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Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham
Clinton United Nations Fourth World Conference
on Women September 5-6, 1995 China

Remarks by

FIRST LADY
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

UNITED NATIONS
FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE
ON WOMEN

*September 5-6, 1995
China*



*"If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference,
it is that human rights are women's rights—
and women's rights are human rights."*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 1, 1995

**REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TO IRISH WOMEN AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART
DUBLIN, IRELAND**

MRS. CLINTON: As we landed here I felt as though I had been here before although this is my very first trip to Ireland. I don't suppose one can grow up in America without knowing many Irish-Americans and without appreciating the many contributions that this culture has made to our own. And we are particularly reminded of our close ties this year because you are observing the 150th anniversary of the Great Famine. We owe something of our own history to this tragedy of yours.

Being here today, having come from Northern Ireland yesterday, I understand even more clearly the ways in which Ireland has influenced American society. And I am learning more every minute about the ways in which Irish women have influenced American society and still are today. Over the past many years, the people of this country who have come to our country, and particularly Irish women, have brought with them values that have served the test of time -- a devotion to family, an inner strength, a courage and spirit of independence that have strengthened the American way of life and our own democracy.

On behalf of the more than 40 million Americans of Irish descent, we are grateful for these close ties and for the relationship that has been built over the years. Not just between countries, but between people and families and communities.

There is so much hope today in the United States that what we saw yesterday in Belfast, a new and peaceful Ireland, will become a reality from one end to the other of this island. As I talked about what it meant to people -- to men, women and children -- to have this cease-fire, I was struck by how grateful they were for normalcy. To walk down the streets, to expect to go Christmas shopping without fear, to let their children play outside -- the blessings that we take for granted which to them are now seen as such markers for the kind of life they want to lead.

The women I spoke with yesterday are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators; they have not yet been elected to office. They were women, Catholics and Protestants alike, whose lives and families have been affected by the

violence. They didn't wait for someone else to be organized, they didn't wait for other voices to be raised, they themselves took it upon themselves to go door to door through their neighborhoods to say, "Stop the bloodshed, this cannot go on." Their grief became their and our call to action.

These women may not be well-known across the world but they should be, because their courage and spirit is what we have to have more of if we expect to have a peaceful world for all of us. There are women like these women in the Middle East, in Bosnia and South Africa, in all of the trouble-spots around our globe. We must give them courage by reinforcing their own willingness to take risk for peace.

These are the women who every day are getting up and facing realities that we luckily only have to think about or see on the television. But it is this kind of grass-roots commitment that will stand the test of time and will make a difference. Were it not for these women, I do not know whether the cycle of violence would have been broken in Northern Ireland. If it were not for these women working tirelessly, I don't think that we would have seen as many people as we saw yesterday, who are breaking down barriers to overcome suspicions and defy history.

Their efforts remind us that building a peace is a long and difficult task -- but it is a necessary one, not just to end the bloodshed, but to put into place the building blocks that enable individuals to seek fulfillment and to live up to their own God-given potentials.

Irish women who are working for peace have found ways to make their faith a source of strength, not a source of division. By coming together, accepting each other, and creating a new community together, they are discovering what women around the globe are discovering as well: No matter how different we may be superficially, whatever religion we follow, whatever shade of color our skin might be, whatever our ethnic background, there is so much more that unites us than divides us. And if women begin talking with one another, around kitchen tables, in cafes, in the work places, we will discover that sense of shared identity.

That is what I saw at work yesterday. We must together seek a common ground and on that common ground build the kind of society that so many of you in this great hall have both worked for and prayed for.

I had the opportunity recently to read the text of a lecture that President Robinson gave a few years ago, and I was delighted to see her and her husband just a few hours ago. I thought he and I should perhaps start a club for spouses. President Robinson, as you know so well, and as the world is discovering, has offered eloquent insights into the challenges

facing men and women at this point in the history of Ireland and in the world.

Much of what she said has stuck with me but one thing in particular really made an impression. And that is that the participation of women in society requires a re-appraisal of our view of who and what is valuable in our world. As much as policies and legislation are important to women's progress and women's rights, a shifting of attitudes and values is necessary as well.

This is not to suggest that women in Ireland should not become more involved in the existing political process. Indeed, I hope many, many will, both here and particularly in the North. But it is to suggest that the work of peace, that the work of reconciliation is far too important to be left to those who are elected leaders. It is work that has to be done every single day by everyone of us.

President Robinson is an excellent example of what can be accomplished through the political process, but there are many women here and throughout this island who are not elected officials, who themselves are making great contributions. In changing our attitudes and values we have to dare to think differently -- to break through the categories that we once took for granted.

That certainly is a priority to the North, where we visited the Mackie Plant yesterday morning. Protestant and Catholic workers still enter by separate entrances and then work together on the shop floor. It is certainly true in our own country, where we battle against the divide of race and ethnicity, and even sometimes religion, as we struggle every day to make America live up to its ideals.

It is certainly the case in Bosnia, where, when the forces go in to implement the peace that the political leaders have made, real peace will only come because individuals, Croats and Serbs and Muslims, will decide that they have had enough of the bloodshed, and that the games on the military battlefield are not worth the heartbreak and the loss and their children's lives.

Like some of you, I was fortunate enough to attend the United Nations Conference in Beijing. And there I looked out at women from every corner of the world, some of whom are up against odds that I cannot even imagine. They see their little sisters and their daughters being denied food and medical care, and dying before they are five years of age.

They live in places where girls still are not permitted or encouraged to attend school, or if they do, the schooling ends much too early. They come from societies where women still are

not even allowed to vote, or if they are, it is only on paper because there is not encouragement or full participation in the political process.

When I meet women like that, I must confess that I am very humbled. And I'm overwhelmed by my own blessings in the United States, but a little sad that so many of us do not take advantage of all the opportunities that we have -- both for ourselves and for all those around us.

That conference focused attention on the plight of women around the world but it also, I think, has reminded those of us in countries like Ireland and the United States, that we have much work to be done here as well.

Those of us who enjoy the opportunities of health care, or jobs, or credit, or legal and political rights, have to recognize that so many others among us do not, even within our own societies. I can go places in my own country where, because of poverty and lost opportunities, I see the results of lives that have been squandered, families broken and futures destroyed.

I believe, with all my heart, that women are the world's greatest untapped resource. And that resource too often is being wasted today. Each of us in our lives knows that we can begin to unleash the full power and glory of women's potential.

What must change in order for us to do that? First, in our everyday lives, we must begin to respect the dignity of each person and overcome assumptions, presumptions, prejudices and prejudgments about who we are and what we stand for.

