

WOMEN IN BOSNIA

- Women must be included in the process of reconstruction and reconciliation.
- They can help stabilize the region and provide leadership in their communities. They need to be included in the upcoming election process and they need access to humanitarian assistance.
- It would be helpful to highlight the need to ensure that women are an integral part of rebuilding efforts, and that they are seen as peace-makers, policy makers and business leaders.
- Throughout the war, women worked to maintain their households, communities and local hospitals, while men were sent to fight or organize what economic activity could be sustained. Women became increasingly isolated and invisible to the international community. Nonetheless, women and their families sustained more casualties than soldiers, as they remained vulnerable to shelling and snipers throughout the war.
- Many women, as a result of terrible loss, are now single heads of household and widows.
- Women, who were victims of some of the worst human rights abuses of the war, continue to suffer from the traumas of the conflict. As you know, many of these women were subjected to torture, including rape as a weapon of war. These women continue to be at risk from the after-effects of trauma and from the potential threats from civilian and military forces in the region that have merely traded military for police uniforms. As peace plans move forward, protection and rehabilitation resources need to be mobilized for women.

HALIDA BOJADZI (Bosniak) is a co-founder of the organization "Women Who Lost Children". Mrs. Bojadzi lost two sons in the war. 32 members of her extended family died during the war.

MARIJA MALESEVIC (Croat) is a co-founder of "Women Who Lost Children". She is the mother of nine children, one of whom (a 12-year old son) was killed in the siege of Sarajevo. She is a kindergarten teacher.

Dr. AMRA SARAC (Bosniak) worked throughout the war as the chief of Kosovo Hospital's Trauma Ward. Her work included counseling victims of ethnic cleansing from Eastern Bosnia, Srebrenica, and Zepa, and in particular, concentration camp detainees and victims of rape. She is a graduate of the University of Sarajevo Law School and is a licensed social worker.

"Zena 21" Interview:

NURDZIHANA DOZIC (Bosniak) is a journalist with degrees from Sarajevo and Belgrade. She worked for Oslobodjenje from 1981-1992 when the Oslobodjenje building was destroyed by shelling. She is a founder of the mental health magazine "Corridor". She is currently the Editor-in-Chief of "Zena 21", a women's monthly journal.

She will be accompanied by photographer Mr. Toso Mitasevski (Macedonian) who has lived and worked in Sarajevo since 1976.

NADA SALOM (Slovene) was a leading journalist in prewar Sarajevo. She earned her journalism degree from the University of Sarajevo. As a reporter with Sarajevo's main daily "Oslobodjenje", she focused on cultural affairs. At the beginning of the war she was the editor-in-chief of the cultural section of Oslobodjenje. She is also a well known short story writer.

SABIRA HADZOVIC (Bosniak) was elected Mayor of Sarajevo in March 1996. She serves also as the Dean of the Sarajevo School of Pharmacy. Ms. Hadzovic is the author of 40 scientific works on pharmaceuticals. She is the president of a large women's association "Mak Bosanka" which is comprised of professionals and academics.

JASNA MUFTIC (Bosniak) represented Bosnia at the 1995 Beijing Women's Conference. She is a professor of philosophy and sociology. In 1992 she was the President of the Commission for Human Rights -- a Bosnian human rights organization. In 1995 UNDP contracted her services for a project on women in Bosnia.

Dr. ESMA ZECEVIC (Bosniak) is a practicing pediatrician who specializes in infant diseases. She is a full professor at the University of Sarajevo's Medical School. Throughout the war she worked at Kosovo Hospital, itself a target of shelling.

Dr. NERMINA IBLIZIC (Serb) is the sole female neurosurgeon in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She remained in Sarajevo throughout the war, working at Kosovo Hospital.

JAKOB FINCI (Jewish) is the most prominent Jewish community leader in Sarajevo. He is an attorney by profession. He heads "La Benevolencia", a leading community service organization with links to NGOs around the world. It provides meals, shelter, and clothing to thousands of Sarajevans of all ethnic groups.

NOTABLES:

CARDINAL VINKO PULJIC (Croat) was named the first Bosnian Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church in 1995. He is a popular figure and deeply committed to a multi-ethnic future for Bosnia and Herzegovina. His midnight Christmas mass was televised worldwide.

METROPOLITAN NIKOLAJ (Serb) is the leader of the Orthodox Church in the Serb Republic. His territory also covers part of the Federation. He was the first Serb Republic Orthodox priest to conduct services in the Federation since the onset of the war.

BISHOP FRANJO KOMARICA (Croat) became the Roman Catholic Bishop of Banja Luka in 1986. Bishop Komarica spent nine months under house arrest before being released in December 1995. Prior to that, he was a professor of theology in Sarajevo. Highly regarded for his efforts to protect human rights and freedoms for all people, Komarica remained in Banja Luka throughout the war and was a prime point of contact for information on the expulsions of Croats and Muslims from the region.

VLADIMIR SREBROV (Serb) is a writer and was a member of the Bosnian Parliament before the war. He was beaten and imprisoned by Pale Serbs for 39 months after he appeared in Ilidza in an attempt to negotiate for free transit in and out of Sarajevo. He continues to promote a multi-ethnic Bosnia through the Serb Civic Council (an organization of Serbs who remained in Sarajevo throughout the war).

KATARINA MANDIC (Croat) was recently named to the nine-member Federation Constitutional Court. In 1972, she was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. During her career in the lower courts and on the Supreme Court, she worked on a wide range of civil matters. For a number of years, Ms. Mandic has served as a member of the Bar Examination Commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

BOSNIAN PARTICIPANTS IN THE
VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY TO TUZLA

- * Emina Bicakcic, eight-year old poet
 - * Nermana Bicakcic, Emina's mother
 - 1. Father Janjic Simo (in Tuzla)
 - 2. Bishop Franjo Komarica
 - 3. Metropolitan Krsta Vijeljac
 - 4. Mufti Husein ef. Kavazovic (in Tuzla)
 - 5. Sabira Hadzovic, Governor of the Sarajevo Canton
 - 6. Katarina Mandic, Federation Judge
 - 7. Dr. Esma Cemerlic Zecevic, pediatrician
 - 8. Dr. Nermina Iblizovic, neurosurgeon
 - 9. Nada Salom, writer
 - 10. Vladimir Srebrov, writer
 - 11. Jasna Muftic, Uniya Zar lawyer, women's rights
 - 12. Dr. Amra Sarac, rape trauma counselor
 - 13. Ms. Sabina Piric, Women's Association of Tuzla **
 - 14. Ms. Ljerka Knezicek, Women's Association of Tuzla **
 - 15. Ms. Mira Nastic, Women's Association of Tuzla **
 - 16. Ms. Fatima Ilusejnovic, Women of Srebrenica **
- ** this group (13 - 17) will reduce in number and combine to bring the number of participants to 15. Decision pending by White House Advance in Tuzla.

U.S. Embassy:
Karen Decker
Raz Bazala
Nick Giacobbe
Jasna
Sanja

WOMEN'S GROUPS:

"UNIJA ZAR" is the Organization of Women's Associations of Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the war, 54 women's groups sprang up throughout Bosnia. Ten are headquartered in Sarajevo. The Unija Zar is an umbrella organization encompassing the 54 organizations, all of which have in common a patriotism to Bosnia and the protection of women's rights.

"WOMEN WHO LOST CHILDREN" is a loose confederation of women dedicated to the protection of children's rights. The association formed during the war and was active in the movement of children, particularly orphans, out of Sarajevo to places of safety, despite criticism from the government.

"WOMEN OF SREBRENICA" is an organization, based in Tuzla, of women who have family members killed in or missing after the Serb assault on Srebrenica. The organization's members often protest against the government and international organizations for their failure to resolve quickly the issue of the missing from Srebrenica.

ATTACHMENT C

Interview with Zena 21 magazine

Ms. Nurdzihana Dozic is the Editor-in-Chief of "Zena 21" magazine, professional women's magazine which is partially funded with USG assistance. Ms. Dozic interviewed U.S. Ambassador to Austria Swanee Hunt when Ambassador Hunt visited Sarajevo. "Zena 21" was published throughout the war and is still being distributed free of charge. Its editors believe each copy is read by at least 10 Bosnians, and in isolated cities such as Gorazde, its readership soars to 50 readers per copy.

BIOGRAPHY

NAME: **FATIMA HUSEINOVIC**

ADDRESS: Rudarska 55, Tuzla

I was born in Srebrenica, and I lived there until its fall on July 11, 1995.

I worked as a seller for 28 years before the war. I am the mother of two grown children. In the Srebrenica tragedy I lost my husband and all related males.

I am President of Women's Association of Srebrenica since May 15, 1992, when it was formed. Presently, I work on tracing missing Srebrenica men.

BIOGRAPHY

NAME: ALMA HUSIC
address: ul. V. Nazora
phone: 237-136 / 33-282

I was born in Srebrenica, where I lived until 1988. I lived in Bratunac from 1988 until the beginning of the war in 1992. After the war started, I moved with my husband to Srebrenica. On July 10, 1995 I was wounded, and after six days spent in Bratunac. When Srebrenica fell on July 18, I was evacuated to Tuzla. My husband and my father are still missing.

I am employed with Security Service Center in Tuzla. I have been actively involved with the Women's Association of Srebrenica as a member of the Association Presidency. Tracing the true about missing people is our top priority and after that solving of social women and children problems.

BIOGRAPHY

NAME: LJERKA KNEZICEK

ADDRESS: G. Lazarevic 172, Tuzla

I was born in Tuzla. I am married and I have two children.

I work in the Tuzla bank in the Currency Department.

I have been a member of the Tuzla Women Association since 1994, and since 1995 I have been a member of the Association Presidency.

BIOGRAPHY

NAME: MIRA NASTIC

I work at the Tuzla Foundry as an officer in Automatic data processing department. I am member of Tuzla Women Association since 1993. I am a member of the Association's Presidency.

BIOGRAPHY

NAME: **SABINA PIRIC**

ADDRESS: Fride Laufer 12, Tuzla

I was born and live in Tuzla. Before the war, I was President of the Tuzla Women's Association, i.e., since its founding. After a two-year hiatus, I was re-elected president of the Association; I still hold this office. I am also President of the Group of Women pensioners of Tuzla, part of the Tuzla Women's Association.

I am retired. I worked for 30 years in the Ministry of the Interior.

October 19, 1996

LAUNCH OF HUMANITARIAN PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS FOR BOSNIA

DATE: Monday, October 21st
TIME: 9:30 - 11:00 am
LOCATION: State Floor
FROM: Nicole Rabner

I. PURPOSE

To launch two public-private partnerships designed to provide humanitarian support to the people of Bosnia & Herzogovena.

II. BACKGROUND

Today, you will formally launch two public-private humanitarian initiatives: a landmine awareness comic book and a hospital partnership.

Landmine Awareness Comic Book

The comic book, named *Deadly Legacy*, features Superman teaching Bosnian children how to avoid the dangers of landmines and stay safe. It targets children 8-12 years old, who are often in greatest danger of landmines, and is intended for massive distribution in Bosnia & Herzogovena.

There have been many partners in the production of this project: Ambassador Albright provided leadership and counsel; DC Comics, a unit of Warner Brothers, donated the Superman copyright; the U.S. Department of Defense provided technical assistance and funding; and UNICEF and the Mine Action Center provided counsel and will be responsible for distribution.

An oversized poster of the cover of the comic book will be formally unveiled during the ceremony. In addition to Carol Bellamy, Ambassador Albright, and Sandy Reisenbach, the V.P. of DC Comics, six Bosnian refugee children will join in the unveiling. The refugee children have promised to send the comic book to their friends back home.

Landmines in Bosnia & Herzogovena

As you know, landmines and unexploded ordinance present a great threat to the children of the Balkans. Mines have been used by all sides of the conflict, often without accurate maps and records. While mine laying has been concentrated on confrontation lines, mines have also been found in religious buildings and schools, which put civilians at risk during normal activities such as working in fields, gathering firewood, travelling by car, working around the house, and children playing.

The single most important lesson in mine awareness is teaching people how NOT to become landmine victims. The primary lesson is

"do not touch landmines." Mine awareness focuses on teaching people to identify mines and, since accidents often occur beyond the range of immediate medical care, to learn basic first aid, which can significantly reduce permanent injury or death.

U.S. Landmine Policy

As you know, in May, 1996, the President announced the new U.S. landmine policy, and it is controversial in some quarters by those who do not think it went far enough, including Senator Leahy, who will attend the event.

See attached document on U.S. landmine policy.

Buffalo-Tuzla Hospital Partnership

As you know, the Buffalo-Tuzla partnership is a new health care linkage supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and managed by the American International Health Alliance (AIHA). On January 23, 1996, you wrote to Brian Atwood, Administrator of USAID, to encourage USAID to explore the feasibility of establishing a hospital partnership to help the people of Bosnia.

This partnership will join Buffalo General Hospital (BGH) with the Tuzla Medical Center (TMC). BGH is the largest hospital in upstate New York; the TMC is a 1,850 bed multi-building medical center, which serves a multi-ethnic population and is a major referral center for many parts of Bosnia and Herzogovena. The hospital partnership builds on an existing relationship between the two institutions that has existed informally since 1994 with a medical personnel exchange program.

The Buffalo and Tuzla partners have identified preliminary priorities for the partnership; they are: health services management and administration, nursing, pediatrics, and obstetrics/gynecology.

American International Health Alliance

The American International Health Alliance (AIHA) was established in 1992 by leading U.S. health care organizations and associations to be the primary vehicle through which America's health care organizations could respond to requests for international technical assistance. Adapting the hospital "twinning" concept, AIHA provides technical assistance to key health care institutions in Central and Eastern Europe and the New Independent States through a largely voluntary, "partnership" model.

Under cooperative agreements with USAID, AIHA is supporting 41 health care partnerships world-wide: 16 in nine countries of CEE and 25 in eleven countries of the NIS. The AIHA partnerships are unique because they rely heavily on the voluntary efforts of many individuals and from many institutions in the United States.

