P.S. We haven’t asked for your help before—while we have been helping save Seniors thousands of dollars—because you weren’t quite close enough to retirement. But now is the time. Your generosity is appreciated. All we ask is that you participate in our National Retirement Security Poll and, if you possibly can, make a modest investment of $30 or more to the National Committee to help us continue the $4,521.000 you learned about in the letter? Please help us help you preserve and protect the thousands of dollars you have been paying into the system every year. It could easily be one of the wisest investments you ever make.

P.S. If yours is among the first 50 responses received from your state, you will receive a free portable calculator as an expression of our appreciation. A reply envelope is enclosed and the one pictured on the flap of the enclosed reply envelope. Before deciding whether or not to make a contribution to our work today, please think long and hard about the thousands of dollars you have been paying into the system throughout your working life. That’s your money, every penny of it. Please help make sure you get what’s coming to you by making a generous contribution to our work on your behalf today. Thank you for reading my letter.

NATIONAL RETIREMENT SECURITY POLL
(Commissioned by the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare)

1. Before receiving this package today, were you aware of the total amount you have paid into Social Security and Medicare every year? □ Yes. □ No.

2. If you answered “No” above, were you surprised at the size of the amount you have been putting into the system? □ Yes. □ No.

3. Do you expect Social Security benefits to provide a significant portion of your retirement income? □ Yes. □ No.

4. What percentage of your retirement income do you expect to be provided for by Social Security benefits? □ Less than 25%; □ Between 25% and 50%; □ Between 50% and 75%; □ Between 75% and 100%.

5. Would you be able to maintain the retirement standard of living you’re planning on if Congress cut Social Security and Medicare benefits by 20%? □ Yes. □ No. □ Don’t Know.

6. Would your expected retirement standard of living be eroded if Congress increased the lowest benefit level the federal government has already earned are taxed? □ Yes. □ No. □ Don’t Know.

7. Would your other insurance and savings be sufficient to cover hospital costs you may expect to incur during retirement if Congress severely reduces the amounts currently paid under Medicare part A? □ Yes. □ No. □ Don’t Know.

8. Would your retirement income be sufficient to pay for all the outpatient costs now covered by Medicare part B for the long-term premium of $46.10 that is currently in force? □ Yes. □ No. □ Don’t Know.

9. How soon do you plan to retire? □ Within 1 year. □ Within 3 years. □ Within 5 years. □ Within 10 years.

10. Before receiving this package today, were you aware that the National Committee’s work has saved Seniors thousands of dollars in Social Security and Medicare benefits, and how the $51.500 you learned about in the letter? □ Yes. □ No.

11. Are you willing to become a Member of the National Committee to help us continue to use the political process to protect and defend your retirement benefits in the future? □ Yes. □ No.

CONTRIBUTION REPLY FORM

DEAR MRS. MCSTEEN: □ Yes. I’ve worked very hard and expect to have Social Security and Medicare benefits when I retire. I’m counting on these benefits and that’s why I want to become a Member of the National Committee, to join the fight to protect my retirement benefits through the political process. Please make my contribution to the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare. (Dues include $3.00 for annual subscription to Secure Retirement magazine.)

CONTRIBUTION TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ARE NOT TAX-DEDUCTIBLE

NYU SCHOOL OF LAW’S TRIBUTES TO FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the 1995 Annual Survey of American Law, published by the New York University School of Law, is dedicated to First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and contains a special section that highlights her remarkable ability, leadership, and contributions to public service throughout her career.

I believe that the tributes will be of interest to all of us in Congress who have worked with Mrs. Clinton and to millions of others throughout the country who admire her service to the Nation. She is a powerful voice for justice and opportunity, and I ask unanimous consent that the tributes may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the tributes were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(TrIBUTES TO FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, 1995 Annual Survey of American Law, New York University School of Law)
The work and heart of Hillary Rodham Clinton are happily coincident in her chief contributions to the law in Arkansas. The interests of women and children hold a primary claim on her emotions, and it is precisely in these areas that her legal legacy to the state is most significant. Her public commitment to these concerns has a long history and promises to extend indefinitely into the future.

By 1972, when she was still a law student, Hillary had already worked one summer with the Children’s Defense Fund and had begun her association with the Yale Child Study Center. During her last year of law school, more than a month prior to this writing, with her daughter at her side and the world’s attention upon them both, Hillary was in Asia, still in the business of educating both herself and others about the problems faced by women and children.

In 1975 Hillary and Bill met at the airport on her first trip to Fayetteville, Arkansas, and immediately took me to a volleyball tournament involving law faculty and students. Between games, students were sharing stories about participating in the University of Arkansas Legal Clinic, a newly-instituted program which gave law students hands-on experience and provided counsel to students and representation to people unable to afford an attorney.

Though the clinic was on the drawing board before she arrived, Hillary, as its first director, developed it into a national model. As the clinic’s effectiveness grew, she skillfully designed the structure to minimize the opposition voiced by some members of the local bar who were critical of the clinic’s free fees. Through the professionalism and thoroughness she inspired in the students, she won over the judges who were initially concerned about students testifying in their courts. The program also benefited from the reputation she quickly established, through her own court appearances, as an extraordinarily effective lawyer.