And there certainly must be a truce among women. We should no longer be making judgements about one another because of the choices we have made. We should respect and strengthen and support each other; those who choose to be full-time in the home, those who choose to be full-time in the world of work, and those, like me and many of you, who attempt to compose a life that consists of both the responsibilities in the home and the work-place.

It does not do us any good to be pointing fingers or making assumptions about what kind of mother someone is who works outside of the home or what kind of loss someone has experienced because she chose not to.

Let us celebrate the contributions of every woman, instead of pigeon-holing and categorizing women in ways that limit their and our potential. There is no formula that I'm aware of for being a successful or fulfilled woman today. Now perhaps it would be easier if there were. If we could be handed a pattern and cut it out, as our mothers and grandmothers and foremothers

were, that would be, I suppose, easier -- just to make a quilt that looked like everyone else's. But that is not the way it is today and I am glad it is not.

I like and relish diversity in the lives of women today. I am pleased that I am living in this time, as difficult as it is, because I want to know who I fully am, and I want to help other women to make that choice as well. Having choices means having responsibilities, having obligations, as Mrs. Green said, accepting consequences. But if women are to be full and equal partners in the life of society and the life of the family, that's what independence and responsibility needs.

Before coming here today someone told me the story of an incoming group of women members of Parliament who were interviewed by a prominent television talk show host a few years ago. And one of the first questions was: "Who is minding the children?"

I have two responses to that. The first is, I long for the day when men are asked the same question. Women and children need men to be full participants in the raising of children. And men, if only they knew, need the opportunity and joy of being those participants in their own families.

My second response is that I wish that when women are asked questions like that, they would be phrased somewhat differently. So that instead of being asked that way, the question might instead be put, "Do you have child care that is accessible, affordable, safe and dependable, and if not, what can we all do through society, to make sure that children are well cared for and that you are given the sense of security that, as a working mother, you should have?"

To truly respect a woman means to respect the choices she makes for herself and her family. That means all choices, and it means providing the kind of support and respect those choices deserve.

Too often we fall into the trap of thinking that so-called "women's issues" only affect women. But if we truly care about strong families, strong communities, and strong societies, we must recognize that men and women should complement each other inside and outside the home. Men and women must not be consigned to opposite poles; we must be partners in a common enterprise for the good of us all, and particularly our children.

Along with a change in personal attitudes and values, every second in society can affect positive changes that empower and educate women to take this responsibility for themselves and their choices.

Schools, for example, could be more flexible in providing opportunities for women who raise children. Life-long learning is essential in the global economy. So many women in our world did what was expected of them: they had their children early in their late teens and twenties, then wanted to go back to school to further their own educations and contribute to their family's income. Perhaps they became the sole bread-winner in a family. Still, they find it nearly impossible in my country and in many others, to care for their families, make a living and pursue their educations.

Businesses can initiate policies, and I fully hope they will, that will make work more family-friendly. We are making it as difficult as possible for men and women to be both good workers and good parents. Modern technology should mean that more men and women can work at home. That should be encouraged where appropriate. But also, setting schedules and making it easier to find and provide child care should be considered. Businesses, at the very least, can value women by paying them equal salaries for equal work everywhere in the world.

The law enforcement and justice systems can act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal rights, particularly from violence in their homes. Violence in the home is a leading cause of death world-wide among women between the ages of 14 and 44.

I recently read an article from one of your newspapers about domestic violence here in Ireland. And I was very pleased to read the comments of Minister Owen, who said that both "violence against women is a crime It cannot be explained away" as some sort of "family difficulty or some other euphemism." Let us call it what it is, it is a crime and it should be treated as a crime and the perpetrators should be prosecuted, whether they are in the United States, Ireland, or anywhere in the world.

So many of the challenges families and particularly women face are rooted in poverty and an absence of economic opportunity. Financial institutions can address this problem by serving all people, even if they are poor, live in remote areas, or are women. I have visited places in the world where women are living in abject poverty but because someone held out a helping hand, with credit, they were able to buy another milk cow, to buy a woodshop for their husband, to sink a well. And all of a sudden, they not only had more income, they had the dignity that comes to someone who is lifting herself out of poverty.

In every one of these cases that I know of, where these kinds of investments are being made, women are proving to be very good credit risks. They repay their loans above ninety-five percent. Many of our large financial institutions should be very happy to have that kind of return on an investment. But instead

they are stuck in old ways of thinking. We need now to act on the evidence that we have that women who are given access to credit through modest loans are starting small businesses, working out of their homes and eventually employing others.

And just yesterday, I saw the same kind of initiative in action at the Women's Information Drop In Center in Belfast. That organization began in opposition to violence but has evolved into an umbrella for many different organizations that promote economic and educational opportunities for women.

These women have seized this moment in history to address the root causes of violence, the lack of economic opportunity and social deprivation; the absence of jobs that have moved elsewhere; industries that are no longer competitive in the global economy; the absence of higher education or lack of child care or credit.

We met in a restaurant called Ye Olde Lamplighter. It was established only five years ago and now provides jobs for seven local people. It is just one of many examples I have heard about where women coming together have made a difference.

We should not be surprised that women are leading the way, not only in putting a stop to violence but in coming up with new and effective ways to achieve their own potential and contribute to the lives of their families, communities and nations.

As the great poet Katharine Tynan, writing about Irish women, observed so keenly in her poem, "Any Woman":

"I am the pillars of the house;
The keystone of the arch am I.
Take me away, and roof and wall
Would fall to ruin utterly."

The strength and support of Irish women is critical to future peace and prosperity across this land. Your struggles are specific, but they reflect the many common struggles that women -- and men -- face around the world.

As you move forward here and to the North, please know that millions and millions of American women and men will be with you in spirit. And we will stand with you as you take risks for peace and reconciliation. We will move together with you for a more just society that we believe will benefit all people and particularly our children.

Thank you for the work you are doing, the inspiration that you give so many of us, and for the hope that has been lit this Christmas Season because of what we have seen these last days.

Thank you and Godspeed.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 16, 1995

REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AT THE FIFTH CONFERENCE OF WIVES OF HEADS OF STATE AND OF
GOVERNMENTS OF THE AMERICAS
ASUNCION, PARAGUAY

MRS. CLINTON: I am privileged to have the opportunity to represent my country, the United States, for the first time at this Fifth Conference of First Ladies from the Western Hemisphere. It is also a great honor for me to be here in Paraguay with all of you.

We have gathered together to discuss the futures of women and children in all of our countries. Whether we live in North, Central, or South America or the Caribbean region, we are united in our belief that women everywhere share common aspirations and concerns.

Yet, as we meet here in this beautiful hall this evening, we also know that a vast reservoir of human potential is now being wasted across the Americas.