As you know, you have visited four partnerships around the world:

in Russia, Estonia, Ukraine and Belarus. In June of 1995, you were joined at the White House by the First Lady of Latvia, Mrs. Ulmane, to launch a hospital partnership between hospitals in Riga, Latvia and St. Louis, MO.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Speaking program participants

- HRC
- Ambassador Albright
- Jill Buckley, Assistant Administrator, USAID
- H.E. Sven Alkalaj, Ambassador of Bosnia & Herzogovena to the United States

Comic Book Unveiling

- HRC
- Amb. Albright
- Carol Bellamy, Exec. Director, UNICEF
- Sandy Reisenbach, V.P., Warner Brothers
- 6 Bosnian Refugee children

Hospital Partnership Signing

- Tenfik Tulomovic, Director, Tuzla Clinical Center
- Boris Hrabac, Advisor to the Minister of Health, Bosnia and Herzogovena
- Selim Beslagic, Mayor of Tuzla
- John Friedlander, President/CEO, Buffalo General Health System
- James Smith, Executive Director, AIHA
- Anthony Masiello, Mayor of Buffalo

Audience

- Approx. 180 people, including the leaders of each of the initiatives being announced, Buffalo community leaders, and leaders in the humanitarian relief community.

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

See attached scenario.

V. PRESS PLAN

Open Press.

VI. REMARKS

Provided by Lissa Muscatine.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: THE FIRST LADY

WHAT: BOSNIA HUMANITARIAN EVENT

WHEN: Monday, October 21, 1996

WHERE: Greet Program Participants: Blue Room
Remarks: East Room
Receiving Line: Blue Room
Guest Reception: State Dining Room

NOTE: Approx. 180 guests/Open Press for remarks

FROM: Ann Stock, Sarah Farnsworth

(Guest invitation time is 9:00 a.m.)

8:50 a.m. THE FIRST LADY arrives in the Map Room for event briefing.

9:00 a.m. THE FIRST LADY proceeds to Diplomatic Reception Room to greet the SABRE FOUNDATION (Approx. 25 participants).

THE FIRST LADY makes brief informal remarks, takes individual photos and two group photos.

9:15 a.m. THE FIRST LADY proceeds to the Blue Room for meet and greet.
Note: Refer to separate list.

9:30 a.m. THE FIRST LADY, accompanied by Ambassador Albright, Ambassador Sven Alkalaj of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the US, and Jill Buckley, is announced into the East Room and proceeds to stage.

Seated on stage:

- The First Lady
- Ambassador Albright
- Jill Buckley, Acting Administrator, USAID
- Ambassador Sven Alkalaj

SPEAKING PROGRAM:

- **The First Lady** makes remarks and introduces Ambassador Albright.
- **Ambassador Albright** delivers remarks and invites refugee children, Sandy Reisenbach, VP of Marketing at Warner Brothers, and Carol Bellamy, Executive Director of UNICEF, to come on stage and "unveil" the **Mine Awareness Comic Book**.

Unveiling of the Mine Awareness Comic Book:

- **The First Lady**, Ambassador Albright and Jill Buckley proceed to the easel where they are joined by the children, Carol Bellamy and Sandy Reisenbach.
- Ambassador Albright or one of the children will unveil the comic.
- Ms. Bellamy, the children and Ms. Reisenbach return to seats.
- **Jill Buckley** proceeds to the podium, delivers remarks and introduces Ambassador Sven Alkalaj.
- **Ambassador Sven Alkalaj** makes brief remarks.
- **Jill Buckley** returns to the podium and asks the signing participants to proceed on stage to the signing table.

Signing of the Buffulo/Tuzla Hospital Partnership

- Mayor Selim Breslagic, Tenfik Tulomovic, Boris Hrabac, Selim Breslagic, Mayor Masiello, John Friedlander and James Smith proceed on stage.
- Tenfik Tulomovic and John Friedlander are seated first and sign two documents each.
- Boris Hrabac and James Smith are seated next and sign two documents each.
- Mayor Selim Beslagic of Tuzla and Mayor Anthony Masiello of Buffulo witness (sign) two documents each.

***Note:** The First Lady, Ambassador Albright, Ambassador Sven Alkalaj and Jill Buckley stand to the side to watch the signing.*

10:30 a.m.

Upon conclusion of the program, **THE FIRST LADY** returns to the lectern to invite guests to State Dining Room for a reception.

THE FIRST LADY proceeds to the Blue Room for receiving line.

NOTE: The receiving line will flow from the State Dining Room through Red Room into Blue Room and out Green Room.

11:00 a.m. Following receiving line, **THE FIRST LADY** departs.

11:30 a.m. Guests exit East Gate.



Jill Buckley

Assistant Administrator for Legislative and Public Affairs
U.S. Agency for International Development

Jill Buckley was sworn in Feb. 11, 1994, as assistant administrator for legislative and public affairs of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). USAID is the government agency that administers economic and humanitarian assistance worldwide.

Buckley had previously served as director of external affairs at USAID since May 1993.

Before joining USAID, Buckley headed her own public affairs/communications consulting firm, Jill Buckley & Associates, which she had re-established in January 1993. Among her clients were The American Association of Retired Persons, National Legal Aid and Defenders Association, and The Jefferson Center.

From 1988 to 1992, Buckley was a partner in the FMR Group, a full-service public affairs firm whose clients included The Sierra Club, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, American Israel Public Affairs Committee, American Nurses Association, National Association of Social Workers and Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

Before joining the FMR Group, she headed her own organization, J. Buckley & Associates Inc., from January 1983 to November 1988 where she advised over 100 candidates for federal and statewide offices on campaign strategy and message and

produced and placed campaign advertising. Other clients included the National Education Association, the American Trial Lawyers Association and the National Clean Air Coalition.

From 1973 to 1982, she was a founding partner in Rothstein/Buckley Inc., one of the nation's first Democratic political consulting firms specializing in media. Rothstein/Buckley served political candidates in 40 states, including Sens. Don Reigle (D-Minn.), Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.), Tom Daschle (D-S.D.) and many members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Buckley has frequently conducted training sessions for the Democratic party, as well as environmental, international and women's groups. In addition, she led sessions in the Czech and Slovak republics, Romania, South Africa and Northern Ireland for the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

She also has lectured at the University of Chicago, Yale, Harvard, George Washington University and The American University.

Buckley has a bachelor's degree in English from the University of Oregon and has done graduate work at the University of Denver and Georgetown University. She resides in Washington, D.C., and has one daughter, Melissa, a graduate of Stanford University.



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To	NICOLE RABNER		From	ESMIR	
Co./Dept.			Co.	EMBASSY OF	
Phone #			Phone #	BOSNIA	
Fax #			Fax #		

Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
(Washington, D.C.)

Biographical Information

**The Ambassador of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
to the United States of America,
Washington, D.C.**

H.E. Sven Alkalaj

H.E. Sven Alkalaj is the first Ambassador to the United States of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ambassador Alkalaj was born on November 11, 1948 in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ambassador Alkalaj earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Mechanical Engineering, specializing in Energy, Power and Engineering from the University of Sarajevo in 1974. In 1987, he earned his Master's Degree from the University of Sarajevo in International Economics.

Ambassador Alkalaj's professional business career has taken him from Europe to the Far East. He began his career with Petrolinvest, a Bosnian engineering company for the design and construction of refineries, petrochemical and chemical plants where he was a project engineer, start up engineer and process design manager.

After earning his Master's Degree, the Ambassador's next step took him to the head office of Energoinvest in Sarajevo, the largest engineering and exporting company in the former Yugoslavia which had a turnover exceeding \$2 billion (USD) in 1990 and which operated 20 offices world-wide. He held the position of Regional Manager for the Middle East and Far East regions.

Ambassador Alkalaj became the Managing Director of Energoinvest in its Bangkok, Thailand branch office in 1988. His responsibilities included the newly emerging economic powers of the Far East: Laos, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Korea and Thailand. For his work, Ambassador Alkalaj was awarded a medal in 1990.

In November 1993, Ambassador Alkalaj was appointed Charge d'Affaires, a.i. of the newly opened Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Washington, D.C. In June of 1994, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Ambassador Alkalaj presented his credentials to President Clinton on June 23, 1994.

Ambassador Alkalaj is fluent in French and English and enjoys tennis and basketball. He is married and has one child.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 16, 1996

FACT SHEET

U.S. Announces Anti-Personnel Landmine Policy

People in 64 countries, mostly in the developing world, face a daily threat of being killed or maimed by the estimated 100 million landmines in place today. Anti-Personnel Landmines (APL) claim more than 25,000 casualties each year, obstruct economic development and keep refugees from returning to their homeland. As more than a million mines are still being laid each year, they will remain a growing threat to civilian populations for decades unless action is taken now.

The U.S. initiative sets out a concrete path to a global ban on APL but ensures that as the United States pursues this ban, essential U.S. military requirements and commitments to our allies will be protected.

International Ban - The United States will aggressively pursue an international agreement to ban use, stockpiling, production, and transfer of anti-personnel landmines with a view to completing the negotiation as soon as possible.

Korea Exception - The United States views the security situation on the Korean Peninsula as a unique case and in the negotiation of this agreement will protect our right to use APL there until alternatives become available or the risk of aggression has been removed.

Ban on Non-Self-Destructing APL - Effective immediately, the United States will unilaterally undertake not to use, and to place in inactive stockpile status with intent to demilitarize by the end of 1999, all non-self-destructing APL not needed to (a) train personnel engaged in demining and countermining operations, or (b) defend the United States and its allies from armed aggression across the Korean Demilitarized Zone.

Self-Destructing APL - Between now and the time an international agreement takes effect, the United States will reserve the option to use self-destructing/self-deactivating APL, subject to the restrictions the United States has accepted in the Convention on Conventional Weapons, in military hostilities to safeguard American lives and hasten the end of fighting.

Annual Report - Beginning in 1999, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff will submit an annual report to the President and the Secretary of Defense outlining his assessment of whether there remains a military requirement for the exceptions noted above.

Program to Eliminate - The President has directed the Secretary of Defense to undertake a program of research, procurement, and other measures needed to eliminate the requirement for these exceptions and to permit both the United States and our allies to end reliance on APL as soon as possible.

Expanding Demining Efforts - The Department of Defense will undertake a substantial program to develop improved mine detection and clearing technology and to share this improved technology with the broader international community. The Department of Defense will also significantly expand its humanitarian demining program to train and assist other countries in developing effective demining programs.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 16, 1996

FACT SHEET

U.S. Efforts to Address the Problem of
Anti-Personnel Landmines

The Administration is committed to addressing the humanitarian crisis caused by the indiscriminate use of anti-personnel landmines (APL). It is estimated that every year more than 25,000 people are maimed or killed by these weapons. To this end, the Administration has pursued a broad range of efforts to control the transfer and use of APL, as well as to protect civilians from those APL that have already been laid in the ground through mine awareness and mine clearance programs.

- Since 1992, the United States has observed an export moratorium on APL. The United States has urged other countries to adopt export moratoria as well. To date, more than 30 nations have joined us.
- In 1994, in his UN General Assembly address, President Clinton initiated the call for the eventual elimination of APL. Since then, the UN General Assembly has adopted annually by consensus a resolution supporting this goal.
- Also at the UN General Assembly, in 1994, the President proposed an international agreement to reduce the number and availability of APL. A first meeting on the program to restrict the production, stockpile and transfer of APL was held in June, 1995. Consultations on it continue.
- The United States pressed for tighter restrictions on APL use in the Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW). At the conclusion of the CCW Review Conference on May 3, 1996, a number of important improvements to the CCW were adopted, including provisions that: all APL must be detectable, all non-self-destructing APL can only be used in marked and monitored areas, and self-destructing/self-deactivating APL must have a lifespan of no more than 120 days with a combined self-destruct/self-deactivate reliability rate of 99.9%. CCW parties also agreed that the new rules should be extended to internal armed conflicts.

- The United States contributes to demining programs around the world. In fiscal year 1996, the United States government will spend about \$32 million in cash and in-kind contributions to demining programs in fourteen countries: Afghanistan, Angola, Bosnia, Cambodia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Jordan, Laos, Mozambique, Namibia, OAS/IADB regional program in Central America (Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua) and Rwanda.
 - In Bosnia, the United States has led the effort to establish a Mine Action Center in Sarajevo, which coordinates mine information, education, and demining activities there. The United States provided the initial \$8.5 million for the Center.
- The Department of Defense is pursuing research and development of technology specifically designed for the needs of humanitarian demining operations. The FY97 request for this program is about \$7 million.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 23, 1996

The Hon. Brian Atwood
Administrator
United States Agency
for International Development
Washington, D.C.

Dear Brian,

By all accounts, the USAID-supported hospital partnerships between medical institutions in the Newly Independent States and hospitals in the United States have proven to be highly effective. I was impressed by my visits to projects in Ukraine, Russia and Belarus, and I am grateful to USAID for the initiation of a recent project in Latvia. These partnerships are making critical and invaluable contributions to improving the delivery of health care by leveraging relatively small public contributions from USAID with significant voluntary support from American medical institutions.

I am interested in the potential of similar partnerships to help meet the critical health needs of the war-torn Bosnian people. Establishing hospital partnerships during this period of hoped for reconciliation, especially while our soldiers are deployed on the peacekeeping mission, could be an important way to provide critical humanitarian assistance and to safeguard the peace. I understand that one such collaboration is already underway, as New York's Buffalo General Hospital and SUNY have an existing relationship with medical institutions in Tuzla that they have maintained during the war. It might prove both invaluable and cost-effective to build on this relationship and explore other possible partnerships.

Thank you also for your leadership of the United States delegation to the Madrid Humanitarian Summit. I look forward to hearing your report on the meeting. Best wishes for a happy and healthy New Year.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Hillary Rodham Clinton

PATRICK LEAHY
VERMONT

cc: Melanne

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND
FORESTRY
APPROPRIATIONS
JUDICIARY

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4502

October 12, 1996

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Hillary,

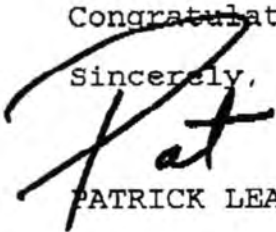
You have always opposed the use of anti-personnel landmines and you deserve great praise for that.

I was particularly pleased to hear of your support for the efforts of Madeleine Albright and Jenette Kahn, working with DC Comics to produce the Superman Comic designed to teach children about the dangers of landmines. I have appreciated working with them on some of the technical aspects, but they, and you, deserve all the credit for moving this forward.

