

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 that that time is approaching, all we ask is that you participate in our National Retirement Security Poll and, if you possibly can, make a modest investment of \$10 and join the National Committee today. 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.P.S. If yours is among the first 50 responses received from your state, you will receive a free portable calculator similar to 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 been contributing to 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%; and  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 level at which the benefits you have already earned are taxed?  Yes.  No.  Don't Know.

7. Would your other insurance and savings be sufficient to cover any 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 low monthly 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 full retirement benefits, such as the \$4,521,000 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 in Washington.

My check for just \$10 is enclosed. Please enroll me immediately for all the benefits you told me about in your letter. I understand that I may cancel my Membership any time I am dissatisfied for a full refund of my \$10.

Please make your check payable to NCPSSM (or National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare). (Dues include \$3.00 for annual subscription to Secure Retirement magazine.)

Contributions or gifts 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 series of tributes that emphasize 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] DEDICATION TO HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

(Introductory remarks on behalf of the Annual Survey Board of Editors at the Hillary Rodham Clinton Dedication Ceremony, April 25, 1995, by Lauren Aguiar, Managing Editor, 1994-95)

I don't have the advantage of the previous speakers, all of whom possess a unique and personal vantage point on Hillary Rodham Clinton. Yet even though I don't know her, it still seems possible somehow to speak about her with equal passion and conviction. When someone like Hillary Rodham Clinton is the object of praise, someone who is so much a part of our national consciousness and culture, it is easy to pay tribute.

In explaining what prompted the Editors of *Annual Survey* to invite Hillary Rodham Clinton to be our Dedicatée, I'd like to share with you a book which I read several years ago by anthropologist Mary Catherine Bateson, the daughter of Margaret Mead. The book, entitled *Composing A Life*, explores the act of creation that engages us all—the composition of our own lives. Through the comparative biographies of five women, Bateson develops a novel theory about how to assess and value contemporary living.

The author invites us to view life as an improvisational art form: that transitions, diverse priorities, and challenges are not merely a part of our lives, but should be seen as a source of wisdom and empowerment. The book explains how, in modern times, it is no longer possible to follow the paths of previous generations. Our energies are often

not narrowly focused on achieving a single goal, but are more divided needing to be continually rebalanced and redefined.

I refer to this book, and Bateson's theory, to illustrate the strength and diversity of Hillary Rodham Clinton's life. The Editors selected her as this year's Dedicatée because she serves as an example of the successful composition of a life, and as a role-model for those who will encounter the complexities of modern-day living.

When faced with needing to divide her energies—between family, work, and public service—Hillary Rodham Clinton has inevitably achieved an artful balance. She has managed priorities and combined her multiple commitments.

Because we live in a society which is often recalcitrant to accept change, people are frequently admonished for innovation and self-reformation. In our estimation, though, this flexibility demonstrates strength of character and wisdom. Hillary Rodham Clinton has adjusted quickly, finding ways to affirm herself and her skills in new environments.

In order to advance her convictions, she has remained flexible in the complex world of politics and the law, while holding firm in her fundamental resolve. Certain that her values and her choices are important, she has adhered to the goals of improving education for children, establishing legal services for the poor, creating opportunities for women, and providing health care for all.

Rather than pursuing a route already defined and established, she has practiced stepping off the expected road and cutting herself a new path. By redefining traditional notions of women and their place in this world, Hillary Rodham Clinton has neither played it safe, nor lived a life free of risk. In doing so, she has emerged not only successful and productive, but as an essential figure in the unabating struggle for equality.

Although Hillary Rodham Clinton's accomplishments and choices may be particularly encouraging and motivational for women, they are equally applicable to all people. Each of us has something to learn from how she has composed her life; she upholds her values and pursues her aspirations in a way which serves as an inspiration to us all.

In many ways, law school teaches us to play it safe, to make calculated and planned decisions about our lives and to execute that plan. The model for an ordinary, successful life offered to us is one of a single rising trajectory, and of focused ambition that follows a predetermined track. After graduating from law school, we are expected to take a job that symbolizes the first step on a sole, ascending ladder. In this day and age, though, I am not convinced that these assumptions will be, or should be, valid for many of us. As our lives unfold, we need a new and fluid way to imagine the future, and looking to the life of Hillary Rodham Clinton helps us to gain this insight.

From her example, we can draw an appreciation of a lawyer who has not been afraid to change or explore new prospects. She has worn many professional labels, always proceeding to new situations with graceful transitions. As a member of the faculty at Arkansas she made contributions to the academic and clinical world of law, as a member of a prominent firm she excelled in private practice, and as a mother she managed a home and cared for her family. As an advocate for children, she has continually sought the public good, and as First Lady of the United States, she has navigated the world of politics, the media, and policy making.

When young people so often lament the scarcity of positive role models, Hillary Rodham Clinton is someone from whom we can learn, and derive empowerment to realize our possibilities.

As *Annual Survey's* 52nd Dedicatee, Hillary Rodham Clinton joins the esteemed company of Harry Blackmun, Barbara Jordan, William Wayne Justice, Judith Kaye and Thurgood Marshall, to name just a few.

In dedicating this year's volume to Hillary Rodham Clinton, we not only note her achievements, but praise her courage and conviction.

I am honored to introduce to you a woman who has composed a revolutionary life in many ways—as attorney, public servant, mother, policy maker, and First Lady—Hillary Rodham Clinton.

REMARKS OF PROFESSOR RICHARD ATKINSON,  
LEFLAR LAW CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

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. Twenty-three years later and less 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 process of educating both herself and others about the problems faced by women and children.

In 1975 Hillary and Bill met me at the airport on my first trip to Fayetteville, Arkansas, and immediately took me to a volleyball tournament involving law faculty and students. Between games, students were sharing their excitement 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, gave it life. Without diminishing the clinic's effectiveness, she skillfully designed the structure to minimize the opposition voiced by some members of the local bar who viewed it as a potential competitor for fees. Through the professionalism and thoroughness she inspired in the students, she won over the judges who were initially concerned about allowing students to be advocates 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 glance at the folks entering the clinic and enjoy the thought that for more than two decades these clients, predominately women, have been finding assistance from an institution Hillary helped to shape. I could duplicate the experience if I were across town, observing the activity at Ozark Legal Services. There, too, she played a critical role in its inception while on the law faculty. Later, in 1976, President Carter appointed Hillary to the board of the Legal Services Corporation. She pushed hard for expanded access by the poor to legal assistance, drawing heavily on her experience in setting up both the University of Arkansas Legal Clinic and Ozark Legal Services. Now, in part because of her efforts, in country after country across the nation, the scene from my window is, at least for the moment, daily repeated.

