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Subseries: Laura Schiller: Events, Meetings 5/98 - 7/98

OA/ID Number: 24611
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Folder Title:
Women in Military Service Memorial - June 11, 1998 [4]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 First Lady's Office
 Speechwriting (Laura Schiller: Events, Meetings 5/98-7/98)
 OA/Box Number: 24611

FOLDER TITLE:

Women in Military Service Memorial - June 11, 1998 [4]

2006-1733-F
bm717

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

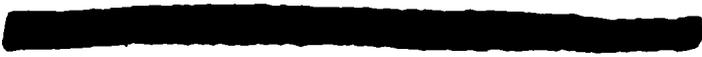
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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comfortable homes, highly paid positions, leisure. You have taken off silk and put on khaki. You have a debt and a date. [A debt to democracy and a date with destiny.]

- 8. Helen Hayes ✓ "All of us must work at patriotism, not just believe in it. Only by our young women offering their services to our country as working patriots in the armed forces can our defense be adequate." DACOWTTS Korean War
- 9. John F. Kennedy "In every time of crisis women have served our country in difficult and hazardous ways... Women should not be considered a marginal group to be employed periodically only to be denied opportunity to satisfy their needs and aspirations when unemployment rises or war ends." President 1960s
- 10. William Perry "The ground they broke was hard soil indeed. But with great heart and true grit, they plowed right through the prejudice and presumption, cutting a path for their daughters and granddaughters to serve their country in uniform." Sec. Def. Groundbreaking
- *11. Doris J. Allen "During my years of service I survived many prejudices against me as a woman, me as a WAC, me as a soldier with the rank of specialist, me as an intelligence technician and me as a black woman; but all of the prejudices were overshadowed by a wonderful camaraderie and lots of love and lasting friendships. I wouldn't trade it for a million." CW3 Vietnam



1. Clara Barton

"From the storm lashed decks of the Mayflower...to the present hour; woman has stood like a rock for the welfare and the glory of the history of the country, and one might well add..unwritten, unrewarded, and almost unrecognized."

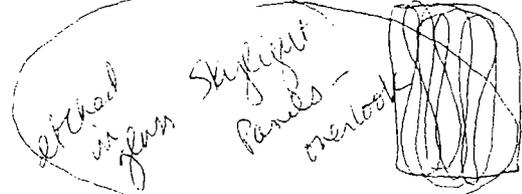
Red Cross Nurse

Civil War

2. ~~0~~ To Be Located

"Let the generations know that women in uniform also guaranteed their freedom. That our resolve was just as great as the brave men who stood among us. And with victory our hearts were just as full and beat just as fast -- that the tears fell just as hard for those we left behind."

Army Nurse, 1st Lt or Cpt. WWII



China Burma India Theater

check

glass helmet

3. Beatrice Hood Stroup

"It wasn't just my brother's country, or my husband's country, it was my country as well. And so this war wasn't just their war, it was my war, and I needed to serve in it."

WAC Maj.

WWII

4. Rhonda Cornum

"The qualities that are most important in all military jobs - things like integrity, moral courage, and determination - have nothing to do with gender."

Major, USA

Desert Storm

5. Margaret Chase Smith

"Just as fire tempers iron into fine steel so does adversity temper one's character into firmness, tolerance, and determination. ~~Military~~ women are true symbols of patriotism."

Senator Lt. Col. USAF Ret.

WWII

There will be demands

6. Mildred Pearl Lane

"I'm still very proud of my naval service. I'd do it again if I could."

Yeoman F Navy

WWI

7. Oveta Culp Hobby

"Today you make the change from peacetime pursuits to wartime tasks. You have given up

Director, WAC

WWII

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|
| 9. | Josette Wingo | "My sons...tweared of my sea stories early on, said, 'Gee, Mom, you ought to write a book. Nobody believes our mother was a gunner's mate.'" | SP(G)2 WAVE WWII |
| 10. | Mildred Pearl Lane | "I'm still very proud of my naval service. I'd do it again if I could." | Yeoman F Navy WWI |
| 11. | Laurie Cone | "It takes a special kind of woman to serve in the military. She must be there for the right reasons and have the determination to work hard in spite of the stereotypes put upon her. She must have the heart for serving her country. This asset will carry her when all the odds are overwhelming." | SSG Army Desert Storm |
| 12. | Cindy Beaudoin | "Dear Mom & Dad, I hope you never have to open this letter because it means something has happened to me. This is my final goodbye to both of you. Do not mourn only for me. Mourn for all of us who have given our lives so that others may live free." | SP 4 Army KILD DS |
| 13. | To Be Located | "It was more than patriotism that led to my volunteering. We were nurses and we had the skills that were needed." | Army Nurse Vietnam |
| 14. | Sandy Williams Ortega | "As one of the first black female officers in the Air Force, I created a stir. I knew then and I know more significantly now that I was part of an historic and cultural socio-systemic change that those with whom I came in contact were forced to become better people because of my presence. But I was the greatest benefactor of all." | 1st Lt. Air Force |



FAX TRANSMISSION

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
Office of the Secretary

6/10/98

DATE: _____

TO: Laura Schiller

FAX: 456 6244 PHONE: _____

FROM: JEFFREY DENNY, DIRECTOR, SPEECHWRITING

SPEECHWRITING, OASPA
Phone: (202) 690-7470
Fax: (202) 690-7318

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES TRANSMITTED: _____

COMMENTS:

OCT-17-'94 MON 11:38 ID:

TEL NO:

#255 P02

SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH TRIBUTE

University of Maine
September 25, 1988By Chancellor Donna E. Shalala
University of Wisconsin-Madison

I'm not from Maine. I guess that means I'm from "away."

But the people in my new home state, Wisconsin, aren't that different from Maine Yankees.

They're tough. They're plain-spoken. They don't call a spade an earth-moving apparatus.

They are like the woman from Maine who told someone that even if you lived in Maine for 20 years, you'd still be a transplant. Asked why, she replied, "If the cat had kittens in the oven I wouldn't call them biscuits."

I'm a transplant. To Wisconsin from New York and Washington, D.C., and Iran and Ohio before that.

But wherever I've worked -- whether for a President of the United States or as a Peace Corps volunteer in Iran or as president of a college or a university chancellor, one thing has been in the forefront of my mind.

Public service has provided the greatest satisfactions of my life.

-2-

I think that this generation of college students, no matter who they are or what kind of career they want, would be just as gratified by work in government or as volunteers on the state, local or national level.

But sometimes, it seems that we call out the message about public service to young adults across a wide river. A river of misunderstanding.

It's not only that they're growing up in what the pop songs call a material world.

Looking out for number one has taken the place of looking out for others.

It's that today's generation of college students have grown up in one of the most morally confused times on this planet.

They've seen so much wrong done for reasons that ranged from downright wrong to only wrongheaded.

When they were kindergarteners, they saw a president resign from office for the first time in history.

That came after a score of revelations. Among them breaking into a political rival's office to steal his campaign secrets.

They've seen elected officials play fast and loose with their power. They've seen them make promises about public projects that increased their own wealth.

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They've seen a president under fire for the belief that his emissaries sold weapons to our enemies in exchange for hostages.

They've seen a man who lied and subverted the Constitution hailed as a national hero.

Who wouldn't be confused?

You can imagine why they would turn a cool eye on the idea of public service.

Isn't everybody on the take?

Isn't everybody out to skin their neighbors? Isn't everybody who seeks public office a headline-seeker or a millionaire ideologue?

Well, we have to let young people know that no one ever said it was going to be easy. No one ever said all the choices would be clear.

We have to let them know that more than a century ago, Robert E. Lee said that doing good and being good was a daily struggle. A daily struggle undertaken only by the few.

One of those few, in my mind, has always been Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine.

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-4-

The lessons of Margaret Chase Smith's life of public service are as fresh and relevant to college students today as they were to an earlier generation.

I once had the pleasure of escorting Senator Smith around my alma mater.

This was not too many years after her celebrated Declaration of Conscience before the senate and the nation, and I remember thinking as we walked, "Well that is what integrity looks like."

Everything I have learned since has convinced me that my first impression was the right one.

Some may argue that the lessons Margaret Chase Smith taught me and my generation a quarter of a century ago don't apply to the complexities of the 1980s.

But if that's so, why is Senator Smith remembered so vividly years after she served in the nation's legislature?

Was it only because she was the first woman ever to have been elected to both bodies? The first to be nominated for President?

I think not. I think that her legacy lies not in her feats, but in her conduct. In her character.

That character comes across the decades to the present like a certainty of honor.

-5-

Would-be biographers have asked, why is that?

She did not, like some of her contemporaries, have the gift of celebrity.

She did not preside over an intellectual salon, like Clare Booth Luce.

She did not, like Eleanor Roosevelt, stir souls as a speaker.

She did not, like Perle Mesta, light up the Washington skyline with her social prominence.

And as a lawmaker, she was what Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona liked to call a workhorse, not a show horse.

So why is it that when we cast around for a symbol of integrity in public life, we never have to cast farther than the Quiet Woman from Skowhegan, Maine?

What are the lessons, the hallmarks of character, that Margaret Chase Smith's example provides the current generation?

They sound simple. They are not.

She teaches us how to behave with honor. To behave with decency.

She teaches us to conduct our business with an awareness of basic values that does not falter.

-6-

She teaches us to work hard. Not just talk about the virtues of hard work.

She teaches us to live simply. Not just talk about frugality in the midst of waste.

And perhaps most importantly of all . . . she teaches us to stick to our guns and speak our minds. And then accept the consequences.

In short, Margaret Chase Smith is an example to the young, and to all of us, that it is still possible to get a proud reputation the old-fashioned way.

She did. She earned it.

She earned it. She earned it as she behaved with honor in a setting renowned for its trading of favors, fostering of powerful friendships and mutual backscratching.

She earned it because she held the well-placed and powerful to exacting standards.

No Pentagon procurement scandal would have passed her muster. She demanded that admirals and military bureaucrats triple-check their figures.

Deeply committed as she was to a strong national defense, she would never have tolerated lies to support it. She would never have tolerated cronyism.

-7-

She earned her reputation because she worked harder than anyone on the hill. For 13 years, until she had to undergo hip surgery, she never missed a Senate roll call.

There were those who mocked her consecutive voting record. They called it nothing but numbers.

But as always, with Senator Smith, it was the example that counted. The people have elected you to be a senator, she seemed to suggest to her colleagues.

Perhaps you can't match my record. Perhaps you don't need to. But you ought to try.

Another senator who takes roll calls seriously comes from my state, Wisconsin.

Senator Bill Proxmire gives up his Senate seat this fall after 31 years, and he was proud to point out that he hardly ever missed a vote and that he never spent more than \$130 on any of his recent campaigns for re-election.

Margaret Chase Smith never spent much either. She disliked waste. She had a notion that elected office was not for sale.

She never accepted a dime in contributions from individuals or political action committees.

-8-

People said she might not have been defeated in 1972 if she'd opened the purse a little and bought some television time.

But the senator who believed it wasn't even right to accept a collect call on her senate office phone couldn't do that. Her opponent was spending freely. But she wouldn't. It would have been wasteful.

It would have been compromising a principle.

If there is one lesson that Senator Smith's example can teach the young people of our country, even more than the values of honesty, decency, hard work and frugality, it would be

That you just don't compromise a principle.

You don't compromise a principle even if you stand to gain by it. Even if people you care about stand to gain by it.

Even if, as in Senator Smith's case, compromising a principle -- changing my policy, as she put it -- might have kept for her the thing she most valued in the world, her political career.

In that political career, Margaret Chase Smith was a profile in courage.

It was a senator from my state, Wisconsin, who also figured in what most people think of as the great lyric passage in that career.

-9-

It was Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin who tested most severely the courage it takes to stick to a principle.

Joseph McCarthy's shadow still hangs over his home state. Some people think he was misunderstood.

Some people would just like to forget him.

But Joe McCarthy's one man reign of fear and smear touched countless lives and reputations, changed some entirely, ruined some for good.

The fear of being denounced as a communist became so great that John Patrick Hunter, a reporter who still works in Madison, Wisconsin, went out onto the capitol square on the morning of the Fourth of July and presented passersby with a copy of the Bill of Rights.

He asked people to sign it.

Only one person would.

It was Margaret Chase Smith who finally was fed up to the teeth with Joe McCarthy's shenanigans.

It was she who finally stood up to him, all alone, with the support on paper of only a handful of her colleagues, while some of her fellow Republicans covered beneath their desks.

-10-

It was she who said on June 1, 1950. "I speak as a Republican.

I speak as a woman. I speak as a United States Senator.

I speak . . . as an American.

I don't want to see the Republican Party ride to political victory on the four horsemen of calumny -- fear, ignorance, bigotry and smear."

Of course, we all know what the reaction was. There was a shout of praise from both sides of the aisle and from both sides of the continent.

It was the beginning of the end for Joe McCarthy and his ruinous mischief. He tried to outsmart, outmaneuver and out-politic Senator Smith at every turn.

He failed every time.

It was a measure of her wit and grace that months after their bloody battles commenced, there came a day when Senators Smith and McCarthy kept running into each other at the commuter train.

"Better watch out, Joe," Senator Smith told her colleague. "People will say we're fellow travelers."

-11-

A powerful newspaper columnist said of the Declaration of Conscience, "If a man had made that speech, he'd be elected president of the United States."

Well, she wasn't elected. But Margaret Chase Smith was the first woman to have her name placed in nomination for the presidency by her party.

In announcing her decision to run in 1964, Senator Smith, with characteristic contrariness, told the National Women's Press Club that the odds were too heavily against her. That no woman should seek the White House because this is a man's world and should be kept that way.

She further said she didn't have the political clout, the money or the time.

And then she said, "So because of these very impelling reasons against my running, I have decided that I shall enter the New Hampshire preferential primary . . ."

She didn't win. She didn't place. But she showed 'em.

Senator Smith co-sponsored the Equal Rights Amendment in the Senate in 1972. Due to her work on the Senate Armed Services Committee, women enjoy status in the military they might long continue to have been denied.