No nation in our hemisphere can say that all of its children are fed, clothed, housed, schooled, and raised by loving parents. No nation in our hemisphere can say that all of its women are treated with dignity, respect, and given the chance to fulfill their God-given potentials. And no nation can say that each and every family within its borders is healthy, strong, and stable.

Our world, as we know, is far from perfect. But even though enormous challenges remain, we have come here hopeful about our future. Hopeful because, somewhere in our hemisphere right now, a baby in a local health clinic is being immunized against a serious disease. . . a little girl is going to school and is learning to read and write . . . a woman is taking out a small loan from a neighborhood bank that will enable her to start her own business in her home. We know that every problem we face in our hemisphere is being solved somewhere in our region at this very moment.

We are also hopeful because of the progress made at last year's Summit of the Americas in Miami, at the United Nations Conference on Social Development in Copenhagen earlier this year, and more recently at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on

Women in Beijing. I think it is very fitting that we meet after those three historic gatherings, which drew world attention to the plight of women and children and, in so doing, to the plight of families as well.

Since Miami, we have seen cooperation grow among our nations, and our political leaders. The Summit not only recognized every nation's duty to invest in its people, but also the special role that girls and women play in the economic and social development of the Western Hemisphere.

That theme was reiterated again in Copenhagen, which focused on the alleviation of poverty as an essential factor in political, social and economic progress.

Many of us also attended last month's women's conference in Beijing, where it was again made clear that democracy and prosperity cannot be attained or sustained in countries that do not value women as full and equal partners in society.

The conferences in Miami, Copenhagen and Beijing showed the world that issues involving children and women are not secondary issues. They are keys to building democratic institutions, strengthening market economies, and achieving social justice.

They are also among the hardest issues we face.

That is why the agreement reached in Miami last year was an historic first for countries of this hemisphere. For the first time, there was universal recognition that no nation can compete in the global economy if half its population cannot read or write, cannot find a job, or cannot rise out of poverty.

And that is why it is also heartening that, despite assurances from skeptics that nothing would be accomplished in Beijing, more than 180 nations endorsed a platform for action that lays out specific ways to expand the rights and opportunities of women around the world.

This is particularly critical today, given the growing gap between the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, the skilled and the unskilled.

Those among us who enjoy the opportunities of education, health care, jobs, credit, legal and political rights are flourishing in the new global economy. Those without such opportunities are lagging farther and farther behind. And more often than not, those lagging behind are women and poor children.

This trend, if it continues, threatens to undermine the very institutions we are seeking to uphold: strong families, strong economies, and strong democracies. All will be in jeopardy if women

continue to be denied the opportunities they need to thrive and compete in the new century.

So, what must change?

First, values and attitudes.

In our everyday lives, we must begin to respect the dignity of each person, no matter where that person lives or what he or she looks like. To do that, we must be willing to overcome many assumptions, presumptions, prejudices and prejudgments.

Because, to truly respect a child means to respect every child in every family, boy or girl. To respect a child means to give that child the love, attention, and discipline he or she needs to grow up with confidence and competence. To respect a child means to nurture that child with the health care and schooling that he or she needs to get the right start in life.

Every time we dismiss the potential of a child because of skin color, parental income, or family background, we betray our own futures.

We must also appreciate the contributions of every woman, instead of pigeon-holing and categorizing women in ways that limit their potential. To truly respect a woman means to respect and protect her human rights; it means to respect the choices she makes for herself and her family; and it means to value the experience she brings to all facets of life.

Second, institutions must change, and so must the ways we go about our everyday business.

If programs and policies have outlived their usefulness, we should admit that they no longer solve the problems they were meant to solve. We must fix programs that don't work with reforms that are efficient and inexpensive. And we must insist that institutions -- whether government, schools, or health care systems -- overcome bureaucratic intransigence and put people first.

We must also take advantage of the many innovative programs that do exist throughout our hemisphere. Prior to arriving in Paraguay today, I was in Brasilia, where President and Mrs. Cardoso told me about Brazil's efforts to improve the quality of primary education.

I then traveled on to Salvador da Bahia, where an extraordinary effort is underway to channel the potential and energy of thousands of street children. One program I saw was a circus in which the performers were children, some as young as eight, who had been recruited off the streets where they lived.

They were not being trained for circus jobs; their performances were merely a vehicle for learning the value of discipline, teamwork, and hard work. Along the way, these children develop confidence, self-esteem, and pride in their accomplishments. Part of a program called Project Axe, they also receive schooling and vocational training, as well as counseling to reunite them with their families.

I asked one 15-year-old boy, who had been with the project since it began five years ago, whether it had made a difference in his life. If not for the project, he said, "I would be dead or in prison now."

Programs like this one, which receive support from the public and private sectors and some international organizations, can be replicated widely. But that requires us to share information, exchange ideas, discuss honestly our successes and failures, and learn as much as we can from each other.

Government has a vital role in all of this. But government is only effective if it listens to the voices of the people it serves, instead of making decisions based on political convenience or whim. And government must be held accountable for meeting human needs.

At the same time, government cannot address every problem alone. We must not look on government as a panacea, but as an able partner of business, non-governmental organizations, and other private institutions committed to investing in the promise of every person, including those who are poor, disadvantaged, and politically powerless. And one of the best things government can do is to make it easier for outside groups, non-governmental groups, to do the work they are willing to do.

Finally, as societies, we must be willing to move beyond inertia to action. And all of us -- individuals and institutions -- must heed that call to action. We must start by taking responsibility within our own families and then spreading that responsibility to the communities in which we live.

Every segment of society has a stake in this issue. And every segment of society can affect positive change.

Schools, for example, can be more flexible in responding to the needs of their students, young and old.

A few days ago, in Santiago, Mrs. Frei took me to a school that embodies the Chilean commitment to building an educational system for the future. I saw boys and girls busy working on computers hooked up to the Internet.

I learned from the Minister of Education that schools may begin to keep their doors open on Saturdays and Sundays to

accommodate the children of working parents who have no alternatives for child care, and for children who wish to acquire new skills for themselves.

I saw that Chile has not been content to stick with old methods that do not work. The government and people of that country are devising new ways of training teachers, involving parents and communities. All of this is happening now in many countries throughout the Americas and more can happen if we are willing to learn from each other's experiences.

Heeding the call to action also means that financial institutions must serve all people, even if they are poor, live in remote areas, or are women. How much more evidence do we need that women are a good credit risk? I have seen the proof myself at the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, where the poorest of the poor in the world have transformed entire villages by taking out small loans for cows, rickshaws, and other items they use to earn an income.

I have even seen it in my own country, where poor women at a project called Mi Casa, in Denver, Colorado, have banded together to take out small loans to help themselves. And they told me very, very directly how difficult it is for women even in the United States to have access to credit. One woman said: "Too many great ideas die in the parking lots of banks."