I have watched the development of the book, and I think that it will serve a real need in educating children in places like Bosnia.

Congratulations to all of you.

Sincerely,


PATRICK LEAHY

October 16, 1996

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20050

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

I am honored to be able to join you at the White House on Monday,
October 21, 1996.

It was on my visit to Bosnia in 1994, as special representative for UNICEF, that I first became aware of the devastating number of landmines in the world today and the vulnerability of children to their random violence. As you may recall, the drawings I brought back from Bosnia were presented to you and the President, a cry from these children to all of us.

I was also witness in Dubrovnik to classes of seven and eight years old children being taught how to protect themselves from landmines. Therefore, when I was asked by Ambassador Albright and Ambassador Inderfurth if I could help them make contact with Warner Animation to start the development of a Superman outreach video, comic book and poster to help educate children about landmines, it was with a sense of great gratitude that I was able to put the Ambassadors together with my friend, Jenette Kahn, president of DC Comics.

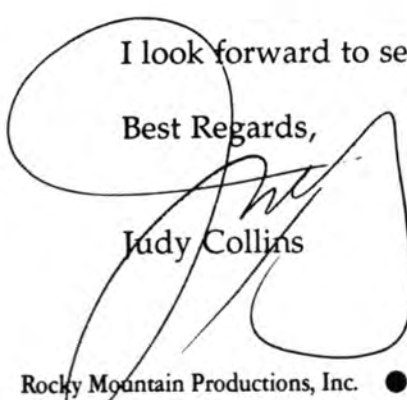
Jenette is a close friend of Patrick Leahy, who has been speaking out about landmines for many years and was instrumental in bringing about a ban on exports. It was UNICEF's marvelous Landmine Awareness Program Kit for children that gave the model for the talented DC Comic animators. Jenette Kahn and her group at DC comics have done a brilliant job! It is our hope that this Superman story will be translated into many languages and be used in all of the sixty-four countries around the world where landmines are spreading their destruction.

As a spokesperson for human rights and particularly, children's rights, I am deeply moved that you will bring this matter to the world on Monday.

I look forward to seeing you.

Best Regards,

Judy Collins



File
Bosnia

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E

28-Jan-1996 12:42pm

TO: Brenda B. Costello
TO: Nicole R. Rabner

FROM: Sarah Farnsworth
Scheduling and Advance

SUBJECT: SEQUENCE WHICH WENT TO HRC

TO: THE FIRST LADY

WHAT: BOSNIA HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EVENT

WHEN: Monday, January 29, 1996
9:45 a.m.- 11:20 a.m.

WHERE: Remarks: East Room
Rec. Line: Blue Room

of GUESTS: Approx. 180/Open Press/Business Attire

FROM: Ann Stock, Sarah Farnsworth
=====

8:45 a.m. East Visitor Gate opens for guest arrival. Guests proceed to the Grand Foyer for coffee and pastries.

9:45 a.m. THE FIRST LADY arrives in the Red Room for event briefing.

Following briefing, THE FIRST LADY proceeds to the Blue Room to greet the following:

BLUE ROOM PARTICIPANTS: (** On stage)
** - Brian Atwood, Admin, Agency for International Development
** - Arch Bishop Ricard (To confirm), representing the Catholic Relief Services
** - Very Reverend Nicholas Triantafilou (TREE - AN - TA - FEE- LOW), Chancellor of the Orthodox Arch-Diocese,

representing the International Orthodox Christian
Charities (IOCC)

- ** - Julia Taft, President of InterAction
- ** - Tony Lake, National Security Advisor to the President
- Phyllis Oakley, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of
Population, Refugee and Migration
- Members of Congress:
 - Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-RI)
 - Sen. Carl Levin (D-MI)
 - Rep. Frank Wolf (R-VA)
 - Rep. Tony Hall (D-OH)
- Mayor of Tuzla (to confirm/include name)
- Ambassador Schifter

10:00 a.m.

PROGRAM BEGINS:

- Blue Room guests except stage participants are escorted by Social Aides to their reserved seats in the East Room.
- Brian Atwood and Tony Lake are announced and proceed to seats on stage.
- Father Ricard (T), Father Triantafilou and Julia Taft are announced and proceed to seats on stage.
- THE FIRST LADY is announced and proceeds to lectern on stage in the East Room. (Enters via Cross Hall.)

SPEAKING PROGRAM:

- THE FIRST LADY makes remarks and introduces the three speakers who will speak in the following order:
- Father Ricard, (NEED TITLE), speaks on behalf of the Catholic Relief Services (CRS). (3 min.)
- The Very Reverend Nicholas Triantafilou (TREE - AN - TA - FEE- LOW), Chancellor of the Orthodox Arch-Diocese, speaks on behalf of the International Orthodox Christian Charities (IOCC). (3 min.)
- Julia Taft, President of InterAction, speaks on behalf of the humanitarian aid organizations working in the region. (3 min.)
- THE FIRST LADY returns to the lectern to make closing remarks and invite guests to a receiving line in the Blue Room.

10:40 a.m.

THE FIRST LADY proceeds to the Blue Room for a receiving line with the guests. (Approx. 180)

NOTE: Guests attended a coffee in the Grand Foyer prior to the event. The receiving line will flow from the Green Room/Cross Hall door through the Blue Room and out the Red Room into the Grand Foyer. Guests will begin to exit at this time. The State Dining Room will

be closed in preparation for another event.

11:15 a.m.

(Approx. time) THE FIRST LADY departs.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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Rebuilding Bosnia Cannot Wait

Three and a half years of merciless war have left Bosnia's economy and society shattered. Two-thirds of the country's housing lies damaged or destroyed. Half the prewar hospital beds are gone, along with half the doctors and nurses. Roads and bridges are impassable and some four million hidden mines await potential victims. Gas, electricity and telephone lines are ruptured and three out of four adults have lost their livelihoods.

So far too little has been done to address these crushing problems. The large reconstruction effort promised as part of the Dayton peace agreement has fallen badly behind schedule.

The delay has potentially severe consequences for sustaining peace in Bosnia. Improvements in the lives of ordinary Bosnians are the most effective way to reinforce the Dayton settlement. If the rebuilding of Bosnia's civil society does not begin in earnest immediately, the peace could start to crumble by the time NATO forces are to depart at the end of this year, creating pressure for the troops to extend their stay. The nearly \$2 billion so far pledged in aid must be put to quick and effective use.

To that end, President Clinton and European leaders should shift their focus from military to civilian aspects of the peace settlement and bring a new sense of urgency to bear on such needs as putting people back to work, assuring free and fair conditions for this summer's elections and making it possible for people to cross ethnic boundaries without fear. They must see to it that the international coordinators of civil reconstruction, chiefly Carl Bildt of Sweden and Robert Frowick of the United States, have the determination and resources they need to get the job done.

The best insurance against renewed warfare in Bosnia would be finding jobs for some 300,000

former soldiers now demobilized. Tens of thousands of women who lost husbands in the war also must find ways to provide for their families. International reconstruction aid should be channeled as quickly as possible into job-creating projects rebuilding housing, roads and bridges.

Meanwhile, Bosnia is preparing for elections. For these to be conducted fairly, giving moderates a chance to displace the extremists responsible for the war, independent candidates will need access to print and broadcast media now dominated by ethnic parties and governments. Mr. Frowick, who has chief responsibility for supervising the elections, has been trying to expand election coverage and set up new broadcast outlets, but his efforts have not yet produced acceptable results.

The Dayton agreement also assures refugees, a large proportion of Bosnia's population, the right to vote. But some European countries warn that those who exercise this right could forfeit their refugee status. Mr. Frowick and Mr. Bildt must make sure this threat is withdrawn.

For civilians to move freely throughout the country, they must get past roadblocks manned by armed ethnic militias and survive attack from hostile mobs uncontrolled by local police. Mr. Bildt's civilian monitors should insist that local police secure safe passage for civilians. NATO forces, which have begun accompanying refugee convoys, should prod local military units to respect Dayton's guarantees of free movement.

There is still time to save the civil side of the peace effort if Mr. Bildt and his team move more swiftly in the next eight months than they have in the last four. The unacceptable price of further delay is likely to be new warfare or the long-term commitment of American and European forces

file Bosnia

August 3, 1998

To the Women of Bosnia-Herzegovina:

I want to add my support to those who stand together on "Suada's Bridge" to affirm the essential role of women in shaping your country's future.

This project, and the special presentation of "Necessary Targets," are so important to raising awareness about women's rights. I have faith that you will draw strength in remembering how so many women across Bosnia-Herzegovina persevered in the worst of circumstances. I hope it will inspire you to make a difference for the future.

You, the women of Bosnia-Herzegovina, are a powerful force for change. Among your families and neighbors, you can be a voice for reconciliation and cooperation in building a better life together. In the elections this September, you can cast enough votes to reject the ethnic tensions of the past in favor of a united, multi-ethnic Bosnia where your families can prosper.

The Dayton Agreement helped end the death and despair in Bosnia-Herzegovina. You can help lead to a future of peace and promise.

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Door

Chair of Chair to Parliament
domestic violence
education + post-partum of

YAZ-minka ZHUM-her
problem of NGO registration; taxation
Center for Legal Assistance
for Women LEA project - draft law re NGO
returning refugees + reconstruction

Cressida Slote
Delphi International

Mem-nuna ZIV-dich
Jenna: not her name of brother - part of
Zene Zenama motion
vienna speech

Zubay-da KAH-dich
(translator)

Nur-zhi-hana Dozich
Zena 21 LOW/req. Hume

progress
NGOs only since 4 yrs ago
gone 96 for 1/2's long.
Medicare needs 1/2; on our own -> civil society

draft law re NGO

coffee tables

HRC

Windows

Mrs. Ann KOZ-la-rich

Nayra NAH-lich
BOSPO

microcredit in solidarity group/working

Kevin Carew
vulnerable P. Ch. & elderly
American Refugee Committee

VEH-lida ZHI-no
micro-lending 50% P. returning
Catholic Relief Services

Sue Dwyer
personal story for media sector was war
International Rescue Committee

Dr. AHMra SER-ach
Koseva Hospital

after Dayton world much easier

→ find, Rediff, Levi & traditional donors ^{not} moving funds but further east
humanitarian donors scaling down but not being replaced
USAID

↳ focus of private foundations / sympathetic journalists

Problems: funds stay in "umbrella" organizations
local NGOs need equipment
returning refugees will cause new problems yet lacking
psych/social aid

URGENT
FAX

RUSH TO: Nancy Hernreich, The White House

FAX: 1 (202) 456-6703

FROM: Renaissance Weekend Media Desk

PAGES (INCLUDING THIS COVER): 3

NANCY: I would be most appreciative if you would give the attached to the First Lady before she departs for Hilton Head. Many thanks. Happy New Year! Guy Smith (Tel: Hilton Head Hyatt-Tel: 803-785-1234, Rm 471).

Monday, December 29, 1997

29DEC97

MEMORANDUM

TO: The First Lady

FROM: Guy L. Smith

SUBJ: Local Bosnia NGOs Funding

Dear Hillary:

Again, let me say a sincere thank you for including me in the delegation on the Bosnia trip. It was an incredible experience.

Further to our conversation during the trip **regarding how to help the local Sarajevo-based NGOs to get funding for their efforts**, here are a few thoughts that are likely to produce some funding.

Identify about 20 major foundations (e.g. Pew, Rockefeller, Ford, Robert Wood Johnson) and invite them to a meeting at the White House. Also invite two or three reps of the local NGOs who attended your meeting in Sarajevo.

Hold the meeting in the Map Room, in the evening.

At the meeting you say a few words about what is going on in Bosnia, how local NGOs, such as those represented there that evening, are making a vital contribution to nation-building, freedom-building, and economy-building in Bosnia.

Have the Bosnia NGOs speak about what they are trying to do, what they have accomplished so far, and what challenges they face (including funding).

Then ask the representatives of the foundations to send someone to Bosnia to "assess" the work of the local NGOs and how they might support such efforts. By asking the foundations to merely send a representative to assess, rather than asking them to support and fund, they will have a much harder time saying no.

Probably half of the foundations present at the Map Room meeting will actually send a representative to Bosnia and about half of those who send someone will actually fund something--but that will be five or 10 projects that will very likely make a big difference.

Followup the White House meeting hosted by you a month or so later with a "briefing" for the same foundation representatives. Have people from the NSC, State, and Commerce, as well as your staff, make presentations on how things are going in Bosnia. Your attendance wouldn't even be necessary, other than maybe a drop-by. Such a followup meeting will keep a subtle pressure on them to fund something.

Anyway, this is just a basic outline of a plan that will bring action--and funding from non-government sources--to the discussion you had in Sarajevo with the local NGOs on helping them find funding.

If you think it's appropriate, I'd be happy to further discuss the fine points of these thoughts with your staff.

See you at Renaissance. Maybe we can discuss it further there.

Sincerely,

Guy

Bosnia

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 23, 1996

The United States continues to work for peace in Bosnia -- to bring an end to all hostilities and to promote reconciliation and reconstruction. In addition to the government's efforts to bring about the peace agreement and deploy peacekeeping troops, thousands of our nation's citizens through non-governmental organizations have been engaged in humanitarian efforts to help the people of Bosnia.

I would like to invite you to join me at the White House on January 29, 1996 for a coffee reception and program. The event will recognize ongoing humanitarian assistance to the people of Bosnia and will include the announcement of a new mental health care initiative. The new project is a joint effort by religious institutions and is targeted to assist Bosnian women and children. This and related initiatives will be the subjects of our program on the 29th.

Please respond to the Office of the Social Secretary at your earliest convenience by calling 202/456-7787 with your date of birth and social security number. Plan to arrive between 9:00 and 9:15 am at the East Visitors Gate of the White House, located on East Executive Drive, between the East Wing of the White House and the Department of the Treasury. Photo identification will be required at the gate.

I look forward to seeing you on the 29th.

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

file
Bosnia

**THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND RECOVERY
IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA:
Move Women From Background to Foreground!**



© UNHCR/A. Hollmann

**Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children
Delegation Visit to Bosnia and Croatia**

April 9 - 16, 1996

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The Struggle for Peace and Recovery in Former Yugoslavia: Move Women from Background to Foreground!

