

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

I've watched my husband deliver hundreds of speeches over the years, from informal chats in town halls to national addresses on Inauguration Day.

But I've never seen him as nervous as he was last week, when he gave the commencement remarks ^{at} Chelsea's graduating high school class.

Nor have I seen him as overtaken with emotion, especially when our daughter doubled back after receiving her diploma on stage and threw her arms around her father.

I know from my relationship with my own dad how important fathers are to their daughters. And it's certainly true for Bill and Chelsea. From the moment she came into the world, Bill has been an anchor in her life, and she in his.

Bill never knew his own father, who was killed in an auto accident three months before he was born. That may be one reason he has been so attentive to his own daughter and so determined to provide her with the love, support and care that every child needs.

Bill was with me in the delivery room when Chelsea was born. In the months afterward, he willingly took turns changing diapers, giving bottles, ^{telling} bedtime stories and rocking her to sleep.

As Chelsea grew older, his role expanded. He had no rivals when it came to cheering in the stands for her grammar school softball team. He spent hours late at night helping her with her homework. And he wouldn't dream of missing her annual ballet recital.

Whenever his schedule permitted, he also took Chelsea to work with him, starting when she was 3 or 4. He set up a little desk in the corner of his office where she sat and colored. I remember walking in one day and seeing him earnestly explain some complicated issue to her as she played with the telephone. I think of that today when he talks with her about some matter on his mind while we sit at the dinner table.

Today, we recognize more than previous generations the importance of fathers in their young children's daily lives, whether it is reading a book to an infant, attending a parent-teacher conference or chaperoning a teenager's birthday party. We are also discovering that many men want to spend more time with their children, only to face the same obstacles that women do when it comes to balancing work and family life.

In a new book titled "Working Fathers," Dr. James A. Levine suggests that a lot of fathers are just as torn about meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and their families as women are. The difference is that most men have been conditioned not to talk about the conflicts they feel. And many continue to confront an age-old stereotype of fathers as providers for the family who can't risk taking time off from work to accompany a child to the doctor or a piano lesson.

As a result, the concerns and anxieties that men feel ~~go~~ unstated in discussions about how to create family-friendly work environments. Too often, there's an assumption that new work strategies such as flex time, parental leave and telecommuting are designed for mothers, not fathers, when in fact they can be beneficial to both.

The good news, according to Levine, is that several major corporations have taken steps to help mothers and fathers integrate their family and work lives. And increasingly, men are making their voices heard, too, turning down promotions or job changes that would put unwanted pressure on their families.

Men are now understanding how fast the child-rearing years go by and how much they will miss if they don't participate fully in raising their children. As the old saying goes, "No one on his deathbed ever says he wishes he spent more time at the office."

Given the shifting roles of parents these days, and the inevitable stresses and strains that modern life imposes on families, I hope we will use this Father's Day to encourage all fathers to reap the rewards that engaged and active parenthood can bring.

Most of all, I hope we will give fathers the love and support they need as they try to fulfill the many roles that we have come to expect from them.

To fathers like my own who believed their primary responsibility was to provide financial security, and fathers like my husband who have consciously tried to combine work and family activities, and fathers-to-be in the next generation who may find the best balance yet -- let's all join in saying: Happy Father's Day. And from Chelsea and me, Happy Father's Day, Mr. President.

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June 10, 1997

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Draft #3

w/Creators edits

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN FOR PUBLICATION JUNE 12, 1997
TALKING IT OVER/CREATORS SYNDICATE

how important
fathers are
to their
daughters

I've watched my husband deliver hundreds of speeches over the years, from informal chats in town halls to national addresses on Inauguration Day.

But I've never seen him as nervous as he was last week, when he gave the commencement remarks to Chelsea's graduating high school class.

Nor have I seen him as overtaken with emotion, especially when ~~our~~ ^{after receiving her diploma} daughter doubled back and threw her arms around her father ~~after his speech~~.

attending ~~speech~~
with their daughters. ✓

I know from my relationship with my own dad that ~~fathers and daughters have a special~~ bond. And Bill and Chelsea are no exception. From the moment she came into the world, Bill has been an anchor in her life, and she in his.

Bill never knew his own father, who was killed in an auto accident three months before he was born. That may be one reason he has been so attentive to his own daughter and so determined to provide her with the love, support and care that every child needs.

Bill was with me in the delivery room when Chelsea was born. In the months afterwards, he willingly took turns changing diapers, giving bottles, telling bedtime stories and rocking her to sleep.

As Chelsea grew older, his role expanded. He had no rivals when it came to cheering in the stands for her ^{grammar school} softball team. He spent hours late at night helping her with homework. And he wouldn't dream of missing her annual ballet recital.

This image of fatherhood ~~is~~ has certainly changed with the generations. Not that my father and his peers weren't as devoted to their children. Clearly they were. It's just that we didn't know as much then as we do now about the importance of fathers in their children's daily lives.

more than previous years he was here to them

Today we are beginning to recognize that fathers have a crucial role to play, whether it is reading a book to an infant, attending a parent-teacher conference, or chaperoning a teenager's

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In a new book titled Working Fathers, Dr. James A. Levine suggests that a lot of fathers are just as torn about meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and their families as women are. The difference, he says, is that most men have been conditioned not to talk about the conflicts they feel. And many continue to confront an age-old stereotype of fathers as providers for the family who can't risk taking time off from work to accompany a child to the doctor or a piano lesson.

As a result, the concerns and anxieties that men feel go unstated in discussions about how to create family-friendly work environments. Too often there's an assumption that new work strategies such as flex time, parental leave, and tele-commuting are designed for mothers, not fathers, when in fact they can be beneficial to both.

The good news, according to Levine, is that several major corporations have taken steps to help mothers and fathers integrate their family and work lives. And increasingly men are making their voices heard too, turning down promotions or job changes that would put unwanted pressure on their families.

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Most of all, I hope we will give fathers the love and support they need as they try to fulfill the many roles that we have come to expect from them.

Whether they are fathers like my own, who believed their primary responsibility was to provide financial security, or fathers like my husband, who have ^{consciously tried} ~~managed~~ to combine work and family activities, or fathers-to-be in the next generation who may find the best balance yet, ~~let's~~ all join in saying: Happy Father's Day, Mr. Pres.

#

And on behalf of myself

Men are now understanding how far
the ch-rens go by & how
much they will miss if
they don't participate
fully & raise their
children

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1997

FINAL

WASHINGTON, D.C./BALTIMORE, MD/PHILADELPHIA, PA/WASHINGTON, D.C.

STATE DEPARTMENT	CHERI STOCKHAM	
LEAD ADVANCE:	WHCA PAGER	#4143
 LAWYER'S LUNCH	ROB HOUSMAN	
LEAD ADVANCE:	WHCA PAGER	#4267
 BALTIMORE LEAD	DAVID NESLEN	
ADVANCE:		
PRESS ADVANCE:	SAM MYERS, JR.	365 8285
 PHILADELPHIA	SAM MYERS	
LEAD ADVANCE:	WARWICK HOTEL	
	215/735-6000	PHONE
	215/790-7766	FAX
	202/757-9512	CELL
 SITE ADVANCE:	PAUL RIVERA	
PRESS ADVANCE:	MARK BERNSTEIN	
 SCHEDULER:	JAYCEE PRIBULSKY	
	202/456-2922	OFFICE
	202/456-5340	FAX
	202/544-4123	HOME
	WHCA PAGER	#4797

PREV RON	The White House
 11:00am-	PRIVATE MEETING
11:30am	Map Room
	CLOSED PRESS/NO WH PHOTO
 11:30am-	DROP-BY
11:45am	Diplomatic Reception Room
	CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO ONLY
 11:50am	DEPART The South Portico
	EN ROUTE The State Department
	[drive time: 10 minutes]
 12:00pm	ARRIVE The State Department

NOTE: Cheri Stockham will meet the First Lady on arrival.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1997****PAGE 2****Greeters (C Street entrance):****-Ambassador Raiser or Mel French**

12:05pm-

WOMEN'S INTERAGENCY COUNCIL MEETING

12:30pm

Jefferson Room, 8th Floor, State Department

HRC Hold: Monroe/Madison Room

Phone: 202/647-3687

Fax: 202/647-8947

CLOSED PRESS**FORMAT:**

- Secretary Albright announces the First Lady into the Jefferson Room.
- The First Lady proceeds to the head table.
NOTE: The First Lady is seated between Secretary Shalala and Secretary Albright.
- Secretary Albright introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady delivers remarks.
- Secretary Albright calls upon the Council Representatives to discuss the working groups.
- Upon conclusion of discussion, the First Lady, accompanied by Secretary Albright and Secretary Shalala, departs.

