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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
SUGGESTED INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
EASTERN EUROPE SLIDE SHOW
AUGUST 22, 1996
[use what you wish]

[Acknowledgements: Mrs. Kwasnieska (kvahshNYEVshah); Secretary Kantor; Administrator Atwood; Congressman Evans; Your Excellencies, the Ambassadors who have joined us]

- I went to Central Europe to demonstrate solidarity with the peoples of this region, with their effort to join, at long last, the Western democratic family.
- America has a job to finish at the end of this century. Millions of Americans fought in WWII to bring freedom to all of Europe. But liberation was incomplete. One third of a continent remained under the heel of an oppressor.
- Now, with communism overthrown, we can finish the job; we must stand with the nations of Central Europe, helping them build secure, prospering, free market democracies. We must eliminate the consequences of the Cold War.
- This was my message: the American people will not give up or retreat, but will stand for freedom and security with the people who have shown such intense devotion to our common cause of democracy.
- I was inspired by what I saw in Central Europe, where I met with free men and women building democracy, from the ground up. I had read and heard and even seen a little of the progress Central Europe has made since 1989. But seeing it close up, in depth, was moving: great cities are coming back to life; young people believe in their future; the normal fabric and institutions of free societies -- things we take for granted -- are returning after being banned for fifty years.
- All my life, I have been concerned with the social building blocks of democracy -- with families, children and their needs -- and with the values that must lie at the foundation of democracies. And so it was important to me to see how progress is being made in addressing these issues, in building what can be called civil societies -- normal, free society in a democracy.
- We -- Americans and Central European working together -- must make this a reality. And we will. We will erase the line of the Cold War and bring Europe's new democracies into the West. We will do so because that is the right thing to do; because that is what our own values tell us we must do.

■ The heart of Western democracy -- the thing that distinguishes us from other systems -- is not military might, for dictators and communists have armies too. The heart of the West is our values, rooted in respect for individuals and the freedom of individuals to enjoy their God-given rights and to exercise their responsibilities.

■ The core institution of Western democracy is not just an alliance of armies, though we need it. It is an alliance of values. In Prague, speaking on the Fourth of July, I spoke of the need to build an alliance of values, an alliance from which our security, political and economic alliances will grow.

■ It was devotion to values that kept the cause of freedom strong through 1956 in Budapest, 1968 in Prague, Martial Law in Poland; and it was devotion to values that led the people of Central Europe to take down communism in 1989. And it is devotion to values that will lead us, together, as we build a united Europe for the 21st century.

■ Challenges remain. The wreckage of communism was so vast that clearing it is painful. The benefits of transformation are huge but still uneven; many feel economically insecure; health, social security and welfare systems need radical reform -- and we know how hard that is; bureaucracies don't always function well. Minorities sometimes feel secure.

■ The democratic forces in Central Europe still need help. And it is in America's interest to offer help. I was pleased to see that in Central Europe U.S. programs are really making a difference.

■ Our Democracy Network program is helping independent, non-governmental organizations work to improve social services, reach out to minority groups, address the concerns of children, women and families. Other assistance programs are helping improve health care systems and local self-government. And, most important, the democratic forces need to know that they are not alone and forgotten -- that the American people are with them.

■ Americans have something to teach as well: about openness, about confidence and looking to the future. Pulling in the same direction, Americans and Central Europeans can make the 21st Century a better time for our children and grandchildren.

█ Lastly, you know this region far better than I. Through dark decades of Soviet domination and communist oppression, you helped keep the flame of hope alive in these once captive nations. Now that freedom has come, you are pressing the effort to consolidate democracy and bring security and free-market prosperity to the nations of Central Europe. And I thank you for all you do.

[Introduce Slides]

CENTRAL EUROPE TRIP

SLIDE 1: *"TRIP OF THE FIRST LADY TO CENTRAL EUROPE"*

SLIDE 2: *MAP OF REGION*

ROMANIA

SLIDE 3: *MAP OF ROMANIA*

ARRIVAL

SLIDE 4: *Arrival in Bucharest, Romania.
Romanian school children with flowers.*

SLIDE 5: *Arrival in Bucharest, Romania.
Romanian school children with flowers.*

REVOLUTIONARY SQUARE

SLIDE 6: *Warm welcome by the crowd gathered in Revolutionary Square.*

- Revolutionary Square is the main site of the 1989 revolution. I saw the Romanian Senate Building, formerly the Central Committee Building, from which the dictator Nicolas Ceaucescu (CHOW-chess-coo) was forced to flee by helicopter on December 22, 1996. The square was the site of armed clashes between rival groups struggling for political power during the uprising.

SLIDE 7: *Laying flowers at the Wooden Cross.*

- The wooden cross was erected in memory of the countless victims of communism in Romania and those who died on the streets during the Revolution.

SLIDE 8: *Receiving a revolutionary flag.*

- This flag flew in Revolutionary Square during the uprising and has bullet holes in it from the fighting.

SLIDE 9: Speaking at the Square of the Revolution.

THEMES:

- It was in this square that the Romanian people showed the world what can happen when people stand up for the cause of freedom.
- I brought a sense admiration, friendship and support from the American people. We share in Romania's aspirations for a free and democratic Romania -- a Romania where human dignity and justice are never again submerged to fulfill the whims of a despot.
- As Romania travels along the road to democracy, America will help. We will help Romania build a society that respects human rights, a free press, and the rule of law.

PEDIATRIC AIDS CLINIC AT LUPU HOSPITAL

SLIDE 10: HRC with staff and children.

- 2,291 Romanians suffer from AIDS -- 91% are children. Romania accounts for more than half of the pediatric AIDS cases for the whole of Europe.
- Many of the children contracted AIDS while housed in orphanages during the Ceausescu era. The orphanages were a breeding ground for AIDS -- unsafe medical practices, badly screened blood, routine blood transfusions for underweight babies and antibiotics administered by injection all played a part in spreading AIDS to children.
- However, conditions have improved dramatically from the harrowing scenes immediately after the Revolution. Usually with the help of foreign charities, many of the worst hospital wards and filthy orphanages have been cleaned and care improved.

SLIDE 11: Children with sunglasses donated by US.

SLIDE 12: Group photo with staff.

GRANDINITA SCHOOL #57

SLIDE 13: Sitting at table in classroom.

- This school is an example of the education reforms in Romania. The school receives joint funding from UNICEF and USAID and is also strongly supported by the state. The

Minister of Education is a Fulbright Scholar who studied in the U.S. and has been advancing improvements in the Romanian education system.

SLIDE 14: Discussion with parents followed by entertainment by children.

- Parents are very pleased with the school's reforms. They see behavior improvements in their children -- most of the children actually enjoy going to school now.

ADVANCED CENTER FOR NURSING EDUCATION

SLIDE 15: HRC addressing group.

- My visit happily coincided with the dedication ceremony for the newly-established Advanced Center for Nursing Education, which capped the end of a six-year effort by the United States to help improve health care services to the Romanian. The Department of Health and Human Services worked with Humana Hospitals, Baylor University and 3M to assist the Romanian Ministry of Health with maternal and child health issues as well as broadening the role of nurses. They provided training programs, as well as direct donations of equipment, supplies and technical literature.
- This Center's funding initially came from a World Bank loan, which in turn leveraged the private funding. The Center is a wonderful example of the many public-private partnerships working in Central Europe. When the necessary tools are provided, a system like Romania's can become self-sufficient and begin to provide high-quality care to the people.
- It was at the Center that I made remarks to the people of Romania. I told them that it was no secret that the oppressive hand of Communism left a deeper imprint in Romania than almost anywhere in Europe. Romanians suffered through some of the most misguided economic policies, the most cynical disregard for human rights, the most abusive forms of social repression. From the smallest villages to the largest urban centers, the Romanian people bore a daily burden unimaginable in the West. Yet now, they are poised to break through to a new era -- a new era politically, economically and socially.

SLIDE 16: Group photo with nurses and American sponsors

- I was joined at the dedication ceremony by representatives of Baylor, Humana and 3M, who were seated next to me in the front row.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ILIESCU

SLIDE 17: Remarks upon arrival at Controceni Palace

SLIDE 18: Meeting with President Iliescu (ILL-ee-es-coo)

- When I met with President Iliescu, I spoke with him about Romania's remarkable transition to democracy. I told him that the United States was aware of the difficult reforms they had undertaken and that the road to democracy is often a hard one.

SLIDE 19: Reception with Government and opposition leaders hosted by Pres. Iliescu.

VILLAGE MUSEUM

SLIDE 20: Looking on as woman paints eggs.

- The village museum represents for Romanians an embodiment of the country's national spirit. The museum was opened in 1936 and encompasses over 80 structures that were removed from Romania's five major regions and then reassembled at the museum. I was able to tour one beautiful house from the 1870's.
- I also met several local craftsmen demonstrating traditional handicrafts on the lawns outside the museum.

SLIDE 21: More egg painting.

SLIDE 22: Weaving.

SLIDE 23: Hand flutes.

NGO FORUM

SLIDE 24: NGO meeting at Elisabeta Palace.

- I met with heads of Romanian NGO's which were all attempting in various ways to strengthen the country's burgeoning civil society and private sector. They are promoting women's issues, safeguarding human rights, helping street children and orphans, and strengthening democratic institutions.
- Private sector activities like this, which are taken for granted in the United States, are completely new to many formerly Communist countries like Romania. They are struggling to establish themselves and become self-sustaining, and look to the United States for both support and guidance.

- Romania, with the widest range of ethnic, religious and cultural groups in Central Europe, must build its strength on the diversity of its people. This will require tolerance and a deliberate effort to assure all segments of society are free to participate and contribute.

SLIDE 25: Wide shot of NGO meeting.

POLAND

SLIDE 26: MAP OF POLAND

- Poland has been the most dynamically successful of the Central European countries since 1989. Its democracy has taken firm root despite frequent changes of government since 1989. Poland has instituted the furthest reaching economic reforms and now boasts the highest growth rate in the region. The ex-communist leadership has generally continued the reforms put in place by earlier Solidarity-organized governments. As I said in my speech at Lazinski Palace:

"Today, the struggle for freedom is over in Poland. And at last, your nation's future is yours to shape. You have built a vibrant democracy in which elections are routine, the press is skeptical and free, and politicians are held accountable for the decisions they make. You have reached out to your neighbors to overcome ancient disputes. Your economy is growing faster than any in Europe.

And thanks to the success of your democratic transformation and your economic reforms, America now looks at Poland in a very different way. Today, Poland is becoming what you have always wanted it to become: a normal European country with normal European problems - and most important, with normal European responsibilities."

ARRIVAL IN KRAKOW

SLIDE 27: HRC is presented with bread and salt by children in traditional dress.

WAWEL (VAH-vell) CATHEDRAL

SLIDE 28: HRC is escorted into the cathedral by Mrs. Kwasniewska and the Priest Prelate of the Cathedral.

- Wawel Cathedral is a living repository of the Poles heart-felt cultural and historical pride. The cathedral is also the emotional center of the Poles' long struggle for independence.

SLIDE 29: HRC and Mrs. Kwasniewska lay flowers at Kosciusko's (Kosh-CHOOSH-koh) tomb.

- Kosciusko (Kosh-CHOOSH-koh) was a hero of both the Polish and American revolutions and has been given a place of honor at the cathedral.

MEETING WITH INTELLECTUALS

SLIDE 30: Meeting with Czeslaw Milosz and Jerzy Turowicz.

- I was honored to meet with two of Poland's leading intellectuals, Czeslaw Milosz (CHEHS-wahv ME-wohsh) and Jerzy Turowicz (YEHR-zhee toor-OH-weech). They were both instrumental in keeping the ideals of democracy and the rights of the individual alive during Communist rule. Milosz won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1980. His writing was banned in Poland, which he had left after WWII when he became disillusioned with communism. He currently teaches Slavic Languages and Literature at the University of California at Berkeley, and divides his time between Poland and the U.S.
- Turowicz is a journalist and editor of a Catholic weekly which provided Poland with an independent voice under communism. He is considered by many to be Poland's moral compass and urges moderation and tolerance in religion and politics, and leads efforts to improve Polish-Jewish relations.

OLD TOWN SQUARE

SLIDE 31: Walking into Old Town Square with Mrs. Kwasniewska (kvash-NYEV-skah).

SLIDE 32: Mrs. Kwasniewska putting a coin into the collection box for the Old Krakow Restoration Fund.

SLIDE 33: Laying flowers at Kosciuszko's memorial plaque.

SLIDE 34: HRC is greeted by thousands gathered in the square.

SLIDE 35: A young Polish fan.

SLIDE 36: HRC making remarks in Old Town Square.

- I was so proud to be in Krakow, the historic capital of old Poland, the birthplace of Poland's democracy, and an important symbol for American democracy as well. Americans

can learn much from Poland's heroic determination to regain freedom, from Poland's commitment to democracy and from Poland's ability to weather the stresses of transformation. Having achieved so much so fast, Poland is set to be a leader and example for the 21st Century.

SLIDE 37: Young fans listening to the speech.

AUSCHWITZ CONCENTRATION CAMP

SLIDE 38: HRC and Mrs. Kwasniewska at the Main Gate of Auschwitz.

- The concentration camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau comprised the largest of the Nazi death facilities. Auschwitz was a concentration camp initially built for Poles; Birkenau was an extermination camp primarily intended to murder Jews. Millions of people, primarily Jews, but also Poles and members of every European nationality, were killed by the Nazis. Today the camps are preserved as a museum, with many of the original structures intact or restored.
- Words cannot express the horror of what happened at these camps. Remarkably, Auschwitz and Birkenau have become centers of remembrance and healing.

SLIDE 39: Barracks.

SLIDE 40: Cell room in barracks.

SLIDE 41: HRC at Wall of death.

- This execution wall is one of the most symbolic areas at the camp and is the site of the killing of a Polish priest who took the place of another man sentenced to die.

SLIDE 42: Photo of George Santayana quote.

BIRKENAU CONCENTRATION CAMP

SLIDE 43: Laying stone at train tracks.

SLIDE 44: Monument of Nations (an international monument to the victims of Auschwitz).

SLIDE 45: Memorial.

ARRIVAL IN WARSAW

SLIDE 46: Arrival in Warsaw.

LAUDER JEWISH CENTER

SLIDE 47: Young boy greeting HRC at Jewish Center.

- The Ronald S. Lauder Foundation is based in New York and encourages Jewish education and religious activity in Eastern Europe. The headquarters in Warsaw houses several activities: a kindergarten and Jewish youth club, the Polish Union of Jewish Students, a Jewish travel agency, a Jewish newspaper, a Jewish veterans group, and the Children of the Holocaust organization.
- The Lauder Foundation's mission is to rebuild a living Jewish community and it is thus far been remarkably successful. It is important for Americans to know that there is still a Jewish community in Poland. This center and the organizations it houses testify to the vitality of the Jewish community, to the triumph of life over death.

SLIDE 48: Group photo with children and staff at the Jewish Center.

SLIDE 49: Meeting with heads of Warsaw Jewish Community.

- After a tour of the building, I met with heads of organizations that are housed in the Foundation headquarters.

MEETING WITH POLISH WOMEN

SLIDE 50: Meeting with prominent Polish women.

- Many of the women I met with in Poland are involved in grass-roots and non-governmental organizations, as well as several leading women in Polish politics, including the Deputy Speakers of the Parliament and Senate.
- The discussion was hosted and moderated by Mrs. Kwasniewska. The women represented a variety of political views, from ex-Communists to Solidarity veterans, but they shared a common commitment to becoming more directly involved in the building of Poland's democratic society. In speeches in Poland and elsewhere, I noted that women have suffered disproportionately from the injustices of Communism and during the transition to the free market.
- Women are the primary caretakers for their families. They

do much of the work in and out of the home. Yet, by and large, their wages have suffered the most since 1989. But I have also seen what happens when women do have access to education, health care, credit, jobs and basic rights. Their families are stronger. Their communities are stronger. Their nations are stronger. Women and children are key to building a civil society -- and to progress and prosperity in every country.

SLIDE 51: Group photo.

GRANT ALLOCATION EVENT

SLIDE 52: Arrival at Lazienki Palace.

SLIDE 53: HRC speaks at grant allocation event.

- I was fortunate to announce that, as part of our ongoing commitment to the Democracy Network Program, the United States Agency for International Development was contributing \$700,000 for 36 small grants to be given out this summer. These grants will be delivered to non-governmental organizations that are building democracy on the front lines in Poland by helping local groups protect their environment, improve health services, and teach children the values of democracy.
- They will also help build bridges of understanding that promote tolerance and quench the flames of hatred stirred up by those who prey on the fears that arise in uncertain times. Above all, the NGOs that enjoy American support are helping people in Poland organize themselves and form associations to solve their problems at the grass-roots level.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KWASNIEWSKI

SLIDE 54: HRC is greeted at the Presidential Palace by Pres. Kwasniewski (kvash-NYEV-skee).

- We discussed Poland and its challenges, as well as President Kwasniewski's upcoming visit to the U.S.

SLIDE 55: Meeting with Pres. Kwasniewski.

SLIDE 56: HRC toast at luncheon hosted by Pres. and Mrs. Kwasniewski.

LITEWSKA (lih-TEW-skah) CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL

SLIDE 57: HRC greeting young boy during tour of endocrinology and hematology units.

- The 73 year old Litewska Children's Hospital is one of the oldest in Poland. It specializes in cardiology, nephrology, and oncology, and was the site of the first open heart surgery performed on a child in Poland.
- Litewska Children's Hospital is another example of a successful public-private partnership in health care. I met with The Friends of Litewska Foundation, which includes managing directors of major U.S. corporations such as G.M., Coca-Cola, Pepsico, and International Paper. The hospital was a wonderful example of how civil society and volunteerism are beginning to meet a wide range of social needs in Poland.

SLIDE 58: Young girl in hospital.

SLIDE 59: Meeting with Board Members of the Friends of Litewska Hospital Foundation.

SLIDE 60: HRC speaking at Board meeting.

PRAGUE, CZECH REPUBLIC

SLIDE 61: MAP OF CZECH REPUBLIC

- The Czech Republic is a fully functioning parliamentary democracy whose citizens enjoy the rights of free speech and free assembly. It has an independent legislature and free press. The Czech economic miracle -- growth, low unemployment, and macroeconomic stability -- is a shining example of what a free people can accomplish after years of tyranny. Because of the Czech Republic's success, other countries in the region look to it as a model for their development.

SLIDE 62: View of Prague skyline.

DINNER AT PRESIDENT HAVEL'S RESIDENCE

SLIDE 63: Pres. Havel greets HRC with flowers.