In addition to such institutional impact, she also significantly influenced the law through the attitudinal changes she engendered. Many of her students have now assumed significant leadership roles as judges, lawyers and legislators, and none passed through her classroom unaffected, especially in regard to two areas. First, her high expectations of the students raised their expectations of themselves. Hillary was no less demanding of herself then, without the pressure of the White House glare, as she is now. And by both example and exhortation, she made it clear that she expected others to push toward their potential as well. In particular she had no patience with 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 less fashionable. But we're talking the seventies 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 both her classroom and her subject matter. Their contact with Hillary was for many of these students, male and female alike, a catalyst that triggered a rethinking of the roles they assigned to "lady lawyers".

When Bill was elected Attorney General in 1976, they moved to Little Rock, and the lawyers and judges there were no more immune to her ability to confound conceptions than were their counterparts in Fayetteville. She joined the Rose Law Firm and consciously set out to hone further her skills as a litigator. In short order she became the firm's first female partner and helped to create opportunities for other women lawyers across the state.

Ultimately specializing in commercial litigation, Hillary savored its competitiveness, appreciated the living it provided, and both enjoyed and deeply respected her colleagues at the firm. That work, however, did not fully engage her emotionally. It was not her mission. She continued to take cases involving children's rights, devoted considerable energy to the formation of Arkansas Advocates for Children and Family, took a leadership role on the board of the Children's Defense Fund, and actively participated with her husband in thinking about how they could help address the significant social and economic problems Arkansas faced.

In November 1980, Bill was seeking election to his second term as governor. On election day, Hillary came to Fayetteville to vote and to work the five o'clock shift change at the Standard Register Company. I drove her back to the airport. Unsuspecting of the impending defeat, Hillary was tired, ready for the campaign to be concluded, and eager, she said, to get back to work. The work she had in mind was not her law practice, though she was thankful it would be there. Rather it was for her the reviving process of using her talents to improve the lives of women and children.

After an electorally enforced two-year hiatus, Bill returned to the governor's office, and Hillary began the work that would become, in my opinion, her single greatest contribution to Arkansas. In his inaugural address in January 1983, Bill singled out educational reform as the critical component in any plan to improve Arkansas' economic future. He then appointed Hillary as the chairperson of the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, a commission he created to de-

vised a set of minimum standards for public schools. Her task was two-fold: to craft the standards and to create a public consensus about their desirability in order to make a tax increase to implement them politically feasible.

She held hearings across the state, both gathering information and dispensing it. If there is a high school gym in Arkansas where she did not meet the public, I am unaware of it. Her extraordinary knowledge, her exceptional skills as a facilitator, and, most important, the depth of her conviction about the rightness of this project galvanized public opinion. Less than eleven months after the creation of the standards committee, Arkansans passed a sales tax increase to fund the standards, which included minimum class sizes (no more, for example, than twenty students in a kindergarten class), a longer school year, a much lower counselor/student ratio, and enhanced curricular offerings, especially in the areas of science and math.

Back to my office window. A month ago, before the leaves intervened, I could see, to the left of the Clinic and a few hundred yards behind it, Leverett Elementary School. There too, Hillary is still at work.

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 determinate 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 preschool 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 and 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 respectably among the great legal minds of the nation in this country. His autobiography, *ONE LIFE IN THE LAW*, modestly recounts his immersion in those pursuits. The definitive biography of Hillary will surely recount a similar immersion and a similar effectiveness.

The nation is now the beneficiary of the intellect, spirit, and commitment that 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. BENTSEN, 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 highlight a need in our country or help 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

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 often 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. I've 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 human nature, some of the people in 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*, one character observes, "Life is an endless recruiting of witnesses." When Hillary Rodham moved to Fayetteville in 1975, to teach at the University of Arkansas, nobody was consciously "recruiting witnesses." Rather, as two of only a handful of female faculty members, she in law and I in political science, we quickly discovered many strong mutual interests (books, politics, children, education, the status of women) which drew us together and have sustained our relationship ever since.

However, as the friend with whom I once batted worn tennis balls in the city park and rode in a truck moving furniture became a national figure (and a media obsession), I have frequently 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, again, for mine); and of her knack for thoughtful acts of friendship. I gave the inquiring press vivid vignettes illustrating her determination to bring out the best from each of her students when she was a teacher, and then her resolve to excel in the courtroom as well as the classroom. I gladly recounted the courage and wisdom and tenacity she demonstrated in leading the battle for better schools in Arkansas, working to upgrade Arkansas Children's Hospital, and helping establish Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, and a statewide Single Parent Scholarship Fund.

Little of which was ever reported, or even—I began to suspect—recorded. As I enthused on about this attentive parent, devoted daughter, fun-loving friend, supportive spouse, talented teacher, advocate

extraordinaire, the clicking computer keys of my interviewer would slow, and finally grow silent. And then, often, would come the question: "Yes, but what is she really like?"

It may well take future historians, more interested in telling the truth than in "exposing" imaginary evils, to offer the complete portrait of Hillary Rodham Clinton; but perhaps this dedication issue, contributed to by those who actually know her work and her life, is a good contemporary beginning. So, for the record, here are a few moments I have "witnessed" since my friend became First Lady, and what I think those incidents signify.

President Clinton's first State of the Union Address, in February, 1993, was a home-run, a thrilling triumph. Afterwards, when aides and friends gathered in the Solarium to toast a very sweet success, someone called for a special salute to the First Lady, for whom the standing ovation from Congress had seemed especially heartfelt and fervent. Hillary was not there to receive the tribute, however. Upon returning to the White House she learned that Chelsea needed help with her homework, and so she had quickly excused herself from the celebration and hastened to her daughter's side.

In September, 1993, the national media gave rave reviews to Hillary's marathon, flawless, sequential presentations before U.S. Congressional Committees on health care reform. While I was delighted to see some positive press for my friends in the White House, two things struck me about these stories. First, there was something almost insulting, certainly patronizing, about the seeming astonishment (no staff! no notes! complete and thoughtful sentences!!!) that a woman, a mere spouse, could execute so excellently on so public a stage. Second, what seemed so impressive to me about Hillary's achievement was that on the day preceding her unprecedented performance, (a day when most of us would have been demanding seclusion, cramming information, snarling at subordinates, and putting our families on hold), Hillary traveled to New York because it was important to the President that she be present for his first address to the United Nations, then rushed home for a school meeting where her presence was important to Chelsea. Only then, late at night, did she have time to fully focus and prepare.

None of these, or countless other daily juggling acts, makes Hillary Rodham Clinton eligible for martyrdom. Rather, as she would be the very first to point out, they simply illustrate the lives that most of the women who are her contemporaries are now living; trying to meet and balance all of our responsibilities, and find ways to usefully exercise all our talents.