The windows of my law school office face the handsome building into which the clinic has recently moved. I more than occasionally pop into the clinic without disrupting its operation and enjoy the thought that for more than two decades these clients, predominantly women, have been finding assistance from an institution named for her granddaughter, HIPPY, was a logical extension of her teaching and child care interests here, and for anyone who was there, that is exactly what she was. Word was out that she was a tough litigator, that she had played a significant role in the Watergate hearings, that she had a Yale law degree, and that she could have gotten virtually any legal job she wanted. They saw that she was smart as hell and was in complete control of the argument, occasionally voiced then, that she was importing standards which were inappropriate for Arkansans, and I believe that she succeeded in dispelling, in most instances, that pernicious notion.

Second, she was a role model. There, I’ve said it, though award that the phrase is daily

As a role model, she has composed a revolutionary life in country after country as attorney, public servant, mother, partner, and First Lady—Hillary Rodham Clinton.

In 1985 Hillary brought to Arkansas a preschool program that had impressed her on a trip to Israel five years earlier. The Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters, known as HIPPY, was a logical extension of her work on the standards. She had found that a critical determinant of a child’s performance in school is the educational level of the mother. HIPPY involves home visitations by teams of educators to show impoverished mothers how best to teach their pre-school children in the home. It continues to be an enormously successful program.

Hillary has a good friend, Dr. Robert A. Leflar, who was her former law faculty colleague who has a special connection to New York University. In fact, she lived in his Fayetteville home one summer when he was teaching, as he did for decades, at NYU’s Appellate Judges Seminar, which he was instrumental in creating. At 94, he is the towering figure in the history of legal education and reform in Arkansas and ranks respectively among the great legal minds of the nation in this country. His autobiography, ONE LIFE IN THE LAW, modestly recounts his impressive career; those pursuing his biography of Hillary will surely recount a similar immersion and a similar effectiveness.

The nation is now the beneficiary of the intense spirit, and continues to enrich Arkansas through the people and institutions Hillary Rodham Clinton touched. “How do these decisions affect women and children?” has become a refrain in the Clinton Administration. This is not an accident.

REMARKS OF LLOYD M. BENSON, FORMER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY AND UNITED STATES SENATOR

It’s a privilege to join in this tribute to Mrs. Clinton, a First Lady Americans know for her first-rate intellect, her engaging personality, and her commitment to serving the public.

B.A. and I have known eight First Ladies. I think each one has felt her job was the best job in America.

Over the last 40 years, each has followed a great tradition, using her special office to enrich the national life. And for Hillary, others improve their lot. They’ve all made contributions, as Americans would expect them to.

But I can’t recall ever seeing anyone so committed to an issue and anyone work with the intensity and feeling that Mrs. Clinton

REMARKS OF PROFESSOR RICHARD ATKINSON, LEWIS & CLARK LAW CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

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and the President did this past year on health care. When Congress reforms this country's health care system, we'll have Mrs. Clinton to thank.

The President says we live in a time of change, and Mrs. Clinton—because she's been a working mother and an extraordinary lawyer—has changed the role of a First Lady.

She still maintains the great traditions. I've seen her at State Dinners, serve as a gracious hostess in America's most honored home, and seen her raise funds for charities, and work with children who need special help, as every other First Lady before her has done. But she also has taken on added responsibilities. I had never been in a policy meeting with a First Lady, until Mrs. Clinton entered the White House. I watched the President, in his moments of decision making, turn to her for advice and counsel in areas she's the expert on.

They're partners. They're a team. And their collective wisdom guides our country.

In a different time, this may not have worked. If Mrs. Clinton wasn't as talented as she is, it may not have worked. Knowing humor of the person to give her the room would probably have played to her, thinking through her, they can get to the President. I believe as more couples have two careers, and as more women enter public service, Mrs. Clinton serves as an inspiration to them.

She has a huge fan club in this country, and B.A. and I are proud to be among the admirers. You've picked a very worthy lady and lawyer to honor.

REMARKS OF DIANE D. BLAIR, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

In Carol Shield's recent novel The Stone Diaries, President Clinton observes, "I can't...an endless recruiting of witnesses." When Hillary Rodham moved to Fayetteville in 1975, to teach at the University of Arkansas, nobody was consciously teaching her. Rather, as two of only a handful of female faculty members, she in law and in political science, we quickly discovered many strong women (books, poets, children, education, the status of women) which drew us together and have sustained our relationship ever since.

