

**Executive Office
Embassy of the United States of America
Lisbon, Portugal**



FAX No. 351-1-726-5562

FROM: Ambassador Elizabeth Frawley Dagley

TO: Ms. Melanne Verveer

FAX NO. (202) 456-6244

SUBJECT: First Lady of Portugal's Invitation

NO. OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 6 **DATE:** July 21, 1995

SENDER: _____

file Portugal



ELIZABETH FRAWLEY BAGLEY
AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

July 21, 1995

FAX: (202) 456-6244

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady

RE: URC's Response to First Lady of Portugal's Invitation

Dear Melanne:

I called you last week to seek your advice and assistance re Hillary's response to Dr. Maria Barroso Soares' invitation to be the keynote speaker at her upcoming conference on "Stress and Violence in Childhood and Youth" in Lisbon this September, which she is co-chairing with Queen Sofia of Spain. As Mrs. Soares personally asked for my intervention, and since Dr. Berry Brazelton, one of the conference organizers, already spoke with Hillary about it, I sent a fax to Hillary with a copy to you and Maggie, encouraging her participation if at all possible. The time was propitious because Mrs. Soares was planning to meet with Hillary in Washington on the occasion of the Special Olympics ceremony and I felt certain that she would bring up the invitation, which she did.

Soon thereafter, I received a letter from Pam Ciccetti, with an accompanying letter from Hillary, regretting that she could not come. Unfortunately, the letter was dated before Mrs. Soares' meeting with Hillary and made no reference to their conversation during the Special Olympics festivities. Therefore, I wonder if the letter can be rewritten to include a reference to their cordial meeting and perhaps a special word about Berry Brazelton's and my personal interest in the conference. I'm really reluctant to send the first letter (which I am sending to you as well) because it seems so perfunctory. I hope you understand my particular sensitivity to this awkward situation, but I feel strongly that it would be "undiplomatic" to send the letter as is, given Mrs. Soares' obvious disappointment that Hillary won't be able to attend (unless of course she wants to change her mind!). As I stressed in my letter to Hillary, which

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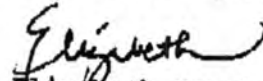
follows, the First Lady of Portugal is a gifted, articulate and revered figure in this country, having fought alongside her husband for over twenty years to bring democracy to Portugal. A former actress, poet and professor, she has dedicated herself to education and children's issues and also, has expressed deep admiration for Hillary as a fellow pioneer.

In any event, I would hate to offend this very special woman, for both professional and personal reasons and therefore, I'm requesting a new, revised letter from Hillary to Maria Barroso, referring to their brief meeting during the Special Olympics ceremonies and regretting (or accepting?) her kind offer to be the keynote speaker for this important conference.

Please find on the following pages the two letters I referred to: Hillary's response dated June 26 - four days before my letter and her meeting with Mrs. Soares, and my June 30th letter to Hillary, in anticipation of her meeting with Mrs. Soares the same day. My letter, by the way, was never acknowledged, as the first letter had already been sent to me.

Thanks for your help and your understanding of my sensitive diplomatic dilemma. I would greatly appreciate your response as soon as possible, since Mrs. Soares is waiting for an answer, after having already raised the issue with Hillary on June 30. Please give my best to Phil and try to find some time to visit us in this enchanting country.

With warm regards,


Elizabeth Brawley Bagley
Ambassador

cc: Maggie Williams

THE WHITE HOUSE

June 26, 1995

Mrs. Maria Barroso Soares
Lisbon

Dear Mrs. Soares:

Thank you so much for inviting me to attend the Conference on "Stress and Violence" in September and for your very kind personal words of support.

I regret that my schedule will not permit me to attend the conference, which will address issues of great concern to me. Please accept my sincere best wishes for its success.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton
Hillary Rodham Clinton



ELIZABETH FRAWLEY BAGLEY
AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

June 30, 1995

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

FAX: (202) 456-6244

Dear Hillary:

I understand from the NSC that you may be seeing the First Lady of Portugal, Dr. Maria Barroso Soares, in your office today. She is in Washington to represent her country and to lead her delegation to the Special Olympic Games, beginning July 1 at Yale University. She is a longtime supporter of the Special Olympics and has championed many causes in Portugal, such as AIDS research, anti-violence campaigns, literacy (as a former educator herself), human rights and, above all, children's issues. It is in this context, among others, that she may present you with an invitation to an upcoming conference on childhood and youth, which will be held in Lisbon September 27-30, 1995. As she is deeply involved with this issue and has spoken to me herself on several occasions, I feel certain that she will raise it with you, especially since she has already sent you a formal letter inviting you to participate as the keynote speaker for the conference.

The conference, entitled "Stress and Violence in Childhood and Youth" is being organized by Dr. Joao Carlos Gomes-Pedro, a leading pediatrician who serves on the Faculty of Medicine of Lisbon University, and whose letter immediately follows. He is a close, personal friend and professional colleague of Dr. Barry Brazelton, who is also helping to organize the conference and will be a major participant along with another advisor of yours, Dr. Bettye Caldwell. I understand that both Dr. Brazelton and Dr. Caldwell have spoken to you already about this conference and I'd like to add my own words of encouragement to theirs. In short, given that the problems

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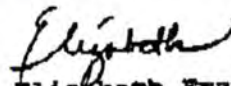
of stress and violence are subjects of increasing alarm in our society, and particularly in light of your lifelong commitment to children and family issues. I feel that you could make an invaluable contribution by raising the level of consciousness and offering a global perspective on issues of international health, social justice, and child welfare, all issues with which you are already recognized as a leading advocate.

I realize that your schedule is booked months in advance and that your concentration is on domestic issues, but I do believe that these issues transcend borders and nationalities. Your professional insights and vision would elevate this conference by attracting the media coverage that it so richly deserves and urgently needs in order to reach a global audience.

Finally, on both a personal and a professional note, I would love to host you here in this beautiful country. I can guarantee that you would fall in love with Portugal and with the Portuguese people as Smith, I, and our two children have, and I'm certain that you will find the First Lady of Portugal a truly remarkable woman. Dr. Berry Brazelton will surely echo these sentiments as he has spent many years visiting Portugal.

Please let me know if you have any further questions. In the meantime, good luck with your new weekly column - I think it's a fabulous idea and I'm looking forward to reading it. Smith and I send our best to you and the President and we look forward to seeing you both in the near future.

With warm regards,



Elizabeth Frawley Bagley
Ambassador

cc: Margaret Williams, Chief of Staff
Melanne Verveer, Deputy Chief of Staff



file Portugal
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

July 24, 1997

TO: Melanne Verveer
Assistant to the President
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House

FROM: Shirley E. Barnes *Shirley E. Barnes*
Director
Office of Western European Affairs
Department of State

SUBJECT: Report on the Visit of the First Lady to Portugal

1. Attached please find Reports #1, 2, and 3 on the visit of the First Lady to Portugal - July 16-20, 1997.

2. Background: Responding to an invitation from Prime Minister Antonio Guterres, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton visited Portugal July 16-20, 1997. The visit was designed to continue the strong ties between the United States and Portugal, and reinforced our mutual interests in a range of social, economic and cultural issues. It also afforded the First Lady the opportunity to discuss first-hand subjects of importance to both countries: initiatives in education, the role of women in a nation's political, economic and social development, the problems and consequences of globalization. Mrs. Clinton met with the President of Portugal and Mrs. Jorge Sampaio (Report #1), Prime Minister and Mrs. Antonio Guterres (Report #2), the Bishop of Fatima (Report #3), and hosted a roundtable discussion with a group of Portuguese women, prominent in social, community and business affairs in Portugal. The First Lady also visited a school in the heart of Lisbon, and sites of historic, cultural and religious significance--including the Shrine of Fatima. She discussed with her Portuguese interlocutors a range of issues from globalization, stability and peace in the world, to plans for Lisbon's World Fair - Expo '98. The First Lady capped her stay in Portugal with a key visit: a morale-boosting stopover at the U.S. Air Force Base at Lajes in the Azores. Her visit and her message of support from the President were very much appreciated. She received a warm and enthusiastic welcome from the servicemen and women and their families. End Background.