The press grows impatient, I think, because they want an easily identifiable image, a simple story, someone who either cares about making herself and the White House look good, or cares about health care and women's rights. But most of the women I know (and surely many women in the media, which makes some of the strange stories especially bewildering) care about all those things, and many more besides. Few of us today have the luxury of choosing this *or* that, homemaker *or* professional, wife *or* worker. We are all those things, because they all must be done. Hillary Rodham Clinton simply happens to be the first of our First Ladies who has dared to do them all openly, and well, and without apology.

When I was a schoolchild I was both fascinated and horrified by stories of the canaries who were carried down into the mines as early warning systems for the miners; if poisonous gases started seeping into the mine-shafts, the canaries would quickly expire, thereby giving warning to the men in the

mines. I wonder now whether Hillary is playing the risky part of national canary for the women of America. If she can survive the distortions and misrepresentations, the poisonous slurs and constant criticisms, it will be easier breathing for us, and our daughters, and all the millions of women who are coming on behind. The smart money is on the canary.

REMARKS OF DR. ERNEST L. BOYER, PRESIDENT, THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING

In every generation, since the United States began, notable women have turned their talents to great causes, often becoming advocates for the least advantaged. Going beyond mere good works, and private acts of benevolence, these leaders, of great competence and conviction, profoundly influenced the public-policy issues of their day.

Consider, for example, Dorothea Dix, the Unitarian school teacher in Massachusetts, who led a national mental health crusade. By the time of the Civil War, in large part through her labors, twenty-eight states, four cities, and the federal government constructed public institutions to treat, more humanely, the mentally disabled.

In 1889, Jane Addams, with Ellen Gates Starr, founded Hull House in a dilapidated mansion, in a crowded Chicago neighborhood. Addams, combined a remarkable capacity for human sympathy with a brilliant gift of theoretical insights, derived from personal experience. Far from being a naive dogooder, Jane Addams viewed settlement houses as a way to help new immigrants become empowered.

Earlier in 1882, Florence Kelly, a graduate of Cornell University, was refused admission to the University of Pennsylvania law school. Still, with her formidable political and legal skills, she crusaded against child labor—investigating, for example, the shocking working conditions of children, including the glass-bottle factories of Alton, Illinois, where boys as young as seven and eight worked from dawn to dusk, carrying trays of red-hot glass bottles through-out the factories.

At a time when protecting wildlife was gaining national attention, Kelley angrily noted the paradoxical neglect of children. "Why," she demanded, "are seals, bears, reindeer, fish, . . . buffalo [and] migratory birds all found suitable for federal protection, and not children?"

Largely through Kelley's efforts, the Illinois legislature, in 1893, prohibited child labor. In 1912, Congress created a federal Children's Bureau, through her influence. And then, six years after Kelley's death, Congress finally banned child labor.

Josephine Baker, a physician in New York City at the turn of the century, understood the link between health and learning. She aggressively promoted school nurse programs and basic health services for needy children that became routine throughout the country.

All of these women possessed a passion for the downtrodden. They also brought sharp wits, political skill, and, not least, infinite patience and persistence, in the face of setbacks. They overcame the prejudicial barriers of their times, pursuing self-fashioned careers that helped shape, profoundly, the history of this nation.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is a part of this great tradition. Her intelligence and determination, brilliant flashes of humor, plus an unwavering commitment to human justice, and most especially, to children, make her a worthy successor to Dorothea Dix, Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Josephine Baker, and a host of other leaders who have made America a more just and caring country.

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 as the art of making what appears to be 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 going to work anywhere."

Years ago, I followed, with great admiration, Hillary Rodham Clinton's remarkably successful efforts to implement as the First Lady of Arkansas, 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 sense reform strategy that raised academic standards, tested teachers, increased salaries, and improved performance.

More recently, I have been struck time and time 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 1989. On that historic occasion, Governor Clinton argued forcefully, and with success, that the nation's first and most essential education goal should be school readiness for all children. The Governor credited Mrs. Clinton for articulating the importance of the early years. The Carnegie Foundation, persuaded by the importance of this first national goal, issued a report in 1991 called *Ready to Learn: A Mandate for the Nation*.

While preparing that report, I kept hearing about the HIPPY 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's now in twenty-four states reaching 20,000 families.

On yet another front of child advocacy, Hillary Rodham Clinton confronted the agonizing 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 through Hillary Clinton's supportive 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, most especially, our children.

Today, when the climate seems particularly unreceptive to calls for caring and compassion, Hillary Clinton reminds us, with elegance, about our obligations 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 more than 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 is often cruel and unfair."

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 affirming both the dignity, and the potential, of all the nation's children.

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

I have the honor for a third time of paying public tribute to 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 as principal speaker 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 legal profession.

Since then, of course, Mrs. Clinton has become our First Lady and has elevated her long-time advocacy of children's rights, public schools and universal health care to the level of national debate and attention.

On September 21, 1994, President Clinton did me the honor of appointing me Chairman of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities while asking the First Lady to serve as Honorary Chair. At a reception at the White House that day, Mrs. Clinton spoke eloquently about this responsibility. She said then:

We want to support and nurture our artists and humanists and the traditions that they represent. And we want also to bring those traditions alive for literally millions and millions of children who too often grow up without opportunities for creative expression, without opportunities for intellectual stimulation, without exposure to the diverse cultural traditions that contribute to our identity as Americans.

Too often today, instead of children discovering the joyful rewards of painting, or music, or sculpting, or writing, or testing a new idea, they express themselves through acts of frustration, helplessness, hopelessness and even violence.

. . . We hope that among the contributions this Committee makes, it will be thinking of and offering ideas about how we can provide children with safe havens to develop and explore their own creative and intellectual potentials.

The arts and humanities have the potential for being such safe havens. In communities where programs already exist, they are providing soul-saving and life-enhancing opportunities for your people. And I am delighted that as one of its major endeavors, this Committee will be considering ways of expanding those opportunities to all of our children.

Last month I had the privilege of being at the United Nations to hear the First Lady speak of the challenge to men and women everywhere, and particularly women, actively to participate in promoting social progress. Clearly Mrs. Clinton has been inspired by the life of her eminent predecessor as First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt. And like Eleanor Roosevelt before her, Hillary Clinton breaks new ground in public service.

Like Eleanor Roosevelt, Hillary Rodham Clinton has been criticized for undertaking responsibilities some consider inappropriate for First Ladies, indeed, for women in general. But like Eleanor Roosevelt, Hillary Clinton has persevered. Hers is an unwavering voice on behalf of the rights and needs of human beings, especially children, not only in our own country but around the world.

In recognizing the responsibility of women in helping shape America's future, Hillary Rodham Clinton has earned, and continues to earn, our admiration and our respect. I am proud to join in this tribute to her.

