

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. script	Videotaped Remarks for Crohn's and Colitis Foundation Vision of Hope award (1 page)	10/22/1999	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Lissa Muscatine
OA/Box Number: 21402

FOLDER TITLE:

Speeches/Scripts

2015-0275-S

rc2048

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]

W:\FISpeech\1171999\Nov 11
11 Glamour Video 2

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE
1999 GLAMOUR WOMEN OF THE YEAR AWARDS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
NOVEMBER 11, 1999**

Good evening, everyone. I am so delighted to join Bonnie Fuller and Glamour Magazine in honoring your 1999 Women of the Year. I only wish I could be there in person to pay tribute to such an accomplished group of women who have truly inspired us this year—and to thank Bonnie and Glamour for 60 years of inspiring, educating and challenging women to reach new heights every day.

I truly believe that it falls to every generation to serve as a role model for the next. And from the boardrooms to the playing fields to the skies above, the women we honor tonight are opening up new opportunities and are paving the way for future generations to come. So thank you for all you do every day to inspire young women and girls to follow in your footsteps by following their dreams.

You know, every time I address a group of exceptional women—women at the top of their fields—I am reminded of how far we have come over the last century, and I think about the many women who have opened the doors that each of us have walked through. Women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony—women who marched for, died for, and quietly worked for the opportunities we take for granted today. Because of these trailblazers, and many, many others who have followed in their paths, we can gather here tonight to celebrate how far we've come.

At the end of this century, as we look toward the next with much anticipation for what it holds for women, it is important that we remember that we can only reach as high as we can while standing on the shoulders of those who came before us. So I want to thank all of the 1999 Glamour Women of the Year tonight for your amazing achievements—but more than that, for lifting up the little girls of the 21st century onto your shoulders. Because of women like you—and all who came before—their possibilities as we enter the new millennium are truly limitless.

11 Glamour Video

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From the boardrooms to the playing fields to the skies above, women have begun to take their rightful places alongside men in all walks of life. But the women we honor tonight are not only taking *their* rightful places in fields as diverse as business, entertainment and political activism—they are paving the way for future generations to come.

Because of people like Lt. Col. Eileen Collins, little girls can now look to the skies with the hope that they too can someday travel the stars—and not just as passengers, but as shuttle commanders nonetheless. Or they can watch the U.S. Women's World Cup Soccer Team trounce the best-of-the-best, and they can believe that someday, they too can put on a jersey and show the world their stuff.

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So congratulations, and thank you for all you have done to encourage and inspire the next generation to make the 21st century a great time to be a woman! Have a wonderful evening.

30-60 sec

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*I want to thank the 60 years...
Thank you
congrat
next
group*

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you have truly

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shorten.

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older uppers - next gen.

end 11/3/98
v. Collins

GLAMOUR

The Condé Nast Publications Inc. • 4 Times Square, New York, NY 10036 • Phone: 212.286.8062 Fax: 212.286.6922

Women of the Year video notes (from Nanette Varian, 212-286-8356)

Event: Glamour magazine's 1999 Women of the Year Awards Gala. This year is particularly special because it marks the award's tenth anniversary (Glamour itself is 60 years old; it is the Women of the Year Awards that is celebrating the tenth anniversary)

Venue: Alice Tully Hall, Lincoln Center, New York City

Attendees: In addition to special guests of Glamour and the ten winners, invitees include all of our previous award winners (please see attached list), as well as members of the media. The venue holds about 1,000 people.

Date: The evening of November 11th

Other speakers: Glamour publisher Mary Berner, Glamour editor-in-chief Bonnie Fuller, ceremony keynote speaker Katie Couric

The award: Every year for the past ten years, Glamour editors, with the help of a distinguished Board of Advisors (consisting mainly of previous winners), select ten women (or groups of women) who've helped change the way the world sees women—and the way women see themselves. The winners inspire, incite and excite; they are the role models who tell young women and girls that they, too, can achieve their dreams. They have made the past year especially memorable and important for women.

This year's winners: This year's ten winners represent achievement in politics, entertainment, sports, business, science, the law, activism and more. As we prepare to enter a new millennium, this year's group of winners shows us that the possibilities for women are truly limitless. There will be ten Women of the Year Award winners and two Lifetime Achievement Award winners, as well as a special tribute to former Glamour editor Ruth Whitney, who passed away this year. Given the number of winners, it would probably be best to simply congratulate them all with one umbrella statement.

- **Points to cover:** **NOTE: Bonnie Fuller will introduce Mrs. Clinton's video, so she should probably open by saying, "Thank, you, Bonnie." She may want to send her regrets for not being able to join such an amazing group of accomplished women on this big night, but add that she is certainly there with them in spirit—it's a spirit of bravery, guts, talent and achievements that Glamour celebrates with these awards. Mrs. Clinton herself is a past winner (1992), so she may want to say something about the night she won, and what that meant to her. She should of course congratulate the winners and, since this is 1999, she may want to say something forward-looking about women and the new millennium.

+ all of Glamour for all these celebrated & educ women.

High on poetry/inspiration

inspiring role models

I only wish I could be there & pay tribute to women who...

Talk about how far women
have come (Seneca Falls, Chicago
speech)

so many who

opened pathways/doors
need to reach out & inspire
the next generation

~~standing on the shoulders of~~
~~others~~
~~little girls~~

~~Boardrooms to fields to~~ . . .
little girls can look at
these women and see
how far they came.

(Story of Eileen Collins 3/98
... ^{now} girls everywhere

GLAMOUR

The Condé Nast Publications Inc. • 4 Times Square, New York, NY 10036 • Phone: 212.286.8062 Fax: 212.286.6922

October 26, 1999

FAX TO: Eric Massey

FAX FR: Nanette Varian (ph:212-286-8356)

Eric, as discussed, here is the (confidential) full list of the 1999 *Glamour* Women of the Year:

Aurelia and LaShonda Davis (mother/daughter, took daughter's school sexual harassment case to the Supreme Court)

Lt. Col. Eileen Collins (first space-shuttle commander)

opening up the skies to

Jewel

Evelyn Lauder (for her work on behalf of the fight against breast cancer)

Mavis Leno (for her work on behalf of the oppressed women of Afghanistan)

Jennifer Lopez

Camryn Manheim

J.K. Rowling (the author of the *Harry Potter* children's book series)

Meg Whitman (CEO of eBay)

boardroom

The U.S. Women's World Cup Soccer Team

soccer fields

Lifetime Achievement Honorees: Elizabeth Dole, Barbara Walters

Special Tribute: to the late Ruth Whitney, former editor of *Glamour*

30-60 sec

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yes need to acknowledge Bonnie I want to make for 60 years
Thank you congrats next group
John Bonini

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you have truly
Short
Suzanne
Cady Stanton

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Shorten.

So congratulations, and thank you for all you have done to encourage and inspire the next generation to make the 21st century a great time to be a woman! Have a wonderful evening.

old models - new gen.
But if Laura feels strongly maybe ok
Katy says they really don't want her to mention any if she can't mention at all.
end 11/3/98
E. Collins

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IN PROGRESS

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Fuller?

honoring celebrating

And as well to congratulate all of Glamour

that their potential is limited only by their ability to dream. died for + greatly worked for the opps we take for granted today.

I truly believe that it falls to every generation
to serve as a role model for the next,
so I thank you for all ^{for all} you do every
day to inspire young women + girls
to ~~as reach heights~~ ^{now} follow their
dreams.

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hope

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You know, every time I address a group of exceptional women—women at the top of their fields—I am reminded of how far we have come over the last century, and I think about the many women who have opened the doors that all of us have walked through. Women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott—women who weren't afraid to challenge the roles they were assigned because they happened to be born female. Because of these trailblazers, and many, many others who have followed in their paths, we can gather here tonight to celebrate how far we've come at the end of the 20th century.

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So congratulations, and thank you for all you have done to encourage and inspire the next generation of Glamour women and girls. (or...to encourage and inspire the girls of the 21st century.)

*the possibilities for women
as we enter the new millennium are truly
limitless.*
*to make the 21st century
a great time to be a woman!
Have a wonderful evening!*

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE TEL AVIV FOUNDATION
NEW YORK, NY
OCTOBER 25, 1999

Good evening everyone. I am so very honored to receive this award. I only wish I could be there to personally thank The Tel Aviv Foundation and all of you for making sure that no family or child is ever left behind. I also want to take a moment to thank Ira Riklis (Rick-Liss), Daphne Barak (B'Rak) and Howard Rubenstein (Roo-Ben-Stine) for putting together such a wonderful event. I want to thank Mayor Huldai (Hool-Die) for his extraordinary leadership on behalf of his great city, which is such a powerful symbol of Israel's past and future. And I want to congratulate Janice Levin, who has done so much to bring the gift of music and hope to the children of Tel Aviv/Jaffa.

There is a beautiful section in the Talmud that says, "Every blade of grass has an angel that bends over it whispering 'grow, grow' ". For over two decades, you have been that angel for the children of Tel Aviv. You have bent over them...healing them in your health care centers. Engaging them in your parks and playgrounds. Teaching them in your libraries and kindergartens. And, all the while, watching their hopes and their dreams grow.

As I have been privileged to travel around the world, and especially to Israel, I have seen firsthand what we can accomplish when we come together to lift up our children and the communities they live in. I met parents in Jerusalem who were learning how to be their children's first teachers. I visited the Hadassah medical center and saw children who were receiving some of the best medical care in the world. And I visited a village, where children of different religions and backgrounds were learning to play together and respect each other.

It was in the eyes of all these children, that I saw the future of Israel. The children of Israel have lived far too long with bombs and violence. It is up to us – as adults – to give them peace and security and a future they can believe in. It is up to us – as Americans – to stand beside their leaders and citizens as they take risks for peace. And, it is up to us – as human beings – to be their angels – so that the children of Tel Aviv and all of Israel have the opportunity to live, learn and reach their God-given potential.

I want to thank the American Committee for the Tel Aviv Foundation and all of you for making that possible. Thank you again for this award. Thank you for your commitment and leadership. I hope all of you have a great evening.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR
ZONTA INTERNATIONAL 15TH ANNUAL
AMELIA EARHART DINNER
TRIBUTE TO CHARLOTTE SULLIVAN
OCTOBER 29, 1999
TAPED OCTOBER 22, 1999**

Good evening. I want to thank the members of Zonta International for giving me this opportunity to join you for your 15th Annual Amelia Earhart dinner. I want to thank you for all you've done to raise the status of women around the world -- and to open the doors of higher education to so many young women in your community.

And I only wish that I could be there in person to offer my congratulations to one of Oswego's [Os-wee-GOs] leading lights, and an inspiration to us all -- Charlotte Sullivan. Charlotte, what a wonderful tribute it is to be honored by so many good friends and neighbors. We all know how much you've done to foster a sense of civic pride in your hometown. The dazzling Harborfest celebration alone, which would never have happened without your dedication and hard work, draws hundreds of thousands of people to Oswego every year. And in the process, they've seen firsthand what makes your Great Little City on a Great Big Lake such an amazing place to live and raise a family.

HUD Secretary Andrew Cuomo tells me what an inspiration you've been to him in his efforts to revitalize the New York State Barge Canal System. I know that many of your ideas are being incorporated in the plans to rejuvenate the Oswego canal and reinvigorate your region's economy.

Charlotte, like so many here this evening, I consider it a true privilege to know you. I admire your courage, your accomplishments and your tireless spirit. I know how important your family is to you, your husband John, and your four daughters -- Kathleen, Julie, Danielle and Elizabeth. Their success is the greatest tribute any of us could have. I can only imagine how proud they are tonight to see you honored with this Amelia Earhart Woman of Achievement Award. And so are we.

Congratulations and good night.

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**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR LESLEY COLLEGE'S
LITERACY AND LEARNING CONFERENCE
BOSTON, MA
NOVEMBER 8, 1999**

Good evening. I am delighted to join President McKenna, David McCullough and all of you at Lesley College's Literacy and Learning conference. I want to congratulate Lesley College on 90 years of training dedicated educators and public servants. And I want to thank all of you for what you are doing -- at this conference and every day -- to give children the skills they need to reach their God-given potential. That has never been more important than right now.

As educators and policymakers, you know that in this coming century education will determine our success not only as individuals, but as a nation. You know that what a child learns in their earliest years will shape how they will learn, grow, and develop for a lifetime. And you know that the responsibility for our children's education lies in all of our hands -- parents and teachers, businesses and governments.

Those of us who care deeply about childhood development have a lot to celebrate these days. Over the last six years, we've worked to improve the availability and quality of Head Start. To reduce class sizes. To ensure that children can read and write at an early age. And two years ago, the President and I hosted the first ever *White House Conference on Early Childhood Development and Learning* because we wanted to translate groundbreaking research on an infant's brain development into efforts to improve the health, lives and education of all children.

That was an important vision -- but it is not yet fulfilled. And that is why this conference is so important.

And so, on behalf of the President and the Administration, I want to thank all of you for coming together to share best practices and develop new strategies. Thank you for helping to educate families to give their children a jump-start on learning. Thank for working to make sure that every child can learn to read and write at an early age. And, thank you for all you've done and all you will do -- in your schools, community centers, and agencies -- to make sure that no child is ever left behind.

I hope you have a great conference.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR
ACTION FOR BOSTON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT'S
TRIBUTE TO SEN. TED KENNEDY
BOSTON, MA
OCTOBER 29, 1999**

Good evening. I am so delighted to be a part of ABCD's 25th Community Awards Dinner. I want to thank President and CEO Bob Coard (CORD), Vice President Jon Drew and the staff and volunteers of ABCD for inviting me to join you tonight. I also want to take a moment to wish a very birthday to Professor Galbraith, who turned 91 just a few weeks ago.

For more than three decades, ABCD has helped countless people in this great State break the cycle of poverty and put their lives back on track. And I can think of no more fitting choice for your Hall of Fame than Senator Ted Kennedy.

Like many of you, I have been privileged to know Senator Kennedy for a long time. And I have seen firsthand the energy, passion and tireless commitment he has brought to helping those too often left behind. He has stood up for Boston's struggling and striving families, fighting to give them more opportunities to make a dignified transition from welfare to work. He has stood up for our children, supporting Head Start, and working to ensure that all our children learn to read at an early age and develop the skills they need to succeed. And he has stood up for the principle that all Americans deserves quality affordable health care, leading the successful drive to extend health coverage to millions of uninsured children across our country.

On a personal note, I want to thank you not only for your commitment to America's families, but for your friendship and support to Bill and me over all these years. No one has lived, breathed or fulfilled the meaning of public service more than you. Congratulations, Ted, on this great honor. I know that when the history books are written, you will stand as one of Massachusetts' greatest statesman -- and one of America's finest citizens.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE ORTHODOX UNION'S
INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS DINNER
NEW YORK, NY
OCTOBER 11, 1999**

Good evening. It is truly an honor to join all of you in paying tribute to my friend...and one of America's greatest leaders, Senator Pat Moynihan.

I only wish I could be there in person to congratulate him -- and to thank the Orthodox Union for your commitment to preserving thousands of years of study and tradition. I can't think of a better example of this than the young people the IPA sends to work on Capitol Hill every year. They are our future leaders. And I can't think of a more fitting namesake than Pat Moynihan, someone who has been a teacher to us all.

A few months ago, I sat with Pat in the one room schoolhouse on the beautiful farm upstate where he's written or edited 18 books. He showed me a 19th century school curriculum he'd found tucked away -- and we talked of the high standards of those days. High standards that the name, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, have always symbolized.