Due to her example, hundreds of women have entered public office on the state and national level.

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She and Senator Helen Gahagan Douglas of California cracked the most exclusive men's club on earth and made them acknowledge that a woman's place indeed was in the house, and the senate.

Senator Smith has said repeatedly that she doesn't consider herself a feminist.

But I consider myself a feminist. And nothing in Senator Smith's life offers a feminist anything but vindication and hope.

It's not that I agree with every position she ever took.

Even those who admire her most have disagreed with some key elements of her philosophy -- for example her second Declaration of Conscience on the Vietnam War protests, or her clash with President Kennedy over his reluctance to use nuclear weapons.

Yet when Kennedy died, it was Senator Smith who crossed the Senate floor to place a rose, her trademark, on the desk he occupied as a senator from Massachusetts.

Decency-

Honor. Restraint. Integrity.

-13-

Some may argue that it was easier, in the postwar years when Senator Smith made her mark, to make moral choices.

Some may argue that the issues were more clearcut.

But I submit that it is not so much the times that have changed as our response to challenges. As Senator Smith said in 1980, "The American creed is becoming. If my neighbor does it, why shouldn't I?"

What we need more than ever is the courage of conscience Senator Smith's life inspires.

What we need are strong voices to speak out when there is wrong to be righted, without fear of old alliances, old patterns or old debts.

The problems of racial inequality and disadvantage can be solved only by an abiding sense of decency.

The scandal of our national debt can be addressed only by a willingness to embrace the restraint Senator Smith lived by.

The threat of nuclear holocaust can be averted -- but only with extraordinary courage.

The environmental disasters that threaten us all can be reversed -- but only through government integrity and plain, hard individual work.

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There is no modern issue, however complex, that cannot benefit from the application of Senator Smith's high standards.

If it is difficult to find a ringing voice of conscience in the current crop of leaders perhaps we must look to the generation now in training.

I intend to do everything I can to teach that generation, the generation now in our colleges and universities, to take up the hard challenges.

We must teach them not to shy away from involvement in public service because it's too difficult, too dirty, too discouraging.

We must teach them not to desert their principles nor the people who depend on them.

We must teach them not to be thrown off course by ambition or personal gain.

We must teach them not to be tempted to compromise because their courage ran out.

We must teach them, not just by our words, but by our example, to aspire to a life of decency, honor, restraint and integrity. We must let them know that it will be hard work.

-15-

This is my promise to Senator Smith. It's a promise we all need to make to her. Because if we do not unite against cynicism and apathy, we can never hope to inspire the young, as Margaret Chase Smith inspired so many of us.

There was another legendary New Englander, called Daniel Webster.

It is said that he was too tied to politics to go to heaven when he died.

So the ghost of Daniel Webster would boom out from the hills of Massachusetts, to whatever constituent happened by, "Neighbor, how stands the union?"

And, as legend has it, you'd better say the union stood rock-bottomed and copper-sheathed, or he'd rear right out of the ground!

Senator Smith is anything but a ghost. Sixteen years after she left public life, she's still a vital presence in American life.

Yet I like to think of her, figuratively if not literally, walking across this magnificent country, asking this question: "How stands the conscience of this nation?"

Asking politicians and farmers. Asking college students and cab drivers. Asking all of us. "How stands the conscience of this nation?"

-16-

And the reply of course, if we know what's good for us, had better be that the conscience of the nation, under seige as always, still stands as strong as the rock bound coast of Maine.

That would satisfy her.

I also like to think of a young person somewhere in this country asking, who is that woman? Who is that woman who worries more about the moral health of a nation than about her own political profile?

Who is that woman who is less concerned about partisan politics than about the fact that only thirty-seven percent of Americans vote?

Who is that quiet woman who makes herself heard more clearly than those who pay millions for professional noisemakers?

Who is that woman?

And to answer that question, each of us would need to tell the story of this uncommon person.

We would begin the story by saying, that is the gentlewoman who came from Maine.

That is Senator Margaret Chase Smith.

6/10/98, 11:47 AM

Women'sMF2.doc

McNary

**Draft Talking Points for Dr. Hamre
Women's Memorial Foundation Reception
11 Jun 98**

- **Mrs. Clinton, Senator Snowe, Senator Collins, Mrs. Perry, General Holm, General Vaught, Mr. Henry, ladies and gentlemen --**
- **Last October, the evening before the Women's Memorial was dedicated, I said that it was not possible overstate the significance of the Memorial.**
- **That is more even more true tonight than then, for the Memorial has taken its place as an eloquent, enduring tribute to the service of military women.**
- **First, let me take a moment, on behalf of the Department of Defense, to thank in advance the First Lady for her presentation of the Margaret Chase Smith Award to former Secretary Perry and Major General Jeanne Holm.**
- **Margaret Chase Smith a true friend of the Department, and advocate for American security.**
- **There can be no two more deserving recipients of the Margaret Chase Smith award than Dr. Perry and General Holm.**
 - **I worked very closely with Dr. Perry in the Pentagon.**
 - **I saw how hard he worked to expand opportunities for women at the Department.**
 - **I am delighted Mrs. Perry is able to be here to accept this award.**
 - **General Holm not only was a pioneer when she was on active duty, she is now a vital advocate for opportunities for women in the military.**
 - **We are all honored by her presence.**

*Laura Schiller
From: Doug McNary
703 693 8191
6 pages*



**THE
WOMEN'S
MEMORIAL**

**Women In Military Service For America
Memorial Foundation, Inc.**

5510 Columbia Pike, Ste 302

Arlington, VA 22204

800-222-2294

703-533-1155

FAX: 703-931-4208

wimsa@aol.com

<http://www.wimsa.org>

Date: June 98

Fax # _____

TO: Michael

FR: Marille Cushman

of pages: 2

RE: As discussed.

Relive the past,
experience the present
and envision the future
of America's Servicewomen

at the nation's first major national memorial
honoring servicewomen— past, present and future.

Ceremonial Entrance, Arlington National Cemetery

about their everyday concerns -- like health care, housing and child care. And, when he met the first women sailors to serve on an aircraft carrier, he asked one who was a year from retirement why she had [extended her enlistment to go to sea]. She said she wanted to be able to tell her grandchildren that she had been a real sailor.

What he heard from the troops on the road [he took to heart, took back to the Pentagon and put into action] And while he never asked for credit, he always demanded results. Under his watch, more than 250,000 new positions opened to women [and new firsts for women] [The first] women assigned to Navy combat ships. The first women promoted to three star rank. [The first women in more top jobs at the Pentagon] He made it clear that support for [women's progress and this Memorial to women's service] went all the way to the top. To Bill Perry, this was not just the right thing to do. It was the smart thing. And, with legendary energy, he worked every minute to make it happen.

It is my great honor to present the Margaret Chase Smith Leadership Award to William Perry...His wife Lee Perry will accept on his behalf. Mrs. Perry...

The next Margaret Chase Smith Leadership Award was also earned by a leader for complete dedication to the nation. This one, however, is supposed to be a surprise [to the person receiving it. NEED THIS?] Which was tough to pull off. Because Major General Jeanne Holm is always one step ahead of all of the rest of us. She was the first Air Force woman promoted to brigadier general. And the first woman to become a two-star general. [But also a true leader who inspired women follow her trajectory, and pulled them along in her wake.] THIS IS AIR FORCE STUFF

[General Holm began her career as an army truck driver. No wonder she could navigate the toughest political and bureaucratic barriers.] Admiringly called by some, Give 'em Hell Holm, she fought those who claimed women couldn't be both mothers and soldiers. She fought for women to be allowed in military academies. She fought for the 1967 repeal of the cement ceiling that had kept too many women from serving and advancing. And she did it by bringing people together...even people who disagreed...in order to get things done.

From her posts at the Pentagon, she was a [guardian?] angel for the women in uniform, always watching over them, looking after them...and now, telling their story for the world to hear. Her two books detail the rich history of military women...a history written with her pen...and a history built on her extraordinary contributions.

It is my great honor to present the Margaret Chase Smith Leadership Award to Major General Jeanne Holm. General Holm...

Original text

From: <Laura_E_Schiller@who.eop.gov>, on 6/10/98 10:43 PM:
o.k. early bird...this needs some real help...some surgery that only you

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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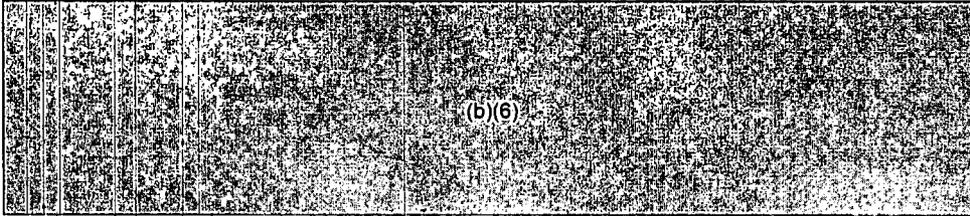
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can perform. Especially on the Perry/Holm award, can you help edit (Perry's needs to be cut a little), cut, lift...etc. Is the CNN thing not cool to say?



[001]

Please pretty please help:

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH LEADERSHIP AWARDS CEREMONY
WOMEN IN MILITARY SERVICE FOR AMERICA MEMORIAL
JUNE 11, 1998

Deputy Secretary Hamre; Senator Snowe; Senator Collins; General Vaught; Mrs. Perry; Mr. Henry; honored veterans; other distinguished guests: I am so honored to join all of you this evening. [The President and I only wish we could have been here in person at the dedication. Like many of you, I have learned that you don't say "no" to General Vaught...so I will take her marching orders very seriously and do all I can to ensure my husband also has the opportunity to see this incredible memorial to the service and sacrifice of American women.]

Above us, etched in the skylights, are the words of a World War II army nurse calling out to us still: "Let the generations know that women in uniform also guaranteed their freedom. That our resolve was just as great as the brave men who stood among us. And with victory our hearts were just as full and beat just as fast -- that the tears fell just as hard for those we left behind."

Generations will know...because of this Memorial...and the visionaries like General Vaught who turned the dream of a few into a tribute to all. They will now hear the untold story of the 2 million women who have defended our nation...sometimes hiding their identity, sometimes ignored or derided...always with courage and honor. Many are here today.

Generations will hear the story of Colonel Mary Hallaren. When she enlisted in the military in 1942, a recruiter asked what someone of her size...all 4 feet, 10 inches...could do in the army. She responded, "You don't have to be a 6 foot tall male to have a brain that works." And she proved it, becoming the commander of the first battalion of the Women's Army Corps.

Generations will hear the story of Brigadier General Elizabeth Hoisington. Exactly 28 years ago, she and Anna Mae Hayes became the first women in the Armed Forces promoted to general officer. Generations will hear the story of the late Helene Coxhead, who served in World War I. So proud was she of her service, that for more than 70 years, she carried her ID tag with her everywhere she went. It is now on display at the memorial. And her daughter Diane Meckel is here with us today.

And I hope generations will also hear the stories of the leaders who used laws and sheer moral force to pry open the doors that all women in military service now so proudly walk through. No one worked harder at that than the woman whose example inspired the award we present today...the Senator who 50 years ago made a permanent home for women in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps...Senator Margaret Chase Smith.

When talking about running for President in 1964, she explained to the National Women's Press Club that as a woman, she didn't have the clout, the money, or the time. And then, in characteristic fashion, she said, "So because of these very impelling reasons against my running, I have decided that I shall enter the New Hampshire primary."

Even when the deck was stacked against her, she never gave up. Never gave up on the idea that the best military in the world needed the best of all our citizens. Men and women. Often the first, yet never satisfied to be the last, she would be very proud of the leaders who have carried on her legacy. She wrote: "Public service must be more than doing a job efficiently and honestly. It must be a complete dedication to the nation with full recognition that every human being is entitled to courtesy and consideration...that honor is to be earned not bought."

For his complete dedication to the nation, the former Secretary of Defense, William Perry, has more than earned the honor I have the privilege of presenting. When the President announced his nomination, he was asked what his position would be on women flying combat aircraft. Without missing a beat, he replied, "We're going to continue to march." And he did.

I hear at his reunion on Saturday, the video that brought down the house pictured a CNN reporter questioning whether Bill Perry really existed because he was never seen in the Pentagon. He liked to call it Management by Walking Around. That meant he didn't just read about the challenges faced by women in the services.

He went to Kuwait in 1994, where a young female captain was serving and talked to her soldiers about how competent she was and how confident they were under her command. He and his wife Lee traveled to remote bases to talk to service members about their everyday concerns -- like health care, housing and child care. And, when he met the first women sailors to serve on an aircraft carrier, he asked one who was a year from retirement why she had volunteered. She said she wanted to be able to tell her grandchildren that she had been a real sailor.

What he heard from the troops on the road always guided him in the office. And while he never asked for credit, he always demanded results. Under his watch, more than 250,000 new positions opened to women. We saw the first women assigned to Navy combat ships. The first women promoted to three star rank. Senior staff meetings at the Pentagon with more women sitting at the table. He made it clear that support for the Women's Memorial and the progress it represented went all the way to the top. To Bill Perry, this was not just the right thing to do. It was the smart thing. And, with legendary energy, he worked every minute to make it

happen.

[Cut this? or replace CNN with it? -- It was often said that if you compare the pictures of Secretary Perry and his staff when he began and departed, he looks like he found the fountain of youth. The staff looks like the Picture of Dorian Gray. But the real picture that changed...was the picture of peace and democracy across the world...the real picture that changed was a U.S. military with its doors opened far wider. Not just to the best men...or the best women...but the best people in our nation.]

It is my great honor to present the Margaret Chase Smith Leadership Award to William Perry...His wife Lee Perry will accept on his behalf. Mrs. Perry...

The next Margaret Chase Smith Leadership Award was also earned by a leader for complete dedication to the nation. This one, however, is supposed to be a surprise to the person receiving it. Which was tough to pull off. Because Major General Jeanne Holm is always one step ahead of all of the rest of us. She was the first Air Force woman promoted to brigadier general. And the first woman to become a two-star general. Yet, she cleared pathway after pathway for the military women who came after...not just by her powerful example, but by her actions on their behalf.