REMARKS OF REV. DR. JOAN BROWN CAMPBELL, GENERAL SECRETARY, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE USA

Day by day, Hillary Rodham Clinton is building an enduring contribution to our national life that can be discerned even amid the rush and tumult of current events. She is serving the nation in one of its defining moments and when historians place these events in perspective, surely she will be given a prominent place. By her style, her sensitivity, her presence and her competence, Mrs. Clinton has already expanded the nation's understanding of the role of the First Lady. Never again will it be limited to the single role of national hostess and helpmate. Called by circumstance and equipped with the extraordinary gifts of grace and intelligence, she has broken that mold—a task that has often placed her in an unenviable position and that places all those who follow in her debt.

This is what history may say, but for those who identify themselves as people of faith we acknowledge Hillary Rodham Clinton today, and in all the days to follow, as a woman of faith.

The New Testament urges believers to "be doers of the word and not merely hearers" (NRSV James 1:22). Hillary Rodham Clinton has taken this admonition to heart, as is evident from the way her many achievements have contributed to the common good.

In the language of theology I salute her as an incarnational person, in that her words become incarnate in deeds. Throughout her life she has been deeply involved in work that protects children, that upholds the dignity of women, that supports families in concrete, meaningful ways and that seeks health and wholeness for all people.

As a very busy attorney, she showed her commitment by giving time and energy as an active director of the Children's Defense Fund, advocating a morally grounded and highly practical approach to caring for all children, and especially for the very young who suffer from the effects of material and spiritual poverty. As First Lady, her work toward health care reform in this nation combined passionate caring with knowledge and skill. Because of the sacrifices she made to pursue this work, the issue was raised to a level that it had never been raised to before and in a way that ensures it can never be removed from the American agenda. Most recently I admired her role at the United Nations Social Summit in Copenhagen where she spoke eloquently on behalf of the people of the United States on the issue of social development and the role of women in that process.

Examples abound of the care and high seriousness with which she takes every assignment that life gives her. More testaments to her grace, integrity and competence could be shared in a lengthier forum. Taken together, her work provides a powerful model for women everywhere. She is the image of a woman with expertise, poise, and credibility. In recasting the role of First Lady she helps all women to be taken seriously, and at the same time, she demonstrates those qualities that have been traditionally held up as womanly virtues. We see her as wife, as life companion, as loving protective mother, as daughter, and as empathetic friend. Both in the focus of her work and in her personal demeanor she shows a concern for the comfort and well-being of others. She extends a sense

of hospitality to all around her, thus she carries a vision of what a woman can be—for the sake of her own daughter and for the sake of all women and their daughters. Such a visible model is also a lightning rod for criticism by those who do not share this vision. Mrs. Clinton has borne this criticism with courage and without rancor.

Mrs. Clinton is truly a “doer” in every sense of the word. The book of James quoted earlier also promises that those who “persevere, being not hearers who forget but doers who act—they will be blessed in their doing.” So to you, friend and faithful servant, Hillary Rodham Clinton, all God’s blessings in your life and work.

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; and 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 humor. 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 preventive healthcare services necessary to long-term individual health and reduced national healthcare costs; she has striven to ensure that children have access to quality education 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 had her as a friend and colleague, and we as a Nation are extraordinarily lucky to have her as our First Lady.

REMARKS OF ARTHUR S. FLEMMING, CHAIR,  
SAVE OUR SECURITY COALITION, FORMER  
SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND  
WELFARE

Hilliary Rodham Clinton has dedicated her life to helping her fellow human beings deal with the hazards and vicissitudes of life. She has kept at the center of her life the Commandment that is at the center of our Judeo-Christian religion: “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.”

Her dedication to others has been shown in many ways, such as 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 recommended to 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 even known. The Nation became well acquainted with her as an effective advocate. As she traveled throughout the Nation she was not content with speaking. She listened to real people discuss their real problems. They 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, 1994 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 1994. As a result of that dialogue, poll after 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 1994 we will reach our goal.

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 from the perspective 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 exemplar of humane, compassionate, 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 committee that set public school standards in Arkansas. Indeed, she exemplified in her own life as well as her professional 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 got this rather odd idea when I was at the Yale Law School that I wanted to know more about children’s development. . . . particularly in the early years, and to really find out what I can about how their 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 the Spring of 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 children, their problems and ways to improve their opportunities.

The Carnegie file from 1972 contains a letter from Professor Kenneth Kenniston, 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 published a landmark paper, “Children Under the Law,” in the *Harvard Educational Review*.

In 1980, she came back into 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 an effective school-to-work transition 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 this process. So there are many manifestations of her devotion to children, youth, and families—from the youngest children through late adolescence.

In 1994, she spoke at the opening of a Carnegie Conference on the first three years of life. In eloquent terms and with deep insight, she clarified ways of meeting the essential requirements for healthy child development in the earliest years. She has seen to it that the national discourse on health care reform can 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 time since then, all of us who knew her 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 First Lady.

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 struggle to bring health security to 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 closer to 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 in the days after that hearing, I believe we could have passed it.

Powerful vested interest groups and partisan tactics of obstruction designed to deny President Clinton a legislative victory succeeded 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 on children's issues. 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 addition, 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 lives of children and families. Her causes have included expanding 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 by 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 resources but lack of 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 ways that her Task Force on Health Care Reform might respond to the growing opposition of the medical pro-

fession 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 the media's caricature of her were dispelled immediately. I found her to be a woman of great sensitivity, keen intellect, and a delightfully winsome charm. Since I shared the Clintons' desire to bring equitable reform to our health care system, with special attention to the needs of the uninsured, I agreed with the President's suggestion that I moderate a series of forums between the First Lady and the medical profession.

Convened in several cities across the nation, these forums provided a much-needed dialogue between physicians and 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 demonstrated that she was able to see the many 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 acting as their advocates.

I have met no one who has a better grasp of the American health care system—or non-system, which might be a more accurate term—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 delivery.

The President's plan failed in Congress for many reasons, but mostly because the nation had not been prepared for changes as sweeping as those proposed. The last major reform 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 a series of remedies. The Congress and 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, state, and local levels, 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, more clearly and accurately than anyone 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 individuals and families throughout the country—from tribal chiefs in Montana, to parents in a children's hospital in Washington, to a broad range of citizens in Lincoln, Nebraska, to sick patients in nursing homes, parents of disabled children, and to citizens of the broadest range across the country. She read the thousands of letters sent to her by people from throughout the nation in order to better understand what health care meant to people and what needed to be done to assure everyone in the United States access to a decent level of health care.

These are all great qualities and ones to be admired, but I think, even more, I admire Hillary Rodham Clinton's integrity and strength of character. She has a clear sense of who she is, what her values are, and what she believes. She does not wet her finger, stick it up to the wind, and determine what she will believe on particular issue at a particular moment in time.