Howard Zinn, with whom I once battled over tennis balls in the city park and rode in a truck moving furniture became a national figure (and a media obsession), I have never been called by the press to share my memories and observations. At first, I was eager to do so: when one is familiar with and enthusiastic about a subject, sharing is a pleasure. And so I happily recalled instances of Hillary's devotion to her own daughter and her abiding interest in my five children; of her concern for her parents and for her contemporaries; of her knock-knock jokes; of her patience and persistence, in the face of setbacks. She overcame the prejudicial barriers of their times, pursuing self-fashioned careers that helped shape, profoundly, the story of this nation.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is a part of this great tradition. Her intelligence and determination, her brilliant flair for the political, her unfailing commitment to human justice, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to Dorothea Dix, Jane Addams, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to Dorothea Dix, Jane Addams, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to Dorothea Dix, Jane Addams, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to Dorothea Dix, Jane Addams, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to Dorothea Dix, Jane Addams, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to Dorothea Dix, Jane Addams, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to Dorothea Dix, Jane Addams, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to Dorothea Dix, Jane Addams, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to Dorothea Dix, Jane Addams, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to...
Hillary Clinton is, above all, a consensus builder. In her commencement address, upon graduating from Wellesley, she told the audience: "The challenge now is to practice politics and public life with what appeared impossible, possible... It is such a great adventure. If the experiment in human living doesn't work, in this country, in this age, it is not worth working anywhere." 

Years ago, I followed, with great admiration, Hillary Rodham Clinton's remarkably successful efforts to implement as the First Lady of which state, Governor Clinton's comprehensive plan for school renewal. She conducted meetings in every one of the state's 75 counties, and eloquently asserted a common educational standard that required schools to meet minimum standards, tested teachers, increased salaries, and improved performance.

Much has been written of time and again, that key ideas in our work at The Carnegie Foundation could be traced to the State of Arkansas where Governor and Mrs. Clinton pursued a shared vision of excellence for all.

This leadership became dramatically apparent at the National Education Summit Meeting in October of 1990. Governor Clinton argued forcefully, and with success, that the nation's first and most essential education goal should be school readiness. And the Governor explained to Mrs. Clinton for articulating the importance of the early years. The Carnegie Foundation, persuaded by the importance of this first national summit in 1990, now has a Ready to Learn: A Mandate for the Nation.

While preparing that report, I kept hearing about the HIPPI program in the state of Arkansas which stands for the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters. This program, which Hillary Clinton brought from Israel to Arkansas, has spread nationwide. It serves in twenty-four states reaching 20,000 families.

On yet another front of child advocacy, Hillary Rodham Clinton championed the aging problem of teenage pregnancy, moving the infant mortality rate in Arkansas, from one of the highest, to one of the lowest in the nation.

Our most recent Carnegie Foundation report called The Basic School, brought us to the state of Arkansas once again. We learned that with the Governor's leadership, the state mandated, in 1991, counselors for every elementary school, which has become a model for the nation.

As First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton's commitment to children has remained energetically unchanged, beginning with health. She brought common sense to an enormously complicated problem. And we have no choice as a nation but to achieve reform, not for political or even fiscal reasons, but for the sake of all Americans and especially, our children.

Today, when the climate seems particularly un receptive to calls for caring and compassion, Hillary Clinton reminds us, with elegant connections to the coming generation. "There is no such thing," she said, "as other people's children. There are only the hopes and dreams all parents share, which we must do everything in our power to preserve and strengthen."

In accepting the Lewis Hine Award, Hillary Rodham Clinton said: "No matter how much work we do, from the White House to the courthouse, up and down every street in every large city and every small town, what children need most are anything else are adults who care about them and love them, teach them, and discipline them, and are willing to stand up and fight for them in a world that often ignores the poor."

One of my favorite American authors, James Agee, wrote on one occasion, "With every child who is born, under no matter what circumstances, the potentiality of the human race is born again." Hillary Rodham Clinton has devoted a lifetime to trying to nurture this potentiality, and the potential, of all the nation's children.

REMARKS OF DR. JOHN BRADIMAS, CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES, PRESIDENT EMERITUS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

I have the honor for a third time of publishing tributes in the First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton. The first occasion was in March 1992 when, as President of New York University, I introduced Mrs. Clinton. And when the New York University School of Law marked its "Celebration of 100 Years of Women Graduates." As a woman who is herself a highly regarded lawyer, Mrs. Clinton was a most appropriate and distinguished speaker at a salute to the education of women in the law and recognition of their achievements in the profession.

Since then, of course, Mrs. Clinton has become our First Lady and has elevated her long tradition of her efforts on behalf for the Governess of this country and the Governor. Mrs. Clinton argued forcefully, and with success, that the nation's first and most essential education goal should be school readiness. And the Governor explained to Mrs. Clinton for articulating the importance of the early years. The Carnegie Foundation, persuaded by the importance of this first national summit in 1990, now has a Ready to Learn: A Mandate for the Nation.

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One of my favorite American authors, James Agee, wrote on one occasion, "With
 Remarks of Marion Wright Edelman, President and Founder, Children's Defense Fund

I have known First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton for more than two and a half decades. I first met her when she was a student at Yale Law School—even then interested in figuring out ways to help families provide for the basic needs of children. I have known her in the intervening years as a gifted advocate—in court, in the legislature, and in public education as an inspiring and insightful author; a loving, concerned, and attentive mother; a supportive wife; a dutiful and loving daughter; a warm and loyal friend; an effective leader of the Children's Defense Fund's board of directors; a dedicated friend for children; and a tireless First Lady.