3. Please contact me at (202) 647-3072 for any questions, comments or additions.

SUBJECT: FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S MEETING WITH THE
PRESIDENT OF PORTUGAL - REPORT # 1

1. SUMMARY: DURING HER JULY 16-20 VISIT TO PORTUGAL, FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON MET WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS. JORGE SAMPAIO AT THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENT, ON JULY 16. THE PRESIDENT OUTLINED FOR THE FIRST LADY HIS DUTIES AS PRESIDENT, AND ALSO PRESENTED A TOUR D'HORIZON OF CURRENT PORTUGUESE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHALLENGES--FOCUSING ON LISBON'S URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS, EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, CREATION OF JOBS FOR UNIVERSITY GRADUATES, AND HOUSING. BOTH THE FIRST LADY AND THE PRESIDENT AGREED THAT GLOBALIZATION IS A KEY CHALLENGE OF GOVERNMENTS TODAY, PARTICULARLY IN TERMS OF BALANCING SOCIAL NEEDS OF CITIZENS WITH ECONOMIC STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENTS. END SUMMARY.

2. ON JULY 16, THE PRESIDENT OF PORTUGAL, JORGE SAMPAIO AND MRS. SAMPAIO RECEIVED FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON AT BELEM PALACE, THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENT, DURING HER VISIT TO PORTUGAL. THE TRIP INCLUDED STOPS IN LISBON AND LAJES AIRBASE IN THE AZORES. ALSO PRESENT AT THE MEETING WERE: GOP - FILIPE MORAES CABRAL, DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT; USG - AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH FRAWLEY BAGLEY, MELANNE VERVEER, ASSISANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE FIRST LADY, AND SHIRLEY E. BARNES, STATE DEPARTMENT, DIRECTOR OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS (NOTETAKER).

3. FOLLOWING THE WARM WELCOME EXTENDED TO THE FIRST LADY BY PRESIDENT AND MRS. SAMPAIO, THE PRESIDENT, A FORMER MAYOR OF LISBON, GAVE A SHORT SUMMARY OF HIS OFFICIAL DUTIES, AS WELL AS AN OVERVIEW OF CURRENT EVENTS IN LISBON. HE ALSO DISCUSSED SEVERAL CHALLENGES PORTUGAL PRESENTLY FACES. ON LISBON, THE PRESIDENT PRESENTED WHAT HE CALLED A "GLOBAL VIEW" OF THE CITY--MENTIONING EFFORTS MADE TO MODERNIZE LISBON, THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT, THE PROBLEMS URBANIZATION IMPOSED ON SCHOOLS, HOUSING, EMPLOYMENT. OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO LISBON'S GROWTH IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EASTERN PART OF THE CITY WHERE CONSTRUCTION FOR EXPO '98 IS UNDERWAY. EXPECTATIONS ARE HIGH THAT THIS WILL BOOST LISBON'S OVERALL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING. MOREOVER, THE CONSTRUCTION WAS PLANNED SO THAT IT WILL BE BOTH FUNCTIONAL AND ECONOMICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS TO LISBON'S FUTURE DEVELOPMENT.

4. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT WITH THE DEMISE OF PORTUGAL'S DICTATORSHIP AND THE ADVENT OF DEMOCRACY, IN THE LAST 10-15 YEARS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BECOME LESS CENTRALIZED. THE INCREASE IN OPEN UNIVERSITIES HAS LED TO A BOOM IN UNIVERSITY GRADUATES--WHO NEED JOBS. THIS IS AN IMMEDIATE CHALLENGE PORTUGAL FACES. HE ADDED THAT IT IS A PAN-EUROPEAN CHALLENGE, FORCING COUNTRIES TO CHOOSE BETWEEN AN AMERICAN MODEL OF GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, AND A EUROPEAN MODEL. RELATED TO THIS CHOICE IS THE EVER-PRESENT PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT. THE PRESIDENT CITED PORTUGAL'S RELATIVELY LOW RATE OF 6.5% UNEMPLOYMENT, COMPARED TO EUROPE'S AVERAGE OF 12%, AND ADDED THAT ITS RELATIVELY GOOD POSITION DOES NOT FREE PORTUGAL FROM OVERALL CONCERN OVER THE ISSUE OF JOB CREATION--ESPECIALLY FOR RECENT

5. AFTER YEARS OF DICTATORSHIP, PRESIDENT SAMPAIO EMPHASIZED, DEMOCRACY IS VERY IMPORTANT TO PORTUGAL, ADDING THAT THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE READILY SYMPATHIZE WITH THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES. HE UNDERScoreD THE IMPORTANCE PORTUGAL ATTACHES TO ITS ROLE AND PRESENCE IN BOSNIA AND IN THE ANGOLAN PEACE PROCESS, NOTING THAT EVEN THOUGH IT IS A SMALL COUNTRY, PORTUGAL IS COMMITTED TO DEALING WITH EXTERNAL CHALLENGES WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY TENDING TO ITS OWN INTERNAL CHALLENGES.

6. EXPRESSING HIS APPRECIATION FOR THE FIRST LADY'S VISIT TO LISBON'S ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NO. 157, PRESIDENT SAMPAIO SAID THAT PORTUGAL TAKES ITS PRE-ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAM VERY SERIOUSLY. HE ADDED THAT SENSITIVITY TO DIVERSITY AND RACIAL BACKGROUND WERE IMPORTANT FACTORS IN THE DESIGN OF PORTUGAL'S EDUCATION PROGRAMS, SINCE AN INCREASINGLY GREATER PROPORTION OF ITS STUDENTS COME FROM FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES. THE FIRST LADY CONGRATULATED SAMPAIO ON THE EXCELLENT PROGRAMS PORTUGAL HAS DESIGNED. SHE NOTED HOW IMPRESSED SHE WAS WITH SCHOOL 157'S PROGRAM AND THE IDEA OF TEACHING CHILDREN AT SUCH AN EARLY AGE AN APPRECIATION FOR THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF AGRICULTURE TO THE DAILY ASPECTS OF OUR LIVES.

7. TURNING TO ECONOMIC ISSUES, SAMPAIO SAID THAT HOUSING AND UNEMPLOYMENT ARE OF KEY IMPORTANCE TO PORTUGAL, AS IS THE NETTLESOME QUESTION OF RESTRUCTURING THE ECONOMY. PORTUGAL WELCOMES ITS 3.7% GROWTH RATE, BUT MUST MAKE BETTER PLANS FOR ITS FAST-GROWING SHIFT TO A SERVICE ECONOMY. AGRICULTURE IS ANOTHER CHALLENGE PORTUGAL FACES, ESPECIALLY AS SUBSIDIES ESTABLISHED UNDER THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY (CAP) FADE AWAY. HE CONTINUED, FINDING A WAY FOR PORTUGUESE AGRICULTURE TO SURVIVE, THE RESTRUCTURING OF SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZE INDUSTRIES, DEALING WITH THE MAASTRICHT CRITERIA AND PORTUGAL'S EXPECTATIONS OF ENTERING THE EMU IN THE FIRST GROUP--ARE ALL CHALLENGES THE GOP FACES. THE FIRST LADY COMMENTED THAT THE GLOBAL ISSUE OF EMPLOYMENT IS A CHALLENGE FOR ALL OF US, AS ARE THE OVERARCHING PROBLEMS WE ALL FACE WITH RESTRUCTURING OUR ECONOMIES. SHE SAID THAT QUESTIONS OF GLOBALIZATION HAVE A DIRECT IMPACT ON MANY OF THE SOCIAL ISSUES OUR GOVERNMENTS ARE FACING.

8. THE PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT OUTLINED FOR MRS. CLINTON HIS DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. HE NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH THE PM HAS A GREAT DEAL OF POWER, THE PRESIDENCY HAS A "FEW ATOM BOMBS" AT ITS DISPOSAL--ALBEIT WITHOUT AN "INFANTRY". WHILE THERE MAY BE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER FROM TIME TO TIME, SAMPAIO SAID THAT ABOVE ALL, THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE WANT STABILITY OF GOVERNMENT--AND BOTH HE AND THE PRIME MINISTER ARE IN FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT ON THIS. MRS. CLINTON AGREED WITH SAMPAIO ON THE NEED AND DESIRE FOR STABILITY, ADDING THAT DURING HER TRAVELS, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS WANT PEACE, AND WANT TO FIND WAYS TO AVOID THE SOCIAL DISRUPTIONS OF GLOBALIZATION.