- I was honored to accept the invitation of Pres. Havel (hah-VELL) for a dinner at his private residence. I was joined by U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright, a native of Prague.

SLIDE 64: HRC, President Havel and Ambassador Albright sit outside President Havel's residence.

RADIO FREE EUROPE SPEECH

SLIDE 65: Kevin Klose provides a tour of the Radio Free Europe facilities. *New headquarters.*

SLIDE 66: Kevin Klose introduces HRC at Radio Free Europe.

SLIDE 67: HRC speech at Radio Free Europe.

THEMES:

- The key event of my visit to Prague was my speech on the Fourth of July, delivered at the headquarters of Radio Free Europe. I noted the world's admiration for the Czech Republic's bloodless "Velvet Revolution" and urged the Czech people to maintain their high standards for developing a civil society.
- Civil society is the vehicle for our values, the way we

convey who we are and what we stand for. And when we encounter the inevitable setbacks and historical bumps in the road, the alliance of values that fuels civil society is what will carry us through.

SLIDE 68: Walking in Wenceslaus Square after speech with Pres. Havel and Ambassador Albright.

OLGA HAVEL FOUNDATION

SLIDE 69: Meeting children who receive services from the Olga Havel Foundation.

- Mrs. Havel founded the Olga Havel Foundation in 1990 to give humanitarian assistance to those who face permanent or long-term health problems, and to facilitate their integration into society. Mrs. Havel passed away earlier this year, but I was pleased to see that the Foundation is carrying her important work.

SLIDE 70: Meeting board of Olga Havel Foundation.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER KLAUS

SLIDE 71: Meeting with Prime Minister Klaus (rhymes with "house").

- Prime Minister Klaus has been the chief architect of the Czech Republic's remarkable transition since 1989. He is a strong advocate of the role of American ideals in Europe and lead government efforts to improve the condition of the Roma minority in the country.
- We discussed the recent election in the Czech Republic and the Prime Minister's achievement in establishing a new government.

SLIDE 72: Tea with Mrs. Klausova (KLOWS-uh-vah).

SLIDE 73: On Palace balcony overlooking Prague with Prime Minister and Mrs. Klaus.

NGO MEETING

SLIDE 74: Meeting with NGO's.

- Czech NGOs are numerous but are only now beginning to promote citizen participation and community involvement in public decision-making. They continue to look to the United States for guidance on how to become a vital element of their country's democratic institutions. Private U.S. groups, USAID and the Peace Corps have helped establish laws for philanthropy and have worked with foreign and Czech countries to support this community. Achieving financial independence is an important goal.

SLIDE 75: Listening to a foundation leader.

SLIDE 76: Greeting an NGO leader after the meeting.

END OF TRAY ONE!!

BOAT RIDE AND FIREWORKS

SLIDE 77: Enjoying a boat ride and fireworks display with Ambassador Albright and President Havel.

- I spent several hours on a wonderful boat ride on the Vltava (vuhl-TAH-vah) River with President Havel and Ambassador Albright. We enjoyed a Fourth of July fireworks display.

ROMA MEETING

SLIDE 78: Meeting with members of the Roma community.

- The Roma community in the Czech Republic numbers 250,000 and still faces widespread discrimination. I learned personally during my meeting with members of the Roma community the problems they confront. They face widespread employment and economic discrimination and many have been unable to acquire Czech citizenship.

PRAGUE CASTLE/HAVEL'S OFFICE

SLIDE 79: In Havel's office with Havel and Ambassador Albright.

- The Prague castle has been the official residence of the President since the founding of the first Republic in 1918. The castle was also the seat of the Holy Roman and the Hapsburg Empires.

SLIDE 80: Looking at a picture in Havel's Office of President Clinton's visit to Prague.

SLIDE 81: St. Vitus Cathedral (at the Prague Castle).

JEWISH CEMETARY

SLIDE 82: Visiting the Jewish Cemetery with Ambassador Albright.

VINOHRADY HOSPITAL

SLIDE 83: Tour of burn unit at Charles University Vinohrady Hospital.

- The Vinohrady Hospital is one of the oldest and largest of Prague's hospitals. Many of the medical staff at this teaching hospital are active in health care reform and development efforts. The hospital receives USAID funding to help improve management and care and to increase the effective management role of nurses. USAID funds also support health sector reform efforts.
- The hospital has teamed up with several U.S. medical institutions to achieve improvements in health care quality in ways that can be transferred to other hospitals in the Czech Republic.

SLIDE 84: Discussion with doctors, nurses and AID representatives at Vinohrady Hospital.

CHILDREN'S HOME

SLIDE 85: Arriving at children's home.

- I also visited a Children's Home associated with the hospital, which cares for 25 abandoned children, age 1-3. Many of them have been abused and many are Roma children. The home is unusual among Czech orphanages, and favors a flexible, family lifestyle for the children.

SLIDE 86: Little boy presenting picture of children.

SLIDE 87: Sitting with two children.

SLIDE 88: Little girl playing with microphone.

SLIDE 89: Sitting with little boy.

CHARLES BRIDGE

SLIDE 90: Walking across the Charles Bridge with Ambassador Albright.

SLIDE 91: Charles Bridge.

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

SLIDE 92: MAP OF SLOVAK REPUBLIC

ARRIVAL IN BRATISLAVA

SLIDE 93: Arrival in Bratislava

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KOVAC (KO-vahtch)

SLIDE 94: President Kovac greeting HRC on arrival at the Primate's Palace.

- Pres. Kovac is Slovakia's first president. He has a leading role to play in protecting and expanding Slovakia's democracy. The U.S. supports Slovakia's democratic aspirations and we will not abandon Slovakia as they continue to build their democratic institutions.

SLIDE 95: Meeting with President Kovac.

SLIDE 96: Signing guest book in Blue Room.

NGO FORUM

SLIDE 97: NGO Forum at the Reduta, home of the Slovak Philharmonic Orchestra.

- I met with 20 leaders of Slovakian NGOs and expressed U.S. support for their role in meeting social needs. NGOs are critical to the fabric of democracy, and I continue to believe that with the help of NGOs, Slovakia will meet the challenge and become a truly pluralistic society.
- My meeting was very encouraging. The NGOs were enthusiastic, undaunted and exhibited a sophisticated understanding of the opportunities and limitations of Slovakia's political, economic and social environment. They spoke of the government's pressure on the NGOs.
- I encouraged the NGOs to continue their work as they provide the opportunities for individuals and groups to exercise their civic responsibility. I expressed the view that it is often difficult for those in elected positions to accept the inevitable criticism that goes with holding office in a democracy, but this criticism is an essential part of the democratic process. Praising the efficient management of

the Democracy Network program, the NGO leaders appealed to me to assure continued U.S. support for their efforts.

SLIDE 98: NGO Forum.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER MECIAR (MAY-char)

SLIDE 99: MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER MECIAR

- In my meeting, I expressed America's support for Slovakia's integration into the West. However, I also stressed the importance of protecting essential freedoms as a firm condition of this process. In light of the government's proposed legislation to restrict the environment of NGOs, I urged the Prime Minister to recognize the essential contribution that NGOs make to the fabric of democracy.

SLIDE 100: HRC signs Golden Book of the City of Bratislava.

PRIMATE SQUARE/OLD TOWN

SLIDE 101: HRC walks en route Primate Square with Mayor Kresanek.

SLIDE 102: HRC greets cheering well-wishers in Square.

SLIDE 103: HRC receives traditional doll.

SLIDE 104: Dancers in traditional costume dancing in Primate's Square.

SLIDE 105: Touring Old Town with Ambassador Johnson.

SLIDE 106: Local shopping.

HUNGARY

SLIDE 107: MAP OF HUNGARY

- Hungary, like the Czech Republic, has made tremendous progress in re-establishing stable democratic institutions and broadening its civil and participatory society. Because it instituted significant economic reforms as far back as the 1960's, by 1989 Hungary was in many respects well ahead of its neighbors in economic development and ties with the international private sector. Hungary is still struggling, however, with the difficulty of providing social services and security in its new economic environment.
- In my remarks and encounters in Budapest, I stated that the U.S. will continue to support Hungary and view Hungary as a good friend and reliable partner. I urged them to stay the course on economic reform, since sustained economic growth in coming years will bring tangible benefits to Hungarians who now feel left behind.

ARRIVAL IN BUDAPEST

SLIDE 108: Visiting the Imre Nagy (im-RAY NAHJ) Memorial

- Imre Nagy, hero to freedom loving Hungarians, was the reform-minded communist Prime Minister who partially inspired the 1956 revolution. As my first stop in Hungary, this was a powerful symbol of the struggle for freedom.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER HORN

SLIDE 109: Meeting with Prime Minister Horn

- I spoke with Prime Minister Horn about Hungary's continued integration into the Western democratic family. I told him how pleased the United States was, that, as Hungary celebrates its 1100th Anniversary, it is rejoining the West. Hungary has shown that the future can be faced with courage and democratic values -- in the 7 years since the end of communism and the 40 years since the Hungarian Uprising, Hungary has come so far.
- I also stressed our appreciation of our excellent bilateral relations. I thanked him for Hungary's willingness to host some 4,000 troops supporting IFOR in Bosnia, and its support in opening the FBI-led International Law Enforcement Academy in Budapest. We also discussed Hungary's relations with its neighbors, and the Prime Minister described his government's

efforts to bring about a historic reconciliation between peoples in the region.

SLIDE 110: HRC tours parliament building with Prime Minister Horn.

SLIDE 111: HRC sitting with Prime Minister Horn at a reception hosted by the Prime Minister.

SLIDE 112: HRC and a group of prominent Hungarian-Americans.

DAILY HELP SERVICE FOUNDATION

SLIDE 113: Local Roma girl greeting HRC

- Hungary's Roma community numbers almost 500,000. They face job and education discrimination and suffer a 60% unemployment rate.
- I met with representatives from the Hungarian Roma community at the Daily Help Service Foundation which provides legal and family counseling, activities for children, parenting classes, job placement and referral assistance in dealing with local government, as well as distributing subsidized food and clothing. The beneficiaries are mostly members of Budapest's large Roma community -- it is Hungary's only foundation offering these services to the Roma community.

SLIDE 114: Tour of Foundation - in discount grocery store.

SLIDE 115: Discussion with representatives of local Roma community.

PRIMAVERA MEETING

SLIDE 116: Primavera meeting.

- I met with the members of Primavera, a women's networking group initiated by Mrs. Vera Blinken, wife of Ambassador Blinken. The group includes women working in education, children's issues, health care, NGOs, Roma issues, politics, media, business and government. Our discussion focused on the impact of Hungary's post-1989 transformation on career women and on the growing role of women in civil society.
- The women lamented their insignificant numbers in government leadership and the fact that 50% of the unemployed are women. They underscored the patience that is required to get through this period of transition.

SLIDE 117: Talking to Dr. Maria Korodi (kuh-ROH-dee), Vice Speaker of Parliament.

HERO'S SQUARE

SLIDE 118: Touring Hero's Square with Ambassador and Mrs. Blinken.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GONCZ (goontz)

SLIDE 119: President Goncz greeting HRC at the President's residence.

- President Goncz has played an outstanding role in Hungary's democratic transition and in promoting national reconciliation. He was an insurgent in the 1956 Hungarian Uprising, and was imprisoned for many years afterwards.

SLIDE 120: Meeting with President Goncz.

POOH HOSPITAL

SLIDE 121: Visiting boy in POOH hospital.

- POOH, also known as the Pediatric Oncology Outreach Hospital, enjoys a partnership between the Kansas Univ. Medical Center through USAID. The Hungary partnership program is a \$2.3 million effort aimed at reducing death rates of children with cancer through early diagnosis, improved monitoring, new treatments, and reduction in infections through better nursing care. Dr. Schuler, the director of the POOH project, first drew the attention of Kansas Univ. through his writings on Hungary's unusually high rate of cancer in children.
- The hospital is one of the premier pediatric Oncology centers in Hungary and is not expanding that expertise to other countries in the region.

SLIDE 122: Staff person presenting HRC with gift

SLIDE 123: Touring hospital with Dr. Schuler.

SLIDE 124: Visiting with young patient.

SLIDE 125: Discussion with parents and physicians.

ESTONIA

SLIDE 126: *MAP OF ESTONIA*

SLIDE 127: *TALLINN SKYLINE*

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MERI (MAY-ree)

SLIDE 128: *Meeting with President Meri.*

- Pres. Meri is Estonia's first president since the country regained its independence in 1991. Estonia has truly been an inspiration for its patriotism and endurance throughout the half-century of occupation.

SLIDE 129: *Close-up of meeting.*

SLIDE 130: *Pres. Meri showing HRC map of Estonia.*

SLIDE 131: *Walking with President Meri at reception with Estonian leaders.*

TOUR OF OLD TOWN

SLIDE 132: *Pres. Meri leading HRC on a tour of Old Town.*

- I could feel the vibrancy of independent Estonia.

SLIDE 133: *Walking through Old Town.*

SLIDE 134: *Old Town.*

SLIDE 135: *Visiting a Co-op for local artisans.*

SLIDE 136: *Co-op.*

CENTRAL TALLINN WOMEN'S CLINIC

SLIDE 137: *Outpatient clinic.*

- The Tallinn Women's Clinic was recently established by Tallinn Central Hospital under the auspices of a partnership between USAID and George Washington Univ. The innovative Women's Clinic provides both reproductive and general health care services for women. This is the first clinic in Estonia to offer a broad range of health services for women.

The collaboration with GW seeks to explore the necessary length of stay for childbirth and an innovative home visit program.

SLIDE 138: Visiting a Lamaze class at the Clinic.

- The Clinic also offers a lamaze-type program designed to prepare pregnant women and their husbands for labor, delivery, and infant care upon their return home.

SLIDE 139: Woman holding newborn baby.

- The Women's Clinic has introduced a family delivery program where fathers participate in the birth of their children.

SLIDE 140: HRC holding baby.

SLIDE 141: Surgical room with new equipment.

- The clinic's surgical suite received \$42,000 worth of equipment donated under the partnership program shortly before my visit. The new equipment will be used for diagnostic procedures, infertility surgery and tumor removal.

NGO FORUM

SLIDE 142: Folk dancers at NGO forum.

SLIDE 143: HRC dancing with folk dancers.

SLIDE 144: HRC dancing in line.

SLIDE 145: Meeting with NGO's.

- I was very pleased to meet with members of the NGO community from Estonia. Estonia's ethnic-Russian minority makes up 29% of the population. I asked about this issue in my meetings with NGOs and community leaders and was impressed with the broad commitment to progress. A representative of the President's Roundtable on Minority Issues described the strains on the ethnic-Russian minority that must adjust to its new situation.
- I heard about grass-roots initiatives where localities have created their own discussion roundtables; about communities which have promoted courses for schoolchildren in civic responsibility; and how rural areas are being taught to establish their own political action groups. I heard the assertion that Estonia is coming to accept a new identity as a multi-ethnic society.

SLIDE 146: *Close-up of meeting.*

SLIDE 147: *Group photo of meeting participants.*

SPEECH AT NATIONAL LIBRARY

SLIDE 148: *Meeting with Prime Minister Vahi (VEH-hee).*

SLIDE 149: *Speech.*

- Before leaving Estonia I delivered a speech addressed to the people of all three Baltic nations at Estonia's newly re-opened National Library before an audience of political and community leaders. The speech was also relayed by video monitor to a nearby square where hundreds of Estonians were gathered. I reiterated our support for the Baltics, stressing we stood by them in the past, and would not abandon them in the future. I praised the progress of the Baltic countries in democracy building and the economy, and expressed admiration for their courage. I also publicly stated our support for the Estonian government's enlightened and courageous approach to its minority population, and stressed the importance of carrying this even further.
- I reiterated my call for an "alliance of values" to guide our democracies as we confront the inevitable challenges of the 21st century: the challenge of keeping peace in a world where ancient hatreds are slow to die and new ones are too easily born; the challenge of giving all citizens the chance to fulfill their God-given potential and participate fully in the life of their country. I told them:

"Democracy gives us the capacity to cope with these challenges. But democracy can only thrive in the post-Cold War era if we are able to convey the values underlying it -- the values of opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human dignity.

And just how do we convey those values to ourselves and, more important, to our children?

We do it by strengthening civil society -- by strengthening the daily associations and actions that weave together the fabric of democratic life...In short, we are creating an alliance of democratic values."

SLIDE 150: *Speech.*

SLIDE 151: Farewell ceremony outside National Library.
SLIDE 152: Boys giving HRC flowers at farewell ceremony.

SLIDE 153: MAP OF REGION

-- end --

**THE SOCIAL ROLE OF WOMEN
IN THE COUNTRIES IN TRANSITION**
(Work in progress)

Alenka Selih, Professor of Law and Criminology, Faculty of Law
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

I. Women's status in the socialist system

It has been often asserted that without understanding and accepting our past we can neither understand our present and nor act for our future. Let me therefore start by giving a brief overview of the social situation of women in the East and Central European countries (ECE countries afterwards) under the socialist system.

In the times when communist regimes seemed to be ever-lasting, there has been a continuous debate on the issue of prevalence between the political human rights and social human rights. As one can expect, the democratic world stressed the former while the communist one emphasized the latter. Women's situation or status can serve as a good illustration of this division. Even if nowadays one runs the risk to be labelled as part of the "old structure" meaning being pro-communist or at least pro-socialist, one has to admit that - in the previous system - some of the social rights have been guaranteed and have been stable. They were given on a relatively low level but were rather secure. In this connection one should name employment, maternity leave, care for children of pre-school age, medical care for the child and the motherhood and some other. These rights have, generally speaking, been given in almost all of ECE countries and have been taken for granted.

However, one could say that this was an agenda that I would call "visible" - it was something that was well known, put in the media, discussed about in the political debate as there was at the time.

There was, however, also a "hidden" agenda: what I mean is that a part from these social rights the whole burden of a woman - being employed, a mother and a wife - had to be carried by herself. In many of these countries taking care of the household was very difficult and time- and energy- consuming task whether we think of shopping for the family or of maintaining the flat where the household appliances of any kind were scarce and very expensive. (Slavenka Drakulic).

The issue of political rights is more intricate: while it has been known that in a one-party rule, these rights could not exist in their real sense, the situation in the case of women's political rights differed to some extent: the party documents - and for that matter, the state documents also, gave great importance to the participation of women but would place to different positions only those who were, of course, considered to be "ours". If we neglect for a moment the fact that a pluralistic political debate was not possible in principle, then we have to state that the participation of women in the party bodies as well as in the political arena had been relatively large: in some cases, it was achieved with "women's quotas", in some cases it was demanded to have the proper gender "structure".