At a time when many women, but particularly women in the public eye, have been faced with the difficult challenge of juggling career and family, the First Lady has balanced those dual demands with courage, grace, and compassion. She has held her family together with love and resiliency in the face of extraordinary professional and political demands.

The First Lady is a committed, persistent, thoughtful, and balanced advocate for children and families. Since she was a law student, she has understood the crucial need to nurture families as they struggle to rear the children who will be our future parents, voters, employees, entrepreneurs, and leaders. The First Lady has cared deeply that low- and moderate-income working families and children have access to decent childcare so that they can develop to their fullest potential; she has cared that children have access to the healthcare services necessary to long-term individual health and reduced national healthcare costs; she has striven to ensure that children have access to quality childcare and early childhood development opportunities necessary to productive adulthoods.

In each of her many roles, the First Lady has excelled. Perhaps most importantly, she has never lost sight of her spiritual commitment to values that transcend self and partisanship. I am constantly grateful to have met her and to have worked with her and my colleague, and to have had her as a neighbor as thyself.

Her dedication to others has been shown in many ways, in her outstanding contributions to the Legal Services Corporation and the Children's Defense Fund.

This dedication reflected itself in a dramatic way when she committed her talents to the cause of universal coverage of health care.

She immersed herself in the issue. Some of the finest leaders in the health care field provided her with advice. She emerged with a plan that not only set forth the goal of universal coverage but also envisaged the Nation a comprehensive plan for achieving that goal.

Then along with her husband, the President of the United States, Mrs. Clinton became one of the most effective advocates for universal coverage that this Nation has ever known. It was always with her here as an effective advocate. As she traveled throughout the Nation she was not content with speaking. She listened to real mothers and real problems. She gathered the people who were the persons that convinced her that our present system for the delivery of health care has broken down. They were the persons that convinced her that without universal coverage they and their children faced premature death and unnecessary suffering.

As a result of Mrs. Clinton's dedication, 1993 was the greatest year in the history of this Nation in the area of health care. Never before had we had the in-depth national dialogue on health care that we had in that period. As one poll after another poll showed that 75-80 percent of our people believe that we must have universal coverage. A real concern developed throughout the Nation about the breakdown of our present health delivery system.

We are now in a position as a national community to add universal coverage for health care and roundout President Roosevelt's concern for a complete system of Social Security. If we build on the accomplishment of 1993, we can do that.

We can and will reach this goal because of the dedication of Hillary Rodham Clinton to the people of this Nation. Her deep-seated concern is one of our Nation's great treasures. The Annual Survey of American Law's recognition of this fact is deeply appreciated.

Remarks of Dr. David Hamburg, President, The Carnegie Foundation of New York

It is a privilege to write about Hillary Rodham Clinton, the First Lady of the United States, because of her lifelong dedication to children. As First Lady, she has established a track record in the great tradition of Eleanor Roosevelt as a tireless advocate, a energetic, dedicated, and democratic values and creative problem-solving. In this capacity, she has played a highly significant role in expanding the reach of immunization while also broadening the scope and enhancing the quality of Head Start. She also facilitated a new federal initiative on the school-to-work transition for youth. In her travels as First Lady, at home and abroad, she has called attention to innovative ways of strengthening healthy child development. In the years ahead, millions of today's children will live better lives as a consequence of her efforts.

She was the First Lady of Arkansas for twelve years, during which time she worked thoughtfully on behalf of children and youth. For example, she chaired an education commission that set public school standards in Arkansas. Indeed, she exemplified in her own life as well as work the complex integration of family, work, and public service that is so precious in modern democracies.

My own distinctive view of her work on behalf of children comes from her relationship with the Carnegie Corporation of New York over almost a quarter of a century. While a student at Yale Law School, she developed her strong concern for protecting the interests of children and their families. In 1993, when speaking at Yale about very young children, she made a few remarks about the meaning of the Yale experience. “I will always be grateful for the Yale Law School that I wanted to know more about children’s development, particularly in the early years, and to really understand what I can do to help young children—whether needs are met or not met, and particularly what role the legal system plays in both a positive and negative way in helping children and families.”

One of her earliest professional positions was on the staff of the Carnegie Council on Children, starting in 1972. She had already been involved in civil rights law, children’s advocacy, and work in Head Start. The Council took a very broad view of our nation’s problems and ways to improve their opportunities.

The Carnegie file from 1972 contains a letter from Professor Kenneth Keniston, the Chairman of the Council. He wrote, “I am very happy with this staff which is young, lively, committed, iconoclastic, open and energetic. They are going to be hard to handle.”

I don’t know whether he was talking about Hillary in referring to that brilliant, iconoclastic, hard-to-handle staff, but there is no doubt she made valuable contributions. In that period, she prepared a landmark paper, “Children Under the Law,” in the Harvard Educational Review.

