caricature than using such excuses to regulate irrationality. A child cannot grow up in the United States without being instructed in the dangers of cigarettes. Yet people continue to smoke because they find it pleasurable, sexy or whatever. It is part of human nature to make bad choices. We need to accept them. That is not to say that freedom is incompatible with a modicum of paternalism; cigarettes should be kept away from minors, second-hand smoke confined within reason. The government ought to propagandize relentlessly against smoking, as it does. But citizens of a free country have a right to do things that are dumb, even dangerous to themselves, so long as they don't harm others.

2. Underpromising.

We ought to ban the following words and phrases from political discourse: "no American," "every American," "always," "never," "cure," "solution," "end" and "guarantee." Part of government's bad name today stems from its habit of making offers too good to refuse and thus impossible to fulfill. In politics, overpromising is worse than simple promise-breaking. When a specific pledge is broken, a politician has broken it and can be held accountable in the next election. But when politicians commit themselves to the fulfillment of broad goals, and those goals go unmet, government itself appears to fail, even in circumstances where the goal

was unrealistic and politicians might otherwise be credited with a limited success. If we want to reduce cynicism we should give up the visionary overreach that feeds it.

The unrealistic promise has been a staple of politics since elections were invented. But it is LBJ who deserves the greatest share of blame for the modern, liberal habit of rhetorical inflation. The paradigmatic episode was Johnson's effort to assist the poor, which he couched in the most immoderate rhetoric. It was "an unconditional war on poverty" that would break "the cycle of poverty," assure every American a decent home, end welfare and train the poor to compete for jobs. A war, let alone an "unconditional" one, suggests a fight to the finish in which there is a victor and a vanquished.

Poverty does not work that way; it will always exist in one form or another. In any case, the metaphor fails to describe the ill-conceived and underfunded effort that followed from Johnson's words. Judged on its own terms, as Ronald Reagan used to quip, we fought a war on poverty, and poverty won. Of course, that didn't stop Ronald Reagan from declaring a war on drugs, which drugs just as obviously won.

Had Johnson defined his program as a set of ambitious attempts to alleviate misery—which is what the War on Poverty really was—the actual results would proba-

bly have been no different. It might have been tougher to sell the effort to the public. But it would also be harder to cite programs that in fact reduced the American poverty rate by half as a basis for opposing renewed efforts. Only if it was a war did we lose it. Senator Edmund Muskie, the author of the Clean Air Act of 1970, declared as its intention "that all Americans in all parts of the country shall have clean air to breathe within the 1970s." Only against that absolutist standard can our efforts to control air pollution be judged a failure. Early in his presidency, Bill Clinton declared as goals a nation in which every student has the opportunity to go to college, every child is immunized, no American goes without health insurance and welfare is replaced by work. He hadn't learned a thing.

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ILLUSTRATION BY TOM PRESTON FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

3. *Saying goodbye.*

In a healthy government, programs would not accumulate like junk in the attic. They would be sorted out in an annual spring cleaning. It's painfully obvious. Efforts should expire when they have accomplished their missions, as well as in cases where they don't work well enough to justify continuation. Instead, we have bureaucratic forts that hold out long after their wars have ended. There are programs still on the books that were designed to help electrify rural areas and to ensure the military supply of helium, which hasn't been a strategic material since World War II.

Vice President Gore's National Performance Review has done an impressive job ferreting out absurdities like the wool and mohair program and the Interstate Commerce Commission as well as mountains of silly rules. But progressives need to be bolder, leading the charge beyond obvious waste to functions that are beneficial but expendable. Do we need a separate system of veterans hospitals? Farm supports? Public television subsidies? There are also new programs that have demonstrably not worked, like Clinton's immunization plan, which was based on the faulty assumption that parents weren't vaccinating their children because of the cost. Zeroing out a program shouldn't depend on proving that it is worthless. Every bit of government spending helps somebody. What liberals need to recognize is that if we want to try new programs someday we have to get rid of old ones first. Wherever possible, programs should be self-liquidating, through sunset laws and sunset clauses. At the very least, programs should have to plead their cases for renewal on a regular basis. The assumption today is that government programs continue until someone notices their fruitlessness or extravagance. We should begin by shooting a few hostages, to show how serious we are about limiting government. One politically powerful formula is to connect future government expansion to government shrinkage. Robert Shapiro of the Progressive Policy Institute identifies \$265 billion in budget savings over five years, much of which he dubs "corporate welfare." Sixty percent of those cuts, he argues, should simply be savings that go to reducing the deficit. The rest he would dedicate to a program of new public investments. This is an attractive combination.

4. *Making Congress do it.*

Lowi thinks the Second Republic was made possible by the New Deal-era abandonment of something called the nondelegation doctrine: the principle that Congress cannot pass its responsibility for making law to anyone else. For 150 years, the Supreme Court understood Article One of the Constitution to say so; on this basis it threw out key pieces of the New Deal in several cases, the most famous of which was *Schechter Poultry Co. v. United States* in 1935. The court ruled that by giving presidential appointees power to fix prices and set marketing and production quotas Congress was

engaging in an unconstitutional handoff of its power. After his re-election in 1936, FDR proposed his infamous court-packing bill to change the court's mind. The bill failed, but the court was successfully intimidated.

Though *Schechter* was never overturned, the nondelegation doctrine became a dead letter. It was replaced by what Lowi calls "unregulated regulation." As a labor-saving device, delegation did for legislators what the washing machine did for the 1950s housewife. Government could now penetrate every nook and cranny of American life in a way that was simply impossible before. In his book *Power Without Responsibility*, David Schoenbrod examines the Clean Air Act as a case study of modern regulation. It was politically impossible for legislators to vote against a goal as noble as clean air, and few did. But, likewise, few relished the trade-offs involved in actually reducing pollution. Delegation seemed to provide a way out. With the 1970 law, they passed the burden of defining what "clean" meant to the EPA and the costs of achieving the to-be-determined standards to the states.

Before long, champions of the act were trying to prevent the EPA from implementing it. Members of the New York delegation who had voted for the law marched across the Brooklyn Bridge to protest a ruling that the city had to impose tolls on its bridges and tunnels to implement it. The EPA was pressured into reversing key interpretations of the act. But the cost of delegation isn't just ineffective law and endless litigation, it's unfairness. The broad public goes unrepresented inside the regulatory agencies. Only moneyed interests, who can afford lawyers and lobbyists, operate effectively within such labyrinths. By evading hard choices about what pollutants to restrict, to what degree and at what economic cost, that Congress betrayed the public and paved the way for the anti-regulatory mania of today's Congress.

Defenders of delegation assert that modern life is too complicated to do without it. How could Congress possibly have time to deal with the myriad details handled by all of the regulatory agencies that now exist? Though this assertion is superficially plausible, there's no real evidence for it. Delegation is itself time-consuming. Under the prevailing model of "narrow" delegation, Congress still has to pass intricate legislation giving the agencies detailed instructions on how to go about their regulating. It deals with this problem by developing its own network of specialists who are fully capable of writing law in place of guidelines for making law. Members of Congress and their staffs stand to save millions of hours they now spend navigating the regulatory thicket on behalf of constituents. In any case, stealing time from such essential duties as showboating at committee hearings and groveling for campaign funds might not be such a bad thing. Sound election-finance reform would free up enough of the average congressman's schedule to do away with delegation and spend more time with the kids as well.

5. *Fixing a size.*

People who complain about big government object not just to bigness per se but to the potential for growth without end. Progressives should recognize that this is a legitimate concern and answer it by accepting a theoretical limit. Of course, it is naïve to think that government's power is strictly determined by its dimensions. But the aggregate is still meaningful; in a democracy like ours, the size of government, figured by such measures as share of GDP and number of employees, provides a rough approximation of power.

Our federal government spends approximately \$1.5 trillion a year, roughly 22 percent of the national economic output. It takes in only about 19 percent. The missing 3 percent is our annual budget deficit. State and local governments add about another 11.5 percent of GDP, bringing government's share of the economy in at just over a third. To give a sense of perspective, in 1979 that number was still under 30 percent, in 1948 less than 20 percent. In Scandinavian countries, by comparison, the government's share of the economy has been as high as 72.5 percent. A government that large is bound to undermine incentives and invade private space. It raises the specter, successfully exploited by George Bush in 1988, of a social-democratic state with excellent benefits but accompanied by high unemployment, epidemic tax evasion and limited potential for growth.

A first step toward assuaging suspicions that we are moving toward an all-consuming government is to balance the budget. In political terms, it is only within the context of a balanced budget that the public is likely to approve affirmative government. In economic terms, the debt absorbs too much private capital. In public policy terms, the growing cost of interest on a growing national debt is crowding out the entire domestic discretionary budget. In theory, we don't need to have a balanced budget every year; in a recession, counter-cyclical stimulus is a useful tool. But the economy has existed in a state of Keynesian overstimulation for nearly twenty years. We've discovered that we can't have just a few drinks. Given the reality of the problem, progressives must forswear spending

beyond our means, period.

The next thing to do is to indicate how great those means ought to be. Liberals should say that, in peacetime, the activist government they favor is slightly smaller than the one we have now and that we intend for it to stay that size—forever. That's not to say that government can't spend less, just that under normal circumstances it won't spend more. With a one-third rule, government could no longer grow at the expense of the private sector. To develop new programs, we would need either to draw down other efforts, discover new efficiencies or benefit from economic growth. Government must increase the size of the pie if it wants to do more.

To be a Swede means your government takes two-thirds of what the nation produces and gives it back in the form of generous, universal benefits. If you are an American your government claims only half as much. With that it tries to save you from disaster, but your prosperity depends to a greater degree on luck and ability. If Democrats adopted a fixed limit on the size of the public sector, Americans would understand that one party wasn't working clandestinely to turn them into Swedes.

These five easy steps are, of course, not all liberals need to do to rehabilitate themselves and resurrect the federal gov-

ernment. We need to re-establish a sense of priorities that the public will tolerate; we need to reform political institutions in a way that inspires confidence; we need to restore a moral component to the social safety net; we need to recommit ourselves to an enlightened nationalism. But none of these changes is more important than demonstrating our belief in limits. It is a precondition for all the rest.

Government, the great British economist Alfred Marshall wrote in 1919, "is the most precious of human possessions; and no care can be too great to be spent on enabling it to do its work in the best way; a chief condition to that end is that it should not be set to work for which it is not specially qualified, under the conditions of time and place." Liberals have followed their good intentions and resisted that lesson for decades. Sooner or later we are going to have to learn it. •



ILLUSTRATION BY TOM PRESTON FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

العودة الى الديمقراطية

The Return of the Liberal

E. J. Dionne has bad news for the Republicans, but it's not necessarily good news for the Democrats.

THEY ONLY LOOK DEAD

Why Progressives Will Dominate the Next Political Era.
By E. J. Dionne Jr.
352 pp. New York:
Simon & Schuster. \$24.

By Michael Lind

THE Republican capture of Congress has convinced many Democrats — not least President Clinton — that they can regain power only by adopting much of the conservative agenda. That this conventional wisdom is utterly mistaken is the thesis of E. J. Dionne Jr. In "They Only Look Dead: Why Progressives Will Dominate the Next Political Era." In Mr. Dionne's view, the present, like the late 19th and early 20th centuries, "combines social change with moral crisis, enormous economic opportunity with great economic dislocation and distress," and, now as then, the excesses of laissez-faire capitalism will generate a reaction in favor of progressive reform. His "central assertion is that the United States is on the verge of a second Progressive Era."

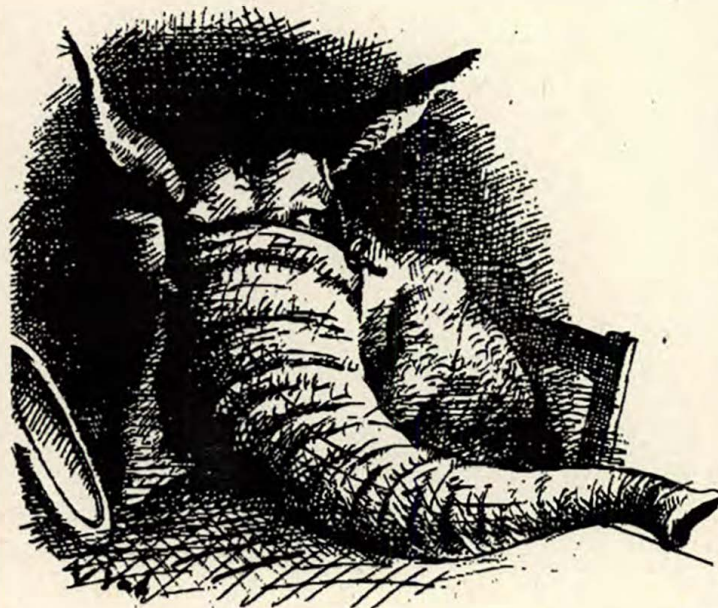
That his bold prediction cannot be dismissed as mere whistling past the graveyard of liberalism is a tribute to Mr. Dionne's thoroughness as a reporter and rigor as a scholar, qualities manifested in his 1991 book, "Why Americans Hate Politics." Mr. Dionne, a Washington Post columnist, makes a convincing case that the 1994 election was a repudiation of the Democratic Party, not an endorsement of Republican conservatism: the swing voters, in both 1992 and 1994, were "the Anxious Middle," made up largely of "white voters of moderate incomes" who defected from the Democrats without permanently joining the Republicans.