Let us exclude for a moment the principal cause for non-existence of a possibility for public debate - the one-party rule - and concentrate on the women's issue in this very system: here too, when we think of political rights, there existed a "hidden" agenda - the

point was, that the women's participation was in a way only tolerated - the real political power was and remained a male not a female prerogative.

Apart from political rights *par excellence*, one has to mention specially a particular right having had enormous effect on the women's situation: the right to education. Here, one has to admit that the participation of female generations has been steadily increasing. While the situation in different ECE countries differed, in all of them the ratios of female generations that participated in the middle and higher education increased dramatically - nowadays, at least half of university populations are females. This has had and will have a lasting and all-embracing effect on these societies at large.

2. Women's expectations in 1989.

Human rights were one of the most potent underlying forces in the opposition to the communist one-party rule in the years preceding the 1989. changes. On the human rights issue and, hence, the right to pluralist society, many very different social and political forces could find a common platform to voice their discontent with the existing structure of the state and of the society and to demand profound and immediate social changes.

Among these different groups, some women's groups also found their place - I dare not call them "feminist". So, e.g. in Slovenia groups demanding equal political representation of women, open debate on family violence, the right of free choice of sexual orientation were formed; in Croatia, one could say that, at the end of the 80-ies, a group of women articulated true feminist demands.

Looking from today's perspective, it seems that women who joined these heterogeneous opposition groups were predominantly of liberal or left orientation and expected from the changes fulfilment of their demands, which would mean - to achieve on top of social rights they had been given also the political rights, above all participation in the public decision-making, that is to say, in politics. The conservative part of the population in general - and especially of women - was during the times when the changes of 1989 had been slowly under preparation more or less absent - for different reasons, one of them being that it had been stronger suppressed and, hence, more hesitant.

In fighting for political pluralism, the opposition groups believed that the future political structure would be a democratic one and the future economic orientation would be a social market economy - with a strong emphasis on *social* - with all its connotations, especially as regards employment, medical and social care.

The ways in which these expectations were fulfilled differed sharply. Achievement of some of the basic human rights and freedoms - political freedoms, property, national sovereignty - came among others, as a result of the loss of other especially social and economic rights.

3. Women as victims of the changes of 1989?

I will not talk about the main political reform which took place after 1989 - multi-parties elections and its consequences in the political life and state structure. Also, it is common knowledge that the economic reforms in these countries were carried out under the influence of IMF and WB experts who prescribed four main medicines:

- quick privatization of state owned enterprises and services
- liberalization of the import of goods and liberalization of state controlled prices
- stabilization of national currency
- diminution of the budget deficit.

This "shock therapy" led in majority of the ECE countries to development of a European nineteenth century capitalism characterized by big social differences between the have and the have-nots, impoverishment of the middle class - and by massive unemployment (e. g. Slovenia: 1989 - 13.000, 1992 - 130.000).

As these are well known developments I will not dwell upon them. Let me rather have a look into the situation in which women found themselves after the changes.

On the political arena, opposition groups - which were often more a movement than a political party (e. g. Solidarnosc, Demos) - after coming to power often split or differentiated into different political parties - some liberal or left, other conservative or right, some of them at the center. With the conservative part of the political palette, their attitudes towards women also became apparent: in ECE countries one used in the beginning of this century to describe these attitudes with "three big K" : Kinder, Kuche, Kirche - children, kitchen, church. Nowadays, these attitudes are translated into modern slogans, e. g. maternity leave of three years - after which a very small number of women could start working again.

As for political representation of women in the parliaments or local government, it has been dropping since 1989. and reached its lowest during the last few years. From about

20% in the communist-times it is now down to 10 - 12-% at maximum or even lower.

Additionally to this, in some countries women have no ministerial posts (e. g. Slovenia).

On the economic field, far the toughest problem has become unemployment of women.

With this issue different approaches had been advocated:

- the paternalistic view maintains that it is impossible to even speak of women's work if men are jobless too;
- the liberal argument says that the boss is entitled to keep the best workers only - since young women have babies and have to take care for them - they are not deemed good workers. A number of violations of human rights (e. g. the right to self-determination) have been committed because of this view : women are asked to sign a blank form of notice when starting to work; women are asked to renounce in a written form to have children during a certain time (one, two, three years).
- finally, woman's place is at home anyway proclaim the conservatives.

One of the features emerging in the ECE countries during the last years is also the fact that those professions in which the ratio of women is great (teachers, doctors, workers in the textile industry) are worse paid than others. Finally, while a half of the unemployed working force are women the average period of seeking the first or a new employment is twice as long for women than it is for men. It is therefore not surprising that beside different discriminatory practices in regard with working contract such violations like sexual harassment tend to increase. To counteract this, in some countries special targeted projects have been introduced and sponsored by Open society or other non-government funds.

Finally, as regards the social-welfare field, the ECE countries have witnessed a kind of a break down of the support systems (social welfare, medical care, pension systems) - the degree of these break-downs has been different but they have occurred everywhere; partly due to the fact that the BNP has fallen in all of these countries and had not been high anyway (the highest being in Slovenia, 15.000 USD).

4. Establishment of women's civil-society initiatives - slow in coming

The existing ECE countries are so strongly dominated by the parties - Vaclav Havel once said that it seemed the parties are the owners of the state - that it is almost impossible to imagine that the male part of the new political elite would do anything to improve women's political situation and/or their political power. Also, the living conditions of these new political elites have been secured on a (relatively) high level - and, with all the economic difficulties - it would be hard to find a group of persons who enjoy such status and would direct their work so that they may eventually loose it.

Let me illustrate this with a recent TV talk-show in Slovenija. The 8th of March, the anniversary of Chicago women's demonstrations, used to be Women's Day in the communist regime. Once a year, men would show some special attention to women. This year, the TV Slovenia - on the initiative of a women's civil society proposal - accepted to include a talk-show on the topic on "women in the politics" in its prime time program - under the condition that only men, the political leadership of the country, would discuss this topic with a male moderator from abroad (the Netherlands). There was a lot of apologies from the chairmen of the political parties; some of the chairmen sent substitutes

(not always vice-chairmen); some were (probably to their relief) on official trip outside the country. This group of men agreed that it was really a problem not to have half of the population represented in the parliament; agreed that this was discrimination. But when it came to the causes for this deplorable state of affairs they found all sorts of them - but none of them accepted the moderator's view that perhaps the parties nomination procedures were inadequate or should be changed. Neither did they accept the quota system. The main message of the show was that this was a problem - but somebody else not the top politicians should solve it.

Who then?

Maybe the answer lies in the women's initiatives which modestly and slowly take place in different countries and in different ways. While I am not able to give any comprehensive comparative picture of them, I can report on one that seems broader, crossing the state boundaries and may be promising.

On the initiative of the West-European socialist and social democratic parties, a project started in 1994. on the "Status of Women in ECE Countries". During the first years, seven workshops were organized in these countries dealing with particular topics (Labour policy, Trade Union Movement and Role of Women; Women's Perspective on Economic and Social Development, Women and the Media, Women in Civil Society, Family Issues in ECE Countries). An extensive information and data base has been accumulated; during the years the project staff worked with over 150 women's organisations, groups etc in more than 20 ECE countries. In the second stage of the project a centre was opened in Budapest in February 1998. The aim of which is to serve as an organiser of meetings, seminars etc; collect and transmit information on women's

issues. The network, consisting of women's organisations and the centre, has started to elaborate particular issues women in ECE countries are confronted with: trafficking of women from ECE countries to Western countries; women in war; violence against women in the family, sexual harassment at the working place. Primarily, however, the centre is concerned with the problem of gender equality in political representation. The interdependence of this issue and the level of development as well as the level of democracy has been generally acknowledged. The increased conservative and patriarchal attitudes in the ECE countries contribute a lot to lower participation of women in decision-making processes. The results of discussions in different meetings, organized by the centre, suggest also that women's organisations and women's politics should be above party politics.

Women's initiatives are slowly being developed on national level - although results may be mixed. In many countries in the region, SOS hotlines for women (combined sometimes with lines for children) have been set up - they deal predominantly with family violence, but recently also with sexual harassment issues; shelters for victims of family violence have been set up. A region-wide program on sexual harassment on the working place has been initiated and is now in its final stage. However, crucial problems -which are also the most difficult to be tackled - like unemployment, gender equality - have not been dealt with in a concrete way.

5. The potential of law as an agent of change

During the (almost) a decade of post-communist rule in ECE countries some tendencies of general character have emerged in the area of women's issues. As shown in this lecture, on the economic side, the protection and security of women's working place have been lowered; as a consequence practices which are clearly infringements of law have appeared (women's statements to the employer that they would not have a baby for certain time; employer's demands of undersigning in advance without any date which is kept by the employer). On the political side, the decreasing number of women representatives in the parliaments and the governments has been evident. With the increase of some conservative and patriarchal attitudes in the political arena as well as in the church, some very retrograde legal instruments have been introduced and certainly will be in the future. Among them by far the most important refers to abortion laws where the pro choice and pro life debate in the countries that already dealt with the issue, had been extremely heated and divided.

Women's studies in general are in their first step of development and women's legal studies are quasi non-existent.

Nevertheless women's NGO have so far contributed also in the legal field in pushing pieces of legislation on some critical issues. Provisions of the protection of witnesses in family violence and rape cases have been introduced or are in the procedure; in some legal systems, the rape in marriage has been introduced as a criminal offence; changes in labour laws introducing sanctions for sexual harassment have been proposed. These

activities while very positive have been sometimes presented to the public with too much of activism and therefore sometimes not met with understanding.

If women's human rights should become reality in ECE countries they have to be conceived as general human rights; legislation should be reviewed on the issue of non-discrimination or equal opportunity criteria. These two exercises embrace generally speaking the whole legal system and, if taken seriously, would represent an enormous and hard task. If taken seriously, they would most probably run also against the "moral majority" (and often also against political) in these countries. Therefore, the role of law as an agent of change can be questioned. These countries and their populations have lived for decades in a system in which the law and the legal system have been understood and used as tools for "human and social engineering" - legal norms have been passed by the so-called rubber-stamp-parliaments and very often, the real life ran counter them. (Zupanov - a system for dinosaurs). So the question arises how far can the law go in trying to enhance new legal values? Can we expect it to be implemented if it runs against an existing mainstream? Is it not to remain only "the law on the books" ? The dilemma is a real one because if these legal systems will embrace the attitudes which were prevailing in the post-modern world about 50 or 60 years ago the gap between these two worlds will ever remain and become larger.

Perhaps women should take different avenues: small changes with particular issues; initiation of women's legal studies at the universities; pressure on political parties to ensure greater women participation in political life. Maybe these are some of the possibilities for a "backlash" (if I may use Susan Faludi's expression) in women's issues in ECE countries.

file Central Europe

July 24, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

CC: SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR TONY LAKE
USAID ADMINISTRATOR BRAIN ATWOOD

SUBJECT: REPORT ON CENTRAL EUROPE AND BALTIC TRAVEL ←
JULY 1-11, 1996

The purpose of my eleven-day visit to Romania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Estonia and Finland was to demonstrate this Administration's commitment to supporting the countries of Central Europe and the Baltic region on the road to democracy. These countries rightfully consider themselves part of Europe, and they are eager and motivated to permanently erase the artificial political and cultural dividing lines imposed during fifty years of Communist rule.

The timing was important. The runoff for the Russian Presidential elections on July 3 was a subject of considerable interest and some anxiety in the region. In addition, each of the countries I visited had either been through their own elections recently or were preparing for elections in the near future. Democracy was very much on their minds.

Each of these countries has approached the transition from a Communist to a democratic and free market system in its own way, and with varying success, but I was particularly impressed with their strong shared dedication to integration into the Western family of democratic nations. A constant theme in my meetings with heads of state and political leaders was their view that a complete and successful integration into the West depends to a great degree on the leadership of the United States. This is particularly true with respect to the enlargement of NATO. They impressed upon me their conviction that the United States is best suited to guide and assist the region in addressing the challenges that lie ahead.

During my trip, I focused primarily on the social building blocks of democracy, arguing that these countries' shared desire for integration with the West should include a shared commitment to the development of responsible, civil societies. In events, meetings, and speeches, I stressed the need for "an alliance of values" that make democracy strongest - rule of law, equal rights for women and minorities, freedom of the press, and inclusion of all sectors of society in addressing social and humanitarian issues.

In each country, I was encouraged by the enthusiasm and commitment of community groups and non-governmental organizations to building and maintaining democracy. It is clear that these groups are building democracy from the ground up and are creating a solid tradition of citizen participation. To catalyze their efforts, these groups welcome and need U.S. guidance on techniques for approaching problems and raising funds. I remain

concerned that decreases in the U.S. foreign assistance budget may cause us to abandon these fledgling NGOs too soon.

I was pleased to see the partnerships that were emerging from U.S. investments in the health sector. U.S. companies and educational institutions are finding that there are mutual benefits in the relationships they have established in the region's hospitals, medical training facilities, and clinics.

The Democracy Network Program, which you announced in Prague in January 1994, is now up and running in eleven countries of Central and Eastern Europe. We met with local groups involved in this program which are improving social services, helping minorities, addressing women's concerns, and strengthening civil society.

I also saw that the introduction of democratic values has not been without problems. Some minority communities still feel less than welcome, private community organizations are frustrated by legislative and bureaucratic barriers, opportunities for women are underdeveloped, and some segments of society have yet to realize the benefits that flow from political and economic independence. Nevertheless, the countries and people of the region have made tremendous progress and deserve our continued support.

SCHEDULE OF SPEECHES AND EVENTS

In each country, through public remarks and events as well as private meetings, I sought to reaffirm the themes of U.S. support and the development of a civil society.

ROMANIA

My first stop was in Bucharest, and this was where I received the most enthusiastic public welcome. Long considered to have been on the wrong side of the dividing lines in Europe (Ottoman vs. Holy Roman Empire, Orthodoxy vs. Catholicism, Warsaw Pact vs. NATO), Romanians are desperate to become a part of the West. They recognize they have an important opportunity now, but are not confident of acceptance, and worry that their neighbors, Ukraine and Hungary, are getting more attention. Romanian officials, including President Iliescu, stressed their desire for membership in NATO, which is supported by 97 percent of the population, the highest percentage of any country in the region. But they also expressed the fear that Hungary, once allowed into NATO, will work to keep Romania out.

Romania faces unique challenges. In my meeting with President Iliescu, he referred to Romania's special heritage as part of the Ottoman Empire which distanced it from formative political and social developments in 19th and 20th century Europe. He described the complex experience of the Ceaurescu era which began as a popularly supported challenge to Soviet authority, but degenerated into devastating totalitarianism after Ceaurescu's exposure to Korean Dictator Kim Il Song in the 1970's. As a result, Romania was left far behind most of its neighbors when totalitarianism collapsed in Central Europe. The scars of that experience are still all too visible, even upon very young children as I saw tragically during my visit to a USAID supported pediatric

AIDS clinic. Romania has the highest rates of abortion, maternal mortality and pediatric AIDS in Europe. The NGO community and the government have begun to address these problems. In addition to the excellent pediatric AIDS center, I saw a progressive primary school jointly funded by USAID and UNICEF.

The NGO community left with us a sense of how critical their work in Romania will be in advocating government action and in advancing the rights of women, children and minorities.

Romanians are still in search of a clear affirmation that they will be welcomed into the new Europe. At the dedication of an Advanced Center for Nursing Education supported by American academic and health institutions, I reassured Romanian community leaders of U.S. support for Romania's integration with the West. I also stressed that building a democratic society is not easy. While meeting with a group of fledgling non-governmental organizations (NGOs) I noted that Romania, with the widest range of ethnic, religious and cultural groups in central Europe, must build its strength on the diversity of its people. This will require tolerance and a deliberate effort to assure all segments of society are free to participate and contribute.

I could see that Romania's political leadership, representing a wide range of ethnic and minority groups, is committed to democracy and the political reform it requires. But democracy in Romania needs nurturing. In recent elections, voter turnout was disappointing, and extremist views continue to play an important role in domestic politics. Today, supporters of reform can appeal to the Romanian population's intense desire for integration with the West. However, should the people of Romania ever perceive this goal to be unattainable, reform could be jeopardized.

My message to Romania was first one of encouragement for a country which has made tremendous progress with extremely limited resources; and second a reminder of how much remains to be done. Unfortunately, we found it necessary to complement the latter by canceling my visit to the Kretzulescu church which had actively supported the government's restriction of activities by a group of Jehovah's Witnesses just prior to my arrival.

POLAND

Poland has been the most dynamically successful of the Central European countries since 1989. It established a democracy which has held five major elections. Its government has peacefully changed hands seven times. It has instituted the furthest reaching economic reforms and now boasts the highest growth rate in the region.

Poland has made NATO membership its top foreign policy priority -- it enjoys nearly 80 percent support in public opinion polls. This certainty of purpose, combined with Poland's economic success, seems to have created a confidence among Poles that the worst is over and the future is bright.

No longer distracted by misgivings about its own future, Poland is now actively "exporting stability" to neighboring countries, especially Ukraine and Lithuania, with which it is establishing joint peacekeeping battalions. Poland understands that its eventual membership in NATO should not come at the

expense of its neighbors, and can be expected to ask our support for its programs designed to foster regional stability.

I began my visit to Poland in Krakow, where I spent a day paying my respects to Poland's often tragic history. I met with two intellectuals who were instrumental in keeping the flame of democracy and the rights of the individual burning during Communist rule. Accompanied by Poland's dynamic First Lady, Jolanta Kwasniewska, I visited the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camps where millions of people, primarily Jews but also Poles and members of every European nationality were killed by the Nazis in World War II.

Later the same day, I arrived in Warsaw and visited the headquarters of the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation where several independent Jewish organizations, including a kindergarten for about 30 children, have begun to rebuild a small but vibrant Jewish community in Poland.

In a round-table discussion, a group of Polish women who are involved in grassroots and non-governmental organizations told me of their successes and failures at becoming more active in Poland's evolving democracy. These women represented a variety of political views, from ex-communists to Solidarity veterans, but they shared a common commitment to becoming more directly involved in the building of Poland's democratic society. I saw a similar commitment when I met with recipients of \$700,000 in grants through USAID's Democracy Network program. These grants will help Polish NGOs in their advocacy of such issues as the environment, social services, enterprise development and minority rights.