In 1980, she came back onto the Carnegie orbit again as the founder and president of Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families. Carnegie made a grant to that organization to improve services for children and families. Her long and thoughtful dedication to the Children's Defense Fund is well known, from a staff job in the early 1970s to her chairmanship of the board in recent years.

In the late 1980s, Hillary served on the W.T. Grant Foundation’s Commission on Youth, Work, and Family, that produced a very important report, “The Forgotten Half,” emphasizing the school-to-work transition for students who do not go on to college. She pursued this interest later with Carnegie support, relating it to the Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce. She thought creatively about ways to implement this model and school-to-work in the United States, where we lag so far behind Europe and other countries. She paid particular attention to the role of the states in these reforms. I have no doubt that her dedication to children, youth, and families—from the youngest children through late adolescence—will never again leave out children and youth.

For decades to come, Hillary Rodham Clinton’s clear voice will be heard on behalf of America’s, and the world’s, children. The life chances of children everywhere will be improved as a consequence of her actions. If there is a more important contribution anyone can make, I wonder what it could be.

Remarks of Edward M. Kennedy, United States Senator, Commonwealth of Massachusetts

In 1993, America welcomed an impressive and extraordinarily talented woman to the White House, Hillary Rodham Clinton. In the years that followed, she has contributed in earlier years and were impressed by her ability and commitment to public service have
come to admire her even more, especially her grace under pressure—her courage—in enduring the controversies that have swirled around her as she redefines the role of the modern American woman.

I have had the privilege of working closely with her in the past two years on an issue I have been especially committed to—the ongoing health security of all Americans. In the years I have been involved in this important effort, I have never met anyone more committed to the cause than Hillary Rodham Clinton. We came out of the success in the past Congress than ever before, and the progress we made was primarily the result of the energy, intelligence, and political skill she brought to the battle.

I vividly remember our first Senate hearing on the comprehensive health reform package proposed by President Clinton. It was held on September 29, 1993, in the historic Senate Caucus Room. The First Lady was the only witness. For several hours, she answered the toughest questions seventeen Senators could throw at her, and she did so with an eloquence and persuasiveness that impressed Democrats and Republicans alike. If we could have taken the bill to the full Senate without that hearing, I believe we could have passed it.

Powerful vested interest groups and partisan tactics of obstruction designed to deny President Clinton the legislative victories he needed in blocking action by the past Congress. Bipartisan efforts are now under way in the current Congress to adopt the most needed reforms, and whatever progress we make will in large measure be due to the groundwork Mrs. Clinton laid. She is an effective advocate for making the fundamental right to health care a basic right for all, not just an expensive privilege to the few, and I have been proud to stand with her.

Mrs. Clinton has also been a tireless advocate of education. As First Lady of Arkansas, she successfully led efforts for education reform and for increased investment in early childhood development. She discovered a model home-visiting, parenting-training, early childhood and school readiness program in Israel, adapted it to Arkansas, and implemented it across the state. This program has become a national model and has been replicated in communities across the country.

In her role as chairperson of the Board of Directors of the Children’s Defense Fund for several years, Mrs. Clinton was at the forefront of numerous major initiatives to improve the health and education of children. She has used her influence to expand access to Head Start, encouraging childhood immunization, and shaping a “one-stop-shopping” approach to reduce bureaucracy and streamline the delivery of services to families and children. In May 1991, in an earlier impressive appearance on Capitol Hill, she testified at a hearing on behalf of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources on these and other children’s issues, and reminded us that the heart of these serious problems is not lack of money, but will.

I know that in the years ahead, Hillary Rodham Clinton will continue to be a powerful voice for justice and opportunity and a role model for millions of Americans. This tribute by the Annual Survey of American Law is a well-deserved honor, and it is a privilege to participate in it.

REMARKS OF C. EVERETT KOOP, M.D., FORMER Surgeon General of the United States

Hillary Rodham Clinton and I first met when President Clinton asked me to advise Mrs. Clinton on the Task Force on Health Care Reform. My position was that the Task Force on Health Care Reform might respond to the growing opposition of the medical profession to the Clinton health care reform plan. After only a few minutes of conversation with Hillary Clinton, I was delighted to discover that any negative impressions generated by press and talk shows had dispelled immediately. I found her to be a woman of great sensitivity, keen intellect, and a delightfully winsome charm. Since I had already demonstrated to myself that I was not fearful of taking a stand in opposition to the health care reform to our health care system, with special attention to the needs of the uninsured, I agreed with the President’s suggestion that we form a Task Force on Health Care Reform.

Convened in several cities across the nation, these forums provided a much-needed dialogue to the head of the Task Force on Health Care Reform. The medical profession saw first-hand the sincerity and dedication of the First Lady, and they achieved her sympathetic understanding of the ways in which certain provisions of the Health Security Act disturbed the medical profession. She was able to assure the physicians that, as long as the main thrust of reform was not threatened, the language of the reform would be altered to meet their concerns. Hillary Clinton quickly demystified the complex facets of the President’s health care reform plan through the eyes of physicians who were dedicated—above all—to caring for their patients and serving their advocates.