Why is the middle anxious? Mr. Dionne identifies four crises confronting the United States: "the economic crisis itself, a political crisis, a moral crisis and a crisis over how Americans view their country's role in the world." The first crisis is the cost of globalization and automation, enriching the few while endangering the living standards of the majority and increasing inequality. The second involves the abandonment, particularly by the left, of grandiose ideologies like socialism, creating a vacuum filled by particularist movements of "race, gender and culture" or "nationalism, religious fundamentalism and xenophobia." The third pits social conservatives against those who favor "new roles for women" and "a somewhat kinder and more tolerant attitude toward sexuality." These economic, political and moral crises are joined by discord on foreign policy, with the divi-

sion between nationalists and internationalists cutting across both parties.

The response of the political class to these four crises has been evasion and worse. Mr. Dionne writes; increasingly, politicians avoid substantive debate altogether in favor of vicious attack politics. Disgusted with gridlock, in 1992 the Anxious Middle ousted a Republican President and gave the Democrats complete control of the political branches of the Federal Government for the first time in 12 years, offering the Democrats, Mr. Dionne says, a chance to revitalize the progressive tradition — and they blew it. He acknowledges the obstacles: the fiscal constraints imposed by the budget deficit and volatile capital

markets, and Republican obstructionism in Congress. Nevertheless, he blames division and inertia among the Democrats for their failure to give the voters what they were demanding: radical but sensible reform in health care, welfare and campaign finance.



WALD GUTHER

markets, and Republican obstructionism in Congress. Nevertheless, he blames division and inertia among the Democrats for their failure to give the voters what they were demanding: radical but sensible reform in health care, welfare and campaign finance.

Part of the problem, Mr. Dionne argues, is the incoherence of the Democratic Party, now divided not simply into "New" and "Old" Democrats, but into five distinct groups: "Southern moderates and conservatives; suburban centrists; urban, labor-oriented white liberals; black and Hispanic members ... (who are also mostly liberals); and a diverse group of Western and Midwestern Democrats from rural areas." On health care and welfare reform, Bill Clinton's attempt to implement his synthesis of neoliberalism and traditional liberalism required a unity that the Democrats lacked. And on the budget, Mr. Dionne reminds us, Mr. Clinton was only

capable of "salvaging a one-vote victory." Nor did the Democrats pursue campaign finance reform — "the precondition of all other serious reform" — because too many Congressional Democrats were addicted to the corporate money that was to turn against them in 1994.

The Democrats' failure to reinvent the progressive tradition, Mr. Dionne says, provided the Republicans with an opportunity. "Moderate Republicans had hoped in the wake of the Reagan era to ease the party toward acceptance of a kind of Eisenhower conservatism, now exemplified by Colin Powell," he writes, but House Speaker Newt Gingrich and his allies rejected feel-good, pay-later economics, producing a more honest but far harsher and more radical conservatism, one that wants to roll back not just the Great Society but the New Deal too.

As Mr. Dionne sees it, "the new Republican philosophy looks backward to the late 19th century, seeking to revive the radical, unregulated capitalism of the Gilded Age." He quotes Mr. Gingrich asking a group of corporate executives to tell Congress what laws to write: "You tell us how to make this the best place on the planet to invest." But then, as Mr. Dionne notes, "Gingrich had never objected to the influence of money on politics as such," and so was "unembarrassed" when it was disclosed that lobbyists for interests that had been heavy campaign givers "were deeply involved in writing the party's deregulatory legislation."

Democrats should oppose, not emulate, the subordination of government to

business, Mr. Dionne declares: "To the extent that Democrats have joined Republicans in delegitimizing government they have prepared the way for their own crushing defeats." Nor does defying the need for sensible government mean political suicide, he says, because the current political upheaval should seem "less as a revolt against big government than as a rebellion against government — government that I proven ineffectual in grappling with political, economic and moral crises that have shaken the country." What more, Democrats have conservative visions to exploit: "Many on the cultural right — as well as many drawn to the right — are part of the Anxious Middle in fearing for their living standards, mistrusting the state and the market alike."

Mr. Dionne concludes with his attempt to restate the progressive creed and the progressive project. "The Progressive's goal is not to strengthen government for government's sake, but use government where possible to strengthen the institutions of civil society." Progressive welfare reform, suggests, "would involve work requirements for welfare recipients, in change for a decent level of public support and the creation of work where viable jobs were lacking." A progress trade policy would recognize the "to protect environmental and labor standards," to "level up," not "level down," wages.

"They Only Look Dead" is a passionately intelligent and quietly passionate polemic that deserves to alter the course of American political debate. It is without weaknesses. Mr. Dionne discusses immigration and racial differences, two areas where liberal elites have alienated the Anxious Middle. For that matter, his description of the Anxious Middle lacks nuance, but two groups of centrists, the centrist radical center and the liberal moderate middle.

MR. DIONNE is persuasive when he predicts that new Social Darwinism — Republican Party will induce a backlash by the Anxious Middle. But the Democrats may not be the beneficiaries; indeed, Mr. Dionne's account of their disunity suggests that more a new party platform is needed. He warns that if they falter and do not in "a new Progressive period" calls for third and fourth parties grow as the country seeks alternatives to Republican policies premised on ideas that government can almost do good." But in developing his biblical analogy, he neglects to mention there were three rival forces at the end of the century: conservatives, progressives and populists. We can only hope that today's Social Darwinists are checked by the descendants of Theodore Roosevelt and not by the intellectual political heirs of William James Bryan.

Michael Lind, a senior editor of The New Republic, is the author of "The Next American Nation: The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution."

BREAKING AWAY THE FUTURE OF CITIES

Essays in Memory of
Robert F. Wagner, Jr.

**JULIA
VITULLO-
MARTIN**
editor

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[those years, when a group of local residents were able to obtain foundation and grant funding and take title to an abandoned group of buildings that had formerly housed a convent. Today, the facility is so central to the neighborhood that a police substation was located within it.]

How does one account for this capacity to endure through an era in which the idea, if not always the reality of settlements, certainly went out of fashion? Settlement houses, after all, assume the possibility of building and sustaining institutions that achieve a harmony of class, ethnic, racial, and gender interests, a premise that has been mercilessly attacked on conceptual, as well as practical, grounds in recent years for being hopelessly quaint and dangerously paternalistic. Most well-intentioned liberal thinkers since the 1960s have advanced a broad, rights-based agenda of reform that positions individuals and groups in opposition to one another, provoking conservative attacks that they have neglected the larger, collective interests as a community.

As the historians David Rothman and Alan Brinkley, among others, have so ably documented, it was America's turn-of-the-century progressive reformers who first repudiated laissez-faire traditions of government in this country and organized services and programs to serve those needs of citizens that an unregulated marketplace was not addressing. Motivated in large part by a desire to present alternatives to socialist demands for wholesale economic and political reconstruction, these progressives rationalized a limited social welfare activism on the premise that civil society constitutes a sort of family, which obliges its most advantaged members to take care of the needs of those less fortunate, all under the watchful eye of a parent-like state.

What they failed to consider, however, was the coercive potential of this arrangement, which essentially ceded unchallenged authority to self-proclaimed social do-gooders in private charities and in government. And so by the 1960s, the progressive formula came under relentless attack for allowing the expansion of acceptable boundaries for political intervention on behalf of the needy without sufficient concern for their right to protect themselves against unwarranted or unwanted exercises of power, ostensibly, but not necessarily always, in their own best interest. As a result, in Rothman's words, "progressive intervention in the name of equality gave way to a commitment to restrict intervention by the state in the name of liberty." In the decade that followed, an immense amount of litigation occurred that placed unprecedented limits on the discretion of public and private social service agencies and their professional staffs — from welfare caseworkers to mental health attendants. As far as I

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know, there are no specific examples of litigation with settlements in this civil rights legacy, but it is not hard to see how larger suspicions and tensions damaged the hybrid culture of social service professionalism and cross-class voluntarism that the settlement movement had long accepted as its operating premise.⁸

"It is not that benevolence is itself mischievous or cynically to be regarded with mistrust. It is not benevolence we should abandon, but rather the naive faith that benevolence can mitigate the mischievousness of power so feared by those who wrote our Bill of Rights," wrote Ira Glasser, then president of the American Civil Liberties Union, in 1978. "We have traditionally been seduced into supposing that because they represented charity, service professionals could speak for the best interests of their clients. But now we should know better. Power is the natural antagonist of liberty, even if those who exercise power are filled with good intentions."⁹

Glasser made clear that he was not arguing for neglect of social obligations when he demanded that social programs designed to help the dependent ought to be evaluated, not on the basis of the good they might do, but rather on the basis of their potential for harm. But the undermining of good intentions by the political left, as well as by the political right, has, perhaps inevitably, fueled a mounting frustration across ideological and partisan lines, not just with government's ability to do good, but with its ability to do much of anything at all.

As a result, in recent years the pendulum has begun to swing again, and the delicate balance that liberal activists sought to achieve between meeting social needs and protecting individual rights is again shifting. Once-entrenched, liberal traditions of rights-based social activism are now blamed by conservatives for pitting individuals and interest groups against one another with no satisfactory definition of the commonweal. And, perhaps in turn, once-discarded, progressive notions about the importance of building consensus and cooperation among different groups within communities are enjoying a resurgence across ideological and political lines. Voluntary institutions like settlement houses are again being identified as examples of the possibility not only of social change, but also of social healing, because of the human dimension they contribute to social policy and because of the class, ethnic, and (more recently) racial divisions they seek to bridge. The question now most frequently asked by concerned policymakers is not how to protect clients from social services, but how to make those services friendlier and more accessible.

What has been called the "professionalization of compassion" simply did not work, says political philosopher, Jean Bethke Elshtain.

Modern efforts to create formal distance between the state and its clients in order to protect their rights lost the idea of providing "assistance aimed at self-reliance, competence, and, above all, citizenship," the goal of settlement house activists like Jane Addams. Without compromising client rights, we must recognize the value of personalized direction from competent and caring professionals. Without denying the state's ultimate responsibility for social welfare, we must dismantle the distant public bureaucracy we have in place today, which in Elshtain's words "undermines civic capacities . . . and perpetuates the very thing it aimed to cure; hopelessness, dependency, even despair."¹⁰

REINTERPRETATIONS OF THE PAST

Elshtain's insights are part of a larger reevaluation of the progressive enterprise begun by scholars who are rethinking the imaginative role that women, and especially women in the settlement house movement, first played in the building of the modern social welfare state. Women are now viewed as pivotal agents of change at the century's turn in two respects. First, because they were still denied the vote and the right to participate in electoral politics, women had no choice but to work outside conventional political and governmental structures. As a result, they built voluntary organizations like the settlement houses, which raised the issues of private well-being that have since become central to this nation's public life. They constructed what sociologist, Theda Skocpol, has identified as "nation-spanning federations" to bring to public attention pressing moral and social questions, and, in so doing, they radically altered the discourse of politics and the manner in which government has since organized itself to meet the needs of citizens. Progressive women helped create our modern, issue-driven, lobby-dependent civic culture. Denied entrance to the smoked-filled rooms of political lore, they constructed alternative arrangements that tamed the intemperance and corruption of conventional politics and made government more directly responsive to human need.¹¹

But there is a second, perhaps even more important, dimension to this argument—a consideration of whether these progressive women may have envisioned a better government than the one we wound up actually getting, because it was intended to be a government rooted in morality rather than self-interest. In the writings of prominent theorists like Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Florence Kelley, scholars have now uncovered a compelling alternative to the conventionally understood liberal constellation of an impersonal, patronizing, *paternalist* state

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that has since been discredited by those on the right—and on the left as well—who fear its excesses. As an alternative to a paternalist state concerned primarily with the distributions of rights among competing individuals and the resolution of conflicts among contending interests, this new scholarship presents a *maternalist* vision where the common good was meant to take precedence, and stereotypically nurturant female capacities were intended to prevail. This maternalist analogue presents the mother/state as an enabler of its children/citizens, less likely to dominate or incapacitate than the state that critics on both left and right have come to fear.¹²

Recent studies pose the question of whether progressive institutions like the settlement houses were especially sensitive to abuses of power and authority, because the women who ran them generally were accustomed themselves to discrimination and to outsider status. Were they also more inclusive of diversity in their larger vision of the body politic? Were they more open to innovation and experimentation and more willing to involve the poor in a creative partnership? And do their pioneering approaches therefore remain instructive today?¹³

The new scholarship also emphasizes the degree to which early settlement house pioneers envisioned and built creative partnerships with government to accomplish social change. Contrary to what so many of us were once taught, progressive reformers never had complete confidence in private philanthropy. Historian Kathryn Kish Sklar reminds us that Florence Kelley, a lawyer, a consumer activist and a resident for many years of the Henry Street Settlement in New York, shunned the term welfare and did not want to be associated just with charity. Her goal was to create a state that would acknowledge the needs of its people, and contribute to their own empowerment. Sklar credits Kelley and her colleagues with having tried to shape an entirely new social compact, one that was meant to provide far more than the frayed safety-net of public regulation and social insurance that became the New Deal's flawed legacy.