In my remarks to this group, I celebrated Poland's successes, and noted America's and Poland's shared commitment to the principals of democracy. I also stressed the critical role these grassroots organizations have in strengthening Polish society and assuring that the benefits of independence are available to all Poles. The enthusiasm of the women's groups and NGOs for democracy and their active role in building a civil society left me optimistic about Poland's future. USAID's assistance to these vibrant groups is a clear demonstration of what can be achieved through strong partnerships between our country and aid recipients.

I arrived in Poland just after President Yeltsin's re-election, and prior to President Kwasniewski's departure for Washington for his July 8 meeting with you. I met with President Kwasniewski to discuss Poland and its challenges and his upcoming visit to the U.S. He hosted a luncheon to which he invited leaders from Polish academia, media, the arts, politics and social concerns.

CZECH REPUBLIC

The Czech Republic is a fully functioning parliamentary democracy whose citizens enjoy the rights of free speech and free assembly. It has an independent legislature and free press. The Czech economic miracle -- rapid growth, low unemployment, and macroeconomic stability -- is a shining example

of what a free people can accomplish after years of tyranny. Because of the Czech Republic's success, other countries in the region look to it as a model for their development. As a result, the Czech Republic must continue to hold to the highest standards of democracy, including tolerance for minorities.

The key event of my visit to Prague was my speech on the Fourth of July, delivered at the headquarters of Radio Free Europe, and transmitted to countries in the region and the former Soviet Union in twenty-three languages.

I noted the world's admiration for the Czech Republic's unique and bloodless "Velvet Revolution" and urged the Czech people to maintain their high standards for developing a civil society. I also observed that Americans understand that building a democracy can be a "messy business," and encouraged all countries in the region not to be discouraged by the inevitable setbacks.

President Havel invited Ambassador Albright and me to a private dinner at his home, and I later visited the Olga Havel foundation facility. This is a privately funded organization which seeks to integrate into society those who face permanent or long-term health problems. I later met with a group of women involved with non-governmental organizations in the Czech Republic, where I emphasized the critical role their organizations must play in the building of a civil society.

I found the Czech NGO community well established and working toward financial independence. Private U.S. groups, USAID and the Peace Corps have helped establish laws for philanthropy and have worked with foreign and Czech companies to support this community. I was impressed with how far Czech NGOs have come since 1989, but some groups still urged that U.S. assistance not be cut off before the foundation of democracy is firmly established.

I met with Prime Minister and Mrs. Klaus where we discussed the recent election in the Czech Republic and the Prime Minister's achievement, earlier that same day, of establishing a new minority government. I also welcomed the Klaus' personal involvement in the problems of the Roma community. This community faces widespread discrimination in the Czech Republic, and many of them have been unable to acquire Czech citizenship due to restrictive conditions and bureaucratic requirements. I discussed these problems with a group of Roma NGO's and visited a USAID supported hospital/orphanage which accepts and attempts to place Roma children. The Charles University Vinohrady

Hospital has teamed up with the University of California to demonstrate improvements to health care quality that can be transferred easily to other hospitals in the Czech Republic.

SLOVAKIA

Slovakia is unique among the Central European countries that I visited. Although there is substantial grassroots support for democracy, the government's acceptance of basic democratic principles is more ambivalent, as has most recently been demonstrated by legislation which it has recently proposed which would restrict the democratic process.

I was warmly received by President Kovacs,, Prime Minister Meciar, and Mayor Kresanek of Bratislava. During these meetings I expressed America's support for Slovakia's continuing integration into the West. However, I also stressed the importance of protecting essential freedoms. In light of the government's proposed legislation restricting the environment for NGOs, I specifically urged Prime Minister Meciar to recognize the essential contribution which NGO's make to the fabric of democracy. The Prime Minister insisted both to me and to Ambassador Albright that his government is committed to democracy, but that democracy in Slovakia would be "different." Unfortunately, some of that difference may have been demonstrated in the particularly rough way the Prime Minister's security treated members of the American press who were traveling with me.

My meeting with representatives of NGO's in Bratislava was very encouraging. They were enthusiastic, undaunted and exhibited a sophisticated understanding of the opportunities and limitations of Slovakia's political, economic and social environment. One of their deepest concerns was how to develop trust in a democratic society. In this regard, I stressed the need for all elements of society to work together, and the importance of individuals taking responsibility for political life. I encouraged the NGO's to continue their work as they provide the opportunities for individuals and groups to exercise their civic responsibility. They in turn praised the efficient management of the USAID Democracy Network program and appealed to me to assure continued U.S. support for their efforts.

HUNGARY

Hungary, like the Czech Republic, has made tremendous progress in re-establishing stable democratic institutions and broadening its civil and participatory society. Because it instituted significant economic reforms as far back as the 1960's, by 1989 Hungary was in many respects well ahead of its neighbors in economic development and ties with the international private sector.

In spite of Hungary's success in attracting foreign investment to an increasingly dynamic economy, the government is still struggling with the difficulty of providing social services and security in its new economic environment. Social programs in Hungary under Communist rule were generous, at least in theory, and many Hungarians look at capitalism as a much harsher, less caring system. This can also impact on minority issues, and during my meeting with representatives of Hungary's Roma community, I discovered that even Hungary's fairly advanced homogeneous society has not been able to provide for its minority populations as well as it might. There are some

success stories. I visited a hospital which, with help from the Kansas University Medical School, has become one of the premier pediatric oncology centers in Hungary and is now expanding that expertise to other countries in the region.

In my remarks and encounters in Budapest, I stated that we will continue to support Hungary and view Hungary as a good friend and reliable partner. I urged them to stay the course on economic reform, since sustained economic growth in coming years will bring tangible benefits to Hungarians who now feel

left behind. I attended a roundtable discussion of Hungarian women involved in a wide variety of professions, where I learned of issues confronting women in Hungarian society and stressed the importance of networking and communicating to better leverage skills and resources.

During my stay, I met with President Goncz and Prime Minister Horn and stressed our appreciation for our excellent bilateral relations. I thanked them for Hungary's willingness to host some 4,000 U.S. troops supporting IFOR in Bosnia, and its support in opening the FBI-led International Law Enforcement Academy in Budapest. Prime Minister Horn described the political difficulty of continuing the pace of economic and social welfare reform, but stressed his determination to do so, recognizing that while the present generation may not be able to enjoy the fruits of this effort, the next will.

We also discussed Hungary's relations with its neighbors, and the Prime Minister described his government's efforts to bring about a historic reconciliation between peoples in the region. I complimented him on recent progress with Slovakia and the Ukraine, and expressed the hope that work with Romania would progress as well.

ESTONIA

Estonia is a country where the excitement and pride over the 1991 reassertion of independence is a tangible and vibrant part of the national environment. This was made evident to me in the discussions I had with community leaders and representatives of NGO's, in my walk through the Tallinn's Old Town, and in the music and the folk dances that I was drawn into during my visit. It was also evident in my meetings with President Meri and Prime Minister Vahi who impressed me as competent and dynamic leaders.

At the same time, there is a sense of precariousness due to Estonia's continual strained relationship with Russia. Estonians are confident of their European heritage, but clearly fear the West might abandon them should circumstances lead to a situation where Russia wished to reassert its previous hegemony.

I was told before I arrived of the concerns raised by Russia about the treatment of Estonia's Russian-speaking minority which makes up 29 percent of the population. I raised this issue particularly in my meeting with NGOs and community leaders and was impressed with the broad commitment to progress. The President's Roundtable representative described Estonia's difficult transition through a period in which the majority and minority populations

have essentially changed places in the political power structure and both sides have had to learn new roles. I heard about grassroots initiatives where localities have created their own discussion roundtables; about communities which have promoted courses for schoolchildren in civic responsibility; and how rural areas are being taught to establish their own political action groups. I heard the assertion that Estonia is coming to accept a new identity as a multi-cultural society.

I told them the U.S. believes Estonia has made significant progress as a nation in recognizing the problems which need to be addressed, and is working

to include the broadest possible spectrum of society in this effort. I encouraged them not to be afraid of the political process -- electoral or non-electoral -- because politics is the process by which societies come to agreement, make decisions, and set priorities. I also specifically praised the government's continuing role in promoting a multi-cultural society, noting that in our own experience in the 1960s and 70s, it took the alliance between government and public interest groups to make civil rights progress a reality.

I visited the USAID funded hospital partnership between the Tallinn's Women's Clinic and George Washington University. This collaboration seeks to explore length of stay for childbirth and innovative home visit programs which can shorten hospital stays, an issue which concerns both the U.S. and Estonian medical community.

Before leaving Estonia I delivered a speech addressed to the people of all three Baltic nations at Estonia's newly re-opened National Library before an audience of political and community leaders. I reiterated our support for the Baltics, stressing we stood by them in the past, and would not abandon them in the future. I also publicly stated our support for the Estonian government's enlightened and courageous approach to its minority population, and stressed the importance of carrying this even further.

FINLAND

Finland impressed me as being eager to establish ties with the West. During the Cold War, Finland learned how to deal successfully with the Soviet Union and is taking great care to avoid damaging its relationship with Russia.

At the same time, Finland has steadily moved closer to the West and its institutions, and has been encouraging Baltic pragmatism in dealing with Moscow.

In my meeting with President Ahtisaari and later at a luncheon at his residence, I was impressed by Finland's sense of responsibility for strengthening the security of its Baltic neighbors, especially Estonia. Finland, now an EU member, sees itself as a major actor in the economic and security affairs of the eastern Baltic Sea. This is a role we should encourage.

In Finland I also attended an extraordinary meeting involving prominent women in Finland, including the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defense, the Speaker of the Parliament, and the Governor of the Central Bank.

CONCLUSIONS

The countries that I visited have made great strides in developing the kinds of dynamic civil societies necessary to support healthy democracies. My trip demonstrated to me that the United States has also made an important contribution to this effort through our assistance programs, the Peace Corps, the contributions of American NGOs, the work of our embassies and by example.

While remarkable progress has been made these countries still face many challenges and we have an interest in contributing to their continued success.

Our USAID program in Central Europe will be phased out over the next five years as these countries "graduate" from our assistance. All countries I visited have accepted this timetable with no complaint. Estonia is due for its graduation in September of this year, but we are wisely continuing some excellent regional programs, including the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund, the Democracy Network, the Baltic regional energy project, and our law and democracy program. We can still help throughout the region in many ways by taking advantage of other regional programs, and by helping to direct the resources of international institutions. We should do so.

Minorities in particular continue to be an important issue for most of the countries of the region. Their situation in many ways reflect the fractured nature of society and politics which has caused instability and conflict in the past, and could do so again in the future. It is important for the United States to remain focused on this issue in whatever way we usefully can, from providing support to specific institutions to promoting progress on bilateral treaties between nations.

While my discussions were not specifically directed towards economic issues, it is clear that progress in economic development remains key to political and social stability in the region. I saw much evidence of the U.S. contribution to the impressive growth that has taken place since 1989, from AID programs to educate governments in market economic principles to the substantial investment by U.S. companies. I hope this can continue.

Nowhere, however, was the impact of the United States more noticeable and more appreciated than in our leadership in enhancing the cultural and political independence of these nations by promoting their integration into the fabric of western institutions. And, among these institutions, none is perceived to be more important than NATO. Every leader with whom I spoke stressed the critical importance of developing the process of NATO enlargement in a way which avoids any new dividing lines -- real or perceived -- in Europe. This is certainly the most important challenge facing our government in this region for the foreseeable future.

This region deserves our continued support. Some countries need more reassurance than others, but all require attention. It was clear that the governments and the people in all the countries that I visited appreciated and were encouraged by the high profile attention of my visit. As decisions critical to the future of this region are addressed by the West over the next year, I believe it will be important to maintain this kind of attention.

CENTRAL EUROPE TRIP

File
CEE
Slide
show

SLIDE 1: "TRIP OF THE FIRST LADY TO CENTRAL EUROPE"

SLIDE 2: MAP OF REGION

ROMANIA

SLIDE 3: MAP OF ROMANIA

ARRIVAL

SLIDE 4: Arrival in Bucharest, Romania.
Romanian school children with flowers.

SLIDE 5: Arrival in Bucharest, Romania.
Romanian school children with flowers.

REVOLUTIONARY SQUARE

SLIDE 6: Warm welcome by the crowd gathered in Revolutionary Square.

- Revolutionary Square is the main site of the 1989 revolution. I saw the Romanian Senate Building, formerly the Central Committee Building, from which the dictator Nicolas Ceaucescu (CHOW-chess-coo) was forced to flee by helicopter on December 22, 1996. The square was the site of armed clashes between rival groups struggling for political power during the uprising.

SLIDE 7: Laying flowers at the Wooden Cross.

- The wooden cross was erected in memory of the countless victims of communism in Romania and those who died on the streets during the Revolution.

SLIDE 8: Receiving a revolutionary flag.

- This flag flew in Revolutionary Square during the uprising and has bullet holes in it from the fighting.

SLIDE 9: Speaking at the Square of the Revolution.

THEMES:

- It was in this square that the Romanian people showed the world what can happen when people stand up for the cause of freedom.
- I brought a sense admiration, friendship and support from the American people. We share in Romania's aspirations for a free and democratic Romania -- a Romania where human dignity and justice are never again submerged to fulfill the whims of a despot.
- As Romania travels along the road to democracy, America will help. We will help Romania build a society that respects human rights, a free press, and the rule of law.

PEDIATRIC AIDS CLINIC AT LUPU HOSPITAL

SLIDE 10: HRC with staff and children.

- 2,291 Romanians suffer from AIDS -- 91% are children. Romania accounts for more than half of the pediatric AIDS cases for the whole of Europe.
- Many of the children contracted AIDS while housed in orphanages during the Ceaucescu era. The orphanages were a breeding ground for AIDS -- unsafe medical practices, badly screened blood, routine blood transfusions for underweight babies and antibiotics administered by injection all played a part in spreading AIDS to children.
- However, conditions have improved dramatically from the harrowing scenes immediately after the Revolution. Usually with the help of foreign charities, many of the worst hospital wards and filthy orphanages have been cleaned and care improved.

SLIDE 11: Children with sunglasses donated by US.

SLIDE 12: Group photo with staff.

GRANDINITA SCHOOL #57

SLIDE 13: Sitting at table in classroom.

- This school is an example of the education reforms in Romania. The school receives joint funding from UNICEF and USAID and is also strongly supported by the state. The

Minister of Education is a Fulbright Scholar who studied in the U.S. and has been advancing improvements in the Romanian education system.

SLIDE 14: Discussion with parents followed by entertainment by children.

- Parents are very pleased with the school's reforms. They see behavior improvements in their children -- most of the children actually enjoy going to school now.

ADVANCED CENTER FOR NURSING EDUCATION

SLIDE 15: HRC addressing group.

- My visit happily coincided with the dedication ceremony for the newly-established Advanced Center for Nursing Education, which capped the end of a six-year effort by the United States to help improve health care services to the Romanian. The Department of Health and Human Services worked with Humana Hospitals, Baylor University and 3M to assist the Romanian Ministry of Health with maternal and child health issues as well as broadening the role of nurses. They provided training programs, as well as direct donations of equipment, supplies and technical literature.
- This Center's funding initially came from a World Bank loan, which in turn leveraged the private funding. The Center is a wonderful example of the many public-private partnerships working in Central Europe. When the necessary tools are provided, a system like Romania's can become self-sufficient and begin to provide high-quality care to the people.
- It was at the Center that I made remarks to the people of Romania. I told them that it was no secret that the oppressive hand of Communism left a deeper imprint in Romania than almost anywhere in Europe. Romanians suffered through some of the most misguided economic policies, the most cynical disregard for human rights, the most abusive forms of social repression. From the smallest villages to the largest urban centers, the Romanian people bore a daily burden unimaginable in the West. Yet now, they are poised to break through to a new era -- a new era politically, economically and socially.

SLIDE 16: Group photo with nurses and American sponsors

- I was joined at the dedication ceremony by representatives of Baylor, Humana and 3M, who were seated next to me in the front row.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ILIESCU

SLIDE 17: Remarks upon arrival at Controceni Palace

SLIDE 18: Meeting with President Iliescu (ILL-ee-es-coo)

- When I met with President Iliescu, I spoke with him about Romania's remarkable transition to democracy. I told him that the United States was aware of the difficult reforms they had undertaken and that the road to democracy is often a hard one.

SLIDE 19: Reception with Government and opposition leaders hosted by Pres. Iliescu.

VILLAGE MUSEUM

SLIDE 20: Looking on as woman paints eggs.

- The village museum represents for Romanians an embodiment of the country's national spirit. The museum was opened in 1936 and encompasses over 80 structures that were removed from Romania's five major regions and then reassembled at the museum. I was able to tour one beautiful house from the 1870's.
- I also met several local craftsmen demonstrating traditional handicrafts on the lawns outside the museum.

SLIDE 21: More egg painting.

SLIDE 22: Weaving.

SLIDE 23: Hand flutes.

NGO FORUM

SLIDE 24: NGO meeting at Elisabeta Palace.

- I met with heads of Romanian NGO's which were all attempting in various ways to strengthen the country's burgeoning civil society and private sector. They are promoting women's issues, safeguarding human rights, helping street children and orphans, and strengthening democratic institutions.
- Private sector activities like this, which are taken for granted in the United States, are completely new to many formerly Communist countries like Romania. They are struggling to establish themselves and become self-sustaining, and look to the United States for both support and guidance.

- Romania, with the widest range of ethnic, religious and cultural groups in Central Europe, must build its strength on the diversity of its people. This will require tolerance and a deliberate effort to assure all segments of society are free to participate and contribute.

SLIDE 25: Wide shot of NGO meeting.

POLAND

SLIDE 26: MAP OF POLAND

- Poland has been the most dynamically successful of the Central European countries since 1989. Its democracy has taken firm root despite frequent changes of government since 1989. Poland has instituted the furthest reaching economic reforms and now boasts the highest growth rate in the region. The ex-communist leadership has generally continued the reforms put in place by earlier Solidarity-organized governments. As I said in my speech at Lazinski Palace:

"Today, the struggle for freedom is over in Poland. And at last, your nation's future is yours to shape. You have built a vibrant democracy in which elections are routine, the press is skeptical and free, and politicians are held accountable for the decisions they make. You have reached out to your neighbors to overcome ancient disputes. Your economy is growing faster than any in Europe.

And thanks to the success of your democratic transformation and your economic reforms, America now looks at Poland in a very different way. Today, Poland is becoming what you have always wanted it to become: a normal European country with normal European problems - and most important, with normal European responsibilities."

ARRIVAL IN KRAKOW

SLIDE 27: HRC is presented with bread and salt by children in traditional dress.

