

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
CENTRAL ASIA, RUSSIA AND UKRAINE SLIDE SHOW
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1998**

OVERVIEW

SLIDE 1: MAP OF REGION

Thank you Secretary Albright, for that introduction. I know that you won't be able to stay with us for long, but thank you for coming. And thank you Ambassador Morningstar and Brian Atwood for all that you are doing in this region of the world and for your invaluable contributions to the Administration. I am also delighted that so many of the Ambassadors from the countries I visited are able to be here today, as well as Ambassadors from other NIS countries.

I recently returned from a 9 day trip to Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Ukraine which I made at the request of the President and the State Department. The purpose of the trip was to bring a message of hope and solidarity from the American people that we will stand by the people of these countries during their historic transition, and to strengthen the ties between our country and these developing democracies. I also sought to stress the importance of people-to-people, grassroots efforts in building democracy throughout the region by fostering the development of a strong civil society, the establishment of democratic institutions, the promotion of non-governmental organizations, educational opportunity and a responsive social safety net. I also underscored the importance of the full participation of women in all sectors of society, and particularly as participants in creating and sustaining a strong civil society from the ground up.

The countries I visited have made remarkable strides in building democratic states with effective governing institutions, and are establishing links with one another and their neighbors, as well as with the broader international community. It was very clear during my visit, both in meeting with leaders and with the broader community, that the governments and people of these countries seek partnerships with the United States.

I believe the transition to democracy and free market economies requires patience. To underscore this point, I said in Ukraine:

✓ As Americans have learned through the years, democracy is a never-ending struggle. We became a 'newly independent state' in 1776, and for the past 221 years our democracy has been a work in process. It took us more than 10 years to draft a constitution; 89 years to rid our nation of slavery; 144 years to give women the vote; and 188 years to make all our citizens equal under the law.

The critical difference, of course, is that the modern world is much less forgiving. With global communications and with a global economy, everything moves at a much faster pace; and countries and societies must reform more quickly in order to take their rightful place in such a new world.

The trip also reaffirmed many of the basic principles of our assistance programs. We must continue to recognize that despite the progress that has been made, the transition has been difficult and painful for many, particularly women and pensioners. Different sectors of the society, including health care and education are seriously stressed. The U.S. cannot expect democracy to take root in the region without a serious commitment of public and private resources. As with previous trips I have been privileged to take, I saw firsthand how American assistance through USAID, USIA, Peace Corps and NIS programs, as well as partnerships with American NGOs including American high schools and universities, contribute to improving the lives of people and to achieving our broader foreign policy objectives. I also saw that women are central to efforts to build democracy, support economic reform and provide for responsive social structures, particularly through NGO development. Women's participation in all sectors of these societies must remain a priority for us.

I hope my trip will in some small way help to educate the American people about the importance of America's active and sustained engagement. We need to remind ourselves that only 6 years ago the countries I visited were living under stifling Soviet rule. I am convinced that one of the most important things the Administration can do to ensure successful transitions to democracy is to help the American public, Congress and the corporate and non-profit sectors to understand why American engagement by all sectors of our society in this region is critical to the interests of the United States.

Americans need to be reminded that after having spent trillions of dollars to defend ourselves against communism, we must do what is necessary to insure the successful transformation of these countries to market democracy. This is as much a national security interest as any dollar we spend as part of our defense budget. Building long-term durable ties between our peoples is in all of our national interests.

KAZAKHSTAN

SLIDE 2: MAP OF KAZAKHSTAN

The first country I visited was Kazakhstan. My activities in Almaty reinforced the twin-fold message that women and NGOs are important components in building a civil society and that America understands that when women and children have often been severely affected by the transition to the market economy, they are also among the most supportive as new democracies make progress in necessary reforms.

ARRIVAL IN KAZAKHSTAN

SLIDE 3: BOARDING PLANE IN DC

SLIDE 4: GETTING OFF PLANE IN KAZAKHSTAN

My arrival in Kazakhstan was delayed somewhat by some mechanical problems that you all might have heard about. I promise that it was less dramatic than it seemed, but it did shorten the time that I was able to spend in Almaty.

SLIDE 5: HRC WITH GREETERS

DISCUSSION WITH YOUNG LEADERS

SLIDE 6: HRC SPEAKING

SLIDE 7: HRC LISTENING TO YOUNG PERSON

My first stop in Almaty was a meeting with youth leaders who are involved in a democracy-building project through peer education, leadership training and political participation. One young man told me that he never thought he could make a difference, but now, after working with the group, "I can see how much I can do." Because teachers and schools play an indispensable role in transmitting knowledge and values -- the currency of democracy -- I was glad to announce a new partnership between the governments of Kazakhstan and the U.S. to recognize outstanding teachers of English and American studies from around Kazakhstan. Award recipients will travel to the U.S. to learn about the U.S. educational system and American educators will travel to Kazakhstan.

KAZAKHSTAN CENTRAL MUSEUM

SLIDE 8: HRC AND PERFORMERS OUTSIDE YURT

SLIDE 9: HRC INSIDE YURT

SLIDE 10: HRC POSING WITH PERFORMERS

I also had the opportunity to visit the Kazakhstan Central Museum. Preserving the cultural heritage of a nation is a challenging and crucial task, especially in such rapidly changing times. During the turmoil of this century, Kazakhstan's culture was somehow kept alive in all its richness and diversity.