9. CONTINUING ON THE ISSUE OF GLOBALIZATION, SAMPAIO CONTRASTED THE "FLEXIBILITY" OF THE U.S. RESTRUCTURING MODEL WITH THE MORE "RIGID" EUROPEAN CHOICE. HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT PROPER RECOGNITION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE DANGERS OF INEQUALITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF A DUAL SOCIETY WHEN THERE IS TOO MUCH "FLEXIBILITY". THE FIRST LADY SAID THAT EVEN AS RESTRUCTURING

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THE ~~ISSUE~~ ~~PLACE~~ IN THE U.S., AMERICANS, AS DO EUROPEANS, FACE MANY PROBLEMS. SHE ADDED THAT IN RESTRUCTURING AMERICAN INDUSTRY, THERE ARE LOTS OF ISSUES WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN FULLY ADDRESSED OR RESOLVED, BUT PRESIDENT CLINTON IS WORKING UNCEASINGLY TO BRING RESOLUTION TO THEM.

10. MRS. CLINTON NOTED THAT THE WHOLE RESTRUCTURING ISSUE IN EUROPE WILL BECOME EVEN SHARPER AS THE PRESSURES OF EASTERN EUROPEAN ECONOMIC FACTORS COMPETE WITH THE MORE DEVELOPED WEST. SAMPAIO AGREED, AND ADDED THAT TO SEE CONTRASTS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE FIRST LADY SHOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT THE INTERIOR OF PORTUGAL. HE NOTED THAT WHEN HE VISITED THE U.S.A., HE HAD A CHANCE TO TRAVEL INSIDE AMERICA--VISITING FACTORIES, FARMS, SMALL INDUSTRIES. IN THE NEAR FUTURE, EASTERN EUROPE WILL BE A SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC CHALLENGE SAMPAIO SAID, AND NOTED THAT PORTUGAL IS WORKING HARD TO ADDRESS THIS BY ATTRACTING MORE PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT. AS AN EXAMPLE, HE RECOUNTED THAT AN AIR-BAG FACTORY IS SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING LOCATING ITS OPERATIONS IN PORTUGAL--BUT PORTUGAL FACES STIFF COMPETITION FROM POLAND. IF PORTUGAL WINS, IT MAY BE DUE TO ITS EXPERIENCED, TRAINED LABOR FORCE, BUT THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT IT WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR PORTUGAL TO COMPETE WITH EASTERN EUROPE THROUGH OFFERING LOW WAGES AND HIGH-SKILLS. MRS. CLINTON AGREED AND ADDED THAT CHOICES BECOME MORE DIFFICULT TO MAKE WHEN GOVERNMENTS FACE RESTRUCTURING FOR A GLOBALIZED ECONOMY WHILE FULFILLING ITS SOCIAL CONTRACT OBLIGATIONS WITH ITS CITIZENS.

11. PRESIDENT AND MRS. SAMPAIO THANKED THE FIRST LADY FOR HER DECISION TO VISIT PORTUGAL AND ASKED THAT SHE CONVEY THEIR BEST WISHES TO PRESIDENT CLINTON. ON BEHALF OF CHELSEA AND OTHERS TRAVELLING WITH HER, MRS. CLINTON EXPRESSED HER GREAT PLEASURE TO BE IN PORTUGAL AND THANKED THE PRESIDENT, MRS. SAMPAIO AND THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE FOR THEIR WARM, ENTHUSIASTIC AND GRACIOUS HOSPITALITY.

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WHITE HOUSE - MVERVEER

SUBJECT: FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S MEETING WITH
PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER GUTERRES - REPORT #2

1. SUMMARY: ON JULY 17, FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON MET WITH PRIME MINISTER AND MRS. ANTONIO GUTERRES AT THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICIAL RESIDENCE. THE MEETING WAS ONE OF MRS. CLINTON'S MAIN STOPS DURING HER JULY 16-20 VISIT TO PORTUGAL, AND FOLLOWED HER MEETING WITH PORTUGAL'S PRESIDENT THE PREVIOUS DAY. THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FIRST LADY DISCUSSED THE PRESENT PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE OVER REGIONALIZATION; REDEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES IN LISBON; PORTUGAL'S GROWING ECONOMIC INVESTMENTS IN BRAZIL; THE FIRST LADY'S TRIP TO THE AZORES; AND THE STRONG AND ENDURING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE USG AND PORTUGAL. ALSO ATTENDING THE MEETING WERE: GOP - DR. JOAO LIMA PIMENTEL, DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR. USG - AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH FRAWLEY BAGLEY, MELANNE VERVEER, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE FIRST LADY, SHIRLEY E. BARNES, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, DIRECTOR OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS (NOTETAKER). END SUMMARY.

2. PRIME MINISTER AND MRS. ANTONIO GUTERRES WELCOMED FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON TO THEIR OFFICIAL RESIDENCE IN SAO BENTO PALACE, ON THURSDAY, JULY 17. THE MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER WAS ONE OF THE MAIN STOPS THE FIRST LADY MADE DURING HER JULY 16-20 TRIP TO PORTUGAL. ON THE PREVIOUS DAY, SHE HAD MET WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS. JORGE SAMPAIO.

3. FOLLOWING A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE FIRST LADY'S ITINERARY DURING HER STAY IN PORTUGAL, AND AFTER GIVING A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNION OF MISERCORDIA, THE PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSED SEVERAL CURRENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES. HE MENTIONED THE PRESENT DEBATE IN THE PARLIAMENT ON INCREASED REGIONALIZATION, AND THE PROPOSED REFERENDUM ON THE ISSUE. THE PRIME MINISTER EXPLAINED ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT REGIONAL COORDINATION SYSTEM AND THE DEBATE OVER THE BALANCE BETWEEN REGIONALISM AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT CONTROLS. HE TOUCHED ON HIS SUPPORT FOR URBANIZATION PROJECTS AND THE INSTRUMENTS WHICH MUNICIPALITIES HAVE TO COORDINATE THE PROGRAMS. THE FIRST LADY MENTIONED THAT DURING HER MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SAMPAIO THE DAY BEFORE, EXPO '98 WAS DISCUSSED, ESPECIALLY ITS IMPACT ON LISBON'S URBAN DEVELOPMENT. GUTERRES SAID THAT THE ADVANTAGE OF EXPO '98 CONSTRUCTION WAS THE ENTIRE AREA'S FUTURE FUNCTIONAL USE AND ITS EXPECTED CONTRIBUTION TO LISBON'S OVERALL ECONOMY.

4. THE FIRST LADY SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD ASKED HER TO PASS ON TO PRIME MINISTER GUTERRES HIS APPRECIATION FOR PORTUGAL'S SUPPORT AND EFFORTS AT THE MADRID SUMMIT, AS WELL AS ITS CONTINUED SUPPORT IN OTHER AREAS SUCH AS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. GUTERRES RESPONDED THAT THE GOP AND USG HAVE AN OLD AND GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH A STRONG AND SHARED ATLANTICIST OUTLOOK. HE SPOKE OF PORTUGAL'S VERY SPECIAL TIES TO THE U.S.--EVEN WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF ITS STRONG EU LINK. GUTERRES ALSO MENTIONED THE STRONG LIAISON PORTUGAL HAS WITH BRAZIL--ADDING THAT HE WOULD BE LEAVING FOR BRAZIL THE FOLLOWING DAY (JULY 18). HE SAID PORTUGAL IS INCREASING ITS

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INVESTMENTS IN BRAZIL IN A NUMBER OF INDUSTRIES, INCLUDING
FIBER OPTICS.

5. THE MEETING CONCLUDED WITH A BRIEF TALK ABOUT THE FIRST
LADY'S IMPENDING STOP IN THE AZORES. GUTERRES NOTED THAT THE
AZORES HAVE A DISTINCT HISTORY WHICH INCLUDED "LOTS OF CULTURAL
HERITAGE". HE ALSO NOTED CERTAIN DISTINCT AND ADMIRABLE
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE AZORES.

6. ON BEHALF OF CHELSEA AND THE REST OF HER PARTY, THE FIRST
LADY EXPRESSED HER DEEP GRATITUDE TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THE
ESPECIALLY WARM WELCOME THE PORTUGUESE OFFERED, AND SAID HOW
MUCH SHE LOOKED FORWARD TO THE REST OF HER VISIT.