WAWEL (VAH-vell) CATHEDRAL

SLIDE 28: HRC is escorted into the cathedral by Mrs. Kwasniewska and the Priest Prelate of the Cathedral.

- Wawel Cathedral is a living repository of the Poles heart-felt cultural and historical pride. The cathedral is also the emotional center of the Poles' long struggle for independence.

SLIDE 29: HRC and Mrs. Kwasniewska lay flowers at Kosciusko's (Kosh-CHOOSH-koh) tomb.

- Kosciusko (Kosh-CHOOSH-koh) was a hero of both the Polish and American revolutions and has been given a place of honor at the cathedral.

MEETING WITH INTELLECTUALS

SLIDE 30: Meeting with Czeslaw Milosz and Jerzy Turowicz.

- I was honored to meet with two of Poland's leading intellectuals, Czeslaw Milosz (CHEHS-wahv ME-wohsh) and Jerzy Turowicz (YEHR-zhee toor-OH-weech). They were both instrumental in keeping the ideals of democracy and the rights of the individual alive during Communist rule. Milosz won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1980. His writing was banned in Poland, which he had left after WWII when he became disillusioned with communism. He currently teaches Slavic Languages and Literature at the University of California at Berkeley, and divides his time between Poland and the U.S.
- Turowicz is a journalist and editor of a Catholic weekly which provided Poland with an independent voice under communism. He is considered by many to be Poland's moral compass and urges moderation and tolerance in religion and politics, and leads efforts to improve Polish-Jewish relations.

OLD TOWN SQUARE

SLIDE 31: Walking into Old Town Square with Mrs. Kwasniewska (kvash-NYEV-skah).

SLIDE 32: Mrs. Kwasniewska putting a coin into the collection box for the Old Krakow Restoration Fund.

SLIDE 33: Laying flowers at Kosciuszko's memorial plaque.

SLIDE 34: HRC is greeted by thousands gathered in the square.

SLIDE 35: A young Polish fan.

SLIDE 36: HRC making remarks in Old Town Square.

- I was so proud to be in Krakow, the historic capital of old Poland, the birthplace of Poland's democracy, and an important symbol for American democracy as well. Americans

can learn much from Poland's heroic determination to regain freedom, from Poland's commitment to democracy and from Poland's ability to weather the stresses of transformation. Having achieved so much so fast, Poland is set to be a leader and example for the 21st Century.

SLIDE 37: Young fans listening to the speech.

AUSCHWITZ CONCENTRATION CAMP

SLIDE 38: HRC and Mrs. Kwasniewska at the Main Gate of Auschwitz.

- The concentration camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau comprised the largest of the Nazi death facilities. Auschwitz was a concentration camp initially built for Poles; Birkenau was an extermination camp primarily intended to murder Jews. Millions of people, primarily Jews, but also Poles and members of every European nationality, were killed by the Nazis. Today the camps are preserved as a museum, with many of the original structures intact or restored.
- Words cannot express the horror of what happened at these camps. Remarkably, Auschwitz and Birkenau have become centers of remembrance and healing.

SLIDE 39: Barracks.

SLIDE 40: Cell room in barracks.

SLIDE 41: HRC at Wall of death.

- This execution wall is one of the most symbolic areas at the camp and is the site of the killing of a Polish priest who took the place of another man sentenced to die.

SLIDE 42: Photo of George Santayana quote.

BIRKENAU CONCENTRATION CAMP

SLIDE 43: Laying stone at train tracks.

SLIDE 44: Monument of Nations (an international monument to the victims of Auschwitz).

SLIDE 45: Memorial.

ARRIVAL IN WARSAW

SLIDE 46: Arrival in Warsaw.

LAUDER JEWISH CENTER

SLIDE 47: Young boy greeting HRC at Jewish Center.

- The Ronald S. Lauder Foundation is based in New York and encourages Jewish education and religious activity in Eastern Europe. The headquarters in Warsaw houses several activities: a kindergarten and Jewish youth club, the Polish Union of Jewish Students, a Jewish travel agency, a Jewish newspaper, a Jewish veterans group, and the Children of the Holocaust organization.
- The Lauder Foundation's mission is to rebuild a living Jewish community and it is thus far been remarkably successful. It is important for Americans to know that there is still a Jewish community in Poland. This center and the organizations it houses testify to the vitality of the Jewish community, to the triumph of life over death.

SLIDE 48: Group photo with children and staff at the Jewish Center.

SLIDE 49: Meeting with heads of Warsaw Jewish Community.

- After a tour of the building, I met with heads of organizations that are housed in the Foundation headquarters.

MEETING WITH POLISH WOMEN

SLIDE 50: Meeting with prominent Polish women.

- Many of the women I met with in Poland are involved in grass-roots and non-governmental organizations, as well as several leading women in Polish politics, including the Deputy Speakers of the Parliament and Senate.
- The discussion was hosted and moderated by Mrs. Kwasniewska. The women represented a variety of political views, from ex-Communists to Solidarity veterans, but they shared a common commitment to becoming more directly involved in the building of Poland's democratic society. In speeches in Poland and elsewhere, I noted that women have suffered disproportionately from the injustices of Communism and during the transition to the free market.
- Women are the primary caretakers for their families. They

do much of the work in and out of the home. Yet, by and large, their wages have suffered the most since 1989. But I have also seen what happens when women do have access to education, health care, credit, jobs and basic rights. Their families are stronger. Their communities are stronger. Their nations are stronger. Women and children are key to building a civil society -- and to progress and prosperity in every country.

SLIDE 51: Group photo.

GRANT ALLOCATION EVENT

SLIDE 52: Arrival at Lazienki Palace.

SLIDE 53: HRC speaks at grant allocation event.

- I was fortunate to announce that, as part of our ongoing commitment to the Democracy Network Program, the United States Agency for International Development was contributing \$700,000 for 36 small grants to be given out this summer. These grants will be delivered to non-governmental organizations that are building democracy on the front lines in Poland by helping local groups protect their environment, improve health services, and teach children the values of democracy.
- They will also help build bridges of understanding that promote tolerance and quench the flames of hatred stirred up by those who prey on the fears that arise in uncertain times. Above all, the NGOs that enjoy American support are helping people in Poland organize themselves and form associations to solve their problems at the grass-roots level.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KWASNIEWSKI

SLIDE 54: HRC is greeted at the Presidential Palace by Pres. Kwasniewski (kvash-NYEV-skee).

- We discussed Poland and its challenges, as well as President Kwasniewski's upcoming visit to the U.S.

SLIDE 55: Meeting with Pres. Kwasniewski.

SLIDE 56: HRC toast at luncheon hosted by Pres. and Mrs. Kwasniewski.

LITEWSKA (lih-TEW-skah) CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL

SLIDE 57: HRC greeting young boy during tour of endocrinology and hematology units.

- The 73 year old Litewska Children's Hospital is one of the oldest in Poland. It specializes in cardiology, nephrology, and oncology, and was the site of the first open heart surgery performed on a child in Poland.
- Litewska Children's Hospital is another example of a successful public-private partnership in health care. I met with The Friends of Litewska Foundation, which includes managing directors of major U.S. corporations such as G.M., Coca-Cola, Pepsico, and International Paper. The hospital was a wonderful example of how civil society and volunteerism are beginning to meet a wide range of social needs in Poland.

SLIDE 58: Young girl in hospital.

SLIDE 59: Meeting with Board Members of the Friends of Litewska Hospital Foundation.

SLIDE 60: HRC speaking at Board meeting.

PRAGUE, CZECH REPUBLIC

SLIDE 61: MAP OF CZECH REPUBLIC

- The Czech Republic is a fully functioning parliamentary democracy whose citizens enjoy the rights of free speech and free assembly. It has an independent legislature and free press. The Czech economic miracle -- growth, low unemployment, and macroeconomic stability -- is a shining example of what a free people can accomplish after years of tyranny. Because of the Czech Republic's success, other countries in the region look to it as a model for their development.

SLIDE 62: View of Prague skyline.

DINNER AT PRESIDENT HAVEL'S RESIDENCE

SLIDE 63: Pres. Havel greets HRC with flowers.

- I was honored to accept the invitation of Pres. Havel (hah-VELL) for a dinner at his private residence. I was joined by U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright, a native of Prague.

SLIDE 64: HRC, President Havel and Ambassador Albright sit outside President Havel's residence.

RADIO FREE EUROPE SPEECH

SLIDE 65: Kevin Klose provides a tour of the Radio Free Europe facilities.

SLIDE 66: Kevin Klose introduces HRC at Radio Free Europe.

SLIDE 67: HRC speech at Radio Free Europe.

THEMES:

- The key event of my visit to Prague was my speech on the Fourth of July, delivered at the headquarters of Radio Free Europe. I noted the world's admiration for the Czech Republic's bloodless "Velvet Revolution" and urged the Czech people to maintain their high standards for developing a civil society.
- Civil society is the vehicle for our values, the way we

convey who we are and what we stand for. And when we encounter the inevitable setbacks and historical bumps in the road, the alliance of values that fuels civil society is what will carry us through.

SLIDE 68: Walking in Wenceslaus Square after speech with Pres. Havel and Ambassador Albright.

OLGA HAVEL FOUNDATION

SLIDE 69: Meeting children who receive services from the Olga Havel Foundation.

- Mrs. Havel founded the Olga Havel Foundation in 1990 to give humanitarian assistance to those who face permanent or long-term health problems, and to facilitate their integration into society. Mrs. Havel passed away earlier this year, but I was pleased to see that the Foundation is carrying her important work.

SLIDE 70: Meeting board of Olga Havel Foundation.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER KLAUS

SLIDE 71: Meeting with Prime Minister Klaus (rhymes with "house").

- Prime Minister Klaus has been the chief architect of the Czech Republic's remarkable transition since 1989. He is a strong advocate of the role of American ideals in Europe and lead government efforts to improve the condition of the Roma minority in the country.

■ We discussed the recent election in the Czech Republic and the Prime Minister's achievement in establishing a new government.

SLIDE 72: Tea with Mrs. Klausova (KLOWS-uh-vah).

SLIDE 73: On Palace balcony overlooking Prague with Prime Minister and Mrs. Klaus.

NGO MEETING

SLIDE 74: Meeting with NGO's.

- Czech NGOs are numerous but are only now beginning to promote citizen participation and community involvement in public decision-making. They continue to look to the United States for guidance on how to become a vital element of their country's democratic institutions. Private U.S. groups, USAID and the Peace Corps have helped establish laws for philanthropy and have worked with foreign and Czech countries to support this community. Achieving financial independence is an important goal.

SLIDE 75: Listening to a foundation leader.

SLIDE 76: Greeting an NGO leader after the meeting.

END OF TRAY ONE!!

BOAT RIDE AND FIREWORKS

SLIDE 77: Enjoying a boat ride and fireworks display with Ambassador Albright and President Havel.

- I spent several hours on a wonderful boat ride on the Vltava (vuhl-TAH-vah) River with President Havel and Ambassador Albright. We enjoyed a Fourth of July fireworks display.

ROMA MEETING

SLIDE 78: Meeting with members of the Roma community.

- The Roma community in the Czech Republic numbers 250,000 and still faces widespread discrimination. I learned personally during my meeting with members of the Roma community the problems they confront. They face widespread employment and economic discrimination and many have been unable to acquire Czech citizenship.

PRAGUE CASTLE/HAVEL'S OFFICE

SLIDE 79: In Havel's office with Havel and Ambassador Albright.

- The Prague castle has been the official residence of the President since the founding of the first Republic in 1918. The castle was also the seat of the Holy Roman and the Hapsburg Empires.

SLIDE 80: Looking at a picture in Havel's Office of President Clinton's visit to Prague.

SLIDE 81: St. Vitus Cathedral (at the Prague Castle).

JEWISH CEMETARY

SLIDE 82: Visiting the Jewish Cemetery with Ambassador Albright.

VINOHRADY HOSPITAL

SLIDE 83: Tour of burn unit at Charles University Vinohrady Hospital.

- The Vinohrady Hospital is one of the oldest and largest of Prague's hospitals. Many of the medical staff at this teaching hospital are active in health care reform and development efforts. The hospital receives USAID funding to help improve management and care and to increase the effective management role of nurses. USAID funds also support health sector reform efforts.
- The hospital has teamed up with several U.S. medical institutions to achieve improvements in health care quality in ways that can be transferred to other hospitals in the Czech Republic.

SLIDE 84: Discussion with doctors, nurses and AID representatives at Vinohrady Hospital.

CHILDREN'S HOME

SLIDE 85: Arriving at children's home.

- I also visited a Children's Home associated with the hospital, which cares for 25 abandoned children, age 1-3. Many of them have been abused and many are Roma children. The home is unusual among Czech orphanages, and favors a flexible, family lifestyle for the children.

SLIDE 86: Little boy presenting picture of children.

SLIDE 87: Sitting with two children.

SLIDE 88: Little girl playing with microphone.

SLIDE 89: Sitting with little boy.

CHARLES BRIDGE

SLIDE 90: Walking across the Charles Bridge with Ambassador Albright.

SLIDE 91: Charles Bridge.

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

SLIDE 92: MAP OF SLOVAK REPUBLIC

ARRIVAL IN BRATISLAVA

SLIDE 93: Arrival in Bratislava

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KOVAC (KO-vahtch)

SLIDE 94: President Kovac greeting HRC on arrival at the Primate's Palace.

- Pres. Kovac is Slovakia's first president. He has a leading role to play in protecting and expanding Slovakia's democracy. The U.S. supports Slovakia's democratic aspirations and we will not abandon Slovakia as they continue to build their democratic institutions.

SLIDE 95: Meeting with President Kovac.

SLIDE 96: Signing guest book in Blue Room.

NGO FORUM

SLIDE 97: NGO Forum at the Reduta, home of the Slovak Philharmonic Orchestra.

- I met with 20 leaders of Slovakian NGOs and expressed U.S. support for their role in meeting social needs. NGOs are critical to the fabric of democracy, and I continue to believe that with the help of NGOs, Slovakia will meet the challenge and become a truly pluralistic society.
- My meeting was very encouraging. The NGOs were enthusiastic, undaunted and exhibited a sophisticated understanding of the opportunities and limitations of Slovakia's political, economic and social environment. They spoke of the government's pressure on the NGOs.
- I encouraged the NGOs to continue their work as they provide the opportunities for individuals and groups to exercise their civic responsibility. I expressed the view that it is often difficult for those in elected positions to accept the inevitable criticism that goes with holding office in a democracy, but this criticism is an essential part of the democratic process. Praising the efficient management of

the Democracy Network program, the NGO leaders appealed to me to assure continued U.S. support for their efforts.

SLIDE 98: NGO Forum.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER MECIAR (MAY-char)

SLIDE 99: MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER MECIAR

- In my meeting, I expressed America's support for Slovakia's integration into the West. However, I also stressed the importance of protecting essential freedoms as a firm condition of this process. In light of the government's proposed legislation to restrict the environment of NGOs, I urged the Prime Minister to recognize the essential contribution that NGOs make to the fabric of democracy.

SLIDE 100: HRC signs Golden Book of the City of Bratislava.

PRIMATE SQUARE/OLD TOWN

SLIDE 101: HRC walks en route Primate Square with Mayor Kresanek.

SLIDE 102: HRC greets cheering well-wishers in Square.

SLIDE 103: HRC receives traditional doll.

SLIDE 104: Dancers in traditional costume dancing in Primate's Square.

SLIDE 105: Touring Old Town with Ambassador Johnson.

SLIDE 106: Local shopping.

HUNGARY

SLIDE 107: MAP OF HUNGARY

- Hungary, like the Czech Republic, has made tremendous progress in re-establishing stable democratic institutions and broadening its civil and participatory society. Because it instituted significant economic reforms as far back as the 1960's, by 1989 Hungary was in many respects well ahead of its neighbors in economic development and ties with the international private sector. Hungary is still struggling, however, with the difficulty of providing social services and security in its new economic environment.
- In my remarks and encounters in Budapest, I stated that the U.S. will continue to support Hungary and view Hungary as a good friend and reliable partner. I urged them to stay the course on economic reform, since sustained economic growth in coming years will bring tangible benefits to Hungarians who now feel left behind.

ARRIVAL IN BUDAPEST

SLIDE 108: Visiting the Imre Nagy (im-RAY NAHJ) Memorial

- Imre Nagy, hero to freedom loving Hungarians, was the reform-minded communist Prime Minister who partially inspired the 1956 revolution. As my first stop in Hungary, this was a powerful symbol of the struggle for freedom.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER HORN

SLIDE 109: Meeting with Prime Minister Horn

- I spoke with Prime Minister Horn about Hungary's continued integration into the Western democratic family. I told him how pleased the United States was, that, as Hungary celebrates its 1100th Anniversary, it is rejoining the West. Hungary has shown that the future can be faced with courage and democratic values -- in the 7 years since the end of communism and the 40 years since the Hungarian Uprising, Hungary has come so far.
- I also stressed our appreciation of our excellent bilateral relations. I thanked him for Hungary's willingness to host some 4,000 troops supporting IFOR in Bosnia, and its support in opening the FBI-led International Law Enforcement Academy in Budapest. We also discussed Hungary's relations with its neighbors, and the Prime Minister described his government's

efforts to bring about a historic reconciliation between peoples in the region.

SLIDE 110: HRC tours parliament building with Prime Minister Horn.

SLIDE 111: HRC sitting with Prime Minister Horn at a reception hosted by the Prime Minister.

SLIDE 112: HRC and a group of prominent Hungarian-Americans.

DAILY HELP SERVICE FOUNDATION

SLIDE 113: Local Roma girl greeting HRC

- Hungary's Roma community numbers almost 500,000. They face job and education discrimination and suffer a 60% unemployment rate.
- I met with representatives from the Hungarian Roma community at the Daily Help Service Foundation which provides legal and family counseling, activities for children, parenting classes, job placement and referral assistance in dealing with local government, as well as distributing subsidized food and clothing. The beneficiaries are mostly members of Budapest's large Roma community -- it is Hungary's only foundation offering these services to the Roma community.

SLIDE 114: Tour of Foundation - in discount grocery store.

SLIDE 115: Discussion with representatives of local Roma community.

PRIMAVERA MEETING

SLIDE 116: Primavera meeting.

- I met with the members of Primavera, a women's networking group initiated by Mrs. Vera Blinken, wife of Ambassador Blinken. The group includes women working in education, children's issues, health care, NGOs, Roma issues, politics, media, business and government. Our discussion focused on the impact of Hungary's post-1989 transformation on career women and on the growing role of women in civil society.
- The women lamented their insignificant numbers in government leadership and the fact that 50% of the unemployed are women. They underscored the patience that is required to get through this period of transition.