I have met no one who has a better grasp of the American health care system—or non-system, which might be more accurate—than Hillary Rodham Clinton. Yet, she was already ready to learn more, to accommodate a nuance not clear before, to adjust to a new wrinkle in the complicated tapestry of health care.

The President’s plan failed in Congress for many reasons, but mostly because the nation had not been prepared for changes as sweeping as the President’s major reform. Urban health care, the Medicare and Medicaid programs, came in the midst of the reforming zeal of the Great Society, and they were preceded by several years of national education and debate.

Politics aside, the health care reform plan failed because each of us was being asked to do something for all of us. And each of us may have feared that what was best for all of us was not necessarily best for each of us. It was that simple. It was that complicated.

The President’s plan for health care reform provided a diagnosis of the problems with our health care system, and then it proposed many solutions. In theory, the people may have rejected the proposed remedy, but they have not challenged the diagnosis. No one can fault Hillary Clinton’s diagnosis of the health care system’s ailments. Her diagnosis was far-reaching, comprehensive, and right on target. Her diagnosis will be the springboard for the next round of the debate on health care reform.

REMARKS OF PHILIP R. LEE, M.D., ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR HEALTH, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

Hillary Rodham Clinton is a woman of extraordinary intelligence, understanding, compassion and commitment. In more than thirty years of involvement in health policy at the federal level, I have never met an individual who was able to grasp the complexities of health care organization, delivery, and financing as well as Mrs. Clinton. She not only has this extraordinary ability to grasp complex information, but she was able to communicate it to a range of audiences, professional, and public, in a way that everyone can understand in my experience. While these talents are important, even more important is her capacity to listen to individuals and families about their experiences in order to learn fully how the system does and does not operate. Her deep compassion was evident as she listened to her colleagues, to the nurses and families, to the patients and employees. Mrs. Clinton is, from the vantage point of long experience, worry for her. I don’t want her hurt needlessly, don’t want her feelings trampled by shallow detractors.

She simply thrills American women. She appeals to all women who work for wages, women on payrolls, salaried women. Women who earn money in the workplace. And she inspires young professionals who are combining jobs, husbands, children, Parent Teacher Association meetings, dentist and doctor visits, car pools, community activities, and the whole nine yards of today's life-style for families trying to cope with everything at once.

She is our kind of person, our kind of woman. An activist. Approachable. Quick-witted and strong-willed. Informed. Expressive. We genuinely like her. We honestly respect her. And I, from the vantage point of long experience, worry for her. I don’t want her hurt needlessly, don’t want her feelings trampled by shallow detractors.

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People who work on the line in my business—newspapers, radio, and television—are especially drawn to her. Their lives are especially drawn to her. As First Lady, Hillary Clinton, do not expect faint praise from me.

I belong to that vast company of Americans, women and men, who are openly admiring of this woman who has such an enormous and difficult job, balancing countless demands on her time and talent along with myriad points of view—and yet who handles it all with uncommon grace and seeming ease.

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work was valued enough to be compensated; she bolstered the family income.

My daughter-in-law has urged me to “please tell Mrs. Clinton how much we would like to be so articulate and focused. So prepared. So effective.” It is no small accomplishment to have a new generation—willing to become like you. It is the highest of compliments.

In Mrs. Clinton’s case, it is well-deserved. She is new generation. She is tomorrow. More than highly intelligent and finely educated, she is capable and competent and absorbing.

And she keeps getting stronger as she moves deeply into this new role. Two years into the Presidency, she has set a standard of excellence on par with Eleanor Roosevelt for health and social services and civil rights, with Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis for arts and the humanities, and with Bess Truman for honesty and personal loyalty. The nation remains introduced by Mrs. Clinton.

The Washington Post calls her “the first lady of paradox . . . both old-fashioned and post-modern . . . a contradiction of perceptions.” And she serves at a time and sensitive at the same time.

However, we should be mindful that she occupies an office that is time consuming. The paradox of being both old-fashioned and post-modern applies to our society as well. Despite the rock-em, sock-em, depiction of our nation, women have shown us they can master and reflect each new technology, and they now want to persuade the public to accept new ideas.

With the dawning of a new age, a new century, we are demanding of our leaders on both fronts. We want them to respect and retain the formalities and rituals of office and we want them to master new technology, technique and trend that comes along.

We have empathy for every First Lady—each experienced those who have to live in full public view in the nation’s most scrutinized residence. But history must concede it has fallen to Mrs. Clinton to break new ground. She is a pioneer First Lady, the first to a credentialed and active lawyer, qualified as a member of the American bar, a professional person fully in her own right.

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Like a mirror of her country, the United States is ever-changing, ever-shifting. Mrs. Clinton, in many ways, has enhanced the importance of the overlapping roles of public servant and First Lady through her unflagging personal courage and sense of compassion, her unwavering support for social justice and human rights, and her dedication to the welfare of American society, particularly to those whose voices are too seldom heard, such as children. Her qualities, coupled with Mrs. Clinton’s education, legal experience and political and social awareness, have enabled her to be an articulate champion of issues of concern to many throughout the United States, she was our partner in peace.