When I heard that General Holm had started her career as an army truck driver, I thought that maybe we had found the source of her incredible ability to navigate through the toughest political and bureaucratic barriers. Admiringly called by some, Give 'em Hell Holm, she fought those who claimed women couldn't be both mothers and soldiers. She fought for women to be allowed in military academies. She fought for the 1967 repeal of the cement ceiling that had kept too many women from serving and advancing. And she did it by bringing people together...even people who disagreed...in order to get things done.

From her posts at the Pentagon, she was a [word?] angel for the women in uniform, always watching over them, looking after them...and now, telling their story for the world to hear. Her two books detail the rich history of military women...a history written with her pen...and a history built on her extraordinary contributions.

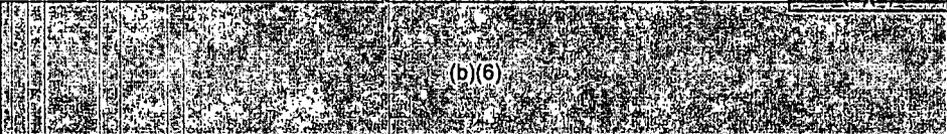
It is my great honor to present the Margaret Chase Smith Leadership Award to Major General Jeanne Holm. General Holm...

Original Text

From: <Laura_E_Schiller@who.eop.gov>, on 6/11/98 9:17 AM:

I need to get it to her in the next few hours...if you don't have time to do a good edit, just take out glaring problems, etc... thanks.

(b)(6)



WOMEN IN MILITARY SERVICE FOR AMERICA MEMORIAL FOUNDATION, INC.

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Major General Jeanne M. Holm, USAF (Ret.)

General Holm spent 33 years in the Armed Forces from 1942 until her retirement in 1975, rising from private to two-star general. A native of Portland, Oregon, Jeanne Holm began her military career in World War II when she enlisted as a truck driver in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) in July 1942. After graduating from Officer Candidate School she spent most of the war years commanding Army basic training units at Fort Ogelthorpe, Georgia, rising to the rank of captain.

After leaving active duty at the end of the war, she attended college on the G.I. Bill. In 1948, Captain Holm was called back to active duty and was assigned to the WAC training center at Ft. Lee, Virginia. In 1948 she received an appointment as a captain in the newly formed United States Air Force where she held a variety of staff positions in the U.S. and overseas. Among her assignments were: wing war plans officer at Erding Air Depot, Germany during the Berlin Airlift; personnel programming officer in Air Force headquarters; Chief of Manpower in the headquarters of Allied Air Forces Southern Europe (NATO) in Naples, Italy, and legislative officer for the Director of Manpower, Headquarters, USAF.

From 1965 to 1972, she served as Director of Women in the Air Force where she actively sought to enhance the status and expand the roles and opportunities for women in the Armed Forces. She was a leader in the effort to remove outdated laws and policies that had traditionally discriminated against military women – advocating their greater assimilation into the total force structure. She advocated opening ROTC, the service academies, and flying programs to qualified women and urged expanding their contribution to the all-volunteer force.

In 1971, she was the first Air Force woman promoted to brigadier general. Two years later, while Director of the Air Force Personnel Council, she became the first woman in the Armed Forces to hold the rank of major general. Among her military awards are the Legion of Merit and two Distinguished Service Medals.

After retiring from the military in 1975, General Holm was appointed Special Assistant to President Gerald Ford, a position she held until the end of his Administration. At that time she was appointed to a three year term on the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) where she stressed the need to remove artificial barriers to women's careers and their full utilization in the Armed Forces. During the Carter Administration, she served as a part-time consultant on military women to the Under Secretary of the Air Force. During the Reagan Administration, General Holm was appointed to the Veterans Administration Committee on Women Veterans and served as its chair. She also served on the Advisory Committee to the U.S. Coast Guard Academy.

In recent years, General Holm has continued to speak out on issues affecting women in the armed forces and to espouse their full participation as citizens in national defense. She is the author of *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution*, Presidio Press, 1982, revised and updated in 1992. It is regarded as the definitive book on women in the Armed Forces. She is also the editor and co-author of *In Defense of a Nation: Servicewomen in World War II*, Military Women's Press, Washington, D.C., 1997.

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TRIBUTE TO SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH (Senate - June 06, 1995)

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much, I say to my friend from Maine. She and I served as good friends over on the House side. It is a privilege to be part of this tribute today.

I think it is so extraordinary that a woman like Margaret Chase Smith could bring to this Senate floor Republicans and Democrats who speak of her with such fond memories. I think Senator **Hutchison** found things in Senator Margaret Chase Smith's record she can identify with. I certainly find those, as a Democrat. This says something very special about this woman, that she would be so revered on both sides of the aisle.

Obviously, it is in order to send condolences to the family--the many nieces and nephews, and her sister, Evelyn Williams. I hope that through the sadness of their loss, they certainly can reflect with pride, as we are, on the remarkable life of Margaret Chase Smith.

When you lose someone, whatever age they are, it still is a very painful experience. I am sure they are going through that pain. Just a couple years ago, I read an interview that Margaret Chase Smith gave to a major national newspaper. Believe me, she was sharper than many Members are, at the ripe old age of 95. She lived for nearly a century.

When we think about it, she lived through World War I, World War II, the beginning and the end of the cold war. She lived through women's suffrage and through civil rights. She saw her country and her world grow in many amazing ways.

But she never just sat back. She made history herself and, in doing so, touched many lives, including my own.

I was a child of the 1950's--the time of the 'Happy Days,' Doris Day movies, the Debbie Reynolds days--when pert women with personalities glowed and danced their way through the perfect life and right into the arms of Eddie Fisher guys, who would sing to them until their dying days.

Politics was not even in the realm of the possible for women, except for Margaret Chase Smith and just a few others.

My mother was an F.D.R. Democrat through and through. Yet, she used to point with pride to Margaret Chase Smith. 'Imagine what she must be like,' my mother would say. 'One woman among all those men. She must be something!' And she was.

Margaret Chase Smith arrived in Washington in 1935, the wife and secretary of Representative Clyde Smith of Maine. Her career began suddenly in 1940 when her husband died and she won a special election to take his place. She went on to serve four terms in the Senate, making her the first woman in history, as my colleague from Maine has noted, to serve in both Houses of Congress. And I think, more significant than that, she was one of the most popular legislators of all times.

She earned her reputation as the conscience of the Senate in 1950, when she became the first in her party to attack Senator Joe McCarthy for his politics of hate and fear and, in doing so, she definitely, in my opinion, blazed trails. Because it does not matter what year it is, what century it is, the fact is there are

people in politics who will play the politics of hate and fear and it takes courage to stand up to it, and she taught us how. You can imagine the shock in the Senate when she said, 'I do not like the way the Senate has been made a rendezvous for vilification, for selfish political gain at the sacrifice of individual reputations and national unity.'

When asked later about the courage she mustered to give that declaration she said, 'Oh, my! I'll say it was difficult! But someone had to do it * * *. The more I thought of it, the more I thought, someone has to do this.'

I think that is, again, a lesson to us, because sometimes it is very hard to stand up and say something that is unpopular. It is tough to vote for something unpopular, but it is even tougher to stand up and say something unpopular. She was willing to do it and I think, as such, is really a guiding star for both women and men in politics.

That was not the only time Senator Smith defied party unity. She voted for F.D.R.'s New Deal and for Federal support for education, just to name a few. So, therefore, I point out that both Republicans and Democrats can find things in her record that they can identify with.

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TRIBUTE TO SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH (Senate - June 06, 1995)

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, 45 years ago last Thursday, Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine rose from her seat in this Chamber and delivered a speech she called a 'Declaration of Conscience.'

Many historians believe this speech marked the beginning of the end of the era of McCarthyism. And it also marked the finest hour of the remarkable career of Senator Smith, who passed away last week at the age of 97.

I was privileged to serve alongside Senator Smith for 4 years in the Senate. She was as she has been described by many others. No nonsense. Fiercely independent. And sometimes as thorny as the red rose she wore every day.

During her 32 years of service in Washington, Senator Smith accomplished many firsts. She was the first woman to be elected to both Houses of Congress. She was the first woman elected to the Senate who did not succeed her husband. She was the first woman to have her name placed in nomination for President by a major political party.

As she made history, Senator Smith became a role model for many women. One of them was my wife, Elizabeth, who has told me of the time in 1960, when, as a young college graduate interning on Capitol Hill, she called upon Senator Smith.

Not many Senators would share an hour with a total stranger seeking advice, but that is just what Senator Smith did. And she advised Elizabeth to bolster her education with a law degree--advice she eventually followed.

When President Bush presented the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Senator Smith in 1989, he said that she 'looked beyond the politics of the time to see the future of America, and she made us all better for it.'

President Bush was right. Both this Chamber and America are for the better because of Margaret Chase Smith. I know the Senate joins with me in sending our condolences to the people of Maine.

[Page: S7718]

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues today in commemorating Margaret Chase Smith, the Republican Senator who made history as the first woman to win election to both Houses of Congress, and the first woman ever to be elected to the Senate.

It is a privilege to be a U.S. Senator. And I am grateful to Margaret Chase Smith for paving the way for me, and the women before me, to serve in this great Chamber. And more importantly, I salute her for being an inspiration, setting an example by being tough yet compassionate.

Senator Smith's accomplishments were great. Among them, a long list of firsts, including being the first woman to sit on the Naval Affairs Committee and to have her name advanced for the Presidency at a national convention. But it is here legislative record and her long history of independence--always voting her conscience, that has left a last impression on me.

She was a political independent, voting with her party when she saw fit and standing alone when she felt strongly about an issue. Indeed, in her first major address to the Senate on June 1, 1950, the freshman Senator denounced Joseph McCarthy. She accused the Wisconsin Senator of reducing the Senate to a 'forum of hate and character assassination.' In 1954 she voted for his censure.

McCarthy exacted his political payback--expelling Senator Smith from a key committee and, in her next election, leading a vicious campaign against her. Still, it was that speech that was the beginning of the end of his career and which cemented her place in history.

In 1970, during the Vietnam war, she addressed the Senate again in a speech that was later expanded into a book called 'A Declaration of Conscience.' In that speech, the Maine Senator warned Americans that 'excessiveness and overreactions on both sides is a clear and present danger to American democracy.' Senator Smith knew that if we did not elevate the level of political discourse beyond mean-spiritedness, that we risked chipping away at the democratic process itself.

Her standing up for what she believed earned her the moniker 'the conscience of the Senate.' But she stood her ground without resorting to personal invective or shrill tactics. It is this sort of reasoned debate and moderation--the very principles that this Chamber has always stood for--that should continue to guide those of us who sit here today.

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People

June 12, 1995

SECTION: TRIBUTE; Pg. 67

LENGTH: 788 words

HEADLINE: STRAIGHT SHOOTER;
MARGARET CHASE SMITH NEVER CUT HER OPINIONS TO SUIT D.C. FASHION

BYLINE: KEVIN GRAY, MARGIE SELLINGE IN WASHINGTON AND S. AVERY BROWN IN BOSTON

BODY:

It was a rainy Washington morning in June 1950 when Margaret Chase Smith, a first-term Republican senator from Maine, bumped into fellow legislator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin. McCarthy, the country's ranking political bully, had recently embarked on an innuendo-filled crusade against alleged Communists in government. "Margaret," she recalled him saying, "you look awfully glum this morning." Smith responded in a determined Yankee twang, "I'm making a speech today. And you're not going to like it."

She was right. Smith, who died May 29 at age 97 at her home in Skowhegan, Maine, would deliver the seminal address of her remarkable 32-year congressional career that afternoon. Reading what she called a Declaration of Conscience, which she had written at her kitchen table a few days earlier, she became the first politician to denounce McCarthy's fear-mongering on the Senate floor: "I don't want to see the Republican party ride to political victory on the four horsemen of calumny--fear, ignorance, bigotry and smear."

In time, Smith's congressional career would span the terms of six Presidents as she became the first woman to win election to both houses of Congress. But she disliked such distinctions of gender. "Isn't a woman a human being?" she once asked. "Why can't she just be a person?" She had a flinty personality, as thorny sometimes as the signature red roses she pinned to her dress each day. Once, when she believed Defense Secretary Robert McNamara had deceived her about the closing of a shipyard in Maine, she dressed him down in a scathing missive: "You have not only been less than forthright in your statements--you have been arrogant and derogatory in your attitude toward me." But she also had a tender side; the day after President Kennedy's assassination, she entered the Senate chamber early in the morning and laid a single rose across his old desk.

Smith's career in Washington started late. She was born Dec. 14, 1897, in the little Maine mill town of Skowhegan, where her mother, Carrie Murray Chase, worked as a waitress and her father, George Emery Chase, was a town barber. The oldest of six children, she started work at age 12, stocking shelves at the five-and-ten. After graduating from high school in 1916, she taught in a one-room schoolhouse for just 28 weeks, then took a job as a telephone operator for 10 cents an hour. In 1919 she joined the local Independent Reporter as circulation manager and 11 years later married its co-owner, Clyde H. Smith, then 21 years her senior.

It was her husband, with his involvement in local Republican politics, who introduced Smith to her life's work. In 1936 he was elected to the U.S. House

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The New York Times

June 17, 1995, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 10; Column 3; National Desk

LENGTH: 801 words

HEADLINE: Skowhegan Journal;
Remembering a Senator They Called Their Own

BYLINE: By SARA RIMER

DATELINE: SKOWHEGAN, Me., June 16

BODY:

At 8:10 this morning, Marion Knight, who is 93 years old, sat down at her piano in her house on Mechanic Street and played "Peg o' My Heart," the same song she had played at the wedding, 65 years ago, of her friend Margaret Chase Smith.

At Charrier's Family Restaurant, where several times a week Margaret Chase Smith dropped in and ordered the same \$1.95 lunch -- grilled cheese on whole wheat bread, burned -- Brenda Charrier placed a red rose and a framed picture of Mrs. Smith in a blue silk dress and pearls on her usual table.