There are some people who are thinkers. Others that are doers. And then there are rare individuals like Senator Moynihan, who are both. He was the first to spotlight so many of the challenges that our country has faced here and around the world. And for virtually half a century, he has been tenacious and imaginative in working to craft practical solutions.

What other mere mortals might consider the achievements of a lifetime, Pat Moynihan somehow accomplishes each and every year. Of course, those of us who know his incredible wife Liz, know how this might be possible.

So tonight, I am honored to join the Orthodox Union in paying tribute to someone, who has set the example of what it means to be a true statesman and a public servant. Someone who has been a voice of ideas and ideals both inside and outside the political arena. And above all, someone who has been for me -- and for so many of you -- a mentor, a professor and, above all, a friend.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEO REMARKS FOR ADVOCATES FOR HIGHWAY AND AUTO SAFETY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
SEPTEMBER 16, 1999

Good afternoon. It is a pleasure to join you for this 10th Anniversary celebration of the Advocates for Highway and Auto Safety. I only wish I could be there in person to congratulate this remarkable organization, and all of you, for making safety such a priority on America's roads and highways.

I know that the President joins me in saluting you for your decade of service to improve car and truck safety. Whether your mission was to improve air bag protection; combat drunk driving; or enact seat belt and motorcycle helmet laws, you not only improved our safety habits. You changed our lives. Countless Americans are alive today because of your persistence and hard work on Capitol Hill and in state capitals across the country. But we know that there are still too many deaths and injuries on the roads every year. We still have a lot of work to do.

I want to thank the insurance companies, the consumer groups, as well as those on the front lines, such as doctors and nurses, and members of the law enforcement community, who have worked together to promote our safety and well being over the years. This unique partnership has been a national model for how diverse groups can join together to save taxpayer dollars – and citizens' lives.

On behalf of a grateful nation, I want to express my appreciation to all of you at Advocates for Highway and Auto Safety for what you have done to educate the public and save lives – but also for the work you will do in the years ahead to make America's roads and highways even safer.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEO REMARKS FOR FAMILY PROGRAM AWARDS LUNCHEON
BEVERLY HILTON HOTEL
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
SEPTEMBER 9, 1999

It is a great pleasure to join you today for your Family Program Awards Luncheon. I only wish I could be there in person, to tell you what a difference your efforts will make in the lives of children and families everywhere.

As both a parent and a citizen, I'm concerned as are all of you, about the impact that television programs have on our young people today. For better or for worse, television has the power to shape our children's vision of themselves – and their futures. And while that power can be misdirected and even abused – we all know that television has an enormous capacity to inspire and educate. And it is that positive role of the media as a force for good in our children's lives that we are celebrating here today.

I want to express my appreciation to all of the advertisers who have come together to support the Family Friendly Programming Forum. Many of you have donated personal time and airtime to help promote the issues we all care about – whether it's getting kids immunized, covering children in health insurance, or helping parents give their children a good start in life. Now, you are putting your talents and influence to work to advance another critical need – the need for more family friendly television programming. And I applaud your efforts.

I would like to join with you in congratulating the TV shows, writers and producers who exemplify the best in TV viewing – programs that children and families across America can watch and enjoy together. I'm also pleased that you are creating a scholarship program for college students – to encourage a new generation of writers to use their talents on behalf of more educational and family oriented programs.

Unfortunately, we live in a time when violence too often pervades the lives of America's children. And it's up to all of us to give them positive alternatives to that violence. Thank you for committing yourselves to that important mission – by ensuring that the images and role models that our children see every day on television are ones that we can all be proud of.

Thank you.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS AT SYMPOSIUM ON HEALTH CARE DESIGN
BOCO RATON, FLORIDA
SEPTEMBER 7, 1999

Good afternoon – and welcome to the 1999 Symposium on Health Care Design. I only wish I could be there in person to take part in this extraordinary conference – and thank you all for improving the lives of people throughout our country and world.

Because of your tireless commitment, there are more children whose hospital rooms feel like homes. There are more citizens in rural communities who have access to quality care. And, there are more older people, who, in the right environments, can continue to lead fulfilling, productive, and self-sufficient lives.

And that's never been more important. We are living at a time when people are increasingly worried about the quality of their health care. If they don't have insurance, they worry about what will happen if they – or God forbid their children – become sick. If they have insurance, they worry that it won't be worth the paper it's printed on when they need it most. And if they are part of the baby boom generation, they worry about whether the care their parents received will still be there for them when they get older.

If we are going to provide quality health care for all people in the next century, then we must not only save Medicare and pass a Patient's Bill of Rights. We must also ensure that every hospital and long-term care facility is a place we'd feel confident entrusting with our own children and parents. And I want to thank you for what you are doing every day to make that possible.

Thank you for working to ensure that sickness does not have to be a time of terror for children -- or a time of dependence for the elderly. Thank you for working to make long-term care -- quality care. And thank you for your commitment to putting the health and interests of the patient exactly where they belong -- first. I hope you have a wonderful conference.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT 40TH ANNIVERSARY
THE ANNENBERG SCHOOL FOR COMMUNICATION
48TH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY OF WALTER AND LEONORE
ANNENBERG
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
SEPTEMBER 7, 1999

Segment #1 – 40th anniversary of the Annenberg School for Communication.

From our t.v. sets to the Internet, over the years we have seen countless revolutions in the way we communicate. But, one thing has remained constant – and that is the vision and leadership of the Annenberg School for Communication. For 40 years, you have shown the power of communication to make a positive difference in our everyday lives – and in the life of our nation and world.

So, on behalf of a grateful nation, thank you, Annenberg School – and all your faculty, students, graduates, and supporters. Thank you for showing us that television can entertain – and educate -- our children. Thank you for working to put more civility into our public life. And thank you for giving our country graduates who have dedicated their lives to the public good. Happy 40th birthday!

Segment #2 – 48th anniversary of Walter and Lee Annenberg

Walter and Lee -- the President and I want to join all of your friends in wishing you a very Happy Anniversary. For 48 years, you have shown what it really means to be a "power couple"...Two people who understand that our lives are measured not by what we have, but by what we give to others. Bless you for what you have given to us all – to public education, to art, to our children, and to the country that you have loved and served so well. Happy Anniversary!

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE 1999
COMING UP TALLER AWARDS
Washington, DC
October 26, 1999**

I am delighted to welcome you to the 1999 Coming Up Taller Awards. I only wish I could be there in person to congratulate all the winners. Behind every award are creative young people who have overcome hardships to lift up their lives and build their futures. And behind every award is a story about caring adults – artists, teachers, and writers who are educating and inspiring young people in their communities.

As today's award recipients have shown, the arts and the humanities are not a luxury. They can help young people think, learn, grow, and reach their God-given potential. And they can give them safe places to learn about their cultural heritage, receive job training, and stay out of harm's way.

I will always remember the story I heard about one Colorado community. Two mothers were alarmed by a dramatic increase in juvenile crime, substance abuse and vandalism. They organized volunteers to interview almost 1500 families, community leaders, and "anyone who would answer their phone." They discovered children had "nowhere to be" after-school, on holiday, or during the summer. "Our kids were bored rather than challenged, idle rather than active, and at great risk...." they said. So the community created Arts in Action, a theater, ballet, and visual arts program that works with professional artists in the community.

I want to thank all of you for creating these kinds of success stories all over America. I want to thank you for showing the power of the arts to literally transform young lives. And, I want to thank you for making sure that every young person has the chance to take a bow – and come up a little taller. Congratulations to the 1999 Coming Up Taller Winners. You are an inspiration to us all.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE WOMEN'S
BAR ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS
BOSTON, MA
NOVEMBER 3, 1999**

Good evening. I am delighted to join you tonight for your 10th gala. I want to thank Tony Leone (Lee-O-Nee) and the Women's Bar Association of Massachusetts for this tremendous honor. I want to congratulate Elaine Epstein, your Past President and a tireless advocate for the issues we care about. And I want to thank all of you here tonight for what you do -- every single day -- to promote women lawyers and to protect the rights of every American.

More than 100 years ago, when Lelia Robinson applied for the Massachusetts Bar, she wrote: "The best administration of justice may be most safely secured by allowing the representation of all classes of the people in the courts of justice." I can only imagine what she'd think of the extraordinary women in this room -- who are now taking their rightful places in the courthouse, on the bench and in the boardrooms. Imagine what she'd think of the legal improvements in areas such as child support and child custody, discrimination and domestic violence. None of these advances would have been possible without the members of the WBA, who have walked through the doors that Lelia Robinson pried open -- and kept them open for all women who have followed.

For 21 years you have helped our nation make good on the sacred promise inscribed over the highest court in the land: "Equal justice under the law". We can keep that promise in the Millennium because of your work protecting women and children harmed by domestic violence. We can keep it because you are caring for homeless families and others too often left behind.

And when all is said and done, we can keep that promise because the Woman's Bar Association of Massachusetts has been a voice of justice not only for women in the legal profession but for all Americans. Thank you again for this honor. And thank you for what you have done and will continue -- to help our daughters and granddaughters finish the journey Lelia Robinson began so many years ago.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE
1999 GLAMOUR WOMEN OF THE YEAR AWARDS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
NOVEMBER 11, 1999

Good evening, everyone. I am so very delighted to welcome you to Glamour Magazine's 1999 Women of the Year Awards. I only wish I could be there in person to pay tribute to such an accomplished group of women—women who've demonstrated to the world that a young girl's potential is limited only by her ability to dream.

As you know, this marks the 10th year that Glamour has brought us together to honor women who have inspired us throughout the year. And this is certainly a wonderful occasion, but I want to thank Glamour for all they do *every* day to celebrate, educate and challenge women ~~that they too can make a difference—in large and sometimes small, but always meaningful, ways.~~

You know, every time I address a group of exceptional women—women at the top of their fields—I am reminded of how far we have come over the last century, and I think about the many women who have opened the doors that all of us have walked through. Women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott—women who weren't afraid to challenge the roles they were assigned because they happened to be born female. Because of these trailblazers, and many, many others who have followed in their paths, we can gather here tonight to celebrate how far we've come at the end of the 20th century.

From the boardrooms to the playing fields to the skies ~~(heavens?)~~ *above*, women have begun to take their rightful places alongside men in all walks of life. But the women we honor tonight are not only taking *their* rightful places in fields as diverse as business, entertainment and political activism—they are paving the way for future generations to come.

Because of people like Lt. Col. Eileen Collins, little girls can now look to the skies with the hope that they too can someday travel the stars—and not just as passengers, but as ~~commanders~~ *skippers* nonetheless. Or they can watch the U.S. Women's World Cup Soccer Team trounce the best-of-the-best, and they can believe that someday, they too can put on a jersey and show the world their stuff.

At the end of this century, as we look toward the future with hope & anticipation,
It is important that we remember that we can only reach as high as we can while standing on the shoulders of those who came before us. So I want to thank all of the 1999 Glamour Women of the Year tonight for your amazing achievements—but more than that, for lifting up the little girls of the 21st century onto your shoulders, and for showing them that they too can aspire to things we only dreamed of a generation ago. We have come such a long way. And because of women like you—and all who came before—the possibilities for women as we enter the new millennium are truly limitless.

So congratulations, and thank you for all you have done to encourage and inspire the next generation to make the 21st century a great time to be a woman! Have a wonderful evening.

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VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE
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NOVEMBER 11, 1999**

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So congratulations, and thank you for all you have done to encourage and inspire the next generation to make the 21st century a great time to be a woman! Have a wonderful evening.

We can hear Ida Wells-Barnett insist on walking with the entire Illinois delegation, not just the African American women who attended the 1913 suffrage march in Washington. She said, "Either I go with you or not at all. I am not taking this stand because I personally wish for recognition. I am doing it for the future benefit of my whole race."

And if we listen, we can still hear the voices of the members of the National American Women's Suffrage Association, who gathered, on February 14, 1920, at the nearby Congress Hotel for their last convention. They knew that the 19th amendment would soon be ratified. And so the meeting began with a celebration as they sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "There will be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." According to the minutes, "For three quarters of an hour, horns tooted, and state delegations stood on chairs; they sang, they gave their yells, they formed in groups and marched around the room waving American flags. The Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey marched amicably arm in arm to the platform."

Now imagine what those women, those pioneers, would think if they were here with us today, and they could look around this room and know that women were holding very high positions in corporations, as general counsels, vice-presidents and presidents; that they were holding office, that they were candidates for office; that they had taken the work and the sacrifice of those who came before, and pushed it even further, and by doing so made it possible for women to dream even bigger dreams.

All of us come here with the image in our minds of those who courageously marched for, died for, and quietly worked for the opportunities we take for granted today. Some are famous, like the ones I mentioned. But some are colleagues; some might be mothers and grandmothers, or aunts or sisters. I know that Susan Gallagher's mother—Kathleen Blackner, who is here—is still a public school teacher, which she tells her seven children is a piece of cake after raising all of them. I think of my own mother, born here in Chicago before women got the right to vote, but who has always encouraged me and urged me to go as far as I could.

Now will we be role models for the women and girls who follow us? Well I believe we can be, but I think we have to be very conscious about the lessons we are teaching and the gifts we are giving. And the subject of today's forum about politics requires us to think a little differently, perhaps, than our foremothers ever could have imagined, and to realize that politics is part of how we do anything in a democracy. Politics with a small "p" matters in all of our lives, because as citizens of this democracy each of us has an obligation, not perhaps to hold or run for office, but as a citizen, to be sure that we participate. Jane Addams once said, "Politics is...housekeeping on a grand scale." What she showed every day at Hull House and in her life is that civic involvement is really the lifeblood of democracy. It is how we make decisions, whether or not we get along with one another; how we move closer to our ideals as Americans.

The delegates who gathered at the Congress Hotel in 1920 adopted resolutions on issues ranging from the minimum wage to education, to equal opportunity for women in

Senior Executive Women's Forum
Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Chicago, Illinois
October 26, 1999

Thank you very much, Susan, and thank you all for being part of this important forum. I cannot see a soul out there, but I am told that Former Governor Thompson is here, and Lieutenant Governor Woods is here, and State Treasurer Topinka is here, as well as some other elected officials. And I am delighted to be able to join so many of you for what has become a very exciting forum.

It really was the brainchild of the two founders—the two Susans. And from what I understand, when they held their first event in 1994, they expected a handful of people, and about 150 showed up. And because of that, they understood that the voices of senior businesswomen and women at high levels of responsibility, and many aspects of the life of Chicago and Illinois, needed to be heard at every level of the political process. So it's a great pleasure for me to be back in Chicago, and to be participating in this forum.

I've had an incredible day already here in Chicago. I just came from the Robie House on the University of Chicago campus—really one of Frank Lloyd Wright's signature Prairie style homes—and we just announced a very generous gift from the Pritzger Family Foundation for the renovation of that home. I was also earlier at another famous address in Chicago—2120 South Michigan Avenue, immortalized by the Rolling Stones—at Chess Records and Studio, with Bo Diddley, Chuck Berry, and Koko Taylor, in order to bring attention to this treasure that needs to be preserved. And tomorrow, I will be going to the Pullman Historic Landmark District, which is such an important site for so much of industrial and labor history.

Now one might wonder, what do those sites have in common, and what do they have in common with this conference? Well I see them all as part of the story of this city and country, part of what we are trying to preserve through the Save America's Treasures program. And they remind us, according to the theme that we have adopted for the millennium, to honor the past and imagine the future.

Well that seems not only a fitting theme for art and culture and monuments and skyscrapers, but it also seems a very important and timely theme for the subject of today's forum. If we look at the many women whose contributions helped shape this century, many of them came from right here in Chicago. This was a site for so much that happened that really set the stage for what was to follow and what we celebrate today.