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 65 people to attend.

12:40pm

DEPART The State Department**EN ROUTE** The Capital Hilton Hotel

[drive time: 10 minutes]

12:50pm

ARRIVE Capital Hilton Hotel**Greeters:****-Frank Otero, General Manager, Capital Hilton Hotel**

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1997****PAGE 3**

12:55pm- **VIDEO TAPING for Charlene Hunter-Gault**
1:00pm Continental Room, Capital Hilton Hotel
1001 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
HRC Hold: Continental Room
Phone: 202/393-1000
Fax: 202/639-5784 at concierge desk
CLOSED PRESS

FORMAT:

- The First Lady will tape a farewell message for Charlene Hunter-Gault.

1:00pm **ADDRESS WASHINGTON LAWYER'S LUNCH**
1:30pm The Ballroom, Capital Hilton Hotel
1001 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
HRC Hold: Continental Room
Phone: 202/393-1000
Fax: 202/639-5784 at concierge desk
CLOSED PRESS

FORMAT:

- Announcement of the First Lady, accompanied by Iris Toyer, Director, Public Education Legal Services Project, Washington Lawyers' Committee and Thomas Williamson, Jr., Covington & Burling.
- The First Lady proceeds to chair stage right.
NOTE: The First Lady is seated next to Iris Toyer and Thomas Williamson, Jr., Covington & Burling.
- Video presentation on Law Firm/D.C. Public School Partnerships.
- Iris Toyer delivers brief remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady delivers remarks.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1997

PAGE 4

-- Upon conclusion of remarks, the First Lady
departs stage right.

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 650 people to attend.

1:35pm **DEPART** Capital Hilton Hotel
EN ROUTE Union Station
[drive time: 10 minutes]

1:45pm **ARRIVE** Union Station

NOTE: Brian Alcorn will meet the First Lady on arrival.

2:00pm **DEPART** Union Station
VIA Amtrak Metroliner
EN ROUTE Baltimore, MD
[travel time: 36 minutes]

2:36pm **ARRIVE** Baltimore, MD
Pennsylvania Station
HRC Hold: Amtrak Police Office
Phone: 410/291-4411 or ATS 410/729-4411
Fax: 410/291-4430

NOTE: David Neslen will meet the First Lady on arrival.

2:40pm **DEPART** Pennsylvania Station
EN ROUTE University of MD Pediatric Ambulatory
Clinic
[drive time: 15 minutes]

2:55pm **ARRIVE** University of MD Pediatric Ambulatory
Clinic

Greeters:

- Mayor Kurt Schmoke
- Dr. Michael Berman, Chairman, University of Maryland Hospital
- Dr. Perri Klass, Medical Director, *Reach Out and Read*
- Pat Cowan, National Program Coordinator, *Reach Out and Read*
- Christine Benero, *First Book*
- Steve Cohen, Scholastic Inc.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1997****PAGE 5**

3:00pm-

REACH OUT AND READ ANNOUNCEMENT

3:25pm

Large Waiting Room
University of MD Pediatric Ambulatory Clinic
Western Building
700 West Lombard Street
HRC Hold: Dr. Keane's Office
Phone: 410/962-2200
Fax: 410/706-0653
OPEN PRESS
FORMAT:

- The First Lady, accompanied by Mayor Schmoke, Dr. Perri Klass, and Dr. Keane, proceeds to the large waiting room.
- Mayor Kurt Schmoke delivers welcoming remarks and introduces Dr. Perri Klass, Medical Director, Reach Out and Read.
- Dr. Perri Klass delivers brief remarks and introduces Dr. Virginia Keane, University of Maryland Pediatric Ambulatory Center.
- Dr. Virginia Keane, University of Maryland, introduces The First Lady.
- The First Lady delivers brief remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, The First Lady, accompanied by David Kirk, proceeds to the small waiting room.

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 50 people to attend.

3:35pm-

BOOK READING w/ David Kirk

3:55pm

Small Waiting Room
University of MD Pediatric Ambulatory Clinic
Western Building
700 West Lombard Street
HRC Hold: Examining Room
Phone: 410/962-2200
Fax: 410/706-0653
OPEN PRESS

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1997
PAGE 6

FORMAT:

- The First Lady and David Kirk proceed to chairs.
- David Kirk, author, will read *Miss Spider's New Car* to the children.
- The First Lady will follow along with the children seated beside her.
- Upon conclusion of the story, the First Lady and David Kirk depart.

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 10-12 children.

4:00pm **DEPART** University of MD Pediatric Ambulatory Clinic
EN ROUTE Pennsylvania Station
[drive time: 15 minutes]

4:15pm **ARRIVE** Pennsylvania Station
Pennsylvania Station
HRC Hold: Amtrak Police Office
Phone: 410/291-4411 or ATS 410/729-4411
Fax: 410/291-4430

4:33pm **DEPART** Pennsylvania Station
VIA Amtrak Metroliner
EN ROUTE Philadelphia, PA
[travel time: 1 hour 8 minutes]

5:41pm **ARRIVE** Philadelphia, PA
30th Street Station
30th and Market Streets
HRC Hold: 30th Station Lounge
Phone: 215/349-3090

NOTE: Sam Myers will meet the First Lady on arrival.

5:50pm **DEPART** 30th Street Station
EN ROUTE The Philadelphia Museum
[drive time: 10 minutes]

6:00pm **ARRIVE** The Philadelphia Museum of Art

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1997****PAGE 7****Greeters:**

-Anne d'Harnonchurt, Director, The Philadelphia Museum of Art

6:00pm-

DROP-BY w/ Alexei Vranich, Archaeologist

6:05pm

Administrative Office

The Philadelphia Museum of Art

Benjamin Franklin Parkway

HRC Hold: Room next to Committee Room

Phone: 215/684-7868 or 215/684-7716

Fax: 215/236-5435

Staff Hold: VP's Office

Staff Hold Phone: 215/694-7791

CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO ONLY*Paul R. R. /*

6:10pm-

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION

6:50pm

Committee Room, The Philadelphia Museum of Art

Benjamin Franklin Parkway

HRC Hold: Room next to Committee Room

Phone: 215/684-7868 or 215/684-7716

Fax: 215/236-5435

Staff Hold: VP's Office

Staff Hold Phone: 215/694-7791

CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO ONLY**FORMAT:**

- The First Lady enters the Committee Room and proceeds around the conference table to greet each guest.
- Carol Pensky will moderate an open discussion.
NOTE: The First Lady is seated next to Carol Pensky and Leslie Price.
- Upon conclusion of the discussion, the First Lady departs.

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 12 people to attend.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1997****PAGE 8**

6:55pm-

MEET AND GREET

7:20pm

Cloister Room, The Philadelphia Museum of Art

HRC Hold: n/a

Phone: n/a

Fax: n/a

CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO ONLY**FORMAT:**

- The First Lady greets guests from left to right in a photo receiving line.
- NOTE:** Amy Conroy, Executive Director, Women's Leadership Forum, will introduce the guests to the First Lady.