Far from sentimental agents of voluntarism, these tough-minded women did their best to engineer federal support for local solutions to social problems. They lobbied for and then themselves staffed the first two agencies in Washington that funded specific programs for women and children through the Children's Bureau (founded in 1912) and the Women's Bureau (1920) of the U.S. Department of Labor, the agency then responsible for social welfare. In an early example of federal revenue sharing, funds were dispensed nationally, but spent locally, often in conjunction with supportive public investment at the

municipal level. The same women who descended on Washington returned home and designed imaginative prototypes for municipal services to serve urban families under stress, including social, educational, and cultural programs; public housing, public parks, and playgrounds; and perhaps most important of all, neighborhood family health clinics emphasizing disease prevention. Tragically, federal funding for these clinics survived through the 1920s but was killed when private physicians protested that they would lead to the socialization of medicine, a canard that prevailed and effectively killed meaningful national health insurance initiatives during the New Deal, a critical oversight.¹⁴

In sum, new interpretations force us to recognize that progressive reformers, many of them women living in the settlements, were bold social theorists and resourceful political operatives, whose exemplary strategies may indeed merit renewed attention today. They created an enduring model for public-private partnerships in addressing social need, by recognizing the necessity of public support for the poor while never losing sight of the virtue of compassionate administration of social policy. Jane Addams founded Hull House in a vintage Victorian mansion that now seems faintly anachronistic, but it is well worth remembering that the facility quickly developed into a comprehensive, multiservice center, whose services spilled over into a campus of buildings that for many years filled twelve square blocks in the heart of Chicago. Conventional images of Addams and her colleagues as madonna-like figures obscure the more forceful personality traits and practical inclinations evident in their successes as able managers, shrewd fundraisers, persuasive lobbyists and dynamic public speakers.

A single anecdote may be especially inspiring to contemporary reformers. It is said that Florence Kelly, upon listening to an admirer pay homage to Addams said this: "Do you know what I would do if that woman calls you a saint again? I'd show her my teeth, and if that didn't convince her, I'd bite her."¹⁵

REINVENTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Inspired by this rethinking of the past, contemporary social welfare theorists are reversing earlier stereotypes and embracing progressive era strategies that address deficiencies in recent policy approaches. A decade ago, a landmark report was prepared for the Koch administration under the direction of a private commission headed by New York lawyer and former federal health and human services official, Richard I. Beattie. It called for the creation of a Family and Children's Services

Supporting Women and Families The Clinton Administration Record

Expanding Economic Opportunities for Families.

- Signed the Family & Medical Leave Act
- Improved access to child care, established Child Care Bureau and National Child Care Information Center (1-800-616-2242)
- Expanded Earned Income Tax Credit, giving a tax cut to millions of working families
- Committed to increasing the minimum wage
- Strengthened equal opportunity through affirmative action
- Increased enforcement of child support and introduced legislation that doubles federal child support collections
- Fighting for federal budget that strengthens families, e.g., Medicare, Medicaid, education

Making our Homes and Communities Safer

- Signed Assault Weapons Ban and Brady Bill
- Signed the Violence Against Women Act
- Created the Violence Against Women Office
- Introduced Operation Safe Home to fight crime in public housing
- Put 100,000 new police on the street
- Supported Family Preservation and Support Act, providing services to prevent child abuse and neglect

Investing in Education and Training for Our Families

- Created and signed Student Loan Reform, saving students and taxpayers money
- Increased Head Start funding, improving teaching and facilities and allowing for more students
- Signed National Service Act, helping communities and students
- Signed School-to-Work Opportunities Act, preparing students for careers and advanced education
- Signed Goals 2000: Educate America Act, setting higher standards
- Signed reauthorization of Elementary and Secondary Education Act, providing better education for impoverished students
- Supported Safe and Drug-Free Schools Act

Ensuring Safer Air, Water and Food

- Signed order requiring polluters to disclose information and expanded public's right-to-know about toxic releases
- Issued new standard to cut pollution from chemical plants 90% by 1997
- Made drinking water safer by requiring elimination of contaminants
- Launched "reinventing environmental regulation," cutting red tape and better protecting public health
- Improved meat and poultry inspection systems, increasing safety of the food supply

Expanding Access to Quality Health Care

- Made improvement of women's health a priority
- Signed legislation requiring that women and minorities are included in NIH-supported research
- Increased funding for breast cancer research by 65%
- Committed to making abortion safe, legal and rare
- Revoked Reagan-Bush restrictions on abortion counseling
- Signed Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, ensuring clinic safety
- Developed Childhood Immunization Plan, ensuring vaccination and healthy future for all children
- Developed healthy school meal initiative for students
- Placed WIC on full-funding path
- Ensured safety, effectiveness and availability of mammography
- Increased resources to reach women affected by HIV/AIDS
- Established first Deputy Assistant Secretary for Women's Health

Generating Economic Opportunities for Women

- SBA lending to women increased by 86 percent
- DOL's Women's Bureau launched Honor Roll initiative, encouraging employers to implement family-friendly policies good for women
- Expanded the public-private SBA's Women's Demonstration Program, providing business skills and training for women
- Created the Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise, eliminating barriers to economic development within federal agencies
- Increased federal procurement contracts for women in both percentage and dollar amounts

Supporting Women as Partners in Decision Making

- 42 percent of President's appointees are women, highest ever
- Six women hold Cabinet-level positions, highest ever
- 59 percent of all President's judicial nominees are women and minorities, highest ever
- Second President to nominate a woman to the Supreme Court
- Opened almost 260,000 positions for women in the military
- Established Older Women's Initiative, bringing focus on issues impacting older women and their families
- Created President's Interagency Council on Women, bringing home the agreements reached at U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women to benefit American women and families
- Established White House Office for Women's Initiatives & Outreach

Possible Commencement Speech Quotations for a conclusion :

On Dreams:

From the opening lines of Their Eyes Were Watching God, Zora Neale Hurston's classic story of the evolving identity of a young black woman in the early years of this century:

Ships at a distance have every man's wish on board. For some they in with the tide. For others they sail forever on the horizon, never out of sight, never landing until the Watcher turns his eyes away in resignation, his dreams mocked to death by Time.

From "Dream Deferred," 1951, by Harlem Renaissance Poet, Langston Hughes:

What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun?
.
.
.
maybe it just sags like a heavy load,
Or does it explode?

From "Not For A Nation," by Edna St. Vincent Millay: one of her last poems, published posthumously after her death in 1950.

. . . dreams are links in the chain
Of a common hope; that many yet regain
His dignity on earth

What distinguishes human beings from the rest of the animal species, Millay says, is this capacity to dream -- (human beings are small in physical stature compared to many other species, but they are "high" in their dreams)

She then goes on to define a nation as a place where we need to be "better welders" of that chain of individual dreams better providers of the freedom of every citizens to secure his or her dreams . . . a "freedom not alone for oneself, but for all, wherever the word is known, In whatever tongue, or the longing in whatever spirit"

Clark

"Mike,
at lower this time."

pires!"

ie pikes are moved abo
d ribbons weaving.

ke of the pike into the pole; each man
the skill
ice, both of body and of mind,
others: in the back of each man's mind
the pole: it is forty feet high, and weighs
pounds.

each man's mind: "She's going to go
we want her to go: this pole
into that seven-foot hole we dug

deepening dusk of a July night.
ting in the poles: bringing the electric light.

NOT FOR A NATION

Not for a nation:
Not the dividing, the estranging thing
For;
Nor, in a world so small, the insulation
Of dream from dream—where dreams are links in the chain
Of a common hope; that man may yet regain Y
His dignity on earth—where before all
Eyes: small eyes of elephant and shark; still
Eyes of lizard grey in the sub-tropic noon,
Blowing his throat out into a scarlet, edged-with-cream in-
credible balloon
Suddenly, and suddenly dancing, hoisting and lowering his
body on his short legs on the hot stone window-sill;
And the eyes of the upturned, grooved and dusty, rounded,
dull cut-worm
Staring upward at the spade,—
These, all these, and more, from the corner of the eye see
man, infirm,
Tottering like a tree about to fall,—
Who yet had such high dreams—who not for this was made
(or so said he),—nor did design to die at all.

Not for a nation,
Not the dividing, the estranging thing
For;
Nor, on a world so small, the insulation
Of dream from dream,
In what might be today, had we been better welders, a new

chain for pulling down old buildings, uprooting the
wrong trees; these

Not for;

Not for my country right or wrong;

Not for the drum or the bugle; not for the song

Which pipes me away from my home against my will along
with the other children

To where I would not go

And makes me say what I promised never to say, and do the
thing I am through with—

Into the Piper's Hill;

Not for the flag

Of any land because myself was born there

Will I give up my life.

But I will love that land where man is free,

And that will I defend.

"To the end?" you ask, "To the end?"—Naturally, to the
end.

What is it to the world, or to me,

That I beneath an elm, not beneath a tamarisk-tree

First filled my lungs, and clenched my tiny hands already
spurred and nailed

Against the world, and wailed

In anger and frustration that all my tricks had failed and I
been torn

Out of the cave where I was hiding, to suffer in the world as
I have done and I still do—

Never again—oh, no, no more on earth—ever again to find
abiding-place.

Birth—awful birth . . .

Whatever the country, whatever the colour and race.

The colour and the traits of each,

The shaping of his speech,—

These can the elm, given a long time, alter; these,

Too, the tamarisk.

But if he starve, but if he freeze—

Early, in his own tongue, he knows;

And though with arms or bows or a dipped thorn

Blown through a tube, he fights—the brisk

Rattle of shot he is not slow to tell

From the sound of ripe seed bursting from a poddy shell;

And he whom, all his life, life has abused

Yet knows if he be justly or unjustly used.

I know these elms, this beautiful doorway: here

I am at home, if anywhere.

A natural fondness, an affection which need never be said,

Rises from the wooden sidewalks warm as the smell of new-

baked bread

From a neighbour's kitchen. It is dusk. The sun goes down.

Sparsely strung along the street the thrifty lights appear.

It is pleasant. It is good.

I am very well-known here; here I am understood.

I can walk along the street, or turn into a path unlighted,

without fear

Of poisonous snakes, or of any face in town.

Tall elms, my roots go down

As deep as yours into this soil, yes, quite as deep.

And I hear the rocking of my cradle. And I must not sleep.

Not for a nation; not for a little town,
Where, when the sun goes down, you may sit without fear
On the front porch, just out of reach of the arc-light,
 rocking,
With supper ready, wearing a pale new dress, and your baby
 near
In its crib, and your husband due to be home by the next
 trolley that you hear bumping into Elm Street—no:
But for a dream that was dreamt an elm-tree's life ago—
And longer, yes, much longer, and what I mean you know.

For the dream, for the plan, for the freedom of man as it was
 meant

To be;—

Not for the structure set up so lustily, by rule of thumb
And over-night, bound to become

Loose, lop-sided, out of plumb,

But for the dream, for the plan, for the freedom of man as it
 was meant

To be

By men with more vision, more wisdom, more purpose,
 more brains

Than we,

(Possibly, possibly)

Men with more courage, men more unselfish, more intent

Than we, upon their dreams, upon their dream of
 Freedom,—Freedom not alone

For oneself, but for all, wherever the word is known,

In whatever tongue, or the longing in whatever spirit—

Men with more honour. (That remains

To be seen! That we shall see!)

Possibly. Possibly.

And if still these truths be held to be
Self-evident.

5/8/96

Sabrina,

To give you an idea who Mrs. Clinton's audience will be Saturday morning...

We have a general commencement ceremony (the one the First Lady will address) for graduate and doctoral students. Separate graduation ceremonies for each of the colleges will take place throughout the day. Most students receiving undergraduate degrees participate in the college ceremonies rather than the general commencement, but we suspect many may opt to attend both ceremonies to see Mrs. Clinton. For the most part, however, she will be speaking to those receiving master's or doctoral degrees.

The following students had signed up to participate in general commencement as of last week:

- 26 (9 of them doctorates) from Agricultural, Food and Life Sciences
- 18 architecture students
- 195 (23 doctorates) from Arts & Sciences
- 94 (3 doctorates) from Business Administration
- 76 (46 doctorates) from College of Education
- 72 (9 doctorates) from College of Engineering
- 200 others receiving master's degrees

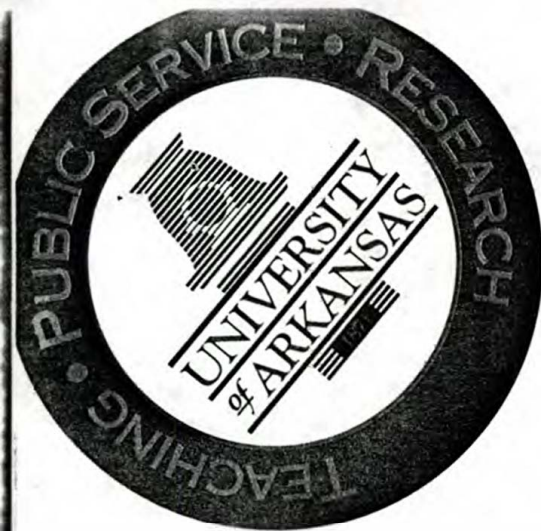
Something students are proud of:

I think she could refer to Senior Walk. All of our graduates' names -- from the first class of 1876 to 1995 -- are inscribed in a series of sidewalks that wind around campus. The Class of 1996 will be added later this year. Senior Walk is a unifying factor for all of us who graduated from the University of Arkansas. Students look forward to the day that their names will be in concrete. Ours is the only university in the country that has continued this tradition.

I'm still gathering some information on a human interest story and on Jason Oberste. I'll fax it to you as soon as I have it.