SLIDE 117: Talking to Dr. Maria Korodi (kuh-ROH-dee), Vice Speaker of Parliament.

HERO'S SQUARE

SLIDE 118: Touring Hero's Square with Ambassador and Mrs. Blinken.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GONCZ (goontz)

SLIDE 119: President Goncz greeting HRC at the President's residence.

- President Goncz has played an outstanding role in Hungary's democratic transition and in promoting national reconciliation. He was an insurgent in the 1956 Hungarian Uprising, and was imprisoned for many years afterwards.

SLIDE 120: Meeting with President Goncz.

POOH HOSPITAL

SLIDE 121: Visiting boy in POOH hospital.

- POOH, also known as the Pediatric Oncology Outreach Hospital, enjoys a partnership between the Kansas Univ. Medical Center through USAID. The Hungary partnership program is a \$2.3 million effort aimed at reducing death rates of children with cancer through early diagnosis, improved monitoring, new treatments, and reduction in infections through better nursing care. Dr. Schuler, the director of the POOH project, first drew the attention of Kansas Univ. through his writings on Hungary's unusually high rate of cancer in children.
- The hospital is one of the premier pediatric Oncology centers in Hungary and is not expanding that expertise to other countries in the region.

SLIDE 122: Staff person presenting HRC with gift

SLIDE 123: Touring hospital with Dr. Schuler.

SLIDE 124: Visiting with young patient.

SLIDE 125: Discussion with parents and physicians.

ESTONIA

SLIDE 126: MAP OF ESTONIA

SLIDE 127: TALLINN SKYLINE

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MERI (MAY-ree)

SLIDE 128: Meeting with President Meri.

- Pres. Meri is Estonia's first president since the country regained its independence in 1991. Estonia has truly been an inspiration for its patriotism and endurance throughout the half-century of occupation.

SLIDE 129: Close-up of meeting.

SLIDE 130: Pres. Meri showing HRC map of Estonia.

SLIDE 131: Walking with President Meri at reception with Estonian leaders.

TOUR OF OLD TOWN

SLIDE 132: Pres. Meri leading HRC on a tour of Old Town.

- I could feel the vibrancy of independent Estonia.

SLIDE 133: Walking through Old Town.

SLIDE 134: Old Town.

SLIDE 135: Visiting a Co-op for local artisans.

SLIDE 136: Co-op.

CENTRAL TALLINN WOMEN'S CLINIC

SLIDE 137: Outpatient clinic.

- The Tallinn Women's Clinic was recently established by Tallinn Central Hospital under the auspices of a partnership between USAID and George Washington Univ. The innovative Women's Clinic provides both reproductive and general health care services for women. This is the first clinic in Estonia to offer a broad range of health services for women.

The collaboration with GW seeks to explore the necessary length of stay for childbirth and an innovative home visit program.

SLIDE 138: Visiting a Lamaze class at the Clinic.

- The Clinic also offers a lamaze-type program designed to prepare pregnant women and their husbands for labor, delivery, and infant care upon their return home.

SLIDE 139: Woman holding newborn baby.

- The Women's Clinic has introduced a family delivery program where fathers participate in the birth of their children.

SLIDE 140: HRC holding baby.

SLIDE 141: Surgical room with new equipment.

- The clinic's surgical suite received \$42,000 worth of equipment donated under the partnership program shortly before my visit. The new equipment will be used for diagnostic procedures, infertility surgery and tumor removal.

NGO FORUM

SLIDE 142: Folk dancers at NGO forum.

SLIDE 143: HRC dancing with folk dancers.

SLIDE 144: HRC dancing in line.

SLIDE 145: Meeting with NGO's.

- I was very pleased to meet with members of the NGO community from Estonia. Estonia's ethnic-Russian minority makes up 29% of the population. I asked about this issue in my meetings with NGOs and community leaders and was impressed with the broad commitment to progress. A representative of the President's Roundtable on Minority Issues described the strains on the ethnic-Russian minority that must adjust to its new situation.
- I heard about grass-roots initiatives where localities have created their own discussion roundtables; about communities which have promoted courses for schoolchildren in civic responsibility; and how rural areas are being taught to establish their own political action groups. I heard the assertion that Estonia is coming to accept a new identity as a multi-ethnic society.

SLIDE 146: *Close-up of meeting.*

SLIDE 147: *Group photo of meeting participants.*

SPEECH AT NATIONAL LIBRARY

SLIDE 148: *Meeting with Prime Minister Vahi (VEH-hee).*

SLIDE 149: *Speech.*

- Before leaving Estonia I delivered a speech addressed to the people of all three Baltic nations at Estonia's newly re-opened National Library before an audience of political and community leaders. The speech was also relayed by video monitor to a nearby square where hundreds of Estonians were gathered. I reiterated our support for the Baltics, stressing we stood by them in the past, and would not abandon them in the future. I praised the progress of the Baltic countries in democracy building and the economy, and expressed admiration for their courage. I also publicly stated our support for the Estonian government's enlightened and courageous approach to its minority population, and stressed the importance of carrying this even further.
- I reiterated my call for an "alliance of values" to guide our democracies as we confront the inevitable challenges of the 21st century: the challenge of keeping peace in a world where ancient hatreds are slow to die and new ones are too easily born; the challenge of giving all citizens the chance to fulfill their God-given potential and participate fully in the life of their country. I told them:

"Democracy gives us the capacity to cope with these challenges. But democracy can only thrive in the post-Cold War era if we are able to convey the values underlying it -- the values of opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human dignity.

And just how do we convey those values to ourselves and, more important, to our children?

We do it by strengthening civil society -- by strengthening the daily associations and actions that weave together the fabric of democratic life...In short, we are creating an alliance of democratic values."

SLIDE 150: *Speech.*

SLIDE 151: Farewell ceremony outside National Library.
SLIDE 152: Boys giving HRC flowers at farewell ceremony.

SLIDE 153: MAP OF REGION

-- end --

August 21, 1996

*file ~~Stennis~~ ML
Central Europe
trip*

MEMORANDUM FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FROM: Brenda Costello
SUBJECT: Briefings for Thursday, August 22

Welfare Reform Bill Signing

-Briefing prepared for the President

Private with Mrs. Kwasniewska

-Briefing
-Talking points
-Bio
-Articles on Mrs. Kwasniewska

Slide Show Presentation

-Briefing (to be forwarded Thursday morning)
-Script (to be forwarded Thursday morning)

Receiving Line

-Guest list

Barbara Walters Interview with The President

-Memo from Marsha Berry
-Briefing prepared for President (to be forwarded Thursday morning)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 21, 1996

SIGNING OF THE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND
WORK OPPORTUNITY RECONCILIATION ACT OF 1996

DATE: Thursday, August 22, 1996
LOCATION: Rose Garden
TIME: 11:00 am
From: John Hilley, Rahm Emanuel,
Bruce Reed

I. PURPOSE

To sign into law the comprehensive bipartisan welfare reform plan that will end welfare and begin welfare reform. The bill will change the nation's welfare system into one that requires work in exchange for time-limited assistance.

II. BACKGROUND

Legislative History

The House passed H.R. 3734 on a 256-170 vote on July 18, 1996. The Senate passed 74-24 its original version of H.R. 3734 on July 23, 1996. The House adopted the conference report to the bill on July 31, 1996, 328-101. The Senate cleared the conference report to the bill on August 1, 1996, 78-21.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
The First Lady
The Vice President
Sec. Donna Shalala
Sec. Mickey Kantor
Sec. Dan Glickman
Sec. Frederico Pena
Administrator Phil Lader

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS CONFIRMED:

Sen. Joe Biden (D-DE)
Sen. John Breaux (D-LA)
Rep. Glen Browder (D-AL)
Rep. Michael Castle (R-DE)

Rep. Sander Levin (D-MI)
Rep. Clay Shaw (R-FL)
Rep. John Tanner (D-TN)
Former Senator Russell Long

GOVERNORS CONFIRMED:

Governor Roy Romer (D-CO)
Governor Thomas Carper (D-DE)
Governor Robert Miller (D-NV)
Governor Gaston Caperton (D-WV)

You will be introduced by Ms. Lillie Harden from Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1984, after two years of receiving assistance for herself and her three children, she enrolled in Arkansas's "Work Program". In 1986 Ms. Harden accompanied you to a National Governor's Association panel discussion on welfare reform.

Today Ms. Harden has four children; Carlton Harden, 24, works at Island Hospital, Billy Rogers, 21, is pre-med and on a football scholarship at the University of Arkansas, Sharonda Rogers, 19, is an engineering student, and Shanika Harden, 10, is in the 4th grade. Ms. Harden works at Kroger's supermarket.

Also on stage is Penelope Howard, a young woman from Delaware who was on welfare until hired by Chicago Corporation, National Bank of Delaware, whose CEO is attending this event. (Governor Carper brought them to the event.) And Janet Ferrel who is a single mother with two children, a victim of domestic violence who has since divorced and received a college degree. (Governor Caperton brought Ms. Ferrel.)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

The Vice President makes opening remarks and introduces Ms. Lillie Hardin.

Ms Lillie Hardin makes remarks and introduces The President.

The President makes remarks.

Upon the conclusion of remarks, The President invites Lillie Harden, Penelope Howard, Janet Ferrel, Governors, members of Congress, and members of the Cabinet to join him on stage to sign the bill.

VI. REMARKS

Prepared by Terry Edmonds and Bruce Reed.

MEETING WITH
POLAND FIRST LADY JOLANTA KWASNIEWSKA
DATE: AUGUST 22, 1996
TIME: 12:30 p.m.

I. PURPOSE

To exchange views with Mrs. Kwasniewska on her efforts to build up non-governmental organizations in Poland supporting women, the disabled, and other causes; to reiterate U.S. support for Poland's efforts to build a free market democracy while attempting to ease the hardships of transition for average Poles.

II. BACKGROUND

The Polish First Lady requested this meeting to further develop the personal relationship you established during your visit to Poland in July.

The occasion of Mrs. Kwasniewska's visit to the U.S. was to support the Polish team at the Special Olympics in Atlanta on August 20. While in Atlanta she also met with representatives of charitable organizations, such as CARE and the Boys and Girls Clubs of America.

Our excellent relations with Poland were highlighted during President Kwasniewski's July 8 White House visit. While here, President Kwasniewski met with local Polish-American and Jewish groups to improve his government's relations with these key constituents. His Government has continued to strengthen Polish democracy and sustained the sound course of macroeconomic stabilization begun after the fall of communism in 1989. In July, Poland was invited to join the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and we expect Poland to be among the first new countries admitted to an enlarged NATO.

Mrs. Kwasniewska is active in promoting the interests of women and the disabled. Shortly before your July visit to Warsaw, she helped launch a new organization called "Women in Public Life," an advocacy group for Poland's small but growing class of professional women. During your visit, she insisted on hosting your roundtable discussion with a group of about 20 women from parliament, the government, and women's organizations. Mrs. Kwasniewska may also seek out a discussion of the institutional role of a First Lady in a democracy; she reportedly views the U.S. as a "model" and would like to solicit your insights on institutional mechanisms. Her own personal style has already redefined the role of the First Lady in Polish society.

- 2 -

Following your meeting, Mrs. Kwasniewska will join you at Commerce for your briefing and slide show on your Eastern European trip. Later she will meet with two non-profit sector groups (Independent Sector and Civicus). On August 23, she plans several Washington cultural stops including a tour of Congress, the Library of Congress, and the National Gallery. (Note: In July, President Kwasniewski was in Atlanta for the Summer Olympics. Poland's participation was marred by the death during the Opening Ceremony in Atlanta of the Polish Minister of Sports. President Kwasniewski very much appreciated President Clinton's call offering condolences the next morning.)

III. PARTICIPANTS

Mrs. Jolanta Kwasniewska, First Lady of Poland
Mr. Jerzy Kozminski, Ambassador of Poland to the United States
Mrs. Irena Kozminska, Wife of the Polish Ambassador
Mrs. Bogumila Wieclaw, Deputy Director of Protocol,
Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

IV. AGENDA

We recommend raising the following points:

-- Para-Olympics: Mrs. Kwasniewska will want to discuss her observations of the Para-Olympics in Atlanta. As of COB August 19, the Polish team had accrued an impressive seven medals.

-- Support for the Disabled: In Poland's economic and political transition since 1989, there have been few resources available to take the special needs of the disabled into account. Mrs. Kwasniewska will be eager to hear your experiences and insights into caring for those special needs in a free market economy.

-- Breast Cancer Awareness: During your visit to Poland in early July, you encouraged Mrs. Kwasniewska to energize the fragmented Polish women's movement around the non-partisan issue of breast cancer awareness, with Mrs. Rey's participation and active encouragement. It would be appropriate to ask Mrs. Kwasniewska about her progress on this issue.

Attachments:

Tab 1 - Talking Points
Tab 2 - Biographic Highlights

TALKING POINTS

-- I wanted to thank you again for the wonderful hospitality during my recent visit to Poland.

-- I had a delightful stay. Coming just prior to President Kwasniewski's highly successful visit to Washington, it highlighted the vibrant and deepening relationship between our two countries.

-- I understand that Poland made a strong showing at the Para Olympics in Atlanta. I cannot think of a better demonstration of your country's commitment to the disabled. I'm eager to hear your impressions of this important event.

-- We spoke in Warsaw about your activities in support of the disabled. I would like to learn more about your work in this area and the types of programs that are being developed in Poland.

-- How is your new "Women in Public Life" organization going? What role do you envisage with it?

-- In Warsaw we also spoke about the issue of breast cancer awareness, which in the United States has energized enormous women's support across the political spectrum. American women have successfully worked to increase funding for both treatment and prevention.

-- Work in this area has the potential to bring women together on a non-partisan basis around an issue of immediate concern to their own health.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: U.S. Government report (1 page)	08/21/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20025

FOLDER TITLE:

Central Europe

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rc1703

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1996 Times Newspapers Limited
Sunday Times

July 7, 1996, Sunday

SECTION: Overseas news

LENGTH: 550 words

HEADLINE: Hillary of the east stuns staid Poland

BYLINE: Simon Cygielski, Warsaw

BODY:

SHE IS a far cry from the frumpy, Soviet-era matrons Poland is used to seeing tagging along behind its leaders. Jolanta Kwasniewska, the new first lady, has shocked Warsaw's stuffy establishment by adopting a profile in national life as visible as that of America's Hillary Clinton.

In a country where first ladies have seldom been seen let alone heard Kwasniewska, the wife of president Aleksander Kwasniewski, a former communist, is a striking aberration: unlike Danuta Walesa, the former first lady who seldom visited Warsaw, Kwasniewska is rarely out of the limelight.

The similarity to Hillary Clinton, who visited Warsaw last week on a grand European tour, goes beyond an extensive wardrobe and penchant for varying her hairstyle: Kwasniewska, like her American counterpart, has a law degree and, like America's first lady, she is not afraid of letting people know what she thinks.

Polish conservative opposition politicians, who generally concur that a woman's place is in the kitchen, have been taken aback by the appearance of Kwasniewska on the political scene: she has been engaged in a vocal campaign for greater rights for women. But this is controversial in a country where women such as Kwasniewska, who combine their professional career with motherhood, are regarded as an oddity.

Nobody's ready for it,' said Kwasniewska, who gave up a thriving real estate business to devote herself to the role of first lady. I feel very alone and there is no institutional thinking of what a first lady should be. At least Mrs Clinton stepped into an office where she had an office and people to work for her. Men are afraid of losing their position.'

She added: There is a backward, traditional way of thinking about society that includes saying some posts can only be reserved for men. Women don't know how to promote themselves for state positions. This means the issues of women, families and children are discussed by men and usually to ridiculous effect.'

Even her efforts to raise funds for charity an activity engaged in with impunity by first ladies in most western countries have landed her in trouble. When she sent out letters to the country's 49 provincial governors asking for lists of companies that would be likely to help the needy, some of them accused

Times Newspapers Limited, July 7, 1996

her of abusing her privileged position as the president's wife. Some ignored her request altogether. One simply sent his area telephone directory.

Undeterred, Kwasniewska intends to become involved in the fight against breast cancer. In Poland, she says, mammograms can only be afforded by well-to-do women. Poor women have to wait months for free examinations.

During the Queen's April visit to Poland, one of the hottest topics was Kwasniewska's choice of clothes. She not only came out of it successfully but also managed to promote Polish fashion designs at the same time.

At one event she wore a creation so stunning that it caught the Queen's attention. She wanted to know if it was imported; proudly, Kwasniewska told her it was Polish.