Illinois was the first state east of the Mississippi to give women the right to vote in presidential and municipal elections. We can still hear the words of Bertha Palmer, who in 1883, having finally secured a spot for a woman's building at the World's Columbian Exposition, said, "Even more important than the discovery of Columbus... is the fact that the general government has just discovered women."

politics and business. But it was up to the women who came after, and particularly the women of the last decade, to bring those issues to the top of the political agenda. We know that, and I am sure you heard from the pollsters and others who addressed you earlier, that there is what is called the “gender gap” in elections. And certainly that was apparent in the 1996 presidential election. But we can look at the poll that you released. We can look at many of the issues being debated daily in the media and in Congress. Whether it’s health care or education or domestic violence or child care, there are so many issues that are no longer just women’s issues, they are issues for the entire body politic. When children don’t have a safe place to go after school, when women don’t earn equal pay for equal work, those issues affect families and communities.

Now I recall during the 1996 election that there were some political commentators who said that the focus on issues like child care, for example, was leading to what they termed the “feminization of politics.” I think they meant it as an insult. But I prefer to believe that what is really going on is the *humanization* of politics. Because what we are talking about is how people actually live their lives, and how we can ensure that politics works.

So when someone asks, “Does it matter whether women are involved in politics,” I think of the last six and a half years. It certainly has mattered to women and to families that we have made a lot of progress in our nation, that we have record unemployment, record surpluses, the strongest economy in a generation, and more women-owned businesses than ever before.

It’s mattered that crime is down, and that health insurance is being extended to children; that the Family and Medical Leave Act is ensuring that parents won’t have to choose between the job they need and the child they love.

But at this time of unprecedented prosperity and opportunity, I think we—men and women—face a fundamental choice: Are we satisfied that the progress we have made is good enough? Are we ready to retreat into our own private sphere and say, “I’m fine, my family’s fine, my business is fine; I don’t have to worry about anyone else?” Or do we take advantage of this moment to confront the challenges that we all still face?

Because right now at the national, state, and local level, decisions are being made that will determine the quality of our lives into the next century. You know so many of those issues from your own personal experience. Right now, almost two-thirds of women with small children are in the labor force. What happens in Washington, or Chicago, or Springfield determines whether or not millions of low-income families are eligible for child care subsidies, and whether all those parents who need a safe place for their child after school will have one.

We know that never before has a good education been more of a passport to prosperity—or a bad education more of a life-sentence. Chicago has shown how public schools can be turned around. But what will happen to the 5,000 school buildings across America that need to be repaired or replaced? What will happen to the nearly 1.7 million

school children who are now in smaller classes because we passed the initiative to put 100,000 more teachers in the classroom? But those teachers may not be funded for another year, and those students may find themselves back in those same old, overcrowded classrooms.

Right now, decisions are being made that will determine whether we do get violence out of our schools and guns away from our children. And this is especially on our minds in light of what happened this past week—from the bomb the student brought to Downers Grove North High School, to the tragic death of Congressman Bobby Rush's son.

Right now, decisions are being made that will determine whether women will finally receive equal pay for equal work. One of my staff members showed me a cartoon that her mother had sent her that she stuck up on the refrigerator at home. It showed six people sitting around a conference room table—all in suits, all wearing glasses, all men. And one of them announces, "Gentlemen, we must cut our expenses in half, so I'm replacing each of you with a woman."

Now clearly, things are not that bad. As the Council of Economic Advisors report makes clear, the gap between women's and men's wages has narrowed since 1963, when the Equal Pay Act was passed. But women still bring home only about 75 cents for every man's dollar, and we now have some very sophisticated studies about the persistence of wage discrimination at the highest levels of our academic and business world. And we know that that a 25-cent difference isn't much of a comfort when you have to pay for the expenses that keep a family going.

There are some who call the equal pay issue—and I quote—"an imaginary hobgoblin." They say that any wage gap that can't be explained by differences in experience, education and occupation can be made up for—and I quote again—by "the non-monetary benefits of female-dominated jobs, including better supervisors, fewer risks, easier commutes, and more flexible hours."

We'll tell that to the women lawyers who on average make \$300 a week less than their male counterparts. Or the women accountants who make \$200 less than their male counterparts. There is no other way to explain it. As the MIT study demonstrated clearly, when you held constant for experience, for tenure, for qualifications of every kind, there were still discrepancies. Wage discrimination exists, and as long as it does, we need to strengthen the enforcement of equal pay laws.

Right now, decisions are being made that will determine whether we pass, and the president signs, a Patient's Bill of Rights for every American; whether we save and strengthen Medicare and Social Security for future generations. Those are two programs that are especially important to women. Nearly a quarter of all elderly women rely on Social Security for their sole source of income. And as women, we live longer than men, have more chronic health problems, relatively smaller pensions, and therefore depend on Medicare even more.

A few months ago, I met a woman named Mary Lee. When her mother got sick, Mary Lee moved her mother in with her, as many of us have or would do. She found that as her mother's health deteriorated, she even had to stop working in order to care for her around the clock. But her mother's Medicare—and her mother's Medicare gap policy—didn't cover the prescription drug costs, which cost \$4,500 a year.

And so, as with so many families, Mary Lee's family had to make some tough choices—whether children's needs or her mother's needs came first. Mary Lee's mother passed away, but the courageous efforts that Mary Lee put forth to care for her are certainly a reminder of what happens in millions and millions of families.

We in this room are often the blessed and fortunate ones in our society. We have been able to take advantage of good educations, we've been given opportunities. And the question is, where will we stand on the issues I've mentioned, and so many others? Will we speak out on behalf of changes that might not directly affect us right away, but certainly indirectly could, and would directly affect so many others? I often think of how fortunate I am that many of the problems that plagued women with economic issues and health issues are ones that I have not experienced, but I know that there but for the grace of God go I and everyone else. Women who don't have any position from which to speak—women who don't have a voice that will be heard—need our voices. Politics is about organizing and raising those voices here at home and around the world.

I've been privileged to represent our country in many different settings in the last six and a half years. And I have seen firsthand the struggles that women face around the globe. It often puts into stark perspective our own situation. I've been in villages in Africa and small huts in Asia and health clinics in Latin America, and I've listened to countless women talk to me about their lives. I think it's a good reminder for those of us as to what it's like for the majority of women still living in the world, who often put in very long hours—getting up before the sun to gather firewood, to milk a goat, or even, as I saw in Mongolia, a horse; to prepare the food that often takes hours; to do the planting and the harvesting; to go to the market; to be employed by or run the small businesses that are the backbones of most developing countries' economies—and who still, with all of their effort, often find themselves ignored, marginalized within their families and their communities.

We started an initiative called Vital Voices, and we have taken that initiative throughout the world so that we could give a platform to women's voices, and by doing so, try to help women become political. We started in Austria with women from the former Soviet Union. And we listened to how women who once held positions are finding themselves unemployed, and are seeing their economies not moving forward, and in many instances, are finding that they are now not so sought after because the jobs are scarcer, and men are the ones who often receive them.

We moved on to Latin America where we had a hemispheric conference in Uruguay, where woman after woman talked about what it meant to no longer be living

under totalitarian military dictatorships—every country in our hemisphere, save one, is now a democracy. Many of those women had stood on the front lines as they saw loved ones disappear, as they saw democracy return after very difficult battles, and they were determined to take their rightful place in every sector of society. I attended a joint meeting of all the women in the legislature in Uruguay—of every political stripe, from the far right to the far left—who had banded together to make sure women's voices were heard.

And in El Salvador, I sat down with women who were on opposite sides of that bloody struggle. One woman had been a guerilla leader, the other was a member of a very prominent family that had been on the other side. And they talked about how, as women, they were able to make concessions that their male colleagues found very difficult, to try to make those tentative steps toward building trust with one another.

In Belfast, Northern Ireland, we convened a Vital Voices conference and brought together women from the north who had never ever sat down and talked with one another—women from different traditions who found they had more in common and could make common cause in the political system. Women have been elected to the assembly in Northern Ireland, and we are all hopeful that the peace process takes hold and moves forward. But on the ground, in the small “p” political arena, women are knitting communities together, crossing sectarian lines, creating small businesses, building playgrounds in areas where children have never felt safe to play outdoors.

And then just a few weeks ago, I was in Iceland, where women from Russia and the Baltics came together with women from Scandinavia and America to talk about democracy. And there are so many challenges facing the women of Russia, yet they were there, bravely looking for ways that they can help themselves, their businesses, their communities, become political participants in a very difficult environment. We also had women from other parts of the world come to speak. Rasha, from Kuwait, spoke about how finally after years of struggle, the Emir had said that women would be permitted to vote, but the Parliament has yet to act on that decree. The parliamentary leaders keep saying to women who have never been allowed to vote, “What is the urgency?” And Rasha said she had been stunned by the question. These were women who had stood shoulder to shoulder during the Iraqi invasion. They had undertaken very difficult, and sometimes even dangerous, missions, and they are still being told to wait.

A woman from Belarus—Vera, a lawyer who stands up for human rights in a country that is reverting to communism and totalitarian authoritarianism—spoke movingly about what it's like to try to be a lawyer who speaks for human rights when your colleagues disappear, when you're disbarred, when newspapers are shut down.

I mention these examples to remind us that we have so many more blessings, not just in comparison to the women who met at the Congress Hotel, or the women who helped Jane Addams with projects she undertook at Hull House, or the women at Seneca Falls in 1848 who published their Declaration of Sentiments on behalf of women. We are so blessed in comparison to women who live in most of the rest of the world right now.

And as with any blessing, it carries an obligation. What will we do to make sure our voices are heard? We have the blessings we enjoy today, not because some benevolent ruler gave them to us, but because we worked for them, we advocated for them, we struggled for them, and yes, we voted for them.

We have an extraordinary moment in history as we end this 20th century. We can decide to honor the past and imagine and build a better future, or we can allow the complacency that often sets in when times are good to dull our senses and close our eyes to the work that is yet to be done. If we want to honor the past, then we have to be part of imagining and making that future.

When I think about politics in 1999, I know that so often it is more about 30-second commercials than about substance; I know that women still have some obstacles to overcome; and I know that it's often talked about these days as though it were some entertainment or sporting event that we could all be spectators at and turn it off if we found it distasteful or boring. But I have seen in so many ways what a difference it makes.

And so I come today to urge that you leave this forum committed to the political process; that you use your talents and opportunities to become involved in an issue—in a campaign, as a candidate—to advocate on behalf of what you believe in, and not to be deterred by the often uncomfortable, and even painful and mean-spirited atmosphere that sometimes marks our politics.

We've seen an increasing reluctance of people to vote. One of my favorite posters from 1996 was of a woman with a piece of tape covering her mouth. And under it, it said: "Most politicians think women should be seen and not heard. In the last election, 54 million women agreed with them."

So the bottom line, the most fundamental obligation, is to vote. It's surprising how many people of affluence and standing tell me that they have given up on the political process; they don't think there is any difference; they don't vote because they don't think it matters. And I always ask them whether they think that it mattered that we turned the economy around, that it was a hard-fought legislative battle. I ask them whether they think it matters that we did finally pass a Family and Medical Leave Act that now 20 million Americans have taken advantage of. I ask them whether they think it matters that finally, against the extraordinary opposition of the NRA, the Brady Bill was passed, and now more than 400,000 people have been turned away from their efforts to buy a weapon.

I think those things do matter. I think, as we look across the landscape of America today, we can see how it matters that our prosperity is lifting so many people—their incomes, their fortunes, their futures are rising. I think it matters in this city that there is political leadership that took on the problems of the public schools, and has made such a contribution to education reform under the mayor's leadership. So one can never

convince me that it doesn't matter, but I understand the underlying reluctance. Because of the way we communicate about politics today, it's very distancing.

My friend Deborah Tannen—whom some of you may know from her seminal work about the differences men and women have in the way that they talk—has written an incredible book about the culture of argument. And if we turn on our television sets, it looks like all of our politics is an argument. People insulting each other, yelling at each other, arguing constantly. You wouldn't want them in your home, so why do you want them on your television screens? It's just easier to try to shut it off. And I also know that in the atmosphere of the last several years, there has been a lot of negativity and the politics of personal destruction has had a major role. But, you see, if you turn away from politics because of what is happening, you leave the field clear to those who promote that kind of political agenda. And by leaving the field clear, you lose your voice and your vote in determining whether or not it would be possible to keep that kind of political mean-spiritedness out of our national life, and whether it is possible to create a more positive vision of what we want from politics.

This is a fundamental choice that each of us faces. In addition to our own voice and our own vote, we have an opportunity to come together around issues that matter. There are many significant problems, some of which can be addressed by political leadership, but most of which can only be addressed by partnerships—between government and the private sector, between the not-for-profit sector and the private sector. And creating those partnerships influences politics.

Women have an extraordinary opportunity today to make sure that the gains of this century are built on and carried into the next. I'm not going to tell you that it's easy to be involved in politics; I could never with a straight face tell you that. But I can tell you that it is rewarding. That when you do stand up for what you believe, and you see that it makes a difference, you feel like you've maybe paid back a little bit for all that you've been given.

There are some wonderful lessons that people have taught us that are not new at all that I would recommend to you. Eleanor Roosevelt, one of my favorite predecessors, wrote a very influential essay back in the 1920s about women in politics. Basically, she said that women had to be much better prepared than men, that women had to be ready to be questioned and criticized, that women had to grow skin as thick as a rhinoceros. But she urged women to do all of the necessary steps to be politically active. Because she understood, as she often said, that you must do the thing you think you cannot do. And one of my favorite Eleanor Roosevelt sayings is, "Women are like teabags, they don't know how strong they are until they get into hot water."

We also need women to use their pocketbooks and their financial resources. We lost two very impressive candidates in the last months—Christie Todd Whitman and Elizabeth Dole. I may be of another party, but I admired both of them and their willingness to enter the political fray. They both basically said that raising the money was just too much of an obstacle. It is still harder for women to raise money in our

political system. And women who now control a majority of the wealth, the individual wealth in America, have an opportunity to participate financially, and I would urge you to do that.

I know that Mrs. Dole had hoped to be here today and was not able to come. And I am often asked, when do I think a woman will be president. Well, again, Eleanor Roosevelt was asked, and she said by the 1970s. And in the 1970s, Rosalynn Carter was asked, and she said by the year 2000. So now, to play it safe, I'll say in the 21st century. But part of the reason it's so difficult and daunting a challenge is because of the way we finance campaigns. So while I urge you to participate financially because that is a way for your voice to be heard, and for you to support candidates whom you believe will speak for the issues that you care about, I also hope that women's voices will be heard more loudly in the effort to change the campaign finance rules, because I believe that they are undermining our democracy and undermining the voices of many citizens.

So voting, raising your voice, becoming part of coalitions, contributing to candidates, advocating for change—they are all ways that each of us can participate. And then there is the next step—that more and more women are taking—to become candidates, and then to serve in public life.

I don't know that it is any different anywhere else in the world, where I have met many women who have taken the step to become active in their country's political process, but I do think our system is harder in many ways. Because in a parliamentary system, a woman is a colleague. Margaret Thatcher could get to know her colleagues, and her colleagues could develop a relationship with her. And she could represent a relatively small constituency, and through hard work and leadership be chosen by her colleagues to head her party.

A woman in our country has a much stiffer hill to climb, but I am pleased that more and more women are doing just that. I am learning a little bit more about that myself these days, and I admire any woman and any man who will step forward, and I urge more of you to think seriously about doing that.