Julie Kegley



Protecting the Natural State

The people of Arkansas have a safer, cleaner, healthier place to live because of research at the University—

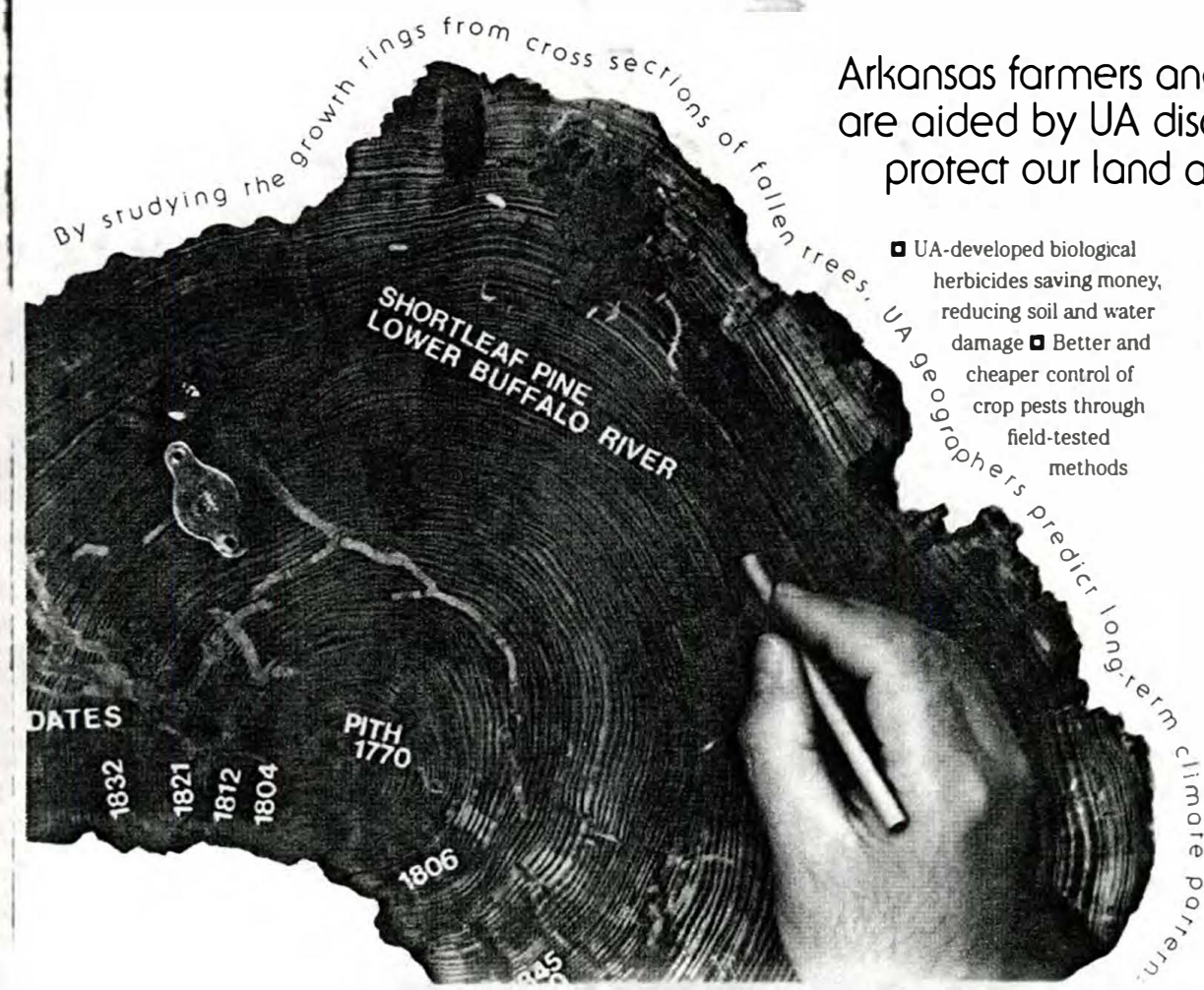
■ Computer-based planning tools to help local governments ■ World leadership in testing and handling hazardous materials ■ UA innovations in conservation for energy-conscious Arkansans

■ UA teams monitoring contamination and guarding the state's water and air quality ■ Septic systems designed by UA scientists treating problem sites

Arkansas farmers and poultry growers are aided by UA discoveries that protect our land and water —

■ UA-developed biological herbicides saving money, reducing soil and water damage ■ Better and cheaper control of crop pests through field-tested methods

■ Accurate forecasting through investigation of long-term climate changes ■ Safe and efficient handling of animal wastes with the experience and help of UA scientists ■ UA strength in agricultural law helping Arkansas guard the land and public health

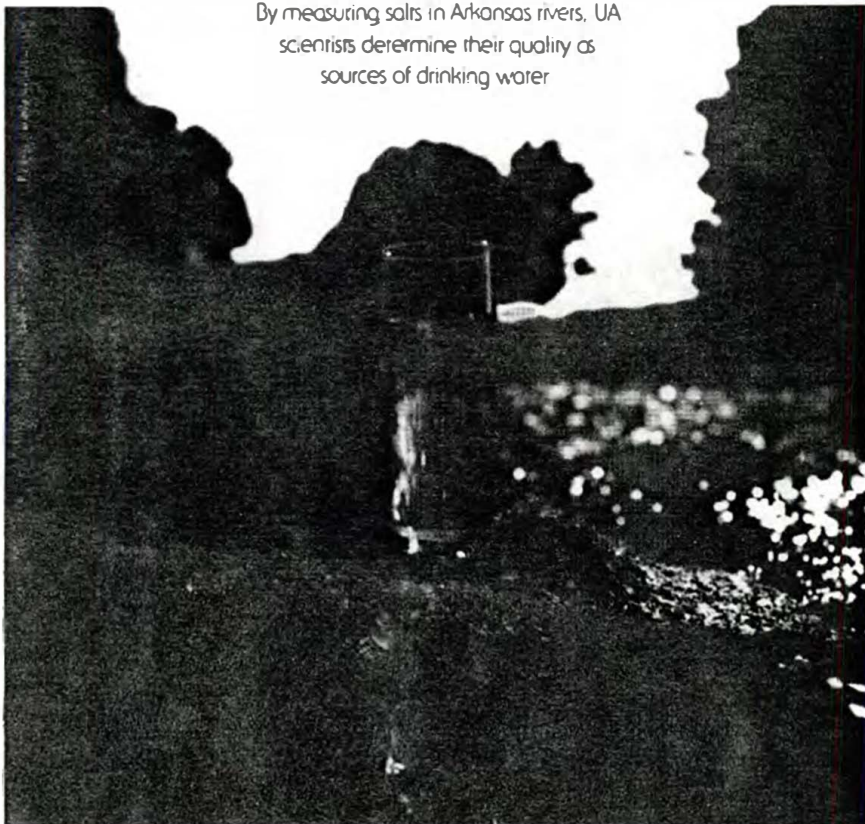


UA students inventory aquatic wildlife to help assess water quality in Arkansas lakes and streams

Campers, hikers, boaters, hunters, visitors from other states, builders of towns and neighborhoods – all benefit from the ways UA research guards our natural and historic inheritance –

- Keeping streams and lakes clean and free for Arkansans and visitors to enjoy
- Plentiful wildlife for hikers and hunters with better management of habitats through UA census studies
- Preserving the state's natural and cultural history after more than a century of collection and investigation
- Documenting traditions and maintaining strengths of Arkansas towns and neighborhoods through efforts of UA architects and historians
- Gardens and structures from Hot Springs to Eureka Springs to Helena created and studied by award-winning UA designers

By measuring salts in Arkansas rivers, UA scientists determine their quality as sources of drinking water





Helping Kids Win

Arkansas families are keeping children healthy and ready to learn using new ideas and techniques developed at the University –

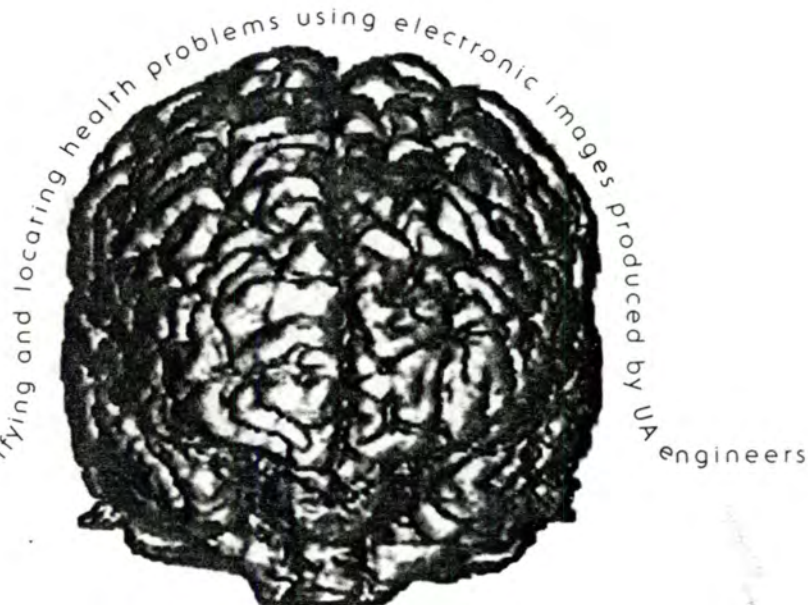
■ Training for community leaders to help children make good choices and resist drugs and alcohol ■ Piloting successful ways to help kids set goals early and avoid teen pregnancy ■ Computer images shared instantly with doctors, saving lives of Arkansas

babies ■ Opening doors to success for at-risk youth through summer fitness training ■ Better school performance with paid preventive health care ■ Readiness for school through early skills development and family day-care training

UA students learn basic physical concepts by using research techniques in a course taught entirely in the laboratory



Arkansas doctors save lives by identifying



and locating health problems using electronic images produced by UA engineers

Arkansas school children learn more and do better because the University works for them –

■ Developing and training leaders in Arkansas school systems ■ Focusing on problem areas in school -- teaching children money skills, building stronger middle schools ■ University Museum, planetarium, concert halls, reaching out to families

and schools ■ Teaching the delights of using math to understand the environment, renewing the delights of discovery in the laboratory ■ Taking writers to school children, rewarding winning young writers with the pleasure of fame on the radio