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 56 people to attend.**PRE-PROGRAM:**

- Happy Fernandez, Philadelphia City Councilwoman
- Carol Pensky

7:25pm-

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP FORUM FUNDRAISER

7:55pm

Great Stair Hall, The Philadelphia Museum of Art

HRC Hold: Museum Gift Shop

Phone: 215/684-7371

Fax: n/a

OPEN PRESS**PROGRAM:**

- Marianne Tasco, Philadelphia City Councilwoman and Allison Schwartz, Pennsylvania State Senator, will be on the stage.
- Marianne Tasco announces the First Lady, accompanied by Mayor Ed Rendell, into the room.
- The First Lady, accompanied by Mayor Rendell, proceeds to the stage.
- Marianne Tasco delivers brief remarks and introduces Allison Schwartz.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1997****PAGE 9**

- Allison Schwartz delivers brief remarks and introduces Mayor Ed Rendell.
- Philadelphia Mayor Ed Rendell delivers brief remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady delivers remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, The First Lady exits stage left and works a ropeline from left to right and departs.

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 500 people to attend.

8:00pm **DEPART** The Philadelphia Museum of Art
EN ROUTE Philadelphia International Airport
[drive time: 15 minutes]

8:15pm **ARRIVE** Philadelphia International Airport

8:25pm **WHEELS UP** Philadelphia, PA
Philadelphia International Airport
FBO: Atlantic Aviation
HRC Hold: 215/492-4976
Phone: 215/492-2970
Fax: 215/492-2988
CLOSED PRESS/CLOSED PUBLIC

FLIGHT TIME: 40 MINUTES

9:05pm **WHEELS DOWN** Andrews Air Force Base

9:10pm **DEPART** Andrews Air Force Base
EN ROUTE The White House
[drive time: 20 minutes]

9:30pm **ARRIVE** The White House

RON The White House

WEATHER FORECAST FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.:

-Partly cloudy. Wind west-northwest at 5 to 10 knots. Low 62.
High 89.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1997

PAGE 10

WEATHER FORECAST FOR BALTIMORE, MD:

-Mostly sunny and warmer. Highs in the mid 80s.

WEATHER FORECAST FOR PHILADELPHIA, PA:

-Mostly sunny. Very warm. Highs in the mid to mid 80s.

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Draft #2

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN FOR PUBLICATION JUNE 12, 1997
TALKING IT OVER/CREATORS SYNDICATE

Creators

(It's a little bit short)

I've watched my husband deliver hundreds of speeches over the years, from ^{*informal*} small chats in town halls to addresses ^{*national*} to the nation on Inauguration Day.

But I've never seen him as nervous as he was last week, when he gave the commencement ^{*commencement*} address to Chelsea's graduating high school class.

Nor have I seen him as overtaken with emotion, especially when our daughter doubled back and threw her arms around her father, ^{*after his speech.*} ~~the commencement speaker.~~

I know from my relationship with my own ^{*dead*} father that fathers and daughters have a special bond. And Bill and Chelsea are no exception. From the moment she came into the world, Bill has been an anchor in her life, and she in his.

Bill never knew his own father, who was killed in an auto accident three months before he was born. That may be one reason ~~why~~ he has been so attentive to his own daughter and so determined to provide her with the love, support and care that every child needs.

Bill was with me in the delivery room when Chelsea was born. In the months afterwards, he willingly took turns changing diapers, giving bottles, telling bedtime stories and rocking her to sleep.

As Chelsea grew older, his role expanded. He had no rivals when it came to cheering in the stands for her softball team. He spent hours late at night helping her with homework. And he wouldn't dream of missing her annual ballet recital.

This image of fatherhood ^{*more involved*} ~~is~~ certainly ^{*chapel with no skeletons.*} different from the one I grew up with. Not that my father and others ^{*his peers*} ~~in his generation~~ weren't as devoted to their children. Clearly they were. It's just that we didn't know as much then as we do now about the importance of fathers in their children's daily lives.

Today we are beginning to recognize that fathers have a crucial role to play, whether it is reading a book to an infant, attending a parent-teacher conference, or chaperoning a teenager's

birthday party. We are also discovering that many men want to spend more time with their children, only to face the same obstacles that women do when it comes to balancing careers and family life.

In a new book ~~on~~^{a lot of} titled Working Fathers, Dr. James A. Levine suggests that ~~many~~ fathers are just as torn about meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and their families as women are. The difference is that most men have been conditioned not to talk about the conflicts they feel. And many continue to confront an age-old stereotype of fathers as providers for the family who can't risk taking time off from work to accompany a child to the doctor or a piano lesson.

As a result, the concerns and anxieties that men feel go unstated in discussions about how to create family-friendly work environments. Too often there's an assumption that new work strategies such as flex time, parental leave, ~~or~~^{and} tele-commuting are designed for mothers, not fathers, when in fact they can be beneficial to both.

The good news, according to Levine, is that several major corporations have taken steps to help mothers and fathers integrate their family and work lives. And increasingly men are making their voices heard too, turning down promotions or job changes that would ~~impose~~^{put} unwanted pressure on their families.

As the saying goes: "No one on his death bed ever says he wishes he spent more time at the office."

Given the shifting roles of parents these days, and the inevitable stresses and strains that modern life ~~poses~~^{poses} on families, I hope we will use this Father's Day to acknowledge the importance of fathers in raising their children. I hope we will encourage all fathers to reap the rewards that engaged and active parenthood can bring.

Most of all, I hope we will give fathers the love and support they need as they try to fulfill ~~ne~~ many roles that we ~~and society~~^{we} have come to expect from them.

Whether they are fathers like my own, who believed their primary responsibility was to provide financial security, or fathers like my husband, who have managed to combine work and family activities, or fathers-to-be in the next generation who may find the best balance yet -- let's all join in saying: Happy Father's Day.

###

MEMORANDUM FOR LISSA MUSCATIN

From: Michael O'Mary

Re: Working Fathers

Working Fathers is an attempt to dispel the notion that working mothers are the only ones facing conflict between work and family. In recent years, Levine argues, much of the focus on 'family friendly' workplaces has centered around women. This book argues that by momentarily shifting focus and exploring the problems faced by working fathers, individuals and firms can better deal with family issues.

- Work and family, contrary to popular assumption, are not separate spheres for men and should not be treated as such.
- Men are reluctant to talk about the conflict that they are feeling between work and family and thus there isn't a great deal being said about the issue. (Levine does say that there is a great deal of interest in the seminars that he gives at various corporations discussing 'Daddy' issues in the workplace)
- Men feel that they must 'provide' for the family and are therefore unlikely to discuss taking time off for family reasons. Their identity as the provider conflicts with their desire to spend more time with their family.
- Families will benefit from a more holistic approach to their problems. Rather than simply discussing the disconnects that occur when a mother works, the dialogue should center around the problems that arise when either, or both, parents work. Levine calls coping with these issues one of the greatest challenges for the 21st century.
- Staying connected with children does not necessarily mean spending more time with them, rather it can also mean developing more contact with those who are involved in a child's life. (For example: teachers, day care workers, etc.)
- A holistic approach to family/workplace issues will increase the productivity of firms and contribute positively to society. Firms have recognized the value of being friendly to families, but in the past this has only been with respect to mothers. According to Levine, this focus must be changed and fathers included for family-friendly workplaces to succeed.

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But I've never seen him as nervous as he was last week, when he gave the commencement address to Chelsea's graduating high school class.

Nor have I ever seen him ~~as nervous~~, nervous, esp. when our daughter ^{doubled back &}

I know from my relationship with my own father that fathers and daughters have a special bond. And Bill and Chelsea are no exception. From the moment she came into the world, Bill has been an anchor in her life, and she in his.