WOMEN'S WELLNESS CENTER

SLIDE 11: HRC WITH MOTHER AND BABY

SLIDE 12: HRC TOURING CENTER

SLIDE 13: HRC CUTTING RIBBON

SLIDE 14: HRC SPEAKING

I also helped inaugurate the Women's Wellness Center, the result of a partnership between USAID, the American International Health Alliance, the Tucson Medical Center in Arizona, and their counterparts in Almaty. The center focusses on education, screening and prevention. It will help the women of Kazakhstan safeguard themselves against sexually transmitted diseases, provide critical screening for cervical and breast cancer, provide pre-natal and counseling services for women in all stages of the reproductive health cycle, and offer a wide range of family planning services, helping Kazakhstan to continue to reduce its high rate of abortion (down 25% since 1992, when USAID began to work here). It will also provide resources to deal openly and candidly with the risks of alcohol, tobacco, poor nutrition, narcotics, and violence against women inside and outside the home. We know that better health for women also means better health for children, families and their communities. The U.S. Government's Operation Provide Hope was also responsible for an airlift of medical supplies that went to this center and others in Kazakhstan.

CENTRAL ASIAN CONFERENCE ON WOMEN IN POLITICS

SLIDE 15: HRC SPEAKING AT CONFERENCE

SLIDE 16: CROWD SHOT

SLIDE 17: HRC SPEAKING (FROM BEHIND)

SLIDE 18: HRC MEETING WOMEN AT RECEPTION WITH MRS. NAZARBAYEVA

In Kazakhstan, I addressed Central Asian women gathered for a conference on women in politics, who are the “vital voices” of democracy. I saw precisely how such gatherings, co-sponsored by the United States Information Agency and a local NGO, can play a catalytic role in empowering NGOs. I was pleased to be able to announce a new U.S. partnership for an upcoming conference in Moscow on family violence.

Democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms. Leaders and citizens throughout the region are realizing that a country’s progress depends on the progress of women; the strength of its political system depends on the inclusion of women; the vibrancy of its economy depends on the full contributions of women; and the richness of a country’s civic life depends on the participation of women.

As I said in my address to the Conference:

We in the U.S. understand that the transition from communism to free markets and democracy has not been painless for women here or around the world, and that it would be unrealistic to pretend otherwise. Right now, too many women are the first to lose their jobs and the last to get new ones. Too many women are barred by law, by tradition, or by ignorance from exercising their rights. Too many women are trapped in an endless cycle of poverty, unable to get access to education and credit. Too many women are overwhelmed by the stresses they have in their lives, as they try to do more and more with fewer and fewer hours. Too many women live in fear of violence, including violence at the hands of family members. For them, home offers no refuge, the law no protection, and public opinion no sympathy. And, through all of this, not enough women are sitting at the table when decisions are made about their lives and their families.

This must change. Yet, while the oppressive structures of communism have been torn down, the political, judicial and economic organizations that protect women’s rights in a democracy are just now being constructed. That is why this conference comes at such an important time. It is enabling us to share practical ideas to advance the role of women in the political, economic and social lives of their countries. It is showing us that when we embrace our rights and live up to our

responsibilities, when we confront problems head on, we find solutions. And the United States is proud to be your partner as you face these challenges.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV

SLIDE 19: HRC WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS. NAZARBAYEV

SLIDE 20: OUTSIDE PALACE

Before I left Kazakhstan, I met with President Nazarbayev (*nah-zuhr-BAH-yeff*). It would constitute my first of three meetings with Central Asian leaders in the same day.

KYRGYZSTAN

SLIDE 21: MAP OF KYRGYZSTAN

ARRIVAL IN KYRGYZSTAN

SLIDE 22: HRC BEING GREETED BY YOUNG WOMEN

SLIDE 23: HRC WITH CHILDREN

SLIDE 24: CHILDREN ALONG RED CARPET

Although my visit to Kyrgyzstan was sandwiched between stops in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, I believe the visit contributed to positive and friendly future relations between our two countries.

DELIVERY OF U.S. ASSISTANCE PACKAGE

SLIDE 25: HRC SPEAKING

My first event, at the airport in Bishkek, highlighted the arrival of the Operation Provide Hope airlift, which carried tons of humanitarian aid donated by U.S. businesses and NGOs. The airlift coincided with my visit and brought more than \$2 million in pharmaceuticals for hospitals in Bishkek and Osh (*awsh*), as well as clothing for children in these communities. In the audience at the event were Peace Corps volunteers stationed in Kyrgyzstan who would deliver the supplies, as well as representatives of U.S. NGOs like CitiHope, who made significant contributions to the airlift. Mrs. Akayev, the First Lady of Kyrgyzstan, welcomed me at the airport and in her remarks underscored the importance of the airlift and expressed her country's gratitude to the American people.

SLIDE 26: HRC WITH NGO GROUPS

I also met with representatives of NGOs working in Kyrgyzstan; in my remarks I mentioned their importance in building a strong civil society. As societies make the transition to democracy, it is important to underscore the importance of NGOs.