She is not likely to be diverted from her task by all the sniping. She admires another American woman even more than Hillary Clinton: Eleanor Roosevelt. Of all the first ladies she had the greatest role: an iron lady, ' she said.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 16, 1996

President's List

EASTERN EUROPE BRIEFING AND RECEPTION - Thursday AUG 22 1996 - 3:30 PM State Floor - Business
- East Visitors Entrance For Official Government Use Only

Page 1

THE VICE PRESIDENT AND FIRST LADY

REPORT DATE: August 21, 1996
REPORT TIME: 10:01 PM

Accepts and No Responses

- A **Ms. Teresa Abick**
Vice President, Polish National Alliance
Chicago, IL
- A **Dr. Malvina Abonyi**
Dearborn, MI
- A **Mr. Shariar Ahy**
UPI
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. Thomas Albert**
Director, Office of Ethnic Outreach, Democratic National Committee
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Paige Alexander**
Deputy Director, Office of European Affairs, USAID
Washington, DC
- Mr. Alex Anday**
Wausau, WI
- Mr. Theodore Andrica**
Editor, American Romanian Review
Cleveland, OH
- Mr. Veljo Areng**
Treas., Estonian American National Council, Inc.
Rockville, MD
- A **Mr. J. Brian Atwood**
Administrator, USAID
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Irene Avdey**
President, Belarusian Congress Committee of America
South River, NJ
- A **Dr. James Baker**
- A **Mr. Stanley Balzekas**
President, Lithuanian American Democratic League
Chicago, IL
- A **Mr. Stanley Banas**
Stanley Spring Stamping Co.
Chicago, IL
- A **Mr. Thomas Banick**
National President, Slovak Catholic Federation
Wilkes-Barre, PA

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Page 2

REPORT DATE: August 21, 1996
REPORT TIME: 10:01 PM

Accepts and No Responses

- A **Ms. Asta Banionis**
Director, Public Affairs Office, Lithuanian American Community
Arlington, VA
- A **HE (Amb.) and Mrs. Gyorgy Banlaki**
Ambassador of the Republic of Hungary, Embassy of Hungary
Washington, DC
- A **Robert Bannister**
Kent, NY
- A **Ms. Fran Bartlomowicz** ✓
Wikes-Barre, PA
- A **Rojs Bauburs**
- A **Mr. Taras Bazyluk**
Speechwriter & Aide to the Director, U.S. Arms Control & Disarmament Agency
Washington, DC
- A **Mrs. Beluse Bednar (Spouse of: Charles Bednar)**
- A **Ambassador and Mrs. Gyorgy Benleki**
Embassy of Hungary
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Majella Berg**
Marymount University
- A **Mr. Eric Bergston**
- Mr. Laszlo Berta**
Bokcsai, John Carroll University Radio
University Heights Blvd., OH
- A **Rev. Imre A. Bertalan**
Chairman, Board of Directors, Hungarian American Coalition
Rockville, MD
- A **Mr. Wojciech Bialasiewicz**
Editor, Polish Daily News
Chicago, IL
- A **Alderman Carole Bialczak and Mr. Stuart Goldman**
DSCC
Chicago, IL
- A **Ms. Amy Biggers**

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Page 3

REPORT DATE: August 21, 1996
REPORT TIME: 10:01 PM

Accepts and No Responses

- A **Ms. J. Veronica Biggins**
Heidrick & Struggles
Atlanta, GA
- Ms. Mary Blackwood**
USAID
- Mr. Miklos Blaho**
Washington Correspondent, Magyar Nemzet
Chevy Chase, MD
- Ms. Carole Blalczak**
DSCC
Chicago, IL
- A **Mr. Andre Blaszczyński**
Kensington, CT
- A **Mr. Tony Blinken**
- A **Mr. Juris Blodnieks**
Latvian Crisis Committee
Montclair, NJ
- A **Mr. and Mrs. Laszlo Bojtos**
Honorary Consul of Hungary
Cleveland, OH
- A **Mr. and Mrs. Gabriel Boloca**
Middleburg Heights, OH
- A **Mr. Vincent V. Boris**
Vice Chairman, Member of the Board of Directors, Joint Baltic American National Committee
Columbia, MD
- A **Honorable Thomas Bozek**
New Britain, CT
- Ms. Martha Brant**
Newsweek Correspondent, Newsweek
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. Joseph George Brimmeier**
Pittsburgh, PA
- A **Mr. Joseph George Brimmeier**
Pittsburgh, PA
- A **Mr. Joseph George Brimmeier and Mrs. Margaret Schaver-Brimmier**
Pittsburgh, PA

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Page 4

REPORT DATE: August 21, 1996
REPORT TIME: 10:01 PM

Accepts and No Responses

- A **Ms. Stacey Roth Brumbaugh**
 Hollidaysburg, PA
- A **Mrs. Gloria Brunhard**
 Polonaise
 Brooklyn, NY
- A **Mr. Roland Buchholz**
 President, Americans for an Independent Lithuania
 Great Notch, NJ
- A **Mr. Julius Keleras (Substitute for: Cornelius Bucmys)**
- Mr. Aristide Buhoiu**
 Universul
 Receda, CA
- Mr. Paul Burik**
 Avon, OH
- A **Mr. Angelo Burrelli**
 New Castle, PA
- A **Ms. Beverly Jean Burrelli**
 New Castle, PA
- A **Honorable Nancy Burton**
 Albany, NY
- A **Ms. Jacqueline Butler**
 Saint Louis, MO
- A **Rev. Gheorgag Calciu**
 Romanian Union for Faith and Liberty
 Burke, VA
- A **Ms. Rodica Stefania Caraz**
- A **Mr. Gheorghe Caraza**
 Romanian Association of Former Political Detainees-USA
 Ridgewood, NY
- A **Ms. Kelly Carnes**
 Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of Commerce
 Washington, DC
- Mr. Thomas R. Carto**
 Warren, OH

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Mr. Gregory B. Cerilli**
Greensburg, PA
- A **Ms. Lorraine M. Cerilli**
Greensburg, PA
- Ms. Rachel Kyte (Substitute for: Ellen Chesler)**
- Mr. Mark Paul Chestnut**
Jackson, MI
- A **Mr. Viorel Chirila**
Romanian Cultural Center, Inc.
Croton on Hudson, NY
- A **Mrs. Loretta Chmura**
Nanticoke, PA
- Mr. Adrian Choinski**
Milwaukee, WI
- Mr. Jarek Cholodecki**
Willow Springs, IL
- A **Mr. Jaroslaw Cholodecki**
President, Ethnic Broadcasting
Chicago, IL
- Ms. Courtney Chubb**
- A **Mr. Witali Cierpicki**
BCCA, New Jersey Branch
South River, NJ
- A **Mr. Stanley Ciesielski**
Baltimore, MD
- A **Dr. Aureliu D. Ciufecu**
- A **Pranas Ciziunas**
Operations Manager, JBANC
Rockville, MD
- A **Mr. Mark Clark**
Hughes Aircraft Company
Arlington, VA
- A **Mr. Cornel Rzumitrescu (Substitute for: Dan Costescu)**

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Mr. and Mrs. James Craciun**
Cleveland, OH
- A **Mr. Karl Csaky**
- A **Mr. Andrew Csoman**
National Secretary, Hungarian Reformed Federation of America
Beaverfalls, PA
- Mrs. Carol Campbell Cure**
Phoenix, AZ
- A **Mrs. Lynn G. Cutler**
Senior Vice President, The Kamber Group
Washington, DC
- Dr. Norina D'lorio**
Forty Fort, PA
- A **Ms. Sylvia Daneel**
- Mr. Leopold Danihels**
President, Slovak World Congress
Los Angeles, CA
- Mr. Rojs Dauburs**
General Manager-Lelche
Rockville, MA
- A **Mr. Tamas De Kun**
Director, NFAH
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. Henry J. Dende** ✓
President, Polish Union of the United States of America
Wilkes-Barre, PA
- Ms. Helen Des Fosses**
Albany, NY
- A **Mr. Vikram Dhawer**
Johnstown, PA
- A **Ms. Elizabeth Didzbalis**
Linden, NJ
- A **Ms. Marilyn DiGiacobbe**
Associate Director, White House Office of Public Liaison

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Accepts and No Responses

Honorable Agnes M. Dobronski
State Representative, Michigan
Dearborn, MI

Mr. Andrezej Dobrowolski
Editor, Glos
Brooklyn, NY

A **Ms. Helen Dombal**
Sumerville, NY

A **Ms. Jill Dougherty**
CNN
Washington DC

A **Honorable Marilyn Douglas**
Petersburgh, NY

Mr. Michael Doyle

A **Mr. George Dozsa**
President, Hungarian Reformed Federation of America
Washington, DC

Mr. Helju Droppa
Petersburg, VA

A **Mrs. Kathy Ann Duda**
Springfield, VA

Mr. Paul Durbin
Chicago, IL

Ms. Betsy Ebeling
Chicago, IL

A **Mr. Florence Eckert**
Editor, Garsas
Forty Fort, PA

A **Mr. Vello Ederma**
Vice President, Estonian World Council
Springfield, VA

Mrs. x Edidinta (Spouse of: Alfonsas Edidinta)

A **Ms. Laiana L. Eglitis**

Ambassador Stuart Eisenstadt
Undersecretary for International Trade
Washington, DC

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Ms. Sarah Eisinger**
Office of Ethnic Affairs, Democratic National Committee
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. and Mrs. Ben Englander**
Woodmere, NY
- A **Mr. Daniel Erlenborn**
NBC
Washington, DC
- A** **Hon. (Rep.) Lane A. Evans**
Representative, House of Representatives
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. Trevor Evans**
Office of North Central Europe, Department of State
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Agatha Fedulow**
Chicago, IL
- Ms. Marina Marie Ficken**
McLean, VA
- A **Ms. Angela Fiorillo**
New Haven, CT
- A **Honorable Ruth Fisher**
Ventnor City, NJ
- A **Mr. Scot Fishman**
- A **Mr. Jay Footlik**
- A **Mr. and Mrs. Joseph S. Fornal**
President, Cleveland Society of Polish Americans
Westlake, OH
- A **Mr. Oldrich Foucek**
Tallman, Hudders and Sorrentino
Allentown, PA
- A **Mr. Ronald V. Fournier**
Associated Press
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. Malek Francis**
National Chairman, American Lebanese Congress
Pittsburgh, PA

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Accepts and No Responses

Mr. Robert Gabor

AFL-CIO, International Division
Bethesda, MD

Ambassador Robert Gallucci

Dean, School of Foreign Service
Washington, DC

Mr. Jozsef Garay

Amerikai Magyar Szó
NY

A **Ms. Vera Von-Wiren Garczynski**
Glen Cove, NY

A **Ms. Melita Garza**
Chicago Tribune
Chicago, IL

A **Hon. Mark Gearan**

A **Dr. John Genys**
Chairman, Joint Baltic American National Committee
Seabrook, MD

A **HE and Mrs. Mircea Geoana**
Ambassador of Romania
Washington, DC

A **Ms. Suzy George**
Special Assistant, Office of the Us Ambassador to the United Nations
Washington, DC

A **Mr. Terry Bielinski Gerratana**
New Britain, CT

A **Mr. Gene Joseph Gibbons**
Reuters
Washington, DC

A **Ms. Ann Goetz**
Croatian Fraternal Union of America
Pittsburgh, PA

A **Mrs. Emily Gola**

A **Mr. George Golubovskis**
Rockville, MD

A **Mr. Joseph Gore**
President, Kosciuszko Foundation
New York, NY

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Accepts and No Responses

Atty. Oldrich Goucek
Tallman, Hudders & Sorrentino
Allentown, PA

A **Mr. Chester Grabowski**
Editor, Post Eagle
Clifton, NJ

A **Mr. Joseph Grabowski**
Port Carbon, PA

Rev. Richard Jean Grabowski
Warren, OH

A **Ms. Lisa Graebner Orvis (Substitute for: Thomas Graebner)**

A **Rev. and Mrs. Remus Grama**
Cleveland, OH

A **Mr. and Mrs. Jack Green**
Ocean Grove, NJ

A **Ms. Cynthia Maleski Groch and Dr. Andrzej Groch**
National Officer, National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups, Inc.
Natrona Heights, PA
Guest: Miss Elizabeth Groch

A **Mr. Mitchell Grochowski**
Editor, Straz
Scranton, PA

Mrs. Audrey Gruss
The Martin Gruss Foundation
New York, NY

Hon. Lee Hamilton
Taylor County Judge, Taylor County
Abilene, TX

A **Mr. Laszlo Hamos**
President, Hungarian American Human Rights Foundation
New York, NY

A **Ms. Rose Margaret Mary Haney**

A **Mr. Peter L. Harkay**
Director, NFAH & J. Arany Hungarian Language School
Glendale, NY

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Hon. Alexis M. Herman**
Assistant to the President & Director of Public Liaison, White House
- A **Mr. and Mrs. John Hidveghi**
Member, Comptroller NFAH, DNC
Kissimmee, FL
- A **Ms. Gwen Holden**
St. Clair, PA
- A **Mr. Jim Holmes**
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. John Holy**
Editor, The Slovak-American
Clifton, NJ
- Ms. W. Nina Holy**
- A **Dr. Otakar Horna**
Branch President, Czechoslovak National Council of America
Bethesda, MD
- A **Mr. Thomas M. Hricik**
President, First Catholic Slovak Union of the US and Canada
Independence, OH
- A **Mr. Paul Hughes**
- A **Professor Thomas J. Hyclak**
Bethlehem, PA
- A **Ambassador Toomas Ilves and Dr. Merry Bullock**
Embassy of Estonia
Washington, DC
- Dr. Stefan Issarescu**
Founding Member, World Union of Free Romanians
Cleveland, OH
- A **Ms. Jackie Istvan**
Kingston, PA
- Ms. Astrid Jaanson**
Member, EANC
Arlington Hts., IL
- A **Ms. Hedi Somerfelt (Substitute for: Richard Jablonski *(dec))**

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Ms. Marilyn Jacanin** ✓
Dean, School of Foreign Service
Washington, DC
- Mr. Julius Jansco**
Publisher, Magyar Hirlap
Van Nuys, CA
- Maestro Neeme Jarvi**
Maestro, Detroit Symphony Orchestra
Detroit, MI
- A **Mr. Ron Jasinski-Herbert**
Editor, Polonia Today
Chicago, IL
- A **Mr. Thomas Jenkins**
SAIC
Reston, VA
- Ms. Mary Ann JohaneK**
President, The First Catholic Slovak Ladies Association
Beachwood, OH
- Ms. Erika Johanson**
Vice President, Estonian League of the West Coast
Irving, TX
- A **Mr. Joe Johns**
NBC
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. Stuart Jones**
Executive Assistant, Office of the Us Ambassador to the United Nations
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Sharon Jordan**
Executive Director, Schenectady Municipal Housing Authority
Schenectady, NY
- A **Ms. Rebecca A. Joyce**
- A **Mr. Frank Juhasz**
Chairman, Sons & Daughters of Hungary Inc.
Erie, PA
- A **Ms. Cheryl Juniewicz**
North Haven, CT
- A **Mr. Albert Juszczak**
Brooklyn, NY

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **H.E. (Amb) and Mrs. Ojars Eriks Kalnins**
Ambassador of Latvia
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. Julias Kalnoky**
Publisher, Amerikai Magyar Nepszava
East Burnswick, NJ
- A **Mr. John Kamoda**
Brooklyn, OH
- A **Dr. John J. Karch**
Executive Vice President, Slovak World Congress
Falls Church, VA
- A **Ms. Lya Karm**
Director, EANC
Bethesda, MD
- A **Mr. Dennis Kasper**
Chicago, IL
- Mr. Michael Kasper** ✓
Chicago, IL
- A **Ms. Sheilah Kast**
ABC News Correspondent, ABC News
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Katz**
East Hills, NY
- A **Ms. Amalia Luna Kaufman**
Polish American Holocaust Survivor
Watchung, NJ
- A **Mr. Julijus Keleras**
The Lithuanian Weekly, Darbininkas
Brooklyn, NY
- A **Mrs. Vaida Keleras**
The Lithuanian Weekley, Darbininkas
Brooklyn, NY
- A **Mrs. Joan Kelley** ✓
Shamokin, PA
- Ms. Rose Kermendy**
Metuchen, NJ

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Accepts and No Responses

Ms. Rose Kermendy
Metuchen, NJ

Mr Ilir Kherka
Assistant Director for Public Liason Clinton/Gore '96
Washington, DC

A **Ms. Mary M. Kiernan**
Washington, DC

A **Ms. Barbara Kinney**
Official Photographer

A **Mr. and Mrs. Leon Klementowicz**
Brooklyn, NY

A **Mr. George Knowles**

A **Ms. Maila Koiva**
Member, EANC
Severna Pk., MD

A **Mr. Mati Koiva**
Vice President, Estonian American National Council, Inc.
Severna Park, MD

A **Mr. Richard J. Konisiewicz**
Liaison for International Affairs
Cleveland, OH

Honorable Robert Kosaren
Hamtramck, MI

A **Mr. and Mrs. Miklos Kossanyi**
President, Nationalities Radio & TV
Lakewood, OH

A **Mr. Steven M. Pogorelec (Substitute for: George Kostelnik)**

A **Mr. Rafael Kosztolnik**
Central Chapter Organizing Committee, NFAH
Alexandria, VA

A **Mr. John Kotov**

A **Mr. Nicholas Kotow**

A **Mr. Edmund J. Kotula**
President, Polish National Union of America
Scranton, PA

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Mr. Henry Kowal**
- A **Mrs. Regina Kujawa Kowal**
Jericho, NY
- Rev. George Kowalski**
Wyandolle, MI
- A **Mr. and Mrs. Tomasz Kowalski**
Linden, NJ
- A **HE (Amb.) Jerzy Kozminski**
Ambassador of the Republic of Poland
Washington, DC
- Ms. Lisa R. Kraemer**
Cleveland, OH
- A **Ms. Tania J. Krawiec**
Bloomfield, NJ
- Ms. Tatiana Krawiec**
Bloomfield, NJ
- A **Mrs. Ilze Kreismanis**
Director, GVV, Latvian Center Garezers
Three Rivers, MI
- Mr. Steve Kuklinski**
Milwaukee, WI
- A **Mr. Lembit Kutt**
Lynbrook, NY
- A **Mr. Timothy Kuzma**
Editor, Polish Falcons of America
Pittsburgh, PA
- A **Hon. (Rep.) John J. LaFalce**
(D/New York), House of Representatives
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. and Mrs. Murray Laulicht**
West Orange, NJ
- Mr. Rich Lawlor**
Hartford, CT
- A **Ms. Anne Miriam Leader-Zavos**

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Mr. and Mrs. Fred Lebed**
Special Assistant to President Stroger, Cook County Board of Commissioners
Chicago, IL
- A **Mr. Bruce A. Lehman**
Washington D.C.
- A **Mrs. Mercedes Leighton** ✓
Wilkes-Barre, PA
- A **Ms. Casimira S. Lenard**
Executive Director, Polish American Congress
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. George G. Lendraitis**
President, Lithuanian Mercy Lift
Lwmont, IL
- A **Mr. Raymond Lesniak**
Senator
Elizabeth, NJ
- Mr. Jim Lewandowski** ✕
Executive Director, NJ State Conference of American Polonians
Avenel, NJ
- A **Ms. Reta Jo Lewis**
Washington, DC
- A **HE (Amb.) Branislav Lichardus and Dr. Eva Kellerova**
Ambassador of the Slovak Republic, Embassy of the Slovak Republic
Washington, DC
Guests: Ms. Barbara Balazova, Ms. Eva Balazova, Ms. Sonia Petrikova, Lubos Petrik
- A **Mrs. Mada Liebman**
Maplewood, NJ
- A **Mr. Veeliiks Ling**
Director, EANC
Olney, MD
- A **Ms. Fran Liszewski**
Gaithersburg, NY
- A **Val Liszewski**
Baltimore, MD
- A **Ms. Sherry Cha-Chuan Liu**
West Bend, WI

