

Brenda -

- we sent this
over in the
am to HRC for
Alva mty, fyi &
for files. — Nvrc

Pam - Melanne had this prepared. Please have the changes I marked made & return ASA P to me.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Thanks.

blue

April 17, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR TONY LAKE
DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE STROBE TALBOTT
DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR SANDY BERGER
USAID ADMINISTRATOR BRIAN ATWOOD

FROM: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RE: REPORT ON SOUTH ASIA TRIP

~~Thank you for asking me to make my recent trip to South Asia.~~ *It was a personally rewarding experience and I hope*
~~I tried to represent both you and the American people in conveying~~ *useful*
~~to the governments and the people of the countries I visited how~~ *to our*
~~important the United States thinks this region of the world is and~~ *relations*
~~how significant you believe the development of the people of this~~ *in the*
~~region to be, important not only for the futures of their own~~ *region.*
~~countries, but also for our entire global family. I hope also that~~
~~through my visit, Americans at home perhaps learned more about this~~
~~part of the world and, like me, developed new ways of thinking~~
~~about the region.~~ *the future*

My trip to South Asia was designed to highlight ^{el} the importance of investments in people, especially women and girls, and ~~to~~ demonstrated that the United States is committed to engagement in this critical region. My visit to Pakistan was a part of our overall effort to broaden relations strained in recent years by sanctions. In India, while investment opportunities are expanding to attract U.S. business, investments in social programs also remain critical. In ~~the poorer countries of~~ Nepal and Bangladesh, ~~in which~~ U.S. assistance has long been the major element in our relationship. ^{and} Improvements, particularly in health and population control, are evident. Finally, Sri Lanka, a more developed small island nation with which we have historically had cordial relations, has made significant progress in universal access to education and health care.

Before describing specific activities in the countries I visited, I would like to underscore some observations:

-- South Asia has the largest number of absolute poor in the world. It faces enormous challenges in creating a better life for

PHOTOCOPY
HRC HANDWRITING

PHOTOCOPY
HRC HANDWRITING

while the U.S. must remain capable (as it is today) of channelling its aid in an integrated and strategic fashion toward overall development objectives. This is a partnership where the capabilities of our government and NGOs are complementary.

-- Our bilateral and multilateral aid programs are now threatened with deep cuts or even elimination (as in the case of our contributions to the World Bank). These programs absorb less than 1% of the federal budget, yet as I observed on my trip, their contributions to our foreign policy are enormous. Cuts of the magnitude now being considered in Congress could force us to reduce drastically or terminate our aid to South Asian countries just as we are beginning to see a real impact of our past aid in those countries. There is also a danger that other governments might be tempted to follow our lead in cutting aid budgets.

The United States has been of great assistance in this region for many, ~~many~~ years, and I was pleased to see the results of those years of effort. The investments we have made in the people of the countries I visited have produced concrete results, and I hope that my visits to successful programs and projects in the region helped to highlight the importance of our investments. I also believe that there are lessons ~~that~~ we can ~~all~~ learn *here at home* from some of the projects that I visited.

In each country I emphasized U.S. interest in helping improve people's lives, particularly the lives of women and girls who still suffer from cultural prejudice and the lack of government investment in education for girls, and who bear the brunt of poverty. This theme seemed to find resonance as a welcome complement to the recognized concerns for global stability, non-proliferation, and market access.

My reception was very heartening. Government leaders and villagers alike went out of their way to make me feel welcome and to demonstrate the well-spring of respect and affection for the United States and the values they believe we represent. The local press was positive and impressed that our delegation braved the subcontinental heat to undertake such site visits as a village in rural Bangladesh, or SEWA headquarters in Ahmedabad, India.

While some leaders (most notably Prime Minister Bhutto who had her trip to Washington very much on her mind) raised specific bilateral political issues, most used the private meetings to get acquainted, and to share ideas and experiences on the problems of social development. The top leadership of these countries appears to be grappling with the problems of poverty and women's empowerment to a significant extent. I was also struck by how much our nation has contributed to the debate and to real progress over the years through USAID, World Bank and voluntary programs. Many commented positively on my speech to the UN World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen. Women ministers and non-governmental leaders, in particular, talked about the significance of the upcoming UN Fourth World Conference for progress for women and the

*where I announced the USAID initiative
to ~~start~~ on girls' education, in*

the great majority of its people.

-- The countries I visited are making progress in meeting these challenges. Economies throughout the region are expanding and private investment is rising. Progress also has been significant in addressing the key problem of population growth.