FINCA EVENT

SLIDE 27: HRC TOURING MARKET

SLIDE 28: HRC GREETING WOMEN AT STAND

SLIDE 29: WOMEN AT MARKET

SLIDE 30: DISCUSSION WITH FINCA WOMEN

SLIDE 31: OLD WOMAN IN PURPLE

In a village outside of Bishkek, I visited an open-air market run by local shopkeepers. Most of the merchants were women and most had been the recipients of micro-credit from the Village Bank and Finca International (which in turn is funded in part by a grant from USAID). I met with several representatives of village groups that had received loans. As state-supported employment has collapsed in the transition to democracy and a market economy, women have been the first to lose their jobs and often the last to be re-employed. However, the women I met were able to provide for themselves and their families, thanks to the availability of micro-credit. One woman, a teacher who had not been paid for months, turned to microcredit to help support her family.

The micro-lending system has worked successfully in Kyrgyzstan where over 600 “Village Banks” have lent over \$2 million since 1994, with a repayment rate of 98% that would be the envy of any commercial bank. Once again, I saw firsthand the power of micro enterprise and the importance of USAID’s investment in micro-credit, and the role it is playing in poverty alleviation, the creation of small businesses and economic reform.

MEETING AND LUNCH WITH PRESIDENT AKAYEV

SLIDE 32: HRC AND PRESIDENT AKAYEV

SLIDE 33: MEETING (WIDE SHOT WITH WOMEN)

SLIDE 34: HRC AND PRESIDENT AKAYEV, MRS. AKAYEVA & SON ILIM AT LUNCH

During my meeting with President Akayev (*ah-KIE-yeff*), we were joined by women leaders active in his cabinet and in the Parliament. He eloquently recognized the important role women need to play in the life of their country. Key women in their government include the Deputy Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Labor and Social

Welfare, and the head of the Constitutional Court. At a private lunch that followed, President Akayev talked about the challenges his country confronts, given its geography and the economic transition. He also talked about the importance of cooperation with the U.S.

INAUGURATION OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN KYRGYZSTAN

SLIDE 35: HRC GREETING JOHN CLARK

I was pleased to meet John Clark, an American who serves as Associate Dean of the University.

SLIDE 36: HRC CUTTING RIBBON WITH PRESIDENT AKAYEV

SLIDE 37: HRC SPEAKING

Because education is central to building civil society, to the health of democracy and for the success of a country's economy, I participated in a ceremony with President Akayev at the Kyrgyz-American University to lay the groundwork for an independent university. The Soros Foundation and the U.S. government, through USIA, have supported this project. Prior to my participation, there were concerns raised that the independence of the University was being compromised by the government. In my remarks I stressed the importance of a truly independent university:

We look forward to reaching a framework agreement with you that will define the university's independence -- and thereby assure its continued support. It is only as an independent center of learning that a university can fulfill its mission to open the minds of students, teach them to think critically, and inspire them to make a difference in the future.

We strongly endorse the role of the Open Society Institute as a strong and effective advocate for democracy in Kyrgyzstan and throughout the world. We are hopeful that we can work together with the Open Society Institute in the context of a truly independent university.

We hope that the Kyrgyz-American University grows into a place that nourishes the bedrock values of free thought and expression, respect for human rights, support of strong and independent community institutions and opportunity for all citizens.

As a result of our visit, the government of Kyrgyzstan issued a decree that the Kyrgyz-American University is now an independent institution.

UZBEKISTAN

SLIDE 38: MAP OF UZBEKISTAN

Uzbekistan was the last of the three Central Asian countries that I would visit during my trip. I was able to visit the capital of Tashkent as well as two other cities, Bukhara and Samarkand, that serve as cultural capitals of the country.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KARIMOV

SLIDE 39: HRC AND PRESIDENT KARIMOV

In Tashkent I had the third of my meetings with Central Asian leaders on the same day, this one with President Karimov (*kah-REE-muff*). President Karimov stressed how much Uzbekistan appreciated U.S. interest in their country and America's leading role in the world. Uzbekistan attaches importance to having a "strategic relationship" with the U.S. and a broader and deeper U.S. presence, with continued U.S. assistance. With its unique position along the ancient Silk Road, Uzbekistan confronts the challenge of preserving its rich cultural and religious heritage, as well as the challenge of building a new democracy.

During my visit, I sought to highlight the importance of programs between the governments of our two countries, which are working to provide the tools of opportunity to the Uzbek people, particularly women and young people.

WOMEN'S ROUNDTABLE

SLIDE 40: HRC AND WOMEN

I also held a roundtable with professional and business women in Tashkent to learn about the important work they were doing through NGOs on a range of issues from small business development to combating domestic violence.

One woman I met was the President of the Women's Resource Center, which provides legal support and educates women on their rights. Her organization has received grant support from USAID through the Counterpart Consortium and the Eurasia Foundation. She told me, "I've learned that the more active you are as a citizen, the more empowered you will be; and the country will be better off as well."

WOMEN'S WELLNESS CENTER

SLIDE 41: HRC AND MRS. KARIMOVA CUT RIBBON

SLIDE 42: HRC AND MRS. KARIMOVA IN CLASSROOM

SLIDE 43: HRC GREETING NURSE

SLIDE 44: HRC SPEAKING AT OPENING CEREMONY

I was privileged to inaugurate with Mrs. Karimova the Women's Wellness Center in Tashkent, a partnership between the Tashkent Medical Institute and the University of Illinois at Chicago. The partnership, supported by the American International Health Alliance and USAID, includes neonatology and perinatal medicine as well as education and hospital management. I told the audience gathered there that a few months ago I had the opportunity to launch the 500th American humanitarian airlift to the NIS. That airlift brought \$22 million in supplies to Uzbekistan, of which \$2 million went to the Tashkent Medical Institute.