I. Introduction

The Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children made its first post-Dayton Peace Accords visit to Bosnia and Croatia in April 1996. This was the sixth visit of a Women's Commission delegation to the region since the outbreak of war in Bosnia in 1992. The purpose of the delegation was to assess the progress of the humanitarian situation since the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords five months ago.

The delegation focused on refugee repatriation and the return of the internally displaced, with emphasis on refugee women and children, especially the many widows who will now be responsible for their families after a war which killed 250,000 people, most of them men.

The Women's Commission visited Sarajevo, Tuzla, Banja Luka and Zagreb. We drove across much of Bosnia-Herzegovina and spoke to people involved in all aspects of the situation -- US officials, UN officials, government officials, NGO international staff and local staff. Most especially we talked to the women: lawyers, doctors, judges, executives, journalists, writers, teachers, therapists and staff of local organizations which had emerged during the war. We met with women who are leaders of refugee and displaced groups and we met with refugees still huddled together in collective centers -- the elderly, widows, young and old.

We also spoke with former soldiers, and we spent time with the people who had suffered through one of the greatest international tragedies of this war -- the people from Srebrenica who, under the watchful eyes of the UN and the international community, were forced from their UN Security Council guaranteed "safe haven." The women and children of Srebrenica were put on buses and sent to Tuzla, while the men, young and old, were executed. Eight thousand men remain unaccounted for ... and many women live in hope that somehow they will be found.

This four year war has resulted in more than a

UNHCR Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women: In A Repatriation Situation

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women include ways to protect returning refugees by including them in program planning.

* Institute programs to ensure that women have equal access to the procedures for voluntary repatriation so that those who want to return are able to do so, and that those fearing return are provided protection against refoulement.

* Provide information to refugee women as well as men to help them make informed choice about repatriation options.

* Assess the legal standing of refugee women who have been integrated into local communities, with particular attention to legal provisions that limit the rights of women, e.g., property rights.

quarter of a million deaths. Families have been devastated and those who are suffering most are the widows and children. Some women who have not seen their husbands for years are still clinging to the desperate hope that their husbands will come back. The widows are among the most tragic of all the people we met in former Yugoslavia.

Crammed into collective centers, many women are still in shock, unable to do anything except grieve for all they have lost. They want to return home but don't know when and how and live one day to the next with little hope and much sadness.

No one throughout the region - local or international aid officials - had any available statistics on the numbers of women who were now single heads of households. But we know the numbers must be staggering. Many of the women left without husbands have few skills with which to support themselves and their children. They came from small villages where they worked in their gardens and did traditional women's work --cooking, sewing, and caring for the children.

So far, the talk of reconstruction has focused on physical rebuilding. However, reconstruction and humanitarian aid and social support must go hand in hand. Social reconstruction must also be a priority and women from all sides of the conflict in former Yugoslavia are ready, willing and more than able to participate in this process.

II. Areas of Concern

1. Widows -- The Ignored Victims

We did not find programming that was taking into account the specific needs of widows -- those women both in and out of their homes who will need to reintegrate into the economy to support their families. Most surprising was that we did not meet any UN or international aid official or local official who had identified the number of widows in the population with which they were dealing; this after a war which killed 250,000, the vast majority of them male.

Local governments and international aid agencies are not adequately addressing the needs of the women who will now be the family's sole bread winner. They are not being integrated into the new economy. While many women are overburdened by their loss, e.g., the widows of Srebrenica, others are desperate to move on with their lives.

In the collective centers that we visited, in Tuzla and Banja Luka, we saw displaced women coming together to share their woeful stories which offered some support at a difficult time. But there were no mental health facilities or professional counselors to help the healing process. Some women have been in these centers for two, three years doing nothing but sewing or knitting to pass the time and it seemed to us a terrible missed opportunity when these women could have been taught some

COLLECTIVE CENTERS IN TUZLA AND BANJA LUKA ADD TO MISERY

The conditions in the four collective centers we visited in these two cities did not meet even the most basic standards of health and privacy.

Sanitary facilities were inadequate - two bathrooms for 70 people, etc. In the center in Tuzla, cooking stoves were placed dangerously close to bunk beds. Plastic garbage bags filled with the meager belongings of the families were stacked around the rooms.

In one large room in a school in Banja Luka, 50 people were sleeping in 12 beds. One family -- mother, father, five children including a two week-old baby -- huddled together in one bed. One young man, clearly sick, lay motionless next to a young girl. There was a total lack of privacy. Here, the Serb refugees expressed similar fears about returning to their homes.

new skills - simple bookkeeping or typing or a language.

Project Sanja (a US-funded project - a local NGO due to have its funding cut off by US AID) was working in Sarajevo. It was one of the better collective centers we visited. Women met regularly in a brightly decorated room as their children played in the background. They said they gathered to relax, knit and smile. But the tears flowed freely when the women started to talk about going home. Mostly Muslims, they wanted to go, but were very frightened about returning to their villages. "If someone would guarantee my safety, I would go back," said one woman from Zepa who thinks her husband and son are in concentration camps. "But I don't believe I can go home."

One mother of five with a three month old baby who left her home in July 1992 said her neighbors turned against her, pushed out her family and burned her home. She wants to go back to her village but is terrified. "It was my neighbors who did this to me," she wailed in disbelief. "How can I ever trust them again?"

The women lamented the life they had left behind. "Before we had houses, plenty of land, gardens. Now in the town we are lost." Some women said they would be willing to resettle in another village if the government offered to help them.

They felt strongly that the government should emphasize special programs for women especially widows. They want workshops, more educational opportunities and skills training. "I have to be the mother and father to my children. It's very hard to do without money," said one widow. "I feel pain in my heart because I cannot provide my children with what they need."

Many women said, "Our only hope is that the government would do something for us."

2. Demobilized Soldiers -- Provide Them with Options

Everywhere we looked the streets and roads were filled with young men, sitting around in cafes with no jobs and nothing to do. Women told us that domestic violence is on the increase and that alcohol abuse and family tensions are increasing. Women also say that some men are psychologically unfit for work, that they are maimed internally and externally.

James Wolfensohn, the World Bank Chief, who visited Sarajevo last week, called for putting the 250,000 soldiers being demobilized in the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to work. He noted that, "We can only achieve enduring peace when they have jobs." Mr. Wolfensohn said in an interview that his plan to create employment through public works and infrastructure programs should be treated by governments as "the top priority."

Carl Bildt, the senior civilian administrator in Sarajevo, backed this call for jobs. Mr. Bildt said many jobs also would be created in the longer term when the rebuilding of roads, rail line, electricity plants and telecommunications systems got underway. "One quarter of a million men are currently being demobilized," Mr. Bildt said, "and the armies of soldiers must not turn into the armies of the unemployed."

Economic development which creates jobs and opportunities is key for demobilized soldiers, but it should not come at the price of excluding widows and women who head households from participating in the economic reconstruction. "Men get jobs, women get counseling," has too often been the response in post-war situations.

3. Women's groups -- Sources of Strength and Reconciliation

Throughout Bosnia, the war has brought together strong and able women. They are aware of all the challenges, and they are willing to work across what they call "ethnic" boundaries. They are coming together, planning meetings of women to prioritize post war concerns -- but they are doing so without real support from local government authorities, and without much interest from the major UN and US representatives in the area. One UN official who attended with us a meeting with women in Banja Luka called it "splendid" and said he did not know that women's groups were doing this kind of work.

Banja Luka is a city with ancient mosques leveled to the ground, a city where most Muslim families have been driven out -- their homes occupied by Serbs who proudly identify themselves by placing the Serbian flag in their windows. It is a city where Serb refugees told us that the mistreatment they receive from local authorities is like "spitting" on them. One Serb refugee told us she was better treated in Muslim Zenica than in Banja Luka.

Yet there is an organization of local women, Duga, which states it works with all nationalities and wants to help all victims. The Daga women had just completed their first post-war meeting with a woman Muslim leader from Tuzla. They say they want to help build the peace.

4. Children -- The Hope For the Future

The littlest victims of the war must not be forgotten. Children who have witnessed murders and rapes and lived through bombing and destruction of their villages need special counseling to cope with these traumas. One program in Sarajevo in need of funds holds puppet shows teaching lessons of tolerance and peace to refugee children. They would like to have children's centers all over Bosnia with trained psychologists and social playrooms.

The deplorable living circumstances in Sarajevo during the war - no water, no electricity and extended periods in damp basements while the city was being shelled - have caused severe health problems for children - asthma, bronchitis, tuberculosis, and even arthritis. Hospital resources are strained in meeting these needs.

During the war, thousands of children were separated from their families, but there has been progress on this front. The director of an orphanage we visited in Tuzla cared for more than 1,000 children, but now houses about 150, aged five to 18. SOS Kinderhof in Sarajevo said the numbers of children without parents were reduced significantly to about 400 now, and that those were living with relatives or in foster homes.

5. Landmines -- Not My Problem

More children than adults have been killed by landmines or unexploded shells. In Croatia alone, these weapons have killed 263 children. Everywhere we went, we were told that landmines posed one of the greatest barriers to safe return of the population. There is no substantial training going on of local people who will be charged with landmines removal. People are being sent back to front line villages where there has not been landmine clearance. The US forces are adamant that landmine clearance is not their problem, except for their own personal safety. They are not doing any training of local officials in landmine clearance, although they do have experts with them in the US IFOR force.

When one UN official was asked what should our priorities be for helping refugees, he said, "Demining,

demining, demining." There are 3 million mines in Croatia (whose population is 4.5 million) and three million more mines throughout the rest of the war area. "The international community is not fully aware of the problem," said Damir Zoić, a Croatian official. People need training for landmine removal.

Refugees are fearful of returning to their homes because of nearly daily reports of someone being killed by a mine. If one family gets hurt upon returning, others are afraid to go back to the village. In a village near Tuzla, a woman and her two children were killed in her kitchen garden. In another instance, a child detonated a mine and when the parents ran to help, all three were killed.

Farmers are afraid to plant and till their fields because of mines. One man was spotted rolling a huge tire in front of him on his field - as if that would protect him from an explosion.

We were told that demining is the sole responsibility of the people who planted the mines. But no one has any clear idea of where the mines are. There are a few incomplete maps and no one knows for sure where the enemy planted mines. Local officials complain that they do not have enough trained people or adequate equipment for demining. In Croatia, we were told that some demining equipment is considered military and is under embargo.

6. Information and Communication -- Not Happening

A critical problem we encountered everywhere was the total lack of information regarding refugees and relocation. Displaced men and women had no idea what would be happening to them and felt confused and lost.

International relief officials may know the terms of the Dayton Accords as they affect refugee and displaced returnees, the way property issues will be handled and what will happen in the elections. But the resident and refugee populations do not. People, whether they live in their own homes or not, are very confused about the finality of the situation and some displaced people seemed to think that they could get the return of their territory to a new political entity through the elections.

7. Resentment Toward Returning Refugees

There is great resentment towards refugees who left the country, did not suffer the hardships of war, and who now, many believe, will return with money in their pockets made in Germany or elsewhere to a country where people's financial and internal resources are depleted.

The region has suffered an enormous brain drain as many of the best and many of the best educated left the region. The schooling for many others was interrupted by four years of war. We did not find groups who were thinking through the need to support re-integration of the population into areas where they will be joining people of common heritage.

8. Returning to Areas where Neighbors Drove You Out -- For Most, Not Likely

While the Dayton Peace Accords provide for the return of minorities to areas from which they were ethnically cleansed -- and many people we spoke with said they would want to go back to their homes -- all said they would only do so if they felt secure. There is no plan currently in place for any international body to insure that security. While policy planners say they do not want to ratify ethnic cleansing, they are unwilling to risk their own personnel in helping people return to areas where they will feel in danger.

9. Human Rights -- Gender-Related Rights Must be Taken into Account

There do not appear to be functioning mechanisms for human rights concerns which are gender-specific. Procedures to improve reporting of physical and sexual protection problems should be implemented. Civilian forces need special training and focus -- and women should be included in the forces. Property rights specific to women whose husbands have died need to be understood. Additionally, resources -- humanitarian and economic -- must be made available in a nondiscriminatory way to ensure the full participation of women in the reconstruction process.

10. War Crimes Tribunal -- No Protection of Evidence

People are living in fear. The War Crimes Tribunal has indicted 57 people, but only a few of those indicted are in custody. Radovan Karadic and General Mladic, indicted Bosnian Serb leaders, continue to be free. Official efforts must be made immediately to acknowledge the suffering of victims and to honestly reckon with the past. Restoring confidence among potential War Crimes Tribunal witnesses, many of whom are women, is essential. Repatriation without fear, reconciliation, and free and fair elections are not likely until indicted war criminals are arrested.

The 60,000 IFOR troops currently in Bosnia are not being used to protect sites of mass graves, or areas of mass execution, once they are identified. The IFOR troops will accompany UN investigators while they are at the site, but when they leave, so do the troops -- so the site is left unprotected.

The delegation interviewed many women who talked about the importance of the War Crimes Tribunal. "If you don't punish the war criminals, you have not done anything. All women on all sides think this," said the President of the Women's Association of Tuzla.

11. Right of Return -- Property and Politics

There are indications that authorities are using the displaced population to be sent to villages that are on the front line with the new boundaries of the Dayton Accords. These villages are the ones most likely to be devastated and empty, because they were in areas of heavy fighting and mined. The UNHCR should ensure that people know they do not have to return to these areas; they have a choice.

The right to regain your house or the value of your house is a critical aspect of resolving the crisis in the region. While the international property commission called for in the Dayton Accords has been organized, there were critical problems brought to our attention:

1. We did not speak to any refugee or displaced person who had any idea at all that the Dayton Accords dealt with property claims.
2. The funding for compensation has not been identified.
3. Mechanisms to validate the value claims submitted by refugees will be extremely complex given the level of destruction and the shortage of local personnel.
4. Once again, widows will need full access in every way to the property commission and its benefits.
5. According to a UN official, a good idea would be to have a registration of claims available to the international community, so if there is a pattern of discrimination, it can be followed up on.
6. Bosnia has passed a law stating that claims to return to houses and apartments that are not privately owned must have been submitted by January 1996. If this provision is not amended, many refugees and displaced families will not be able to return to their homes. Many people feel that those who stayed through the war effort have a higher claim to publicly-owned houses.

"There is a law and there is morality," said a woman attorney in Sarajevo. Sorting this out will be one of the more sensitive and complex issues in the reconstruction.