And then for those who hold office, it's a real challenge to keep focused on the issues that matter. In our system, you are elected to Congress, or you are elected governor, or you are elected senator, or to the state legislature. And for many who are elected, they have to start immediately campaigning for office again, and that means raising the money that is necessary to fund those campaigns.

So there are many people, as we have seen in the last years, who are resigning or are failing to run because they just don't think the process works. I understand their concerns, but I think it's important that we not give up and walk away from the process, but continue to try to reform it.

Finally, I would say that if politics is to be meaningful in the next century, we are going to have to take advantage of technology, and we are going to have to learn how

better to communicate with each other. And there is no reason why women cannot be at the forefront of doing just that—breaking new ground in how the political process actually will work. Because if we look at the issues that await us, I think we have unfinished business of the 20th century—to continue our economic progress and make sure it reaches every single American; to continue reforming our public education system, and ensure that every child has a chance to learn and has access to the information age technology that he or she will require; to make it possible for us to once again put patients and doctors in the center of the health care system; to ensure that we do what is necessary to keep guns out of the hands of children and criminals; to protect our environment.

On so many fronts, we have the unfinished work of this century. But we also will face new challenges, and those new challenges range from ensuring that we finally have a health care system that provides quality, affordable health care to every American; to looking for ways to marry the environment and the economy so that we don't pit one against the other; to ensuring that the digital divide is just a phrase and not a fact that further widens the wealth gap in our country; to working on the unfinished business of making this one America where all people are respected and have a chance to participate fully; to continuing to lead around the world and making clear that America is the strongest force for peace and prosperity and stability, and that means doing things like looking for ways to end the spread of nuclear weapons, and dealing with threats like global warming and proliferation of chemical and biological weapons, and ensuring that we are up to speed on our public health agenda so that we don't have the spread of epidemics or other challenges. There is much much work to be done.

The other night at the White House, we had one of our Millennium Lectures—that we have had now 10 of—that are broadcast on the Internet and bring together thinkers and academics and people who have something to say about the past and the future. This one was particularly compelling because we brought together an expert in informatics and an expert in genomics. The expert in genetics said that we will find, when we map the human genome, that all human beings are 99.9 percent the same—our DNA differs by just one-tenth of a percent. You may be a man, I may be a woman, you may be black, I may be white, you may be tall, I may be medium—we have so many superficial differences, but they fit into that one-tenth of one percent.

So what do we do with this new knowledge? Do we take it as a great invitation to look for ways that we bring people together? That we celebrate our differences, but we recognize that underneath our common humanity is so much greater? Do we teach our daughters that they should celebrate being a woman, but they should recognize that their feelings, their aspirations, are rooted in a long history of development?

(END OF TAPE SIDE 1. CONTINUES ON SIDE 2, WITH SPEECH IN PROGRESS.)

...are responsible and to quit pitting women against women, homemakers against professional women, and most of us in the middle who have tried to balance both? Will

we admit that there is no single, cookie-cutter model for being a successful and fulfilled woman today? That we can choose to be a full-time mother, or have no children at all? Or as we live longer, find different ways of living out different decades of our lives?

If we can come to terms with who we are as women as we end this century and begin the next, then by our examples, by the choices we make, we will set a new course in politics, and we will pass on to our daughters the lessons that it is, as Susan said, far less important what we look like than what we feel, what we say, what we think. That it is far more important that we try to make life a little better for those who come after than to just be a captive of the consumer culture. There are a lot of decisions being made in each of our lives, and the aggregate of those decisions will affect our political life.

So I thank you for gathering to talk about politics to make sure that it is there on a stage to be discussed and not to be rejected or maligned, that we look for ways that our voices, our votes, our resources, our activism can make a difference. The 20th century has been America's century. I believe that the 21st can be a century of progress for American women.

I was recently at a conference about the future of politics, and I was there with a very distinguished British scholar who studies political developments around the world. And he said, You know, the most significant advance that has occurred in the 20th century is not what often is talked about—namely technology and productivity. He said those have been very important. But the most important advance and the most important change has been the role of women. And American women have broken new ground, have navigated uncharted waters. And he turned to me and he said, But will American women keep doing so, or will they be satisfied just to try to balance the demands of their own lives? I thought that was a good question. I think the answer is that we will continue to do what we can to use politics to advance the common good as we see it. And by doing so, continue to demonstrate the leadership that women in the past have shown that we have tried to live up to.

Thank you all very much.

Remarks by the First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton 150th Anniversary of the First Women's Rights Convention

Seneca Falls, New York
July 16, 1998

Thank you for gathering here in such numbers for this important celebration. I want to thank Governor Pataki and Congresswoman Slaughter and all the elected officials who are here with us today. I want to thank Mary Anne and her committee for helping to organize such a great celebration. I want to thank Bob Stanton and the entire Park Service staff for doing such an excellent job with the historic site. I want to thank our choirs. I thought the choirs really added; I want to thank our singers whom we've already heard from and will hear from because this is a celebration and we need to think about it in such terms.

But for a moment, I would like you to take your minds back a hundred and fifty years. Imagine if you will that you are Charlotte Woodward, a nineteen-year-old glove maker working and living in Waterloo. Everyday you sit for hours sewing gloves together, working for small wages you cannot even keep, with no hope of going on in school or owning property, knowing that if you marry, your children and even the clothes on your body will belong to your husband.

But then one day in July, 1848, you hear about a women's rights convention to be held in nearby Seneca Falls. It's a convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious conditions and rights of women. You run from house to house and you find other women who have heard the same news. Some are excited, others are amused or even shocked, and a few agree to come with you, for at least the first day.

When that day comes, July 19, 1848, you leave early in the morning in your horse-drawn wagon. You fear that no one else will come; and at first, the road is empty, except for you and your neighbors. But suddenly, as you reach a crossroads, you see a few more wagons and carriages, then more and more all going towards Wesleyan Chapel. Eventually you join the others to form one long procession on the road to equality.

Who were the others traveling that road to equality, traveling to that convention? Frederick Douglass, the former slave and great abolitionist, was on his way there and he described the participants as "few in numbers, moderate in resources, and very little known in the world. The most we had to connect us was a firm commitment that we were in the right and a firm faith that the right must ultimately prevail." In the wagons and carriages, on foot or horseback, were women like Rhoda Palmer. Seventy years later in 1918, at the age of one-hundred and two, she would cast her first ballot in a New York state election.

Also traveling down that road to equality was Susan Quinn, who at fifteen will become the youngest signer of the Declaration of Sentiments. Catharine F. Stebbins, a veteran of activism starting when she was only twelve going door to door collecting anti-slavery petitions. She also, by the way, kept an anti-tobacco pledge on the parlor table and asked all her young male friends to sign up. She was woman truly ahead of her time, as all the participants were.

I often wonder, when reflecting back on the Seneca Falls Convention, who of us--men and women-- would have left our homes, our families, our work to make that journey one hundred and fifty years ago. Think about the incredible courage it must have taken to join that procession. Ordinary men and women, mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers, husbands and wives, friends and neighbors. And just like those who have embarked on other journeys throughout American history, seeking freedom or escaping religious or

political persecution, speaking out against slavery, working for labor rights. These men and women were motivated by dreams of better lives and more just societies.

At the end of the two-day convention, one hundred people, sixty-eight women and thirty-two men, signed the Declaration of Sentiments that you can now read on the wall at Wesleyan Chapel. Among the signers were some of the names we remember today: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright and Frederick Douglass and young Charlotte Woodward. The "Seneca Falls 100," as I like to call them, shared the radical idea that America fell far short of her ideals stated in our founding documents, denying citizenship to women and slaves.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who is frequently credited with originating the idea for the Convention, knew that women were not only denied legal citizenship, but that society's cultural values and social structures conspired to assign women only one occupation and role, that of wife and mother. Of course, the reality was always far different. Women have always worked, and worked both in the home and outside the home for as long as history can record. And even though Stanton herself had a comfortable life and valued deeply her husband and seven children, she knew that she and all other women were not truly free if they could not keep wages they earned, divorce an abusive husband, own property, or vote for the political leaders who governed them. Stanton was inspired, along with the others who met, to rewrite our Declaration of Independence, and they boldly asserted, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men and women are created equal."

"All men and all women." It was the shout heard around the world, and if we listen, we can still hear its echoes today. We can hear it in the voices of women demanding their full civil and political rights anywhere in the world. I've heard such voices and their echoes from women, around the world, from Belfast to Bosnia to Beijing, as they work to change the conditions for women and girls and improve their lives and the lives of their families. We can even hear those echoes today in Seneca Falls. We come together this time not by carriage, but by car or plane, by train or foot, and yes, in my case, by bus. We come together not to hold a convention, but to celebrate those who met here one hundred and fifty years ago, to commemorate how far we have traveled since then, and to challenge ourselves to persevere on the journey that was begun all those many years ago.

We are, as one can see looking around this great crowd, men and women, old and young, different races, different backgrounds. We come to honor the past and imagine the future. That is the theme the President and I have chosen for the White House Millennium Council's efforts to remind and inspire Americans as we approach the year 2000. This is my last stop on the Millennium Council's tour to Save America's Treasures--those buildings, monuments, papers and sites--that define who we are as a nation. They include not only famous symbols like the Star Spangled Banner and not only great political leaders like George Washington's revolutionary headquarters, or creative inventors like Thomas Edison's invention factory, but they include also the women of America who wrote our nation's past and must write its future.

Women like the ones we honor here and, in fact, at the end of my tour yesterday, I learned that I was following literally in the footsteps of one of them, Lucretia Mott, who, on her way to Seneca Falls, stopped in Auburn to visit former slaves and went on to the Seneca Nations to meet with clan mothers, as I did.

Last evening, I visited the home of Mary Ann and Thomas M'Clintock in Waterloo, where the Declaration of Sentiments was drafted, and which the Park Service is planning to restore for visitors if the money needed can be raised. I certainly hope I can return here sometime in the next few years to visit that restoration.

Because we must tell and retell, learn and relearn, these women's stories, and we must make it our personal mission, in our everyday lives, to pass these stories on to our daughters and

sons. Because we cannot--we must not--ever forget that the rights and opportunities that we enjoy as women today were not just bestowed upon us by some benevolent ruler. They were fought for, agonized over, marched for, jailed for and even died for by brave and persistent women and men who came before us.

Every time we buy or sell or inherit property in our own name--let us thank the pioneers who agitated to change the laws that made that possible.

Every time, every time we vote, let us thank the women and men of Seneca Falls, Susan B. Anthony and all the others, who tirelessly crossed our nation and withstood ridicule and the rest to bring about the 19th Amendment to the Constitution.

Every time we enter an occupation--a profession of our own choosing and receive a paycheck that reflect earnings equal to a male colleague, let us thank the signers and women like Kate Mullaney, who's house I visited yesterday, in Troy, New York

Every time we elect a woman to office--let us thank ground breaking leaders like Jeannette Rankin and Margaret Chase Smith, Hattie Caraway, Louise Slaughter, Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm--all of whom proved that a woman's place is truly in the House, and in the Senate, and one day, in the White House, as well.

And every time we take another step forward for justice in this nation--let us thank extraordinary women like Harriet Tubman, who's home in Auburn I visited yesterday, and who escaped herself from slavery, and, then risked her life, time and again, to bring at least two hundred other slaves to freedom as well.

Harriet Tubman's rule for all of her underground railroad missions was to keep going. Once you started--no matter how scared you got, how dangerous it became--you were not allowed to turn back. That's a pretty good rule for life. It not only describes the women who gathered in Wesleyan Chapel in 1848, but it could serve as our own motto for today. We, too, cannot turn back. We, too, must keep going in our commitment to the dignity of every individual--to women's rights as human rights. We are on that road of the pioneers to Seneca Falls, they started down it 150 years ago. But now, we too, must keep going.

We may not face the criticism and derision they did. They understood that the Declaration of Sentiments would create no small amount of misconception, or misrepresentation and ridicule; they were called mannish women, old maids, fanatics, attacked personally by those who disagreed with them. One paper said, "These rights for women would bring a monstrous injury to all mankind." If it sounds familiar, it's the same thing that's always said when women keep going for true equality and justice.

Those who came here also understood that the convention and the Declaration were only first steps down that road. What matters most is what happens when everyone packs up and goes back to their families and communities. What matters is whether sentiment and resolutions, once made, are fulfilled or forgotten. The Seneca Falls one hundred pledged themselves to petition, and lit the pulpit and used every instrumentality within their power to affect their subjects. And they did. But they also knew they were not acting primarily for themselves. They knew they probably would not even see the changes they advocated in their own lifetime. In fact, only Charlotte Woodward lived long enough to see American women finally win the right to vote.

Those who signed that Declaration were doing it for the girls and women--for us--those of us in the twentieth century.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote a letter to her daughters later in life enclosing a special gift and explaining why. "Dear Maggie and Hattie, this is my first speech," she wrote, "it contains all I knew at that time; I give this manuscript to my precious daughters in the

hopes that they will finish the work that I have begun." And they have. Her daughter, Harriot Blatch, was the chief strategist of the suffrage movement in New York. Harriot's daughter, Nora Barney, was one of the first women to be a civil engineer. Nora's daughter, Rhoda Jenkins, became an architect. Rhoda's daughter, Colleen Jenkins-Sahlin is an elected official in Greenwich, Connecticut. And her daughter, Elizabeth is a thirteen-year-old, who wrote about the six generations of Stantons in a book called, *33 Things Every Girl Should Know*.

So, far into the twentieth century, the work is still being done; the journey goes on. Now, some might say that the only purpose of this celebration is to honor the past, that the work begun here is finished in America, that young women no longer face legal obstacles to whatever education or employment choices they choose to pursue. And I certainly believe and hope all of you agree that we should, everyday, count our blessings as American women.

I know how much change I have seen in my own life. When I was growing up back in the fifties and sixties, there were still barriers that Mrs. Stanton would have recognized--scholarships I couldn't apply for, schools I couldn't go to, jobs I couldn't have--just because of my sex. Thanks to federal laws like the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title 9, and the Equal Pay Act, legal barriers to equality have fallen.

But if all we do is honor the past, then I believe we will miss the central point of the Declaration of Sentiments, which was, above all, a document about the future. The drafters of the Declaration imagined a different future for women and men, in a society based on equality and mutual respect. It falls to every generation to imagine the future, and it our task to do so now.

We know that, just as the women 150 years ago knew, that what we imagine will be principally for our daughters and sons in the 21st century. Because the work of the Seneca Falls Convention is, just like the work of the nation itself, it's never finished, so long as there remain gaps between our ideals and reality. That is one of the great joys and beauties of the American experiment. We are always striving to build and move toward a more perfect union, that we on every occasion keep faith with our founding ideals, and translate them into reality. So what kind of future can we imagine together.

If we are to finish the work begun here--then no American should ever again face discrimination on the basis of gender, race or sexual orientation anywhere in our country.

If we are to finish the work begun here--then \$0.76 in a woman's paycheck for every dollar in a man's is still not enough. Equal pay for equal work can once and for all be achieved.

If we are to finish the work begun here--then families need more help to balance their responsibilities at work and at home. In a letter to Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton writes, "Come here and I will do what I can to help you with your address, if you will hold the baby and make the pudding." Even then, women knew we had to have help with child care. All families should have access to safe, affordable, quality child care.

If we are to finish the work begun here--then women and children must be protected against what the Declaration called the "chastisement of women," namely domestic abuse and violence. We must take all steps necessary to end the scourge of violence against women and punish the perpetrator. And our country must join the rest of the world, as so eloquently Secretary Albright called for on Saturday night here in Seneca Falls, "Join the rest of the world and ratify the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women."