SLIDE 45: HRC GREETING CROWDS

SLIDE 46: CROWDS

The crowds throughout my trip were always enthusiastic and large. And I enjoyed meeting them since the most important persons in any democracy are not the leaders but the citizens.

DISCUSSION WITH BRADLEY SCHOLARS

SLIDE 47: HRC BEING GREETED

***SLIDE 48: YOUNG WOMAN SPEAKING WITH "IT TAKES A VILLAGE" IN UZBEK
(which was published for my visit)***

SLIDE 49: HRC SPEAKING TO STUDENTS

At the University of World Economy and Diplomacy, I participated in a discussion with students who had taken part in the Bradley High School Exchange Program. The program, which is remarkably cost-effective and significant in building a new generation of democratic leaders, provides the opportunity for thousands of students from the NIS to come to America each year to live with American families, to attend American schools and deepen their understanding of American culture and society. The program yields immeasurable results; in my "Q&A" exchange with the students, I saw first-hand the confident, committed, articulate friends of America that the program has created.

BUKHARA

SCHOOL NUMBER 16

SLIDE 50: HRC IN DISCUSSION WITH STUDENTS

In Bukhara, I met with a group of high school students of Uzbek, Tajik and Russian backgrounds in a school where Peace Corps volunteers are working. Like the Bradley Scholars, these young people spoke excellent English, exhibited great confidence and interest in the U.S. and asked me many questions.

HISTORIC SITES IN BUKHARA'S OLD CITY

SLIDE 51: GATE AT THE ARK

SLIDE 52: KALYAN ENSEMBLE - SITE IN OLD CITY

SLIDE 53: MINARET TOWER IN CENTER OF COURTYARD

SLIDE 54: HRC WITH MRS. KARIMOV AND DAUGHTER

Bukhara celebrated its 2,500th birthday last fall. Bukhara has been a major trading, cultural and educational center for much of its history. Today, Bukhara is a quiet city of 300,000 inhabitants. With its ancient history and beautiful architecture, Bukhara is a natural focus for efforts to promote preservation of cultural heritage. I was able to visit a few of its most famous treasures.

The Kalyan (*KAHL-yahn*) Ensemble is a classic example of the medieval architecture famous throughout Central Asia. It was probably the tallest building in the world when it was completed in 1127. The minaret is sometimes called the "Tower of Death," because criminals and unfaithful wives were sometimes hurled to their deaths from it.

SLIDE 55: HRC AND MULLAH

SLIDE 56: COURTYARD INSIDE MOSQUE

Bukhara is also the seat of Naqshbandi Sufism (*nahsh-BAHN-dee SOO-fee-^{ism}~~sum~~*), a Muslim movement that respects other traditions while at the same time rejecting extremism. I was very touched and honored when I met the mullah at the mosque in Bukhara and he expressed the hope that the relations between our two countries would grow deeper and stronger.

SLIDE 57: WALKING THROUGH OLD CITY

SLIDE 58: HRC WITH VENDOR IN OLD CITY

SLIDE 59: MAN AT MARKET STAND IN OLD CITY

SYNGAGOGUE

SLIDE 60: HRC AND RABBI

SLIDE 61: HRC AND RABBI

SLIDE 62: CLOSE-UP OF RABBI

Democracy depends on freedom of religion and respect for people of different religions - another theme I stressed during my trip.

I also visited the Jewish synagogue in Bukhara -- home of the world's oldest Jewish community outside the Middle East. The rabbi told me that President Karimov's government had restored religious freedom and encouraged religious and cultural tolerance.

SAMARKAND

ARRIVAL IN SAMARKAND

SLIDE 63: HRC AND CREW OUTSIDE PLANE

SLIDE 64: HRC INSIDE C-130 PLANE (TAKING PICTURES) WHICH TOOK OUR PARTY TO SAMARKAND

SLIDE 65: HRC AND GIRLS WITH FLOWERS & MET BY PRESIDENT KARIMOV

SHAH-I-ZINDA MAUSOLEUMS

SLIDE 66: HRC AND KARIMOV'S WALKING OUTSIDE MAUSOLEUMS OF TAMERLANE'S DYNASTY

SLIDE 67: HRC INSIDE MAUSOLEUM

SLIDE 68: LEAVING MAUSOLEUM

After my visit to Bukhara, President Karimov joined me on a tour of the ancient monuments of Samarkand. Like Bukhara, Samarkand also celebrated its 2,500th anniversary last year. Already a major urban center when it was conquered by Alexander the Great, Samarkand was a stop for virtually every caravan traveling the Silk Road.

The first of many cultural sites I visited in Samarkand, the Mausoleums were absolutely breathtaking. Originally part of an ancient city that pre-dated what is now known as Samarkand, the Mausoleums were lined with sepulchers from Tamerlane's ancient dynasty.

REGISTAN SQUARE

Registan Square is being renovated as a tourist attraction. The mosque and two madrassas.