Finally, Mr. Clinton has been an inspiration for many of us who have had the opportunity to work with her as Presidential employees. When the times are toughest, when the road is most rocky, when the tasks seem insurmountable, she has been a source of not only encouragement, but energy and inspection. While many of us have been beneficiaries, directly and individually, of her support, her knowledge, her understanding, her commitment and her incredible energy, all of the American people benefit from her extraordinary qualities, but most of all from her integrity.

REMARKS OF LORETTA McLAUGHLIN, OP-ED COLUMNIST, BOSTON GLOBE

As we honor our distinguished and endearing First Lady, Hillary Rodham 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.

People who work on the line in my business—on newspapers, radio, and television—are especially drawn to her.

She's our kind of person, our kind of woman. An activist. Approachable. Quick-witted, quick study. Absorbing. Serious. 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.

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 professional women 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 lifestyles for families trying to cope with everything at once.

All these women see a small piece of themselves in her. They see her obviously trying hard to do a good job, as they are. They see her performing so well, doing them proud—doing all women proud who are trying to keep a house, hold a job and contribute meaningfully to society.

They love her because she, like them, went out to compete in the real marketplace and tested her mettle in the way that American business demands. She earned money; her

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 like her. She's so articulate. So focused. So prepared. So effective." It is no small accomplishment to have a new generation—in your own time—want 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 fully 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 intrigued by Mrs. Clinton.

The Washington Post calls her "the first lady of paradox. . . . both old-fashioned and post-modern. . . . a contradiction of perceptions." That is her gift; she is sensible and sensitive at the same time.

However, we should be mindful that she occupies the White House at a time of extreme transition. The paradox of being both old-fashioned and post-modern applies to our society as well. Despite the rock-em, sock-em, depictions of American life that glut our television screens, as a people we remain quite traditional.

With the dawning of a new age, a new century, a new millennium, we are even more 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 and reflect each new technology, technique and trend that comes along.

We have empathy for every First Lady—each woman, wife, mother who has 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 be a credentialed and active lawyer, qualified as a member of the American bar, a professional person fully in her own right.

She and the President serve at a time when the nation has profound problems that cry out for expert attention. Instead of allowing the Presidency with its vast network of advisors to provide a setting for quiet, thoughtful and comprehensive analysis, the office is constantly being distracted by those who flood the halls of government with foolish partisan themes and empty political ploys.

Such tactics make it difficult for all of us to concentrate on what we need to do as citizens. And they threaten to blunt the enthusiasm and energy, the resiliency that Hillary and Bill Clinton have brought to the White House. It is shameful that Mrs. Clinton who has sincerely tried to be helpful is made the butt of cheap jokes by rightwing extremists preaching provincialism and zealotry. What the Clintons would have us do is to seek greatness again.

Others will speak of Mrs. Clinton's work on behalf of children and education and in pursuit of better opportunities to lead productive and useful lives for all Americans. It is for me to speak of Mrs. Clinton in connection with health care reform—my favorite issue and one near and dear to her.

That is the ground upon which she and I first met in Boston and continue to meet. It is the legislative turf that she made most her own during the first half of the Clinton Presidency.

Since the Congressional election last November, it is considered journalistically chic in many quarters to criticize Mrs. Clinton for what some in the press like to label her failure to enact health care reform.

But Mrs. Clinton didn't fail at this. She did her job. She researched the problem, pinned down the facts, and outlined a solution. Her recommendations were consistent with the President's oft-expressed view that health care coverage should be universal, comprehensive, job-linked, and cost-controlled. He proposed a national health care plan based on a managed competition model. But he and she made it clear from the beginning that the plan was open for negotiation.

The failure to come to grips with any part of health care reform—not even to grasp the urgent need for it—lies with a very confused and lethargic 103rd United States Congress.

The immobility of its members was abetted by the multi-million dollar lobbying effort staged by health insurers and others on the business end of the health care industry. To maintain the status quo on health care, a trillion-dollar-a-year industry in the United States, the lobbyists generously fed campaign kitties around the country for Congressional candidates standing for re-election.

Mrs. Clinton was clear about what was needed. She made stellar appearances on the Hill, testifying before House and Senate committees more extensively than any previous First Lady.

We can all agree there is room for differences of opinion on the Clinton-proposed solution as to how best to achieve an equitable and affordable system of universal health care. But we should bear in mind that the facts speak for themselves when we examine the existing patchwork of health care delivery in this country and the vagaries of its funding.

Mrs. Clinton learned all there is to know about our unevenly delivered and inadequately funded health care non-system. And she now knows, as do experts in the field, that it cannot be fixed piecemeal—despite the partisan rhetoric to the contrary.

What a happy surprise it was to see the front-page headline in the New York Times on a recent Sunday saying that "now it's Republicans who see a health care crisis looming" and they now want to persuade the public that the crisis is real. Too bad they couldn't see it last year when Mrs. Clinton needed them.

It comes as no surprise, however, that when Mrs. Clinton looked at the situation she saw as the most serious problem within the health care dilemma the number (now 41 million) of Americans with no coverage.

But even at this late date, the Republican majority is obsessed with proposals to trim the Medicare budget. Medicare is the program that pays for medical care for 37 million Americans over 65 years of age or disabled.

It figures, doesn't it, that the new Newtonian-style Republican reformers would want to meddle with a group of Americans who already have the most solid coverage. But, as Willy Sutton well knew, that's where the money is. Medicare currently spends about \$170 billion a year. While we could agree on the need to conserve Medicare dollars and discuss the pluses and minuses of moving the elderly into managed care plans, the real point is that doing so would also pour billions of Medicare dollars—that now directly buy health care—into the coffers of private health insurance companies.

This is not what Mrs. Clinton and the President had in mind when they set out to make all Americans medically secure. And I am convinced he and she will yet see that goal achieved. Health care reform remains a top tier concern of the American public.

Congress's failure to enact health care reform does not mean that the problem has gone away. To the contrary. The most recent analyses indicate that since 1993, every facet

of health care coverage continues to worsen. More Americans than ever before are uncovered; and those with coverage are getting less for their money and must spend more out-of-pocket for medical care.

Meanwhile, let us see the First lady in her own light. Let us put away the old vie of First Ladies. You know, the one where she figuratively and actually stands slightly behind and slightly below the President.

In the wonderful new world of this accomplished couple, let us have the First Lady and the President stand on level ground as all enlightened men and women should. Not in confrontation, but side by side, looking out together from the same perspective but with individual insight.

In the long run, defining anew the role of First Lady, carefully and distinctively, may prove to be her most arduous but most outstanding accomplishment. I salute you, Mrs. Clinton.

REMARKS OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN NOOR OF JORDAN

I was very pleased to be asked to write a few words of dedication about Hillary Rodham Clinton, because it allowed me to express some of my thoughts about a truly remarkable person, who has also become a good friend.