REMARKS OF L WITTY COTTON POOLER

As a professional scribbler, I usually find it hard to write about Hillary Rodham Clinton because of the journalistic imperative to avoid superlatives. Thankfully, polling rates at the Annual Survey of American Law, which means your tribute book will likely reflect a more authentic view of this remarkable woman than has been evident in the average “objective” media profile.

The fact is, one cannot talk about Hillary Rodham Clinton without using superlatives. True, the National Law Journal listed her among the “100 most influential lawyers in America” (one of only four women), and she appears in Best Lawyers in America, Who’s Who of American Jews, Who’s Who of American Women, and the World Who’s Who of Women. What interests me far more than her professional honors is the way her friends and colleagues talk about her, their enthusiasm and affection. She has a lifelong commitment to justice, her breath-taking intellect, the balance of mind and
heart, dazzling eloquence and down-home humor that make this woman so unique.

Hillary Clinton is not a recent invention of First Ladyhood; she has been who she is for more than a quarter century. When Webster Ehrman and I first met her, we remember her as a pre-eminent intellectual but also as the kindest, most principled student leader on campus, totally focused, a gifted writer and orator, before she even graduated. She had a tremendous dedication to local programs and, frankly, to the Berkeley campus in better shape than when she chaired it.

A combination of talents. For once, all the superlatives were well-deserved. Were they not?!

She was brilliant, she had a way with words; she could move from the intellectual to the personal with ease and, I might add, she was a role model of a successful woman who never sacrificed her family or friends. Working for her was the best part of my life.

When Elinor Guggenheimer brought up the possibility of having a totally female board of the Child Care Action Campaign, on which I also served, she said, ‘Hillary Clinton must have recruited her for show, because she was cute, young, blonde, and the wife of an up-and-coming governor.’ To my surprise, it was true.

I was awed by her technical legal experience, says Friedman, ‘but what really blew me away was the impromptu keynote address she gave earlier that day when she was asked to stand in for her husband, the Governor, who was called away on state business. She had no time to prepare, yet she took on the tabloids, pointed out what was, in fact, a talk that was so perfectly parsed, so well-organized and elegantly presented that Justice Blackmun just kept raving, ‘Wasn’t Hillary wonderful? Wasn’t she great?’

I remember how she summoned this very distinguished audience of 500 lawyers and judges to think about the well-being of the nation’s children. She said we must start at the bottom, with attitudes and education. She cited a survey that asked Americans and Europeans, ‘What is more important to your child: process or priority?’ The Europeans said hard work, the Americans said innate ability. She speculated that America’s sports culture may cause us to give too much credit to innate ability and we must do things at all levels of society to increase education and hard work so every child can perform to his or her best potential. Most people are not used to hearing a woman do public policy analysis. Wives, especially, aren’t supposed to effect policy. They don’t have to be paid, voluntary basis, but she decided to report on the garden in the spring. But we lawyers can recognize intellectual excellence when we see it, and you couldn’t miss it with Hillary. I came home and told everyone ‘Watch out for this woman. You’re going to hear more from her.’

Hillary Rodham Clinton is a great national resource, a fine legal mind, an inspiration to aspiring women, a model of the loving yet autonomous wife, a consistent champion of children, and a good soul. I look forward to hearing more from her in the years to come.
Mrs. Clinton, you have always been there for so many, so many people, and that is why some of us, I think, are drawn to your presence. You’re always there, always supporting, always encouraging. And you are a woman who is admired by so many people in this country. You have been a leader in so many ways, and that is why we are here today to honor you and to celebrate your contributions.

You have been a powerful advocate for women’s rights, for the rights of children, for civil rights, and for social justice. You have been a champion of progressive policies and ideas. You have been a role model for all of us, and I think that is why so many of us admire you.

You have been a person who has always been there for the underdog, for the person who is left behind, for the person who is left out. You have always been a person who has been there for the marginalized, for the person who is left behind.