SLIDE 69: WALKING THROUGH REGISTAN SQUARE

SLIDE 70: WIDE SHOT OF PERFORMERS IN REGISTAN SQUARE

SLIDE 71: BOY PERFORMING

SLIDE 72: THREE OLDER BOYS WITH DRUMS

SLIDE 73: HRC AND KARIMOV'S WITH BOYS

REMARKS ON CULTURAL DIVERSITY

SLIDE 74: HRC SPEAKING

In visiting Samarkand and Bukhara, I sought to promote the importance of cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, and to underscore religious freedom. I told the people of Samarkand that I had come to learn about their rich past and culture, and also about the deeply rooted traditions of respect for religious and ethnic differences which have enabled this culture to flourish for so many generations. I was struck during my visit by the beauty of Uzbekistan's places of worship. What made the sharpest impression on me, however, was their proximity. Muslims, Christians and Jews following their faith in the same neighborhoods.

President Karimov, who introduced me at my speech, spoke movingly as a Muslim about the importance of religious freedom and ethnic tolerance and the lessons of this ancient place where people of many different traditions live peacefully. President Karimov, who grew up in Samarkand, said people often took for granted the numbers of different peoples living together.

I concluded my own speech by saying:

I'm confident that the tradition of respect and tolerance that has stood this land so well for so many generations has better prepared you to face the challenges that lie ahead...You have much to teach the world about diversity. For centuries, the ancient Silk Road took the people of Central Asia to new worlds rich in commerce and culture. Today, you're traveling this road again, only this time in a different direction. For new worlds of freedom and democracy. Though the journey is hard and the horizon may at times seem distant, I hope you will take faith in the fact that the President and people of the United States will walk with you every step of the way. We are proud to be your friends and partners on this journey to democracy.

LUNCH WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS. KARIMOV

SLIDE 75: LUNCH

TOMB OF AMIR TIMUR (TAMERLANE'S TOMB)

SLIDE 76: HRC WITH KARIMOV'S IN FRONT OF TOMB

SLIDE 77: CLOSE-UP OF HRC AND KARIMOV'S

Tamerlane, also known as Amir Timur (the “iron emir”), chose Samarkand as his capital and revived the city soon after it was destroyed by Genghiz Khan in 1220. He and his male heirs are buried in the crypt.

USAID ARTISANS DEVELOPMENT CENTER

SLIDE 78: HRC TALKING TO ARTISANS

SLIDE 79: HRC TALKING TO ARTISAN

While in Samarkand, I also visited the Artisans Development Center. Run by an Uzbek NGO which, in turn, receives funding from USAID and technical assistance from Aid to Artisans, an American NGO. The Center is also undergoing renovations with support from Mercy Corps International using funds from a U.S. Department of Agriculture’s “Food for Progress” grant.

The Center’s services include assistance with product design and marketing, business training, international networking and advocacy. One focus of attention has been the revival of ancient crafts such as paper-making and the adaptation of traditional crafts to modern usage.

DEPARTURE FROM UZBEKISTAN

SLIDE 80: HRC AND MRS. KARIMOVA

SLIDE 81: HRC AND WOMEN IN TRADITIONAL DRESS

RUSSIA

SLIDE 82: MAP OF RUSSIA

ARRIVAL IN RUSSIA (YEKATERINBURG)

SLIDE 83: HRC AND MRS. YELTSIN AT AIRPORT

Mrs. Yeltsin accompanied me throughout my visit to this city where she and the President were students and lived the greater part of their married lives.

BONUM CENTER

SLIDE 84: HRC WITH INFANT PATIENT

SLIDE 85: HRC AND MRS. YELTSIN WITH CHILDREN

SLIDE 86: HRC WITH CHILDREN AND BOOKS

Mrs. Yeltsin and I toured the Bonum Center, which provides rehabilitation programs for disabled children. The Center specializes in surgical reconstruction and therapy for children with congenital facial and palatal defects. There were orphans at the Center, as well as children whose parents stay with them for out-patient treatments.

In the six years Yekaterinburg has been open to foreigners, the Bonum Center has established ties to U.S. charitable organizations, including the Frank Foundation and the "Face to Face" program sponsored by the American Academy of Facial Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery, which pays for American surgical teams from America to come to the Center.

LUNCH AT GOVERNOR ROSSEL'S RESIDENCE

SLIDE 87: HRC AND GOVERNOR ROSSEL TOAST

NGO TOWN HALL MEETING

SLIDE 88: HRC SPEAKING

SLIDE 89: WIDE SHOT OF MEETING

SLIDE 90: HRC SPEAKING

SLIDE 91: HRC AND MRS. YELTSIN

SLIDE 92: AL GORE LOOK ALIKE

My major public event in Yekaterinburg was a “town meeting” sponsored by the Urals Women’s Association at the Urals Polytechnic University. Mrs. Yeltsin and I met with several hundred representatives of women’s NGOs and university students. In what was a rare opportunity for them, the women peppered Mrs. Yeltsin with questions and comments about the pace of reform and the lack of social supports. Mrs. Yeltsin conducted herself impressively and stayed on for a lengthy period to speak individually to the women. In my remarks, I underscored the importance of NGOs and civic participation:

I am a very big supporter of non-governmental organizations and the roles they play in building and sustaining strong democracies. I think women’s organizations are especially important in the world today, because so many women are facing new and different challenges than the ones faced by our mothers and grandmothers. We think that these women’s organizations in the United States are very important, and we believe they are important in countries around the world, and especially in a country such as Russia that has so many well-educated women who are dealing with new challenges...These organizations are bringing women together to give voice to our concerns and help to solve problems that we see in society. I am pleased that our government is supporting efforts that bring women together to do all kinds of work at what we call the grass-roots level, person to person.