If we are to finish the work begun here--we must do more than talk about family values, we must adopt policies that truly value families-- policies like a universal system of health care insurance that guarantees every American's access to affordable, quality health care.

Policies like taking all steps necessary to keep guns out of the hands of children and criminals. Policies like doing all that is necessary at all levels of our society to ensure high quality public education for every boy or girl no matter where that child lives.

If we are to finish the work begun here--we must ensure that women and men who work full-time earn a wage that lifts them out of poverty and all workers who retire have financial security in their later years through guaranteed Social Security and pensions.

If we are to finish the work begun here--we must be vigilant against the messages of a media-driven consumer culture that convinces our sons and daughters that what brand of sneakers they wear or cosmetics they use is more important than what they think, feel, know, or do.

And if we are to finish the work begun here--we must, above all else, take seriously the power of the vote and use it to make our voices heard. What the champions of suffrage understood was that the vote is not just a symbol of our equality, but that it can be, if used, a guarantee of results. It is the way we express our political views. It is the way we hold our leaders and governments accountable. It is the way we bridge the gap between what we want our nation to be and what it is.

But when will the majority of women voters of our country exercise their most fundamental political right? Can you imagine what any of the Declaration signers would say if they learned how many women fail to vote in elections? They would be amazed and outraged. They would agree with a poster I saw in 1996. On it, there is a picture of a woman with a piece of tape covering her mouth and under it, it says, "Most politicians think women should be seen and not heard. In the last election, 54 million women agreed with them."

One hundred and fifty years ago, the women at Seneca Falls were silenced by someone else. Today, women, we silence ourselves. We have a choice. We have a voice. And if we are going to finish the work begun here we must exercise our right to vote in every election we are eligible to vote in.

Much of who women are and what women do today can be traced to the courage, vision, and dedication of the pioneers who came together at Seneca Falls. Now it is our responsibility to finish the work they began. Let's ask ourselves, at the 200th anniversary of Seneca Falls, will they say that today's gathering also was a catalyst for action? Will they say that businesses, labor, religious organizations, the media, foundations, educators, every citizen in our society came to see the unfinished struggle of today as their struggle?

Will they say that we joined across lines of race and class, that we raised up those too often pushed down, and ultimately found strength in each other's differences and resolved in our common cause? Will we, like the champions at Seneca Falls, recognize that men must play a central role in this fight? How can we ever forget the impassioned plea of Frederick Douglass, issued in our defense of the right to vote?

How can we ever forget that young legislator from Tennessee by the name of Harry Burns, who was the deciding vote in ratifying the 19th Amendment. He was planning on voting "no," but then he got a letter from his mother with a simple message. The letter said, "Be a good boy Harry and do the right thing." And he did! Tennessee became the last state to ratify, proving that you can never ever overestimate the power of one person to alter the course of history, or the power of a little motherly advice.

Will we look back and see that we have finally joined the rest of the advanced economies by creating systems of education, employment, child care and health care that support and strengthen families and give all women real choices in their lives.

At the 200th anniversary celebration, will they say that women today supported each other

in the choices we make? Will we admit once and for all there is no single cookie cutter model for being a successful and fulfilled woman today, that we have so many choices? We can choose full-time motherhood or no family at all or like most of us, seek to strike a balance between our family and our work, always trying to do what is right in our lives. Will we leave our children a world where it is self-evident that all men and women, boys and girls are created equal? These are some of the questions we can ask ourselves.

Help us imagine a future that keeps faith with the sentiments expressed here in 1848. The future, like the past and the present, will not and cannot be perfect. Our daughters and granddaughters will face new challenges which we today cannot even imagine. But each of us can help prepare for that future by doing what we can to speak out for justice and equality for women's rights and human rights, to be on the right side of history, no matter the risk or cost, knowing that eventually the sentiments we express and the causes we advocate will succeed because they are rooted in the conviction that all people are entitled by their creator and by the promise of America to the freedom, rights, responsibilities, and opportunity of full citizenship. That is what I imagine for the future. I invite you to imagine with me and then to work together to make that future a reality.

Thank you all very much.



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Senior Executive Women's Forum
Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Chicago, Illinois
October 26, 1999

Thank you very much, Susan, and thank you all for being part of this important forum. I cannot see a soul out there, but I am told that Former Governor Thompson is here, and Lieutenant Governor Woods is here, and State Treasurer Topinka is here, as well as some other elected officials. And I am delighted to be able to join so many of you for what has become a very exciting forum.

It really was the brainchild of the two founders—the two Susans. And from what I understand, when they held their first event in 1994, they expected a handful of people, and about 150 showed up. And because of that, they understood that the voices of senior businesswomen and women at high levels of responsibility, and many aspects of the life of Chicago and Illinois, needed to be heard at every level of the political process. So it's a great pleasure for me to be back in Chicago, and to be participating in this forum.

I've had an incredible day already here in Chicago. I just came from the Robie House on the University of Chicago campus—really one of Frank Lloyd Wright's signature Prairie style homes—and we just announced a very generous gift from the Pritzger Family Foundation for the renovation of that home. I was also earlier at another famous address in Chicago—2120 South Michigan Avenue, immortalized by the Rolling Stones—at Chess Records and Studio, with Bo Diddley, Chuck Berry, and Koko Taylor, in order to bring attention to this treasure that needs to be preserved. And tomorrow, I will be going to the Pullman Historic Landmark District, which is such an important site for so much of industrial and labor history.

Now one might wonder, what do those sites have in common, and what do they have in common with this conference? Well I see them all as part of the story of this city and country, part of what we are trying to preserve through the Save America's Treasures program. And they remind us, according to the theme that we have adopted for the millennium, to honor the past and imagine the future.

Well that seems not only a fitting theme for art and culture and monuments and skyscrapers, but it also seems a very important and timely theme for the subject of today's forum. If we look at the many women whose contributions helped shape this century, many of them came from right here in Chicago. This was a site for so much that happened that really set the stage for what was to follow and what we celebrate today.

Illinois was the first state east of the Mississippi to give women the right to vote in presidential and municipal elections. We can still hear the words of Bertha Palmer, who in 1883, having finally secured a spot for a woman's building at the World's Columbian Exposition, said, "Even more important than the discovery of Columbus...is the fact that the general government has just discovered women."

We can hear Ida Wells-Barnett insist on walking with the entire Illinois delegation, not just the African American women who attended the 1913 suffrage march in Washington. She said, "Either I go with you or not at all. I am not taking this stand because I personally wish for recognition. I am doing it for the future benefit of my whole race."

And if we listen, we can still hear the voices of the members of the National American Women's Suffrage Association, who gathered, on February 14, 1920, at the nearby Congress Hotel for their last convention. They knew that the 19th amendment would soon be ratified. And so the meeting began with a celebration as they sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "There will be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." According to the minutes, "For three quarters of an hour, horns tooted, and state delegations stood on chairs; they sang, they gave their yells, they formed in groups and marched around the room waving American flags. The Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey marched amicably arm in arm to the platform."

Now imagine what those women, those pioneers, would think if they were here with us today, and they could look around this room and know that women were holding very high positions in corporations, as general counsels, vice-presidents and presidents; that they were holding office, that they were candidates for office; that they had taken the work and the sacrifice of those who came before, and pushed it even further, and by doing so made it possible for women to dream even bigger dreams.

All of us come here with the image in our minds of those who courageously marched for, died for, and quietly worked for the opportunities we take for granted today. Some are famous, like the ones I mentioned. But some are colleagues; some might be mothers and grandmothers, or aunts or sisters. I know that Susan Gallagher's mother—Kathleen Blackner, who is here—is still a public school teacher, which she tells her seven children is a piece of cake after raising all of them. I think of my own mother, born here in Chicago before women got the right to vote, but who has always encouraged me and urged me to go as far as I could.

Now will we be role models for the women and girls who follow us? Well I believe we can be, but I think we have to be very conscious about the lessons we are teaching and the gifts we are giving. And the subject of today's forum about politics requires us to think a little differently, perhaps, than our foremothers ever could have imagined, and to realize that politics is part of how we do anything in a democracy. Politics with a small "p" matters in all of our lives, because as citizens of this democracy each of us has an obligation, not perhaps to hold or run for office, but as a citizen, to be sure that we participate. Jane Addams once said, "Politics is...housekeeping on a grand scale." What she showed every day at Hull House and in her life is that civic involvement is really the lifeblood of democracy. It is how we make decisions, whether or not we get along with one another; how we move closer to our ideals as Americans.

The delegates who gathered at the Congress Hotel in 1920 adopted resolutions on issues ranging from the minimum wage to education, to equal opportunity for women in

politics and business. But it was up to the women who came after, and particularly the women of the last decade, to bring those issues to the top of the political agenda. We know that, and I am sure you heard from the pollsters and others who addressed you earlier, that there is what is called the "gender gap" in elections. And certainly that was apparent in the 1996 presidential election. But we can look at the poll that you released. We can look at many of the issues being debated daily in the media and in Congress. Whether it's health care or education or domestic violence or child care, there are so many issues that are no longer just women's issues, they are issues for the entire body politic. When children don't have a safe place to go after school, when women don't earn equal pay for equal work, those issues affect families and communities.

Now I recall during the 1996 election that there were some political commentators who said that the focus on issues like child care, for example, was leading to what they termed the "feminization of politics." I think they meant it as an insult. But I prefer to believe that what is really going on is the *humanization* of politics. Because what we are talking about is how people actually live their lives, and how we can ensure that politics works.

So when someone asks, "Does it matter whether women are involved in politics," I think of the last six and a half years. It certainly has mattered to women and to families that we have made a lot of progress in our nation, that we have record unemployment, record surpluses, the strongest economy in a generation, and more women-owned businesses than ever before.

It's mattered that crime is down, and that health insurance is being extended to children; that the Family and Medical Leave Act is ensuring that parents won't have to choose between the job they need and the child they love.

But at this time of unprecedented prosperity and opportunity, I think we—men and women—face a fundamental choice: Are we satisfied that the progress we have made is good enough? Are we ready to retreat into our own private sphere and say, "I'm fine, my family's fine, my business is fine; I don't have to worry about anyone else?" Or do we take advantage of this moment to confront the challenges that we all still face?

Because right now at the national, state, and local level, decisions are being made that will determine the quality of our lives into the next century. You know so many of those issues from your own personal experience. Right now, almost two-thirds of women with small children are in the labor force. What happens in Washington, or Chicago, or Springfield determines whether or not millions of low-income families are eligible for child care subsidies, and whether all those parents who need a safe place for their child after school will have one.

We know that never before has a good education been more of a passport to prosperity—or a bad education more of a life-sentence. Chicago has shown how public schools can be turned around. But what will happen to the 5,000 school buildings across America that need to be repaired or replaced? What will happen to the nearly 1.7 million

school children who are now in smaller classes because we passed the initiative to put 100,000 more teachers in the classroom? But those teachers may not be funded for another year, and those students may find themselves back in those same old, overcrowded classrooms.

Right now, decisions are being made that will determine whether we do get violence out of our schools and guns away from our children. And this is especially on our minds in light of what happened this past week—from the bomb the student brought to Downers Grove North High School, to the tragic death of Congressman Bobby Rush's son.

Right now, decisions are being made that will determine whether women will finally receive equal pay for equal work. One of my staff members showed me a cartoon that her mother had sent her that she stuck up on the refrigerator at home. It showed six people sitting around a conference room table—all in suits, all wearing glasses, all men. And one of them announces, "Gentlemen, we must cut our expenses in half, so I'm replacing each of you with a woman."

Now clearly, things are not that bad. As the Council of Economic Advisors report makes clear, the gap between women's and men's wages has narrowed since 1963, when the Equal Pay Act was passed. But women still bring home only about 75 cents for every man's dollar, and we now have some very sophisticated studies about the persistence of wage discrimination at the highest levels of our academic and business world. And we know that that a 25-cent difference isn't much of a comfort when you have to pay for the expenses that keep a family going.

There are some who call the equal pay issue—and I quote—"an imaginary hobgoblin." They say that any wage gap that can't be explained by differences in experience, education and occupation can be made up for—and I quote again—by "the non-monetary benefits of female-dominated jobs, including better supervisors, fewer risks, easier commutes, and more flexible hours."

We'll tell that to the women lawyers who on average make \$300 a week less than their male counterparts. Or the women accountants who make \$200 less than their male counterparts. There is no other way to explain it. As the MIT study demonstrated clearly, when you held constant for experience, for tenure, for qualifications of every kind, there were still discrepancies. Wage discrimination exists, and as long as it does, we need to strengthen the enforcement of equal pay laws.

Right now, decisions are being made that will determine whether we pass, and the president signs, a Patient's Bill of Rights for every American; whether we save and strengthen Medicare and Social Security for future generations. Those are two programs that are especially important to women. Nearly a quarter of all elderly women rely on Social Security for their sole source of income. And as women, we live longer than men, have more chronic health problems, relatively smaller pensions, and therefore depend on Medicare even more.

A few months ago, I met a woman named Mary Lee. When her mother got sick, Mary Lee moved her mother in with her, as many of us have or would do. She found that as her mother's health deteriorated, she even had to stop working in order to care for her around the clock. But her mother's Medicare—and her mother's Medicare gap policy—didn't cover the prescription drug costs, which cost \$4,500 a year.

And so, as with so many families, Mary Lee's family had to make some tough choices—whether children's needs or her mother's needs came first. Mary Lee's mother passed away, but the courageous efforts that Mary Lee put forth to care for her are certainly a reminder of what happens in millions and millions of families.

We in this room are often the blessed and fortunate ones in our society. We have been able to take advantage of good educations, we've been given opportunities. And the question is, where will we stand on the issues I've mentioned, and so many others? Will we speak out on behalf of changes that might not directly affect us right away, but certainly indirectly could, and would directly affect so many others? I often think of how fortunate I am that many of the problems that plagued women with economic issues and health issues are ones that I have not experienced, but I know that there but for the grace of God go I and everyone else. Women who don't have any position from which to speak—women who don't have a voice that will be heard—need our voices. Politics is about organizing and raising those voices here at home and around the world.

I've been privileged to represent our country in many different settings in the last six and a half years. And I have seen firsthand the struggles that women face around the globe. It often puts into stark perspective our own situation. I've been in villages in Africa and small huts in Asia and health clinics in Latin America, and I've listened to countless women talk to me about their lives. I think it's a good reminder for those of us as to what it's like for the majority of women still living in the world, who often put in very long hours—getting up before the sun to gather firewood, to milk a goat, or even, as I saw in Mongolia, a horse; to prepare the food that often takes hours; to do the planting and the harvesting; to go to the market; to be employed by or run the small businesses that are the backbones of most developing countries' economies—and who still, with all of their effort, often find themselves ignored, marginalized within their families and their communities.

We started an initiative called Vital Voices, and we have taken that initiative throughout the world so that we could give a platform to women's voices, and by doing so, try to help women become political. We started in Austria with women from the former Soviet Union. And we listened to how women who once held positions are finding themselves unemployed, and are seeing their economies not moving forward, and in many instances, are finding that they are now not so sought after because the jobs are scarcer, and men are the ones who often receive them.

We moved on to Latin America where we had a hemispheric conference in Uruguay, where woman after woman talked about what it meant to no longer be living

under totalitarian military dictatorships—every country in our hemisphere, save one, is now a democracy. Many of those women had stood on the front lines as they saw loved ones disappear, as they saw democracy return after very difficult battles, and they were determined to take their rightful place in every sector of society. I attended a joint meeting of all the women in the legislature in Uruguay—of every political stripe, from the far right to the far left—who had banded together to make sure women's voices were heard.