-- Lower population growth has resulted, to an important extent, from improvements in the social sectors - health and education. Broad-based sustainable economic growth in the future will depend on ~~in the future~~ more significant investments in these areas. Private investment by itself is necessary but not sufficient - in South Asia as well as elsewhere in the world.

-- I underscored this issue in my speech at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, in which I said,

may → "I recognize that discussion of such problems as education and health care for girls and women is viewed by some as "soft," labeled dismissively as a women's issue belonging, at best, on the edge of serious debate about all the problems we confront on the edge of the 21st century. I want to argue strongly, however, that the questions surrounding social development, especially of women, as discussed at the recent social summit in Copenhagen, are at the center of our political and economic challenges. Governments, businesses and citizens must recognize and act upon that truth for the betterment of nations and our global family."

-- The empowerment of women is an important aspect of development in this and other regions. Women ~~represent over half of the population of most of these countries~~ and have proven again and again in the projects I visited how quickly and effectively they can become income earners when given a chance. No investment pays greater dividends in a nation's development and productivity than investments in the education of girls and women.

-- The U.S. has long been engaged in assisting the countries of the region in development. I met countless individuals who had been helped in education, in health, ~~and~~ in support for creating private enterprises or NGOs ~~and~~ by our assistance. The U.S. clearly has been effective in the past and must remain engaged in the future.

-- U.S. assistance has had a direct impact on the lives and prospects of South Asians, but more importantly it has been a catalyst for further social development (~~for example, the population program in Bangladesh~~) by leveraging aid from other donors and local governments in expanding effective activities.

One example is the
-- The U.S. now channels much of its aid to South Asia through NGOs. Governments remain important, but experience shows that NGOs can be very effective partners in development. They are close to the people, accountable to the people and often are effective advocates for the people. Our government's partnership with NGOs -- our own and indigenous -- must continue to grow,

advancement of their human rights.

It was often remarked during our meetings that it had been a very long time since the last White House trip to the region. There was a palpable sense, particularly in the smaller countries, of pride and relief that the U.S., a country they had long admired and considered a friend, was finally making an official visit focussed on direct observation of progress in economic development and poverty alleviation. On the cusp of the 21st century, the "good will tour" seemed to have new meaning and importance in securing relationships.

I believe the journey helped to renew and revitalize interest in the United States and make it easier for governments in the region to support our broader global agenda. From the positive press that the trip engendered in the U.S., we can hope that it helped to educate Americans on the importance of South Asia as well.

PAKISTAN

In Pakistan, outside Lahore, I visited a village school educating girls and a health clinic where I had a chance to talk with some of the mothers now using the family planning services of the clinic. At Pakistan's current rate of population growth, about 3.0%, its population -- already 130 million -- will double in 23 years. This rate of population growth will make significant economic progress in Pakistan unattainable. The current government in Pakistan recognizes this, and PM Bhutto indicated in her discussions with me that she is moving to address the population issue more vigorously. However, family planning programs in the past run by the Pakistan government have proven ineffective; services have been poor, unpredictable and difficult for Pakistani women to access. A new USAID project is set to begin to finance family planning and related health and education services through U.S. and local private voluntary organizations in an effort to make these services effective.

The Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) could not represent a sharper contrast to the village school I visited. It is a world class management school built with seed money from U.S. assistance together with private and public support from Pakistan. I gave a speech at LUMS (which is attached), and met with some of its very impressive students to discuss barriers to women in management. The University is preparing women and men to take responsible positions in the expanding private sector in Pakistan. These and other women I met on my trip were dynamic, but conscious of their roles as pioneers in a society where female professionals remain rare. They are proving that change ~~in their roles~~ in society is possible if approached sensitively. The U.S. has played an important role in supporting them with programs to educate girls and women throughout South Asia.

INDIA

In India I attended a meeting in Ahmedabad of the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), led by the legendary Ela Bhatt. This is a group of extremely poor women engaged in work like paper picking and selling fruits and vegetables. They are both residents of the city of Ahmedabad and the countryside for miles around it; many walked for hours to come to the meeting with me. The women have joined together in a trade union and cooperative which provides them with job training, micro-credit and opportunities to save together with mutual support and solidarity. The latter - while intangible - was clearly critical in giving these women, mostly uneducated, the confidence to take the initiative to become entrepreneurs.