And at the Skowhegan Public Library, the head librarian, Helen Shaw, remembered Margaret Chase Smith, the United States Senator she knew personally, the Senator who came to the phone when Mrs. Shaw, or anyone else in her family, called.

"I had a son whose Navy ship was torpedoed during the Vietnam War," Mrs. Shaw said as she sat at her desk this afternoon, down the hill from the house where Mrs. Smith lived and where she died last month and where today her friends gathered to honor her.

"We heard about it on the radio," Mrs. Shaw recalled. "We couldn't reach anyone in the Navy. My mother called Margaret in Washington. She came right to the phone. I'll never forget: It was a quarter to five on a Thursday. She took a taxi to the Pentagon and got this list of the dead, and she called us back and said he wasn't on the list."

"I told my husband, 'If she runs until she's 100, I'll vote for her.' "

She was 97 when she died.

Before political polls and consultants, before elections driven by television advertising and big money, before politicians who never stop campaigning, there was Margaret Chase Smith. She belonged to this mill town beside the Kennebec River.

Call Margaret. That was what people here used to say back when Mrs. Smith was in Washington and they needed help.

The New York Times, June 17, 1995

The eldest of six children of a barber, she wanted to be a gym teacher, but her family did not have the money to send her to college. She was born here, and married here, and even after she went to Washington, she always came home. It was at her kitchen table here that she wrote her "declaration of conscience" speech in 1950 denouncing the tactics of a fellow Republican, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin.

And so today, with her trademark red roses blooming in the Margaret Chase Smith garden, and more roses festooning shop windows on Main Street, her friends here and others from around the state paid tribute.

The Governor of Maine, Angus King, was here today, along with the state's two Republican Senators, Olympia J. Snowe and William S. Cohen. Governor King, an independent, spoke of "the two giants" that Maine produced at mid-century -- Mrs. Smith and Edmund S. Muskie, the former Governor, Senator and Vice Presidential candidate.

Mr. Muskie, who attended the tribute, remembered when he was the state's freshman Senator and Margaret Chase Smith was the senior Senator. "She was a formidable political figure," said Mr. Muskie, who is 81 and still practicing law in Washington. "There was a standard, a challenge."

Mrs. Smith was 12 years old when she got her first job, at the five-and-ten-cent store in Skowhegan. She worked as a maid, a telephone operator, a teacher in a one-room schoolhouse, a recorder of town tax payments, as coach of the Skowhegan girls' basketball team, as office manager for the now-defunct weekly Independent Reporter, and as executive secretary for her husband, Clyde Smith, who was elected to the House in 1936.

She entered politics when her husband died in 1940, winning a special election for his seat. She was elected to the Senate in 1948 and served 24 years, losing in a bid for a fifth term in 1972. Up until the end, said her lawyer and longtime friend, Merton G. Henry, she had never taken a poll, nor done television advertising.

Mrs. Smith was frugal and independent, as Mainers are supposed to be. She did not accept campaign contributions. It made things difficult for her campaign workers.

"Some of us had to be very devious about getting campaign posters," said Mr. Henry, who volunteered to work in Mrs. Smith's first Senate campaign. "We had to use our own money without violating any laws."

But Mrs. Smith did indulge in one extravagance in her last five years, Mr. Henry said. She bought a blue Cadillac to replace her two-door Oldsmobile, which her legions of friends were having trouble getting in and out of.

"The day she bought it she called me worried that people would think she was getting uppity," Mr. Henry said. "It became the Cadillac that 'Mert Henry made me buy.' "

Uppity is not a word anyone in Skowhegan connects with Mrs. Smith, although she wore a dress or suit with pearls and high heels everyday. What she was, Helen Shaw, the librarian, said, was a lady.

Major General Jeanne Holm, USAF

Holm fought to get the armed services “to allow women to raise families and remain in the military.” Official policy allowed the military to terminate the commission, warrant, or enlistment of any woman who was a parent, by birth or adoption of a child under 18; was a stepparent of a child under 18; or was pregnant. The military claimed that raising a child would distract a woman from her military duties.

Holm disagreed and pointed out that men in the military were allowed to adopt children, even if they had no spouse to help raise them. Women could only adopt children if they received a special waiver, and these were rarely granted. Holm pointed out the injustice of the situation and successfully fought to have some of the policy changed. (pp. 291-94)

During the Vietnam War, many women volunteered for duty in Southeast Asia, but the Air Force was reluctant to send them, claiming logistical difficulties. Holm pointed that logistical difficulties were not the real reason, writing to military officials: “I feel we must identify the real constraints on the assignment of WAF(Women in the Air Force) and not be misled by imaginary problems.” She then fought to get women who wanted “pull their share of the burden” deployed to Southeast Asia. (pp. 219-24)

Holm also fought to get women accepted into the military academies. (306)

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Margaret Chase Smith
1897-
American. Politician

My creed is that public service must be more than doing a job efficiently and honestly. It must be a complete dedication to the people and to the nation with full recognition that every human being is entitled to courtesy and consideration, that constructive criticism is not only to be expected but sought, that smears are not only to be expected but fought, that honor is to be earned but not bought.

-- "My Creed," Quick, November 11, 1953

Born: December 14, 1897 in Skowhegan, ME.

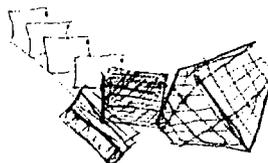
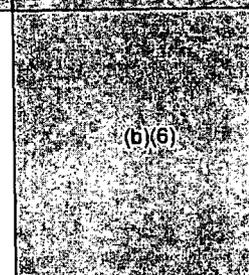
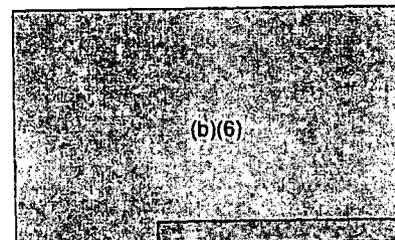
Career Highlights: Rep. senator from ME, 1948-72; served longer than any other woman.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH:

- QUOTES

- 1950 DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

[002]



Creative Quotations from . . .

Margaret Chase Smith (1897- 1995) born on Dec 14

U.S. politician. She was the first woman elected to both houses of Congress; first woman to be nominated for president by a major political party (Republican).



Foraging

My basic rule is to speak slowly and simply so that my audience has an opportunity to follow and think about what I am saying.



Reflecting

One of the basic causes for all the trouble in the world today is that people talk too much and think too little. They act impulsively without thinking. I always try to think before I talk.



Adopting

When people keep telling you that you can't do a thing, you kind of like to try it. [on announcing her presidential candidacy]



Nurturing

Greatness is not manifested by unlimited pragmatism, which places such a high premium on the end justifying any means and any methods.



Knuckling Down

Moral cowardice that keeps us from speaking our minds is as dangerous to this country as irresponsible talk. The right way is not always the popular and easy way. Standing for right when it is unpopular is a true test of moral character.

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in). *Maxims for Revolution*

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(1770-1811), Polish
isury of Jewish Quotations

170. In today's society Bill Cosby has a lot more influ-
ence than Ronald Reagan.

Steve Sippel, student, Withrow High School,
Cincinnati, OH. Quoted in *The Washington Post*, June 12,
1988.

171. I am no cooing dove, and what is more I never
will be. The people want clear-headed, strong-
minded fighting men at the head of the govern-
ment, and not doves. Let the doves roost in the
eaves of the Capitol, and not in the Executive
Chamber.

[His opponent, Congressman Ogden L. Mills, had
criticized Smith for being too bellicose with the state
legislature and claimed he would get along with the
legislature like a "cooing dove."]

Alfred E. Smith (1873-1944), Governor of New
York (D). Campaign speech, 1926.

172. I think chaos is inevitable. I want to get as many
people as I can now, so that when chaos comes,
I'll be the leader.

Gerald L. K. Smith (1898-1976), American cler-
gyman and cofounder, Union Party. Interview, 1936.

173. Leadership is not manifested by coercion, even
against the resented.

Margaret Chase Smith, U.S. Congresswoman
and U.S. Senator (R-ME). Speech, National Republican
Women's Conference, Mar. 16, 1961.

174. An able man shews his spirit by gentle words and
resolute actions; he is neither hot nor timid.

Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chester-
field (1694-1773), Member of Parliament, Great Britain
(Whig), and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. *Maxims*.

175. Isn't a strong man [politician], however bad, so-
cially better than a weak man, however good?

Joseph Lincoln Steffens (1866-1936), American
journalist and reformer. *Autobiography*, 1931.

176. Every age needs men who will redeem the time
by living with a vision of things that are to be.

Adlai E. Stevenson (1900-1965), Governor of Illi-
nois (D) and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.
Speech, 1964.

177. If the general is unable to control his patience and
orders his troops to swarm up the wall like ants,
one-third of them will be killed without taking
the city.

Sun-tzu (c.400 B.C.), Chinese writer of the Age of
Warring States. *The Art of War*.

178. The disdain that political leaders show the ordi-
nary citizen is reciprocated.

Barry Sussman, American political analyst and

writer. *What Americans Really Think and Why Our Politi-
cians Pay No Attention*, 1988.

179. I am not, and never claimed to be a leader.... I am
sort of an advisor; I try to harmonize the interests
of the party ... as I understand them.... I am sim-
ply a passenger on a ship, with the privilege of
going ashore if I do not like its management or its
course.

Peter B. Sweeney (1824-1911), leader, Tammany
Hall, NY (D). Quoted in M. R. Werner, *Tammany Hall*,
1928.

180. Forethought and prudence are the proper quali-
ties of a leader.

Cornelius Tacitus (c.55-c.117), Roman historian.
Annals of the Julian Emperors, XIII.

181. You wish to rise: Make enemies.

Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord
(Prince de Bénévent) (1754-1838), French diplomat and
statesman. Advice to Louis-Adolphe Thiers, 1827.

182. The command in war is given to the strongest or
to the bravest; and in peace, taken up and exer-
cised by the boldest.

William Temple (1628-1699), English statesman
and writer. Quoted in S. Austin Allibone, *Prose Quota-
tions*, 1876.

183. I don't care how much my ministers talk - as long
as they do what I say.

Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of Great
Britain (Conservative). Remark to reporters, 1987.

184. When a woman is strong, she is strident. If a man
is strong, gosh, he's a good guy.

Margaret Thatcher. Quoted in *Time*, Dec. 3, 1990.

185. The king reigns but does not govern. (*La roi règne
et ne gouverne pas.*)

Louis-Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), 1st President
of the Third French Republic. Maxim of State.

186. The King [*Napoléon III*] was personally a hero, but
politically a coward.

Louis-Adolphe Thiers. 1840.

187. The king is the country made man.

Louis-Adolphe Thiers. Quoted in Hayward,
Eminent Statesmen and Writers, I, 1880.

188. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my
course, I have kept the faith.

New Testament, 2 Timothy 4:7.

189. A man who is influenced by the polls or is afraid
to make decisions which may make him unpop-

should freedom of the press ever be successfully challenged.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, letter to W.N. Hardy, September 4, 1940.

We look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want... everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear... anywhere in the world.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, speech to Congress, January 6, 1941.

The basic freedom of the world is woman's freedom.

MARGARET SANGER, *Woman and the New Race*, 1920.

The individual freedoms destroyed by the increase in national authority have been in the main the freedom to deny black Americans their elementary rights as citizens, the freedom to work little children in mills... the freedom to pay starvation wages... the freedom to... pollute the environment—all freedoms that, one supposes, a civilized country can readily do without.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., *The Cycles of American History*, 1986.

Privacy is absolutely essential to maintaining a free society. The idea that is at the foundation of the notion of privacy is that the citizen is not the tool or the instrument of government—but the reverse... If you have no privacy, it will tend to follow that you have no political freedom, no religious freedom, no freedom of families to make their own decisions [regarding having children]. All these freedoms tend to reinforce one another.

BENNO C. SCHMIDT, JR., interview, *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 5, 1986.

Who ever walked behind anyone to freedom? If we can't go hand in hand, I don't want to go.

HAZEL SCOTT, in Margo Jefferson, "Great (Hazel) Scott!" *Ms.*, November, 1974.

There's only one free person in this society, and he is white and male.

HAZEL SCOTT, in Margo Jefferson, "Great (Hazel) Scott!" *Ms.*, November, 1974.

The eternal idea of Justice makes no one just, as the eternal Right makes no one righteous. In a certain sense, we are less free than freeable; we

make ourselves free. Before truth and righteousness and freedom can become mature, they require training, discipline, trial, and the awful possibility of failure.

The whole purpose of freedom is to train minds to use freedom rightly.

FULTON J. SHEEN, *The Wit and Wisdom of Bishop Fulton J. Sheen*, 1968.

Freedom does not mean the right to do whatever we please, but rather to do whatever we ought. The right to do whatever we please reduces freedom to a physical power and forgets that freedom is a moral power.

FULTON J. SHEEN, *The Wit and Wisdom of Bishop Fulton J. Sheen*, 1968.

There is no "slippery slope" toward loss of liberties, only a long staircase where each step downward must first be tolerated by the American people and their leaders.

ALAN K. SIMPSON, *New York Times*, September 26, 1982.

Freedom unexercised may become freedom forgotten.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH, speech, Westbrook Junior College, Portland, Maine, June 7, 1953.

Liberty is the right of any person to stand up anywhere and say anything whatsoever that everybody thinks.

LINCOLN STEFFENS, *Autobiography*, 1931.

My definition of a free society is a society where it is safe to be unpopular.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, speech, Detroit, Michigan, October 7, 1952.

A hungry man is not a free man.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, speech, September 6, 1952.

If our freedom means ease alone, if it means shirking the hard disciplines of learning, if it means evading the rigors and rewards of creative activity, if it means more expenditure on advertising than education, if it means in the schools the steady cult of the trivial and the mediocre, if it means—worst of all—indifference, or even contempt for all but athletic excellence, we may keep for a time the forms of free society, but its spirit will be dead.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, speech, National School Boards Association, San Francisco, California, January 26, 1959.