Even the youngest Arkansas students learn that science is fun when they



attend summer sessions at the University of Arkansas

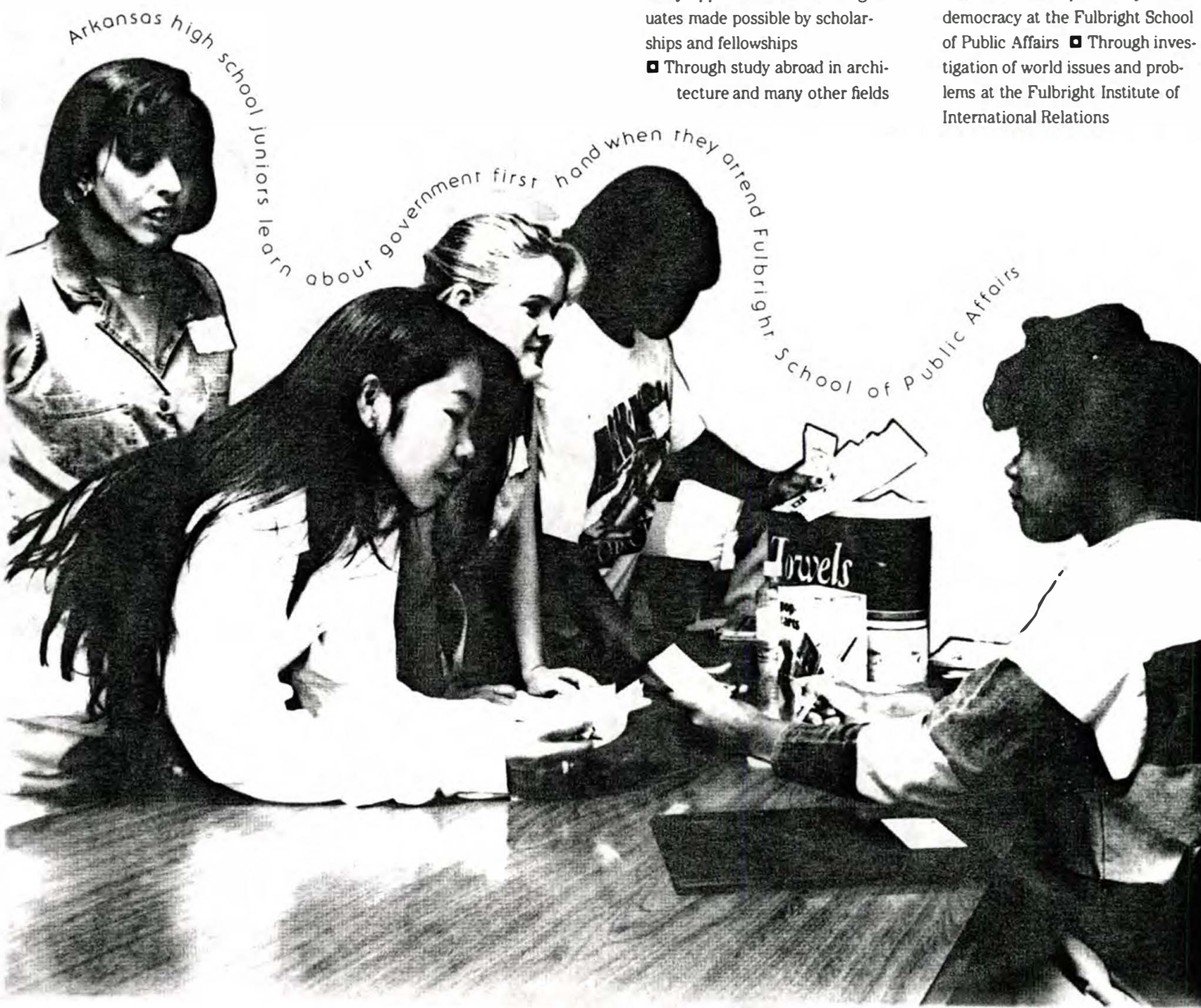


Creating Leaders for Arkansas

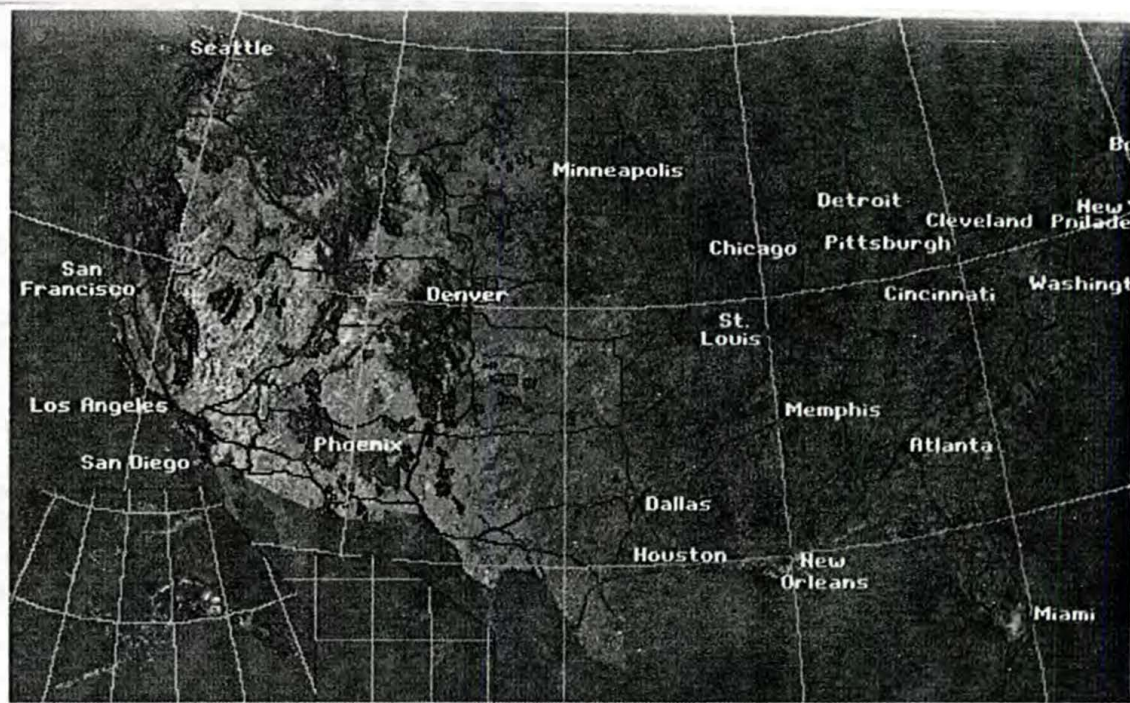
Today's UA students have opportunities for research throughout the University that will mold them into community and world leaders –

- In honors studies and special study opportunities for undergraduates made possible by scholarships and fellowships
- Through study abroad in architecture and many other fields

- In a summer of intensive exploration of civic responsibility and democracy at the Fulbright School of Public Affairs
- Through investigation of world issues and problems at the Fulbright Institute of International Relations



Electromop, a successful Arkansas company which began at the University's Genesis business incubator, now provides important resources to other Arkansas enterprises



Arkansas families, businesses, and communities make better decisions equipped with tools and information from University research –

- Family preferences and habits known through the University's Arkansas Household Research Panel
- Team leadership and quality service training skillfully provided by the UA Division of Continuing Education
- Improving public policy and

- action with UA study of results
- Helping families stay together and avoid violence through study of our closest relationships
- Better, safer choices made possible for Arkansas consumers with information from UA scientists

Today's leaders are turning UA research into action, improving the workplace, the community, and the world –

- UA graduates serving hundreds of companies, a number serving the Fortune 500 as chief executives
- Community and national leaders, educated at the University, solving local problems and leading the world
- Faculty for Arkansas colleges and schools, executives for Arkansas industries, accountants, attorneys, bankers,

- all educated at the University
- New businesses, new jobs for Arkansas, nurtured with the shared resources of UA Genesis, voted the most successful business incubator in 1993
- Better legal opinions crafted by Arkansas judges armed with legal interpretations from UA faculty

earned their degrees at the University of Arkansas

ARKANSAS BUSINESS

Co. Comes of

University of Arkansas at Fayetteville

Thomas R. Adams President	David Earl Allen Chairman	David R. Banks President	Joe N. Jones President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President
David Earl Allen Chairman	David R. Banks President	Joe N. Jones President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President
David Earl Allen Chairman	David R. Banks President	Joe N. Jones President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President
David Earl Allen Chairman	David R. Banks President	Joe N. Jones President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President
David Earl Allen Chairman	David R. Banks President	Joe N. Jones President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President	John E. Chambers President

Business and government leaders by the thousands have



Fueling the Arkansas Economy

Jobs and livelihoods for Arkansans today are created and saved by work at the U of A –

■ Broad-based investigation in poultry science, keeping Arkansas' largest industry healthy ■ Higher yielding seed varieties, improved production techniques, better understanding of national and world markets -- UA scientists leading the way to a thriving Arkansas agriculture ■ More nutritious, safer food, developed

in UA laboratories by scientists and trainees who can expect excellent job prospects

■ Improving industrial efficiency through better packaging, packing and shipping developed at the University's materials handling center ■ Direct UA assistance to Arkansas industry and business

One more nutritious food developed

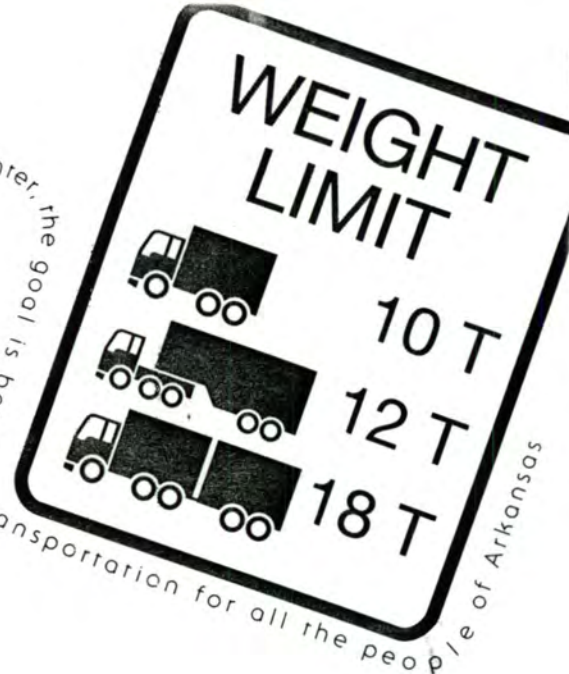


At the U.A.'s Mack-Blackwell National Rural Transportation Center, the goal is better transportation for all the people of Arkansas

The Arkansas workforce is prepared by innovations and discoveries made at the University to do the jobs of tomorrow –

■ Direct exchange between Arkansas business professionals and UA students in classrooms and laboratories throughout the University, with benefits for all ■ Connecting rural Arkansas to the world with better transportation made possible by discover-

ies at the University ■ Fostering skilled problem-solving by teaching teamwork in the classroom and laboratory and on the job ■ Helping Arkansas businesses expand and thrive.



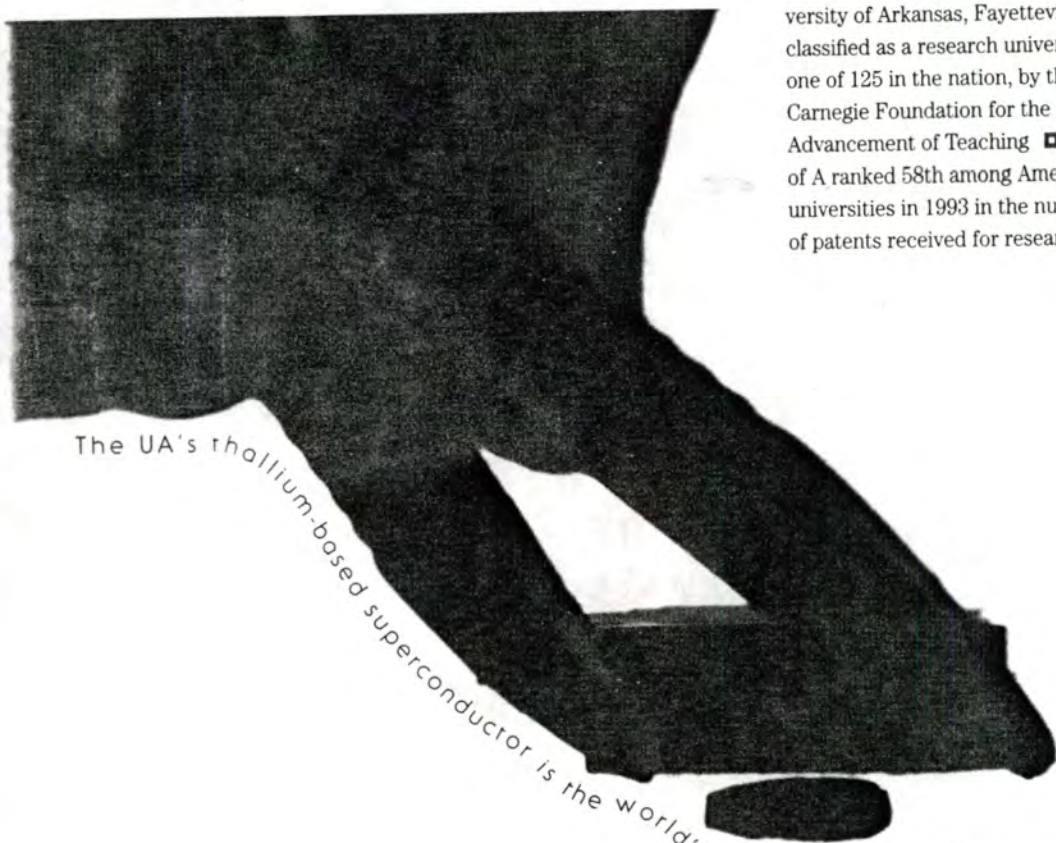


Keeping Research Ahead of Commerce

Keeping Arkansas competitive in the nation and the world is central to research at the University –

■ Research is at the core of the University's purpose ■ The University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, is classified as a research university, one of 125 in the nation, by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching ■ The U of A ranked 58th among American universities in 1993 in the number of patents received for research

discoveries ■ A number of research discoveries by UA faculty have been licensed for the public good ■ Nearly \$45 million in research grants supported UA student and faculty projects in 1993-94 ■ The University's translation students include two of eight winners of the world's most prestigious translation award



The UA's thallium-based superconductor is the world's superconductor of choice for commercial applications





- Dr. Jim Moore, nationally recognized authority on fruit breeding
 - Dr. Susan Foster, a Presidential Faculty Fellow, whose research on fish behavior brings recognition to the strength of environmental studies at the University

Only two of hundreds of talented and accomplished members of the UA faculty

Arkansas is connected to the information highways of the nation and the world through the state's hub at the University of Arkansas -

■ ArkNet, the state's network, founded by the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, connects the state's colleges, universities, and schools to international networks ■ InfoLinks, the University library's electronic card catalog, makes the library's millions of resources available to Arkansas and the world ■ The University's

laboratory research in chemistry, physics, and molecular biology provides strong support for the state's agricultural field research and clinical research in medicine ■ UA initiatives in distance learning allow faculty at Arkansas colleges and schools throughout the state to get the training they need right where they live.





Finding Our Way

The University excels at perpetuating traditions which symbolize our achievements and affirm our commitment to opportunity for all Arkansans and service to Arkansas communities –

■ The University makes enormous contributions to the health of Arkansas communities and institutions through efforts by architects, landscape architects and planners, engineers, economists, geographers, and many others who provide direct assistance and inspire their students to commit themselves to the well-being of their elders and children

■ University repositories, central to the state's understanding of its past and present, help the people and communities of Arkansas plot the state's course into the 21st century ■ University of Arkansas professors are proud of their commitment to public service and economic opportunity and dedicated to achieving benefits for the entire state



The Harvey & Bernice Jones Center for Families

"To serve families, strengthen community, and glorify God."

The Jones Legacy continues.....

It all started in 1918 when Harvey Jones, a man of vision and determination, started hauling business with two mules and a wagon in Springdale Arkansas. With hard work, excellent service, and cc to his customers & employees, the Jones Truck Lines prospered. Then in 1938, Harvey married Bernice Young, "The most beautiful girl he had ever seen." And they became a team.

As the years progressed, the Jones' became deeply committed to their employees and their families, their church, and to their community. Their desires were evident, "to be involved."

In 1980, the Jones' sold the truck line after 62 years of service. Then in 1992 Mrs. Jones repurchased the Springdale truck facilities with a vision to serve the community and its' families. Thus the Harvey & Bernice Jones Center for Families.



This center is a community / recreation center designed with family programming and services in mind. The center is designed to accommodate programs conducted by community agencies, churches and schools.

The Harvey & Bernice Jones Center for Families encourages families to come utilize the resources provided at the center. Whether you want to read a book, get on the information superhighway, learn more about computers, or just be involved in the other fun activities available, come visit the center today.