Then
his
arms
and
the
comfort
gives

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Bill was with me in the hospital when Chelsea was born. In the months afterwards, he willingly took his turn changing diapers, giving bottles, telling bedtime stories and rocking her to sleep.

As Chelsea grew older, his role ^{to incl. cheer at her} ~~only~~ expanded. [any anecdotes?: going to her softball games; helping with homework; teaching her to drive;] ^{and attending yearly ballet recitals.}

This image of fatherhood is certainly different from the one I grew up with. Not that my father and others in his generation weren't as devoted to their children. Clearly they were. It's just that we didn't know as much then as we do now about the importance of fathers in their children's daily lives.

Today we are beginning to recognize that fathers have a crucial role to play, whether it is ^{realizable} singing a lullabye to an infant, participating in a parent-teacher conference, or ^{chaperone} attending a teenager's ^{b-day party} ~~ballet recital~~. We are also discovering that many men want to spend more time with their families, only to face the same obstacles that women do when it comes to balancing careers and family life.

In a new book entitled Working Fathers, Dr. James A. Levine suggests that many fathers are just as torn about meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and their children as women are.

DRAFT

The difference is that most men have been conditioned not to talk about the conflicts they feel. As a result, the concerns of men often go unstated in discussions of how to create family-friendly work environments.

The good news, according to Levine, is that several major corporations have taken steps to help mothers and fathers integrate their family and work lives ~~to take~~. This holistic approach, as he calls it,

More are trying down practitioners.

Conditioned as providers

Come

To all fathers - like these -
my generation who might
their primary duty to
their home base

+ to those like my husband
who have tried to

and all of the new young
fathers who will
emerge

As Rabbi Harold Kushner
wishes help men achieve roles to play &
give men permission
& credit
Nobody on his deathbed wishes to

sp

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 6, 1997

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT SIDWELL FRIENDS GRADUATION CEREMONYSidwell Friends School
Washington, D.C.

11:07 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Mr. Bryant, I may not hit a homerun today, but I won't be quite as off as Teddy Roosevelt was. (Laughter.) Even good people have bad days. (Laughter.)

Mr. Harrison, Mr. Noe, friends, family and guests, members of the Class of 1997: Thank you for inviting me. Hillary and I especially want to thank Sidwell's faculty and staff, students and families for making our family feel so at home here, when we came under somewhat unusual circumstances.

Also, I thank the school for its superlative commitments to academic excellence, to diversity, and to service; to the welfare of all students here; to the maintenance of good character, good citizenship and good spirits.

In particular, I have come to appreciate the school's observance of the Quaker practice of meaningful worship -- an hour spent in reflective silence, broken only when someone has something truly meaningful to say in a respectful way. After the parents had a chance to participate in meaningful worship this week, I left wishing that Congress were in control of the Quakers. (Laughter.)

I ask the senior in this class I know best what I should say today. Her reply was, "Dad, I want you to be wise, briefly." (Laughter.) Last night she amended her advice -- "Dad, the girls want you to be wise; the boys just want you to be funny." (Laughter.) That's what I get for asking.

Members of the Class of '97, you are not the only graduates here today. Even though we're staying home, your parents are graduating, too. Just as your pride and joy in this day must be tempered by the separation from Sidwell and of daily contact with the wonderful friends you

have made here, our pride and joy are tempered by our coming separation from you.

So I ask you at the beginning to indulge your folks if we seem a little sad or we act a little weird. You see, today we are remembering your first day in school and all the triumphs and travails between then and now. Though we have raised you for this moment of departure and we are very proud of you, a part of us longs to hold you once more as we did when you could barely walk, to read to you just one more time, "Good Night, Moon" or "Curious George" or the "Little Engine That Could."

We hope someday that you will have children of your own to bring to this happy day and know how we feel. Remember that we love you, and no matter what anybody says, you can come home again.

We celebrate your passage into the world in a hopeful time for our nation and for people throughout the world. For the first time in history, more than half of all the world's people live free, under governments of their own choosing. The Cold War has given way to Information Age, with its revolutions in technology and communications and increasingly integrated economies and societies.

Scientific advances and a growing global determination to preserve our environment give us hope that the challenges of the 21st century can be met in ways that will permit us to continue the advance of peace and freedom and prosperity throughout your entire lives.

Admittedly, we face serious threats to humanity's forward march -- threats that go beyond the possible outbreak of disease or environmental catastrophe. They include the spread of weapons of mass destruction; terrorism; the worldwide network of crime and drug trafficking; awful ethnic, racial, tribal and religious rivalries that, unfortunately, are most appealing to people your age throughout the world who feel poor and dispossessed. With vision, discipline and patience, we can meet these challenges as well.

Here at home, our economy is strong. Crime and welfare rolls have dropped steeply. We are on the leading edge of emerging technologies. People are living longer, fuller lives. America is leading the world toward peace and freedom and progress, but you know well that we, too, have our challenges.

We still have yet to give all our children the chance you have had to develop their God-given capacities. We still have to deal with the coming retirement of your parents' very large generation and the appalling rates of poverty among young children. We have to develop the proper balance of discipline and freedom, of creativity and stability necessary to keep our economy growing, to make our society less crippled by crime and drugs, to help our families and communities to become stronger. And perhaps most important as you look around this class today, we have to make out of our rich diversity the world's first truly great, multiracial, multiethnic, multireligious democracy. No one has ever done it before, and I hope our country can do as well as you have done with each other. (Applause.)

Now, all these are formidable tasks, but we are moving in the right direction. What I want to say to you is that now that you're adults, you have to do your part to keep it going. There are decisions to be made by Americans, and in a democracy, citizenship is not a spectator sport.

But what an exciting world awaits you -- from cyberspace to the frontiers of artificial intelligence, from mapping our genetic structures to exploring other galaxies. With your ability and your education, your choices seem limitless. But you will have to choose. And you will have to choose not just what you will do, but how you will live. No one else can make your decisions for you, and they will make all the difference -- for you, for your country and for the world. To make the right ones, you will need a lot more than knowledge and access to the Internet. You will need wisdom and resolve.

For what it's worth, here is my advice. First, be brave. Dream big and chase your dreams. You will have your failures, but you will grow from every honest effort. Over three decades ago I sat where you are. I can tell you without any doubt that in the years since, my high school classmates who chased their dreams and failed are far less disappointed than those who left their dreams on the shelf for fear of failure. So chase on. Even if you don't get what you think you want, amazing things will happen.

Second, be optimistic and be grateful. Some bad things are going to happen to you -- to some of you, unfair things, perhaps even tragic things. Some of you have faced tragedy already. When these things happen, try to remember that each new day is still a gift, full of the mystery and magic of life. Try not to waste even one of those days trapped by hatred, the desire to get even, self-pity, despair, or cynicism.

We all give in to them now and then, of course, but you need to work at snapping out of it and going on. Hatred and self-pity give victory to the very dark forces we deplore. Despair guarantees defeat. Cynicism is a cowardly cop-out. And no one ever really gets even in life; that is God's work.

No matter how bad it gets, don't forget there's someone who's endured more pain than you have. No matter how unfair it gets, remember that most of us are far better off than we would be if we only got what we deserve. And don't stop at admiring a Mandela or a Cardinal Bernardin. Strive to be more like them. Keep your spirits up. There is profound truth in the proverb "A happy heart maketh good medicine, but a broken spirit dryeth the bones."

Third, be of service to others. Much has been given to you already, and a lot more is coming your way. You owe it to yourself to give something back, to help to build a society and a world in which more people have your chance to live out their dreams, and all people in need at least know the touch of a caring hand and the embrace of a kind heart. From your service here, many of you already know that it not only gives more joy to others, it will bring more joy to you than you can even imagine.

Fourth, be both humble and proud. Be humble because you're human; subject to error and frailty; incapable, no matter how intelligent you are, of ever knowing the whole truth. Show

mercy as well as judgment to those with whom you disagree in life. Keep in mind Benjamin Franklin's adage that even our enemies are our friends, for they show us our faults.