12. SLOW -- The Pace at All Levels is Behind

Whether it be in getting reconstruction going, mines removed, refugees and displaced persons back to their homes, election information issues out to the people or the human rights processes on track ... all is moving slowly.

While the international newspapers trumpet there is enough money for Bosnia, in Bosnia the post-war funds are not flowing, and since the "High Representative's" Office does not have the power of the purse, there appears to be lack of international co-ordination and agreed prioritizing. Major donors are each doing their own projects based on their priorities.

III. Areas of Positive Movement

1. No Military Hostility - The greatest positive is that hostilities have ceased and it appears that all sides are abiding by the military requirements of the Dayton Accords.
2. The international community, official and NGO, is present in almost more than sufficient numbers.
3. Locally run NGOs or voluntary associations have emerged during the war. Most are run by women and provide a source of talent and experience and leadership. They have taken responsibility for their community in a country which had virtually no history of non-government associations.

IV. Specific Program Recommendations

1. Support to a greater extent than is now being done locally run Women's NGOs

Do not cut off in May 1996, as the US Government currently plans to do, the group of women-run NGOs operating in Sarajevo (the Umbrella Grant project). Sometimes it appears that US policy is working against its own stated intentions. While parts of the US government state that an important goal is to help people emerging from authoritarian regimes learn the techniques of democracy and pluralism, at the same time, in a very fragile point in the recovery process, this group of US AID women's locally run programs for Bosnia will be cut off because of a bureaucratic decision which allows the Croatian AID office to keep that pocket of money in Croatia, while the US AID office in Sarajevo feels no "ownership" or identity with the project, and is more focused on large scale reconstruction.

We visited many of these Umbrella Grant projects and believe that they offer an excellent source of trained, motivated and experienced staff who have sufficient outreach and interest in dealing with the next group of issues confronting Sarajevo -- opportunities to bring refugee returnees together with those who have remained, opportunities to inform people about the election (they have a radio and television operation), opportunities to provide support for people dealing with re-integrating soldiers into families (hot lines, therapy programs) and projects. Once a program is closed the effort to restart it is much more difficult than providing a bridge for another year. They should be nurtured for this coming year in which Sarajevo and others will deal with the problems of peace.

So many women, of all backgrounds told us that now, in some ways, it was harder than during the war. Then it was day-to-day survival and everything was focused on that. Now the task of rebuilding and the enormity of getting back to "normal" life is setting in ... and it is now that the tears are coming. The women also told us they are very different than they were before the war. They have kept the city and the home front running for four years. They have found strength and talent in themselves and they do not want to be marginalized by the government.

2. The UN agencies, US officials and the High Representative's office involved with reconstruction need to do a much more pro-active job of doing outreach to the women's community.

At this point, "women" tend to be seen as grouped into the vulnerable group section, or seen in task forces set up by low level UN and international personnel. One senior official of the High Representative's office said, "Can you give us some names?" Names of women of substance in the community, doctors, lawyers, judges, therapists, business women and writers -- as well as people who can speak for those without homes, are not hard to find. If we met with many of them in a short visit, the UN, the High Representative and senior US officials should have identified them by now. There must be much more serious outreach to the women's community in Sarajevo and elsewhere. They should be in task forces meeting regularly with UN, governmental and international donor officials.

With regard to refugee and displaced persons resettlement, the UNHCR should undertake a more aggressive "look-see" program to enable voluntary repatriation. Fear is delaying this process and UNHCR is assumed to be the appropriate facilitator.

3. Set Aside a Portion of the US AID 45 Million Dollar or More Loan Program For Women-Run Businesses

We asked the US AID staff in Sarajevo if they had decided to allocate a portion of this substantial loan program to businesses headed by widows and women. The answer: "No." Hillary Rodham Clinton has continually expressed the support of the US Government for loans targeted to allow women to integrate into the economic fabric of society.

This is a classic case where a program should not be developed without this being an integral part of the operation. The US Government should not talk about this as a priority at international UN conferences at Beijing and elsewhere and then put a program on the ground when, at the outset, this is not included. While vulnerable widows and young women of promise and initiative should be included, women of all educational backgrounds and economic levels should be given opportunities. Data should be kept as to how much of those US loans were allocated toward women-owned and -run operations, so there is accountability.

Crafts are the easy answer, and indeed, one of the more successful program throughout the former Yugoslavia have been knitting projects. Women have gathered in refugee and community centers to knit with wool donated from the US and other countries (15 tons of it from the Women's Commission). Some women knit just to pass the time and clothe themselves and their children. But others have made sweaters, etc, to sell, through local NGOs, such as BOSFAM. Women are also weaving rugs, embroidering lace, and making traditional handicrafts for sale.

But to move into the 21st century and a new post-war, free market economy, the skills of women must be upgraded. Time and time again, women stressed that education for all women was essential. Women

helping each other -- Mira in Banja Luka has a policy of employing ONLY women - 20 female workers in her accounting and bookkeeping business. Banja Luka has textile and shoe factories - could employ women. Organizations like the local NGO Duga and other women's NGOs in other cities are creatively trying to come up with income generating projects that women with children can do at home.

Women who will be returning to agricultural communities need to learn new avenues of support - whether it is raising chickens or sheep or learning how to use a tractor or starting an herb garden or women need training.

4. Shelter Projects for Reconstruction Have to do a Better Job of Benefitting, and Involving Women.

While there are programs, some underway, (USAID and UNHCR among others) for reconstructing homes in the damaged areas of the countryside, again it is a very "top down "operation," with the underlying assumption that women will benefit, but no specific requirements to insure that women-headed households receive any adequate percentage.

Some shelter projects (UNHCR) are self-build projects done with sweat equity. This is an excellent way to use people's energy, but there seemed to be no data at all being kept on whether this 30 million dollar plus project would specifically allocate a portion of benefits to women who were now single heads of households. With the US AID shelter project, (\$40 million plus) there is a similar lack of consciousness of insuring that women headed households benefit. Once more, the talk sounds good ... but in reality, programs are starting without the critical goals of insuring that the war widows are involved.

Additionally, there appears to have been no thought given to insure that in rebuilding projects, those women who are interested in learning skills associated with reconstruction (which will be going on for a long time in the region, and will provide significant employment for years to come) are integrated from the outset. The US and UN funding agencies should require that all subcontracting agencies provide data to meet requirements concerning these issues if there is any seriousness about involving women in the economy. This entire area provides another opportunity to liaise with women's organizations in the community ... An opportunity not yet taken.

5. Returning Home - The Widows of Srebrenica and Others Abandoned by the UN and the International Community -- No Training, No Homes

If the US and the international community are serious about wanting to help families to return to areas from which they were forcibly ejected, they have to give it more than lip service. There is genuine fear about what will happen on return, even from families who say they would go back ... if only they felt safe. The level of fear was best demonstrated to us when, on two occasions, drivers in UNHCR vehicles told us they were afraid to go through areas that are now in the Serbska Republika. In both cases we were required to wait on the road during snowstorms for some time -once so a driver could go in a convoy of two vehicles, and again so that there would be a transfer to a driver from Banja Luka. If UNHCR drivers still have genuine fear, then clearly people who saw homes burned, loved ones killed, young women raped should not be expected to return home without some serious, international security. They believe they should not be sent back alone to face the local police forces whom they see as associated with their evictors and murderers of their family members. IFOR is clear in that this is not its responsibility. And the international police are there to observe the local police, train them in what is right ... but are not equipped or mandated to protect the returning populations.

If the international community is not prepared to face their responsibility in this return, then alternative

housing situations, **agreed to by refugee families**, need to be given a higher priority. We spoke to two men who had been in the forest in Srebrenica and had seen the killings, who told us they knew who killed, and who had been killed, but that no one was showing interest in their story. One emerged in late August and the other had been part of the Faca prisoner exchange program. They were furious at the authorities in Tuzla who wanted to send them and their families back to a "front line" village. They refused to go because they thought that if hostilities broke out again, they would be the first hit. They did not accept the government's offer to repopulate what the government might consider a strategic area and consequently they are in a miserable collective center in Tuzla, with no word on when they will be offered anything different. Much greater pressure to insure that refugees are making the choice about where their lives should be lived should be made by the international community if we are to protect existing international human rights standards as well as the "freedom to remain" inscribed in the Dayton Accords.

There is something particularly reprehensible about taking this traumatized abandoned population from Srebrenica and once more asking them to be in what could be unsafe surroundings against their wishes, while once more the international community ignores the situation, or even goes so far as to provide money to rehabilitate houses which are there for strategic and not humanitarian purposes.

6. Economic Reintegration of the Srebrenica Widows and Other Widows and Single Women-Headed Households (women with older mothers - and in some cases younger siblings)

Other than weaving and sewing projects, there does not seem to be an international effort to upgrade the skills level of women who will be providing for their families for the rest of their lives, nor even an attempt to establish who are likely candidates for high level skills training (primary school teachers, health workers, computer programs, bookkeeping etc.). Some of the widows are very young girls. We met 17- and 24-year old widows.

This poses an opportunity to bring the displaced together with the established women's NGOs, which include women of varying professions, and have them work in overseeing training for the war widows. Because local groups do not have resources, this would have to be funded through the international community. This is a priority that is not being met. All local women's groups told us that they feared that all the economic focus would be on the demobilized soldiers, and that women who needed to support their families would be last on line. At the moment they are right. This should change and the international dollars should be used as leverage to insure equity.

7. Giving Women a Role in Finding the Missing

The women of Srebrenica do not believe their own government cares enough about finding out what happened to any possible survivors. (An estimated 8,000 men and boys are missing - with 22,000 still war missing). They want to do a survey of their own population and wish that they could be given a computer and a vehicle so that they could interview their population to get data on who saw what happening where. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) reporting requirements on missing people are considered too strict to fully input all the information that people have about what has happened. There is also the problem that some believe the local government is receiving money for the victims of Srebrenica -- not allocating it for what they believe to be priorities. In fact, the women have not been consulted at all about their priorities. They should receive support in this self-initiated activity. In relief situations, hundreds of vehicles are available to the expatriate community who are part of the international relief and rehabilitation effort, the most affected local population are essentially "grounded" in their effort to do work they consider important.

8. Support Women in the Political Process

We spoke to women who were thinking of running for political office, women who were thinking of forming a women's party, and women who are meeting -- from Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Banja Luka -- to get together to talk about healing their country. They are planning for this spring both small and large conferences. They can be the source of the beginning of the rebuilding of trust. Once more these positive developments have not been given adequate support. They have trouble funding the most rudimentary equipment (phone lines, fax machines, computers, transport). If we expect the country to be a place where people live in harmony, local women activists who have begun the process of healing should receive a higher priority and outreach from donors.

9. Remove Landmines Immediately

The United States clearly has the expertise to train local engineers and others in mine removal techniques. We strongly urge that the best use be made of our troops now stationed in former Yugoslavia and demining experts be deployed to help the local populace.

10. Involve Women and Children in Media Projects

The lack of independent media continues to be a problem throughout the area. Independent newspapers should be supported. They do stories that poke holes in the official statements of the other press (e.g., the major Zagreb paper actually led a front page story with Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown about his hopes and plans for the Croatian economy after his death. *Feral Tribune* reprinted it with a big picture of Mr. Brown, alive and well, headlined "Conversation with a Ghost.") Clearly, like many controlled news items, the Zagreb paper's story was written before, published just after the crash, to say what they want the people to think.

This is true of the airwaves too. Although supposedly uncensored, the control is political. Marie Stopes and others have created radio programs, including interactive shows and call-in discussions. These efforts to bring people in different areas together are critical. Individuals who are cut off from their friends, family members, and information sources in the homes they left are afraid to return; such radio programs could greatly lessen their fear of repatriation, make resettling a more informed operation. TV is too expensive and much TV equipment has been destroyed, but a program to distribute small radios and have a variety of well-chosen issues of local interest to listen to - lured in perhaps by music, by women's problems, by children's voices, all apolitical - would go a long way to lessen the traumas of isolation.

Youth needs a boost. One member discussed with Peggy Charren of Children's TV in Boston that a way for children to learn English (which many mothers feel is important) and other basics would be to try Sesame Street, etc., on the central TV that still exists.

11. Support Initiatives for Children and Youth

In Bosnia, many youngsters are traumatized, withdrawn, confused or with little hope for the future (after seeing their mothers raped, their fathers taken away and disappeared, or returned from forced labor missing limbs from the ever-exploding mines - or injured themselves, orphaned, displaced). Marie Stopes, Project Selina, Corridor, and others are implementing high quality programs and have good ideas for additional programs. They all desperately need funding.

Delegation Members

Jurate Kazickas, a member of the advisory council of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, was a refugee herself, fleeing Lithuania from the Soviet invasion in 1943. a former Associated Press writer, she has covered wars in Vietnam and the Middle East. She has written extensively on women's issues, and is a contributing editor for *Good Housekeeping* magazine.

Catherine O'Neill is an award winning editorial writer, whose work has appeared in *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post*, and on ABC Nightline, CNN, National Public Radio and elsewhere. She is a member of the boards of directors of the International Rescue Committee, the League of Women Voters and is a co-founder of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

Nancy Rubin has worked in the field of international economic development for over ten years. She has served in the Carter and Clinton White House. She has represented the NGO community at the Economic and Social Council of the UN and other official bodies. She is a member of the Bretton Woods Committee, the Women's Foreign Policy Group, the Overseas Development Council Board, the Red Cross and also serves on a number of human rights and national women's organization boards. She is past chair of the National Coalition for Women in International Development and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Rose Styron is a writer, poet and human rights activist. she has been a board member of Amnesty International USA and the P.E.N. American Center and currently is on the boards of Human Rights Watch, the Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights, Equality Now, the Reebok Human Rights Foundation and the RFK Memorial/Chair Human Rights Awards. She has spent many years investigating human rights violations. She is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and an overseer for New York University. She has written articles for The New York Review of Books, The Nation, New Republic, Chicago Sun-Times, Ms. magazine and The New York Times. She has participated in investigative missions for various human rights organizations around the world.