Freedom is not an ideal, it is not even a protection, if it means nothing more than freedom to

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ADLAI E. STEVENSON, "F
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Journal, May, 1958.
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DOROTHY THOMPSON,

1950 "DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE"

I would like to speak briefly and simply about a serious national condition. It is a national feeling of fear and frustration that could result in national suicide and the end of everything that we Americans hold dear. It is a condition that comes from the lack of effective leadership either in the legislative branch or the executive branch of our Government. That leadership is so lacking that serious and responsible proposals are being made that national advisory commissions be appointed to provide such critically needed leadership.

I speak as briefly as possible because too much harm has already been done with irresponsible words of bitterness and selfish political opportunism. I speak as simply as possible because the issue is too great to be obscured by eloquence. I speak simply and briefly in the hope that my words will be taken to heart.

Mr. President, I speak as a Republican. I speak as a woman. I speak as a United States Senator. I speak as an American.

The United States Senate has long enjoyed world-wide respect as the greatest deliberative body in the world. But recently that deliberative character has too often been debased to the level of a forum of hate and character assassination sheltered by the shield of congressional immunity.

It is ironical that we Senators can in debate in the Senate, directly or indirectly, by any form of words, impute to any American who is not a Senator any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming an American—and without that non-Senator Ameri-

can having any legal redress against us—yet if we say the same thing in the Senate about our colleagues we can be stopped on the grounds of being out of order.

It is strange that we can verbally attack anyone else without restraint and with full protection, and yet we hold ourselves above the same type of criticism here on the Senate floor. Surely the United States Senate is big enough to take self-criticism and self-appraisal. Surely we should be able to take the same kind of character attacks that we "dish out" to outsiders.

I think that it is high time for the United States Senate and its members to do some real soul searching and to weigh our consciences as to the manner in which we are performing our duty to the people of America and the manner in which we are using or abusing our individual powers and privileges.

I think it is high time that we remembered that we have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution. I think it is high time that we remembered that the Constitution, as amended, speaks not only of the freedom of speech but also of trial by jury instead of trial by accusation.

Whether it be a criminal prosecution in court or a character prosecution in the Senate, there is little practical distinction when the life of a person has been ruined.

Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism—

Before every free conscience in America is subpoenaed, please speak up.

JUDY GARLAND, 1947, in Lois and Alan Gordon, *American Chronicle*, 1987.

I well know from my own experience how essential it is for the survival of our democracy that scholars and teachers should have freedom of the mind to pursue truth "with clear eyes unafraid." Now our witchhunters are trying to drive students and teachers into conformity with a rigid concept of Americanism defined by ignorant and irresponsible politicians. If we do not check this move-

ment, we shall become a totalitarian state like the Fascist and Communist models and our colleges and universities will produce frightened rabbits instead of scholars with free minds.

VIRGINIA GILDERSLEEVE, "The Inescapable Desert," *Many a Good Crusade*, 1954.

Joe McCarthy was over the land.

LILLIAN HELLMAN, *Pentimento*, 1973.

Truth made you a traitor as it often does in a time of scoundrels.

LILLIAN HELLMAN, *Scoundrel Time*, 1976.

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RUPERT HUGHES, 194 *American Chronicle*

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FREDRIC MARCH, 19- *American Chronicle*

McCarthyism rolled.

JOSEPH R. MCCARTY Senate, 1952, in McCarthy, 1959.

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- The right to criticize.
- The right to hold unpopular beliefs.
- The right to protest.
- The right of independent thought.

The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs. Who of us does not? Otherwise none of us could call our souls our own. Otherwise thought control would have set in.

The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as Communists or Fascists by their opponents. Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. It has been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others.

The American people are sick and tired of seeing innocent people smeared and guilty people whitewashed. But there have been enough proved cases, such as the Amerasia case, the Hiss case, the Coplon case, the Gold case, to cause nationwide distrust and strong suspicion that there may be something to the unproved, sensational accusations....

As a woman, I wonder how the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters feel about the way in which members of their families have been politically mangled in Senate debate—and I use the word "debate" advisedly.

As a United States Senator, I am not proud of the way in which the Senate has been made a publicity platform for irresponsible sensationalism. I am not proud of the reckless abandon in which unproved charges have been hurled from this side of the aisle. I am not proud of the obviously staged, undignified countercharges which have been attempted in retaliation from the other side of the aisle.

I do not like the way the Senate has been made a rendezvous for vilification, for selfish political gain at the sacrifice of individual reputations and national unity. I am not proud of the way we smear outsiders from the floor of the Senate and hide behind the cloak of congressional immunity and still place ourselves beyond criticism on the floor of the Senate.

As an American, I am shocked at the way Republicans and Democrats alike are playing directly into the Communist design of "confuse, divide, and conquer." As an American, I do not want a Democratic administration whitewash or cover-up any more than I want a Republican smear or witch hunt.

As an American, I condemn a Republican Fascist just as much as I condemn a Democrat Communist. I condemn a Democrat Fascist just as much as I condemn a Republican Communist. They are equally dangerous to you and me and to our country. As an American, I want to see our Nation recapture the strength and unity it once had when we fought the enemy instead of ourselves.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH, speech to U.S. Senate, June 1, 1950.

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You can't help smelling them [the Reds].

RUPERT HUGHES, 1947, in Lois and Alan Gordon, *American Chronicle*, 1987.

Are they going to scare us into silence?

FREDRIC MARCH, 1947, in Lois and Alan Gordon, *American Chronicle*, 1987.

McCarthyism is Americanism with its sleeves rolled.

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, theme for reelection to U.S. Senate, 1952, in Richard H. Rovere, *Senator Joe McCarthy*, 1959.

How can we account for our present situation unless we believe that men high in this government are concerting to deliver us to disaster? This must be the product of a great conspiracy, a conspiracy on a scale so immense as to dwarf any previous venture in the history of man. A conspiracy of infamy so black that, when it is finally exposed, its principals shall be forever deserving of the maledictions of all honest men.

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, speech to U.S. Senate, June 14, 1951, in Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, 1965.

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, *Ask Congress*, Aug.

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of the House (D-TX). Adv-

n Lyndon B. Johnson, 1937.

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re [in Congress.]

burn. Quoted in Robert

82.

116. Dick, you've got to be popular in this place.

Samuel T. Rayburn. Advice to Congressman Richard W. Bolling (MO), who wanted to be Speaker but was known for stepping on colleagues' toes. Quoted in *The Washington Post*, Apr. 22, 1991.

117. A Congressman's first duty is to get elected. Always vote your district.

Samuel T. Rayburn. Advice to all Congressmen.

118. The only way to do business inside the [House] rules is to suspend the rules.

Thomas B. Reed (1839-1902), U.S. Congressman and Speaker of the House (R-ME). Quoted in George B. Galloway, *History of the House of Representatives*, 1976.

119. Every numerous assembly is a mob; consequently everything there depends upon instantaneous turns.

Cardinal de Retz (1614-1679), French priest and politician. *Political Maxims*.

120. With Congress, every time they make a joke it's a law, and every time they make a law it's a joke.

Will Rogers (1879-1935), American humorist. Quoted in Fred Metcalf, *The Penguin Dictionary of Modern Humorous Quotations*, 1986.

121. It is the duty of the President to propose and it is the privilege of the Congress to dispose.

Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945), 32nd President of the United States (D-NY). Remark to reporters, July 23, 1937.

122. When a country is at war we want Congressmen, regardless of party, to back up the government of the United States.

Franklin D. Roosevelt. Remark, 1942.

123. Congress does from a third to a half of what I think is the minimum that it ought to do, and I am profoundly grateful that I get as much.

Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), 26th President of the United States (R-NY). Remark to Leonard Wood, 1904.

124. You can't be up there every day on everything, in every battle. You've got to pick and choose.

Benjamin S. Rosenthal (1923-1983), U.S. Congressman (D-NY). Quoted in Daniel Rapoport, *Inside the House*, 1975.

125. About a third of the people here [the Senate] really want to get something done and know how to do

Another third want to get something done but don't know how to do it. And the remaining third, well, I'm not sure why they're here.

Warren B. Rudman, U.S. Senator (R-NH). Quoted in James Miller, *Running in Place*, 1986.

126. Give a member of Congress a junket and a mimeograph machine and he thinks he is Secretary of State.

Dean Rusk, U.S. Secretary of State (D). Quoted in *Time*, May 6, 1985.

127. Being eyeball-to-eyeball is a hundred times more effective than writing a letter.

Claudine Schneider, U.S. Congresswoman (R-RI). On influencing members of Congress. Quoted in *Ms.*, Apr. 1989.

128. I believe, Mr. Chairman, that the day has passed when the power of a position such as you hold can be used to compel uniformity of vote or view. Members of Congress are responsible to their constituents and to their consciences - not to their committee chairmen.

Patricia R. Schroeder, U.S. Congresswoman (D-CO). Letter to Felix E. Hébert (unsent), 1973.

129. Spine transplants are what we [in Congress] really need.

Patricia R. Schroeder. Quoted in *The New York Times*, Jan. 14, 1985.

130. I not only defend his [Sen. J. William Fulbright's] right to express his deeply felt views and his sharp dissent; I admire him for speaking his mind and his conscience. I admire him for his courage to run counter to conformity and the overwhelming majority.

Margaret Chase Smith, U.S. Congresswoman and U.S. Senator (R-ME). Quoted in Jules Archer, *The Unpopular Ones*, 1968.

131. Congress can't do its work with the amount of absenteeism there is.

Margaret Chase Smith. Quoted in *The Washington Post*, Jan. 6, 1991.

132. Members of Congress are basically solid and sound, but every two years they spend all their time telling the public what boobs their colleagues are at best, and what crooks at worst.

Robert T. Stafford, U.S. Congressman and U.S. Senator (R-VT). Quoted in *The Washington Post*, Jan. 6, 1991.

133. If you want to get a fifteen- or thirty-second bite, you have to have a prominent witness and a zinger of a question.

Peter Stark, U.S. Congressman (D-CA). On congressional hearings. Quoted in *The New York Times*, Feb. 10, 1990.

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nity and freedom and tender love, and brotherhood, who has never heard of man the creator of truth and beauty, who has never even seen man-made beauty, but has heard only of man the killer, and words about sex and "race" which fill him with anger and fear and lust, and words about himself that make him feel degraded, or blow him up crazily into paranoid "superiority"—how can he know the meaning of *human*! How can he know that?
Ibid., Pt. III, Ch. 1

11 Education is a private matter between the person and the world of knowledge and experience, and has little to do with school or college. . . .
"Bridges to Other People," *Redbook* September, 1969p

12 When you stop learning, stop listening, stop looking and asking questions, always new questions, then it is time to die. . . .
Ibid.

684. Margaret Chase Smith

(1897-)

1 I believe that in our constant search for security we can never gain any peace of mind until we secure our own soul. And this I do believe above all, especially in my times of greater discouragement, *that I must believe*—that I must believe in my fellow men—that I must believe in myself—that I must believe in God—if life is to have any meaning.

Essay in *This I Believe*,
Raymond Swing, ed. 1952

2 My creed is that public service must be more than doing a job efficiently and honestly. It must be a complete dedication to the people and to the nation with full recognition that every human being is entitled to courtesy and consideration, that constructive criticism is not only to be expected but sought, that smears are not only to be expected but fought, that honor is to be earned but not bought.

"My Creed," *Quick*
November 11, 1953

3 In these perilous hours, I fear that the American people are ahead of their leaders in realism and courage—but behind them in knowledge of the facts because the facts have not been given to them.

Address, U.S. Senate
September 21, 1961

4 Strength, the American way, is not manifested by threats of criminal prosecution or police state methods. Leadership is not manifested by coercion, even against the resented. Greatness is not manifested by unlimited pragmatism,

which places such a high premium on the end justifying *any* means and *any* methods.

Address, National Republican
Women's Conference Banquet
April 16, 1962

5 In today's growing, but tragic, emphasis on materialism, we find a perversion of the values of things in life as we once knew them. For example, the creed once taught children as they grew up was that the most important thing was not in whether you won or lost the game but rather in "how you played the game." That high level attitude that stresses the moral side no longer predominates in this age of pragmatic materialism that increasingly worships the opposite creed that "the end justifies the means" or the attitude of get what you can in any way, manner, or means that you can.
RCA Victor Recording 1964

6 We are rapidly approaching a day when the United States will be subject to all sorts of diplomatic blackmail and a strategy of terror waged by the Soviet Union.

"It's Time to Speak Up for National
Defense," *Reader's Digest*
March, 1972

7 We are sick to death of war, defense spending and all things military. We are disgusted with and weary of the vilification that has been heaped upon us, at home as well as abroad, for our attempts to block communist enslavement in Southeast Asia. We yearn to turn away from foreign entanglements and to begin making our own house a better place to live in.
Ibid.

8 The key to security is public information.
Ibid.

9 There are enough mistakes of the Democrats for the Republicans to criticize constructively without resorting to political smears. . . . Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America.
Declaration of Conscience
1972

10 Before you can become a statesman you first have to get elected, and to get elected you have to be a politician pledging support for what the voters want.

Ibid., "Nuclear Test Ban Treaty"

685. Berenice Abbott

(1898-)

1 Photography can never grow up if it imitates some other medium. It has to walk alone; it has to be itself.

"It Has to Walk Alone,"
Infinity (magazine) 1951

hers is not to preserve a man-made world, but to create a human world by the infusion of the feminine element into all of its activities.

MARGARET SANGER, *Woman and the New Race*, 1920.

No woman can call herself free who does not own and control her body. No woman can call herself free until she can choose consciously whether she will or will not be a mother.

MARGARET SANGER, *Woman and the New Race*, 1920.

I think it's [the women's movement] an antifamily movement that is trying to make perversion acceptable as an alternate life-style.

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY, *New York Times*, December 15, 1975.

I have a brain and a uterus, and I use both.

PAT SCHROEDER, response to question on being both mother and congresswoman, *New York Times Magazine*, 1972.

Who ever walked behind anyone to freedom? If we can't go hand in hand, I don't want to go.