Be proud because your life is God's unique creation, worthy of its journey, graced with a soul the equal of every other person's. Eleanor Roosevelt once said that no one can make you feel inferior without your permission. Do not give them permission.

I regret that in our time, the essential role of constructive criticism often degenerates into what Deborah Tannen has called "the culture of critique," where too many brilliant minds and prodigious energies are spent simply putting people down. Do not be put down.

Thirty-seven years ago, I was a student in Vernon Dokey's -- (phonetic) -- 8th grade science class. On first impression, Vernon Dokey, to put it charitably, was a very physically unattractive man. (Laughter.) He knew it. He laughed about it. And he used it to teach us a valuable lesson in life I still remember. He told us that every morning when he woke up, he went to the bathroom and he shaved, and then he looked at himself in the mirror and he said, "Vernon, you're beautiful." (Laughter.)

Well, Class of '97, you're beautiful. Go out and live like it. Be humble and be proud. Be of service. Be optimistic and grateful. Be brave, and dream your dreams. God bless you. (Applause.)

END

11:21 A.M. EDT

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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VALERIE MORRIS, CNNfn ANCHOR, FAMILY VALUES: There's plenty of media coverage these days about the conflicts that women face between work and home but we almost never hear about men who face the same dilemma.

Well, there's a new book now that tackles that subject. It is called "Working Fathers - New Strategies for Balancing Work and Family," and the book's author, Dr. James Levine, joins us now to talk about those issues.

Jim, welcome to FAMILY VALUES.

JAMES LEVINE, AUTHOR, "WORKING FATHERS": Glad to be here.

MORRIS: And you were wearing the hat, so to speak, of the career doctor. We do a segment here regularly. As we talk about careers and how it impacts the family. This is an issue that really does. Dad's in the workplace, that's a reality but they're trying to balance home as well.

LEVINE: Absolutely. In fact, it's one of the most profound shifts of the last 20 years and that we haven't paid attention to. People have been paying attention to mom's moving into the workforce and the conflict they have as working mothers. Working father, people think as a redundancy. Father's work, that's what they're suppose to do.

In fact, internally men have shifted their values over the last 20 years to define being successful as not just being a good provider, but being a good father meaning having a close relationship with their kids.

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MORRIS: So the degree of stress that they must feel when the attention is dressed as if it is a gender-specific, as if family issues are gender specific. They are not and that's what your book is saying.

LEVINE: Not all. In fact, our research, nationally representative data, shows that men experience the same, the same percentage of men experience significant conflict between work and family as do women - 60 percent. And, the difference is that dad's don't talk about it.

Men have kind of a, don't ask don't tell policy about the work-family conflict.

MORRIS: All right, but your attempt is an attempt to change that because there are certain proactive things that dads in the workplace have to do. Kind of similar to what mom's in the workplace had to do when this all began. Who is your book focused toward, or is it multidimensional? Is it not just with dads but also with corporations?

LEVINE: This is the first parenting book that's for business and the first business book that's for parents because it says, we are whole people. We don't leave our parenting part at home on the shelf when we go to work. And when we come home from work, we don't leave our business self at the office. We take it home with us. The trick is to integrate the two of those and to create a workplace that respects the fact that, if the workplace respects who we are as parents, it will allow us to be better workers, more productive workers and actually increase the bottom line.

MORRIS: In your research, have you found that the workplace is a more conducive environment these days to hear these issues about fathers in the workplace? And if so, why?

LEVINE: We're just beginning to have this issue hit the radar screen. We've started a series of seminars called "Daddy's Stress, Daddy's Success" which corporations throughout America are now signing up to participate in because they're realizing that this is an issue for their workforce. That, to look just at working mothers is to leave off half the workforce and we're seeing that the beginning of a receptive attitude to make this a more inclusive issue.

MORRIS: One of the things you said: Men, don't talk about it. That's real gender-specific. Men choose not to talk about a lot of things that are really chewing them up and eating them up inside. Are there other assumptions that we need to put on the table here to help get us toward the fact that men need balance in work and family as well? Are there other myths, if you will?

LEVINE: Well, there's the myth that, or among the myths is that women will be more supportive of working fathers than men will. In fact, that's not true at all. What we found is that women and men are equally supportive or not supportive. It has a lot to do with what their personal experience is in the workplace. If they've been through the experience and know what it's like. If you walk a mile in somebody's shoes and you're able to sympathize with them so that we can't look just to women to get support.

We're really going to have to build a kind of a coalition between men and women, realizing it's in their mutual interests to broaden this from being a gender-specific issue to support all workers.

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MORRIS: Some of the work family programs that are in place. Can those be amended to include men or do we have to have a whole new set of rules?

LEVINE: That's a terrific question, actually. I think what we need is to just build on those, we need what I call - affirmative attention. Not affirmative action to address in a sense anything that hasn't happened. It's really paying attention. So many work family programs at companies. If you look at their literature, all the examples have moms. All the photos have moms. Men get the implicit message that, this isn't for me. This is about working mothers.

I just did a "Daddy Stress" seminar today at a major company that said, Yeah. But, we have those policies but all the literature you look at, I would never know that's for me. So it means, we need to pay attention to this issue. We need to get review the corporate communications strategies and make very clear, this stuff is for dads as well as for moms and it's really for the company because it will benefit the company when everybody takes advantage of them. MORRIS: When we talk about those places that are family-friendly. In the past, that has meant those places that do have programs in-place that are generally used by moms. Are there some father- friendly examples of corporations that are doing exactly what your book is advocating?

LEVINE: Yeah, there are several. I think, leading companies like Hewlett-Packard , NationsBank and Aetna where you've got CEOs who are very supportive of flexible scheduling. Not just for working mothers but realizing this is a strategic business issue and they ought to allow moms, dads. Not only allow, encourage people to take advantage of flexible scheduling. Even if they're single people.

I mean, they're saying, Look, we want you to have a life and we want you to be productive at work. Companies that have specific programs are: The Los Angeles Department of Water & Power which has an extensive, sort of, before birth all the way through teenage hood program of seminars. They've got beepers that they provide to perspective fathers when the wife is pregnant in order for them to be in touch.

A national company like Marriott with whom we've just developed a series of, a seminar, a training program called "Effective Fathering" for their hourly employees, their wage-earning employees who are often a group that's left out of the work family discussion where we focus on the, people focus on the more upper Echlin middle- management. Those are some of the leaders.

And small companies. There are small law firms, advertising firms, and an investment banking firm like The Calvert Group in Maryland.

Which is saying: if we value people, we're going to make it possible for fathers and mothers, not only to spend time with their kids but to be fathers for other kids in the community. To spend some time in community service.

MORRIS: We have about a minute left. How does an individual, how does a dad make the financial aspects of what you're talking about, appealing to his company. To encourage the company to be more father-friendly in work and family values?

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LEVINE: OK, this is a no-cost investment. This is a change in mind set, not a change in dollar outlay. And, it really means, overcoming the myth that they don't allow that here. So often we find that dads will say, and moms: look, what your saying makes sense but they don't allow that here. I ask, well who's "they"? Is "they" the chairman, the CEO, the CFO? Who, the divisional supervisor?

People aren't talking. Once they start talking, having a dialogue and our work is really designed to stimulate that dialogue and then show people how to have that dialogue so they can present the case and say, Look this is a business case. This isn't just for my family. This is for the good of our company, and everybody can win.

MORRIS: And hopefully with more executives in this dual working family situation that we have anyway. More of those executives who are making the decisions may be male, may be female but they know that this family issue is genderless - it is for the good of both.

LEVINE: Absolutely.

MORRIS: We thank you very much for joining us. James Levine who is the author of the book, "Working Fathers - New Strategies for Balancing Work and Family." We appreciate your time.