And in El Salvador, I sat down with women who were on opposite sides of that bloody struggle. One woman had been a guerilla leader, the other was a member of a very prominent family that had been on the other side. And they talked about how, as women, they were able to make concessions that their male colleagues found very difficult, to try to make those tentative steps toward building trust with one another.

In Belfast, Northern Ireland, we convened a Vital Voices conference and brought together women from the north who had never ever sat down and talked with one another—women from different traditions who found they had more in common and could make common cause in the political system. Women have been elected to the assembly in Northern Ireland, and we are all hopeful that the peace process takes hold and moves forward. But on the ground, in the small “p” political arena, women are knitting communities together, crossing sectarian lines, creating small businesses, building playgrounds in areas where children have never felt safe to play outdoors.

And then just a few weeks ago, I was in Iceland, where women from Russia and the Baltics came together with women from Scandinavia and America to talk about democracy. And there are so many challenges facing the women of Russia, yet they were there, bravely looking for ways that they can help themselves, their businesses, their communities, become political participants in a very difficult environment. We also had women from other parts of the world come to speak. Rasha, from Kuwait, spoke about how finally after years of struggle, the Emir had said that women would be permitted to vote, but the Parliament has yet to act on that decree. The parliamentary leaders keep saying to women who have never been allowed to vote, “What is the urgency?” And Rasha said she had been stunned by the question. These were women who had stood shoulder to shoulder during the Iraqi invasion. They had undertaken very difficult, and sometimes even dangerous, missions, and they are still being told to wait.

A woman from Belarus—Vera, a lawyer who stands up for human rights in a country that is reverting to communism and totalitarian authoritarianism—spoke movingly about what it's like to try to be a lawyer who speaks for human rights when your colleagues disappear, when you're disbarred, when newspapers are shut down.

I mention these examples to remind us that we have so many more blessings, not just in comparison to the women who met at the Congress Hotel, or the women who helped Jane Addams with projects she undertook at Hull House, or the women at Seneca Falls in 1848 who published their Declaration of Sentiments on behalf of women. We are so blessed in comparison to women who live in most of the rest of the world right now.

And as with any blessing, it carries an obligation. What will we do to make sure our voices are heard? We have the blessings we enjoy today, not because some benevolent ruler gave them to us, but because we worked for them, we advocated for them, we struggled for them, and yes, we voted for them.

We have an extraordinary moment in history as we end this 20th century. We can decide to honor the past and imagine and build a better future, or we can allow the complacency that often sets in when times are good to dull our senses and close our eyes to the work that is yet to be done. If we want to honor the past, then we have to be part of imagining and making that future.

When I think about politics in 1999, I know that so often it is more about 30-second commercials than about substance; I know that women still have some obstacles to overcome; and I know that it's often talked about these days as though it were some entertainment or sporting event that we could all be spectators at and turn it off if we found it distasteful or boring. But I have seen in so many ways what a difference it makes.

And so I come today to urge that you leave this forum committed to the political process; that you use your talents and opportunities to become involved in an issue—in a campaign, as a candidate—to advocate on behalf of what you believe in, and not to be deterred by the often uncomfortable, and even painful and mean-spirited atmosphere that sometimes marks our politics.

We've seen an increasing reluctance of people to vote. One of my favorite posters from 1996 was of a woman with a piece of tape covering her mouth. And under it, it said: "Most politicians think women should be seen and not heard. In the last election, 54 million women agreed with them."

So the bottom line, the most fundamental obligation, is to vote. It's surprising how many people of affluence and standing tell me that they have given up on the political process; they don't think there is any difference; they don't vote because they don't think it matters. And I always ask them whether they think that it mattered that we turned the economy around, that it was a hard-fought legislative battle. I ask them whether they think it matters that we did finally pass a Family and Medical Leave Act that now 20 million Americans have taken advantage of. I ask them whether they think it matters that finally, against the extraordinary opposition of the NRA, the Brady Bill was passed, and now more than 400,000 people have been turned away from their efforts to buy a weapon.

I think those things do matter. I think, as we look across the landscape of America today, we can see how it matters that our prosperity is lifting so many people—their incomes, their fortunes, their futures are rising. I think it matters in this city that there is political leadership that took on the problems of the public schools, and has made such a contribution to education reform under the mayor's leadership. So one can never

convince me that it doesn't matter, but I understand the underlying reluctance. Because of the way we communicate about politics today, it's very distancing.

My friend Deborah Tannen—whom some of you may know from her seminal work about the differences men and women have in the way that they talk—has written an incredible book about the culture of argument. And if we turn on our television sets, it looks like all of our politics is an argument. People insulting each other, yelling at each other, arguing constantly. You wouldn't want them in your home, so why do you want them on your television screens? It's just easier to try to shut it off. And I also know that in the atmosphere of the last several years, there has been a lot of negativity and the politics of personal destruction has had a major role. But, you see, if you turn away from politics because of what is happening, you leave the field clear to those who promote that kind of political agenda. And by leaving the field clear, you lose your voice and your vote in determining whether or not it would be possible to keep that kind of political mean-spiritedness out of our national life, and whether it is possible to create a more positive vision of what we want from politics.

This is a fundamental choice that each of us faces. In addition to our own voice and our own vote, we have an opportunity to come together around issues that matter. There are many significant problems, some of which can be addressed by political leadership, but most of which can only be addressed by partnerships—between government and the private sector, between the not-for-profit sector and the private sector. And creating those partnerships influences politics.

Women have an extraordinary opportunity today to make sure that the gains of this century are built on and carried into the next. I'm not going to tell you that it's easy to be involved in politics; I could never with a straight face tell you that. But I can tell you that it is rewarding. That when you do stand up for what you believe, and you see that it makes a difference, you feel like you've maybe paid back a little bit for all that you've been given.

There are some wonderful lessons that people have taught us that are not new at all that I would recommend to you. Eleanor Roosevelt, one of my favorite predecessors, wrote a very influential essay back in the 1920s about women in politics. Basically, she said that women had to be much better prepared than men, that women had to be ready to be questioned and criticized, that women had to grow skin as thick as a rhinoceros. But she urged women to do all of the necessary steps to be politically active. Because she understood, as she often said, that you must do the thing you think you cannot do. And one of my favorite Eleanor Roosevelt sayings is, "Women are like teabags, they don't know how strong they are until they get into hot water."

We also need women to use their pocketbooks and their financial resources. We lost two very impressive candidates in the last months—Christie Todd Whitman and Elizabeth Dole. I may be of another party, but I admired both of them and their willingness to enter the political fray. They both basically said that raising the money was just too much of an obstacle. It is still harder for women to raise money in our

political system. And women who now control a majority of the wealth, the individual wealth in America, have an opportunity to participate financially, and I would urge you to do that.

I know that Mrs. Dole had hoped to be here today and was not able to come. And I am often asked, when do I think a woman will be president. Well, again, Eleanor Roosevelt was asked, and she said by the 1970s. And in the 1970s, Rosalynn Carter was asked, and she said by the year 2000. So now, to play it safe, I'll say in the 21st century. But part of the reason it's so difficult and daunting a challenge is because of the way we finance campaigns. So while I urge you to participate financially because that is a way for your voice to be heard, and for you to support candidates whom you believe will speak for the issues that you care about, I also hope that women's voices will be heard more loudly in the effort to change the campaign finance rules, because I believe that they are undermining our democracy and undermining the voices of many citizens.

So voting, raising your voice, becoming part of coalitions, contributing to candidates, advocating for change—they are all ways that each of us can participate. And then there is the next step—that more and more women are taking—to become candidates, and then to serve in public life.

I don't know that it is any different anywhere else in the world, where I have met many women who have taken the step to become active in their country's political process, but I do think our system is harder in many ways. Because in a parliamentary system, a woman is a colleague. Margaret Thatcher could get to know her colleagues, and her colleagues could develop a relationship with her. And she could represent a relatively small constituency, and through hard work and leadership be chosen by her colleagues to head her party.

A woman in our country has a much stiffer hill to climb, but I am pleased that more and more women are doing just that. I am learning a little bit more about that myself these days, and I admire any woman and any man who will step forward, and I urge more of you to think seriously about doing that.

And then for those who hold office, it's a real challenge to keep focused on the issues that matter. In our system, you are elected to Congress, or you are elected governor, or you are elected senator, or to the state legislature. And for many who are elected, they have to start immediately campaigning for office again, and that means raising the money that is necessary to fund those campaigns.

So there are many people, as we have seen in the last years, who are resigning or are failing to run because they just don't think the process works. I understand their concerns, but I think it's important that we not give up and walk away from the process, but continue to try to reform it.

Finally, I would say that if politics is to be meaningful in the next century, we are going to have to take advantage of technology, and we are going to have to learn how

better to communicate with each other. And there is no reason why women cannot be at the forefront of doing just that—breaking new ground in how the political process actually will work. Because if we look at the issues that await us, I think we have unfinished business of the 20th century—to continue our economic progress and make sure it reaches every single American; to continue reforming our public education system, and ensure that every child has a chance to learn and has access to the information age technology that he or she will require; to make it possible for us to once again put patients and doctors in the center of the health care system; to ensure that we do what is necessary to keep guns out of the hands of children and criminals; to protect our environment.

On so many fronts, we have the unfinished work of this century. But we also will face new challenges, and those new challenges range from ensuring that we finally have a health care system that provides quality, affordable health care to every American; to looking for ways to marry the environment and the economy so that we don't pit one against the other; to ensuring that the digital divide is just a phrase and not a fact that further widens the wealth gap in our country; to working on the unfinished business of making this one America where all people are respected and have a chance to participate fully; to continuing to lead around the world and making clear that America is the strongest force for peace and prosperity and stability, and that means doing things like looking for ways to end the spread of nuclear weapons, and dealing with threats like global warming and proliferation of chemical and biological weapons, and ensuring that we are up to speed on our public health agenda so that we don't have the spread of epidemics or other challenges. There is much much work to be done.

The other night at the White House, we had one of our Millennium Lectures—that we have had now 10 of—that are broadcast on the Internet and bring together thinkers and academics and people who have something to say about the past and the future. This one was particularly compelling because we brought together an expert in informatics and an expert in genomics. The expert in genetics said that we will find, when we map the human genome, that all human beings are 99.9 percent the same—our DNA differs by just one-tenth of a percent. You may be a man, I may be a woman, you may be black, I may be white, you may be tall, I may be medium—we have so many superficial differences, but they fit into that one-tenth of one percent.

So what do we do with this new knowledge? Do we take it as a great invitation to look for ways that we bring people together? That we celebrate our differences, but we recognize that underneath our common humanity is so much greater? Do we teach our daughters that they should celebrate being a woman, but they should recognize that their feelings, their aspirations, are rooted in a long history of development?

(END OF TAPE SIDE 1. CONTINUES ON SIDE 2, WITH SPEECH IN PROGRESS.)

...are responsible and to quit pitting women against women, homemakers against professional women, and most of us in the middle who have tried to balance both? Will

we admit that there is no single, cookie-cutter model for being a successful and fulfilled woman today? That we can choose to be a full-time mother, or have no children at all? Or as we live longer, find different ways of living out different decades of our lives?

If we can come to terms with who we are as women as we end this century and begin the next, then by our examples, by the choices we make, we will set a new course in politics, and we will pass on to our daughters the lessons that it is, as Susan said, far less important what we look like than what we feel, what we say, what we think. That it is far more important that we try to make life a little better for those who come after than to just be a captive of the consumer culture. There are a lot of decisions being made in each of our lives, and the aggregate of those decisions will affect our political life.

So I thank you for gathering to talk about politics to make sure that it is there on a stage to be discussed and not to be rejected or maligned, that we look for ways that our voices, our votes, our resources, our activism can make a difference. The 20th century has been America's century. I believe that the 21st can be a century of progress for American women.

I was recently at a conference about the future of politics, and I was there with a very distinguished British scholar who studies political developments around the world. And he said, You know, the most significant advance that has occurred in the 20th century is not what often is talked about—namely technology and productivity. He said those have been very important. But the most important advance and the most important change has been the role of women. And American women have broken new ground, have navigated uncharted waters. And he turned to me and he said, But will American women keep doing so, or will they be satisfied just to try to balance the demands of their own lives? I thought that was a good question. I think the answer is that we will continue to do what we can to use politics to advance the common good as we see it. And by doing so, continue to demonstrate the leadership that women in the past have shown that we have tried to live up to.

Thank you all very much.

Women's Leadership Forum Speech on Women and Politics

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
New York, New York
March 3, 1999

Thank you very much. Thank you all. Thank you. You know, I was asked a few months ago if I would come to New York for a WLF event with a few of my friends, and it is just an amazing sight to behold all of you. And there is an overflow room that I will visit, and I want to tell everybody who's there, which is nearly as big as this room. It gives me just a great boost to see all of you here and supporting causes and concerns that we share. There are many people to thank. Like Laura [Ross], I wish that I could single out many of you whom I know personally and have worked with and have become friends of mine. But I want to start by thanking Laura for her extraordinary leadership and commitment. She is legendary in her willingness to work hard on behalf of causes and candidates that she believes in, and I am very grateful to her.

I also want to thank Roy Romer -- the DNC General Chair, the former long serving governor of Colorado -- who is here. I am delighted that Chuck Schumer could have been with us, and I understand why he needs to hurry back to Washington to be there for whatever vote needs to take place. I am also told that the attorney general, Landslide [Elliott] Spitzer, is here with his wife, Silva. And I am delighted they could be with us. I think that Judith Hope, the New York State party chair, is here as well, and I am glad to greet Judith. And also, I believe that public advocate Mark Green is here and Mark, somewhere. The city council speaker, Peter Valone. I think Peter is with us as well. There are other members of the New York City Council, I don't have names but I want to thank you and maybe you could stand and we could recognize you and express our appreciation that you would come today.

The Manhattan Borough president, Virginia Fields, is here. Thank you, Virginia, for coming. And the Bronx Borough president, Freddie Ferrar, is here somewhere and I want to thank President Ferrar for being with us. The DNC vice-chair, Bill Lynch; DNC finance chair, Beth Dozoretz, I think the first woman to hold that position which makes me very pleased indeed. The WLF national chair, Cynthia Friedman. I want to thank Cynthia and their board members, including my friend Shahara Ahmad-Llewellyn, who is here in the crowd. And the WLF Connecticut Chapter chair, Ronni Ginott, is here as well.

As I said though, I could identify and point out so many of you in this room. There is one person I want especially to thank. Her tireless commitment and her vision about the kind of country we want to be as we move toward a new century has helped to fill this room with people who are both activists and donors. She is a remarkable woman and a real example, and I want to thank Pat Pepper for her leadership and her friendship over the years.

(END OF TAPE 1 -- UNSURE IF ANY REMARKS WERE CUT OFF.)

You might ask, "Why is this an important event? Why are we all gathered here?" Well, I was told that there were some who thought that I might have an announcement to make.... But I don't. But I do have a lot on my mind that I'd like to share with each of you because your being here speaks volumes to me about the kind of politics and the sort of society that we all want to see.

It has been an interesting time in the last six years to see the progress that we have been able to make as a nation. And that is progress that is really the result of the hard work and dedication of countless millions of Americans. Every time a businessman or woman made a decision to reach down deep and take a risk and employ more people and try to expand, to

go into new markets and really make a mark for him or herself, that was a decision that helped move us forward. Every time a teacher looked out at a diverse group of students and said, "You know, I'm going to do everything in my power to give these young boys and girls the chance they deserve," that was also a decision for the kind of future we want. Every time a doctor or a nurse said to themselves, "You know, I'm just going to do what I need to do for this patient and I'm going to fulfill my obligations and I'm going to try and make this health care system work for people and not just for accountants or bureaucrats." And that moved us forward as to the kind of country we want to be.