HAZEL SCOTT, in article by Margo Jefferson, "Great (Hazel) Scott," *Ms.*, November, 1974.

Woman's virtue is man's greatest invention.

CORNELIA OTIS SKINNER, *Paris '90*, 1952.

Some leaders are born women.

SLOGAN, United Nations International Women's Day conference, March, 1983.

Our black brothers are our sisters.

SLOGAN, ca. 1960.

IF YOU THINK EQUALITY IS THE GOAL...YOUR STANDARDS ARE TOO LOW.

SLOGAN, ca. 1970.

Give the young women who follow you a heritage of peace instead of the world of suspicion, aggression, treason, character assassination and moral delinquency that has been thrust upon you by the older generation that has preceded you.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH, speech, Westbrook Junior College, Portland, Maine, June 7, 1953.

The failure of women to produce genius of the first rank in most of the supreme forms of human effort has been used to block the way of all women of talent and ambition for intellectual achievement in a manner that would be amusingly absurd were it not so monstrously unjust and socially harmful.

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, *Woman's Share in Social Culture*, 1912.

No book has yet been written in praise of a woman who let her husband and children starve

or suffer while she invented even the most useful things, or wrote books, or expressed herself in art, or evolved philosophic systems.

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, *Woman's Share in Social Culture*, 1912.

Biologically and temperamentally...women were made to be concerned first and foremost with child care, husband care and home care.

BENJAMIN SPOCK, in article by Barbara S. Deckard, "Woman's Movement: Political, Socioeconomic and Psychological," *Issues*, 1979.

A liberated woman is one who has sex before marriage and a job after.

GLORIA STEINEM, *Newsweek*, March 28, 1960.

We [women] are not more moral, we are only less corrupted by power.

GLORIA STEINEM, "A New Egalitarian Life Style," *New York Times*, August 26, 1971.

I have met brave women who are exploring the outer edge of human possibility, with no history to guide them, and with a courage to make themselves vulnerable that I find moving beyond the words to express it.

GLORIA STEINEM, *Ms.*, April, 1972.

Women may be the one group that grows more radical with age.

GLORIA STEINEM, *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions*, 1983.

Women whose identity depends more on their outsides than their insides are dangerous when they begin to age.

GLORIA STEINEM, *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions*, 1983.

Women aren't supposed to work. They're supposed to be married.

JOHNNIE TILLMON, "Welfare Is a Woman's Issue," in Francine Klagsbrun, ed., *The First Ms. Reader*, 1972.

I'm the kind of woman that likes to enjoy herself in peace.

ALICE WALKER, *The Temple of My Familiar*, 1989.

WITCH lives and laughs in every woman. She is the free part of each of us, beneath the shy smiles, the acquiescence to absurd male determination, the make-up or fresh-suffocating clothes our sick society demands. There is no "joining" WITCH. If you are a woman and dare to look within yourself, you are a WITCH. You make your own rules.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST CONSPIRACY FROM HELL (WITCH), leaflet, ca. 1968, in Howard Zinn, *The Twentieth Century*, 1980.

Wo

See also **American Ideals—Excellent Inflation; Government Political Philosophy, Creativity, Duty Social Issues—**

Apparently w labor from th slavery and th To get away f little with one

JANE ADDAMS, "Educ Social Ethics, 1902.

It is easy to gifts are vast—the limits of clear that great

ALFRED ADLER, quote 1972.

The price one or calling, is side.

JAMES BALDWIN, *Notes Looks at the White*

We can say ' sent national unemployment weekends, for

WENDELL BERRY, 191 *Home Economics*, 1

All there is dancing is th

HEYWOOD BROWN, F

Attempt the work.

BETTE DAVIS, *Mother*

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JOHN DOS PASSOS, 1

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right, neither one of them is entitled to citizen-
ship in the Republic.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, speech, Camp Upton, Yaphank,
New York, November 18, 1917.

Are we so devoid of spiritual and moral force and
intellectual ingenuity that we cannot possibly
prevent war by any means other than military
preparedness?

MARGARET CHASE SMITH, *Christian Science Monitor*,
January 15, 1952.

We are sick to death of war, defense spending
and all things military. We are disgusted with
and weary of the vilification that has been
heaped upon us, at home as well as abroad, for
our attempts to block communist enslavement
in Southeast Asia. We yearn to turn away from
foreign entanglements and to begin making our
own house a better place to live in.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH, "It's Time To Speak Up for
National Defense," *Reader's Digest*, March, 1972.

The arms race is based on an optimistic view of
technology and a pessimistic view of man. It
assumes there is no limit to the ingenuity of sci-
ence and no limit to the devilry of human
beings.

I.F. STONE, "Nixon and the Arms Race," *New York
Review of Books*, March 27, 1969.

It won't be until the bombs get so big that they
can annihilate everything that people will real-
ly become terrified and begin to take a reason-
able line in politics. Those who oppose the
hydrogen bomb are behaving like ostriches if
they think they are going to promote peace in
that way.

EDWARD TELLER, in Robert Jungk, *Brighter Than a
Thousand Suns*, 1958.

This weapon is to be used against Japan between
now and August 10th.... It seems to be the most
terrible thing ever discovered, but it can be made
the most useful.

HARRY S TRUMAN, diary entry, July 25, 1945.

If there is one basic element in our Constitution,
it is civilian control of the military.

HARRY S TRUMAN, *Memoirs*, 1955.

Maybe the answer to Selective Service is to start
everyone off in the army and draft them for
civilian life as needed.

BILL VAUGHAN, *Half the Battle*, 1967.

Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas,
outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in
war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or
in part by international action for the interna-
tional covenants.

WOODROW WILSON, speech to Congress, second of
Fourteen Points, January 8, 1918.

NUCLEAR WAR

It is no longer possible to shield ourselves with
arms alone against the ordeal of attack. For mod-
ern war visits destruction on the victor and van-
quished alike.... The way to win an atomic war is
to make certain it never starts.

OMAR BRADLEY, speech, Boston, Massachusetts,
November 10, 1948.

We are now speeding inexorably towards the day
when even the ingenuity of our scientists may be
unable to save us from the consequences of a
single rash act or a lone reckless hand upon the
switch of an uninterceptible missile.... Have we
already gone too far in this search for peace
through the accumulation of peril? Is there any
way to halt this trend—or must we push on with
new devices until we inevitably come to judg-
ment before the atom?

OMAR BRADLEY, speech, Washington, D.C., November 5,
1957.

If the attack happens on July 1, say some people
have paid withholding and some people have
paid nothing, but you have to forgive and forget
on both sides.

FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY, Executive Order
11490, 1969.

Following a nuclear attack on the United States,
the U.S. Postal Service plans to distribute Emer-
gency Change of Address Cards.

FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY, Executive Order
11490, 1969.

Be sure to carry your credit cards, cash, checks,
stocks, insurance policies, and will. Every effort
will be made to clear trans-nuclear attack checks,
including those drawn on destroyed banks. You
will be encouraged to buy U.S. Savings Bonds.

FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY, Executive Order
11490, 1969.

Dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors and
then throw three feet of dirt on top.... It's the
dirt that does it.... You know, dirt is just great

Room
171

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3299



OFFICE FOR WOMEN'S INITIATIVES AND OUTREACH

TO: Laura Schiller

FAX: 6-5709

DATE: 6/9/98

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): ~~5~~ 6

FROM: Audrey Tayse Haynes, Director
 Sondra Seba, Agency Representative 6-7310
 Robin Leeds, Agency Representative
 Tania Lopez, Special Assistant to the Director
 Other

NOTES: Attached are TP'S for Mrs. Canton. Acknowledgements to come by Noon (or thereabouts). Also attached is draft event scenario. Hope that helps. Give me a call if you need anything else.

THE WHITE HOUSE
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SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH LEADERSHIP AWARD EVENT

Commemoration of 50th Anniversary of Enactment of Women's Armed Services Integration Act

- Act introduced by Senator Margaret Chase Smith in the Senate and Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers (MA) in the House. Act codified gains by women during WWII and provided basis for continuation of women's military service in peacetime as a resource for mobilization.
- Act signed into law June 12, 1948 by President Harry S. Truman. Enactment preceded by a year of bitter, often acrimonious debate. Key issues - fear that women would command men counterbalanced by recognition by senior leaders that women's skills and talents would be needed in any future wars.
- Established a permanent place for women who were non-nurses in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps. (Legislation for nurses had been enacted in 1947.)
- The Act is the most significant legislation pertaining to women's military service and is the cornerstone for policies and regulations affecting women.
- Act was many things to many people:
 - Generals and Admirals supporting it - given a vehicle for mobilizing women's skills in the event of a future national emergency and for meeting the military's immediate requirement for volunteers, especially clerical and other so-called women's jobs
 - Women veterans - recognition of their contribution and vindication of their service
 - Military women who worked for passage - sweet victory
 - Feminists - leap forward for women's rights
- Act provided limited opportunities for peacetime service for women and had several onerous provisions:
 - 2% ceiling on proportion of women on duty in Regular components
 - Each service limited to one full colonel or Navy captain (no generals or admirals)
 - 10% limit on women who could serve as Regular Lt Colonels and Commanders; Navy limited to 20% Lt Commanders
 - Women could claim husbands and/or children as dependents only if it could be proven they were dependent upon the women for "their chief support"
 - Prescribed that women could not be assigned to duty in aircraft or ships engaged in combat
- Subsequent revisions:
 - Ceilings and promotion limitations repealed in 1967.
 - Entitlements limitations eliminated by Supreme Court decision May 14, 1973.
 - Combat aircraft assignment prohibition repealed in 1991; ships in 1993.

Other Points

- Senator Smith was an exemplary leader who, throughout her career in the Congress, was concerned about creating opportunities for women in the armed forces as well as providing leadership and encouragement to women in other career fields. The fact that we have two women Senators from Maine, both strong and effective leaders, speaks to the pathway she set and the legacy she left.

- She was a visionary as demonstrated by her being assigned to the first committee on space exploration and her work in the area of medical research. A NASA spokesperson is quoted as saying, "if it hadn't been for that woman in the Senate, we might not be putting a man on the moon." (The Friday morning program has symposiums on both subjects.)

- The primary purposes of the Memorial, and the Foundation, are to document what women have contributed to the nation in its defense and to make that story visible to the nation. In that process, leaders and visionaries among our military women are being identified. (Mrs. Clinton was the keynote speaker at our Flag Day luncheon in 1994 and joined in paying tribute to several of our groundbreakers from WWI through today's servicewomen>)

- Considering Senator Smith's leadership in the Congress in supporting women in the military, her legacy of leadership to the nation and her years of service as an Air Force Reservist, it is particularly fitting that an award for leadership be established in her name to recognize those leaders who have helped make it possible for women to participate and contribute equally in our nation's armed forces.

- One of the glass panels in the Memorial skylight contains the following quotation taken from a speech Senator Smith gave to a group of Navy WAVES during WWII:

There will be demands upon your ability, upon your endurance, upon your disposition, upon your patience...
Just as fire tempers iron into fine steel so does adversity temper one's character into firmness, tolerance, and determination.

**Awards to former Secretary of Defense William J. Perry
and
Major General Jeanne M. Holm, USAF, Retired**

Accomplishments related to military women during William J. Perry's tenure as Secretary of Defense:

- Actively supported women throughout his appointment as Secretary of Defense in words and actions.
- Almost 260,000 new positions opened to military service women
- Continued support of assignment of women as fighter pilots
- First women assigned to Navy combat ships
- First woman assigned to guard the Tomb of the Unknowns
- First woman Afro-American promoted to two star rank (Maj General Marcelite Harris, USAF, Retired)
- First women promoted to three star rank, Vice Admiral Patricia Tracey, USN, and Lt General Carol Mutter, USMC (She will be in the audience)
- Supported assignment of women to Bosnia
- Supported the Women In Military Service For America Memorial project

Accomplishments of Major General Jeanne Holm supporting award for a lifetime of service in support of military women:

- Was first woman to hold two star rank in the armed forces.
- Served as the Director of Women in the Air Force from 1965 to 1973.
- Involved with the legislative process in the 1967 repeal of ceilings and promotion limitations.
- Wrote and got published the first definitive history of military women, *Women in the Military, An Unfinished Revolution*.
- Appointed as Special Assistant for Women to President Ford in 1976
- Served on the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services and has continued to actively participate with this Committee
- Serves on the Women In Military Service For America Memorial Foundation Education Committee
- Conceived the idea and was the editor for a book published in conjunction with Dedication of the Women's Memorial on the service of women during World War II. In Defense of a Nation, Servicewomen in World War II.

DRAFT 6/8/98

EVENT SCENARIO:

THE WOMEN IN MILITARY SERVICE FOR AMERICA MEMORIAL FOUNDATION
MARGARET CHASE SMITH LEADERSHIP AWARD RECEPTION

Date: June 11, 1998

Time: 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.

Site: Gateway to Arlington National Cemetery, Site of the Memorial

**Expected
Attendance:**

Media: Open

Purpose: Presentation of first annual Senator Margaret Chase Smith Leadership Award to former Secretary of Defense William Perry

Audience/Guests:

Transportation:

Stage/Seating:

Program Participants:

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The Honorable John J. Hamre, Deputy Secretary of Defense
The Honorable Olympia Snowe
The Honorable Susan Collins
Brigadier General Wilma L. Vaught, USAF (Ret.), President, Women's Memorial
Mrs. William Perry
Merton Henry, President, Margaret Chase Smith Foundation
Major General Jeanne M. Holm, USAF (Ret.)

Affairs. Although the reclusive Simpson never spoke on the floor, she did propose an amendment to the Railroad Retirement Act that retirees who received veterans' benefits would also receive their full annuities. In December of 1959, she announced that she would not seek a second term in Congress.

Edna Simpson was born in Carrollton, Illinois on October 26, 1891. She died in Alton, Illinois on May 15, 1984.