But all over this hemisphere, women are overcoming these obstacles. In Nicaragua, which I visited at the beginning of my trip, I saw how hard President Chamorro has worked to strengthen democratic institutions and promote a market economy. And I met thirty women from a very poor barrio in Managua who run a bank in their neighborhood, borrowing small sums of money to start their own businesses, to start a bakery, to make mosquito netting, to be a seamstress.

Not only had these women organized themselves to improve their own circumstances, they were also improving the circumstances of their families and communities.

Furthermore, they have, like every bank I have ever visited, a high loan repayment rate. In that particular neighborhood bank, the repayment rate was 100 percent. And from what I know about banking, that would be the envy of many commercial lenders.

Individual men and women need to change attitudes and then act, just as every branch of society.

Businesses can initiate policies, such as flexible work schedules, child care, and the use of modern technology, that enable employees to perform well on the job and continue to fulfill their family obligations. Businesses also can value women by paying women equal salaries for

equal work with their men employees.

The media can assume greater responsibility for the values it transmits by avoiding negative advertising and television programming that sensationalizes violence and glorifies the exploitation and degradation of women and children.

At this conference, we will examine these issues, and we will focus specifically on what can be done to address the pressing health and education of women and children.

We will discuss initiatives to ensure the elimination of diseases that primarily affect women and children, reduce maternal mortality and provide comprehensive health care to women throughout their lifetimes, including family planning. We will talk about what every nation must do to ensure that girls are guaranteed the right to an education and that all citizens acquire the knowledge and skills they will all need in the new global economy.

And we will explore ways to end the problem of domestic violence, which has destroyed the lives of too many women and their families in every country represented here.

I would like to make one final point about our agenda. Because we are talking about the issues that matter most in the lives of women and children does not mean we are not talking about the lives of men and boys.

When I was in Nicaragua, I noticed billboards along the side of the road. They showed the face of a crying child with the caption: "My father has left the home." The problem of the absent father is as tragic as the problem of the undervalued mother and wife. It is a problem that, in the United States, we are urgently trying to address.

If, as a hemisphere, we truly care about strong families, strong communities, and strong societies, we have to recognize that men and women can and must complement each other inside and outside of the home. We should not be at opposite poles; we should be partners in a common enterprise for the good of all of us, and particularly our children.

Because of the roles that the women here and many of you in this hall have, we know we can help initiate the changes that must take place if we ever want to realize the great potential of this hemisphere.

Like the women I have met all over this hemisphere in Canada, in my country, in Mexico, in Nicaragua, in Chile, in Brazil and here in Paraguay, we come together to pool our experiences and

ideas to improve conditions for our individual families as well as our national family and the family of nations.

I was not present at the earlier conferences, but I want to thank and applaud all of the women who took part in those conferences and who have moved this agenda forward. I was privileged to host our meeting in Miami and I look forward to the work ahead of us. It is the most exciting and challenging work any of us can imagine or be engaged in. And it is work in which we can make a difference.

Thank you very much.

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THE WHITE OFFICE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 27, 1995

**REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AT THE CIRCLE OF CARE CONFERENCE
THE NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH
BETHESDA, MARYLAND**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. Doctor Varmus it is a pleasure as it always is for me and my family to be here at one of the premiere institutions that represents the vital partnership between our public and private sectors in this country. I appreciate very much what Scott Oki has said today, because it clearly and personally put forth the challenge that confronts this new and very important organization.

I am a great admirer and partisan of children's hospitals. I think they play an essential and vital role in our health care system. And when I first heard about the plans for this new organization, I was delighted and very hopeful that it would not only through its commitment to supporting these 19 children's hospitals make a difference to the giving of so many of you and others like you in our two countries, but that it would stand for the belief we share that children's hospitals must be preserved and strengthened.

I have, as many of you, experienced children's hospitals as a parent and know how well they serve in taking care of both our children and ourselves because of the family-oriented approach they take to health care.

I know from my experience on the board of the Arkansas Children's Hospital, what it takes to raise private funds in order to support the many functions that are not paid for through either private insurance or government support. It is only because of dedicated, concerned citizens like all of you, that these hospitals continue to lead in the research and treatment of children's diseases. They are also essential in the training of doctors and specialists to care for our children.

I also know that the continued existence of these children's hospitals, which we love and are devoted to, depends on government support -- support that appreciates the important differences that go into the treatment of children and adults.

It is fitting that this first Circle of Care conference is being held here at NIH, an institution that is synonymous with so much of the cutting edge medical research being done in the world.

It is a symbol of our government's historic commitment to medical research. Similarly, all of the physicians, the specialists who do research and work in the children's hospitals represented here, were able to develop their expertise and training because the federal government decided to help defray the costs of training these medical specialists more than twenty years ago.

It is precisely this commitment to medical research, to academic health centers, and to children's hospitals that is at risk in the current debate going on in our country over health care today.

It is a debate filled with statistics, policy statements, and budget numbers. But behind the charts and graphs and position papers, it is really a debate about our core values as Americans -- about what we believe in, how we define ourselves as a people, and how we envision our future.

Throughout our history, we have thought of ourselves as an American family -- a family whose greatest priority was our children. As Scott spoke so eloquently earlier, a family whose encircling love and support gave children the tools they needed to make their own way in the larger world.

And so we have always prided ourselves on our compassion and on the high expectations and aspirations we hold for our children and for ourselves as a people.

For decades, this has been the American way: to put people, especially children, first. And because we have adhered to the American way, the American Dream has stayed alive for generation after generation and our country has remained strong.

Today, we are losing a sense of ourselves as an American family. We are allowing ourselves to be torn apart, divided, put in competition with each other over resources.

As the traditional underpinnings of our larger family are undermined, individual families are being jeopardized.

Most parents in America, and I would add Canada, are working as hard as they can to be good parents. I have met with working men and women across our country over the last years. I know the sacrifices they make to put food on the table, pay the mortgage or rent, cover the medical bills, and instill an ethic of work

and responsibility in their children.

Of course, parents bear the primary responsibility for their children. But it is also true that as parents struggle against all the forces that work today -- the layoffs, the downsizing, the danger in the streets -- that they face challenges that they can not meet alone.

As the National Council of Catholic Bishops said in a pastoral letter in 1991 entitled, Putting Children First: "No government can love a child, and no policy can substitute for a family's care."

But at the same time, "Government can either support or undermine families as they cope with the moral, social, and economic stresses of caring for children."

Let's not fool ourselves. National policies -- whether they are about education, health care, work, or welfare -- are mirrored every day in the lives and experiences of our children.

And unfortunately, what is happening today is no less than a historic rejection of America's commitment to children.