Meetings

The delegation met with staff from the following organizations:

UNHCR	Marie Stopes International
US Ambassadors/Embassy staff, Zagreb and Sarajevo	PEN Sarajevo
US State Department	Unija Zar
USAID	Puppet Theater
Croatian Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees	UNICEF
IRC Umbrella Subgrantees: Corridor, Project Sanya	Bosfam
Office of Security and Cooperation in Europe	Bospo
International Crisis Group	Women's Association of Podrinje
Office of Carl Bildt	Norwegian People's Association
World Bank	SIDA
Office for Refugees, Bosnia	Women of the Warm Hand
TV- Bosnia-Herzegovina	Wool Project
CARE	IRC
	ICRC
	START Project
	Representatives of local NGOs in Zagreb

Special thanks to:

Elizabeth Walker, delegation coordinator, New York
Viet Lazarus, delegation coordinator, Croatia/Bosnia
Anne Willem Bijleveld, UNHCR Washington Liaison
Vesna Vlastelica, UNHCR Zagreb
International Rescue Committee staff in Zagreb and Sarajevo, Tuzla and Banja Luka
UNHCR for ground transportation and IFOR for air transportation.
Ambassador Brunson McKinley, Bosnia Humanitarian Coordinator, State Department, Washington, DC

Acronyms

BOSFAM - Bosnian women-run NGO, founded under the auspices of Oxfam
ICRC - International Committee of the Red Cross
IFOR - NATO-led Implementation Force
NGO - Nongovernmental Organization
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
US AID - United States Agency for International Development

**For more information on the Women's Commission,
please contact:**

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122 East 42nd Street, 12th Floor
New York, NY 10168-1289
Tel: (212) 551 3086 Fax: (212) 551 3186
e-mail: wcrwc@intrescom.org

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

Bosnia

July 31, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR MELANNE VERVEER

Assistant to the President and
Chief of Staff to the First Lady

SUBJECT: Letter to the Women of Bosnia-Herzegovina

We support the proposal of a letter from the First Lady to the women of Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of the events in Sarajevo on August 8. This letter can help raise awareness of women's rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina and underscore the important role women can play in shaping a united and multiethnic country.

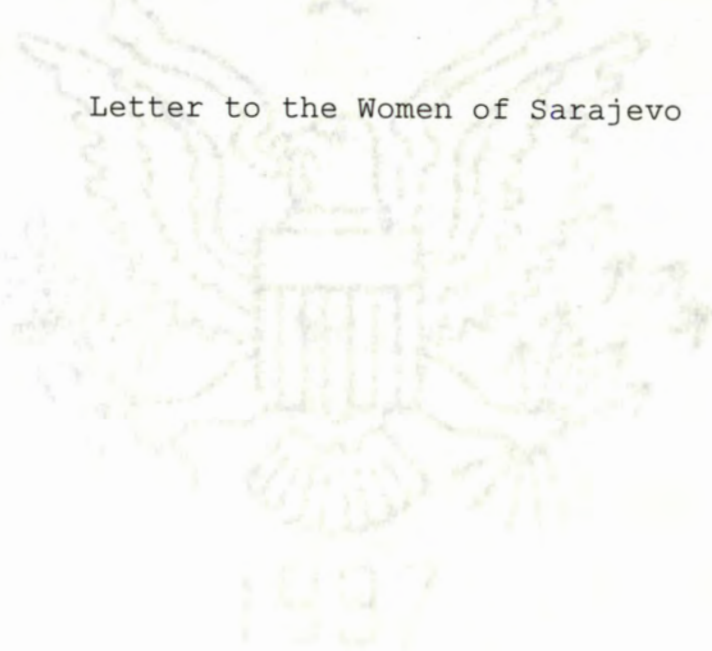
A suggested draft of the letter is at Tab A. Please let me know if I can be of further assistance.



Glyn T. Davies
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A

Letter to the Women of Sarajevo



Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: _____ A

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

To the Women of Bosnia-Herzegovina:

I want to add my support to those who stand together on "Suada's Bridge" to affirm the essential role of women in shaping your country's future.

This project, and the special presentation of "Necessary Targets," are so important to raising awareness about women's rights. I hope you will draw strength in remembering how so many women across Bosnia-Herzegovina persevered in the worst of circumstances. I hope it will inspire you to make a difference for the future.

You, the women of Bosnia-Herzegovina, are a powerful force for change. Among your families and neighbors, you can be a voice for reconciliation and cooperation in building a better life together. In the elections this September, you can cast enough votes to reject the ethnic tensions of the past in favor of a united, multi-ethnic Bosnia where your families can prosper.

The Dayton Agreement helped end the death and despair in Bosnia-Herzegovina. You can help lead to a future of peace and promise.

Sincerely,

W I L L A S H A L I T

20 July 1998

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

I am writing at the request of Beth Dozoretz to give you additional information about the Suada's Bridge Project to raise awareness and mobilize resources for women's rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Necessary Targets*, a poignant play about Bosnian women and war, will be presented at the National Theater in Sarajevo on August 8th, 1998 starring leading Bosnian actresses and renowned Americans Glenn Close and Marisa Tomei. Beth will be a member of our delegation.

Women's associations representing multi-ethnic groups throughout the region will attend this event, which will launch a major women and civil society initiative.

We would be pleased if you could provide a written message to the women of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Your letter will be printed in the program for the event, and will be shared with the local women's groups taking part in the project.

Enclosed is additional information regarding the *Suada's Bridge Bosnia Project*.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Willa Shalit
Project Producer

Rt 7 Box 124WD Santa Fe New Mexico 87505

Tel 505 983 2599 • Fax 505 983 7272 • Email 7513.250@compuserve.com

Suada's Bridge Project:

Promoting Women's Rights and Reconciliation in former Yugoslavia

The Suada's Bridge Project is an initiative to raise awareness about women's rights, particularly sexual violence against women. It also seeks to mobilize resources for women war victims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and other parts of former Yugoslavia. The project will be launched in Sarajevo on August 8-9, 1998.

Necessary Targets will be presented at the National Theater (August 8) produced by David L. Phillips and Willa Shalit. Eve Ensler's play is a stirring account of women traumatized by the war. Leading actors from the region will perform the Bosnian roles and will be joined by the renowned actors Glenn Close and Marisa Tomei. Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic will host a reception following the performance.

That day, women will gather in Sarajevo at Suada's Bridge, the site of the conflict's first victim. Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats will participate in a ceremony commemorating the many women who died and celebrating those who survived. U.S., UN and other representatives from the international community will attend. In light of the pending emergency in Kosovo, it is significant that ethnic Albanians will also participate.

Columbia University's International Conflict Resolution Program will host a roundtable with representatives from leading multi-ethnic women's organizations. The forum will explore the role of women in the development of democracy as well as the participation of women in Bosnia's reconstruction and social rehabilitation. The establishment of a cabinet position devoted to women's issues including a mandate to end sexual violence will be explored. Prime Minister Silajdzic is invited to participate.

Strategic media outreach will ensure broad print and television coverage. Film footage will document the project. A live website will provide information and links to other web sites; digital photos of all events will report on events as they occur. The participation of Glenn Close and Marisa Tomei will help sensitize a large worldwide audience to the plight of women in former Yugoslavia.

The events in Sarajevo will provide occasion for UNIFEM to announce its entry into the region and the establishment of a trust fund to support projects which assist women in former Yugoslavia.

The Suada's Bridge Project is being organized by women's associations, from the former Yugoslavia, including the Center for Women War Victims and Woman to Woman. In addition to UNIFEM, assistance is provided by the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children and Columbia University's International Conflict Resolution Program.



Force Management Policy

THE OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-4000

file Basia

Facsimile Cover Sheet

To: *Melanne Uwever*
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From: *Susan Roberts*
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(Personnel Support, Families & Education),
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Washington, DC 20301-4000
Phone: 703-697-7220/DSN 227-7220
Fax: 703-614-9303

Date: *April 10*
No. Pages with Cover: *4*

Comments:

MA Beauf wanted you to have this.
Susan

FORCE MANAGEMENT
POLICYOFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
4000 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-4000

April 2, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR ASD (FMP)

SUBJECT: Trip Report: Baumholder, Germany; Bosnia-Herzegovina; and
Aviano AFB, Italy, March 23-27, 1996

The following is a report on my trip with the First Lady to visit military families in Baumholder, Germany and troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina. After leaving the First Lady's entourage at Aviano AFB, I spent the following day meeting with Aviano AFB officials.

1. On March 24, the First Lady and Chelsea were met at Ramstein AFB by Secretary and Mrs. Togo West, General and Mrs. William Crouch, and General and Mrs. Richard Hawley. Her entourage then traveled to Baumholder to attend church services followed by a luncheon in a mess hall with families, troops about to deploy, and rear detachment personnel. The First Lady's remarks, praising the strength of military families, were very well received. Grammy Award winner Sheryl Crow entertained the crowd with a medley of her songs.

In the afternoon, Mrs. Clinton attended a performance of two plays, one presented by the second grade class of Neubruecke Elementary School and the other by a seventh grade class from Baumholder High School. The seventh grade performance consisted of readings from student journals regarding their feelings about the deployment along with readings from letters received by this class from 7th grade students in Tuzla, Bosnia. The presentation was very moving and received positive press coverage. Sheryl Crow and comedian, Sinbad, entertained the children.

While in Baumholder Mrs. Clinton also met with prominent officials from the local German community.

2. We traveled to Bosnia aboard a C-17 loaded with the following: AT&T phone equipment and 5000 prepaid phone cards for the troops; 500 video tapes for distribution to base camps; school supplies collected by the Baumholder community for their sister school in Tuzla; and, toys donated by FAO Schwartz for the children in Tuzla. Admiral "Snuffy" Smith, MG Bill Nash, and the members of the 7th grade class from the sister school met the plane. Mrs. Clinton proceeded with her itinerary that included briefings on the IFOR mission, meetings with prominent Bosnian leaders and representatives of NGO's, and tours of several base camps. Her day ended with a concert at Tuzla West for approximately 500 people. Sheryl Crow and Sinbad performed along with local entertainment. Mrs. Clinton's remarks to the crowd were very favorably received.



Under the mantle of the USO, with arrangements coordinated by our AFPEO office, Sheryl Crow and Sinbad spent the day traveling to base camps to entertain troops stationed there. I traveled with Ms. Crow to four base camps: Russian Multi-National Battalion (MNB), Kime, Linda and Demi. Russian MNB, Kime and Linda are still in a fairly primitive state. Apart from a portable dining facility at Kime and Linda, the remainder of the camp consists of Army tents. Phone service is not yet available. The troops at Demi, on the other hand, live in air conditioned portables and have MWR facilities and phone banks.

I spoke with commanders and troops at each base camp. Morale appears to be good. Announcements of the R&R policy and news of the impending arrival of phone equipment were positively received. At each camp, except for Russian MNB, contractors were working to upgrade living conditions with showers, dining facilities, board walkways, framing for tents, etc. Surrounding the camps, the ravages of the 4 year war were apparent with heavily damaged villages, demolished churches, and marked mine fields. The local infrastructure (electricity, phone lines) has yet to be restored in parts of the country.

3. We next flew to Aviano AFB where we were met by LTG Mike Ryan, Ambassador Reginald Bartholomew, and Mrs. Lamberto Dini, spouse of the Prime Minister of Italy. Mrs. Clinton addressed an enthusiastic crowd of approximately 1000 military personnel and their families. Following the departure of the First Lady, the USO performers entertained the crowd.

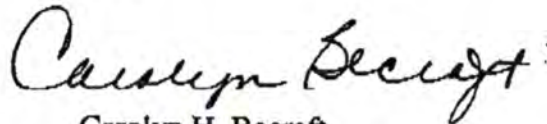
4. On Tuesday, March 26, I met with base officials, received a command mission briefing and a community briefing, toured facilities, had lunch with Marines at the new addition to tent city, received a briefing on JROTC, and met with DoDDS school personnel.

Aviano AFB population has doubled in the past few years and the base is struggling with overcrowded facilities, housing and dormitory shortages, and demanding operational tempo. Family advocacy officials indicated that stress levels on the base were very high as evidenced by increasing caseloads. The number of children diagnosed with Attention Deficit Disorder has risen dramatically in a year, from 4 to 28. Base officials also reported that the caseload for financial assistance, as reported by the Air Force Aid Society, consists primarily of Army personnel assigned to the base. (An explanation could be that the Air Force is the only service that begins training in financial planning during basic training, followed by additional training at the first duty station. Financial training for young servicemembers is currently being addressed by the financial training initiative recently approved by the Executive Committee.)

Aviano has a comprehensive plan, *Aviano 2000*, to build and realign community facilities to meet the needs of their expanded population. The base has recently acquired additional land from the Italian government for the expansion and a significant financial commitment from NATO to implement the plan. There are construction and renovation

projects everywhere, including 2 new dorms, 2 new child development centers, dining facility renovations, and a new teen center. Major projects in the future include a new high school (dependent on NATO funds) and a request for a new commissary/BX complex. The current schools, commissary and BX are seriously undersized for the present population. DoDEA, DeCA and AAFES officials are working with the command to address these needs.

In closing, it is evident that the planning by EUCOM and USAREUR for family support, prior to the deployment, has paid great dividends. Over 90% of families have remained in Europe and camaraderie appears to be high. Morale of servicemembers living in Bosnia was good, with soldiers evidencing great pride in the accomplishments of their mission. At each location I met with leaders who were dedicated to improving conditions for servicemembers and their families.



Carolyn H. Becraft
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense
(Personnel Support, Families and Education)

Speaker - As Prepared

P.2

Bosnia

Julia Taft, President and CEO of InterAction
White House -- January 29, 1996

I am delighted to be here today. I want personally to thank Mrs. Clinton for the great interest she has shown in humanitarian relief and development work around the world and her willingness to host this event today to highlight the efforts of U.S. private voluntary organizations in the former Yugoslavia

To be honest, Mrs. Clinton, we could use your help. The American people strongly support your view, so eloquently expressed in your new book, "It Takes a Village to Raise a Child," that every child is important and that America's compassion for children knows no borders.

But our own humanitarian work in the former Yugoslavia -- our efforts to help thousands of children and their families recover from the worst European war in half a century -- have largely gone unnoticed. So we welcome this opportunity you have given us this morning to let the American people know about our work and to tell the media about our Bosnia helpline, a new toll-free number that people can call to find out more about what relief agencies are doing. That number is 1-800-841-5872.