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Fannie Lou Hamer Human Rights Award, Clergy and Laity Concerned, December 16, 1993
Distinguished Pro Bono Service Award, San Diego Volunteer Lawyer Program, 1994
Commitment to Life Award, AIDS Project Los Angeles, January 27, 1994
Distinguished Service Health Education & Prevention Award, National Center for Health Education, February 2, 1994
First Annual Eleanor Roosevelt Freedom Fighter Award, Alachua County Democratic Executive Committee, March 21, 1994
Social Justice Award, United Auto Workers, March 22, 1994
Barak Award, School of Law, University of Louisville, April 1, 1994
Benjamin E. Mayes Award, A Better Chance, Inc., April 4, 1994
Ernestine Banks Posthumous Trophy, Emil Verban Memorial Society, April 6, 1994
Humanitarian Award, Alzheimer's Association, April 11, 1994
Elie Wiesel Foundation Award, April 14, 1994
International Broadcasting Award, Hollywood Radio and Television Society, April 26, 1994
Ellen Browning Scripps Award, Scripps College, April 26, 1994
Legislator of the Year Award, The American Physical Therapy Association, April 27, 1994
HIPPY USA Award, May 6, 1994
Women of the Year Award, Yad B'Yad, May 7, 1994
C. Everett Koop Medical for Health Promotion and Awareness, American Diabetes Association, May 17, 1994
Distinguished Pro Bono Service Award, San Diego Lawyer's Program, May 17, 1994
Humanitarian Award, Chicago Chapter, Hadassah, May 26, 1994
Coalition of Labor Union Women 20th Anniversary Award, May 20, 1994
Women of Distinction Award, National Conference for College Women Student Leaders, June 2, 1994
Mary Hatford Futrell Award, National Education Association, June 14, 1994
Woman of Achievement Award, B'nai B'rith Women, June 15, 1994
Claude Pepper Award, National Association for Home Care Board of Directors, June 19, 1994
Women's Legal Defense Fund Award, June 23, 1994
Shining Star Award, Starlight Foundation, August 13, 1994
Martin Luther King, Jr. Award, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., August 23, 1994
Children's Diabetes Foundation Brass Ring Award, October 28, 1994
Women's Media Group Award, Women's Media Group, November 1, 1994
American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyers Family Advocate of the Year Award, Greenfield & Murphy, November 4, 1994
Woman of Distinction Award, Women's League for Conservative Judaism, November 13, 1994
30th Anniversary of Women at Work Award in Public Policy, National Commission on Working Women, December 6, 1994
Boehm Soaring Eagle Award for Excellence in Leadership, National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation, December 12, 1994
National Woman's Law Center Award, 1994 Award for Excellence in Communication, Capital Speakers Club, January 18, 1995
Greater Washington Urban League Award, March 2, 1995
Golden Acorn Award, Child Development Center, March 9, 1995
Servant of Justice Award, New York Legal Aid Society, March 23, 1995
Health Educator of the Year Award, The Ryan White Foundation, April 8, 1995
Golden Acorn Award, Women at Work, April 9, 1995
1995 Outstanding Mother Award, National Mother's Day Committee, April 13, 1995
Presidential Award, Citizens' Committee For Children of New York, Inc., April 21, 1995
United Cerebral Palsy Humanitarian Award, 1995
World Health Award, American Association for World Health, World Health Day, April 24, 1995
Brooklyn College, Presidential Medal, 1995
Memberships and Associations:
   Member, Arkansas Bar Association
   Member, Arkansas Trial Lawyers Association
   Member, Pulaski County Bar Association
   Founder and President, Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families
   Foundation, Founder, National Alliance of Caring
   President and Member of Board of Directors, 1977-84
   Chair, Arkansas Rural Health Committee, 1977-80
   Chair, Board of Directors, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, D.C., 1986-91, Member, Board of Directors, 1976-92
   Chair, Arkansas Education Standards Committee, 1983-94
   Yale Law School Executive Committee, New Haven, CT, 1983-86, Treasurer, 1987-88
   Member, Southern Governors Association Task Force on Infant Mortality, 1984-85
   Member, Commission on Quality Education, Southern Regional Education Board, 1984-92
   Member, Youth and America's Future: The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship, 1986-88
   Board of Directors, Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., 1986-92
   Board of Directors, Child Care Action Campaign, New York, NY, 1986-92
   Board of Directors, Southern Development Bancorporation, 1986-92
   Chair, Board of Directors, New World Foundation, New York, 1987-88, Member, Board of Directors, 1983-88
   Board of Directors, Co-Chair for Implementation, Commission on Skills of the American Workforce, National Center for Education and the Economy, 1987-92
   Board of Directors, "I Have a Dream" Foundation, 1988-89
   Board of Directors, Arkansas Children's Hospital, 1988-92
   Board of Directors, New Futures for Little Rock Youth, 1988-92
   Member, HIPPY USA Advisory Board, 1988-92
   Board of Directors, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, 1988-93
   Chair, Board of Directors, National Alliance of Business Center for Excellence in Education, 1990-91
   Board of Directors, Public/Private Ventures, 1990-92
   Arkansas Business and Education Alliance, 1991-92
   President, Board of Directors, Arkansas Single Parent Scholarship Fund Program, 1990-92
   Chair, National Board of the Claudia Company, 1991-93
   Honorary President of the Girl Scouts of America, 1991-92
   Member, Visiting Committee, University of Chicago Law School, 1991-92
Alumnae trustee, Wellesley College, 1992-93

DEDICATORS OF ANNUAL SURVEY OF AMERICAN LAW
*in memoriam.

SOUTH PACIFIC NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE TREATY [SPNFT]
Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I was gratified yesterday by the French announcement in support of a complete ban on nuclear testing next year. Unfortunately, at present, France intends to conduct a series of nuclear tests in the South Pacific during the remainder of this year and the first part of next year. The decision of the new French Government has brought about a storm of protest from Pacific nations who had fervently hoped that they would never see nuclear testing in their region. So far, the United States, Britain, and France have maintained a relatively unified public position with regard to nuclear testing. This changed in the decision of the French to resume testing while Britain and the United States have placed a moratorium on their own nuclear testing.