Today, the social safety net known as Medicaid is being dismantled at breakneck pace. It is being dismantled with very little discussion and no real dialogue. Decisions are being made in haste -- not only about who pays for health care in America -- but about who gets health care and who doesn't.

We are all for balancing the budget; we are all for giving states greater flexibility to administer programs.

But as the President has said many times, there is a right way and a wrong way to get our economic house in order.

The wrong way is to cut health care coverage for millions of children, disabled citizens, and the poorest of older Americans -- all to finance a \$245 billion tax cut for the wealthiest families in our country.

Let's not confuse flexibility with what is really going on here. We are talking about unjustified and inexplicable cuts that will affect real people and institutions like the ones represented in this room.

Medicaid is the primary source of health care coverage for nearly a quarter of all children in America -- and one third of all children under age three. More than half of those children live in families with working parents -- parents who are not receiving welfare checks.

Medicaid is the primary source of health care coverage for millions of children who are disabled or who suffer from chronic illnesses -- the kinds of illnesses that children's hospitals can take care of better than anywhere else.

Medicaid is the primary source of health coverage for nine out of 10 children with HIV and AIDS.

Medicaid is the primary source of prenatal and maternal health care for low-income pregnant women.

Medicaid is also an important source of coverage for older Americans living in extreme poverty or with serious disabilities, and the largest insurer for over two-thirds of nursing home residents.

It is a lifeline -- literally -- for millions of children and families in America.

Ripping apart this lifeline is not the American way.

It is not the American way to deny infants the shots they need to stay healthy.

It is not the American way to deny treatment to children who are disabled or desperately ill.

It is not the American way to punish hard-working parents whose family health coverage vanishes with a job change.

The number of uninsured working Americans and their children continues to go up. For every extraordinary breakthrough here at NIH that finds, for example, the genetic marker for a disease, the threat of lost private health care coverage goes up. Because as we learn more about what causes the diseases that so many of you have helped us all to fight, we will find more and more people who under current standards are uninsurable.

It is not the American way to make the oldest among us give up their possessions and live a life of poverty to pay for a spouse's nursing home costs.

The median income for older American women over the age of 65 is less than \$9000. Many of them rely for their health care, especially in nursing homes where they are the predominant population, on Medicaid.

Cutting \$182 billion from the Medicaid program will force families to make grim choices -- choices between health care for their children or nursing home care for their parents; choices between education and vaccinations, between food and prescription drugs.

You of all people know it will also force grim choices for children's hospitals. Children's hospitals represent only one percent of all hospitals, but they provide vital health care services to many children -- including the poorest, sickest and the most vulnerable.

Like Bob, I am always moved when I go into a children's hospital anywhere. Moved by the combination of terrible tragedy and extraordinary challenge, and the love and attention and skill that goes into meeting those. I walk through halls, I visit the children, I talk to the parents, and I see in their eyes that feeling that finally they are in a place that will take care of them.

Children's hospitals devote nearly half of their care to children of low income and uninsured families and more than three-quarters of their care to children with chronic or congenital conditions.

I will never forget being in the children's hospital in Cleveland, talking to a group of parents with chronically ill children. One parent, himself a professional who ran a small business, provided health insurance to his own employees, told me about his own family -- he had a healthy older son and two daughters with cystic fibrosis. Everywhere he went to find health insurance he met the same answer: his daughters were uninsurable.

And finally, the very last broker he spoke to said something he couldn't get out of his mind, and I never have gotten out of mine. He looked at this father, and said, "What you don't understand is that we don't insure burning houses."

I thought to myself, were it not for that children's hospital, who would help this family take care of their children? And I thought what if I, in a similar position that there but for the grace of God my husband and I could be, had been told the same thing?

Children's hospitals care for the premature baby who needs intensive care for the first months of life and extensive rehabilitation for years to come; for the small child who is severely injured when hit by a car and sent to a pediatric intensive care unit.

They care for the eight year old boy who contracts encephalitis, loses his health insurance, and is covered by Medicaid because of his high medical costs and severe disabilities.

The proposed cuts in Medicaid will be particularly devastating for children's hospitals. Medicaid patients on

average account for 46 percent of the inpatient days in these hospitals.

As you know, it costs more to care for sick children than adults. And children's hospitals are not able to shift those higher costs to adult patients like other hospitals could, but maybe still now won't be able to.

Already Medicaid pays children's hospitals on average less than 80 cents for every dollar spent to care for a child. The impact of a \$182 billion cut in Medicaid is clear: children's hospitals simply will not be able to provide the crucial health services they do today.

And despite your heroic efforts to double the numbers over ten thousand, to increase that line going up as high and fast as you can, there is no way that private philanthropy can pick up this enormous gap.

We need to protect the safety net provided by children's hospitals. We need to make sure that our children continue to have access to desperately needed specialized care.

We need to be sure that those specialists are continued to be trained and that we pursue research in the prevention and treatment of childhood diseases.

As this health care debate continues in the weeks and months ahead, I hope that policy makers, whatever they are or wherever they are, begin to think about these issues not as partisans, but as parents.

I hope they will not get so wrapped up in statistics and policy papers and sound bites that they forget the most basic concern of all: the well-being of all of our children.

Many of you know from your own personal experience what it is like when your child is very sick. Nothing else in the world matters to you. Will your son or your daughter, your grandchild get better? Is the illness something that will pass or is it threatening? When you face that situation, you want answers and you need them.

As parents, we use our wisdom and knowledge to plan ahead for the health of our children. We try, if we're able to, to make sure they get the shots they need and to get them to eat right and to avoid exposing them to dangers. And when they do get sick, we try to get the treatment from doctors and nurses that they need.

But suddenly, when it comes time to legislate and make policy, good parental instincts retreat.

Would we ever say as parents that only one out of four of our own children could go to the doctor, or get a vaccination, or have a hearing test? Of course not. We would demand the right to take care of each one of them.

Would we ever say with our own child, that has spina bifida or cerebral palsy, that he or she no longer deserved treatment or would have to wait and suffer the cutbacks? Of course not. We would give up the summer vacation or trading in that old car so that our child's life could be as pain-free and fulfilling as possible.

But in a precipitous and even reckless attempt to meet fixed budget targets, we are now as a society doing things we would never do as parents. We are ratcheting back medical care to children and the most vulnerable. We are violating our most sacred duty and value: caring for our young.

How can we legislate what we would not approve of as parents? How can we feel secure because we can take care of our children, when there are children around us whose parents are working as hard as they know how, but can't have that same sense of security?

There is much that this organization can do, and I am delighted to help celebrate this opening because I see it as an opportunity not only for people of like minds and commitments to come together, and to raise additional funds that are always needed in our children's hospitals.