SEWA has been effective and has had a positive influence on government, police and programs. I was so pleased that the U.S. has been able to provide some support to SEWA and private voluntary organizations like it, for it is these organizations that help women begin to earn incomes and better their own lives and those of their families. Without these kinds of efforts (even where economic policies are supportive of growth), the mass of the populations of poor countries like the ones I visited will remain trapped in poverty for the foreseeable future. And women in particular will remain excluded and ~~disadvantaged~~, and their countries severely disadvantaged by their lack of education and productivity.

marginalised

Also in India, I visited a home for children run by Mother Teresa and toured a school project housed at the Indian Institute of Technology whose mission is to provide education to children of the neighboring slums and to empower their mothers through skills training and community support. Finally, I addressed the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation and a distinguished group of Indian public and private sector leaders on the topic of investing in women and girls. In it, I focused on the theme of girls' and women's social development. (The speech is attached.)

NEPAL

Nepal was the poorest country I visited, and one of the very poorest in the world with literacy at only 25%, infant mortality at 107 per 1000 (165 per 1000 for under 5 years old), and life expectancy at 53 for women and 54 for men. It is one of the few countries where men outlive women. Yet, even here, enormous progress has taken place over the past three decades since Nepal opened to the rest of the world.

Health is a particular problem for women in Nepal; 8 out of 100 childbirths result in the death of the mother, usually for want of proper hygiene. At a small health and family planning clinic in Kathmandu (financed by a partnership of Save the Children Foundation, the government of Nepal and USAID), I was given a "safe

Safe Home Delivery Kit

cutting disc,

birthing kit" that expectant mothers receive. The primitive nature of the contents of the birthing kit (soap, twine, wax, plastic sheet, and razor blade) say a lot about conditions in Nepal and how far it has to go to reach an acceptable standard of living for its citizens. Development remains the central challenge for Nepal; it is clear that our assistance plays a key role in that development and in our relations with the Nepalese.

BANGLADESH

Bangladesh is the most densely populated nation in the world and the size of the crowds that surged around the village I visited outside Jessore were overwhelming.

Bangladesh is increasingly an example of development success. Because of effective family planning services (pioneered in a project financed first by USAID through the International Center for Diarrheal Disease Control (ICDDC), which I visited, and later by a number of other donors), population growth rates have fallen dramatically in the country -- from 3% to 2.2% at present.

The ICDDC is a world class success story in saving lives of people suffering from cholera, and malnutrition and diarrhea. It is a prime example of a small USAID investment over many years leveraging significant support from other partners to attack a problem that affects people around the world.

One of the most moving events of my trip was a visit to a small village outside Jessore where the Grameen Bank, founded by Mohammed Yunus, has been active. The women in this very poor village of untouchables had significantly improved their incomes and living conditions through the micro-credit and savings programs of Grameen. This village was an impressive example of Grameen's success, but not unusual. Nearly 2 million Bangladeshis -- most of them women -- have benefitted from Grameen loans, along with many others benefitting from a variety of micro-credit schemes modeled on the Grameen approach in other countries, including the U.S. Like SEWA, which I visited in India, Grameen demonstrated the benefits of microcredit for women in reducing poverty, increasing employment and promoting social integration. It contributes to women's self-confidence and their decision-making power in the household and in their communities. I also visited both a

BRAC village school and government school. BRAC has 3 schools, which serve primary girls, have been built.

SRI LANKA

My last stop offered a contrast to the other countries I visited. Sri Lanka has made the most social progress of any country in South Asia and is, on average, the best off. Its experience shows how important education and universal access to health care are, not only as an end in itself, but also in laying a foundation for healthy growth. (Overall economic growth was nearly 7% last year. Low population growth (1.2% per year) has

by extremists protesting the role of NGOs promoting change. The government school participates in one of the 2nd's favorite programs, Food for Education, which provides

weaken commodities to families that keep their children,
primarily girls, in school instead of putting
them to work.

undoubtedly played a role in facilitating real economic growth as well as the inclusion of women in the country's economic life. There I met the only woman bank president in South Asia, as well as women journalists and TV producers, lawyers, professors and women heading private voluntary organizations (PVOs) helping other women with training and credit to improve their lives. If my visit to other countries in the region highlighted the development challenges and opportunities facing the region, my visit to Sri Lanka underlined the fact that those challenges can be met and just how important health, education and the inclusion of women can be in achieving economic progress anywhere in the world. *By Sri Lanka's*

President is able to negotiate an end to that country's bloody internal conflict, prospects for growth ^{to} will be even greater.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 205064349
file to Asia

June 8, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY LAKE

FROM: *wox* BILL DANVERS

SUBJECT: Sending copies of the First Lady's trip report and speeches from her recent trip to Asia to the Hill

Attached is a letter from you to be sent to select Senators and Members of Congress that would accompany the First Lady's trip report and speeches discussing her recent trip to Asia.