Everyone is welcome at the Harvey & Bernice Jones Center for Families as long as they behave like ladies & gentlemen. A no fee membership will be issued after you complete a registration form.

The Harvey & Bernice Jones Center for Families is truly unique because it desires to bring the community together through family involvement and effort. This same approach was exactly how Harvey & Bernice Jones were able to assemble the finest independent truck line in the United States.

The following family resources are available at The Harvey & Bernice Jones Center for Families

Information Center

- * Community Computer Center.
- * Community Book Exchange.
- * Jones Television Network /Cable Channel 41

Harvey & Bernice Jones Chapel

- * Multi Purpose Chapel / Auditorium.

Mutli-purpose Classrooms

- * Distance Learning.

Harvey Jones Conference Center

- * Fully equipped Caterer's Kitchen.

Child's Center

- * Kids Plus

Bernice Young Jones Generations Center

- * Demonstration Kitchen

Teen Center

- * Activities & Quiet Room

Multi-purpose Gymnasium Complex

- * Gym
- * Aerobic Dance Room
- * Fitness Center
- * Indoor Walking / Jogging track

Natatorium

- * Lap / Competitive pool
- * Family Leisure pool

Ice Skating Arena

Outdoor Recreational Areas

Arts & Crafts Rooms

Music Rooms

Springdale "Interchange" Food Court

"Everyone is welcome as long as you behave like ladies and gentlemen." ----- Bernice Jones

FORMAT:

- HRC to do 2 separate photo-ops with graduates and families.

8:35 am

PROCEED TO HOLD

NOTE: HRC to put robe on at this point.

8:40 am -

MEET AND GREET W/ Platform Participants

8:55 am

Room A113

CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

FORMAT: HRC to meet and greet w/ participants.

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 30 platform participants to attend.

8:55 am

PLATFORM PARTICIPANTS FORM INTO PROCESSION LINES

NOTE: Two single file lines will be formed. HRC to be **SECOND** in line, behind Chancellor Dan Ferritor.

9:00 am

PROCESSION OF PLATFORM PARTICIPANTS

Bud Walton Arena

PRESS??

FORMAT:

- Two lines of participants proceed consecutively to platform.

- HRC proceeds to seat on platform.

NOTE: HRC seated next to ____ and ____.

9:10 am -

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS COMMENCEMENT

11:00 am

Bud Walton Arena

PRESS??

FORMAT:

- Chancellor Ferritor welcomes.
- The National Anthem is performed by
Professor
Elaine
_____.
- Invocation is performed by Arkansas
Cola _____.
- Chancellor Ferritor announces
_____ (#?) Platform Participants.
- Chancellor Ferritor intros Lewis Epley,
Jr., Chairman, Board of Trustees.
- Lewis Epley makes remarks.
- Chancellor Ferritor Dr. Alan Sugg,
President, U of A.
- Dr. Sugg makes remarks.
- Chancellor Ferritor intros the remaining
platform participants and makes
acknowledgements.
- Chancellor Ferritor and Lewis Epley
present _____ award to ten Senior
Scholars.
- Jason Oberster, final Senior Scholar to
receive _____ award makes remarks.
- Chancellor Ferritor intros HRC.
- HRC delivers remarks from podium.
- Chancellor Ferritor intros Don Pederson,
Vice Chair, Academic Affairs.
- Don Pederson makes remarks and announces
the Dean of each School individually.
- Each Dean will make very brief remarks
from standing mic (stage right) about
the candidates for degrees in their
respective colleges.
- Diploma presentation begins (Approx. 600
graduates receiving diplomas during this
portion of the Commencement.)

- Collis Geren presents diploma to each graduate as they arrive onto platform.
- Each graduate shakes hands with Chancellor Ferritor, Dr. Sugg, and Mrs. Epely and exits stage.
- Upon conclusion of diploma presentations, Chancellor Ferritor intros Bernice Jones.
- Don Pederson escorts Bernice Jones to podium.
- Bernice Jones is presented with _____ by _____.
- Bernice Jones thanks and makes very brief remarks.
- Chancellor Ferritor intros HRC.
- Dr. Epely makes remarks and invites Dr. Pederson to escort HRC to podium.
- Dr. Pederson escorts HRC to podium.
- HRC is presented with the Doctor of Arts and Humane Letters Honorary Degree by _____.
- HRC thanks and makes very brief remarks.
- HRC returns to seat.
- _____ presents Jim Turbin with the Burlington Northern Foundation Award.
- Alumni Association [T]
- Musical Innvocation [T]
- Benediction [T]
- AM [?]
- Recessional March [T]

NOTE: Immediately following the Recessional March, HRC proceeds _____ (up 2 flights of stairs/elevator??) to hold.

11:00 am - **HOLD**
11:10 am

NOTE: HRC to take off robe at this point.



In 1988...

Governor Clinton allocated \$1 million to superconductivity research at the University of Arkansas allowing researchers to buy much needed equipment. To date, UA scientists have been awarded a total of 29 patents related to superconductivity research.

At her 1988 commencement address to UA students, Hillary Rodham Clinton announced that Governor Clinton would make \$3 million available for the renovation of Old Main. She called the project "one of the most successful public/private partnerships" in the state's history. Old Main now averages three times more daily users than the State Capitol Building.



The Campus

- Established in 1871, the University of Arkansas is the only comprehensive doctoral degree granting institution in Arkansas.
- The U of A offers more than 200 undergraduate and graduate degrees in more than 150 fields of study in agricultural, food and life sciences, arts and sciences, business, education, engineering, architecture and law.
- Old Main, one of the oldest buildings in the state, is widely known as "the symbol of higher education in Arkansas." Old Main houses the Fulbright College of Arts and Sciences, its honors program and five academic departments.
- Senior Walk is the University's longest tradition — not in years, but in miles. Starting with the first class of 1876, every graduate's name is etched into a concrete sidewalk that winds its way around campus for nearly five miles. More than 100,000 graduates are listed on Senior Walk.



UA Facts

- 1995-96 enrollment rose to 14,765 (12,207 under-graduate, 2,151 graduate and 407 law).
- African Americans now represent nearly 9.5 percent of the freshman class.
- The average ACT score of the top 300 UA freshmen is above 30.
- The University awarded more than \$44 million in financial aid, scholarships, loans and work-study last year.
- The 1995-96 campus operating budget is \$128.4 million.
- One-fourth of the building space on campus is new or recently renovated.
- Small classes are the norm at the U of A. In 69 percent of undergraduate classes last fall, there were 25 or fewer students. More than 93 percent of classes had fewer than 50 students, and just 2 percent had more than 100 students.
- Mullins Library is expanding to provide more study space for students and accommodate the University Libraries' 1.4 million volumes, 16,300 subscriptions to periodicals, 1 million titles on microforms, 16,500 recordings and CD-ROMs, 1.2 million government documents, 8,000 linear feet of manuscripts and hundreds of data-bases provided by seven on-line bibliographic services.
- In one year, the 800 members of the UA faculty wrote 165 books and chapters, made 1,635 presentations and wrote 2,131 publications and reports.



Dates in History

- 1871** — Arkansas' legislature creates Arkansas Industrial University. Fayetteville is chosen as the site.
- 1872** — First students begin classes.
- 1875** — Old Main is completed.
- 1876** — First class graduates.
- 1899** — Name is changed to University of Arkansas.
- 1905** — Senior Walk is started.
- 1909** — Mascot changes from Cardinal to Razorback.
- 1948** — The U of A becomes the first traditionally white university in the South to break the color barrier when Silas Hunt, an African American, enrolls in the UA School of Law.
- 1950** — Doctoral programs were formally initiated.
- 1969** — The University of Arkansas System is formed.
- 1982** — University presidency established system-wide for all campuses; first Fayetteville chancellor named. The College of Arts and Sciences is named for U.S. Senator J. William Fulbright.
- 1991** — Old Main reopens after extensive renovation.
- 1994** — The U of A is upgraded to a Research University II by the Carnegie Foundation.
- 1995** — The College of Agricultural, Food and Life Sciences is named for U.S. Senator Dale Bumpers.
- 1996** — The University of Arkansas celebrates the 125th anniversary of its founding. The School of Architecture celebrates its 50th anniversary.



Campus Statistics

- Of the 120 members of the first graduating class of the Arkansas School for Math and Science, 31 chose to attend the University of Arkansas — more than any other college or University in the state.
- Private giving to the University in 1994-95 exceeded \$31 million.
- Membership in the Arkansas Alumni Association is at an all-time high of more than 21,000 - a 100 percent increase in the last seven years.
- The UA development program is one of the top five in the country for the third straight year.
- The *Razorback* yearbook won the Best of Show award from the American College Press Association. The *Razorback* also won its third Gold Crown, awarded by the Columbia School of Journalism for the best yearbook in the country.
- The Programs in Creative Writing and Translation are ranked among the five best in the country. Since 1965, the programs' graduates have published more than 100 books of fiction, poetry and translation.
- The University of Arkansas Press, founded in 1980, has published more than 250 titles on subjects ranging from the fight for democracy in China to a pictorial history of the University. The Press regularly wins awards from the Association of American University Presses.
- The University's endowment has just reached \$100 million.



Poultry Center of Excellence

The shared vision of industry, state and federal government, and University of Arkansas faculty has given Arkansas the Center of Excellence for Poultry Science, with its world-class teaching and research facility.

The mid-century alliance of the young poultry industry with the University of Arkansas made the Arkansas poultry business what it is today - the industry which underpins the state's industrial and agricultural economy.

Thanks to UA research and teaching and industry innovation, poultry work in Arkansas continues to change and grow. Real-time, online processing research is now underway in the University's new model plant to ensure food safety for millions around the world; a feed mill has been in full operation for more than a year; and the poultry health laboratory is fully certified.

Enrollment in poultry science has grown to 109 students, and most graduates will find employment in Arkansas, solving the problems of industry and the environment. Their work will in turn provide employment for thousands of others.

In partnership with the University of Arkansas, they will enable this vital Arkansas industry to lead and help feed the world.



Student Accomplishments

1996

Shane Whitlock, a junior microbiology student, won the **national Jeopardy! College Championship**. He was selected from 1,250 students during nationwide auditions.

Josephine Ta, a junior in microbiology, was awarded the prestigious **\$7,000 Barry Goldwater Scholarship for academic excellence in math and science**.

Miguela Borges, a senior landscape architecture student, was named the only **national student representative** for the **American Society of Landscape Architects**.

Senior David Fly, recognized as **one of the top 30 engineering students** in the country, received the **Tau Beta Pi National Engineering Student Award**.

David Tabb, a senior in biological sciences, received a **National Science Foundation Grant for research in computational biology-gene linking**. He was given a full fellowship for graduate study at University of Washington, the premier institution in his field.

1995

Brandon Bolinger, mathematics; Bao Dang, biochemistry; and Nam Hoai Le, chemistry, each received the **Barry Goldwater Scholarship**.

Paula Haydar, a graduate student in Arabic translation, received the **American Translator's Association Prize** for literary translation. Only one award is given each year, and she is the second UA student in eight years to win this award.

As a freshman chemical engineering student, Brad Chaney placed fifth in the **Mr. Future Business Leader** national competition sponsored by the Future Business Leaders Association.

1994

Brad Barkley won a **\$20,000 National Endowment for the Arts** grant in creative writing - one of the most competitive grants awarded to beginning writers.

Philosophy student Jon Fernandez was one of 90 people in the country to win a **\$30,000 Truman Scholarship**.

Geology student Susan Folkert received a **Barry Goldwater Scholarship for Excellence**.

Kyle Harrison was one of only three students from a state university to be accepted to **Stanford University Medical School** in the last 10 years.



Faculty Accomplishments

Last year, the 800 members of the University of Arkansas faculty wrote **165 books and chapters**, made **1,635 presentations** and produced more than **2,100 reports and publications**.

The **average research grant** per faculty member is about **\$50,000** - more than the average faculty salary. That research funding helped support 300 graduate students last year.

The UA faculty regularly receives recognition on the national and international levels. Their awards and their leadership in worldwide academic organizations allow the University of Arkansas to compete and to thrive in an international arena. Below are just a few of their accomplishments.

Maria Coleman, chemical engineering, received a **National Science Foundation Presidential Faculty Fellowship worth \$500,000**. She was one of 15 engineers under 30 years of age to receive this award, which is one of the largest ever bestowed on a faculty member at the University.

Miller Williams, creative writing, received the **American Academy of Arts and Letters' Academy Award for Literature**. Williams received one of the highest honors in poetry, the American Academy of Arts and Letters' Prix de Rome, in 1976.

Leonard Schaper, electrical engineering, was elected **president of the International Electronics Packaging Society**, a multi-disciplinary organization composed of professionals involved in all facets of the electronics packaging industry.

Alan Chow, music, won the ninth annual Palm Beach Invitational Piano Competition. Chow was one of three Americans in the 16-pianist competition, which is open only to performers who have won other major competitions.

Donald Harington, art, was one of 22 distinguished authors listed in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography: American Novelists Since World War II*. Others in the volume include Kurt Vonnegut, Sylvia Plath, Flannery O'Connor and Tom Wolfe.

Marlon Blackwell, architecture, was listed in *Interior magazine's 40 Under 40*, a list of outstanding architects under the age of 40.



Faculty Accomplishments

Peter Pulay, chemistry/biochemistry, received the **Alexander Von Humboldt Research Award for Senior United States Scientists**. The award was given to 200 eminent scientists who will promote long-term cooperation between German and foreign researchers and their institutions.

Dick Oliver, agronomy, was named **Weed Scientist of the Year** by the 900-member Southern Weed Science Society of America, the largest regional weed science group in the nation.