LEVINE: Thank you.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 2, 1997

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Father's Day always reminds me of my father's favorite sayings. He was a fountain of advice and cautionary words, most of them designed to keep me and my brothers on a straight track in life.

"When you work, work hard," he used to say. "When you play, play hard. And don't confuse the two."

He constantly reminded us of the advantages we had over his generation and over most people in the world. "You will never know how lucky you are" was a constant refrain.

It was clear to me and my brothers that our father's stern advice was his way of giving us the tools we needed to survive in a tough, competitive world.

To him, part of being a good father meant moving the family to a suburb with good schools, even though the property taxes were higher. It also meant exposing us to some of life's harsher lessons: More than once, he drove us down to skid row to see what happened to people who lacked self-discipline and motivation.

My father probably couldn't have explained what "quality time" was. But he was always there for us -- at meals, on weekends, during holidays -- a fixture in our daily lives.

History and circumstance helped. Fathers in the 1950s had more time to be with their kids. The pace of life just wasn't as hectic then, and economic pressures on families were not nearly as great as they are today.

My father was also blessed to own a small business. He set his own hours and never had to worry about getting permission to go to his children's school and sporting events. If he needed time off, he took it.

Nowadays, meeting one's parental responsibilities is not so simple. Not only do parents have to work longer hours to make a living, they likely have to commute farther to and from their jobs. The trade-off between time and money has become harder and harder for many parents.

Still, I've met fathers at the bottom of the pay scale who make extraordinary sacrifices to spend meaningful time every day with their kids. I've also seen millionaire fathers who are so busy talking on their cellular phones that they ignore their children altogether.

No one can force a father to take responsibility for his children. But there are things that can be done to help fathers become more involved in family life.

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That's what the President and Vice President had in mind when they launched the Fatherhood Initiative last year to find out how the federal government can help fathers fulfill their parental obligations.

So far, the findings are encouraging.

At the Department of Defense, for example, there are many programs that help service men and women cope with being separated from loved ones. Not only does the military offer counseling and support programs for fathers, on some ships, there is a special video room where parents can tape bedtime stories for their children.

A local program sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Hartford, Conn., provides jobs for low-income fathers if they attend parenting classes, spend time with their children and avoid drugs. In some cases, fathers get help from the state in paying child support if they take full responsibility for their children.

The Healthy Start program in Baltimore, sponsored by the Department of Health and Human Services, serves women with high-risk pregnancies. But it also involves fathers by requiring them to attend prenatal and pediatric appointments in return for family-planning counseling, jobs and training to use and repair computers.

Through Goals 2000, Even Start and the Family Involvement Partnership for Learning, the Department of Education promotes parental involvement in education. Nearly half of the participants in Even Start are fathers.

Perhaps most important, the federal Family and Medical Leave Act, which the President signed in 1993, guarantees American workers time off for family emergencies.

The President wants to make sure that the federal government practices what it preaches when it comes to the role of fathers in their families. Now, many federal agencies, such as the Department of Transportation, offer parents the options of telecommuting, alternative work schedules, parenting classes and child care.

On this Father's Day, my father won't be here, so I can't thank him for all the love and attention he gave me when I was growing up. But I can thank my husband and the Vice President for being such good fathers to their own children and for helping so many other fathers be the best parents they can be.

Bill and Al, Happy Father's Day.

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June 11, 1996



White House Press Release

In Address To The Liz Sutherland Carpenter Distinguished Lectureship In The Humanities And Sciences

The White House

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 16, 1995

Remarks By The President
In Address To The Liz Sutherland Carpenter
Distinguished Lectureship
In The Humanities And Sciences

The Erwin Center
The University of Texas at **Austin**
Austin, Texas

9:34 A.M. Cdt

The President: Thank you. You know, when I was a boy growing up in Arkansas, I thought it highly -- (applause) -- I thought it highly unlikely that I would ever become President of the United States. Perhaps the only thing even more unlikely was that I should ever have the opportunity to be cheered at the University of Texas. (Applause.) I must say I am very grateful for both of them. (Laughter.)

President Berdahl, Chancellor Cunningham, Dean Olson; to the Texas Longhorn Band, thank you for playing Hail to the Chief. (Applause.) You were magnificent. (Applause.) To my longtime friend of nearly 25 years now, Bernard Rappaport, thank you for your statement and your inspiration and your life of generous giving to this great university and so many other good causes. (Applause.)

All the distinguished guests in the audience -- I hesitate to start -- but I thank my friend and your fellow Texan, Henry Cisneros, for coming down here with me and for his magnificent work as Secretary of Hud. (Applause.)

I thank your Congressman, Lloyd Doggett, and his wife, Libby, for flying down with me. (Applause.) And I'm glad to see my dear friend, Congressman Jake Pickle here. I miss you. (Applause.) Your Attorney General, Dan Morales; the Land Commissioner, Garry Mauro -- I thank all of them for being here. (Applause.)

Mauro -- I thank all of them for being here. (Applause.)

Thank you, Lucy Johnson, for being here. (Applause.)
And please give my regards to your wonderful mother. (Applause.)

I have not seen here -- there she is. And I have to recognize and thank your former Congresswoman and now distinguished Professor Barbara Jordan for the magnificent job you did on the immigration issue. (Applause.) Thank you so much. (Applause.) Thank you. Thank you. (Applause.)

My wife told me about coming here so much, I wanted to come and see for myself. I also know, as all of you do, that there is no such thing as saying no to Liz Carpenter. (Laughter.) I drug it out as long as I could just to hear a few more jokes. (Laughter.)

My fellow Americans, I want to begin by telling you that I am hopeful about America. When I looked at Nikole Bell up here introducing me, and I shook hands with these other young students -- I looked into their eyes; I saw the AmeriCorps button on that gentlemen's shirt -- (applause) -- I was reminded, as I talk about this thorny subject of race today, I was reminded of what Winston Churchill said about the United States when President Roosevelt was trying to pass the Lend-Lease Act so that we could help Britain in

their war against Nazi Germany before we, ourselves, were involved. And for a good while the issue was hanging fire. And it was unclear whether the Congress would permit us to help Britain, who at that time was the only bulwark against tyranny in Europe.

And Winston Churchill said, "I have great confidence in the judgment and the common sense of the American people and their leaders. They invariably do the right thing after they have examined every other alternative." (Laughter.) So I say to you, let me begin by saying that I can see in the eyes of these students and in the spirit of this moment, we will do the right thing.

In recent weeks, every one of us has been made aware of a simple truth -- white Americans and black Americans often see the same world in drastically different ways -- ways that go beyond and beneath the Simpson trial and its aftermath, which brought these perceptions so starkly into the open.

The rift we see before us that is tearing at the heart of America exists in spite of the remarkable progress black Americans have made in the last generation, since Martin Luther King swept America up in his dream, and President Johnson spoke so powerfully for the dignity of man and the destiny of democracy in demanding that Congress guarantee full voting rights to blacks. The rift between blacks and whites exists still in a very special way in America, in spite of the fact that we have become much more racially and ethnically diverse, and that Hispanic Americans -- themselves no strangers to discrimination -- are now almost 10 percent of our national population.

The reasons for this divide are many. Some are rooted in the awful history and stubborn persistence of racism. Some are rooted in the different ways we experience the threats of modern life to personal security, family values, and strong communities. Some are rooted in the fact that we still haven't learned to talk frankly, to listen carefully, and to work together across racial lines.

Almost 30 years ago, Dr. Martin Luther King took his last march with sanitation workers in Memphis. They marched for dignity, equality, and economic justice. Many carried placards that

read simply, "I am a man." The throngs of men marching in Washington today, almost all of them, are doing so for the same stated reason. But there is a profound difference between this march today and those of 30 years ago. Thirty years ago, the marchers were demanding the dignity and opportunity they were due because in the face of terrible discrimination, they had worked hard, raised their children, paid their taxes, obeyed the laws, and fought our wars.