There are countless examples -- people whose names might be in a headline and people who would never be in the newspaper, but you and I know, people who are doing the very best they can every single day to make a contribution and to try to make a difference. Now I know that some people, when we talk about politics or public service, you know you can see that they are put off, they don't know quite how to think about what it is that makes our democracy vibrant.

And I am often asked, as I've told some of you before, "You know, what do you really think about politics?" Or in a slightly more biased tone, "How can you stand politics?" And whenever someone asks me that, I pause for a minute and I say, "Well, you know, have you ever been a member of a family or a church or a synagogue or a civic organization or anything else where you had to work with people to make decisions by consensus, by majority vote, by working out the likes and dislikes of all the people who you were working with?" Because really politics -- with a small "p" -- is how in a democracy we get along with one another. And we make decisions that we think are in our best interest as well as the larger society's or a family's or a group's. And when we think about it that way, more in the line of de Tocqueville and others, we can see how unique this great American experiment is, how lucky we are that we have for more than 200 plus years now understood that politics, in the good times and the bad times, is really the life blood of a democracy.

And so when I stand before all of you, I am really impressed that you are willing to make a contribution, not only of your financial resources, but of your time and your energy to something political, something that really, we hope, stands for something greater than each of us could achieve on our own. And it is especially important, and the reason why the WLF was formed in 1993, it's especially important that women feel connected to the political process. Because there are so many decisions made at the local, state and national level that truly do affect how we live: how good the schools are that we send our children to, the kind of health care that's available to our parents.

I was especially reminded of that last summer when, with some of you, I took a bus trip that led me from Newburg, New York, to Seneca Falls. And I was able to see a lot of places and visit with people because we were attempting to, in the spirit of the Millennium, think about saving America's treasures. And you know, it's not just the big treasures that we know about -- the Star Spangled Banner -- it's the quieter places. It's the monument in a city center, it's a building that has stood the test of time, it's a document that might be in an attic somewhere. But as I traveled on that bus, stopping and talking and listening, I could see and feel that maybe we don't think often enough about all of the sacrifices that have gone before and all of the blessings we take for granted.

Now I couldn't help but be reminded of that by the time I got to Seneca Falls for the 150th anniversary of the first Women's Rights Convention. Think for a minute of the courage it took -- some of you were there, thousands of people were there -- to pay tribute to these women and some hardy men who thought differently about what was possible.

And I read some of the individual stories about some of the participants. And one young woman in particular made an impression on me. She was a glove maker. You know, I am always a little bit taken aback when people in today's world talk as though women have only worked for the last 10 or 15 years when we know that women have always worked

both in the home and outside, sometimes for wages, sometimes and mostly not, but have always made a contribution through their hard work. And certainly in Seneca Falls and in the surrounding area with the industrialization that was building up in the early part of the nineteenth century, there were a lot of women who were working. And one young woman, just 19 years old, heard about this convention that was aimed at talking about the rights that women should have. Because then women couldn't own property in their name; they had no rights to their children if there were a divorce; there were many, many ways in which they were legally prevented from claiming their full citizenship.

And this young glove maker read about this convention and went from door to door in her community encouraging people to come with her, and they did. And they met like-minded women and men who understood what the convention was attempting to do, which was to claim the rights of women to be full human beings, to make the choices that were the ones they thought were best for them.

Now advocating for those rights at that time caused a lot of controversy, and the women who were there were called all kinds of names -- fanatics and old maids and everything else you can imagine. But they understood something that we also have to understand, and that is that those who advocate for progress and change will often pay a price, but if we persevere, if we see that kind of commitment through the changes that can happen, will benefit maybe us but more likely our daughters and our granddaughters.

Now today when we think about what is happening in the world around us, we can see that women have begun to take their rightful places in the political landscape, not only as candidates who run for or hold office but as contributors, as people who actively participate in the political process as many of you do. And for all of us who are able to participate, who can be here in this glorious room just like those first women at Seneca Falls, we are standing in for countless other women who cannot be here, who couldn't afford the ticket, who wouldn't think they had anything to wear or anything to contribute, who wouldn't see themselves as a political person at all.

And one of our great challenges in the next years is to make sure that our society doesn't split apart along income lines, so that there are some who feel entitled and able to participate in politics and public service and others who feel that there is no place for them and, because of apathy, indifference, fear and insecurity, don't. One of the goals of the last six years has been to try to open up politics and make public service available to as many people as possible. That is part of the reason the WLF began. And for all of us who are asked the question I'm often asked -- "Why would we be involved in politics?" -- let me give you a few answers from just the last six years.

It makes a difference in the lives of men and women, but particularly women for whom the Earned Income Tax Credit and the minimum wage have helped to lift their families and children out of poverty. That didn't happen by accident. It happened because people like the President and the Vice President and others in the Administration and members of Congress understood that if we were a society built upon individual initiative, then we needed to reward work, not penalize it. And for all the people who are working at minimum wage, all the people who are striving to make ends meet, we wanted to send them a message that your work is not in vain. You can get a stake in this society if you are willing to pay the price, if you are willing to work hard.

Our streets are safer in city after city and in neighborhood after neighborhood throughout America. The Crime Bill of 1994 helped to put a strategy for dealing with crime in the forefront of our national consciousness. All during the 1980s people gave speeches against crime, didn't they? They pointed their fingers, they built more prisons and the crime rate kept going up. But when this Administration came into office there was a different attitude. We needed to do something about guns, we needed to put more police on the street, we needed to encourage ideas like community policing. And as a result, crime has decreased

for five years in a row around our country.

Now that is the kind of difference, that is the kind of difference that politics can make. That was a bitterly fought battle in Washington. One of the untold stories about the 1994 elections and all the Democratic losses is that many Democratic members of Congress who were persuaded to vote for the Crime Bill and the Brady Bill lost their seats because of the incredible lobbying of the gun lobby against them when they were up for election. But they did the right thing, and every time. We can breathe a little easier. We should thank people who had the courage to make that decision.

Another set of issues that have been a real problem for us in our country is the economic front. Think about where we were in 1992 when there were other countries lecturing the United States about our economic house not being in order. Now here we are after some tough decisions and some tough votes that cost a lot of good people their jobs, including a very brave congresswoman from outside of Philadelphia. I don't know if you remember this, but remember when the President's deficit reduction plan was being voted on? It won by one vote in the House and one vote in the Senate -- thankfully the Vice President's vote. But in the House, Marjorie Margolis Mezvinsky, who came from an affluent district and who knew that it would be a tough sell for her, because we all know that the taxes were raised as well as spending was cut and other things were done that had to be done. When Marjorie walked up that aisle and the Republicans on both sides were waving at her "goodbye, Marjorie," she knew she was putting her seat at risk and she did it anyway because it was the right thing to do. And now we can look back at that historic vote and we can thank her and the other brave members of Congress who stood with the President to do something about our economic situation in this country.

We've also seen some good news on some of the social indicators. We've seen both teen pregnancy rates and abortions finally going down. And that was under a pro-choice president who refused to back down on a woman's right to choose.

You know, it is one thing to deplore a problem and it is another thing to try to solve it. And sometimes it is a lot easier just to point fingers, isn't it? Not to take responsibility but to just keep saying, "Look at what those people are doing," or "Look at that problem." And what we've tried to do, and what I think you can fairly say has happened in the last six years, is that this Administration and many citizen allies like you out in the country have tried to deal with problems, not put them under a rug, not ignore them, but to try to come up with strategies to solve them.

And there are many more examples that I could point to, but the issue is not, as we stand here on the brink of a new century, what we have done but what we will do. What kinds of decisions are we willing to make now as we move forward? We are living in good times and we're proud that we are.

We see the United States as the indispensable nation. We see our economy continuing to grow. We see a lot of progress being made. And so we have to ask ourselves, "Is now the time that we retreat into our own worlds where we say, I'm fine, my family's fine, my business is fine, I don't have to worry about anybody else." Or do we take these good times that we have carefully created and have the resources to continue and make good decisions about and try to continue confronting problems and making it possible for us to say that we are together creating progress in our country?

Well now, obviously I believe it's time for us to deal with remaining problems that we confront. I think what drew many of us into the WLF or into politics in general is that we do believe we have a social contract with one another; that we do believe that our country can continue to become better and better if, but only if, a critical majority of people are willing to do what needs to be done when the times arise.

You know, I'm always amused when occasionally I hear that the President or I or someone in the Administration advocating issues that are women's issues or that are not really big, significant issues -- issues like child care, or issues like choice, or issues like education, or issues like health care. And you know, I've always been amused when I hear somebody say that all of this talk about these issues was leading to "the feminization of politics." Now, the commentator who said that, I think, meant it as maybe insulting. I don't want to make any conclusions about that, but I've never considered issues like health care, education, child care as women's issues.

I've met lots and lots of fathers and husbands and sons who were just as concerned. The point is that we are attempting to humanize politics. We are attempting to give people the belief that the political actually can work for them. And so when someone asks you to get involved with the WLF or the Democratic Party, think about what it means for all of the people who aren't here today that you would have made a contribution and staked yourself out on the side of issues that are humanizing American politics.

You know, a few weeks ago I was in Brooklyn at a wonderful event at the YMCA there, and I met with a group of women who talked to me very personally about their lives. A single mom who makes \$30,000 a year, which is too much for any kind of subsidy. But after she pays everything she has to pay she doesn't know where to leave her son while she goes to work -- and we all want her to work, and \$30,000 is a good salary. But she can't figure out what to do about child care.

I met another mom who's working with three small children and she doesn't know what to do with them after school. And for her that is not a trivial issue, it's a critical one about how she can have peace at work and try to make sure that her family has a good income, but knows that her children are well taken care of. And she needed after-school programs, and thanks to increased funding in the President's budget, she now has a place for at least one of her children to go after school.

I met a woman whose daughter was in a very serious automobile accident last spring. And if it were not for the Family and Medical Leave Act, she doesn't know what she would have done. She was able to take 12 weeks of unpaid leave and have a job waiting when she went back. Imagine how you would feel: you're a working mom, your child's in an accident, that child needs to be in a hospital then needs rehabilitation and physical therapy, and you have to make a choice between taking care of your child or losing your job. This mom understood clearly how important the Family and Medical Leave Act is, and I would like to see its provisions -- which, remember, are unpaid leave -- extended to even more employers so that more employees would have a right to do that.

So just there in that one encounter, child care, after-school care, family and medical leave. Those were not abstract issues to the women I spoke with. They were the stuff of real life. And because of politics each of them had better options than they ever could have had before.

And we are also confronting some very big issues when it comes to Social Security and Medicare. And again, these are not just concerns for a certain group of Americans but should be concerns for all of us. If we have older parents, as I am still fortunate to have my mother, we know that Social Security and Medicare are essential. But we sometimes forget that Social Security is also available to young people who suffer diseases or accidents and can't go on working.

I remember hearing about one young man who had an incapacitating stroke in his early 30s -- something we don't imagine happening to young people. His health problems left his wife and his children to fend for themselves. But because of Social Security he was able to have disability insurance for the children and he knew that they at least would have some measure of financial security.

It truly is a family protection system for America's families. It's also the single reason why half of all American women over 65 are not living in poverty. That is a stunning statistic, and I've taken in my own mind -- as I travel around or go to church or go visit people or look out the window of a car as I drive by -- I'm thinking to myself that for every woman, every two women over 65 whom I see on the street, one of them would be impoverished were it not for Social Security. So this debate about Social Security that is going on in the Congress, and I hope throughout the country, is important for every American, but it is especially important for women and it has special meaning for those millions of Americans who depend upon SSI and other benefits that we often don't think of and we just say Social Security.

It's also critical that we look at what to do to save Medicare. And this is also a problem not just for older Americans but for those of us who have older relatives or feel responsible for someone over 65. I don't know how many friends of yours have had to quit a job or cut back on hours or go to extraordinary lengths to take care of an older relative or friend or in some way make a contribution to the well-being of somebody over 65, but I've met countless Americans who are in that position.

A few weeks ago in the White House, we had a woman whose mother is in a very advanced state of Alzheimers. They couldn't afford to put her in a home, and they really didn't want to. So she quit her job so she could become the full-time caretaker. That meant that her husband had to take on more work to try to maintain their standard of living. You know, one of the hopes that we have in this session of Congress is that the President's proposal to help families with long-term care will be successful. Because especially when families are trying to do the right thing -- keep somebody at home, make the sacrifices -- let's give them the support that they need so that they can continue doing what they know is right for themselves and their families.

There are many examples of where political decisions have made a difference in the lives of real Americans. And this decision that we are confronting about Social Security and Medicare will be one of the most important we face. I happen to think that the President's proposal to dedicate the surplus, 77 percent of it to Social Security and Medicare, is the responsible action to take.

I told a group earlier today that a friend of mine had a great line. She said, "You know, if Roosevelt's line was that This is a generation that has a rendezvous with destiny,' ours is a generation which has a rendezvous with responsibility." And that means that for all of these issues, if we don't confront them and try to deal with them now, they will only get worse. And as those of us in the so-called "baby boom generation" age, the choices we face will be incredibly draconian. And people like you and me, most of us in this room, we can probably figure out a way to take care of ourselves, but do we really want to live in a society where the vast majority of Americans are rendered insecure, where their health care is up to the choice of whatever insurance company gets their business? I think not.

I think part of what we have to face is how we in this time of dynamic change have enough security and confidence in the future that we are able to encourage every American to live up to his or her God-given potential. As we look at the future, one of the efforts we are trying to make in the White House to help frame our thinking is through the Millennium Council that we've set up. We've adopted a slogan -- "Honor the past and imagine the future." And if one thinks about it, that's a pretty good idea that we can bring not only to saving America's treasures or thinking about the great accomplishments of the past and what might happen in the future, but it's a pretty good definition for citizens of any democracy.

We honor the past when we recognize the sacrifices that went before us. We honor the past when we recognize that my mother was born before she could vote. We honor the past

when we say to ourselves that this country, for all of its difficulties, has gone further in giving to every person who is a part of the American experience an opportunity to be whatever that person has the guts and the hard work and the willingness to make of himself or herself. So we can honor the past in lots of ways. But we do a disservice to ourselves, our children, and our future if we think we can live in the past.

There are many people who believe they can turn the clock back, shut our borders, tell people how to live, point fingers at one another, instead of extending a helping hand and saying, "I will help you on your journey if you help me on mine." And what we as Americans have to recognize is that we cannot drop out of the political process and leave the arena to those with very specific agendas. We cannot say, "I won't be involved in politics because I don't like the negativity, I don't like all of the ads on television, I don't feel comfortable thinking about or talking about politics and the way it has become."

I can certainly understand why someone might feel that way, but it is not a feeling that you should act on. It is a feeling that should be tangent. You could say all you want about the flaws of our political system, but when it comes right down to it, somebody is going to make the decisions. Will we or will we not fund the \$100,000 to bring down class size? Will we or will we not build the schools and repair them that our children need? Will we or will we not pass a patient's bill of rights? Will we or will we not be fiscally responsible with the surplus and begin to deal with Social Security, Medicare, and our savings deficit through USA accounts?

Those are not decisions that we should leave to someone else, some other organized group. Those are decisions each of us have a stake in. And so I begin to think about the future in political terms because I've always believed that we are at our best as a nation when everybody understands their obligations as a citizen. And that is what you are doing here today.