But I hope you will raise your voices as well. Those of you who have walked those corridors as I have, those of you who have sat in waiting rooms, those of you who have held the hands of parents who don't know what is happening to them and their children, those of you who have seen the look of relief on the faces of fathers who realize that they if they can't afford the entire care, will be taken care of in that children's hospital.

I hope you will raise your voices, so that all of us will speak loudly and clearly, that our children are not only our present and our future -- they are a test of our humanity and our faith. And each of us deserves to give them all that we can and by your support of children's hospital, you are saying, "We believe in children. Help us to make that belief a reality."

Thank you very much.

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June 21, 1995, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 19; Column 1; Editorial Desk

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HEADLINE: Arts for Our Sake

BYLINE: By Hillary Rodham Clinton; Hillary Rodham Clinton is honorary chairwoman of the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities. This article is based on her remarks at the Metropolitan Museum of Art earlier this month.

BODY:

This is an ominous time for those of us who care deeply about the arts in America. A misguided, misinformed effort to eliminate public support for the arts not only threatens irrevocable damage to our cultural institutions but also to our sense of ourselves and what we stand for as a people.

One of the great successes of the arts in America is that they are not the preserve of any "cultural elite." Through museums, libraries, schools, dance companies and concerts, the arts are truly part of the public domain, accessible to all and capable of encouraging every person's artistic expression and sensibility.

The National Endowment for the Arts, in partnership with individuals, corporations, foundations and other patrons of the arts, has helped transform whole communities by bringing the arts and artists to millions who otherwise might never have had the opportunity to explore firsthand our shared artistic heritage.

The President has shown that we can balance the budget over the next 10 years without undermining our commitment to the arts. The N.E.A. budget accounts for less than 0.02 percent of the Federal budget. Eliminating this small but vital agency would have grave consequences for local economies. Federal support for the arts helps attract tourists, stimulate business, expand the tax base and improve the quality of life -- a huge return on a small investment.

Despite a 30-year bipartisan commitment to the arts, there are those who argue that public support is a luxury we can no longer afford. They mistakenly suggest that the arts are enjoyed only by a small, wealthy minority. But if public support for the arts disappears, those most affected will not be the richest Americans but the millions of citizens who rely on the N.E.A. to bring the arts to their local schools and communities.

I find it ironic that those who talk the loudest about America's loss of civility, character and values (particularly those arising from Western civilization) are often the first to recommend obliterating the agencies responsible for promoting arts programs that make Sophocles, Shakespeare, Mozart and O'Keefe available to our children.

The New York Times, June 21, 1995

They fail to appreciate what every generation of Americans has intuitively known -- that the artistic imagination is critical to our civilization and our democracy. They forget the prescient words of John Adams: "I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy . . . in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music."

The power of the arts is not simply to provide pleasant esthetics but to help move us forward as a democracy. Human expression, as conveyed through the arts, enables us to understand better the complexities of life and gives us a bridge to the world preceding and surrounding us. Most important, exposure to our cultural traditions enriches the lives of our children.

Too often, we see children who, instead of discovering the joys of painting, music, sculpting or writing, express themselves through acts of frustration and even violence. The arts offer an alternative to the more disturbing elements of our popular culture, and a safe haven that allows children to explore their creative potential, transporting them beyond the bounds of their difficult circumstances. Their exposure to the roots and diverse richness of human civilization will enhance their understanding of their own heritage and the world in which they live.

Clearly our nation faces difficult choices. But as the rhetoric heats up over the role of government in our society, I hope we will remember that public support for the arts is a down payment on our future. It is an investment in the values we claim to honor and in the cultural traditions in which democracy has flourished for 218 years. Now is no time to turn our backs on that legacy or its promise.

GRAPHIC: Drawing.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 21, 1995

REMARKS BY
FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AT THE SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY
COMMENCEMENT CEREMONIES
MAY 27, 1995

1 (Applause.)

2 PRESIDENT CORRIGAN: You have become an
3 exemplar for a diverse nation. In you, we see the power
4 of the committed individual, the value of woman's full
5 partnership in the life of our nation and the richness of
6 a life that is joyously balanced between involvement with
7 one's family and friends and immersion in the greater
8 society.

9 Hillary Rodham Clinton, you exemplify the very
10 highest values we could hope to instill in these, our
11 students, or to live by ourselves. And it is a joy and a
12 privilege to award you this degree.

13 And by the authority invested in me by the
14 Board of Trustees and on behalf of the California State
15 University, I hereby confer upon you, Hillary Rodham
16 Clinton, San Francisco State University's highest honor,
17 the degree of Doctor of Laws, with all of the rights,
18 honors, and opportunities which it imparts.

19 Trustee Falgatter and Trustee Campbell having
20 already invested you with the hood, we will give you the
21 degree.

22 (Applause.)

23 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Thank you very much.

24 (Applause.)

25 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I have been, I
26 suppose, to many commencements. But I don't think I have

1 ever been to one with more enthusiasm or excitement or
2 energy than this one. And thank you for letting me be
3 part of it.

4 (Applause.)

5 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: President Corrigan and
6 administrators and faculty, alumni and trustees, all of
7 you who support and work in this great university, thank
8 you for this honorary degree. But thank you most of all
9 to the honored members of the class of 1995 for inviting
10 me to be part of this celebration.

11 I also want to thank and congratulate all of
12 the parents and relatives and friends who are gathered
13 here today, whose support and encouragement are reflected
14 in those purple and gold degrees that will be awarded to
15 all of you.

16 (Applause.)

17 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: The investment that
18 you have made in these students' education is one of the
19 soundest and most important investments you could ever
20 make. It is also one of the smartest investments any
21 society can make. And I hope that both families and
22 societies will continue to understand that education is
23 the most important priority to build strong and good
24 citizens and strong and good societies now and into the
25 future.

26 (Applause.)

1 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: You know, I have been
2 asked several times, why am I here making a commencement
3 address at San Francisco State University. Well, I think
4 it's already been proven and attested to by earlier
5 speakers that this is a great public university. And it
6 is also a university that represents the full diversity
7 and possibility of America. It is a university --

8 (Applause.)

9 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: -- that takes the
10 education of all people seriously: women, minorities,
11 immigrants, refugees. Everyone who is willing to work
12 hard and accept responsibility is welcome here. And
13 that's the kind of university I wanted to come to to say,
14 "Thank you for doing what you do to build students and
15 America."

16 (Applause.)

17 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: You know, there are so
18 many subjects that are discussed in commencement
19 addresses. And usually by about this time, all of the
20 graduates are looking at their watches and thinking, "How
21 much longer will this go on?" And every person in the
22 position of any of us here on the podium is desperately
23 trying to say something that might possibly be memorable,
24 mostly failing, occasionally succeeding. But usually the
25 idea behind commencement addresses is to try to give
26 advice to graduates about their impending journey into

1 the adult world.