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WHITE HOUSE - MVERVEER

SUBJECT: FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S VISIT WITH THE BISHOP OF LEIRIA AND FATIMA - REPORT #3

1. SUMMARY: DURING HER VISIT TO PORTUGAL, JULY 16-20, ON JULY 18, FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON MET WITH THE MOST REVEREND SERAFIM PERREIRA E SILVA, BISHOP OF LEIRIA AND FATIMA. THE MEETING TOOK PLACE IN THE BISHOP'S OFFICES AT THE FATIMA HOLY SHRINE. FOCUSSED ON THE MESSAGE OF PEACE, THE BISHOP RECOUNTED THE HISTORY OF THE SHRINE AND FATIMA'S PRESENT-DAY MISSION. END SUMMARY.

2. ON JULY 18, FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON MET WITH THE BISHOP OF LEIRIA AND FATIMA, THE MOST REVEREND SERAFIM FERREIRA E SILVA. THE MEETING TOOK PLACE IN THE BISHOP'S OFFICE. INCLUDED IN THE MEETING WERE: FATIMA SHRINE - MONSIGNOR LUCIANO GUERRA, RECTOR OF THE FATIMA SANCTUARY; USG - AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH FRAWLEY BAGLEY, MELANNE VERVEER, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF OF STATE TO THE FIRST LADY, CHELSEA CLINTON, SHIRLEY E. BARNES, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, DIRECTOR OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS (NOTETAKER).

3. THE BISHOP EXTENDED A WARM WELCOME TO MRS. CLINTON AND CONGRATULATED HER FOR HER STRONG COMMITMENT AND CONTINUING WORK OVER THE YEARS ON SOCIAL WELFARE ISSUES. RECOGNIZING THAT THE FIRST LADY HAILS FROM CHICAGO, THE BISHOP RECOUNTED HIS VISIT THERE--DESCRIBING IT AS A PLACE WHERE "EVERYTHING IS BIG". HE SAID THAT ONE OF THE PRIMARY GOALS OF HIS VISIT TO CHICAGO AND ONE OF HIS GREATEST WISHES WAS TO INVITE CARDINAL BERNARDIN TO FATIMA. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS DID NOT HAPPEN. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT THERE WAS A SMALL GROUP OF CHICAGOANS VISITING FATIMA THAT DAY, AND THEY WERE VERY EXCITED ABOUT MRS. CLINTON'S PRESENCE.

4. THE BISHOP EXPLAINED THE HISTORY OF FATIMA, THE STORY OF OUR LADY'S APPARITION TO THE THREE CHILDREN, AND THE PRESENT GOALS AND MISSION OF FATIMA TO SERVE AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR WORLD PEACE. THE FIRST LADY TOLD THE BISHOP HOW MUCH SHE HAD LOOKED FORWARD TO VISITING FATIMA, AND SAID SHE REGRETTED THAT CARDINAL BERNARDIN WAS NEVER ABLE TO MAKE THE TRIP. SHE ADDED THAT SHE HAD HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE TO KNOW CARDINAL BERNARDIN, AND NOTED THAT HE WAS A MAN OF FAITH, WHOM WE WILL ALWAYS REMEMBER.

5. IN RESPONSE TO THE FIRST LADY'S QUERY AS TO WHETHER THE POPE WOULD VISIT FATIMA, THE BISHOP SAID THAT "PERHAPS/MAYBE" THERE WOULD BE A VISIT IN THE FUTURE, BUT FOR NOW THE VATICAN STRUCTURE HAD MADE NO DEFINITIVE PLANS.

6. CONTINUING WITH A SUMMARY OF FATIMA'S PRESENT-DAY ACTIVITIES, THE BISHOP NOTED THE THOUSANDS OF YEARLY PILGRIMAGES MADE TO THE SHRINE-- INCLUDING AN INCREASING NUMBER

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OF PILGRIMS FROM EASTERN EUROPE. HE ADDED, MANY EASTERN EUROPEAN PILGRIMS HAVE REITERATED THEIR GRATITUDE TO OUR LADY OF FATIMA FOR THE LIBERATION OF THEIR COUNTRIES FROM COMMUNISM. HE SAID THAT WHETHER ONE IS CATHOLIC OR NOT, THE SYMBOL OF OUR LADY OF FATIMA CAN BE APPRECIATED AND UNDERSTOOD AROUND THE WORLD. RECONCILIATION AMONG NATIONS, HE SAID, IS THE GOAL OF FATIMA'S WORK. THE FIRST LADY RESPONDED THAT THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT MESSAGE, AND MUST BE COMMUNICATED IN AS MANY WAYS POSSIBLE.

7. THE BISHOP EXPLAINED THAT FATIMA RECEIVES DONATIONS FROM SIMPLE PILGRIMS WHICH GO TOWARDS ITS WORK WITH THE HANDICAPPED AND THE POOR. HE SAID THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT FIGHT WAS FOR PEACE--AND HIS HOPES WERE THAT THE U.S., AND OTHER NATIONS AROUND THE WORLD "FIGHT" FOR PEACE. THE BISHOP STATED THAT SENDING U.S. F-16'S TO PORTUGAL WAS FINE, BUT HE ASKED THAT THE U.S. ALSO CONTINUE TO SEND ITS VALUES AND IDEAS FOR PEACE.

8. THE FIRST LADY ASSURED THE BISHOP THAT THE PRESIDENT FIRMLY BELIEVES IN PEACE, AND THAT ONLY THROUGH WORKING FOR PEACE CAN WE DEVELOP MORE LASTING RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. SHE ADDED THAT A PLACE LIKE FATIMA BRINGS PEOPLE TOGETHER. IT MAY SEEM LIKE AN INDIVIDUAL JOURNEY, SHE SAID--BUT IT IS ALSO HUMANITY'S JOURNEY. WE CAN ALL LEARN FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF FATIMA.

9. AFTER THE MEETING, THE FIRST LADY AND CHELSEA TOURED THE BASILICA AND THE SHRINE WITH MONSIGNOR GUERRA, AND THEN ATTENDED A BRIEF CEREMONY IN THE BASILICA'S SQUARE WHERE THEY LIT A CANDLE WHILE THE PEOPLE SAID THE HAIL MARY PRAYER FOR MRS. CLINTON AND THE PRESIDENT. THE FIRST LADY RECEIVED AN EXTREMELY WARM WELCOME FROM THE LARGE CROWD, WHICH INCLUDED A NUMBER OF AMERICAN PILGRIMS AND TOURISTS. SHE SHOOK HANDS WITH ONE OF THE AMERICAN GROUPS, WHICH INCLUDED A PRIEST SPORTING A CHICAGO BULLS BASEBALL CAP. HE SPONTANEOUSLY PLACED HIS HAND ON CHELSEA'S HEAD AND BLESSED HER. (NOTE: AN UNEXPECTED SURPRISE: ONE AMERICAN TOURIST IN THE CROWD, GUITAR IN HAND, SANG A SONG TO THE FIRST LADY WHICH SHE HAD COMPOSED. END NOTE.)

DRAFTED: EUR/WE - SEBARNES 7/24/97 OK
CLEARED: LISBON - AMBASSADOR EFBAGLEY OK
WHITE HOUSE - MVERVEER

Translation of the interview to *ELLE* magazine (April 1997)
Pages 100-104

Headline: "POLITICS AND PRIVILEGE"

Introduction: A personal friend of Bill Clinton, Elizabeth Frawley Bagley, 44 years-old, is the U.S. Ambassador in Portugal since 1994. She is a woman who has achieved an enviable equilibrium between career and motherhood. She knows well what she wants and her projects always have a political edge. By Patrícia Reis.

She likes everything that is part of the feminine universe, but since she has little time, her hairdresser comes to the house. Her preferred place for shopping is Paris, although she is a fan of some American designers. Elizabeth Frawley Bagley may be a woman very close to the seat of power, but that does not prevent her from being a woman like any other.

Was it easy to make the transition from the American style of life to the Portuguese one?

Surprisingly it was easier than I had expected. It was the first time that my family -- I have two small children -- decided to leave the U.S. and live abroad. My son was 13 months old when we arrived. My daughter was three and a half.

They like Portugal?

Yes. They go to the American school, but have Portuguese friends. They speak Portuguese fairly well, and understand everything perfectly.

When you were invited to be the Ambassador to Portugal did you accept immediately? Were you pleased with the proposal? Or did you think: horrors, Lisbon, I would prefer that it were Paris, Rome or Brussels?

No... (laughter) I had been here on business in 1980. I remember spending several spectacular hours on a beach in Cascais. The weather was beautiful, the sea fantastic, the food was wonderful.

You did not hesitate to say yes, to accept the position?

I said yes immediately. Portugal was one of several options that I had discussed with the Clinton Administration, and once it was offered officially, I didn't hesitate.