Members of Congress include:

House: Gephardt, Hamilton, Berman, Lantos, Gejdenson, Johnston, Payne, McKinney, Obey, Wilson, Pelosi, Ackerman, Engel, Yates, Torres, Gilman, Bereuter, Meyers, Morella.

Senate: Daschle, Pell, Sarbanes, Dodd, Kerry, Robb, Leahy, Inouye, Harkin, Mikulski, Lautenberg, Murray, Feingold, Feinstein, Biden, Simon, Moynihan, Kassebaum, Brown.

After the letter has been approved, we will forward individual letters for your signature.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the letter at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Letter to accompany First Lady's report and speeches
Tab II First Lady's report and speeches

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear «Salutation»:

I am forwarding to you a copy of the trip report of Hillary Rodham Clinton on her recent trip to South Asia, as well as two speeches she delivered while there.

Her discussion of the importance of development programs for the nations of the region is particularly timely as Congress considers legislation to fund international programs.

I hope you will find a moment to read the First Lady's comments.

Sincerely,

Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable «First_Name» «Last_Name»
«Office»
«Address2»

Enclosure

United States Department of State

Assistant Secretary of State for
South Asian Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20520-6258

July 25, 1995

UNCLASSIFIED
MEMORANDUM

TO: Melanne Verveer

FROM: SA - Robin L. Rephel

SUBJECT: The First Lady's Meeting with
Indian Minister of State Alva

Margaret Alva, who served as Mrs. Clinton's official host during her recent visit to India, is a respected parliamentarian and champion of women's, children's and minority rights. She is currently Minister of State for Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions as well as one of five Ministers of State for Parliamentary Affairs. In addition to seeing the First Lady, Alva will meet with Under Secretary for Global Affairs Timothy Wirth to discuss population issues and the upcoming Women's Conference in Beijing.

Population issues will be on Alva's mind; her Washington visit precedes her attendance at the UN Fund for Population in New York July 27-28. The First Lady may wish to express U.S. appreciation for the constructive role India played at the 1994 Population and Development Conference held in Cairo. U.S. population assistance to India is modest, limited to its most populous state, Uttar Pradesh, but the Indian Government has been a very supportive partner in our work. The Government of India's aggressive sterilization campaign of the early 1970's left family planning with a negative image, and the national family planning program still lacks broad community and political backing. Nevertheless, we believe open political support is critical if we are to realize our objective of reducing population growth in Northern India.

Alva, who served as the Indian delegate to the 1975 UN Conference for International Women's Year in Mexico, may express concern about a possible U.S. boycott of the Beijing Women's Conference. If so, the First Lady might discuss her strong interest in the Conference and point out that she is the U.S. delegation's honorary chair. The Indian Government has not yet told us what part Alva will play in Beijing, but we assume it will be prominent and substantive.

See you later!

This shld go
in IHC
So. Asia bk.

Melanne Verveer

Put in IHC
So. Asia
binders

|

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✓ CC: Melanne

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DEMOCRATIC CHIEF OF STAFF

One Hundred Fourth Congress
Congress of the United States
Committee on International Relations
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

June 21, 1995

Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Clinton:

Tony Lake recently sent me a copy of the report you wrote on your trip to South Asia, as well as two speeches you gave in Lahore and New Delhi.

I found your analysis pertinent and constructive, and I want to thank you for having it sent to me.

South Asia has long been the stepchild of American foreign policy, so I think your trip to the region took on an added significance by demonstrating that the Clinton administration recognizes the importance of this part of the world. I have no doubt but that as a result of your visit, the countries of the region will view our global agenda with greater understanding and sympathy.

I entirely agree with your observations about the contributions to U.S. foreign policy made by our bilateral and multilateral assistance programs. The foreign aid bill adopted by the House would drastically scale back the level of our assistance programs, and a number of us have been working to minimize the impact of these cuts. It is tough slogging, but from time to time we manage to achieve something.

The Sri Lankan ambassador recently told me that he hopes that President Kumaratunga, whom I believe you met during your trip, could pay a visit to Washington before the end of the year. It is my own judgment that such a visit, by a democratically elected leader who has taken considerable risks to end her country's civil war through a negotiated settlement, could serve a useful purpose.

Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton
June 21, 1995
Page 2

Again, many thanks for sharing your thoughts with me about this increasingly important region of the globe.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'LH', written over the word 'Sincerely,'.

Lee H. Hamilton
Ranking Democratic Member

LHH:rmh