Hillary Clinton, in many ways, has enhanced the importance of the challenging roles of public servant and First Lady through her unfaltering 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. Those 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 world.

But it is Mrs. Clinton's personal integrity, her intellectual honesty and commitment to dialogue and understanding in international relations that have impressed me most.

In the past year, Jordan has witnessed some of the most critical and momentous events in its history. In July of 1994, the Washington Declaration, signed on the South Lawn of the White House, ended 46 years of conflict between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Mrs. Clinton was more than simply a gracious and generous hostess; she was a partner in Jordan and Israel's shared hopes for a better future for the Middle East and all its peoples. Like a mirror of her country, the United States, she was our partner in peace.

REMARKS OF LETTY COTTIN POGREBIN, AUTHOR

As a professional scribbler, I usually find it hard to write about Hillary Clinton because of the journalistic imperative to avoid superlatives. Thankfully, no such rule applies 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. 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 in American Law, 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 recollections of her personal warmth, her lifelong commitment to justice, her breathtaking 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 25 years. Her Wellesley classmates remember her as a pre-eminent intellectual but also as the kindest, most principled student leader on campus, totally focused, a gifted mediator, well-centered, and mature beyond her years. Several of her Yale contemporaries have told me she was not simply an editor of the *Review of Law and Social Action*, but the smartest person (not woman, person) at the Yale Law School—and unselfconscious to boot.

Sara Ehrman, veteran Democratic activities who ran George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign in south Texas, first met Hillary Rodham when she came to San Antonio as a volunteer. Ehrman remembers being bowled over by the young law student's grasp of arcane election law, but says the reason the two became friends and remain close to this day is because "Hillary's the best company in the world." In 1974, while she was serving on the impeachment inquiry staff of the Judiciary Committee working on the Watergate proceedings, Hillary Rodham was Sara Ehrman's houseguest for nine months.

As Ehrman tells it: "She was brilliant, she was a star, she could have done anything in Washington. When she came home one night and told me she'd decided to teach at the University of Arkansas and make a life with Bill Clinton, I said, 'Are you out of your mind going to this godforsaken place to marry this country lawyer?'" She just looked at me and said, 'Sara, I love him.' So I drove her to Arkansas, which was the most raucous, wonderful journey of my life. We laughed all the way through the Blue Ridge Mountains and the Shenandoah Valley. It took us four days because every 20 miles we stopped to go shopping."

Ambassador Mickey Kantor, now U.S. Trade Representative, joined the Legal Services Corporation Board in 1978 when Hillary Clinton was its Chair. "I can't say enough good things about her," he begins. "She had a tremendous dedication to local programs and a deep commitment to making justice accessible to poor people in everything from spousal abuse cases to landlord-tenant or wage disputes. Plus, she could always balance conflicting interests, ideologies, and personalities on the Board and among the lawyers and staff. The Corporation was never in better shape than when she chaired it."

Kantor, a friend for 17 years, believes the media has trouble capturing Hillary Clinton because she is so multi-dimensional. He describes her as a terrific wife, mother, daughter, sister, lawyer, public servant, and friend; someone with a great sense of humor, who has contributed so much to her community, is "extremely well-organized, speaks in perfect paragraphs, knows how to take complicated issues and break them down into manageable pieces, and operates as every good lawyer should—zealously on behalf of the client."

Not only has she always been willing to take on intractable issues whether related to the legal system, quality education, or health care, but, Kantor says, by the example of her own strength and dignity "she is blazing a trail for future First Ladies—or First Husbands. She is a fascinating combination of talents. For once, all the superlatives are true."

Elaine Weiss was Executive Director of the ABA Commission on Women in the Profession when Hillary Clinton was its Chair. "Hillary was instrumental in getting the American Bar Association to take an activist voice in advancing women's status," says Weiss. "She saw women's issues as economic issues. She'd go into a room full of predomi-

nantly white guys and their body language bespoke their discomfort. But she had this incredible ability to break down barriers and get men to listen to the problems of women. She came across very mainstream, and sounded so reasonable, and presented herself as a working lawyer just like them. And she got them to embrace change because of her leadership."

Under Hillary Clinton, the Commission held national hearings on the status of women in the profession. It published a report on gender bias in law schools, government, courtrooms, and Bar Associations. It identified the double barriers experienced by minority women lawyers. It developed policy manuals to guide law firms on how to better deal with parental leave, part-time work, or sexual harassment.

"A woman lawyer anywhere in the country, not just a Wall Street magister, could take this manual to a partner and say, 'Look, we can work this out.' The Commission really made a difference for me because 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 Hillary Rodham Clinton onto the board of the Child Care Action Campaign, on which I also served, I remember thinking Guggenheimer must have recruited her for show, because she was cute, young, blonde, and the wife of an up-and-coming governor. To my surprise, at the first meeting she attended, Hillary Clinton offered the most knowledgeable, clear-headed assessment of this country's child care crisis I'd ever heard in one mouthful. During the years we served together, I developed an abiding respect for her problem-solving skills and her genuine dedication to guaranteeing quality care to every American child.

"Hillary always approached the child care problem with passion but not emotionalism," says Guggenheimer. "She's not one of those simplistic 'I just love little children' types; she looks at what legislation is needed, what policy changes, what strategies. She brings cerebral power to her caring."

To Ellie Guggenheimer, there's much more to Hillary Clinton than her brains. "I never recognize her when I read about her in the press. They miss her whimsy and her sensitivity. Whenever she stayed over at our apartment in New York, we put her up on a convertible couch. She was First Lady of Arkansas at the time but she refused to be waited on by anyone. My husband Randy fell in love with her and he's a Republican. After one visit, she sent us a picture of herself and Randy on which she'd inscribed, "Hope the tabloids don't find out about us."

Hillary Clinton's eloquence is the eighth wonder of the world. "She never speaks from notes and she never says er, ah, or um, no matter how complex the subject," says Guggenheimer. "I don't know how she does it."

I've marveled at the same phenomenon. In the summer of 1991, I organized a week-long series on family issues at the Chautauqua Institute and invited Hillary Clinton to speak on the challenge of blending marriage, work, and childrearing. When she took to the podium in front of 5,000 people with not a shred of paper in hand, my heart stopped, but of course she gave a speech of great substance, an inspiring mix of personal experience and policy analysis—and did so, indeed, without a stammer.

Leon Friedman remembers a recent Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference in Colorado Springs at which the speakers and panelists included Supreme Court Justices Byron White, John Paul Stevens, and Harry Blackmun, plus various Circuit and District

Judges, a United States Senator and Congressman, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency, and a passel of professors. Friedman, a Hofstra Law School professor, and Hillary Clinton of the Rose Law Firm, did joint service on a panel on "Recent Developments in the Area of Civil Rights." He took race, age, and disability, and she took sex discrimination.