As president of InterAction, I represent a coalition of over 150 private voluntary agencies. We are the largest association of relief, development and refugee-assistance agencies in the United States. More than 35 of our members are now on the ground and hard at work in the former Yugoslavia trying to make peace a reality at the grassroots level.

Our agencies are working to help families and children recover from four years of bloodshed that has left over 200,000 dead and forced more than 2 million people from their homes. We are involved in scores of new projects, which are highlighted in a guide that the White House has included in your media packets.

Besides providing the basic necessities of life -- food, clothing, seeds, medical supplies -- our agencies are also putting people back to work by creating innovative programs that rely on local people to get the job done.

new [We are training pre-school teachers on how to deal with impressionable four and five year-olds traumatized by war. We are assisting senior citizens in winterizing their homes and apartments. We are operating mobile clinics that deliver medical services out of vans and we are providing small loans to local businesses to get them back on their feet. Everywhere, throughout the former Yugoslavia, we are deeply involved in reconstruction and reconciliation efforts.] new

Kempinski
Hotel Zografski

file Bosnia

SOFIA

Dear Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton,

My name is Vajta Đuronić and I come from Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am a member of the Citizen's Association "Women to Women" and the Coalition for the Return.

I have had the honour to attend the International Conference Women in the 21st century, Sofia, October 10th - 12th, 1998, and I have especially enjoyed the Opening Session which your presence has truly graced.

I feel free to turn to you personally for encouragement of the Project of the Coalition for the Return, which is a project of the refugees and returnees of Bosnia and Herzegovina, people who want to return to their homes under the motto: "I just want to go home".

There are about 200 various citizen's organizations involved in the Coalition, organizations of the refugees, non-governmental organizations from the whole Former Yugoslavia Territory - Croatia, Federation and Republic of Srpska (entities of the BiH), and other countries. One of the organizations involved is the Citizen's Association "Women to Women", of whom I am a member.

The main objective of the Coalition for the Return is to exert pressure on the governments, and make sure that they will fulfill the obligations they have undertaken with the signing of the Annex 7 of the Dayton Peace Treaty, as well as the Sarajevo Declaration and Banja Luka Declaration.

This project has the backing of the Office of the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, ambassador Carlos Westendorp.

Your personal encouragement for the project of the Coalition for the Return would be of immense value for bringing our objectives to reality.

I have taken the liberty to ask Mrs. Lemi Fischer to give you this letter together with the concise description of our project, and two publications.

With greatest gratitude and the very best of wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Vajta Đuronić.

Coalition for Return
6th General Assembly
Sarajevo, 13th-14th 1997

Proposed speaking points:

- since its founding in October 1996, the Coalition for Return grew from a small group of enthusiasts into a large movement of refugees and displaced persons
 - by now, the CfR unites members of over 200 different refugee and DP associations as well as national and international NGOs and individuals from all over Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Croatia and the host countries
 - the Coalition for Return unites people - regardless, to what ethnic group they belong - in their common wish to return to their pre-war homes, is it Mostar, Banja Luka, Jajce, Sarajevo, Drvar, Bosanski Petrovac or other places throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina
 - the Coalition for Return shows, that the Dayton Agreement and Annex 7 in particular must be fully implemented, because it is the wish of the people of this country to return to their pre-war homes, to live together again a life in peace and security
 - the Office of the High Representative will continue to support the Coalition for Return in all its efforts and activities
 - you all know, that the OHR and the authorities of the Central Bosnia Canton tried hard during the last weeks to set up a plan for return to this canton
 - 150 villages and settlements were identified, where return can take place immediately
 - we need your support in order to promote this return plan as widely as possible, to make sure that it reaches those, who it was created for
 - you all know, that starting the return-process in one area, it will affect the return process in other places and areas as well
 - when return to Central Bosnia will take place, the day of return to Drvar will come closer
- ⇒ some of the points on CB you mentioned during the Donors meeting December 5th
⇒ remarks on the results of the PIC, Bonn

COALITION FOR RETURN

The Coalition for Return is a movement of displaced persons and refugees from all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It seeks to create an environment in which voluntary return will be possible. United under the Coalition those most affected by the war and manipulated by the authorities are becoming a significant political force at the grass-roots level.

The need for a common approach was highlighted in the autumn of 1996 after the destruction of houses in areas to which displaced persons wished to return. As a result the Coalition for Return was established in Sarajevo on October 30 during a meeting in the Office of the High Representative. At this meeting representatives of displaced persons and refugees from all over the country discussed ways to further their common goal of return. They concluded that they would support each other and invite others to join the Coalition.

The aims and priorities of the Coalition were defined in further meetings in Mostar, Banja Luka, Tuzla, Travnik and Sarajevo. In a declaration written in Mostar the Coalition recognized that return of an individual or community can only be realized through helping others to return. They committed themselves to supporting the return of all those forced to leave their homes under any circumstances.

Through further meetings and visits to several communities throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina the Coalition began a dialogue with local officials and displaced persons. Often breaking through a wall of misinformation these meetings have led to further contacts between displaced communities and those living in the area from which they were displaced. This has given people the confidence to improve their own situation. In villages where people from different communities have expressed a wish to return and live together again, the Coalition has supported the rehabilitation of houses through its roof project.

The Coalition has grown to include individuals and associations from all over Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as well as host countries outside of the region. In Germany, an own branch of the Coalition for Return was founded in spring 1997. Through this expanding network of contacts the Coalition can provide information on the situation of refugees and displaced persons and also create links to donors to help implement reconstruction projects in the right places.

Four information centers - in Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Bihac and Zenica - were opened, which provide links to contact persons in other municipalities. In this centers refugees and displaced persons as well as returnees can get legal advice from the Coalitions lawyers. A regular bulletin, "Putokaz" disseminates all relevant information about the conditions for return.

Contact: Vera Gündel, OHR Sarajevo, tel (071) 447 275, fax (071) 447 420.

COALITION FOR RETURN

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Contact: Vera Gündel, OHR Sarajevo, tel (071) 447 275, fax (071) 447 420.

**Report on the Work of the
Coalition for Return
Information Centers
Reporting period July 1998**

1. Strengthening of the Coalition for Return network

Members of the Coalition for Return participated during the whole July in several seminars and round-table discussions, in which most of the time the re-claiming of property and tenancy rights were discussed; this discussions took place in Lukavica, Sokolac, Brcko and Visegrad. Members of the Coalition for Return participated in the mediation visit of mediator for BiH, Mr. Schwarz-Schilling

2. Activities for the forthcoming BiH-wide elections

As concluded during a meeting of the Working body, the Coalition for Return started in July its activities regarding the forthcoming BiH-wide elections. The working body gathered in the beginning of July, in order to discuss a initial political platform. As a guest and friend, Christopher Bennett, deputy chief of office of the International Crisis Group, gave his suggestions about possible involvement of the Coalition for Return in the election campaign. After this meeting, a press-conference was held, which was attended by a big number of journalists. In its press-release, the working body of the Coalition for Return said, that in the forthcoming weeks, the Coalition would seek meetings with the candidates for the presidency and with political parties in order to learn about their vision and program concerning refugee return. Meetings were held so far with Senka Nozica, Kresimir Zubak, Sejfidin Tokic and representatives of the HSS. At the end of August, the Coalition for Return will give

suggestions to the members of their respective associations, for which candidates to vote. Activities in this field will be continued during the next weeks.

3. Coalition for Return Roof Project

The Coalition for Return continues its roof project, almost 2,000 roofs all over Bosnia and Hercegovina were built so far. As one of the critical problems, the issue of double or multiple occupancy remains. Therefor, members of the Coalition for Return Information Centers went to the field to places, where a number of people had received roofing material, and checked, whether this people had moved back or not. In a number of places though, people are still not inhabiting their pre-war houses. Some of them due to objective reasons, some of them not. The Coalition for Return will in the next weeks evident this cases and try to put pressure on the responsible authorities to conduct evictions for those, who are occupying more than one housing unit and could free space for minority returnees. For those, who cannot return so far, since more reconstruction work has to be done on their house, the Coalition for Return lobbies at Humanitarian Agencies to provide additional help "under" the Coalition's roofs.

3. Monthly bulletin PUTOKAZ and media activities

The 13th issue of the PUTOKAZ was printed in July and distributed accordingly.

Press statements were issued after the meeting of the Coalition's Working Body and the first meetings with the local politicians as well as after a new attempt to obstruct refugee return in Bugojno, where for the second time a house was set on fire.

4. Legal advice service

The legal advice service continued to take place in all four centers, though the situation in the Republika Srpska continues to be in stagnation, and it is expected that the adoption of the law on abandoned property will enable the lawyers to offer more detailed help to potential returnees to the RS.

Bosnia



CENTAR ZA ZAŠTITU ŽENA ŽRTAVA ZLOČINA RATA
CENTER FOR PROTECTING THE WOMEN - WAR SACRIFICES



75000 TUZLA, Ul. Bratstva jedinstva 18

Tel. 075/211-598, 211-862

Broj: _____

Datum: _____

LETTER BY FAX

Mrs. Hilary Rodham Clinton
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, District of Columbia
United States of America
202-456-6244

TUZLA VISIT

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

The sympathies and goodwill of the people of Tuzla increased substantially following your husband's visit 13 January, when he was kind enough to meet with many of our local representatives at the Air Base.

So, when it was recently announced you would visit the Air Base at Tuzla on 25 March, our hearts were lifted - especially those of the women in the Centre, because of your expressed wish to visit the Centre as reported on CNN some six weeks ago.

The Centre was formed as a public institution in 1993, with the task of giving support to raped and abused women and their children. Please find attached an english version of our brochure. The only institution of its kind in the country, we are independent and not associated with any political party or government department. Our women and children receive psychological and health aid from our six medical specialists, but minimal material or monetary assistance, except for the funds we are able to raise ourselves. These medical specialists help our people recover psychologically, but the unending challenge we face is training them for returning to their families and a productive life, when they will be able to be self sufficient.

It would be a special honour and recognition if you could find the time to visit the Zastita Zena Centre in downtown Tuzla, to see first hand, the efforts we are making to cope with the tragic consequences our people have experienced.

As a wife, mother and lawyer we think your visit will be genuinely significant - directly and indirectly. In this way, we believe you will contribute substantially to the ability of our women and children to find their place, once more, in a normal life.

Respectfully yours,

Dr. E. Muminhodzic

Dr. Emira Muminhodzic

Director

P.S. If it would help in the planning, a large, open-field sports stadium is only 1.5 minutes from our building. I am told it is an excellent landing area for helicopters.

**...are not
always
visible**

Seven-year-old Klelija

has been beaten and raped
by soldiers. She urgently
needs counselling.

Mumira has lost her family,

her home, her land.
She says her life is over.

The Tuzla Centre for the Protection of Women

(Centar Za Zastitu Zena)
has an international
reputation for its work
helping women and children
like Klelija and Mumira.

**Now it needs
your help too.**

Dear friend

*The Tuzla Centre for the Protection of
Women (Centar Za Zastitu Zena) has won
international acclaim for its work.*

*We have achieved much. But we are in
danger of being overwhelmed.*

*Za Zastitu Zena is run by the Bosnian
health authority, with support from the
Islamic Relief Agency, the Methodist
Church and the ODA.*

But we urgently need more resources.

*We have the skills and commitment to
provide a desperately needed service to
women and children in Tuzla. Please help
us by making a donation.*

*The money you give will come straight to
us here in Tuzla, via the Islamic Relief
Agency, a registered charity which has
supported us from the beginning.*

A sincere thank you for your support.



Dr Elmira Muminhodzic
Director, Za Zastitu Zena

The Tuzla Centre for the Protection of Women (Centar Za Zastitu Zena) is supported by the Methodist Church's Relief and Development Fund, The Islamic Relief Agency and the Overseas Development Administration (the aid wing of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

the lasting scars of Bosnia's war...



a unique haven...

Centar Za Zastitu Zena

is a unique haven for women and children caught up in Bosnia's brutal war.

Skilled counsellors help rebuild lives torn apart by rape, violence and devastation.

Experts agree that without counselling many will never recover from the trauma of war.

Run entirely by Bosnian doctors, Za Zastitu Zena also offers desperately needed medical care - including gynaecological treatment not readily available elsewhere.

Did you know that four out of five war victims in Tuzla are women and children?

Please help us to help them.

an appeal to you...

A donation to Za Zastitu Zena will be used to:

- Buy extra medical supplies (medicine is in desperately short supply)
- Extend medical and counselling services in the refugee centres where women live
- Create a new occupational therapy and skills training unit to provide instruction in computing, secretarial, language and domestic skills
- Set aside quiet areas where we can begin the long process of counselling and support to victims of rape and violence

...help us reach more women and children

Za Zastitu Zena is currently supporting more than 1,000 women.

But with nearly 100,000 refugees in Tuzla the centre is desperately over-stretched.

That's why we need your help...



...helping people recover from the trauma of war

Once hostilities end the trauma of war will not go away. Unless we reach women and children now, it will carry its poison into the next generation too.

"Yes... I want to help women and children in Bosnia"

£10 will help to equip our occupational therapy unit.

£15 will pay for basic counselling for one woman or child - the first steps towards healing the mental scars caused by rape and violence.

£25 will pay for initial medical care for one refugee.

I enclose a donation for:

☐ £5 ☐ £10 ☐ £25 ☐ £50 ☐ £100

☐ Other

Cheques can be made payable to either The Islamic Relief Agency or The Methodist Relief and Development Fund

Name

Address

Postcode

☐ Please send me a quarterly bulletin with latest news on the work of Za Zastitu Zena. (For administrative reasons we can only do this if you are able to donate £25 or more). First issue March 1995.

Please send this coupon, together with your cheque, to either:

Za Zastitu Zena Appeal, Islamic Relief Agency
PO Box 1301, Camp Hill, Birmingham B11 1QP
or

Za Zastitu Zena Appeal
Methodist Relief & Development Fund
1 Central Buildings, London SW1H 9NH

Bosnia

LAEL STEGALL

SOCIAL CHANGE INTERNATIONAL

FAX to 456-6244. 3 pages

Personal and ConfidentialDETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKINGINITIALS: Ry DATE: 6/3/2015
2013-0534-5

TO: Melanne Verveer, Office of the First Lady
FROM: Lael Stegall
DATE: March 19, 1996
RE: Hillary Clinton Trip to Bosnia

ESP works! I was so pleased to get your call last night about the First Lady's planned visit to Tuzla. Her mission to meet with US troops is so important. Knowing you and her interests, I fully believe an hour or two with indigenous community groups -- especially some of the remarkable new independent women's groups set-up to deal with trauma, reconstruction AND the future -- would be an important addition to the agenda. Furthermore, her interest could give dramatic, positive attention to the constructive work being led by Bosnian women who are working with all nationalities in their communities.

