

MANAGUA,
July 30, 1995.

Hon. JESSE HELMS,
Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR HELMS: How can my Government give aid to the Nicaraguan Government when most of the properties of U.S. citizens in Nicaragua have not been returned?

I am not opposed to the aid to Nicaragua, but before that aid is given, my Government should be more responsible and make it its business to find out the truth regarding the return of the properties of U.S. citizens.

Thanking you and your staff for all the help and support you have given us, I remain
Sincerely yours,

PAUL H. GULKE.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA,
July 31, 1995.

Re your letter February 21, 1995.

Hon. JESSE HELMS,
Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR HELMS: The Chamorro-Sandinista government in Nicaragua has been unable to resolve my property claim. The government confiscated my properties for the only reason of being an American citizen living in this country since 1970. The following is a list of property claims I have against the Nicaraguan Government.

1.—Urban lot, part of the urban farm commonly known as "La China" with an extension of 27,914.69 varas cuadradas and registered with number 33448, Tomo CDLV, Folio 99/100 asiento 2;

2.—Urban lot, part of the urban farm commonly known as "La China" with an extension of 65,134.89 varas cuadradas and registered with number 33448, Tomo CDLV, Folio 92 asiento 30;

3.—Vacant lot located on Barrio Bolonia, Olla El Nogal #167, registered with #51576, Tomo DCCLXV, folio 122 asiento 3; and

4.—House located in barrio Monsenor Lazcano, registered with #37750, Tomo DIV, folio 228, asiento 1.

Senator Helms stand firm. U.S. aid should not be given to Nicaragua until all property claims are solved in a just manner.

Sincerely,

CLOTILDE CARCAMO.

MANAGUA,
August 1, 1995.

Hon. JESSE HELMS,
Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR HELMS: We have been astonished to find out that the Nicaraguan Government is receiving United States help, despite their noncompliance to the US Congress mandate to protect and defend all US citizen's property.

This petition is being sent to you, asking for your continuous effort to intervene before the US Congress, so that the Nicaraguan Government activates the due process of all the US citizens, who are still waiting for a favorable resolution of their confiscated properties.

You, and your Republican colleagues are the only ones interested in helping American Citizen, confiscated by the Nicaraguan Sandinista Government. Once more, we respectfully ask you, for your help and support.

After five years of continuous to recuperate our inherited assets, up to now, has not been any success for a positive resolution. Please help us in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

SEGUNDO J. MONTOYA.
AGNES MONTOYA.

MANAGUA,
July 31, 1995.

Hon. JESSE HELMS,
Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR HELMS: We challenge the appropriateness of the Administration's action, relinquishing US aid funds to the Government of Nicaragua, since it has not been met the requirement established by US law, as to the return of American properties taken or confiscated by the Government of Nicaragua, or adequate compensation being afforded to American citizens. You and the supporters of the Gonzalez-Helms Amendment are the only ones to defend the rights of American citizens in Nicaragua and for this reason we entirely back your position and action in this matter.

Respectfully and gratefully yours,

VALERIA ROMION L.

FUNDRAISING LETTER

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, one of my nicest colleagues, some months ago, drew my attention to a most intriguing document that had been sent, unsolicited, to his splendid wife. This little gem of an item was sent by an organization with which I have, alas, become too well acquainted: The National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare.

I was most intrigued by this missive, and come the merciful end of these remarks, I trust that my colleagues will understand why. Most of them, I believe, already know that I have been reviewing the activities and structure of the American Association of Retired Persons, [AARP].

Let me simply say here that I had chosen to review the AARP, alone among seniors' groups, for a variety of reasons—ranging from Federal grant receipts, to failure to pay appropriate taxes, to hiding a massive business empire behind the glossy veneer of non-profit social welfare law.

But, I took pains to point out, there is no law against distorting the truth. They may say some outrageous things, but there is no law against that. When they do that, using their first amendment rights, I would simply use mine to set the record straight—as I see it.

No, Mr. President, there is no law against uttering untruths, but neither is there a law against pointing out untruths when they are uttered. And this pathetic document, from the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare, is a case study in distortion, fear-mongering, sophistry, and yes, outright falsehoods. It is a shameful and disgraceful exercise, concocted with only one nefarious purpose: to frighten senior citizens out of their money.