"I was awed by her technical legal experience," says Friedman, "but what really blew me away was the impromptu keynote address she gave earlier in the 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 got up there and, without a single note, gave 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's success: hard work or innate ability?' 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 inspire 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. Wives are supposed to be there to open up 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.

#### REMARKS OF RONALD F. POLLACK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, FAMILIES, USA

When I was eleven years old, I had the opportunity to listen to a speech by, and then spend precious moments with, Eleanor Roosevelt. As part of the multiple celebrations that year marking the tenth anniversary of the United Nations, my mother organized a remarkable evening for several thousand New Yorkers, featuring Mrs. Roosevelt.

My mother organized the event on an unpaid, voluntary basis, but she decided to retain two "perks" for her family. First, she made sure that her only child would go on stage to present a bouquet of roses to the former First Lady immediately upon the conclusion of her speech. Then, she made sure that we would transport Mrs. Roosevelt from the event in our family car—an arrangement that undoubtedly presaged the need for a tighter and more protective Secret Service.

That evening, 40 years ago, is etched indelibly in my memory. Mrs. Roosevelt was eloquent and compassionate, dignified and warm, purposeful and friendly. She inspired a genuine sense of goodness about public life.

Years later, I carefully observed my daughter's reactions when she met—and when she watched television interviews with—another very remarkable First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton. My daughter, Sarah, who (unlike her younger brothers) is not particularly awed by famous people, has an unmistakable

glow when she listens to the First Lady. On one such occasion, during the Presidential campaign, Sarah declared most emphatically: "Hillary Clinton makes me feel very good!"

As Sarah later explained to me, Hillary makes her feel good to be a woman. Sarah finds inspiration and reaffirmation from women who are strong and gentle, determined and kind, and who have a finely-tuned, life-affirming social conscience. It is those qualities that Hillary enlivens in Sarah.

Above the din of shrill acrimony and demonization that passes as political discourse these days, Sarah—through Hillary's example—has gained a much better understanding about the positive potentialities of public service.

Sarah's perceptions about the First Lady are well grounded. Of Hillary's many fine qualities that abundantly substantiate Sarah's impressions, three are particularly salient for me.

First, empathy. Although the First Lady's virtuosity in testifying before five Congressional committees on health reform was properly chronicled, her interactions in meetings with ordinary people were, in my judgment, even more impressive. For people experiencing unfathomable emotions watching loved ones bear the direst consequences of an inequitable health system, Hillary was a reassuring presence. She listened. She consoled. She explained. She gave hope. She infused strength, and she seemed to gain strength in return.

Second, an indomitable spirit. No one can deny that the First Lady has had to confront difficult, and undoubtedly emotional, moments of a profound adversity during the past four years. But, even during the most troubled periods of the campaign, and the denouement of the health reform fight, and this past November's elections, the First Lady demonstrated a resiliency that is truly remarkable. She remains focused. She moves on. Through her example, and with her words of encouragement, she helps us to find the next, highest ground.

Third, her unswerving support for low-income and other vulnerable constituencies. Time and again, throughout her career and her ascendancy to national leadership, Hillary Clinton has been a steady, reliable and thoughtful voice for people who are poor and deserve a helping hand. At the Legal Services Corporation, in the fight for universal health coverage, as an eloquent spokesperson for America's children, and in the quest for improved educational opportunities, Hillary Clinton has effectively opened doors and championed new possibilities for "the other America." In so doing, she has enriched us all.

Sarah instinctively knows why I and our family's best friends, felt overjoyed on the night of November 8, 1992. For so many of us, it was an opportunity to dream once again. Although we now know better how difficult it will be to achieve our dreams, Hillary Rodham Clinton's vitality, inspiration and encouragement will keep us going, keep us working, keep us fighting—and keep us dreaming.

REMARKS OF ROBERT RUBIN, UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

Hillary Rodham Clinton is an unusual woman who has spent her life doing extraordinary things.

She graduated from law school at a time when few women chose law as a profession. Since then, she has balanced with grace the demands of public life with the pressures of protecting and nurturing a child being raised in the national spotlight. And with great ef-

fect, she has used her personal and professional experiences as an advocate for women, children, and families, and to advance their rights in the eyes of the law.

There is no constitutionally defined job description for the role of First Lady. She can look to tradition, to the times in which she lives, to the demands placed upon her by the President and her family. But the women who have made the greatest impact on our nation are the ones who have blazed a trail that is uniquely their own.

This is the course Hillary Rodham Clinton has followed so remarkably these last two and one-half years.

As First Lady, she has opened the White House to more Americans than have visited the First Family's residence in our history. On health care, she opened the policymaking process to victims of disease, families haunted by extraordinary health care expenses, and to the community of healers, practitioners and administrators. As a result, we are closer today than ever before to reforming our nation's health care system.

Most of all, she has opened the minds and hearts of Americans about the role, the pressures and the opportunities that come with being a First Lady, a mother, and a President's partner at this important time in our history.

As a member of the President's Cabinet, and as a former member of the President's staff, it has been my privilege to know and admire Hillary Rodham Clinton. She is a wise counselor, an enormously sensitive, decent and compassionate person, and someone to whom we have well entrusted the role of First Lady in our national life.

REMARKS OF ELIE WIESEL, ANDREW W. MEL- LON PROFESSOR IN THE HUMANITIES, BOSTON UNIVERSITY, NOBEL PEACE LAUREATE, 1986

Hillary Rodham Clinton is worth knowing better. The more closely one observes her, the more impressed one is by her intellectual curiosity and human sensitivity.

A woman with a mind of her own, deeply committed to social values, she sets high standards for others and ever higher ones for herself.

She does what she says and says what she wants to say—not what others want to hear.

Whatever she does, she does well, with genuine though subdued enthusiasm.

Her language is clear, her words precise, her initiatives courageous. She knows what she wants, though she also knows that one cannot obtain everything one wants.

I wish she were appointed by the President of the United States to the unpaid cabinet position of Secretary for Human Rights—a field in which she could do wonders for all those who need an intercessor.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Born: October 26, 1947, in Chicago, Illinois.  
 Husband: President William Jefferson Clinton.

Daughter: Chelsea Victoria Clinton.  
 Education: B.A. Wellesley College, 1969; J.D. Yale Law School, Yale University, 1973.  
 Law Practice and Professional Associations: Admitted to Arkansas Bar, 1973; U.S. District Court (Eastern and Western districts of Arkansas); U.S. Court of Appeals (8th Circuit); U.S. Supreme Court, 1975; Children's Defense Fund, Cambridge, MA and Washington, D.C., and Carnegie Council on Children, New Haven, CT, 1973-74; Counsel, Impeachment Inquiry Staff, Judiciary Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1974; Chair, American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, 1987-91; Chair, Legal Services Corporation, Washington, D.C., 1978-80; Member,

Board of Directors, 1977-81; Partner, Rose Law Firm, Little Rock, AR, 1977-92.