I also announced that USAID will be increasing funds to support NGOs that are combating domestic violence. In addition, a joint U.S.-Russian conference will be convened sometime in 1998 to share models about how our countries can best work together to confront domestic violence. I was struck by the plea from one of the women I met for more opportunities to interact with American NGOs so they could learn about programs that would serve as models to promote greater women’s political participation. Another woman, who represented the Methodist Church, wanted to know of ways that churches could be more effectively engaged to help disadvantaged families.

SYVERDLOSK STATE PHILHARMONIC

SLIDE 93: PHILHARMONIC

I also had the opportunity to attend the opening performance of the Ural Academic Philharmonic Orchestra. The evening marked the re-opening of the newly renovated interior of one of Yekaterinburg's premiere cultural institutions. More than any other cultural institution in town, the Philharmonic has developed close ties to the United States, including a close relationship with Sarah Caldwell, now serving as Artistic Director and Conductor of the Boston Opera Company.

SLIDE 94: HRC AND MRS. YELTSIN WITH AMERICAN-RUSSIAN YOUTH ORCHESTRA

After the performance, I visited with members of the American-Russian Youth Orchestra, which I have served as Honorary Co-chair with Mrs. Yeltsin for several years.

DINNER WITH MRS. YELTSIN

SLIDE 95: HRC TOASTING MRS. YELTSIN

At a private dinner with Mrs. Yeltsin, the Governor and members of our delegation, there was a warm exchange extended over several rounds of toasts and candid conversation that reinforced our friendship and commitment to Russia's success as a democracy.

NOVOSIBIRSK

ARRIVAL IN NOVOSIBIRSK

SLIDE 96: FLYING OVER NOVOSIBIRSK

SLIDE 97: FLYING OVER NOVOSIBIRSK

SLIDE 98: HRC BEING GREETED WITH BREAD

I hoped that my visit to Siberia would send a strong signal about the importance of the region in building Russia's democracy and new economy. Everywhere I went, I was greeted by large crowds of friendly Russian families who appeared genuinely pleased that I had come to Siberia.

ARCHEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY MUSEUM

SLIDE 99: HRC VIEWING MUMMIES

SLIDE 100: FUR COATS FOUND ON MUMMIES

One of the personal highlights of the trip was my visit to the Archeology and Ethnography Museum in Novosibirsk which includes in its holdings the preserved bodies and clothes of a prehistoric mummified Siberian couple. The relics shed light on ancient Siberian social structures, religious beliefs and economies.

SLIDE 101: HRC GREETING PEOPLE OUTSIDE MUSEUM

NOVOSIBIRSK STATE UNIVERSITY (AKADEMGORODOK)

SLIDE 102: MAP OF UNIVERSITY AREA

SLIDE 103: HRC AND BOY ON STAGE

SLIDE 104: HRC SPEAKING

In a speech at Akademgorodok, I highlighted the fact that while the academic institution had previously focused on winning the Cold War, our two countries are now working side by side to use science, technology and education in the service of freedom, prosperity and democracy. I told them that:

I know that this time of transition...has not been easy for any sector of society. And I know that here in Siberia and...here in this academic complex it has caused great difficulty for many. Scientists and researchers with expertise and years of education that earned them status and security now face uncertain futures. The questions that I am sure are being asked within these halls include: whether or not the skills that were acquired in the past will sustain in life and profession tomorrow.

We see the same questions being asked in our education system in my country as well as yours. In my country, we are struggling with how we try to provide higher education opportunities to all of our students, regardless of their backgrounds, regardless of how well or poorly their own family was educated. How we set high standards and then hold our young people to achieve them. Here I would imagine you also are asking how to update text books and modernize classrooms for the information age, how to ensure that teachers receive the pay and respect in society they

deserve, how to build up a system of both public and private education that will preserve what was beneficial about the old way even as it educates young people.

...Those of you in this room -- scientists and students alike -- have the power to make that happen, by creating economic progress, building a vibrant civil society, and ensuring that the new Russia becomes a leader in the democratic community of nations.

DISCUSSION WITH ALEXANDROV FAMILY

SLIDE 105: GREETING FAMILY OUTSIDE BUILDING

SLIDE 106: RECEIVING GIFT FROM BOY

SLIDE 107: HRC AND FAMILY

The generational process of the transition was starkly illustrated when I met with a three-generation family in Siberia. The representatives of the older generation had been long associated with the “Academic City;” the grandfather was employed as a mathematician -- respected for his academic achievement -- and he and his wife had traveled throughout the former Soviet Union. He told me that he had heard my speech earlier at the University and noted that he agreed with the point I had made about a survey which showed that the majority of Russians over the age of 65 think that things had gotten worse over the past year, while younger people think that they have gotten better. He felt that his life was now less predictable and his wife added that educational and intellectual achievement are no longer valued. Now, she said, “everyone is trying to sell something and only a few are buying.” Their daughters and son-in-law, on the other hand, had traveled to the U.S., spoke English and were anticipating a brighter future. While the father was pessimistic about present conditions -- complaining that crime was on the rise, and in the past, “No one stole bicycles” -- the daughters and son-in-law only saw the bright side of the current situation, reminding their father that, “No one stands in line for butter anymore.”