Why?

During the first year of the Clinton administration, I was pregnant and, therefore, unavailable for any position. After my son was born, we talked about a position abroad and there were some openings, the majority of which had been traditionally occupied by career diplomats, including this one in Lisbon. I thought that Portugal would be interesting. I knew I would handle issues that dealt with Europe... Besides, Portugal is a strong ally, a member of NATO and of the European Union. I had lived in Europe previously -- when I entered college I spent a year in France and a few months in Spain -- and I was very enthusiastic about returning during this historic period of transformation. I also had hoped that Portuguese would be similar to Spanish, a language I had studied for some years.

After this time you have spent here what do you think about the *Portuguese way of life*?

It is a completely different experience. It is a more tranquil life... not here at the embassy, here it is American territory and things go very fast, step by step with Washington. In Portugal, the way of life is much more tranquil and many times it is a welcome respite from my job.

What is the best quality of the Portuguese?

The Portuguese attitude toward life is the best quality that they have. The value system is very strong... they are very tied to the family and children. This was very important to me when I arrived, because I wanted my family to feel comfortable. I had my job, but my family was in a slightly different situation and needed to adapt.

What is the worst defect of the Portuguese?

I don't believe there is any special "defect" of the Portuguese that could not be attributed to any other nationality. I believe that their best attributes are their values, the tradition and the pride they have in History. I admit that at first it was a little difficult for me to adjust to the calmer Portuguese lifestyle, but I always considered that to be my problem.

Was it easy for your husband to change his life to come to Portugal? This is not a very common situation: the husband going to where the wife is going to work...

It is uncommon, yes. But my husband handles the situation perfectly well, because he has a business of his own and can continue to manage it from here. Ours is a privileged case.

Doesn't he feel threatened, as happens with some husbands, with the fact that he has a wife with an important job?

No. I know it is not usual, but he doesn't feel minimally threatened. He is older than I am...

Is that an advantage?

Sometimes it is a great advantage, because he has already done many things, he was very successful throughout his life. We share a taste for politics -- that was how we met -- but he is a person that has his own businesses, he made a fortune by himself. We have strengths and qualities that are completely different. His strength lies in business. I like public service, diplomacy, law...

When did your passion for politics arise?

In part it has to do with my family's history. My father was a judge and a lawyer. One of my brothers is also a lawyer and we have all been involved in politics since my father ran as a Democratic candidate for a judgeship 40 years ago, where he has been ever since. Besides, we are of Irish origin and they say that politics is a natural gift of the Irish.

Is it in your genes?

That's it... it is in my genes.

And Lisbon isn't too slow and little political-oriented?

Not at all. Lisbon is a fascinating place from the political standpoint. When I arrived, the Government was different, the President came from the opposition and our role was to report events and analyze the campaigns. I enjoyed being involved in that analytical process and in trying to perceive how it is that things function.

Once you said that António Guterres was doing a good job...

I really think so. He is doing a fantastic job and has demonstrated an effective capacity for leadership.

Do you think that Cavaco Silva did a bad job when he was prime minister?

No, one thing does not imply the other (laughter...) They are not things that are mutually exclusive. Cavaco Silva was a very strong leader, very charismatic. Of course I only followed the end of his mandate, but he is a very dynamic, highly intelligent man, who contributed a great deal to bringing Portugal into the world community.

Recently Bill Clinton won again the presidential elections. Would America be much different if Bob Dole had won?

It would be very different. We would have had a Republican president and Congress and that would have allowed Republican legislation to pass easily. In terms of foreign policy I don't believe the differences would have been great. There would have been, certainly, a different approach. In terms of domestic policy it would have been different, certainly in terms of budget priorities.

Someone wrote that the fact that Bill Clinton won the presidential elections meant that a younger generation had reached power, that the time for those born in the mid 50s had arrived. Do you think that your time has also arrived, in the sense that you are in a position of power and can bring about change?

I hope so (she laughs).

Is it good not to have to wait until you are 65 to have power?

Of course. In any case, I always hoped that one day I would be an Ambassador, but I never thought it would happen so soon.

Do you believe in the so-called American dream?

That anybody can be president? Of course. Bill Clinton personifies that idea exactly; he came from a modest background, he grew up in a small town in a poor state and was given educational opportunities that allowed him to make the most of his talents.

What will happen next in your life?

I plan to return to Washington and I hope to continue to work for the Clinton administration in the area of foreign relations. I haven't thought much about it yet.

The majority of the press mistreats, in some way, Hillary Clinton. Do you like her?

I like her very much. I consider her a personal friend, and a model for women like me who balance career, marriage, and motherhood.

In America the power of the *media* is tremendous. Hillary Clinton is tortured daily.

Hillary represents a new force in American politics. She is young, substantially younger than Nancy Reagan. She built a career with multiple successes. She is very independent, with deep convictions, and I believe there are those who feel threatened by her strength of will.

At first, women looked at her and were happy to see that the First Lady would not be a decorative figure...

What is highlighted often are the negative reports; the good things do not receive the same level of attention. Polls show that Hillary is very strong. People generally like her and she has a strong following among most women. But some disagree with her.

Why do you think that is?

Because they are politically conservative, and are not ready to see a woman defend the causes that she defends. Some think that she was not elected, like the President, and for that [reason] she shouldn't be so proactive. But she has made important contributions. She wrote a book that sold much more than the President's did. She is respected and has done a wonderful job. Let's be frank: people with great force of will and capability will never be popular with everyone, and especially if they are women.

Do you believe she would be a good president?

Yes, I think so. But she would never be a candidate. She and her husband made a decision about who would lead politically many years ago.

Let's return to you. To arrive where you have arrived, do you have to work harder to show your worth?

I have to work harder, like the majority of women. The more so because we are in a transition phase, where women have to prove they are capable. Men take it for granted that they can do any type of work while women still have to prove it. The Portuguese were surprised with the fact that they had a woman as U.S. Ambassador. But in the U.S., especially under this President, there was a special effort to value the contributions of women.

Is it good to have money to realize ideas?

It is important to have ideas and our personal approach is very important, because we must have the capacity to convince people of the value of our ideas. We have to be salespersons.

Is that what makes a politician?

Yes, a politician is a salesperson. They have to convince, first, the voters to elect them and, afterwards, to organize coalitions among colleagues to promote legislation that improves the life of our community and nation.

Is that what you are selling? Are you a good saleswoman?

I think so. I'm very enthusiastic. I'm selling the U.S. as the "world's indispensable nation", as President Clinton said, because America is a loyal ally, committed to European security, both economic and political, but we are most effective when we work together with our partners and allies, united for a common objective.

Captions:

[Ambassador's photo on page 101]:

The ambassador of the U.S.A. likes Portugal, although she has some difficulty adjusting to a less accelerated pace.

[Pictures on page 102]:

Above: the ambassador with her husband, photographed at a gala party. At the side: the children of the couple enjoy the beach. Bottom: Elizabeth Frawley Bagley, with a *marine*, in the embassy of the United States in Lisbon.

[Pictures on page 104]:

The ambassador of the U.S. in her office photographed next to an American *marine*. Below, a photograph from the family album. Elizabeth Frawley Bagley with her husband and two small children. The ambassador's children attend the American School. The American International School, in Sintra, is under construction.

[Mid-page boxed quote, page 104]:

"Hillary Clinton represents a new force in American politics. She is an example of women who reconcile career with motherhood."

A embaixadora dos EUA no seu gabinete e fotografada junto a um *marine* americano. Em baixo, uma fotografia do álbum de família. Elisabeth Frawly Bagley com o marido e os dois filhos pequenos. Os filhos da embaixadora frequentam a escola americana. Em construção está a Escola Internacional Americana, em Sintra.



“
*Hillary Clinton
representa uma nova
força na política
americana. É um exemplo
para as mulheres
que conciliam a carreira
com a maternidade.*
”

nunca pensei que isso acontecesse tão cedo.
Acredita no chamado sonho americano?

Que qualquer um pode tornar-se Presidente? Claro. Bill Clinton personaliza isso mesmo, veio de um ambiente modesto, cresceu numa cidade pequena de um estado pobre e foram-lhe dadas oportunidades educacionais para que tirasse o maior partido possível das suas potencialidades.

O que é que acontecerá a seguir na sua vida?
Tenciono regressar a Washington e espero continuar a trabalhar para a administração Clinton na área das relações externas. Ainda não pensei muito nisso.