Let me be directly, unmistakably clear to all out there who might be listening. If you are part of an organization like this, an organization dedicated to bilking seniors' out of their money in this way, please hear this: Do not take heart in my earnest review of the AARP. Do not assume that this is an open invitation for you to twist and to distort and to otherwise capitalize on the travails of your behemoth rival.

Because I certainly believe that this sort of wretched activity is also worthy of a congressional hearing. I know that the Aging Committee has looked at these mail-order practices before. Perhaps it will again. Perhaps I will do so in my Social Security Subcommittee: The topic will be "Deceptive Tactics Employed in Fundraising." And this item will be exhibit A in that hearing.

Now, let me give a little historical background about this particular document:

Some weeks ago, I met in my office with Martha McSteen, the president of the National Committee, along with Max Richmann of the same group. This meeting occurred because I felt they had reneged on a promise they had made to me. They had come before the Finance Committee, and I had criticized them severely for their distortion of the "notch" issue—they had been perpetuating a notion without factual foundation, an idea that individuals in the "notch" had somehow been "short-changed."

At that time, they promised me that they would not continue to raise the "notch" issue. They conceded that the Notch Commission had correctly concluded that there was "no legislative remedy." And so I was chagrined to see the "notch issue" raised yet again in a National Committee fundraising letter. So I asked them into my office to explain this.

They were very contrite, and most eager to please. They assured me that they would not continue to beat the drum on the "notch" issue, and then made me another promise. I had challenged them to employ a little honesty in communications with their members. I had said to them, "I hope you will not say that we are cutting or reducing benefits when we are only proposing to slow increases." And they replied, "Oh, no, Senator. We aim to be very truthful in that regard, unlike other rival groups. We will not employ that scare tactic."

That is the way this group works. They come before the Congress and they smile, and they are accommodating, and then they send out these vicious, inflammatory, false statements to their membership.

Let me read from this document to my colleagues. I have made numerous notes on my copy, including occasional exclamations of "H.S."—initials for a phrase I shall not spell out here in this public forum.

For example, the National Committee is particularly insistent in drawing a line between "earned entitlements" and "welfare." We can't do anything to address spending on Medicare, they say, because they have all been "paid for." They even go so far as to talk about the monthly part B premium and to say, "None of these benefits are handouts. You've earned * * * them through your * * * payments into the system."

That is a flat-out lie. Medicare part B is not paid for with payments into the system. It is a direct benefit, unearned, it has no trust fund, and it goes directly from the general taxpayer's contributions to beneficiaries. Unlike part A, it is not financed by payroll tax contributions. The premium collected under part B is paid upon voluntarily joining the program, and accounts for only a small fraction of cost. Part B is a transfer of resources—like any welfare program—pure and simple.

Then they go on to say that their experienced, skillful lobbyists, "helped convince Members of Congress to defeat the proposed balanced budget amendment because it did not include adequate assurances that Social Security would be protected." And further, "Actual savings to Seniors * * * at least \$1,000 per year." They go on to say that "our political activism saved seniors a total of \$4,521 in future retirement benefits."

Again, that is so much malarkey. First, they reached that figure by lumping in various Medicare measures and then saying that they had saved over \$4,000 in retirement benefits. Medicare is a not a retirement program, it is a health care program. Seniors who are not retired can receive Medicare. So the lion's share of the claim of \$4,521 in savings disappears right there.

And the rest of it disappears, too, because there was never a suggestion that Social Security benefits would be cut because of a balanced budget amendment. In fact, we recently passed a budget resolution that meets the terms of that balanced budget amendment, and it does not cut 1 cent in Social Security benefits.

So the claim by the National Committee that they had somehow saved seniors from over \$1,000 in Social Security cuts annually is an outright lie. We proceeded with our resolution precisely as if the BBA had passed, and no such cuts are contained in it.