MEETING WITH GOVERNOR MUKHA

SLIDE 108: TOASTING GOVERNOR

My last meeting in Novosibirsk was with Governor Mukha (*MOO-kah*), who told me about his efforts to enhance the lives of the youth in Novosibirsk.

SLIDE 109: WATCHING CHILDREN PERFORM

DEPARTURE FROM SIBERIA

SLIDE 110: MOTHER AND DAUGHTER

SLIDE 111: BOY LOOKING OUT WINDOW

UKRAINE

SLIDE 112: MAP OF UKRAINE

My last stop was the city of L'viv (*luh-VEEV*) in the western region of Ukraine, the region to which large numbers of Ukrainian-Americans trace their roots. Again, my schedule was designed to highlight America's commitment to Ukraine's democratic transformation, our commitment to grassroots NGO development, especially among women, our helping to meet emergency health care needs, and the importance of religious tolerance. Mrs. Kuchma (*KOOCH-mah*) accompanied me for most of my visit.

SHEVCHENKO MONUMENT

SLIDE 113: HRC AND MRS. KUCHMA AT MONUMENT

My first stop in L'viv was, appropriately, the monument to Shevchenko (*shehv-CHEN-koh*), known as the "Bard of Ukraine." Born a serf, and later exiled to St. Petersburg, Shevchenko's works glorified Ukrainian history. During the Soviet period, no monuments to Shevchenko were allowed, although one was built in Washington, DC, in 1964. Following Ukraine's independence, a statue of Lenin was removed to make way for this monument to Shevchenko. The "Ukrainian Wave" was added several years later to depict Ukraine's historic figures and events.

L'VIV OBLAST CLINICAL HOSPITAL

SLIDE 114: HRC WITH AMERICAN NURSE

SLIDE 115: HRC SPEAKING AT DISCUSSION

SLIDE 116: HRC WITH MOTHER AND CHILD

At the Neonatal Resuscitation Center I was able to show the critical difference that the USAID hospital partnership program is making, in this case with the Henry Ford Health Center in Detroit. Since the partnership began, infant mortality has been reduced by 30%. Clearly, this is an effective program that works. I was pleased to learn that the Ministry of Health is working with USAID, AIHA and the Henry Ford Health Center to establish centers like the one in L'viv throughout Ukraine. Such efforts are critical, especially given the serious deterioration of the health care system in Ukraine.

SLIDE 117: GROUP PHOTO IN FRONT OF AMBULANCE

I was also pleased that our government intervened through Operation Provide Hope, working with the U.S.-based Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund and others, to make possible an airlift of pharmaceuticals and medical supplies, including two ambulances equipped with neonatal resuscitation equipment.

GILAD SYNAGOGUE

SLIDE 118: RABBI BALD SPEAKING

SLIDE 119: HRC WITH CHOIR

SLIDE 120: CHILDREN IN AUDIENCE

I visited the Gilad (*GILL-add*) Synagogue and was impressed with the attitude of the Ukrainian government and people who are supporting such a strong commitment to religious freedom. And after decades of hardship, the Jewish community in L'viv opened a Jewish school that now serves almost 200 children. The Nazis had turned the temple into a horse stable and left a signature of bullet holes -- still visible -- in the ceiling of the beautiful building. The Soviets had used it as a warehouse. Today, people can once again pray and worship freely. I told the members of the community gathered there:

One of the most important values of any democracy is the freedom of religion and respect for people of different religious faiths. I'm very impressed at the attitude of the Ukrainian government and people who are supporting such a strong commitment to religious freedom in this country. And so we can see the enthusiastic faces of the children who are learning and studying here -- and as the Rabbi so profoundly said, becoming both Jewish and Ukrainian, with great pride.

MEMORIAL HONORING THE VICTIMS OF COMMUNIST REPRESSION

SLIDE 121: HRC SPEAKING

SLIDE 122: WIDE SHOT OF CROWD

In a visit to the Memorial Honoring Victims of Communist Repression, I spoke to thousands of people gathered and told them that in their fight for freedom and for democracy, the

American people would stand by them:

Even in the face of unspeakable horrors, the people of Ukraine -- and others living under Soviet domination -- did not give up. Instead you found the best shield against communist oppression. You started down the road to democracy, including free and fair elections. But, the journey is far from over. Because democracy does not end with a constitution or a right to vote. As we have learned in my country, democracy is a never-ending struggle that we must grapple with every day...But, if we want democracy and freedom to thrive, then we must build a civil society where democratic values live in our hearts and minds, where people stand up for what's right, and where the rule of law, not the rule of crime and corruption, prevails.

Democracy will thrive only if we use our ethnic diversity as a force not to pull us apart, but rather to bring us together -- as you have done in Ukraine. It will thrive if women are full participants in every aspect of society...and if the people of Ukraine continue to forge an alliance of values with the democratic community of nations.

SLIDE 123: CHILD IN CROWD HOLDING ROSE

SLIDE 124: OLD WOMEN IN CROWD

It is worth noting that in his remarks the Mayor of L'viv publicly praised the work of USAID in Ukraine and said that L'viv is where it is today due to the help of USAID. After I finished speaking, the crowd erupted into spontaneous singing of "Mnohaya Lita" (*MAH-noh-hoy-ya LEE-tah*) -- "May you have a long life" -- which is usually reserved for family and close friends.