A maioria da imprensa maltrata, de alguma forma, Hillary Clinton. Gosta dela?

Gosto muito dela. Considero-a uma amiga pessoal e um modelo para as mulheres como eu que equilibram a carreira, o casamento e a maternidade.

Na América, o poder dos *media* é tremendo. Hillary Clinton é torturada diariamente.

Hillary representa uma nova força na política americana. Ela é nova, bastante mais nova do que Nancy Reagan. Construiu uma carreira com múltiplos sucessos. É muito independente, com convicções profundas, e creio que há quem se sinta ameaçado pela sua força de vontade.

No princípio, as mulheres olharam para ela e ficaram felizes por ver que a Primeira-dama não seria uma figura decorativa...

O que sobressai pode ser algumas notícias negativas, não se dá atenção às coisas boas com a mesma intensidade. As sondagens mostram que Hillary é muito forte. As pessoas gostam dela e ela tem uma presença bastante forte junto das pessoas. Mas talvez ela assuste.

Porque é que acha que isso acontece?

Porque algumas pessoas são politicamente conservadoras, algumas não estão prontas para ver uma mulher a defender as coisas que ela defende. Algumas pensam que ela não foi eleita, como o Presidente, por isso não deveria ter tanto protagonismo. Mas ela tem feito contribuições importantes. Escreveu um livro que vendeu muito mais do que o livro do Presidente. Ela é respeitada e tem feito um ótimo trabalho. Sejamos francos: pessoas com grande força de vontade e capacidade não serão nunca populares para toda a gente, em especial se forem mulheres.

Acha que ela daria um bom presidente?

Sim, acho que sim. Mas ela nunca se candidataria. Eles tomaram uma decisão sobre quem é que iria liderar politicamente.

Voltemos a si. Para chegar onde chegou, tem de trabalhar mais para mostrar o que vale?

Tenho de trabalhar mais como a maioria das mulheres. Até porque estamos numa fase de transição, onde as mulheres têm de provar que são capazes. Os homens partem do princípio que podem fazer qualquer trabalho enquanto as mulheres ainda têm de o provar. Os portugueses ficaram surpreendidos com o facto de passarem a ter uma mulher como embaixadora dos EUA. Mas nos EUA, especialmente com este Presidente, houve um esforço suplementar para valorizar as contribuições femininas.

É bom ter dinheiro para concretizar ideias...

É importante ter ideias e a nossa abordagem pessoal é muito importante, porque temos de ter a capacidade de convencer as pessoas do valor das nossas ideias. Temos ser vendedores.

É isso que faz um político?

Sim, um político é um vendedor. Temos de convencer, primeiro, os eleitores a elegerem-nos e, depois, organizar coligações entre colegas para promover legislação que melhore a vida da nossa comunidade ou nação.

Naquilo que se está a vender? É uma boa vendedora?

Acho que sim. Sou muito entusiástica. Estou a vender os EUA como a “nação indispensável do mundo”, tal como disse o Presidente Clinton, porque a América é um aliado leal, empenhado na segurança europeia, tanto económica como política. Somos muito eficazes quando agimos em prol de um objectivo comum. ■

Maquilhagem PHAS.

A magia das cores...
...com toda a segurança.

Alta tolerância
e máxima beleza

- Fond de teint com pigmentos rigorosamente seleccionados
- Máscaras adaptadas aos olhos sensíveis
- Batons sem conservantes
- Maquilhagem hipoalergénica



P H A S
H Y P O A L L E R G É N I Q U E



Em cima:
a embaixadora
com o marido,
fotografados numa
festa de gala.
Ao lado: os filhos
do casal disfrutam
da praia.
Em baixo:
Elisabeth Frawly
Bagley, com um
marine, na
embaixada dos
Estados Unidos
em Lisboa.

tante para mim quando cheguei, porque queria que a minha família se sentisse bem. Eu tinha o meu emprego, mas a minha família estava numa situação um pouco diferente e precisava de se adaptar.

Qual é o pior defeito dos portugueses?

Não creio que haja qualquer "defeito" especial dos portugueses que não possa ser atribuído a qualquer outra nacionalidade. Penso que os seus melhores atributos são os valores, a tradição e o orgulho que têm na História. Admito que no princípio foi um pouco difícil adaptar-me à maior calma da vida portuguesa, mas sempre senti que esse era um problema meu.

Foi fácil para o seu marido mudar a vida dele para vir para Portugal? Não é uma situação muito comum: o marido ir para onde a mu-

do ligado à política desde que o meu pai se candidatou a um cargo no sistema judicial há 40 anos. Além disso, somos de origem irlandesa e dizem que a política é um dom natural dos irlandeses.

Está-lhe nos genes?

É isso mesmo... está-me nos genes.

E Lisboa não é demasiado lenta e pouco politizada?

Nada disso. Lisboa é um sítio fascinante do ponto de vista político. Quando cheguei, o Governo era outro, o Presidente vinha da oposição e o nosso papel era o de relatar os acontecimentos e analisar as campanhas. Gostei muito de me envolver nesse processo analítico e tentar perceber como é que as coisas funcionam.

Uma vez disse que António Guterres está a fazer um bom trabalho...

Acho mesmo. Ele está a fazer um trabalho fantástico e tem demonstrado efectiva capacidade de liderança.

Acha que Cavaco Silva fazia um mau papel enquanto primeiro-ministro?

Não, uma coisa não implica a outra (risos). Não são coisas que se excluam mutuamente. Cavaco Silva era um líder muito forte, muito carismático. Claro que só acompanhei o fim do mandato dele, mas ele é um homem muito dinâmico, inteligentíssimo, que muito contribuiu para

“ Os homens acham que podem desempenhar qualquer tipo de trabalho, enquanto as mulheres ainda têm de o provar. ”

Iher vai trabalhar...

É invulgar, sim. Mas o meu marido consegue perfeitamente lidar com a situação, até porque tem um negócio que é dele e pode continuar a geri-lo daqui. Somos um caso privilegiado.

Ele não se sente ameaçado, como acontece a alguns maridos, com o facto de ter uma mulher com um emprego importante?

Não. Eu sei que não é usual, mas ele não se sente minimamente ameaçado. Ele é mais velho do que eu e...

Isso é uma vantagem?

Às vezes é uma grande vantagem, porque ele já fez muitas coisas, foi bem sucedido ao longo da vida. Partilhamos o gosto pela política – foi assim que nos conhecemos –, mas ele é uma pessoa que tem os seus negócios, fez fortuna por si. Temos forças e qualidades completamente diferentes. A força dele está nos negócios. Eu gosto de serviço público, diplomacia, direito...

Quando é que nasceu a paixão pela política?

Em parte tem a ver com a história da minha família. O meu pai era juiz e advogado. O meu irmão é advogado e tem esta-

que Portugal entrasse para a comunidade mundial.

Recentemente, Bill Clinton voltou a ganhar as eleições presidenciais. A América seria muito diferente se Bob Dole tivesse ganho?

Seria muito diferente. Teríamos um presidente e um congresso republicano e isso faria com que a legislação republicana vinguasse facilmente. Em termos de política externa não acho que as diferenças fossem muitas. Haveria, certamente, uma abordagem distinta. Em termos de política interna seria diferente, concerteza, em termos de prioridades orçamentais.

Alguém escreveu que o facto de Bill Clinton ganhar as eleições presidenciais significava que uma geração mais nova tinha chegado ao poder, tinha chegado a hora dos nascidos em meados de 50. Acha que esta é também a sua vez, no sentido em que está num lugar com poder e pode fazer com as coisas mudem?

Espero que sim (ri-se).

É bom não ter de esperar pelos 65 anos para se ter poder?

Claro. De qualquer forma, sempre pensei que um dia seria embaixadora, mas ►

nha – e fiquei muito entusiasmada por regressar neste histórico período de transformação. Tinha esperança de que o português fosse semelhante ao espanhol, idioma que estudei durante alguns anos.

E ao fim deste tempo aqui, o que é que pensa do *portuguese way of life*?

É uma experiência completamente diferente. É uma vida mais calma... não aqui na embaixada, aqui é território americano e as coisas andam muito depressa, passo a passo com Washington. Em Portugal, o modo de vida é muito mais tranquilo e muitas vezes é uma pausa bem-vinda ao meu trabalho.

Qual é a melhor qualidade dos portugueses?