The kicker, though, is that the reader is urged to send them some more money, so that they can save Social Security all over again. Another quote: "No one else is fighting for"—enter name of the recipient—"in the same way the National Committee is today." This letter tells seniors that this committee is the only thing standing between them and the loss of their benefits.

Outrageous, despicable, contemptible.

I could go on—there is so much more. But let me turn to the poll that is contained in this letter. Here is a good one: "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 percent?"

Here is another one: "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?"

I cannot imagine how anyone—including my colleagues on the other side of the aisle—could find any factual basis for these questions. Even the severest critics of Republican budget plans do not allege that we are planning to "reduce the amounts currently paid"—everyone on both sides agrees that it is only a question of how fast per capita Medicare expenses will rise. The latest figures are that they will go up from \$4,800 to \$6,700. Even the harshest critics contend only that benefits will not rise fast enough to meet expenses. For the committee to imply that anyone is plotting to reduce current benefits is an out-and-out lie.

Here is the final one that has to make you grab your sides: "Before receiving this package today, were you aware that the National Committee's work has saved seniors thousands of dollars in future retirement benefits, such as the \$4,521 you learned about in the letter?" Well, as we have seen, that figure is a fiction, a falsehood.

I want my colleagues to imagine the "average" recipient of this letter, who is not here in Washington, does not follow our budget debates, but depends upon Social Security. This letter just might induce them to part with what they can barely spare—to be saved from destruction and send it to the National Committee. And that is indeed the intention of this letter.

This mailing was sent out by people preying upon our senior citizens, who have so little in the way of moral scruples that they seek to profit by using lies and fear to shake money out of them. Then they come here, before us, and they purport to care about the welfare of our elderly. What hypocritical, contemptible rubbish.

So I will indeed consider expanding the scope of the hearings in my Social Security Subcommittee, the chairman permitting. Perhaps the subject of unethical, untruthful tactics in fundraising is something that deserves closer attention from us. And if and when I go forward with such hearings, these people will be my first subjects of inquiry.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this letter be printed in the RECORD.

I thank my colleagues and I yield the floor.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL RETIREMENT SECURITY POLL

Important!

You have been selected to represent your hometown of _____ in our National Retirement Security Poll.

Your participation in this important national poll today will help protect what is rightfully yours. But before you begin, let me ask you one crucial question:

Do you know how much you now have at stake in Social Security and Medicare?

DEAR CONCERNED AMERICAN: If you've never taken the time to add up your contributions over the years, the answer to my question above could really shock you.

For example, if hard-working people are now making between \$20,000 and \$40,000 a year, their annual contribution to Social Security and Medicare is between \$2,000.00 and \$3,000.00. And if they are lucky enough to be making around \$60,000 a year, the amount soars to more than \$4,500.00.

That's how much will be deducted from their gross pay this year—just for Social Security and Medicare!

Of course, it may not seem that high because the money is withheld from them in small amounts throughout the year.

It could be \$100.00, \$200.00, \$300.00, even more—each and every month—for Social Security and Medicare.

Before you fill out the enclosed National Retirement Security Poll, I wanted to get you thinking about how much you really have at stake through the investment you have been making in Social Security and Medicare.

Check after check. Month after month. Year after year. You never see it. But it's real money.

And now that you're approaching retirement age, those benefits have become more important to you than they've ever been before.

You see, even though you've been putting all that money into the system throughout your entire working life, the odds are increasing every day that the Social Security and Medicare benefits you're counting on for your retirement years are being looked at by some politicians who want to use Social Security for other causes—like deficit reduction and balancing the budget.

That is why your participation in the National Retirement Security Poll is so important today.

Your views are critical to the National Committee's mission—right now—to protect your investment in Social Security and Medicare. The results will be tabulated confidentially and then distributed to the news media and your representatives in Washington:

Senator John W. Warner.

Senator Charles S. Robb.

Representative James P. Moran.

Your immediate help in our current efforts to protect your retirement security is needed. You see, your elected representatives really have not heard enough from people like you—people who will be retiring soon * * *

* * * and unless we stop certain politicians in Washington today, you could end up with Social Security and Medicare changes being made that would affect you and your retirement security.