Timothy Paul Cronan, computer information systems and quantitative analysis, was named the **1995 Computer Educator of the Year** by the International Association for Computer Information systems.

Randall Woods, history, was named the first holder of the **Fulbright 50th anniversary chair**, created by the **German Fulbright** program, the largest in the world, to honor the 50th anniversary of the Fulbright Exchange Program. Woods will hold the chair at the University of Bonn during the spring and summer of 1997.

Dale Carpenter, journalism, won an **Emmy** from the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences for the best documentary in the Mid-America region. *The Edge of Conflict*, about the Civil War in Arkansas, was produced for the Arkansas Educational Television Network.

Min Xiao, physics, was one of the **National Science Foundation's Young Investigator Award** recipients. Ten of these awards are given annually to scientists around the nation.

Mark Killenbeck, law, was elected to membership in the **American Law Institute**. As such, he has joined a membership of only 2,580 from more than 850,000 attorneys and 8,000 law professors in the United States.

Justin Morris, food science, served as **president of the Council of Agriculture Science and Technology**. The organization has 31 professional scientific societies representing a membership of more than 100,000 scientists.



Interesting Alumni

- Robert Maurer '49 **invented fiber optic technology** while a research fellow for Corning Glass Works.
- Professor Emeritus E. Fay Jones '50 is a recipient of the **American Institute of Architects Gold Medal** — the highest award in architecture.
- UA School of Law graduate George Haley '52 is **chairman of the U.S. Postal Rate Commission**. He also is the brother of the late Alex Haley, author of *Roots*.
- Tommy Holloway '63, used his mechanical engineering degree to become the **manager of NASA's space shuttle programs**.
- Charlie Jones '53, a **sportscaster for NBC Sports**, holds the distinction of broadcasting professional football longer than any other television network announcer — 32 consecutive years.
- Pat Summerall '53 is a **sportscaster** for professional football on the **Fox Network**.
- Jerry Jones '65, **owner of the Dallas Cowboys**, was a member of the 1964 Razorback football team that won a national championship.
- Rodney Slater '80, the first African American chairman of the Arkansas Highway Commission, is **administrator of the Federal Highway Administration**.
- Donna Axum Whitworth '66 '69 was Miss Arkansas and **Miss America in 1964**. She is a motivational speaker, a corporate public relations consultant and a former talk show hostess.
- Former White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty III '69 is **Special Counselor to the President**.
- Regina Hopper Blakely '81 '85 is a **correspondent for CBS News**.
- Former student Mike Conley, who attended the University from 1981 to 1985, won the triple jump **gold medal at the 1992 Summer Olympics**.



At the University 1995-96

UA STUDENTS

This year's freshman class —

51% women (1,215)

49% men (1,158)

9.5% African-American

23 — average ACT score

**30 — average ACT of
top 300**

The student body —

47% women (6,904)

53% men (7,861)

10.5% all minority

From

All 75 Arkansas counties

All 50 states

88 other countries

88% are full-time

83% are traditional college-age

65% received scholarships & financial assistance



UA RESOURCES

\$31 million - total private
giving in 1994-95

\$100 million - total
endowment

Main campus of
167 buildings on
420 acres

Library —

1.4 million volumes

16,300 journals

Millions of titles on
microfilm & multi-media

Infolinks - electronic catalog available worldwide
telnet://library.uark.edu

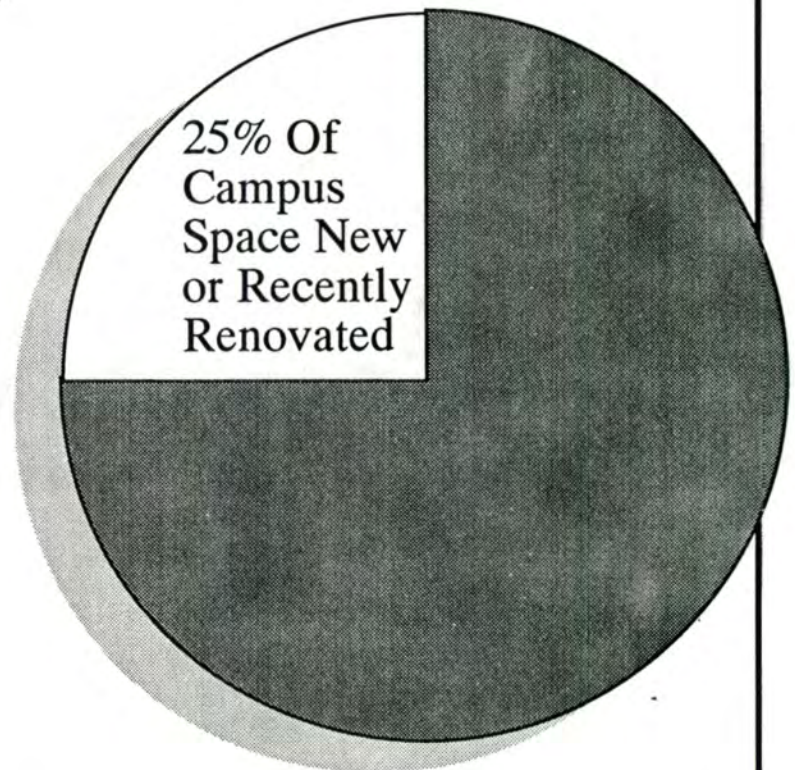
Network —

1000s of networked stations available at

Over 100 campus locations

Electronic-mail available to every student

Voice-mail available to all students living on campus





Outstanding Teacher

Jim Turpin, 1996 Burlington Northern Foundation Outstanding Teacher

(The top teaching award at the University of Arkansas will be awarded at commencement.)

Dr. Jim Turpin, Professor of Chemical Engineering, is a native of Brinkley, Ark. He was first appointed to the UA faculty as an instructor in 1960. He earned bachelor's and master's degrees in chemical engineering from the University of Arkansas and holds a Ph.D. from the University of Oklahoma.

Here is what Dr. Turpin's students say about him:

"Having taken many classes under Dr. Turpin and aiding him as a teaching assistant, his consistent commitment to students is, in my opinion, unparalleled. He has found the secret to quality education by valuing each individual with the time and care they need."

"I believe Dr. Turpin is one of the best educators I've ever had the privilege to know. He is one of those rare teachers with the ability to reach out to each and every student in a classroom and make him or her feel important and capable of learning."

"Dr. Turpin provided excellent guidance regarding the chemical engineering curriculum, but I think his most memorable counseling was that regarding professional and personal happiness."

His other teaching awards include:

- Chemical Manufacturers Association National Catalyst Award for excellence in chemistry teaching, 1991
- UA College of Engineering Innovative Teaching Development Award, 1984
- Arkansas Alumni Faculty Achievement Award for Teaching, 1982
- Haliburton Award for Excellence in Teaching, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1994
- AIChE Student Chapter Outstanding Teacher Award, awarded 13 times since 1967



The Class of 1996

This year the University of Arkansas will award approximately 2,700 degrees.

- 1,800 Bachelor's
- 600 Master's
- 130 Doctorates
- 120 Law
- 15 Educational Specialist

Some of the most popular bachelor's degree majors in the class of 1996:

marketing, accounting, psychology, finance, secondary education, elementary education, communications, English and journalism.

MEMORANDUM

To: Lissa
Fr: Sabrina
Re: family-related story
Da: May 8, 1996

Joanna Hudec, a young woman getting her degree at University of Arkansas, has a twin brother who is graduating from Southwestern University in Texas on the same day. In order to avoid splitting the family up on such an important day, her brother James is attending commencement exercises at UA, where he will receive his Southwestern degree in Business.

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

December 27, 1995, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 15; Column 2; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 847 words

HEADLINE: Needed: A Not-So-Fast Divorce Law

BYLINE: By William A. Galston; William A. Galston is a professor at the School of Public Affairs at the University of Maryland and director of the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy. He was a deputy assistant to President Clinton for domestic policy from 1993 to May 1995.

DATELINE: COLLEGE PARK, Md.

BODY:

In recent years, rising public concern about teen-age pregnancy and out-of-wedlock births has put pressure on government to do something about these overwhelming social problems. But we haven't paid nearly as much attention to what we can do about another disruptive force: divorce.

It is time we do. A mounting body of evidence indicates that for marriages not involving abuse or extreme emotional cruelty, divorce harms children. Without returning to the 1950's, we should do what we can to reduce the number of divorces in these lower-conflict marriages and mitigate the impact of unavoidable divorces on children.

Until the late 1960's, individuals seeking divorce were required to demonstrate negative behavior by their spouse; it was restricted to a handful of legally defined categories like adultery, extreme cruelty, desertion and imprisonment. Since then, every state has adopted "no fault" legislation, which allows husbands and wives to name aspects of the relationship -- incompatibility, irretrievable breakdown, irreconcilable differences -- rather than individual conduct to serve as grounds for divorce.

Some feminists have long complained that these laws make it easier for high-wage-earning men to walk out on a marriage without paying a stiff penalty. More recently, some conservatives have criticized the no-fault system on moral and religious grounds. But we all should be concerned about its consequences for children.

To reduce the overall rate of divorce, I suggest a two-tier system: For couples without dependent children, current law can be left in place. For couples with dependent children, we should eliminate unilateral no-fault -- where one person can readily obtain a divorce without the other's consent -- and return to an updated fault-based system, with the alternative of a five-year waiting period. And even in cases where both parties consent, there should be suitable braking mechanisms: a mandatory pause of at least a year for reflection, counseling and mediation.

The New York Times, December 27, 1995

These proposals may seem radical, but it is worth remembering that the current culture of divorce is a recent invention. Between 1960 and 1980, divorce in the United States exploded, rising by 250 percent before stabilizing at the highest level in the world. Today, more than 40 percent of all first marriages are projected to end in divorce; the rate for remarriages is even higher.

The number of children newly touched by divorce each year has more than doubled in the past generation, to one million annually. On average, these children experience an immediate 30 percent decline in their living standards. Almost half the children of divorce have not seen their fathers in the previous 12 months. Only one-sixth see their fathers as often as once a week.

Many adults believe that easier access to divorce has improved their lives. But that is not true for children in divorces from marriages not involving physical abuse or extreme emotional conflict, according to recent research. On average, these divorces correlate with poorer academic performance; weaker attachment to the world of work; higher rates of crime, depression, suicide and out-of-wedlock births; and diminished propensity to trust others, form stable adult relationships and engage in civic affairs.

When divorce is unavoidable, the legal system should work much harder to mitigate its effects on children. Child-support awards should be raised, for example, and child-support enforcement should be strengthened, especially across state lines. Children should be able to remain in their familiar neighborhoods and schools for an extended transition; in many cases, this will mean excluding the family home from the division of property. If these reforms cannot prevent divorce, they might at least improve the bargaining position of the parent who gets custody of the children.

Defenders of the status quo say that the solution is to toughen child-support requirements, not tighten divorce laws. But economic circumstances account for only a portion of the damage to children. Divorce tends to reduce parents' willingness or ability to invest in their children, and to disrupt young people's social and community ties.

Some who oppose tougher divorce laws fear that they will return us to the bad old days when women were trapped in abusive marriages. Not so: the point is to distinguish between circumstances of physical or emotional abuse, on the one hand, and lower-intensity dissatisfaction, on the other. Besides, evidence suggests that chances of abuse are far higher for couples who are not married.

It's true that, compared with a generation ago, far fewer Americans believe that unhappy couples should stay together for the sake of their children. But there is ambivalence: a solid majority of them think laws should be toughened so that divorce is harder to obtain.

In the end, it comes down to a moral question. Is our society willing to put the well-being of children first, even when it may conflict with adult desires and restrain our passion for autonomy?

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

It's just great to be here. And I want to make something clear at the outset: This visit is my personal choice. No subpoena was involved.

It's so lovely to be back in Arkansas. What a beautiful beautiful state. You may not be aware of this, but my husband and I used to own property here. I wonder whatever happened to it...



Hold onto your dreams. Take up the challenge of forging an identity that transcends yourself. Transcend yourself and you will find yourself. Care about something you needn't bother with at all. Throw yourself into the world and make your voice count.

Whether you make your voice count for children or for another cause, enjoy your life's journey. There is no dress rehearsal for life and you may have to ad lib your way through each scene. The only way to prepare is to do what you have done: get the best possible education; continue to learn from literature, scripture and history, understand the human experience as best you can so that you have guideposts charting the terrain toward whatever decisions are right for you.

I want you to remember this day and remember how much more you have in common with each other than with the people who are trying to divide you. And I want you to stand together then as you stand together now; beautiful, brave, invincible.

Congratulations to each of you. Look forward and welcome the challenges ahead. And if you'd like to meet me for a swim later - don't tell the security guard - just find me. And I hope that over the next years you will look back on this day as a truly great opportunity that leads you to transcend and to forge an identity that is uniquely your own.

Godspeed.