A atitude portuguesa em relação à vida é a melhor qualidade que têm. O sistema de valores é fortíssimo... estão muito ligados à família e às crianças. Isso foi muito impor-

A embaixadora dos
EUA gosta de Portu-
gal, embora tenha al-
guma dificuldade em
lidar com um ritmo
menos acelerado.



highly qualified, great people working for him, and it was tremendously stimulating. Although I only worked there for a short time, we still keep in touch. Every year he has a big Christmas party and invites anyone who has ever worked for him, so the party is getting bigger and bigger all the time. He has a wonderful esprit de corps."

A few years after leaving the senator's office, 24-year-old Elizabeth Frawley—now a protocol officer in the State Department—met her husband-to-be at a party in New York. Seventeen years her senior, Smith Bagley was at the time in the middle of a divorce. "I was not keen to have anything to do with him because of that," Bagley recalled. "I considered myself a good Irish Catholic, and that meant not getting involved with married men."

Despite their hectic lives, they stayed in touch, eventually began dating, and married three years later. The wedding was held at the Bagley home in Georgia, and the couple honeymooned in Kenya. Along for the ride were Elizabeth's sister and Smith's three young children.

Like his wife, Smith Bagley is very active in American politics. Known as a high-profile fund-raiser for the Democratic party, Smith was a major backer of Carter's bid for the Presidency in 1976. Together, the couple are generous fund-raisers for a wide range of causes, and their Georgetown home in Washington has been a year-round venue for parties and dinners.

The ambassador's fund-raising has often been directed toward Irish causes, particularly those in the arts and literature. At the moment, she is planning an October dinner to coincide with Northern Lights, a gala evening at the Kennedy Center in Washington to celebrate the achievements of Northern Irish artists. The party will be held in honor of Seamus Heaney, Liam Neeson, Van Morrison, Phil Coulter, Brian Friel, and James Galway, all of whom will be performing at the event. "The evening will make people aware that there is more to Northern Ireland than death and



The young Bagley family, from left, Smith, Conor, Elizabeth Frawley, and Vaughan Elizabeth

guns." This is the kind of party that Bagley loves most, and her guests are often loath to leave. At one memorable get-together at her Georgetown home some years ago, poets Seamus Deane—now Professor of English literature at the University of Notre Dame—and Heaney, along with John Hume and Coulter, stayed up until dawn, reciting poetry and singing. "It was the first time that they had been together in one room in that way, and it was amazing to see all of their gifts at work. Nobody wanted to go to bed." It's the kind of hospitality that would surely go down very well in Dublin.

Bagley's soft spot for Irish affairs was cultivated during her time in Kennedy's office. It was there that she first became involved in aspects of the Irish political scene and was made aware of Hume and the Social Democratic and Labour Party. "I respect John Hume enormously," said Bagley. Speaking of his role in spearheading the peace process in Northern

Ireland, she said, "His pursuit of peace is really laudable. I don't think people realize how intensely he has devoted every fiber of his being to the job. I hope that in his lifetime he sees peace. He is the real leader of the process, the Martin Luther King of Ireland."

The ambassador's passionate rhetoric about Ireland's political future comes from the heart. In addition to her American citizenship, she is a citizen of the Irish Republic, a privilege she has passed on to both her children and her husband, whom, she also added, she has converted from a WASP into "a good Irish Catholic. Now he gets mad at me if I skip Mass," she laughed. Although Bagley has cultivated a love of all things Irish in her family, she regretfully admitted that she has not yet had time to take them to Ireland during her diplomatic

appointment in Portugal. "The irony is that I haven't been to Ireland once since I've been posted in Europe. When we were in Washington, I visited Ireland regularly. I'm determined that this year my children will come home with me to the Old Country."

Back in Lisbon, Bagley manages one of the finest U.S. embassy compounds in Europe. The American



Declared structurally unsound when Bagley and her family arrived in 1994, the ambassador's residence in Portugal was unlivable until fall 1996. The Bagleys have quickly made up for lost time, hosting parties and enjoying the compound's amenities, which include a swimming pool and tennis courts.

embassy is located in a beautiful sun-drenched complex just outside the city. The estate, Quinta dos Pinheiros (the estate of the pines), was purchased by the U.S. government in 1979. The ambassador's official residence in the Lapa district of Lisbon is located in the heart of the city, on what is known as Embassy Row. Because of structural defects in the building, the Bagleys were unable to move into the residence until late last year, arriving just in time to hold a huge election-night party on November 3rd. Prior to the move, the family lived in a house located 30 miles outside of Lisbon, in the town of Cintra, and waited for the residence to take shape. "We waited for two-and-a-half years!" said Bagley,

who is only now getting to know her new surroundings.

Their home is a true Portuguese mansion, with magnificent tiled floors and riotous plasterwork overhead. Antique petit point rugs adorn the floors and fine Italian chandeliers shine down on the formal reception rooms, which can comfortably accommodate 300 people for drinks. Paintings on loan from American museums and galleries decorate the walls, courtesy of the Art in Embassies program. "It's a really beautiful house but very formal," said Bagley, who admitted that her favorite spot is a small rooftop room known as the Crow's Nest. "It has the most sensational views of the city, from St. George's Castle to the April 25th



There is a
hint of regret
as she explains
why she is
ready to take a
backseat for
a few years to
come. "You can't
do justice to your
children while
you're working
20 hours a day."

training has given her an edge when it comes to diplomacy. "My background has enabled me to have a better understanding of the government's needs. I know exactly what their domestic situation is, and being able to talk to them on that level, with the authority of knowing my country's and my President's political dilemmas, makes it much easier to conduct diplomacy.

"I like to think that I have the best of both worlds. I understand the foreign service mentality; it is a much more cautious and deliberate one. Sometimes I can short-circuit the bureaucracy because I know how it works."

Not all of Bagley's work is diplomatic in nature. Every 4th of July the embassy hosts a party for more than 2,000 people. For the last two years, Smith Bagley has organized the party and raised the necessary funds—in excess of \$100,000—to make it a great event. Smith has also become involved in additional projects in Portugal, including a drive to finance a new American international school for Lisbon.

Bagley is now reaching the end of her three-year term in Portugal and plans to be back in Washington come September. What lies ahead for her has not yet been decided. But she has made it clear that she misses being at the epicenter of affairs of state.

Some say she could be a future ambassador to Ireland, and Bagley readily admitted that Ireland would be a dream posting. She counts Hume and Foreign Minister Dick Spring among her good friends, while her fund-raising efforts for the American Ireland Fund (AIF) brought her close to H.J. Heinz chairman and AIF director Tony O'Reilly.

Later this summer, Bagley will consider her career options back on Capitol Hill. Whatever direction her career moves in next, she has decided to take on a less-demanding job until her children are older. Although she talks about this issue lightly, one senses it is something that she has thought through long and hard. There is a hint of regret as she explains why she is ready to take a backseat for a few years to come.

"You can't do justice to your children while you're working 20 hours a day. At the moment my job is easier, because I am the boss. I can choose to come in at 9:30 and be home by 6:00, though that is often not possible. I can go home for lunch or I can take my son into the embassy for lunch, as I do once a week. My daughter comes here when she is finished with school.

"My time with my children is too valuable to sacrifice right now. They are young, and they need me. I am the center of their universe. That simply means taking on a less powerful job outside the home. It will have to be one that will meet the family's needs."

Still, Bagley would love to work in Ireland some day. "It is my homeland. My heart and soul would love it. But it will have to wait. It is difficult to do everything, and, you know, time and chance happen to all of us." 

Ambassador Bagley and her husband, Smith, meeting and greeting at a recent American Ireland Fund dinner.



Suspension Bridge. The room used to be an outdoor laundry, but the previous ambassador had it enclosed, and we now use it as a private sitting room." Special guests are invited up to the Crow's Nest for drinks and informal suppers, and the ambassador sometimes sits up there alone, away from the demands of protocol and family.

How Bagley and her family wound up in Portugal is, appropriately, a story of politics. She is the first to admit that Portugal was not the first spot on her wish list back in 1992. "When President Clinton was elected, everyone was scurrying around for jobs, including me. There were a couple of jobs that I had wanted in the State Department, but those did not come my way. Then in 1992 I found I was pregnant, and everything took on a new dimension." She began to look at different career paths and at various ambassadorships that were due to come up. "I had never considered these before because I didn't know how my husband would react to being second fiddle. But he decided that it would be good for me and pushed me in that direction."