2 You've already received some great advice.
3 From Annette Bening, you've heard: Find work you love.
4 Invest yourself in it. Bring your passions to it.

5 From Cecil Williams, you've seen in action what
6 faith in something besides yourself and the material
7 world can bring: joy and commitment and service to
8 yourself, your family, your community, and humanity.

9 You've heard already what distinguishes this
10 university and makes it so special and so important.
11 Many of you in this graduating class are older than the
12 average graduating student around the country today. You
13 have already paid your dues.

14 (Applause.)

15 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Many of you have
16 worked full time or part time, have raised families, have
17 taken on all kinds of additional responsibilities. And I
18 think that probably the motto of this university really
19 is lived out in your own lives: Experience teaches. And
20 you have brought your experience to this campus.

21 What I would like to spend just a few minutes
22 talking about is why what you have experienced here is
23 critical for not only yourselves, but for those young
24 people and older ones who will come after.

25 Our society, our country, and this state in
26 particular have historically believed that education was

1 a collective responsibility, that it needed to be
2 provided, because we understood that education could make
3 such an important difference in the lives of all of us.
4 And yet, today, we know that education is under attack.
5 We know that there are those among us who would, in
6 effect, pull up the ladders of opportunity after they
7 have already climbed to the heights.

8 We have to take a strong stand on behalf of the
9 importance of education and universities like this. And
10 all of you who are graduating today and all of your
11 family members and friends who have sacrificed to bring
12 you to this point, I hope each of you will raise your
13 voices on behalf of education in America.

14 Education is not only important for acquiring
15 facts or knowledge, it's not only important for acquiring
16 skills to prepare oneself for making a living, it is also
17 about learning how to meet the challenges of one's time,
18 how to solve problems and adapt to new circumstances. It
19 is also about building a broader understanding of our
20 world. And that means building one's capacity for
21 tolerance and compassion and responsible behavior.

22 It is also about defining one's place in the
23 world and creating one's personal identity against the
24 backdrop of how others have lived throughout history.

25 And education is not and no longer can be, if
26 it ever were, a one-shot experience. There are all kinds

1 of people in our society who need to learn and want to
2 learn. They range from the very young to the very old.
3 That's why it is so important that we preserve a broad
4 range of educational opportunities for all Americans,
5 beginning in childhood and carrying on throughout life.

6 Yet, as has already been eluded to, you know
7 there is a movement afoot in state capitols and the
8 nation's capitol to retreat on the importance of
9 education and education funding, a retreat that is marked
10 by a rather unusual argument: That slashing education
11 funding is being done for the good of our children, that
12 cutting back on education will enable us in some
13 miraculous way to provide more and better opportunities
14 than we now enjoy.

15 Nothing could be further from the truth.

16 (Applause.)

17 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: If we -- if we sound
18 the retreat on education in our society, we deny the
19 opportunity of pre-school and Head Start to hundreds of
20 thousands of pre-school children; we deny tens of
21 thousands of elementary school students the resources
22 they need to improve their reading and math skills; we
23 deny summer jobs and learning opportunities to young
24 people; we deny the opportunity of college to millions of
25 Americans by shrinking loans, making them less flexible,
26 and raising interest payments; and we deny training that

1 has enabled millions of young people to change careers
2 and acquire new job skills to earn a decent living.

3 I don't think denial is a good idea in an
4 individual's life or in the life of a society. I think
5 one has to meet the challenges of one's time head on.
6 And to pretend that we can meet those challenges without
7 investing in our young people, without investing in
8 education, is the ultimate in denial and can only bring
9 problems to all of us if we persist in believing it.

10 (Applause.)

11 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: It is particularly
12 ironic that those who profess to worry about the loss of
13 civility and character in our society are on a crusade to
14 obliterate national service and the education program
15 known as Americorps.

16 You know about community service here at San
17 Francisco State. You support more than 100 programs
18 using community and student resources to confront issues
19 ranging from homelessness to youth violence to teen
20 pregnancy to health problems to the environment. You are
21 also a partner with Americorps. Here is an idea that has
22 now been made into a program, built on the ideals of hard
23 work, discipline, sacrifice, and community service. It
24 is about rewarding people for being good citizens.

25 The men and women participating in Americorps
26 and other service programs are doing so because they

1 really want to help people in need. They want to serve.
2 And all they get in return is modest assistance with
3 college tuition.

4 But now we are telling these young men and
5 women that their mission of service, helping others, and
6 caring about the larger community really isn't valued
7 much in our society. We are, in effect, telling them
8 that service and character doesn't matter much.

9 Well, I think we ought to stand up and say that
10 education is about building character. Service is about
11 building character. Character is one of the anchors of
12 our society. But what we mean by "character" is not just
13 talking the talk, but walking the walk and building a
14 civil society that actually lives up to its ideals.

15 (Applause.)

16 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: It is not that
17 Americans lack character, it is that society too often
18 has stopped rewarding it. Just look around and you will
19 see the effects of what one political scientist has
20 called "turbo-charged capitalism." We have allowed
21 consumerism and materialism to go unchecked, to run
22 rampant through our culture, dictating our tastes and
23 desires, our values and dreams.

24 Through our various media, we are fed a daily
25 diet of sex, violence, perversity, social dysfunction,
26 and unrealizable fantasies. We live too often in a

1 disposable, throw-away society, where the yearning for
2 profits and instant gratification overshadows the need
3 for moderation and restraint and investing for the long
4 term.

5 The question for all of us is, do we define
6 ourselves by our style or our substance? By the logo on
7 our sneakers or the generosity in our hearts? By the
8 celebrity we crave or the reputation we earn?

9 Every one of us, and especially all of you who
10 are graduating, will have to ask yourselves those
11 questions. Remember what it feels like years from now
12 when you stood up to give a standing ovation to Cecil
13 Williams when you are faced with being asked to help make
14 a contribution to your larger community. Remember what
15 it felt like when you applauded Annette Bening, who said,
16 "Find work you love," when you are tempted to leave
17 something you love to work for more money doing something
18 you don't even like very much.

19 We have so many opportunities in our society
20 today to begin to turn the corner on what it means to be
21 an American moving toward the 21st century. We were
22 reminded of how important those questions we must ask
23 ourselves are by the tragedy in Oklahoma City. Yes, it
24 was horrendous and horrific to see the damage that was
25 wrought by hatred. But we also saw a generosity of
26 spirit. We saw our national character at work. We could

1 feel the sense of responsibility that always comes out in
2 time of need toward our larger community.

3 So what we must do is think hard about what
4 your educations have given you and what the values are
5 that you will live by as you apply those educations.