Well, today's march is also about pride and dignity and respect. But after a generation of deepening social problems that disproportionately impact black Americans, it is also about black men taking renewed responsibility for themselves, their families, and their communities. (Applause.) It's about saying no to crime and drugs and violence. It's about standing up for atonement and reconciliation. It's about insisting that others do the same, and offering to help them. It's about the frank admission that unless black men shoulder their load, no one else can help them or their brothers, their sisters, and their children escape the hard, bleak lives that too many of them still face.

Of course, some of those in the march do have a history that is far from its message of atonement and reconciliation. One million men are right to be standing up for personal responsibility. But one million men do not make right one man's message of malice and division. (Applause.) No good house was ever built on a bad foundation. Nothing good ever came of hate. So let us pray today that all who march and all who speak will stand for atonement, for reconciliation, for responsibility.

Let us pray that those who have spoken for hatred and division in the past will turn away from that past and give voice to the true message of those ordinary Americans who march. If that happens -- (applause) -- if that happens, the men and the women who are there with them will be marching into better lives for themselves and their families. And they could be marching into a better future for America. (Applause.)

Today we face a choice -- one way leads to further separation and bitterness and more lost futures. The other way, the path of courage and wisdom, leads to unity, to reconciliation, to a rich opportunity for all Americans to make the most of the lives God gave them. This moment in which the racial divide is so clearly out in the open need not be a setback for us. It presents us with a great opportunity, and we dare not let it pass us by. (Applause.)

In the past when we've had the courage to face the truth about our failure to live up to our own best ideals, we've grown stronger, moved forward and restored proud American optimism. At such turning points America moved to preserve the union and abolished slavery; to embrace women's suffrage; to guarantee basic legal rights to America without regard to race, under the leadership of President Johnson. At each of these moments, we looked in the national mirror and were brave enough to say, this is not who we are; we're better than that.

Abraham Lincoln reminded us that a house divided against itself cannot stand. When divisions have threatened to bring our house down, somehow we have always moved together to shore it up. My fellow Americans, our house is the greatest democracy in all human history. And with all its racial and ethnic diversity, it has beaten the odds of human history. But we know that divisions remain, and we still have work to do. (Applause.)

The two worlds we see now each contain both truth and

distortion. Both black and white Americans must face this, for honesty is the only gateway to the many acts of reconciliation that will unite our worlds at last into one America.

White America must understand and acknowledge the roots of black pain. It began with unequal treatment first in law and later in fact. African Americans indeed have lived too long with a justice system that in too many cases has been and continues to be less than just. (Applause.) The record of abuses extends from lynchings and trumped up charges to false arrests and police brutality. The tragedies of Emmett Till and Rodney King are bloody markers on the very same road.

Still today too many of our police officers play by the rules of the bad old days. It is beyond wrong when law-abiding black parents have to tell their law-abiding children to fear the police whose salaries are paid by their own taxes. (Applause.)

And blacks are right to think something is terribly wrong when African American men are many times more likely to be victims of homicide than any other group in this country; when there are more African American men in our corrections system than in our colleges; when almost one in three African American men in their 20s are either in jail, on parole or otherwise under the supervision of the criminal justice system -- nearly one in three. And that is a disproportionate percentage in comparison to the percentage of blacks who use drugs in our society. Now, I would like every white person here and in America to take a moment to think how he or she would feel if one in three white men were in similar circumstances.

And there is still unacceptable economic disparity between blacks and whites. It is so fashionable to talk today about African Americans as if they have been some sort of protected class. Many whites think blacks are getting more than their fair share in terms of jobs and promotions. That is not true. That is not true. (Applause.)

The truth is that African Americans still make on average about 60 percent of what white people do; that more than half of African American children live in poverty. And at the very time our young Americans need access to college more than ever before, black college enrollment is dropping in America.

On the other hand, blacks must understand and acknowledge the roots of white fear in America. There is a legitimate fear of the violence that is too prevalent in our urban areas; and often by experience or at least what people see on the news at night, violence for those white people too often has a black face.

It isn't racist for a parent to pull his or her child close when walking through a high-crime neighborhood, or to wish to stay away from neighborhoods where innocent children can be shot in school or standing at bus stops by thugs driving by with assault weapons or toting handguns like old west desperados. (Applause.)

It isn't racist for parents to recoil in disgust when they read about a national survey of gang members saying that two-thirds of them feel justified in shooting someone simply for showing them disrespect. It isn't racist for whites to say they don't understand why people put up with gangs on the corner or in the projects, or with drugs being sold in the schools or in the open. It's not racist for whites to assert that the culture of welfare dependency, out-of-wedlock pregnancy and absent fatherhood cannot be broken by social programs unless there is first more personal responsibility. (Applause.)

The great potential for this march today, beyond the black community, is that whites will come to see a larger truth -- that blacks share their fears and embrace their convictions; openly assert that without changes in the black community and within individuals, real change for our society will not come.

This march could remind white people that most black people share their old-fashioned American values -- (applause) -- for most black Americans still do work hard, care for their families, pay their taxes, and obey the law, often under circumstances which are far more difficult than those their white counterparts face. (Applause.)

Imagine how you would feel if you were a young parent in your 20s with a young child living in a housing project, working somewhere for \$5 an hour with no health insurance, passing every day people on the street selling drugs, making 100 times what you make. Those people are the real heroes of America today, and we should recognize that. (Applause.)

And white people too often forget that they are not immune to the problems black Americans face -- crime, drugs, domestic abuse, and teen pregnancy. They are too prevalent among whites as well, and some of those problems are growing faster in our white population than in our minority population. (Applause.)

So we all have a stake in solving these common problems together. It is therefore wrong for white Americans to do what they have done too often simply to move further away from the problems and support policies that will only make them worse. (Applause.)

Finally, both sides seem to fear deep down inside that they'll never quite be able to see each other as more than enemy faces, all of whom carry at least a sliver of bigotry in their hearts. Differences of opinion rooted in different experiences are healthy, indeed essential, for democracies. But differences so great and so rooted in race threaten to divide the house Mr. Lincoln gave his life to save. As Dr. King said, "We must learn to live together as brothers, or we will perish as fools." (Applause.)

Recognizing one another's real grievances is only the first step. We must all take responsibility for ourselves, our conduct and our attitudes. America, we must clean our house of racism. (Applause.)

To our white citizens, I say, I know most of you ever day do your very best by your own lights -- to live a life free of discrimination. Nevertheless, too many destructive ideas are gaining currency in our midst. The taped voice of one policeman should fill you with outrage. (Applause.) And so I say, we must clean the house of white America of racism. Americans who are in the white majority should be proud to stand up and be heard denouncing the sort of racist rhetoric we heard on that tape -- so loudly and clearly denouncing it, that our black fellow citizens can hear us. White racism may be black people's burden, but it's white people's problem. (Applause.) We must clean our house. (Applause.)

To our black citizens, I honor the presence of hundreds of thousands of men in Washington today, committed to atonement and to personal responsibility, and the commitment of millions of other men and women who are African Americans to this cause. I call upon you to build on this effort, to share equally in the promise of America. But to do that, your house, too, must be cleaned of racism. There are too many today -- (applause) -- there are too many today, white and black, on the left and the right, on the street corners and

radio waves, who seek to sow division for their own purposes. To them I say, no more. We must be one. (Applause.)

Long before we were so diverse, our nation's motto was E Pluribus Unum -- out of many, we are one. We must be one -- as neighbors, as fellow citizens; not separate camps, but family -- white, black, Latino, all of us, no matter how different, who share basic American values and are willing to live by them.

When a child is gunned down on a street in the Bronx, no matter what our race, he is our American child. When a woman dies from a beating, no matter what our race or hers, she is our American sister. (Applause.) And every time drugs course through the vein of another child, it clouds the future of all our American children. (Applause.)