The Portuguese post had been open for some time, and when Clinton offered it to Bagley, she took it on with enthusiasm. Smith, she conceded, was apprehensive about becoming a diplomatic husband and running his extensive business interests from abroad. "He joked about living in public housing and being supported by his wife," she said with good humor. Bagley's other half owns a cellular telephone company in Arizona and is on the boards of several family businesses and organizations, including the ARCA Foundation in Washington, which is involved in human rights and public policy issues. Technology, however, has helped him to keep in touch. "Smith communicates by fax, e-mail, and telephone and travels back to the States every month. In fact, he is surprised by how easy it has been. It has also given him a chance to spend more time with the family."

Portugal is a relatively trouble-free posting for an American diplomat

in that relations between the two countries are excellent. "The Portuguese are very pro-American, and in that I would equate it to Ireland," said the ambassador. "The Portuguese see themselves as a link between Europe and North America," she continued. "Like Ireland, they are very Atlanticist in their thinking. There are not as many Portuguese in America as there are Irish, but there are two to three million." The U.S. embassy keeps tabs on 20,000 or so American citizens in Portugal. Many of these people are Portuguese natives who lived in the U.S. for most of their lives and became citizens but later retired to the land of their birth.

Despite the number of Americans in Portugal, Bagley's move to Lisbon was not entirely smooth. "As the first woman ambassador there and as a political appointee, I was received with some hesitation." That reluctance was short-lived, she said, and before long people began to let down their guards. "The Portuguese people are wonderful," she said. "They are open, friendly, and very gracious. Most of them speak perfect English. Certainly, every member of the government speaks English, so there is no language barrier."

The ambassador's day starts at 6 a.m. with a workout in her exercise room. "I brought exercise machines over from the States—a rowing machine, a treadmill, and some others, and I use them every morning. An hour later I wake up my daughter and get her dressed while the nanny looks after Conor." Her son has spent most of his young life in Portugal, and his mother jokes that he now thinks he is Portuguese. "We have breakfast together, and then I take Vaughan to school. It's a long drive, but it is a good opportunity to catch up with all her news, and that time is important to me."

The ambassador's mornings are routinely eaten up by meetings on various issues. She arrives at her office at 9:30 and heads straight into a press

"I like to think that I have the best of both worlds. I understand the foreign service mentality; it is a much more cautious and deliberate one. Sometimes I can short-circuit the bureaucracy because I know how it works."

briefing. "We have people who monitor the press constantly for stories of interest, both worldwide and locally. I read the *New York Times* news digest by fax, and I also read Portuguese news stories and profiles in translation."

Early afternoon in Lisbon is breakfast time in America, and the ambassador sets aside time after lunch to talk on the telephone with friends and colleagues in the State Department. This past spring, much of her time was spent overseeing security arrangements for the Portuguese president's visit to Washington, D.C., in April.

Several secretaries of state have visited Portugal during her term of office, including the Irish Taoiseach, John Bruton. She also maintains excellent relations with members of the Portuguese government.

Bagley believes that her political



At age 43, Bagley is the youngest of America's female ambassadors and the first woman to serve her country as Portuguese ambassador. She is also one of the few women ambassadors in the world with a young family. Bagley and her husband, tobacco heir Smith Bagley, have two children, the younger of whom is 3-year-old Conor. His older sister, 7-year-old Vaughan Elizabeth, was named after Ambassador Bagley's Irish grandmother, Elizabeth Vaughan of Liscannor, County Clare.

The Bagleys have homes in Washington, D.C., Georgia, and Nantucket, Mass., where their island getaway is named Inisfree after the poem by W.B. Yeats. For now, however, their residence is an elegant mansion in the center of Lisbon, where the former attorney heads a 200-member diplomatic staff.

A staunch Democrat, Bagley has worked in politics for more than 20 years, immersing herself in Presidential campaigns and fund-raising efforts for various members of Congress. She cut her political teeth in

the State Department during the administration of President Jimmy Carter, where she assisted the special advisor to the Camp David Peace Accords, Sol Linowitz. During the 1980s, Bagley worked on the Presidential campaigns of Michael Dukakis and Bill Clinton. On the latter campaign, she served as foreign policy advisor for the party platform.

Politics, the ambassador has said, is in her blood. Bagley was raised in Elmira, N.Y., in what she described as a very Irish-American family, with roots firmly planted in the soil of counties Roscommon and Clare. Growing up, Bagley and her siblings were well aware of the rigors of politics. Their father had been a family court judge; and, for that reason, the Frawley children quickly grew accustomed to gearing up for election day every four years.

To this day, the ambassador remains very close to her immediate family. One of eight children, Bagley has four sisters and three brothers. Her older brother, Kevin, whom she jokingly refers to as her "Irish twin," because he was born just 11 months ahead of her, is a lawyer. Brian, the brother just behind her, is an

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Augustinian priest who is currently studying clinical psychology. Just keeping up with all of their news takes up a good part of her telephone time on Sundays, but for the exile ambassador, it is well worth it. "We have all remained good friends," said Bagley. "I call my parents every Sunday night and get the full report on everyone. They are all still a touchstone for me."

Before joining politics, Bagley pursued an interest in language at Regis College in Weston, Mass., where she graduated cum laude in 1974 with a B.A. in French and Spanish. Fresh out of school, Bagley launched her political career in the Boston office of Senator Ted Kennedy. "I was only 22," Bagley recalled, "and it was a very exciting place to be. Senator Kennedy always had very

Ambassador Elizabeth Frawley Bagley and Irish Prime Minister John Bruton at a Washington dinner in 1995.

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U.S. Ambassador to Portugal Elizabeth Frawley Bagley juggles diplomacy and motherhood with equal aplomb.

*by Orna Mulcahy
photography by Ricardo Oliveira*

Diplomats make great dinner party guests but they are usually very difficult to interview. They can be courteous, suave, informed, and amusing, but diplomatic training gives them an impenetrable veneer that does not often yield to personal questions. Elizabeth Frawley Bagley is an exception. The U.S. ambassador to Portugal since 1994, she is a woman of tremendous warmth and friendliness, and one with formidable political clout.



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Amiga pessoal de Bill Clinton, **Elisabeth Frawly Bagley**, 44 anos, é embaixadora dos Estados Unidos em Portugal desde 1994. É uma mulher que conseguiu um equilíbrio invejável entre a carreira e a maternidade. Sabe muito bem o que quer e os seus projectos passam sempre pela política. Por Patrícia Reis.

Gosta de todas as coisas que fazem parte do universo feminino, mas como tem pouco tempo, o seu cabeleireiro vai a casa. O lugar preferido para compras é Paris, embora seja fã de alguns criadores americanos. Elisabeth Frawly Bagley talvez seja uma mulher muito próxima do poder, mas não deixa de ser uma mulher como as outras.

ELLE: Foi fácil fazer a transição do estilo de vida americano para o português?

Elisabeth F. Bagley: Surpreendentemente foi mais fácil do que eu estava à espera. Foi a primeira vez que a minha família – tenho duas crianças pequenas – decidiu deixar os EUA e viver além-fronteiras. O meu filho tinha 13 meses quando chegámos. A

minha filha tinha três anos e meio.

Eles gostam de Portugal?

Sim. Frequentam a Escola Americana, mas têm amigos portugueses. Falam razoavelmente e percebem tudo na perfeição.

Quando a convidaram para embaixadora em Portugal, aceitou imediatamente?

Ou pensou: que horror, Lisboa, preferia que fosse Paris, Roma ou Bruxelas?

Não... (risos). Já cá tinha estado em negócios, em 1980. Lembro-me de ter passado umas horas espectaculares numa praia de Cascais. O tempo estava muito bom, o mar fantástico, a comida era ótima.

Não hesitou em dizer que sim, em aceitar o lugar?

Disse logo que sim. Portugal era uma das várias opções que discuti com a Administração Clinton, e as-

sim que o posto foi formalmente oferecido não hesitei.

Porquê?

Durante o primeiro ano da administração Clinton estava grávida e, portanto, indisponível para aceitar qualquer posição. Depois do meu filho nascer, falámos sobre um lugar no estrangeiro e havia alguns que estavam disponíveis, a maioria dos quais tinham sido ocupados tradicionalmente por diplomatas de carreira, incluindo o de Lisboa. Pensei que Portugal seria interessante. Sabia que iria lidar com questões que envolvem a Europa... Além disso, Portugal é um forte aliado, membro da Nato e da União Europeia. Já tinha vivido na Europa – quando entrei para a faculdade passei um ano em França e alguns meses em Espanha. ▶