Picture of Edna Oakes Simpson

Louise M. Slaughter

*United States Representative
Democrat of New York
One Hundred through One Hundred Fourth Congresses
January 3, 1987-present*

Date of Birth: August 14, 1929
Place of Birth: Harlan County, Kentucky
Date of Death:

A native of Harlan County, Kentucky, Louise Slaughter has spent most of her adult life in upstate New York where she has represented metropolitan Rochester and its surrounding counties since 1987. Entering politics in the early 1970s as a proponent of local environmental issues, Slaughter defeated incumbents to win seats in the Monroe County legislature in 1975 and the New York Assembly in 1983. Between elective posts, from 1979 to 1982, Slaughter directed then Lieutenant Governor Mario Cuomo's regional office in Rochester. In challenging one-term Republican Representative Fred Eckert in New York's Thirtieth District in 1986, Slaughter became one of five candidates and the only woman to defeat a sitting member of Congress that year.

After two-and-one-half years in Congress, Slaughter was appointed to the powerful House Rules Committee in June 1989 to fill the vacancy left by the death of committee chairman Claude Pepper. Slaughter resigned from the Committee on Government Operations and the Committee on Public Works and Transportation to take the new post. She continued to serve on the Select Committee on Aging through the 102nd Congress, where she authored legislation to protect senior citizens from insurance fraud and to fund a preventative-medicine program for the elderly. More recently Slaughter has written legislation to ensure that homeless children can attend public school and to create a national commission to improve federal support of local law enforcement agencies.

Slaughter was born Louise McIntosh on August 14, 1929. She attended the University of Kentucky where she received a B.S. in 1951 and a master's degree in public health in 1953.

Picture of Louise M. Slaughter

Margaret Chase Smith

*Republican of Maine
United States Representative
Seventy-sixth through Eightieth Congresses
June 3, 1940-January 3, 1949
United States Senator
Eighty-first through Ninety-second Congresses
January 3, 1949-January 3, 1973*

BIO

Date of Birth: December 14, 1897
Place of Birth: Skowhegan, Maine
Date of Death: May 29, 1995

In more than three decades of service in both houses of Congress, Margaret Chase Smith earned a reputation for personal independence and integrity. She was born Margaret Madeline Chase in Skowhegan, Maine on December 14, 1897. She graduated from Skowhegan High School in 1916 and was a primary school teacher for two years. Beginning in 1919, she worked as a telephone operator and commercial manager of a telephone company, circulation manager of a weekly newspaper, office manager of a woolen mills, and treasurer of a waste process company.

In May 1930 she married Skowhegan businessman and newspaper owner Clyde H. Smith. At the same time she began her political career as a member of the Republican state committee, serving until her husband's election to the House from Maine's Second District six years later.

Clyde Smith died on April 8, 1940, one day after he withdrew as a candidate for reelection due to ill health. Margaret Chase Smith, whom he had urged to run in his place, was elected to fill the vacancy on June 3. She soon demonstrated her independence from the Republican leadership when she broke with a majority of her colleagues to vote for the Lend-Lease agreement with Britain and for the Selective Training and Service Act. At the beginning of the Seventy-eighth Congress in 1943 she was appointed to the Naval Affairs Committee and in that capacity took part in an investigation of the construction of destroyers and inspected bases in the South Pacific. Smith was particularly interested in securing permanent regular status for women who served in auxiliary units in the armed forces and worked for passage of the 1948 Women's Armed Services Integration Act. She also favored the 1947 armed forces unification bill.

In domestic affairs, particularly in the areas of Social Security and labor legislation, Smith supported the policies of Presidents Truman and Roosevelt more often than most Republicans. She opposed the 1946 Case strike-control bill and voted against legislation to change the Committee on Un-American Activities from a special to a standing committee of the House. In addition to her assignment on Naval Affairs, Smith served on numerous House committees including Elections, War Claims, Revision of Laws, Invalid Pensions, Education, Post Office and Post Roads, and Armed Services.

When Maine's senior United States senator, majority leader Wallace White, announced in August 1947 that he would not seek a fourth term in 1948, Smith entered the race to succeed him and was easily elected after defeating Governor Horace A. Hildreth and former Governor Sumner Sewall in a hotly-contested primary race. She was reelected to the Senate three times. From June 1, 1955 until September 6, 1968 (when she was recovering from hip surgery) she answered the Senate roll call for 2,941 consecutive votes. Initially appointed to the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia and the Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments, Smith also served on Rules and Administration, Appropriations, Armed Services, Government Operations, and Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

In a June 1, 1950 Senate speech entitled "A Declaration of Conscience," Smith attacked Wisconsin Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (without referring to him by name) for using congressional immunity to make unproven charges that defamed innocent Americans and accused him of dividing the nation with his tactics. Although the speech attracted favorable nationwide attention and was endorsed by six fellow Republicans in the Senate, it did little to restrain McCarthy and his supporters. In the June 1954 primary, Smith won more than 82 percent of the vote over Robert L. Jones, who was endorsed by McCarthy, and she was among the senators who voted to censure McCarthy in December of the same year.

In 1956 Smith proposed legislation which called for the enlargement of the research and training capacity of the National Institutes of Health, assistance to medical schools, and a medical research facility construction plan. In September 1961 she criticized President Kennedy for failing to convince the Soviet Union that he possessed the resolution and fortitude to utilize the nation's nuclear capability, and she voted against the 1963 Test Ban Treaty. During the 1960s Smith's crusade to have the rose designated the official flower of the United States evoked much public comment, but her campaign was unable to overcome Senate Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen's decided preference for the marigold.

(Legislation naming the rose the official flower was signed into law in October 1987).

On January 27, 1964, Smith declared her candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination and received primary votes in New Hampshire, Illinois, Massachusetts, Texas, and Oregon among others and twenty-seven first ballot votes at the Republican national convention.

On June 1, 1970, the twentieth anniversary of her original "Declaration of Conscience," Smith spoke out once more, criticizing the extremist tactics employed by student militants as well as the attempts of the Nixon administration to repress dissent and polarize the nation. She strayed from party orthodoxy by opposing the supersonic transport plane, the "Safeguard" anti-ballistic missile system, and the nominations of Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr. and G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court.

To the surprise of many across the country, the venerable woman from Maine was rejected by the Maine voters in her bid for a fifth term in 1972. Before the election, Smith gave serious thought to retirement but decided to run to rebut charges that she was too old at seventy-four to continue to serve effectively. The Democratic nominee, Second District Representative William D. Hathaway, emphasized Smith's age and charged that she was ineffective in Washington and inaccessible at home. Her failure to maintain an office in Maine was cited as evidence that she was out of touch with the state's concerns.

In retirement from public office Smith devoted much of her attention to the affairs of the Margaret Chase Smith Library Center at the Northwood Institute in Skowhegan. She died on May 29, 1995.

Picture of Margaret Chase Smith

Virginia Dodd Smith

*United States Representative
Republican of Nebraska*

*Ninety-fourth through One Hundred First Congresses
January 3, 1975-January 3, 1991*

Date of Birth: June 30, 1911
Place of Birth: Randolph, Iowa
Date of Death:

Throughout her congressional term, Virginia Smith concentrated on the same agricultural issues at the center of her earlier career. As the wife of a Nebraska wheat farmer, Smith became involved in a wide variety of farm organizations such as the American Farm Bureau Federation, of which she was chair of the women's bureau from 1955 to 1974, the United States Department of Agriculture's Home Economics Research Advisory Committee, and the American Country Life Association. In addition to serving on various government commissions before entering Congress, Smith was active in the state Republican Party and delegate to the party's national conventions from 1956 to 1972.

Smith was born Virginia Dodd in Randolph, Iowa on June 30, 1911 and was raised in that state. In 1936 she received her B.A. in education from the University of Nebraska. Smith's extensive participation in farming organizations and civic affairs in Nebraska provided a base for her first bid for elective office when she ran for the House seat in Nebraska's Third District in 1974. After narrowly defeating the Democratic candidate in her initial campaign, Smith easily won reelection in the seven succeeding campaigns.

As a freshman in Congress, Smith served on the Committee on Education and Labor and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. In her second term she left those committees and gained a seat on the Committee on Appropriations, where she served until the end of her term. She was the ranking Republican member of the Subcommittee on Rural Development, Agriculture, and Related Agencies.

sort of the necessary oil that keeps this place lubricated and moving forward?
And is there a way that you can define compromise away from surrender?

COLLINS: Margaret Chase Smith -- the senator, the former senator from Maine, the legendary senator -- once said that there's a difference between the compromise of principle and the principle of compromise. And that's what guides me. I think that the American

QUOTE

people are tired of divisive finger-pointing, that they don't like the bickering and the political games. And they do want us to work together.

Compromise is not a dirty word in my book. I think trying to achieve consensus on difficult issues is the way to go. And that's the approach that I'm going to take.

SUAREZ: Well, we heard from a Republican on that one. Now, what about our two Democrats?

LANDRIEU: Go ahead, Dick.

DURBIN: Well, it's part of the process. And if you don't accept it as a premise, I think you don't understand that men and women come to this

Sentiments patterned after the Declaration of Independence.

Richards said that 100 years later, Smith became the first woman to gain entry to both houses of Congress.

He said that the creation of the special exhibit is a tribute to both the anniversary of the movement and Smith.

"Senator Smith's candidacy for president of the United States in 1948 was a fruition of what these women started," Richards said.

"When the Seneca National Women's Hall of Fame was created in 1973, Mrs. Smith was among the first 20 inductees. "

Through historic photographs, political cartoons, campaign posters and personal memorabilia, visitors can follow both the movement and Smith's rise to national prominence. Richards said that as a "new woman" during the early 20th century, Smith led her high school basketball team to a championship season, went on to advocate for women in the military, and became the conscience of the country in the 1950s when she denounced McCarthyism.

a "NEW WOMAN"
in Early 20th C

12TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1997 Guy Gannett Communications, Inc.
Central Maine Morning Sentinel (Waterville, ME)

June 29, 1997 Sunday

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 1959 words

HEADLINE: Memorial honors women vets

BYLINE: DARLA L. PICKETT Staff Writer

BODY:

*Story of a woman MCS
Comment to your Armed
Branch in WWII*

They crawled under fences and climbed over barricades. They nursed soldiers' wounds, they greased and oiled trucks. They manned radio stations and carried messages.

More than 7,500 Maine women who enlisted in the nation's armed forces in World War II did all this and more to aid the war effort and free the nation's men to go into battle.

Today, some of those same women say they are excited about having their names inscribed on the honor roll at the Women in Military Service for America Memorial in Arlington, Va., scheduled for dedication on Oct. 18.

'We are trying to get 100 percent participation from our members,' said Lucille Noble Greer of Norridgewock, president of the Maine Unit No. 41 of WAVES National, an organization for sea-service women veterans, including those who served in the Marines and Coast Guard. Associate members from other branches may join the group.

Greer said she was pleased when the Maine Legislature gave a donation to the new memorial, even though it was only \$ 1 for each woman who served - one of the smallest contributions of any state.

'If you don't honor your veterans, you're in trouble,' she said.

Greer, now 73, was among the many American women who blazed a trail in the mid-1940s for all those women who would join the armed services in the years to come.

She noted that women have served in all of this nation's wars, a fact that is little known. Some women actually disguised themselves as men in order to go into battle.

Even before she enlisted, Greer remembers serving the war effort.

'I was attending Thomas College when the news came out. If you could type or take shorthand, the recruiters for the civil service said you could 'Come to Washington. Your country needs you,' ' she recalled.

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Greer signed on - a 19-year-old civilian working in the code room of the Signal Corps of the War Department in Washington, D.C.

'It was a terrible responsibility,' she recalled. 'If it was too mild a code, a ship could be intercepted. Or, I remember I left out one comma in typing a garbled message once and 150 people heard (mistakenly) that their sons were missing in action.'

She said many important people made their way through the codes department.

She remembers Gen. Douglas MacArthur as 'so demanding,' Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower as 'so considerate.'

'I remember once I was typing an 'eyes only' message and a man was standing over my shoulder,' Greer said. 'I told him, 'If you wouldn't look over my shoulder, I'd get this done much faster.' He said he was sorry and stepped back. It was Gen. George C. Marshall.'

But Greer sprained her ankle and had to return home to recuperate in the summer of 1944.

It was then that she got the idea of joining the armed services.

'Margaret Chase Smith was visiting the people next door, Blanche and LeRoy Folsom. We were out on the lawn next to the church in Norridgewock. (Mrs. Smith) asked me if I ever thought of going into military service,' Greer recalled. 'She was pretty high on women in the armed services, for whom she did a lot.'

Greer said she tried to join the Marines because she was dating a Marine. She was refused because of her sprained ankle.

'When I enlisted in the Navy, I just didn't tell them about the sprained ankle,' Greer said with smile.

BOOT CAMP

Accepted, Greer went off to six weeks of boot camp at Hunter College in New York.

'The first time we marched from the dorms to the dining hall, I thought, 'I'm never going to last,' ' she said. 'But I figured, 'By gosh, I could get through swimming.' ' Greer said she took a life-saving course and learned to dive through burning oil.

Greer never got to practice the technique, however. She ended up in the Hospital Corps School at Bethesda (Md.) Naval Hospital, where she spent eight weeks in training.

Her first assignment was at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, where she served as pharmacist mate third class for the duration of her commitment.

The hours there were long and hard, she remembered.



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'The men had been shipped to the Pacific and were also fighting in Europe. There was a tremendous shortage of help,' she said. 'We would spent 14 hours on a ward, and then the next nine-hour shift we were on call for a four-hour watch.'

'I found out there was nothing as cold as Illinois in the winter,' said Greer, who was later chosen to sell war bonds, as was her soon-to-be husband, William Greer.

William Greer, then a first lieutenant in the Army Air Corps, had just returned from flying 35 bombing missions in Europe. He went on a war bond exhibition, flying a B-24 bomber. During the same time he flew to Great Lakes to propose marriage to Lucille Noble.

'He came in a B-24 bomber to see me,' she said. Her husband, a career serviceman, was a major when he retired.

Greer remembered trying to sell war bonds to servicemen in the burn wards, men who were having skin grafted on their burns.