Let me be frank to say that the NGO/women's initiatives deserve some recognition in a time when traditional players in the USAID and reconstruction community are giving primary focus to "hard" development activities. bridges, buildings, factories etc. Indeed, the current USAID director, Craig Buck, is alleged to dislike NGOs, "touchy feely" projects (this means humanitarian/women/democracy) etc. I have to believe he just hasn't had good exposure to ones that work, like STAR! Your visit can help "educate" him and others whose vision is fairly traditional.

I know that many Americans are so anxious to hear the voices of real people who are forces for democracy and pluralism in their communities. I enclose the list of groups with local contact numbers. I will FAX to you one more listing when I get it: BOSFAM, a very special group in Tuzla. A little anecdotal information about some of these groups:

1. **Medica Zenica** is the premier residential care center for women and children who experienced some of the worst violence. The staff of 70 (the program began 3 years ago with two women and a German gynecologist who drove her van through the front lines) manage three warm, caring women-centered houses, an exceptional clinic, counseling center, and health outreach programs to women in villages. The STAR project has funded a communications/media center which just recently published its first health bulletin. Mirjana Sanjac, Duska Ruzic, Selma, Meliha, Nuna, Rada and others

would be exceptional women to include in a briefing.

2. **ZENE 21** in Sarajevo is a women's magazine/newspaper that has been published throughout the war under the most unimaginable conditions. Nurdzihana Djozic is the editor - a quiet, dignified powerful leader who brought together women to write profiles in courage, articles dealing with stress and violence, coping skills for parents with young children - all interspersed with some humor, astrology, recipes and other symbols of ordinary life. The staff is multi-ethnic and up until recently has worked entirely as volunteers. Approximately 7,500 copies are now printed, each read by an estimated 30 people. STAR has given a \$40,000 grant to underwrite staff costs and reporting on women's health.

ZENE 21 would be the perfect outlet for an interview of HRC. You all would be inspired by Nurdzihana and her team. These are new players who will host a women's conference in Sarajevo late June: Women Transforming Themselves and Society; Women and Families; Women in Politics; Women and Employment; Women and the Law; Women and the Media. STAR and private US money will give support to this historic gathering. Also, Ambassador William Frowick and Bill Stuebner of OSCE/elections coordination see this gathering as an important building block in mobilizing women for the late summer elections.

These two projects represent the best of local women's leadership. And, I am very proud that our modest STAR funds, technical assistance and encouragement has gone to these groups. Our project manager, Claudia Crawford was pleased to have talked with the First Lady about STAR at the January White House reception. Now, you will see, first hand, the inspiration for our work.

I know you will call me if I can be of further assistance as you advance the Bosnia trip. Your timing is excellent. My hope is that your trip will prompt greater awareness about brave, bold women and men who are working for peace in their communities.

Best wishes.

Delphi/STAR: Identified Women's Independent NGOs

**ANNOTATED LIST OF LOCAL, NON-NATIONALIST, ADVOCACY-ORIENTED WOMEN'S
NGOs in the Yugoslav Successor states (Identified as of January 1996)**

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Medica Zenica

Contact: Duska Andric Ruzic

Meokusnice 10

72000 Zenica

Tel: 387-72-37-104 Fax: 387-72-412-733

Email: medica_ze@zamir-tz.ztn.apc.org

The Women's Therapy Center "Medica" in Zenica, Central Bosnia, is an independent non-governmental women's organization that began its work caring for war traumatized women and girls in April 1993.



Zena 21, Sarajevo

Contact: Nurdzihana Djozic

Ferhadija 31

71000 Sarajevo

Tel: 387-71-441-908 Fax: 387-71-472-515

Email: zena21_sa@zamir-sa.ztn.apc.org

Sarajevo-based women's magazine and club of professionals and activists. Monthly magazine spotlights profiles of individual women and advice from medical, legal and psychological experts. Currently prints 5,000 copies, with a much greater demand than availability.

8

Vive Zene, Tuzla

(Center for traumatized Women and Children)

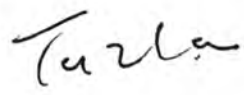
Miladje bb

75000 Tuzla

Tel/Fax: 387-75-213-836

Email: vivezene_tz@zamir-sa.ztn.apc.org

Tuzla organization providing self-help groups for traumatized women, similar to Medica Zenica.



NPA Center for Women, Zenica

Cakana Mulalica 5

72000 Zenica

Tel: 387-72-418-436 Fax: 387-72-415-358

Norwegian People's Aid psychosocial center for traumatized women.

ZAR, Sarajevo

Tel: 387-72-471-189

Union of thirty-eight women's associations of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Marie Stopes, Mostar

Local women's health NGO formed with support of British NGO, Marie Stopes International.

Bosnia

LAEL STEGALL

SOCIAL CHANGE INTERNATIONAL

FAX to 456-6244

TO: Melanne Verveer, Office of the First Lady

FROM: Lael Stegall

DATE: March 21, 1996

RE: Bosnia Trip: Local NGOs and Women

Just a quick follow-up to say that the women in Bosnia are very anxious to meet with you and the First Lady in Tuzla. I assume you have my memo of the other day which details the key groups in Tuzla, Zenica and Sarajevo. I had a chance encounter with Nancy Rubin who will soon be going to Bosnia. I was pleased to learn that she has sent you a similar letter urging contact with women leaders.

I understand that there may be a round-table on Sunday in which you will meet with NGOs. You will be very inspired by the competence and strength of these women leaders. I hope our STAR colleagues from MEDICA ZENICA, Vive Zene in Tuzla, Bosfam in Tuzla and ZENE 21 in Sarajevo will be there. An interview with ZENE 21 would reach thousands of women for whom Hillary Clinton is a symbol of compassionate, competent independence and leadership.

Do call if I can offer further counsel. Have a wonderful trip.

Best wishes. Lael Stegall

*file Bosnia***BARBARA SMITH, 10:49 AM 12/29/97, Fwd: Clinton visit report**

Return-Path: <BARBS@intrescom.org>
Date: Mon, 29 Dec 1997 10:49:42 -0500
From: BARBARA SMITH <BARBS@intrescom.org>
To: ircgov@igc.apc.org, HAROLD@intrescom.org
Cc: Rlevy@intrescom.org
Subject: Fwd: Clinton visit report

Sheppie, I f you do not choke on the part about Swanee, I think this is a good summary of what Mrs. Clinton heard from IRC.

Happy New Year and we will talk about the follow-up.

Sue is one of the great all time all stars. You know how psychosocial people are....
Barbara

Message-ID: <dc1225b1.34a6c7cb@aol.com>
Organization: AOL (http://www.aol.com)
X-Mailer: Inet_Mail_Out (IMOV11)
Date: Sun, 28 Dec 1997 16:42:33 -0500
From: Dee7779284 <Dee7779284@aol.com>
To: BARBS@intrescom.org
Cc: Sue.Dwyer@irc-bh.tel.hr
Subject: Clinton visit report

Dear Barbara,

I hope you and your family had a wonderful Christmas!

Here is a report on my meeting with Hillary Clinton.

In the meeting there were three international NGO leaders, four national NGO leaders, Hillary Clinton and Swanee Hunt. There were observers from the US Embassy, USAID and the White House. We met from 8:45 to 10:15 Monday morning.

Mrs. Clinton began the meeting by saying she didn't come to give a speech, but to here from us of the progress made in BiH in the last two years. We each were given a few minutes to introduce ourselves and describe our work. The she opened up the meeting for an open dialogue.

In my introduction I described the NGO Development Projects work and expressed the importance of her visit. I told her though Dayton's implementation has been slow and democratic practices dismal, the BiH independent sector is multi-ethnic, working across the IEEL, promoting and advocating for civil society and moving at lightening speed. I explained that the independent sector is making great progress, but unfortunately this is not what makes it into the press. I stated that there are great things happening on the ground in BiH, but they are rarely recognized or acknowledged. Mrs. Clinton then spoke and agreed that it is unfortunate the progress of independent sector does not make it into the press, when it plays a critical role in the future of BiH.

I also explained that unlike the political situation, the BiH NGO independent sector has great indigenous momentum and is internally driven. I explained to her that the inherent problems within BiH won't be solved through the political and economic systems, but through the independent sector.

Others in the group spoke about micro-credit for women, the role of women in BiH, legal needs of the independent sector.

After the initial round, a general dialogue began and I told Mrs. Clinton that it was very unfortunate that none of our R.S. independent sector colleagues were attending the meeting. I told her the R.S. independent sector is in a much more nascent stage of development in comparison to the Federation, due to lack of funding and capacity building assistance. (I again stated that the inherent problems in R.S. will be addressed by the independent sector not the

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BARBARA SMITH, 10:49 AM 12/29/97, Fwd: Clinton visit report

politicians or business leaders.) She asked why this was and I explained it was due to donors response to the political situation. I explained that in the past, USAID's policy did not permit us to support NGOs in R.S. and there was still lack of resources available to the independent sector in R.S. She asked if we (IRC) had done any work in R.S. with the independent sector and I told her it was difficult being a U.S. based NGO trying to raise funds for this cause, but that we "begged, borrowed and stole" and have been able to implement extremely effective civil society programs, primarily through the assistance of the Dutch. I told her that due to the bad politics in R.S., support for any civil society activities is extremely important and critical for change in R.S.

At this point, Mrs. Clinton asked for questions from us for her or others present in the room. I asked the following, "since the seminal event for the independent sector was the war, the primary donors have been relief and humanitarian agencies. Many of these NGOs are downsizing, operating with much smaller budgets and are no longer able to support the sector on the scale that is needed. I told her that I called some of the traditional donors for the independent sector in other parts of Central and Eastern Europe, i.e. Ford, Rockefeller, to assess their interest in BiH, and was told their intention was to move further east, not south. I told her the lack of funding for LINGOs is inhibiting the development of the sector and asked her what the US government's intention regarding support of the independent sector beyond June of 1998, when most of its current grants end."

Mrs. Clinton asked why there is a lack of donor interest for the independent sector in BiH from these donors. I explained it was due to the perception (reality) that the region is still not stable. She asked how they could help in changing this perception or encouraging new donor involvement. I told her that Swanee Hunt had brought in the President of C.S. Mott Foundation last year and after visiting the region and meeting IRC representatives IRC was able to secure funds from them for the independent sector. Swanee Hunt then spoke about the visit, the assistance IRC provided and the importance of having potential new donors visit the region.

In response to further US support of the independent sector, an Embassy representative stated they were committed to continued support of the sector.

Mrs. Clinton asked more generally what we would like from the US regarding support. One of the national NGO leaders stated a need for equipment. Mrs. Clinton asked specifically what kind of equipment. As a list was developed I spoke up again and explained that equipment purchases need to be done in partnership with capacity building. I stated that it is easy to buy NGOs computers, but it takes capacity building assistance to make them useful. I told her I have visited NGOs with beautiful new computers that go unused. (I didn't tell her the majority have been provided by USAID's OTI.) The US Embassy representatives were nodding in agreement to this.

Mrs. Clinton asked about Europe's support for the sector. I briefly told her about the EU's Phare program, but explained they were not playing a leading role in the development of the sector.

In my final comment, I spoke about the need for the US to support the successes of BiH, the independent sector. It is not enough to concentrate on the problems, but the US needs to build on the successes, especially the indigenous successes, not just internationally driven ones.

It was a great meeting Barbara. Mrs. Clinton was informed and thoughtful. She asked many questions, took many notes and appeared very engaged in the discussion. I also felt I was able to effectively advocate for the BiH independent sector and promote IRC's work. I was surprised by how much time we were given. I had told colleagues, "I just want 5 minutes to express my thoughts. Just five minutes." They laughed and said, "That is good, because you are certainly not going to get more than 5 minutes." To end up having an hour and a half and a substantive discussion was great.

✓ CC: Melanne
Bosnia file

29DEC97

MEMORANDUM

TO: The First Lady

FROM: Guy L. Smith

SUBJ: Local Bosnia NGOs Funding

Dear Hillary:

Again, let me say a sincere thank you for including me in the delegation on the Bosnia trip. It was an incredible experience.

Further to our conversation during the trip regarding how to help the local Sarajevo-based NGOs to get funding for their efforts, here are a few thoughts that are likely to produce some funding.

Identify about 20 major foundations (e.g. Pew, Rockefeller, Ford, Robert Wood Johnson) and invite them to a meeting at the White House. Also invite two or three reps of the local NGOs who attended your meeting in Sarajevo.

Hold the meeting in the Map Room, in the evening.

At the meeting you say a few words about what is going on in Bosnia, how local NGOs, such as those represented there that evening, are making a vital contribution to nation-building, freedom-building, and economy-building in Bosnia.

Have the Bosnia NGOs speak about what they are trying to do, what they have accomplished so far, and what challenges they face (including funding).

Then ask the representatives of the foundations to send someone to Bosnia to "assess" the work of the local NGOs and how they might support such efforts. By asking the foundations to merely send a representative to assess, rather than asking them to support and fund, they will have a much harder time saying no.

Probably half of the foundations present at the Map Room meeting will actually send a representative to Bosnia and about half of those who send someone will actually fund something--but that will be five or 10 projects that will very likely make a big difference.

Followup the White House meeting hosted by you a month or so later with a "briefing" for the same foundation representatives. Have people from the NSC, State, and Commerce, as well as your staff, make presentations on how things are going in Bosnia. Your attendance wouldn't even be necessary, other than maybe a drop-by. Such a followup meeting will keep a subtle pressure on them to fund something.

Anyway, this is just a basic outline of a plan that will bring action--and funding from non-government sources--to the discussion you had in Sarajevo with the local NGOs on helping them find funding.

If you think it's appropriate, I'd be happy to further discuss the fine points of these thoughts with your staff.

See you at Renaissance. Maybe we can discuss it further there.

Sincerely,

Guy