Law Teaching: Assistant Professor of Law and Director of the Legal Aid Clinic; University of Arkansas School of Law at Fayetteville, 1974-76; Assistant Professor of Law, University of Arkansas School of Law at Little Rock, 1979-80.

Publications: "Children Under the Law," Harvard Educational Review, January 1974;

Hillary Rodham, Book Note, Children's Policies: Abandonment and Neglect, 86 Yale L.J. 1522 (1977) (reviewing Steiner: The Children's Cause) (1976);

"Handbook on Legal Rights for Arkansas Women," Carolyn Armbrust [et al.], a project of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, 1977, 1987 editions;

"Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," Children's Rights, Teachers College Press, New York, 1979;

"Teacher Education: Of the People, By the People and For the People," Beyond the Looking Glass: Papers from a National Symposium on Teacher Education Policies, Practices, and Research, March 1985 and Journal of Teacher Education, January-February 1985;

"The Fight Over Orphanages," Newsweek, January 1995;

"The War on America's Children," New York Newsday, March 12, 1995;

"Investing in Sisterhood," The Washington Post, May 14, 1995.

Honors and Awards:

Honorary Doctor of Law: University of Arkansas at Little Rock, 1985; Arkansas College, Batesville, Arkansas, 1988; Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas, 1992; University of Michigan, 1993; University of Pennsylvania, 1993; University of Sunderland, England, 1993; University of Illinois, 1994; University of Minnesota, 1995; San Francisco State University, 1995.

Honorary Doctor of Public Service: The George Washington University, 1994; Who's Who in the World, 1995; Who's Who in America, 1995; Who's Who in American Law, 1994-95; Who's Who of Emerging Leaders in America, 1993-94; Who's Who of American Women, 1993-94; International Who's Who, 1994-95.

Honorary Life Member, The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi

Arkansas Bar Association and Arkansas Bar Foundation Award, 1985

Arkansas Woman of the Year, 1983

Phi Delta Kappa Award for Outstanding Layman of the Year, 1984

Pulaski County Bar Association Lawyer Citizen Award, 1987

Gayle Pettus Pontz Award, Women's Law Student Association, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, 1989

Director's Choice Award, National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation, 1991

Outstanding Lawyer-Citizen Award, Arkansas Bar Association, 1992

Lewis Hine Award, National Lawyer and Child Labor Committee, January 26, 1993

Albert Schweitzer Leadership Award, Hugh O'Brian Youth Foundation, May 10, 1993

The Iris Cantor Humanitarian Award, July 19, 1993

1993 Charles Wilson Lee Citizen Service Award, Committee for Education Funding

1993 Awareness Achievement Award, National Breast Cancer Awareness Month

Claude D. Pepper Award, The National Association for Home Care, October 19, 1993

Distinguished Service Award, National Center for Health Education, November 18, 1993

Healthcare Advocacy Award, National Symposium of Healthcare Design, November 19, 1993

National Public Service Award 1993, The Bar Association of the District of Columbia, December 4, 1993

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

Brandeis Award, School of Law, University of Louisville, April 1, 1994

Benjamin E. Mays Award, A Better Chance, Inc., April 4, 1994

Ernie Banks Positivism 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 Award, 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 Medical Organization, 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 Hatwood 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 2, 1994

Martin Luther King, Jr. Award, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., August 12, 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

National Federation of Black Women Business Owners Black Women of Courage Award to Hillary Rodham Clinton, February 8, 1995

Greater Washington Urban League Award, March 8, 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 Image Award, Women at Work, April 9, 1995

1995 Outstanding Mother Award, National Mother's Day Committee, April 13, 1995

Eleanor Roosevelt Award, Citizen's Committee For Children of New York, Inc., April 24, 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, Founder, President and Member of Board of Directors, 1977-84

Chair, Arkansas Rural Health Committee, 1979-80

Chair, Board of Directors, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, D.C., 1986-91, Member, Board of Directors, 1976-92

Chair, Arkansas Education Standards Committee, 1983-84

Yale Law School Executive Committee, New Haven, CT, 1983-88, Treasurer, 1987-88

Member, Southern Governors Association Task Force on Infant Mortality, 1984-85

Member, Commission on Quality Education, Southern Regional Education Board, 1984-1992

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

Charter Member, Business Leadership Council, Wellesley College, 1989

Board of Directors, Children's Television Workshop, 1989-92

Board of Directors, TCBY Enterprises, Inc., 1989-92

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, 1993-present

Member, Visiting Committee, University of Chicago Law School, 1991-92

Alumnae Trustee, Wellesley College, 1992-93

DEDICATEES OF ANNUAL SURVEY OF AMERICAN LAW

1942 Harry Woodburn Chase

1943 Frank H. Sommer

1944 Manley O. Hudson

1945 Carl McFarland

1946 Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., A.S. Mike Monroney, George B. Galloway

1947 Roscoe Pound

1948 Arthur T. Vanderbilt

1949 Herbert Hoover

1950 Bernard Baruch

\*1951 Robert P. Patterson

1952 Phanor J. Eder

1953 Edward S. Corwin

1954 Arthur Lehman Goodhart

1955 John Johnston Parker

1956 Henry T. Heald

1957 Herbert F. Goodrich

1958 Harold H. Burton

1959 Charles E. Clark

1960 Whitney North Seymour

1961 Austin Wakeman Scott

1962 Fred H. Blume

1963 Laurence P. Simpson

\*1964 Edmond Cahn

1965 Charles S. Desmond

1966 Tom C. Clark

1967 Francis J. Putman

1968/69 Russell D. Niles

1969/70 Jack L. Kroner

\*1970/71 Frank Rowe Kenison

1971/72 Robert A. Leflar

1972/73 Justine Wise Polier

1973/74 Walter J. Derenberg

1974/75 Robert B. McKay

1976 Herbert Peterfreund

1977 Charles D. Breitel

1978 Henry J. Friendly

1979 David L. Bazelon

1980 Edward Weinfeld

1981 William J. Brennan, Jr.

1982 Shirley M. Hufstедler

1983 Thurgood Marshall

1984 Hans A. Linde

1985 J. Skelly Wright

1986 William Wayne Justice

1987 Frank M. Johnson, Jr.

1988 Bernard Schwartz

1989 Barbara Jordan

1990 Harry A. Blackmun

1991 Martin Lipton

1992/93 John Paul Stevens

1994 Judith S. Kaye

1995 Hillary Rodham Clinton

\*In memoriam.

#### SOUTH PACIFIC NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE TREATY [SPNFZ]

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 united public position with regard to nuclear testing. This changed with the decision of the French to resume testing while Britain and the United States have placed a moratorium on their own nuclear testing.