PONS / Notes 4/29/96

Talk abt govt as: low of govt
role of govt

What govt. can do and how it goes about it

Strong Theridil leadership is of Americans want

Goals of Speeches

- ① show consistency / vision
- ② vision for moving forward
- ③ strategy for uses of tools available, including govt

One piece potentially for HRC

How values the grew up w/ can be forwarded
into the complex world of today

Community

Family

- Today's life is actually better for many ppl
- "Realistic Optimism" (the grounds for it in America today)
-

HRC: Explication of old values in new world

Do it thru discussion of family

PONS: (Inverse) Family

Explication of old values / new world

MESSAGE/THEMES

Trend ↑

- ① Move to center balance budget / cut taxes / reform welfare
- ② Econocentric to values agenda
- ③ From Democratic to Incumbent
- ④ Values in action
- ⑤ Contrast POTUS w/ Republicans

Educ Aid	N Rights	Domestic violence
M'care	Assault Weapons	Border peace
Tobacco	Tax cuts w/ly farm	Prudy bill

These "positive values" issues

56% Think Stern politically motivated

69% Think D. Amato " "

(e.g. Dems & undecideds)

He can't overcome our animosity of center
best defense issue a public values

GRADUATION / MTH 4/29/96

POTUS / THEMES

4 speeches - built around vision themes

① Was a vision 91-92

② Building a vision 93-94

③ Moving forward w/ vision 95-96

Producing results

④ Move fwd into future (e.g. 2nd term)

He says POTUS will lead for America

More specific than he has been abt future

but no specific as to be a laundry list

① Opening speech / Penn State 5/10/96

- Reiterates his philosophy

• becomes the economic speech

- opportunity, respons. philos. he brought to this

- drawing together educ/econ. security

- ^{scholarship}educ. becomes central theme derived from economic values

- focus also on college

- make the knowledge economy work for every American

② COAST GUARD ACADEMY

foreign policy

③ PRINCETON 6/4/96 (mending the social fabric)

- Community / echoes 191 New Covenant

- Crime/welfare /

- next stage for Ameri Corps

- Civil Society

perhaps extreme position of Clinton bill

America has to make our lives; give America enough to make her to itself

④

- Family

- parental responsibility

- father. responsibility

- make children responsible

one nation,
one America



Hillary Rodham Clinton Speaks Out On Putting Children First

by Diane Loomans

She is easily the most famous woman in the country, and frequently described as one of the most important and influential women in the world. To millions of admirers, she is the epitome of the '90s' woman--juggling a family, career, politics and an inner life. As a devoted mother and wife, successful businesswoman, active Methodist and First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton displays a strong commitment to make use of her talents, and influence the world in meaningful ways. But when it comes to the "superwoman" tag that is often associated with her name, she gives little more than a chuckle: "I'm not the Energizer bunny," she once said in jest, "I'm really just like everyone else. I get up in the morning, have breakfast with my family and see them off, and then go to my job. We all wear many roles." Of all the roles that Hillary portrays, it's clearly her role as international spokeswoman for children that most sparks her passion. At the heart of her mission is a burning desire to improve the lives of children the world over. For over 25 years, she has been a champion of children's causes, expressing a passionate plea to adults of every nation to reach out, with both arms outstretched, and do all that they can to put children first: "I'm often asked what I would like to see happen above all else in our country and in our world. There are so many things to pray for, so many things to work for. But certainly my answer would be a world in which all boys and girls are loved and cared for. First, by the families into which they are born, and then by all of us who have to recognize that we are all connected. Nothing is more important to our shared future than the well-being of children."

Children are at the root of many of the important issues being debated in the world today, and Hillary seems to be an ideal person to speak on their behalf. She grew up in Park Ridge, Illinois, in a close-knit family. Throughout her childhood, the foundations of her abiding commitment to family, work and service were established: "As a girl growing up in the forties and fifties, to have both a mother and a father who basically said, 'You can do or be whatever you choose, as long as you're willing to work for it,' was an unusual message. My mother provided the kind of unconditional love that every child

needs. My father was like the ambassador from the outside world. He would get us up in the morning and go off to work, but he always came home for dinner. He would have tales about how the world was, and how you had better be prepared for it. They gave us a well-rounded view of both the good and the bad, the rough and the smooth."

As a devoted parent herself, Hillary's delight in her daughter stems from the knowledge that Chelsea isn't just her child, but is also her teacher and her friend: "Bill and I both learn from Chelsea. I remember one night when she was just a few weeks old, I was rocking her because she was crying. I just looked at her and said, 'Chelsea, you've never been a baby before, and I've never been a mother before, and we're just going to have to help each other get through this.' I think that our willingness to learn from Chelsea and respect who she is, the person she was meant to be, has helped us a lot." Hillary and Bill both agree that the real key to successful parenting is rooted in unconditional love. "A strong sense of security is very difficult to achieve in life," the President says, "unless you know when you're little that you're the most important person in the world to someone. I tell my daughter I love her every day of her life, and I frequently tell her I'm proud of her. I've always been conscious that each day with my daughter is a gift. She reaffirms my belief in life."

Speaking out for effective childrearing in this country and around the world, Hillary has a keen ability to recognize and honor the physical, psychological and spiritual needs of all children. She believes that each child possesses unique gifts to contribute to the world, but needs the loving guidance of family and community to help foster an atmosphere that allows these talents to flourish: "It is incumbent upon us as a nation to try to ensure that every child has the same opportunity to live up to his or her God-given potential".

Her vision of a better world for our children shines in her upcoming book, *It Takes A Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* (Simon & Schuster, November 1995). Says Hillary, "The book is based upon a wonderful old African proverb, 'It takes a whole village to raise a child.' It is my hope that the book will help all of us remember that in order for America to be a strong and confident society in the next century, we have to begin now to care for our children as though we were a

village in the very best sense of the word."Mrs. Clinton received no advance from the publisher, and plans to give all royalties and earnings to charity. The publishers have also agreed to donate a portion of their profits to charity.

Drawing on her experiences as a daughter, mother and child advocate, she reflects on the possibilities for rekindling a better quality of family and community life: "Each of us is a product of our families and our society, so we have to start figuring out how to strengthen families, and how to prevent the problems that we see in the headlines. American children are in crisis. Twenty-three percent of our children live in poverty, and millions go without essential services every day. We have over 400,000 children languishing in foster care in America. Too many children are bearing children of their own, and drugs, violence and abuse continue to claim the lives of our young people before they reach adulthood."

Hillary is emphatic about the significance of parental involvement at all stages of a child's life: "When it comes to children, their lives are forming every minute. It really starts in the home. Parents have to pay more attention to where their children are, and what is happening to them. If you spend time with your children, that may seem very simple, but it's more important than a lot of other things you could do with them." She suggests spending quality time with each child every day, even if it's just a few minutes: "You can be the busiest mother in the world, but you can still be aware. We all think about our children 24 hours a day anyway. I have a good friend who always has been a working mother. She calls her child every day at the same time, no matter where she is, and she's traveled all over the world. That child knows that no matter what happens--and the mother has made it clear--even if she has to walk out of a meeting, she will call. Little things like that make it clear to your child that while you're out there doing the best you can to provide material support, your heart is there with that child."

She enthusiastically recommends making a "date" with children on a regular basis to reinforce a sense of continuity and connection: "Bill and I used to do that with Chelsea a lot. We'd make a date, and we'd alternate; every week one of us chose what we would do. Sometimes it would be my husband's choice; we'd go play miniature golf, even when she was three years old. Sometimes when it was my choice, Chelsea would pick out odd things, like, 'I want to go to the store and buy a coconut.' Well, we didn't know where that came from, but that's what she wanted to do! I remember one day, neither Bill nor I could get it to break open, but we had so much fun! We finally took it outside, and began throwing it on the sidewalk. She remembers those things because they were her special times and she was in charge. She got to make the decision, and she felt very much a part of the family."

Hillary consulted with Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis about raising a child in the White House before the Clintons took the plunge into Washington, D.C. life: "I didn't know what would happen, so I went to speak with Jackie. She was so great, her words of wisdom were, 'If you don't spend your time with your children, and they don't turn out all right, then everything else you've done is not going to mean as much. Your child has to continue to have chores, to be involved in doing things, and to have responsibilities around the home.' So every time I tell my daughter Chelsea to go clean up her room, she gives me a cross-eyed look, but that's part of her maturing."

Hillary is a strong believer in the adage that simple is powerful when it comes to cultivating responsibility in children: "I think that every little child should have to learn how to tie his or her own shoelaces. Now that's a very simple thing. It may not make a whole lot of difference in the great scheme of life, but I think it's important. And at certain points along their development, you give them new responsibilities. Jackie told me that one time her son John had run into some bullies in the park. They had grabbed his bike and were going off with it. Immediately, adults were all around and the security started to move in. She said to them later, 'If that ever happens again, he has to solve it for himself.' And sure enough, when it happened again, he had to go solve it for himself. If he was late for school, she made him get there on his own. As a child matures, you have to be willing to let them take the consequences for their actions, as long as they are not harmful or damaging. That's very important, so I was grateful to Jackie."

Also high among Hillary's priorities is helping children to find the support they need from positive mentors and role models. "The single determinant as to why a child overcomes difficult circumstances is that someone, somewhere along the line, took it upon himself to help that child, to intervene: another family member, a minister, a teacher, a coach, a business person. Somebody cared enough to try to provide what every child needs--at least one adult who is crazy about that child, preferably a parent, and then the people around that child, like a village, supported that growth and development."

While stressing the value of educating new parents, the First Lady admits that she herself was ignorant when Chelsea was born: "So many mothers are made to feel guilty because they think, 'I'm the only one who can't manage this,' which is ridiculous, since everyone else is feeling the same way. I know how I felt when I had my daughter. All of a sudden, I had this baby and I didn't know the first thing about what I was doing. It took a lot of nurses, my mother-in-law, my own mother and other people to make sure I had a good idea about what I was doing. So let's start at the very beginning. Let's take the time we need with new mothers to help them bond with their babies."

✓ "When I was in Manila, in the Philippines, I went to a hospital in a very poor section that had a high incidence of child abuse. The doctors there decided to keep mothers in the hospital until they learned to bond with their babies. They kept them in for four, five, six days. Not only did the mothers really bond with their babies, but the child abuse went down, and the number of births went down too. We can do the same thing here at home, starting at the very beginning. If you can get that mother and baby off on the right footing, it makes all the difference in the world."

Hillary demonstrates an unwavering heartfelt concern about the negative influence the media are having upon the susceptible minds of our youth : "The kind of dysfunctional behavior that we are subjecting our children to gives them no role models, along with the message that anything goes--that they can do anything without consequences. Talk shows combined with violence on TV are, in effect, changing the way children feel about themselves, and are very damaging. Violence on television breeds violence and, over time, children get desensitized to it." She encourages adults to become more aware of what their children are watching on TV and in movies. By overseeing the programs viewed, adults can enable children to develop strong ethics and deep human values.

As the only First Lady to be a non-traditional working mother, Hillary has been intermittently criticized by the media. Can a woman really do both well? She answers: "Women need to have the right and the opportunity to make incomes, to help themselves and their families. Women can be successful whether they're at home or in the workplace. Either way can work, and that's what we need to promote. What matters most is the kind of attitude that the mothers bring, and the support they get from society and their families. We're trying to work, and we're trying to be true to our families, but we sure do make it hard in this country. We're going to have to change the way we think because we're seeing less productivity, and a lot of distress."

As testimony to the power of motivated women in the workforce, Hillary speaks glowingly of her recent 20,000-mile, 12-day trip to Asia with Chelsea. When addressing the Labor Union of poor women in India, she was deeply touched by their ability to wrest themselves from the fierce grip of poverty: "They were vegetable vendors, poor farmers, and laborers. By coming together, and lending each other money, they raised the standard of living for their families. They've pooled money together to get a well for clean water in their community. Many of them walked 12 - 15 hours to attend my presentation. Each one who talked said something like, 'I am not afraid anymore, and I used to be afraid all the time. Now that I am not afraid, my children are not afraid. I am so proud now because my children can go to school. I don't have to take them to work with me.'" After her life-changing experiences with these courageous women, Hillary reflected: "I wanted to take every American with me and particularly every American teenager, to let them see what other people are sacrificing to get an education, to be able to fulfill their own God-given potential."

It is Hillary's hope that the courage of these strong women will wake us up to the many things we take for granted, and rouse us from our lethargy. She cautions: "Albert Schweitzer talked about the African disease called sleeping sickness. There is also a sleeping sickness of the soul, and the most dangerous aspect is that you are unaware of its coming. As soon as you notice the slightest sign of indifference, or a serious lessening of enthusiasm, take it as a warning. Sometimes we get a little tired; we just want to tend our own gardens. We want to turn our backs on all those problems, but then all of a sudden we realize that we are all a part of this country together. There is no "them" in America, there is only us, and we all must be part of solving our mutual problems. We are at a stage in history in which remolding society is one of the greatest challenges facing us all."

In light of the unparalleled challenges that we face in the next decade on a national and global scale, the First Lady urges us not to give up hope: "I really believe that there will be an improvement. This is our season to reclaim our hopes. It is often when night looks the darkest that one senses the gathering momentum for change--when one feels the resurrection of hope in the midst of despair and apathy. But it can only come to light if we nurture it, if we claim it as our own. We have to work with each other, and know that we're working on behalf of a Higher Power...The most revolutionary thing we can do is to have faith, to hold a positive vision of what we want for ourselves and for our children, and to put energy behind that vision to make it a reality."

A national speaker, Diane Loomans has addressed more than 20 million people on children's causes. She is the author of seven books, and president of Global Learning in San Diego. Her latest book, Full Esteem Ahead (HJ Kramer 1994), was written with her teen daughter, Julia.

Back to Body, Mind, Spirit
Back to Consciousnet

Lissa
thought there
might be some
good stories
in this for you

Maggie

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The Ford Foundation

REPORT

SPRING 1996

***LOOKING OUT FOR
FAMILIES: Local Groups
Lead the Way***

INSIDE: FRANKLIN A. THOMAS—*Reflections of a Foundation President*