Whether we like it or not, we are one nation, one family, indivisible. And for us, divorce or separation are not options. (Applause.)

Here, in 1995, on the edge of the 21st century, we dare not tolerate the existence of two Americas. Under my watch, I will do everything I can to see that as soon as possible there is only one -- one America under the rule of law; one social contract committed not to winner take all, but to giving all Americans a chance to win together -- one America. (Applause.)

Well, how do we get there? First, today I ask every governor, every mayor, every business leader, every church leader, every civic leader, every union steward, every student leader -- most important, every citizen -- in every workplace and learning place and meeting place all across America to take personal responsibility for reaching out to people of different races; for taking time to sit down and talk through this issue; to have the courage to speak honestly and frankly; and then to have the discipline to listen quietly with an open mind and an open heart, as others do the same. (Applause.)

This may seem like a simple request, but for tens of millions of Americans, this has never been a reality. They have never spoken, and they have never listened -- not really, not really. (Applause.) I am convinced, based on a rich lifetime of friendships and common endeavors with people of different races, that the American people will find out they have a lot more in common than they think they do. (Applause.)

The second thing we have to do is to defend and enhance real opportunity. I'm not talking about opportunity for black Americans or opportunity for white Americans; I'm talking about opportunity for all Americans. (Applause.) Sooner or later, all our speaking, all our listening, all our caring has to lead to constructive action together for our words and our intentions to have meaning. We can do this first by truly rewarding work and family in government policies, in employment policies, in community practices.

We also have to realize that there are some areas of our country -- whether in urban areas or poor rural areas like south Texas or eastern Arkansas -- where these problems are going to be more prevalent just because there is no opportunity. There is only so much temptation some people can stand when they turn up against a brick wall day after day after day. And if we can spread the benefits of education and free enterprise to those who have been denied them too long and who are isolated in enclaves in this country, then we have a moral obligation to do it. It will be good for our country. (Applause.)

Third and perhaps most important of all, we have to give every child in this country, and every adult who still needs it, the opportunity to get a good education. (Applause.) President Johnson understood that; and now that I am privileged to have this job and to look back across the whole sweep of American history, I can appreciate how truly historic his commitment to the simple idea that every child in this country ought to have an opportunity to get a good, safe, decent, fulfilling education was. It was revolutionary then, and it is revolutionary today. (Applause.)

Today that matters more than ever. I'm trying to do my part. I am fighting hard against efforts to roll back family security, aid to distressed communities, and support for education. I want it to be easier for poor children to get off to a good start in school, not harder. I want it to be easier for everybody to go to college and stay there, not harder. (Applause.) I want to mend affirmative action, but I do not think America is at a place today where we can end it. The evidence of the last several weeks shows that. (Applause.)

But let us remember, the people marching in Washington today are right about one fundamental thing -- at its base, this issue of race is not about government or political leaders; it is about what is in the heart and the minds and life of the American people. There will be no progress in the absence of real responsibility on the part of all Americans. Nowhere is that responsibility more important than in our efforts to promote public safety and preserve the rule of law.

Law and order is the first responsibility of government. Our citizens must respect the law and those who enforce it. Police have a life and death responsibility never, never to abuse the power granted them by the people. We know, by the way, what works in fighting crime also happens to improve relationships between the races. What works in fighting crime is community policing. We have seen it working all across America. The crime rate is down. The murder rate is down where people relate to each other across the lines of police and community in an open, honest, respectful, supportive way. We can lower crime and raise the state of race relations in America if we will remember this simple truth. (Applause.)

But if this is going to work, police departments have to be fair and engaged with, not estranged from, their communities. I am committed to making this kind of community policing a reality all across our country. But you must be committed to making it a reality in your communities. We have to root out the remnants of racism in our police departments. We've got to get it out of our entire criminal justice system. But just as the police have a sacred duty to protect the community fairly, all of our citizens have a sacred responsibility to respect the police; to teach our young people to respect them; and then to support them and work with them so that they can succeed in making us safer. (Applause.)

Let's not forget, most police officers of whatever race are honest people who love the law and put their lives on the lines so that the citizens they're protecting can lead decent, secure lives, and so that their children can grow up to do the same.

Finally, I want to say, on the day of this march, a moment about a crucial area of responsibility -- the responsibility of fatherhood. The single biggest social problem in our society may be the growing absence of fathers from their children's homes, because it contributes to so many other social problems. One child in four grows up in a fatherless home. Without a father to help guide, without a father to care, without a father to teach boys to be

men and to teach girls to expect respect from men, it's harder. (Applause.) There are a lot of mothers out there doing a magnificent job alone -- (applause) -- a magnificent job alone, but it is harder. It is harder. (Applause.) This, of course, is not a black problem or a Latino problem or a white problem; it is an American problem. But it aggravates the conditions of the racial divide.

I know from my own life it is harder because my own father died before I was born, and my stepfather's battle with alcohol kept him from being the father he might have been. But for all fathers, parenting is not easy and every parent makes mistakes. I know that, too, from my own experience. The point is that we need people to be there for their children day after day. Building a family is the hardest job a man can do, but it's also the most important.

For those who are neglecting their children, I say it is not too late; your children still need you. To those who only send money in the form of child support, I say keep sending the checks; your kids count on them, and we'll catch you and enforce the law if you stop. (Applause.) But the message of this march today -- one message is that your money is no replacement for your guiding, your caring, you loving the children you brought into this world. (Applause.)

We can only build strong families when men and women respect each other; when they have partnerships; when men are as involved in the homeplace as women have become involved in the workplace. (Applause.) It means, among other things, that we must keep working until we end domestic violence against women and children. (Applause.) I hope those men in Washington today pledge among other things to never, never raise their hand in violence against a woman. (Applause.)

So today, my fellow Americans, I honor the black men marching in Washington to demonstrate their commitment to themselves, their families, and their communities. I honor the millions of men and women in America, the vast majority of every color, who without fanfare or recognition do what it takes to be good fathers and good mothers, good workers and good citizens. They all deserve the thanks of America. (Applause.)

But when we leave here today, what are you going to do? What are you going to do? Let all of us who want to stand up against racism do our part to roll back the divide. Begin by seeking out people in the workplace, the classroom, the community, the neighborhood across town, the places of worship to actually sit down and have those honest conversations I talked about -- conversations where we speak openly and listen and understand how others view this world of ours.

Make no mistake about it, we can bridge this great divide. This is, after all, a very great country. And we have become great by what we have overcome. We have the world's strongest economy, and it's on the move. But we've really lasted because we have understood that our success could never be measured solely by the size of our Gross National Product. (Applause.)

I believe the march in Washington today spawned such an outpouring because it is a reflection of something deeper and stronger that is running throughout our American community. I believe that in millions and millions of different ways, our entire country is reasserting our commitment to the bedrock values that made our country great and that make life worth living.

The great divides of the past call for and were

addressed by legal and legislative changes. They were addressed by leaders like Lyndon Johnson, who passed the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act. (Applause.) And to be sure, this great divide requires a public response by democratically-elected leaders. But today we are really dealing, and we know it, with problems that grow in large measure out of the way all of us look at the world with our minds and the way we feel about the world with our hearts.

And therefore, while leaders and legislation may be important, this is work that has to be done by every single one of you. (Applause.) And this is the ultimate test of our democracy, for today the house divided exists largely in the minds and hearts of the American people. And it must be united there in the minds and hearts of our people.

Yes, there are some who would poison our progress by selling short the great character of our people and our enormous capacity to change and grow. But they will not win the day; we will win the day. (Applause.)

With your help -- with your help -- that day will come a lot sooner. I will do my part, but you, my fellow citizens, must do yours.

Thank you, and God bless you. (Applause.)

End

10:15 A.M. Cdt



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