But the only way the politicians can get away with that, is if you allow them to do it * * * if you don't take a stand * * * if you don't participate in our National Poll and help us protect what is rightfully yours.

I'm sure you've been keeping up with all the threats to Social Security and Medicare that have been popping up as the Clinton Administration and Congress keep wrestling with the budget deficit.

(You've probably even read recently that many Americans believe in the likelihood of UFOs more than they do the likelihood of receiving future Social Security benefits!)

The alarming truth is, people are losing faith in our great Social Security program. And why?

Because they keep hearing about budget tinkerers who think Social Security causes the deficit and want to restructure the programs in ways that would seriously undermine them.

Still others want to subject your benefit payments to a stringent "means-test" that would penalize you for working hard and doing well—a proposal that would turn Social Security into nothing more than a new welfare program!

Your Social Security is an earned entitlement, unlike welfare, and has not contributed one cent to the federal debt.

Your monthly deductions have been building up your eligibility for automatic inpatient hospital care when you reach age 65 through Medicare Part A. You also will be able to receive medical insurance for doctors' services and other outpatient care at a very reasonable monthly premium (currently \$46.10) through Medicare Part B.

None of these benefits are hand-outs! You've earned and qualified for them through your lifetime of hard work and payments into the system.

But still, your investment in Social Security and Medicare is under attack today and we must be vigilant in order to protect these programs.

And something that you've invested so heavily in deserves the strongest protection you provide for it.

Let me remind you, once again, that thousands of dollars of your future retirement benefits could be at stake right now!

That is why I am contacting you today on behalf of the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare and asking you to participate in our National Retirement Security Poll.

The National Committee is America's largest and most successful organization devoted exclusively to protecting your retirement benefits through the political process.

Over the past 10 years alone, we have helped win more than a dozen major battles to protect Social Security and Medicare benefits.

Just this year we staged a massive, organized protest that helped convince members of Congress to defeat the proposed Balanced Budget Amendment because it did not include adequate assurances that Social Security would be protected.

Actual savings to seniors in future benefits: at least \$1,000.00 per year.

In 1990, we set our sights on a budget proposal that would have raised Medicare premium deductibles and co-payments by \$29,000,000,000.

After three weeks of massive protest by our members, the final budget reduced increases in Medicare premiums and deductibles by two-thirds of what was originally called for * * * saving seniors as much as \$817.00 over five years in future benefits.

In response to an earlier proposal to permanently reduce the Social Security COLA (Cost-of-Living Adjustment), our staff delivered more than 8,000,000 signed Petitions of Protest to Congress the proposal was withdrawn * * * and we saved seniors about \$2,064.00 over five years in future benefits.

On another occasion we overturned a Congressional attempt to push through a Medicare benefit cut that would have cost individual seniors about \$640.00 over five years.

The National Committee has done all this—and much, much more—for seniors through the 13 years it has been in existence.

In just the four examples above, our political activism saved seniors a total of \$4,521.00 in future retirement benefits.

And there have been many other times that we helped save seniors enormous amounts of money * * * money maybe not known to be at risk of being taken away.

Why do we do it?

Because if we don't, who will? Unlike other organizations that include political measures as one part of their service to seniors, our sole focus is on using the political process to secure your future.

After working your whole life, the approach of your retirement is no time to have the rug pulled out from under you * * * just because our nation's budget problems have gotten out of control.

So the National Committee goes to bat for you here in Washington every day.

We make sure that the deficit mess isn't worked out on the backs of people like you who have worked hard all their lives.

We protect what is rightfully yours. It's that simple.

How do we do it?

We use the power of numbers. Big numbers. Today the National Committee enjoys the "clout" of over 6,000,000 Members and Supporters. When we speak, the politicians know that we are talking for millions of voters. And you can bet they listen!

I've always said, "I'll put the voices of a million hard-working, regular citizens up against a million dollars of special interest money any day!"

Yes, we have won our battles over the years because we have been able to bring millions of people together in a massive show of force against any messing around with their earned benefits.

We make the politicians pay attention to you. It's that simple.

That's why we've been able to protect your retirement benefits—so far.