LUNCH WITH MRS. KUCHMA

SLIDE 125: HRC AND MRS. KUCHMA AT LUNCH

I had a wonderful lunch with Mrs. Kuchma at my hotel in L'viv. I found that Mrs. Kuchma and my husband share a love of jazz. I have since sent her some of his and her favorite CD's.

ICON RESTORATION CENTER

SLIDE 126: HRC VIEWING ICONS

SLIDE 127: HRC VIEWING RESTORATION

SLIDE 128: HRC RESTORING ICON

My next stop was the Icon Restoration Center, which was founded in 1984 and is responsible for research, restoration and preservation of these ancient and beautiful works of fine art and wooden sculpture. The staff at the Center has restored and saved hundreds of works by ancient Ukrainian artists, many of which are unique.

The Director of the Center was even brave enough to allow me and Mrs. Kuchma to attempt a little bit of restoration ourselves.

ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL

SLIDE 129: ALTAR

SLIDE 130: CRYPT

SLIDE 131: BACK OF CATHEDRAL

I also visited St. George's Cathedral -- the seat of Ukrainian Catholicism. From 1945-1989, in Soviet Ukraine, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was forced underground and most of its Bishops were imprisoned. One of its most famous exiled leaders, Metropolitan Slipyj (*SLIP-yuhj*), is buried in the crypt.

SLIDE 132: HRC WITH SURVIVORS OF UNDERGROUND CHURCH

SLIDE 133: HRC WITH CHILDREN FROM FAITH AND LIGHT

SLIDE 134: HRC WITH GIRL FROM FAITH AND LIGHT

After decades of being driven underground, the Church today is a vibrant community which houses a special ministry to people with disabilities who were once relegated to the margins of society. The Bishop told me that the reference in my speech to the important role that women must play in all spheres of Ukrainian society was critical to the future of the country and he thanked me.

SPEECH AT L'VIV OPERA HOUSE

SLIDE 135: MELANNE "STARINSHAK" VERVEER INTRODUCING HRC

SLIDE 136: HRC SPEAKING

My final appearance was a speech to a capacity crowd at the L'viv Opera House, where I was introduced in Ukrainian by my Chief of Staff. Her appearance provided Ukraine with a tangible symbol of the contributions of Ukrainian-Americans to American society, as well as their efforts to help in Ukraine's democratic transition. The theme of my speech was the voices of women and young people, the voices of people throughout Ukraine who were speaking the new language of freedom and democracy, and turning their ideas into concrete action. I spoke particularly about the importance of building a civil society:

Neither the rule of law nor the free market can be sustained in isolation. If we do not have democracy, we cannot rest. If we do not have a free market, we cannot rest. And if we do not have the space between what the market does and what the government should not do -- the civil society -- we cannot rest. All are indispensable to the blessings of liberty and prosperity.

In this space resides family and community life, religious traditions, and participation in voluntary associations. For democracy depends on individuals truly believing that they have a role to play in the life of their country. It depends on people choosing -- not being compelled to -- but choosing to participate. And it depends on seeing to it that these habits of the heart are passed from one generation to the next.

Whether you are gathering in civic associations, voluntary efforts to help others, places of worship, or even in your neighbor's home, you are strengthening civil society and making it clear that the most important person in any democracy is the citizen. Governments cannot be serious about democracy unless they recognize and work with non-governmental organizations.

And I concentrated on the role of women:

Clearly, democracy depends on people's choosing to participate, but it also depends on their being allowed to participate. And that's especially important for women. This is a concern all over the world, but it has a particular sharpness here. For the legacy of communism has placed

special strains on women. Especially in the old state structures, too many women are the first to lose their jobs and the last to get new ones. Too many women often live in fear of violence at the hands of family members. For them, home provides no refuge, the law no protection, and public opinion no sympathy. Too many women are prevented from getting proper health care -- either because quality care is not available or because they are simply unable to find the time, between family and work obligations, to care for themselves.

A country's progress depends on the progress of women. The strength of its political system depends on the inclusion of women. The vibrancy of its economy depends on the full contributions of women. Simply put, human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights.

I noted that it is a violation of human rights when women are trafficked and I announced that the United States Government, in cooperation with the European Union, will be working with NGOs in Ukraine to launch a new information campaign. We want to reach women who may be in danger. And we want to inform law enforcement, consular officers and international organization so they can be on the look-out for and ultimately put a stop to this crime against humanity.

SLIDE 137: CROWD OUTSIDE OPERA HOUSE

SLIDE 138: DE-ICING PLANE

My return flight home was also slightly delayed when the de-icing truck at the L'viv airport broke down. The men attempted to de-ice the plane with hand-held hoses, but we ended up waiting until the truck was repaired.

Despite our logistical mishaps, I was struck during my trip with the sense of renewal and transformation throughout the region. This renewal cannot be measured by statistics. But there is a new generation of reform-minded leaders coming to power in the region. And there is a new relationship between our countries, one based as much on free trade and shared ideals as it is on development assistance.

To be sure, the region faces formidable challenges. Many of these democracies are new and fragile. Yet, there is now more cause for hope than despair. And the credit goes to the people of these countries who have endured so much and come so far. And the United States wants to be a partners with these new democracies to ensure their peace and prosperity into the 21st century. We have a stake in their success. Their hope is ours, too.