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Hon. (Rep.) Carolyn B. Maloney**
Representative, House of Representatives
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Maria Mamlouk**
Deputy Director - ENI/ECA, USAID
Washington, DC
- Mr. Maris Mantenieks**
Representative, American Latvian Association of Cleveland
Brunswick, OH
- A **Mr. Sean Mario**
- Mr. and Mrs. Victor Markowicz**
- A **Lucille Maziarz**
Duryea, PA
- Mr. Christopher McGinness**
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Mary McLaughlin**
New Haven, CT
- A **Ms. Christine J. McMullen**
President, Polish National Alliance of Brooklyn, USA
Brooklyn, NY
- A **Ms. Ellen McNulty-Ryan**
Green Island, NY
- A **Mr. John Medveckis**
Representative, Cooke & Bieler
Philadelphia, PA
- A **Mr. Leslie L. Megyeri**
National Director, National Federation of Hungarian Americans
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Christine Messina-Boyer**
Office of Congressman Paul McHale
- A **Ms. Lisa A. Mets and Mr. Erkki Taada**
Member, 3136623729
Ann Arbor, MI
- A **Mr. Chad Metzler**
Oshkosh, WI

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Mr. George Migala**
Vice President and Station Manager, Migala Communications
Chicago, IL
- A **Mr. Mike Mikolaitis**
President, Lithuanian American Youth Association
Johnstown, PA
- A **Ms. Linda Milewski**
- Ms. Mary Mirecki-Piergies**
English Editor, The Polish Women's Voice
Park Ridge, IL
- A **Mr. and Mrs. Vladimir Mlynek**
Parma, OH
- A **Mr. James Monroe**
- A **Pat Monroe**
Neptune, NJ
- A **Ms. Anne Mosley** 7
Center for Policy Alternatives
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Carol A. Murphy**
Pittsburgh, PA
- A **Ms. Eleanor J. Nagy**
- A **Ms. Jana Nagyova**
Brooklyn, OH
- A **Mr. George Naumczyk**
President, Belarusian-American Center
South River, NJ
- A **Mr. Charles Nemeth**
Bethlehem, PA
- Mr. Peter Nicholson**
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Shannon Nolan**
Albany, NY
- Ms. Martha Nolen**
USAID

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Accepts and No Responses

Mr. Bruno Nowicki
Warren, MI

A **Mr. David Nussbaum**
Deal, NJ

A **Mr. Rich Nyklewicz**
Milwaukee, WI

A **Mr. Mike O'Shea**
Sea Bright, NJ

A **Mrs. Mary Odomirok**
Brooklyn, NY

Ms. Anca Oegar

A **Ms. Johanna Oros**
The Slovak Show
Parma, OH

Mr. Max Ots
De Pere, WI

A **Ms. Anita Varsbergs (Substitute for: Vaira Paegle)**

A **Mr. Michael Pajak**
Pac, New York Downstate
Brooklyn, NY

Mrs. Edith Paksi
Editor, Szabadsag Liberty Newspaper
Chesterland, OH

A **Mr. and Mrs. John Palasics**
Solon, OH

A **Ms. Katherine Panfil**
Alexandria, VA

Mr. Petru Panzaru

A **Mr. Laszlo Papp**
Member, New Canan Council and President, American Council of the World Federation of Hungarians
New Canaan, CT

A **Mr. Larry Parks**
Consultant, MBDA
Washington, DC

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Ms. Joan Parrott-Fonseca**
Associate Administrator, General Services Administration
Washington, DC
- Sorin Grigore Pasarin**
Washington, DC
- A **Mrs. Lillian Paternoster** ✓
Hazleton, PA
- A **Mr. Roman Patynowski**
Wyomissing, PA
- Mr. and Mrs. Juliana Pavel**
Montclair, NJ
Guests: Ms. Alexandria Pavel, Ms. Christina Pavel
- A **Dr. Ludovit Pavlo**
President, Slovak League of America
Derby, CT
- A **Mr. Valdis V. Pavlovskis**
President, Baltic American Freedom League
Los Angeles, CA
- A **Mr. Ald. Jeffrey A. Pawlinski**
Milwaukee, WI
- Hon. (Rep.) Donald M. Payne**
Representative, House of Representatives
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Lauri Fitz Pedago**
- A **Ms. Rodica Perciali**
ROMANIAN MUUSEUM
Cincinnati, OH
- A **Mr. Laszlo Pesztor**
National Federation of American Hungarians
Washington, DC
- A **Mrs. Helene Pierce**
Dearborn, MI
- Mr. John Pikarski**
Chairman, United Polonia for Clinton/Gore
Chicago, IL
- A **Ms. Sandra S. Pikarski**
Director, Chicago-Warsaw Sister Cities, Polish American-Jewish American Woman's Dialogue
Chicago, IL

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Accepts and No Responses

A **Mrs. Yvonne E. Pine**
South Pasadena, CA

Mr. Margers Pinnis
Chairman, Council of Latvian Organizations of New York
North Tarrytown, NY

Mr. Wallace S. Piotrowski
National President, Polish Union of America
Buffalo, NY

A **Ms. Marilyn Piurek**
Director, Federation of Polish Americans
New Haven, CT

A **Ms. Jean Placek**
Czech Fraternal Association
Coraopolis, PA

A **Dr. H. Kaya Ploss**
Editor, The American Center for Polish Culture
Washington, DC

Hon. Aapo Polho
Charge d'Affaires a.i. of Finland, Embassy of Finland
Washington, DC

A **Ariana Popa**
President, "Juliu Maniu" American Romanian Relief Foundation
New York, NY

Ms. Eleanore Popeck
Cliffside Park, NJ

A **Ms. Bianca Adrinana Popescu**
Washington, DC

A **Ms. Karen Popowski**
Executive Director, Polish American Association
Chicago, IL

A **Bishop William George Popp**
Chairman, Congress of Romanian Americans, Inc.
Jackson, MI

A **Mrs. Evelyn Prazak (Spouse of: Zdenek Prazak)**

A **Mr. and Mrs. Hugo Princz**
Highland Park, NJ

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Mr. and Mrs. Louis Ptacek**
Marshfield, WI
- A **Dr. Charles Ptak**
- Mr. Tibor Purger**
Magyar Szo Daily
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. Alda M. Ravangnan**
- A **Mr. William Reinsch**
Bethesda, MD
- A **Mrs. Martha Rich (Spouse of: George Rich)**
- A **Ms. Marju Rink-Abel**
Second Alternate, Board of Directors, Joint Baltic American National Committee
Hyattsville, MD
- A **Ms. Dorina Riscutta**
North Olmsted, OH
- A **Mr. Valdis Ronis**
Director of Finances, ALA
Dunwoody, GA
- Ms. Mary Ellen Rosco**
Dearborn Heights, MI
- A **Mr. Jack Rosenthal**
Roslyn, NY
- A **Mr. Steven Rosenthal**
J.R. Equites, INC.
New York, NY
- Mr. Ivars Rozenthals**
Editor, The Baltic Observer
Foster City, CA
- Ms. Jamie Rubin**
Press Secretary, Office of the Us Ambassador to the United Nations
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Kathleen N. Ruckman**
Chevy Chase, MD
- Mr. Al Ruksenas**
Cleveland Lithuanian American Democratic Club
Cleveland, OH

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Accepts and No Responses

Mr. Ints Rupners

President, American Latvian Association in the United States
Rockville, MD

Rev. Clifford Ruskowski

Trenton, MI

A **Mr. and Mrs. Bob Rybarczyk**
Wausau, WI

A **Mr. Daniel Ryerson**
Chicago, IL

A **Ms. Delores Ryerson**
Chicago, IL

A **Ms. Karen Ryerson**
Chicago, IL

A **Mr. William Ryerson**
Chicago, IL

A **Mr. William Ryerson, Jr.**
Chicago, IL

A **Ms. Deborah Sale**
State Capitol
Albany, NY

A **Ms. Cecilia Sarocky**
National President, Ladies Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union
Pittsburgh, PA

A **Dr. Napoleon Savescu**
Romanian Medical Society of New York
Long Island City, NY
Guest: Ms. Florentina Christodoulidou

Mr. Armand Scala

President, Congress of Romanian Americans, Inc.
McLean, VA

Ms. Margaret Schaver-Brimmeier

Pittsburgh, PA

Ms. Elisabeth Schmidt

American Hungarian Hungarian Life (Americai Kanadai Magyar Elet)
Akron, OH

A **Mr. and Mrs. Charles Segal**
Falls Church, VA

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Monsignor Joseph Semancik**
Director, Catholic Charities
Gary, IN
- A **Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Senko**
Pleasant Hills, PA
- A **Hon. Andrew Sens**
Executive Secretary, National Security Council
Washington, DC
- A **Ms. Amy Serrill**
- A **Ms. Phyllis Shapiro Sewell**
Cincinnati, OH
- A **Mr. Michael Sienko**
Secretary, BCCA, New Jersey Branch
South River, NJ
- A **Ms. Anne Sigmund**
USIA
Washington, DC
- A **Rabbi Paul B. Sifton**
Temple Israel
Albany, NY
- A **Mr. Alex Silwanowicz**
Co-Chairman, Coalition in Defense of Democracy and Human Rights in Belarus
- A **Ms. Nina Silwanowicz**
Member, Coalition in Defense of Democracy and Human Rights in Belarus
South River, NJ
- A **Mr. Juhan Simonson**
Immediate Past President, Estonian American National Council
Lakewood, NJ
- A **Mr. Salvatore M. Sirabella**
Deputy Mayor, City of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA
- A **Ms. Audrey Skwierawski**
Milwaukee, WI
- A **Mrs. Gloria Skwierawski**
Milwaukee, WI
- A **Mr. Michael J. Skwierawski**
Milwaukee, WI

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Accepts and No Responses

Hon. (Rep.) Louise M. Slaughter
Representative, House of Representatives
Washington, DC

A **Mr. Michael Slivinsky and Mrs. Jean Slivinski**
Linden, NJ

A **Mr. John Smith**
Board of Directors, Ukranian American Voters Coalition
Pittsburgh, PA

Hon. Nancy E. Soderberg
Deputy Assistant to the President & Staff Director, NSC, The White House

A **Mrs. Emily Solosy**
Wyandotte, MI

A **Mrs. Hedy Sommerfelt (Spouse of: Joseph Sommerfelt)**

Mr. Joseph Sonye
Chief Elder, Passaic Reformed Church
Fair Lawn, NJ

Mr. Dangoule Spakevicius
Houston, TX

A **Mr. Michael A. Spangler**

A **Mr. John V.G. Spilsbury**

A **Ms. Cristina Sprinceana**
ZUM-Raaphael Publishing House
New York, NY

A **Mr. Marius Sprinceana**
Flushing, NY

A **Mr. and Mrs. Paul Stefanik**
Brooklyn, OH

A **Ms. Barbara J. Steinman**
Philadelphia, PA

A **Mr. George Stirling**
President, Hungarian Free Journalists Associations
Arlington, VA

Ms. Lucretia Stoica
Lakewood, OH

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REPORT DATE: August 21, 1996
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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Ms. Eugenia Stolarczyk**
Polish Program
Garfield Heights, OH
- A **Ms. Eleanor Stone**
Executive Director, Association of Jewish Federations of NJ
East Brunswick, NJ
- Ms. Hilary Stout**
Wall Street Journal
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. Frank Straka** ✓
Reading, PA
- A **Ms. Aija Straumanis**
Director of Public Information, JBANC
Rockville, MD
- A **Mrs. Charlotte Vee Stuban** ✓
Berwick, PA
- A **Mr. John N. Sturdivant**
President, American Federation of Government Employees
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. Janis Sulcs**
ALA
So. Windsor, CT
- A **Mr. Rudolph Susel**
Editor, Ameriska Domovina
Cleveland, OH
- A **Dr. Eric M. Suuberg**
Vice President, EANC
Barrington, RI
- Ms. Iris Svanfelds**
ALA
Roselle, IL
- A **Mr. Joseph Swider**
Pittsburgh, PA
- Mr. John Swidryk**
- A **Judge Mark S. Switalski**
- A **Mr. Michael N. Switalski**

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REPORT DATE: August 21, 1996
REPORT TIME: 10:04 PM

Accepts and No Responses

- A **Mr. Tomasz Szepielak**
Editor, The Polish World
Hamtramack, MI
- Ms. Jolanta Szepieniec**
Editor, Polish-American Chronicle
Middletown, CT
- A **Mr. Juri Taht**
Director, EANC
Bowie, MD
- A **Mr. Daniel Tanzone**
Editor, Slovak Catholic Falcon
Passaic, NJ
- A **Ms. Delores Taras** 
Reading, PA
- A **Ms. Martha Teichner**
CBS News Correspondent, CBS News
New York, NY
- Mr. George Tintera** 
President, Czech-Slovak Society of Indiana
Carmel, IN
- A **Ms. Martina Tkadlec**
- Luba Toloczko-Markewycz**
LaSalle Language Academy
Chicago, IL
- Mr. Enno Toomaalu**
Chicago Estonia House
Lincolnshire, IL
- A **Mr. Adam Topolansky**
- A **Mr. Anatol Topolewski**
- A **Mrs. Mimi (Ilonka) Martinka Torres**
President, California Czech and Slovak Club
Castro Valley, CA
- A **Dr. and Mrs. Istvan Toth**
Cleveland, OH
- Hon. (Rep.) James A. Traficant**
Representative, House of Representatives
Washington, DC

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Accepts and No Responses

Mr. Jan Triska
Czech Society International
Menlow Park, CA

A **Mr. and Mrs. Toomas Tubalkian**
Solon, OH

A **Ms. Janis Tupesis**
Member, American Latvian Youth Association
Rockville, MD

A **Barbara Turner**
Deputy Assistant Administrator for ENI, USAID
Washington, DC

A **Mr. and Mrs. Ted Twardzik** ✓
Shenandoah, PA

A **Mr. Adam Urbanczyk**
Editor, The White Eagle (Bialy Orzel)
Ware, MA

A **Mr. Marcus Airi Vaga** ✓
Free Estonian World
New York, NY

A **Mr. Andrew Valuchek**
Vice President, Czechoslovak National Council of America
Potomac, MD
Guest: Ms. Ann Bauersfeld

A **Mr. Paul Varga**
President, Magyar Club of Chicago
Buffalo Grove, IL

B. B. Vargo
President, William Penn Association (Hungarian Association)
Pittsburgh, PA

A **Mr. Frank Vargo**

A **Ms.. Joan Versen (Spouse of: Donald Versen)**
Des Plains, IL

A **Mrs. Mercedes Joan Vinsko** ✓
Wilke-Barre, PA

A **Ms. Tania Vitvitsky**

A **Ms. Detta Voesar**
Kensington, MD

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Accepts and No Responses

- A **Ms. Lian VonWantoch**
- Simone M. Vrabiescu Kleckner**
 Mount Vernon, NY
- Mr. Charles E. Vuksta**
 Hellerton, PA
- A **Mr. Beatrice M. Walko**
 President, Slovak Gymnastic Union Sokol of the USA
 East Orange, NJ
- A **Mr. Joe Walkovich and Ms. Jametta Samaha**
 Danbury, CT
- A **Mr. Thomas Klimek Ward**
- Mr. Andrzej Waswicz**
 Chicago, IL
- A **Mrs. Justine Wesnak**
 National President, First Slovak Wreath of the Free Eagle
 Stratford, CT
- A **Mr. Thadeus Zachurski (Substitute for: Boleslaw Wierzbianski)**
- A **Ms. Caren Wilcox**
 Executive Vice President, National Association of Women Business Owners
 Silver Spring, MD
- Hon. (Rep.) Charles Wilson**
 Representative, House of Representatives
 Washington, DC
- A **Mr. John Wisniewski**
 Sayreville, NJ
 Guest: Mr. Ludwik Wnekowicz
- A **Mr. Ronald R. Witkowiak**
 Franklin, WI
- A **Mr. Terry Witkowski**
 President, Polish National Alliance-Milwaukee Society
 Milwaukee, WI
- Mrs Thomas Wojslawowicz**
 President, Polish American Congress
 Bayonne, NJ

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Accepts and No Responses

Mr. Thomas K. Word

A **Mr. Frank Wsol**
Chicago, IL

Mr. Ira Wyman
Newsweek
New York, NY

A **Barbara Youngblood**
Wilkes-barre, PA

A **Ambassador Michael Zantovsky**
Embassy of the Czech Republic
Washington, DC

Mrs. Adina Zappos
Brookfield, WI

Mr. Lorand Zas
Editor, Californiai Magyarasag
Los Angeles, CA

A **Mr. Russell Zavistovich**
President, Belarusian Congress Committee of America
Fort Washington, MD

A **Mr. David R. Zepecki**
Hales Corners, WI

A **Ms. Adina Zettos**

A **Ms. Biruta Zommere**
Director, Kursa
Arch Cape, OR

A **Mr. Arie Zweig and Ms. Bozena Bruszewska-Banusiak**
Skokie, IL

TO: Mrs. Clinton
FROM: Marsha Berry
RE: 20/20 interview with Barbara Walters
DATE: August 16, 1996

On the evening of August 22, you and the President are scheduled to sit for an interview with Barbara Walters in the Blue Room. This interview will be the one major prime time interview for the two of you before the election and will focus on the President's vision for America. The majority of the interview will be a one-on-one between Ms. Walters and the President which will highlight who he is, what he cares about, and how the experiences during this first term have made him a better president. The plan is for you to join the President toward the end of the interview for about 15-20 minutes to reinforce the successes of this Administration.

In preparation for this interview I have attached the transcripts from your last interview with Barbara Walters, the interview with Time Magazine, your press conference in Helsinki, Finland, the recent joint interview with the President for Ladies Home Journal, and your responses for Good Housekeeping. In addition anticipating a possible question on welfare reform, included is the President's statement on the bill passed by Congress.

Barbara is very interested in Chelsea and the college tour you both took. She is particularly curious about how successful you and the President have been in raising Chelsea given the unique circumstances of the White House, and how you feel about the prospect of Chelsea leaving home next year.

You may well get asked about your role in the Administration and the perception that it has changed since health care reform. I recommend you respond as you have done on many occasions by pointing out how you have consistently worked on the behalf of women, children and families for over two decades. You can also add how the role of First Lady has helped you raise the visibility of the issues you have championed.

Since this interview will air after the convention, you can expect to get asked about the role you will play in the campaign. You should reemphasize your love of campaigning and how it provides yet another opportunity for you to meet and get to know the American people. You may want to point out the importance of this election in determining the course the United States will take into the next millennium and how the two candidates provide the voters with a clear choice for that direction. Also, this a

bit of a sentimental campaign since it is likely the last national campaign for you and the President.

Lastly, since your work for children is well known, you could likely be asked to react to the President's decision to sign the welfare reform bill. You have not responded publicly on this except for the interview with McCalls for their November issue. What you said then was, "I agree with my husband's position and I trust him to fix the parts of the bill that are wrong and to implement it in a way that won't hurt children. Welfare hasn't worked for a large number of adults and children. The President made the right and courageous decision."