But now the threat is more dire than it has ever been before. The pressure to cut government spending is growing stronger every single day on Capitol Hill and throughout official Washington.

And to make sure it doesn't start with your retirement benefits, just when you're counting on them, we have to become even larger and more powerful than we've ever been before.

We have to make sure that your single biggest retirement asset, the money you have contributed to the Social Security program, is not placed right up front on the sacrificial altar of budget cutting.

We have to stand together.

Us—the people who have contributed so much to the system.

Against them—those who are looking at our retirement income as money they can use to solve other problems.

Here's what you can do right now to protect your future.

First, please take the time to fill in the enclosed National Retirement Security Poll. Your answers will provide our lobbyists with the information they need to educate your elected representatives about what voters in their districts and states think and want—especially those of you they haven't heard from before!

It also helps us prepare our message to the public when we go on TV or speak to the newspapers.

And we must get the right message out, because * * *

* * * to hear some of the politicians and press talking about our generation today, you'd think we were asking for a hand-out.

Well, you and I know that's just not true. And it's certainly unfair that we have to fight so hard just to get back what we have already invested in the system.

But we have no choice * * *

* * * we have to fight. And we have to do it in the same way that our opponents do: through the political process.

Our experienced lobbyists fan out over Capitol Hill to convince officials not to tamper with your economic security—not now, when you're just getting ready to enjoy retirement.

So, what could be a better investment in your retirement years than the few minutes it will take you to complete your Poll right now?

We have the legislative experience and political savvy to make it all work. And we depend on the critical participation of affected individuals, like you, to make it all happen.

We are totally independent of Congress, every government agency, and all political parties.

We rely on concerned individuals, like you, who are willing to get involved in the struggle to make sure our nation keeps its commitment to Social Security and Medicare.

That's why, in addition to your critical participation in the National Retirement Security Poll, I would like to ask you to please consider supporting the National Committee's work protecting your retirement benefits by becoming a member.

All it takes is a single dues payment of \$10!

By joining the National Committee now, when we need you most, you will be taking the most forceful step you can take to protect your Social Security and Medicare benefits before they are reduced or taxed more heavily or capped.

Only \$10 Think about it * * *

* * * think about how small an amount this is when you consider the thousands of dollars the National Committee has already protected for you—and what it still must do to preserve your economic security throughout the glorious years now stretching out before you.

And in addition to knowing the National Committee is fighting to protect your Social Security and Medicare every day, your Membership also provides you with this slate of valuable benefits:

A one-year subscription to Secure Retirement, the news magazine for mature Americans that's packed cover to cover with information on how Social Security, Medicare and other programs can help you enjoy a more secure and happy retirement;

Legislative Alerts to fast-breaking news of Washington developments that involve your retirement benefits.

An exclusive toll-free Telephone Hotline you can call 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, for the very latest Social Security and Medicare news from Washington; and,

A non-transferable Membership Card that names you as a Member of the National Committee—which, among other privileges, gives you a vote in the National Committee's annual election of its Board of Directors and on other issues submitted to the Membership for a formal vote.

And when you join, you do so with the confidence of knowing you may cancel your Membership for a full refund of your \$10 if you become unhappy with the organization at any time. No questions asked.

Just \$10 is all it takes to help keep our full-time lobbying force present, vocal and effective on Capitol Hill. It also helps us recruit new members like you—keeping us strong in numbers and political clout.

In fact, our goal is to add at least 5,000 new members from your state within the next month. And your Membership dues today will get us off to a good start * * *

* * * helping lead the charge toward our next million-member plateau and making us that much stronger in our political representation on your behalf throughout Washington.

No one else is fighting in the same way the National Committee is today.

Now, please take your first major step toward protecting your retirement benefits by turning to your official response form for the National Retirement Security Poll.

We need your opinions to show Congress just how harmful their actions might be to someone in your position.

Then, please—if you possibly can—help us protect your future by joining the National Committee today with your \$10 dues payment. We really need your help.

And I think you need ours too.

I'll be watching for your reply in the enclosed pre-addressed return envelope. And thanks for getting involved.

Sincerely,

MARTHA A. MCSTEEN,
President.

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.