'When I would ask them to buy, they would say, sarcastically, 'Yeah, buy a bond for Dugout Doug,' ' she said, referring to MacArthur.

Greer left the WAVES in December 1945. The next 15 years she would travel the world with her husband and their three children until he retired.

'I was proud to have served,' Greer said. 'The service women in any branch had a certain spark. A lot of people didn't give credit to them for their going in for patriotic reasons.'

'They all worked hard and were able to ignore negative attitudes from some people. Women who were in the service then are today's community leaders.'

'A WONDERFUL EXPERIENCE'

Kathryn Godwin of Orono enlisted in the WAVES in 1944.

Godwin also was trained at Hunter College and then was sent to radio school at Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, and became a radioman second class.

'From there I was assigned to Washington,' Godwin recalled. 'I spent the rest of my time in Washington at the Navy Building.'

'It was a wonderful experience, but women were not permitted to go into combat in those times. Things have changed.'

A coal miner's daughter from Ohio, Godwin went to college on the GI Bill, obtained her doctorate, and stayed in the reserves.

She was recalled to ship duty during the Korean War in February 1952, but, because the service didn't take women on board ship at the time, she was accepted into the Air Force, where she was eligible for officer training.

Godwin eventually moved up the ranks that were denied her during her first enlistment.

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'I was the commanding officer of the first WAF squadron in Iceland,' Godwin recalled.

For the past 30 years, Godwin has been at the University of Maine at Orono, assigned to the Margaret Chase Smith Library Center for Public Policy.

Godwin said she attended the groundbreaking for the women veterans' memorial two years ago and hopes to attend the dedication this fall.

'I'm still recruiting women veterans to sign up for the memorial,' Godwin said.

Frances Robinson Mitchell was 20 years old when she joined the Marines in 1944.

'We had training that paralleled the men's,' Mitchell said of Camp LeJeune, N.C.

'It's in the swamps. We used to call it 'swampy lagoon.' They had alligators, malaria and mosquitoes.'

The 73-year-old Mitchell, who lives in Orono, remembers the obstacle course.

'The only difference was our barricades were 8 to 12 feet, the men's were 18 to 24 feet. Other than that, it was very much the same,' she recalled. 'We went through the same gas chambers.'

She remembered there were some women in boot camp who 'washed out,' and could not take the struggle.

'I was quite a tomboy. I was used to being in the woods and going ice fishing,' she said.

Mitchell, who had driven logging trucks in northern Penobscot County, went into the Marines' motor transportation division.

'You had to have had your license for five years. I got my license when I was 15,' she said.

Mitchell said men treated most women well in the military.

'Our relationship with men back then was very, very good,' she recalled. 'In the beginning there was resentment. But men back then knew what 'no' meant.'

Mitchell, who wrote the prayer that is now used by the national organization of WAVES, also wrote a book about her life in the military. 'Experiencing the Great Depression in World War II' was published in 1989 and is available in paperback.

Dorothy Kimball of Lincolnville became a SPAR, or a member of the women's reserve of the Coast Guard, in 1943.

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She was trained at Hunter College, and then her contingent helped open a SPAR base in Palm Beach, Fla.

'I helped open up the Biltmore that had been in mothballs. They took it over as the SPAR training base,' she recalled.

Kimball said because the SPARs opened the first military base in Florida, it was covered extensively by the press at the time.

'They marched us all the time for publicity purposes,' she recalled. 'Marching in woolen uniforms in Florida was no cup of tea.'

After attending cooks and bakers school, Kimball was stationed in Boston for two years before being sent to Hawaii.

'I volunteered for Alaska, but they sent me to Hawaii,' Kimball said with a chuckle.

Kimball, who lived in Quonset huts in Hawaii, had been there only 10 days when the war ended. She left the service in May of 1946 as a ship's cook first class.

SINGING RECRUITER

Barbara Tyler Garland, who now lives in Madison, enlisted in the WAVES in 1944 when she was 22 years old. She was teaching school at the Brook Street School in Water ville at the time.

'I got out of school one Friday, and a week from then I was on my way,' Garland recalled. 'I liked teaching school all right, but there wasn't enough money, salaries were very low, and it was difficult to make ends meet.'

Garland said her fiance was in the service overseas, she had no family in the area, and joining the military seemed like the patriotic thing to do.

Trained at Hunter College, Garland remembers singing for recruiting stations.

She ended up teaching at Hunter College during her service career.

'They said my best aptitude seemed to be teaching or doing housekeeping. I chose teaching.

'In 1945, the European war was winding down. I went to Quonset Point, R.I., for a crash course at the naval air station. I ended up working at the operations desk.

'There were a lot of German subs coming up around Nantucket to rec harge their batteries. Some of the American fishermen told about meeting them.

'It was a different venue then, operations. All we had was radar in those days. No satellites to help us out, everything was done with teletype. When the pilots had to file a flight plan, they had to come through us.'

Central Maine Morning Sentinel (Waterville, ME) June 29, 1997 Sunday

When she was discharged she was a specialist X first class. In those days, women weren't granted the same rank as men.

A charter member and past president of Unit 41 of WAVES National, Garland said she remembers her service with pride.

'The purpose of WAVES National is to keep alive the spirit of what we had, but also to welcome veterans from other services,' she said.

Greer said WAVES National welcomes any woman who is a veteran of any war. She also encourages all women veterans 'to send in their application to the WIMSA Memorial, so they can be recognized for all time.'

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June 7, 1995, Wednesday

SECTION: OPINION/ESSAYS; Column; Pg. 20

LENGTH: 620 words

HEADLINE: Maine Republican Made History

BYLINE: Ruth Walker; Ruth Walker is associate editor of the Monitor.

BODY:

'MAINE Republican Made History Twice," was part of one of the headlines noting the recent demise of former United States Sen. Margaret Chase Smith.

But that might have understated it. She was the first woman elected to both houses of Congress, and the first woman whose name was placed in nomination for president at the convention of a major political party (the Republicans in 1964).

There were other firsts, though: Although she entered the House of Representatives as successor to her husband, Clyde Smith, a generation older than she, she was the first woman to enter the Senate without first being appointed to the position.

During World War II she became the first civilian woman ever to go to sea in a Navy ship in wartime: This was on the occasion of her traveling to Boston in a destroyer built in Bath, Maine.

Toward the end of the Korean War, she became the first woman to head a major congressional investigation, when she chaired a Senate subcommittee looking into reports of ammunition shortages in war zones.

But she was better known for denouncing, in 1950, the anticommunist witch hunt led by her Republican colleague, Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, on the Senate floor.

In a 15-minute speech remembered as her "declaration of conscience," she charged the Democratic administration of the day (Harry Truman's) with having "pitifully failed to provide effective leadership," but went on, "I don't want to see the Republican Party ride to political victory on the four horsemen of calumny - fear, ignorance, bigotry, and smear."

She was pleased to note afterward that it had been said - by Bernard Baruch, as she recalled - that if a man had made the speech, he would have been elected president.

This early blast against McCarthy made Senator Smith the Republican that liberals loved to love. She supported Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

But she was no cream puff. She was a strong advocate of US military strength and served on defense-related committees; that's how she got onto that destroyer heading for Boston Harbor. She even criticized John Kennedy, a president not

MILITARY

The Christian Science Monitor, June 7, 1995

generally regarded as deficient in machismo, because she thought he lacked the will to use nuclear weapons against the Soviets.

She entered the Senate nearly half a century ago, and yet until the 1992 elections, there were never more than one or two women in that chamber at the same time.

Long before the Interstate Highway System smoothed the drive, she traveled regularly to Maine on weekends, to keep in touch. Although from modest means and without a college education, she never accepted a campaign contribution, on the grounds that this might leave contributors feeling they were owed something beyond a senator's faithful public service.

She clearly benefited from the New England tradition of face-to-face politics; one wonders how she could have maintained this policy if she had represented a large state like California or Texas. One also wonders what she would have thought of Bob Dole's condemning Hollywood sleaze, even as he says he will keep campaign contributions from media conglomerate Time Warner - just to show he can't be bought, presumably. Olympia Snowe is a Maine Republican in her first term in the Senate after a number of terms in the House; she has remarked that when she is introduced on the Senate floor as "the senator from Maine" she often thinks of Smith, of her courage and integrity.

Was Smith a feminist?

"Women are people, just like anyone else," was her answer to that one. "They should expect office only on the basis of personal qualifications. Of course, some would say that's what a feminist is: someone who thinks women are people, just like anyone else.

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Summary of MCS's career

September 3, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 7; Page 22; Column 3; Book Review Desk

LENGTH: 1110 words

HEADLINE: A Peace of Their Own

BYLINE: By Ellen Carol DuBois; Ellen Carol DuBois, who teaches history at the University of California, Los Angeles, writes extensively on the history of the woman suffrage movement in the United States.

BODY:

CHANGING DIFFERENCES

Women and the Shaping of
American Foreign Policy, 1917-1994.
By Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones.
Illustrated. 275 pp. New Brunswick, N.J.:
Rutgers University Press. \$24.95.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH is one of the major figures in "Changing Differences," Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones's history of women's involvement with American foreign policy. As Mr. Jeffreys-Jones demonstrates, Smith, who died earlier this year, deserves to be remembered for more than her brave criticism of Senator Joseph McCarthy in 1950. She was, he says, the consummate "breakthrough female politician." For most of the period between 1948 and 1972, she was the only woman in the United States Senate, "an island of female impeccability in a sea of males." Her serious run for the 1964 Republican Presidential nomination was also a first for her sex. And her membership on the House Armed Services Committee, before she moved into the Senate, established a precedent for the Colorado Democrat Patricia Schroeder.

Smith denied that she was a feminist, and on the surface seems to have had little in common with the pacifist tradition that Mr. Jeffreys-Jones argues is the foreign policy link among several generations of women. Yet precisely because she operated so totally within the constraints of cold war politics, her career helps to anchor his argument. The lessons of Richard Nixon's 1950 defeat of Helen Gahagan Douglas -- made up of equal parts sexual slur and redbaiting -- were not lost on Smith, who had barely won her own Senate seat two years before. Her Senate career represented a steady move rightward, away from mildly liberal beginnings to support for arms manufacturers and a vote against the 1963 nuclear test-ban treaty.

Puffit Wang

In 1972, Smith's support of the war in Vietnam insured her defeat. Ironically, she was also hurt by the rise of the women's movement. "It no longer seemed sacrilegious," Mr. Jeffreys-Jones writes, "for women to criticize Smith now that other women were running for Congress." The year she was defeated was the year Bella Abzug, who came to Congress directly from the women's peace movement, was elected to the House. Ms. Abzug, in her politics and her style, could not have been a more different kind of woman on Capitol Hill. She was, in Mr. Jeffreys-Jones's words, an "aggressive feminist peacemaker" who skillfully

The New York Times, September 3, 1995

publicized the divisions between men's and women's foreign policy opinions. She tried neither to underplay her sex nor to act the lady in politics. When the doorkeeper of the House told her to remove her famous hat upon entering, Ms. Abzug responded with an obscenity.

The strength of Mr. Jeffreys-Jones's provocative history is that it is sufficiently expansive to be able to include figures as diverse as Margaret Chase Smith and Bella Abzug. In making his claims the author, whose books include "The C.I.A. and American Democracy," walks a fine line. Women, he argues, "have always been especially inclined to support peace," but not uniformly, unchangingly or because of some timeless maternal essence. He never quite arrives at an alternative explanation, but there are hints that women's status as political outsiders, the waxing and waning of feminist politics and the impact of sexism have all contributed to women's distinctive foreign policy tendencies.

Rather than explaining the "why" of women's foreign policy tradition, "Changing Differences" explores the "what," and does so with considerable originality. The role played by women in the 1920's campaign against high tariffs is particularly interesting. Free trade, many women argued, discouraged war. By the late 30's, this "housewife's approach to trade" was giving way to a different women's foreign policy claim -- that the United States Government should not be underwriting the international traffic in arms. Out of this came the postwar campaign for nuclear disarmament. The one period for which "Changing Differences" cannot really account is World War II, an era of popular war making for both men and women. Claims for women's greater inclinations to peace seem decidedly farfetched for these years.

In presenting his case for the "changing differences" with which American women approach foreign policy, Mr. Jeffreys-Jones pays particular attention to what he calls the "iron lady thesis." This is the argument that when individual women make their way to the highest levels of power, they do so as "imitation men"; hence figures like Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi and Golda Meir are alleged to be "more man" than anyone else in their respective governments. "Changing Differences" explores this issue by means of a fine comparative overview of about two dozen female presidents and prime ministers (noting, by the way, that the United States is one of a dwindling number of nations never to have had a woman chief of state). Without equating Margaret Thatcher with Corazon Aquino, Mr. Jeffreys-Jones demonstrates that the iron lady thesis is the exact opposite of the myth that "women show a uniform disposition to be peaceful," and equally unsustainable.

One of the most questionable assertions of modern political history is that passage of the woman suffrage amendment in 1920 made no difference in women's political involvement, that until recently they have had little impact on governance. "Changing Differences" demonstrates how oversimplified this claim is. Because we expect women to care more than men about domestic matters (in both senses of the phrase), their interest in international relations actually highlights the depth of their participation in politics. Moreover, the political impact of women should not be reduced to the appearance of Margaret Chase Smith and other women politicians. Even before that, women sought to influence policy through the strength of public opinion.

Finally, Mr. Jeffreys-Jones points out that women, like men, can have a political impact by not voting for a candidate. He suggests, for instance,

The New York Times, September 3, 1995

that Jimmy Carter made a serious mistake when he withdrew his support for the SALT II strategic arms treaty and shifted Federal expenditures from social to military programs before the 1980 election. Mr. Carter calculated that these moves would not hurt him with women because he was a backer of the Equal Rights Amendment. But Mr. Jeffreys-Jones suggests that the "linkage of women's welfare and the arms race" spoke to many female citizens, and that because of his foreign policy decisions Mr. Carter lost the votes of many women -- and therefore perhaps the election as well. It's a provocative claim, and well worth entertaining. Presidential candidates, take heed!

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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