I've had a lot of wonderful experiences in the last six years. I've been able to travel around the world representing our country, both with my husband and on my own. I've looked into the faces of countless people here and abroad, I've listened to their stories, I've shared their hopes and their anguish -- from everything that might happen in their families here in the United States to the political dilemmas they face abroad. And every time I do go out, either to another country or to another part of our country, I am struck time and time again by how blessed we are at this point in our history.

The women at Seneca Falls could never even have imagined the freedoms and the rights we take for granted. The real challenge for us is to decide whether all the sacrifices that were made in the past should just be honored by rhetoric or honored by action. And whether we can be part of imagining a kind of future for our country that keeps faith with all the people who went before. This is a great, great time to be a woman in America. We are so blessed and we should be so grateful, no matter what our personal circumstances are, that we live at a time in a society where we do have the opportunities that we have before us today.

But among our obligations and among the debts we owe to those who came before are to be involved in the political process that makes the American democracy work. And I want to thank all of you for being part of making that happen. Thank you very much.



Women's World Cup Champions Reception Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

The White House
July 19, 1999

We are so pleased to have such a wonderful turnout. I want to join the President—and, I know, all of you—in expressing how much our thoughts and prayers are with the Kennedy and the Bessette families at this extraordinarily painful time. I also want to join with all of you in welcoming the United States Women's World Cup soccer champions to the White House. We are so pleased to have them. Welcome and congratulations to our “girls of summer.” Not only have they captured our imaginations, they've definitely stolen our hearts. And by creating the largest women's sporting event in history, they have exploded the myth—once and for all—that women's sports can't attract fans and public attention. And it is about time that that has happened.

I want to welcome our Cabinet officials who are here. And I want to say a special word of welcome and thanks to Secretary Donna Shalala, who has been the stalwart leading the Administration forward on “girl power,” and one of the greatest fans that women's soccer and this team have had. I also want to thank all the members of Congress who are here. I see a big crowd and I think everyone from every state represented by the team behind me and all the others are here. And I also am pleased that there are so many young people from soccer teams of both boys' and girls' clubs, as well as schools, from across the city. They are our future champions and they now have a bunch of superstars to look up to, and we're delighted to have them here.

The President has already said how thrilling it was for he and Chelsea and I to attend the game against Germany here in Washington, and how jealous Chelsea and I were that his schedule permitted him to get to the Rose Bowl. But we were, along with millions of Americans and fans around the world, just extraordinarily moved and excited. And I couldn't help thinking—as I can imagine many of the women in this audience, including my dear friend Tipper Gore—couldn't help thinking how times have changed.

Tipper was a great athlete in her time. Their three daughters are great athletes. I was a mediocre one at best. But I can still remember when we had to play half court basketball. I can remember when there were not many interscholastic team opportunities for girls. I can remember when we had to buy our own uniforms, such as they were. You know, the last softball team I played on, much to my embarrassment, was called the “Good and Plenties,” because it was sponsored by the local candy distributor and we had to wear pink socks, black shorts, and white shirts.

But so much has changed. Back in 1985 this team had to sew the letters USA on their team jerseys themselves. But look at what has happened in a very few years. We've learned a lot about women and what women can do to compete and to win, and to carry their country's feelings and emotions into the arena of sports.

This World Cup was not only about this team's fierce determination overcoming injuries, illness, and fatigue day after day. It was not only about teamwork and solidarity, including supporting each other on and off the field—such as baby-sitting for each other's children. It was really about changing the rules once and for all. I particularly like the idea in my mind of the contrast between preparing for a championship team, as my brothers and a lot of the men in sports I have known—you know, eating a lot of steak and getting geared up. And what I heard this team did—putting on their favorite dancing CD, singing at the top of their lungs, and painting each other's fingernails. In addition, they have volunteered to be with each other through thick and through thin, including getting two fillings if that was necessary.

But what we're really proud of today is how they have represented our country and the way they have really represented the faith that so many of us put into the idea behind Title IX: to open the gates of opportunity for athletic involvement to women. And we now have women at the intercollegiate level

playing in every sport you can imagine, and a generation of women athletes who are now able to compete just as their fathers and brothers did.

The history of America is the history of people who have stepped beyond the lines that have been drawn for them, who have refused to limit their dreams, who have faced the naysayers and said, "Yes. I can do this."

Who would have imagined that these young women would be here today on the very day we are celebrating so much in our nation's history—the first walk of a human being on the moon, and tonight, Lt. Colonel Eileen Collins will become the first woman in history to become a commander of a space shuttle. I'm delighted that the team will be flying down with me so that we can be at Cape Canaveral together to cheer Lt. Colonel Collins on.

Now today, though, we not only honor this past victory, we honor the future. And I want to introduce someone to you who is already breaking through even more lines and crossing them with great aplomb. She's part of a program called D.C. Scores, which helps kids achieve on the soccer field and in the classroom. She's not only the leading scorer on her soccer team, she's a champion essayist as well. Let's welcome 6th grader Stefaney Howell from here in Washington, D.C.

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TALKING IT OVER

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

July 14, 1999

Last Saturday, the U.S. women's soccer team made history again. In a thrilling final match played before a sell-out crowd of more than 90,000 fans -- the most ever to watch a women's sporting event -- the Americans outscored a brilliant Chinese team on penalty kicks to regain their World Cup title.

One of the great lines to come out of this year's World Cup is from a TV ad in which a U.S. player is told by her dentist that she needs two fillings. One by one, each of her teammates stands up to pledge, "Then, I will have two fillings." This summer, whenever the American team played, little girls held up signs proclaiming, "I will have two fillings."

What those pint-sizes fans realized is that this Women's World Cup was about more than soccer. It was about teamwork and solidarity. It was about the power of women and how far they've come in the last quarter-century. And it was about little girls everywhere, and the doors that are opening for them.

I was lucky enough to attend the quarter-final match between the U.S. team and Germany. As I looked around the crowd of future soccer stars, many sporting the jerseys of their favorite players, it felt great to know that they finally have superstars of their own to look up to. And as role models, you couldn't ask for a better group than the women of the U.S. soccer team.

After the Americans defeated Germany in a heart-stopping battle that night, veteran defender Brandi Chastain had this to say: "You're going to make mistakes in life. It's what you do afterwards that counts."

Six minutes into the game, Chastain had passed the ball into the U.S. net, putting Germany ahead by one. Her reaction: "Now, we have to score two goals." She not only went on to score for her team early in the second half, but then, took the game-winning penalty kick in the championship match against China.

I couldn't help but wonder how many teams would have stood behind Chastain after that first mistake or let her take the deciding kick in the championship game. But over and over again, this team has exhibited a spirit that's both unique and unbeatable.

There's 33-year-old Michelle Akers. The only remaining member of the original U.S. squad, Akers has scored more World Cup goals -- 12 -- than any other player in the world, despite a dozen knee operations, multiple broken bones and an eight-year battle with chronic fatigue syndrome.

Another veteran is Mia Hamm who, when asked what it's like to be the best in the world, adamantly responds that she's only one of 11 players on the field. A tenacious and dedicated player, Hamm's example off the field teaches her young fans important lessons about life's other challenges. Devastated by the death of her 28-year-old brother, Garrett, she established a foundation to educate people about the National Bone Marrow Registry. "His illness and

death gave me the courage to stand up and ask for help, and to understand I can do some things for people with the opportunities I've been given," she explained.

Co-captain Julie Foudy also has some lessons to teach about the responsibility that goes with celebrity. An outspoken opponent of child labor, two years ago, Foudy traveled to a region near the Himalayan Mountains, where 90 percent of the hand-stitched soccer balls in the world are made, to assure herself that children were not being used to produce the balls. For her work, soccer's international governing body awarded her its Fair Play Award --the first time the honor had gone to an American or a woman.

Soccer fans around the world marvel at the performance of the U.S. team, wondering how they've gotten so good in a country that's come to soccer relatively late in the game and boasts no professional league for women -- at least not yet.

Part of the answer lies in Title IX, the federal law that, in 1972, began to even the playing field for male and female athletes. Title IX came along just as the suburban soccer boom was beginning to sweep the country, encouraging exceptional players like Chastain, Akers, Hamm and Foudy to dream of becoming world-class athletes someday -- just like the boys.

But another part of the answer lies in the dedication and support each team member has for her teammates. Whether baby-sitting for each other's children or flying overnight to participate in an annual game to raise funds for bone-marrow research, this team knows that its success depends as much on its strength off the field as its ability to perform on the field. On behalf of soccer fans everywhere, I want to thank the women of the u.s. team for hosting -- and winning -- a thrilling Women's World Cup.

To find out more about Hillary Rodham Clinton and read her past columns, visit the Creators Syndicate web page at www.creators.com.

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TALKING IT OVER

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

March 17, 1999

In 1900, near the end of a lifetime spent fighting for women's rights, Susan B. Anthony described her bold vision for the future: "The woman of the 20th century will be the peer of man. In education, in art, in science, in literature; in the home, the church, the state; everywhere, she will be his acknowledged equal. ... All hail to the 20th century." How prophetic these words sound today.

Early in this century, the full participation in civic life that women now take for granted remained out of reach. Women were constrained in their rights to own property, testify in court, file a lawsuit and serve on a jury. By law, a woman's husband was assumed to be the guardian of her children, and in many states, a married woman could not open a bank account. Most remarkably, women could not exercise the most fundamental symbol of citizenship -- the right to vote.

My own mother was born before women could exercise this basic privilege. Yet, now, it's all too easy to take for granted how far we've come. Many of us forget what life was like before the invention of the vacuum cleaner, the dishwasher and frozen food. From winning the right to vote to gaining access to the halls of academia, corporate boardrooms and playing fields, our lives have changed in ways that even Susan B. Anthony could never have imagined.

As we move into the next century and the next stage of our journey toward full participation in public life, we who remember the struggle that our mothers and grandmothers -- and even some of our fathers and grandfathers -- undertook to secure the rights women enjoy today must cherish and preserve these memories for the generations that will follow.

The President and I have invited all Americans to join us in "honoring our past and imagining our future" as the turning of the millennium approaches. This week, as part of our celebration of National Women's History Month and our series of Millennium Evenings at the White House, we honored the contributions of women in the last century and imagined the changes that lie ahead.

We were joined by three distinguished feminist scholars. Historian Alice Kessler-Harris talked about women as volunteers and reformers -- a role that grew out of their exclusion from formal citizenship rights. Women like pioneer feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman and anti-lynching crusader Ida B. Wells Barnett stepped beyond their households to bring social justice to the disadvantaged. Spurred by examples such as these, millions of women organized anonymously to promote change and build social institutions around issues they cared about, including public safety, health and education.

Professor Kessler-Harris ended on a cautionary note, wondering who will become volunteers and social activists as women move in even greater numbers into the workplace. "This is an important moment," she noted, "to reflect on how we can sustain the values and the visions that have motivated women's citizenship over the past century, use them to strengthen democracy in the

United States and extend the boundaries of social justice for us all."

Yale historian Nancy Cott took us on a tour of the struggle for political rights from the days when female waitresses weren't allowed to work at night through the battle to win the vote and the effort to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. She, too, reminded us that knowing about our past can help us imagine a day when we will enjoy even more inclusive rights.

Finally, Smith College President Ruth Simmons used one phrase to sum up the dramatic changes that have taken place in the lives of women in the last 100 years. She said, "Today, they are able to choose their path." She went on to predict: "Women of the next century will be molders of their future and proprietors of their fate. Provided that society continues to protect that freedom, women will have that most precious thing -- ownership of themselves."

Every woman in this country who struggles to balance work and family, who has to decide whether the benefits of taking a promotion outweigh the costs to her children, or who worries about how she'll pay her bills if she divorces her husband knows that our work is not done. But inspired by the memory of those who came before us, we can muster the courage to take the next step. After all, as Susan B. Anthony said in her final public speech, "Failure is impossible."

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

REMARKS FOR ANNOUNCEMENT OF FIRST WOMAN COMMANDER

THE ROOSEVELT ROOM

MARCH 5, 1998

Laura
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Welcome to the White House and the Roosevelt Room. The President and I are honored to be joined today by so many people who have made this historic announcement possible. I especially want to recognize NASA Administrator Dan Goldin; Sally Ride; Jennifer Harris, who at age 28 was the flight operations director of Mars Pathfinder; and our guest of honor, Colonel Eileen Collins, who is here with her husband Pat Youngs.

In December, 1998, when the Shuttle Columbia takes off, Colonel Eileen Collins will take one big step forward for women -- and one giant leap for humanity. She will become the first woman ever to command a space shuttle. Her mission will launch the most advanced x-ray telescope ever flown so we can examine some of the most distant and powerful objects in our universe. I can think of no better way to celebrate Women's History Month.

Tonight, we will be previewing an HBO series which looks back at our journey to the Moon and shows how our exploration of space has always inspired us as individuals and united us as a nation.

When I was 14, I dreamed of becoming an astronaut. I even wrote NASA to find out what I needed to do to see the stars up close. Unfortunately, I got one of those really thin envelopes back -- which is never a good sign. NASA thanked me for my interest, but said that women weren't being considered for the job. Well, times have certainly changed. The dreams that many of us had as girls have now orbited the universe with women from Sally Ride to Eileen Collins.

I first met Eileen three years ago at another Women's History Month event. She had just become the first woman pilot of a space shuttle -- and she gave me a red shirt she'd worn on that mission. What I saw in that shirt was not only her remarkable accomplishment, but also the courageous road she'd traveled to reach her every goal. As a small child, Colonel Collins would go to the airport with her father and her siblings, sit on the hood of the car and watch the planes take off. She would look up at the sky and imagine traveling into space. And now she is doing just that -- for many of the same reasons that women have always made history.

She made history because of her skill and determination -- to be **not** the best woman for the job -- but simply the best. She's made it because of parents who always told her she could do anything she put her mind to. She made it because she ignored those who said it wasn't cool or feminine to study math or science -- and demanded a first-class education in both. She made it because of the doors of opportunity that NASA has increasingly opened to women and minorities.

And she made history because of the countless other women upon whose shoulders all of us stand. I think of Amelia Earhart, disguising herself to reach her dream. I think of Mae Jemison, the first African American woman to fly in space. I think of Shannon Lucid, who just last year, broke the record for the longest time spent in space by an American. And I think back to 1978, when Shannon Lucid, Sally Ride, Rhea Seddon, Kathryn Sullivan, Judy Resnick and Anna Fisher became the first women to join the astronaut corps.

That was the same year Eileen Collins graduated from college and entered Air Force Pilot Training. Her first week there, the six women astronauts came to do a parachute training. She looked at them and thought, "Wow, this is what I'm going to do." This afternoon, when Astronaut Collins and I go to Dunbar Senior High School to talk about the importance of studying math and science, students will be able to look at her and say the same thing, "This is what I'm going to do." And when her mission launches next December, the next generation of girls -- and boys -- will be able to look to the heavens and think, "There's nothing I can't do."

Children have always gazed at the sky with wonder. And so has our nation. Especially in the aftermath of Sputnik, we have looked to space as the next frontier in our never-ending journey of discovery...and our advancements there have brought us closer together as a country...and, more and more, as a world. In the last year alone, we were riveted by the Mars Pathfinder landing. We received stunning photographs and information from other planets courtesy of the Hubble Space Telescope. And, as Stephen Hawking will point out in his lecture tomorrow night, we can look forward to new scientific discoveries and greater human understanding in the Millennium.

None of these achievements would have been possible without our continuing investments in science, space, and technology. And none of it would have been possible without the leadership of our next speaker.

NASA Administrator Dan Goldin is truly bringing our space program into the next century. By making it "faster, better, and cheaper." And by ensuring that NASA's workforce looks like America and its work reaches all of America. It is my great honor to introduce Administrator Dan Goldin.