6 Many of you know that I recently returned from
7 a trip to south Asia with my daughter. And I had the
8 opportunity to visit five countries that are struggling
9 to become full-fledged democracies and free market
10 economies to provide real opportunity for their people.

11 There is something very humbling about shaking
12 the hands of men and women who have paid the ultimate
13 price for democracy, people whose husbands and mothers
14 and sons and fathers have been assassinated because they
15 worked to bring people together to build a stronger and
16 freer society, people who have paid the price in torture
17 and exile and imprisonment, and to know that all over the
18 world today, from the many countries represented here,
19 people are trying to build a society based on the ideals
20 we espouse.

21 And so when I came home, I couldn't help but
22 wonder, why do we spend so much time in a bad mood in
23 America today? We have so much to be grateful for. We
24 have so many blessings that have been given to us in this
25 country.

26 Each of us, in our own way, can start to make

1 clear that we value the things that really matter, that
2 make a difference in the lives of the people we love and
3 care about and work with. Kindness. Kindness matters.
4 Truth. Truth matters. Patience, hard work, tolerance,
5 discipline. All of these matter. Gratitude matters,
6 especially on a day like today. Forgiveness matters.

7 Your education has opened many doors. How and
8 whether you walk through them and how you conduct
9 yourselves once you are through them is up to you.

10 So value your education and stand up for
11 education in the public debates now going on in our
12 country, strive for excellence in whatever you choose to
13 do, and you will truly be a millennial generation that
14 puts the "civil" back in "civilization."

15 Congratulations to all of you on your
16 accomplishments, but also for the promise that you hold
17 not only for your own lives, but for our country.

18 Thank you and Godspeed.

19 (Applause.)

20 --o0o--



MAHARISHI INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

February 15, 1995

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Thank you so much for speaking at my father's service. Your words were heartfelt and your announcement of the U.S. decision to sign the Convention on the Rights of the Child was certainly a high point of the afternoon. In making that announcement, you fulfilled my father's wish that his passing should bring another step of progress for the children of the world. We the family are particularly grateful to you for this. If you feel that a grassroots campaign by children of the U.S. would be helpful in securing ratification in the Senate, I would be glad to help with organization.

As I expressed to you on Friday, I feel that you and my father are kindred spirits, caring visionaries with the courage to stand up for your convictions and persevere in the face of opposition. With the change in political climate after the November election, it is particularly important for you and the president to stand up for the importance of caring. My father in the last two decades talked about development with a human face; now we as a nation need to think about fiscal responsibility with a human face. I think the people of the nation will respond well if you don't compromise on this point. We need your moral leadership to protect the basic values of human decency that are so central to the vision upon which our nation was founded.

I would like to invite you the next time you are in Iowa to visit the institution where I am a professor of education, Maharishi International University. We are working with ideas here that will be at the cutting edge of American education in the next century and that are now producing amazing results. The fundamental premise of our educational approach is that there is a field of pure consciousness and that we all have the ability effortlessly to experience this field. The implications for education are enormous. Of primary importance is that we now have the ability to directly develop the intelligence and creativity of students, irrespective of race or social background, while at the same time increasing their psychological stability and health..

The proof of our approach is in the educational outcomes. The K-12 school associated with the University has scored consistently over the past five years in the 95th to 99th percentile on national tests by grade level and taken first place honors in state science fair, drama, and history competitions. A recent study of university alumni showed that 30% were at the highest stage of psychological development, versus 1% of the general population. The real uniqueness of this educational approach, however, cannot be communicated by statistics; it is the warmth of feeling and the liveliness of the air. Especially the children's school has an atmosphere that is transforming; one feels elevated just walking in the building. If you ever want to be inspired about the future of our youth, visit us.

In my own way, I feel I am working to fulfill my father's vision. If we are ever to achieve the human ideal of equity, there must be a transformation, an enlargement of the human spirit. We as human beings must be able to feel as much for others as we feel for ourselves. Marx felt this

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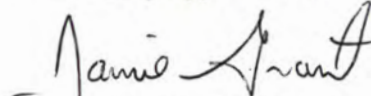
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would come with a change in ownership of the means of production. He was wrong: economic relations are too superficial. This transformation can only come through touching that which is universal within each of us, and thereby coming to appreciate the universal in others.

I hope we can host you, even if briefly, in Fairfield. I am currently coordinating a major implementation of this consciousness-based approach in an inner city school and we anticipate dramatic results. I would like to keep you abreast of the findings.

Again, thank you for your tribute to my father. I reaffirm the offer to help stimulate a grass roots effort by children to support ratification of the convention in the Senate, if you feel it is needed.

With deep appreciation,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "James D. Grant". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "James" and last name "Grant" clearly distinguishable.

James D. Grant, Ed.D.
1000 N. 4th St.
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INITIALS: 9/11 DATE: 8/6/2014



September 15, 1995

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

On behalf of the Board of Directors, staff and the thousands of AIDS ministries we serve, please accept our sincere appreciation for your gracious video tape message of greeting for the opening of the National Skills Building Conference we co-sponsor with the National Association of People with AIDS and the National Minority AIDS Council.

The combined staff of the three agencies reviewed the tape at a planning meeting for the conference on September 6th. We are honored that you would take the time to add so much to our event. The tape will be used as part of our opening ceremonies and will be a wonderful surprise to our 2,000 participants. As you know this conference attracts the dedicated front line workers in the fight against the epidemic, your words and presence provide an additional level of hope and send a message to them that they really matter. During the length of this epidemic, no previous residents of the White House have been willing to provide such a message to this conference.

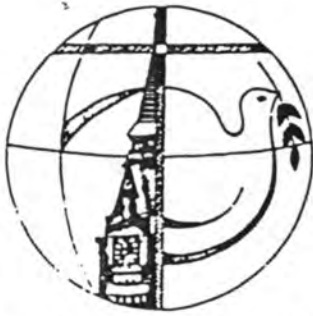
In addition, please accept my personal gratitude for your courageous message at the International Women's Conference in China. My religious tradition, and yours, the scripture says "and the truth shall set you free". You spoke the truth which I hope will encourage more to do the same.

Again, thank you for your leadership, your example, and your willingness to speak out.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ken T. South", is written over a horizontal line.

Rev. Kenneth T. South
Executive Director



Georgetown University
Center For Peace Studies
419 Loyola, Washington DC 20057
202-687-4561

Richard McSorley, S.J.
Director

Aug. 19, 1995

First Lady Hilary Rodham Clinton
The White House

Dear Hilary;

By accident today I saw your performance on Channel 4 with the homeless families. I knew you had good Television ability but I was amazed at how clearly you conveyed compassion, concern, sympathy, joy, satisfaction and other emotions with your eyes, your facial expression and your voice. I hope Bill saw it, because you are a campaign asset for 1996 better than anyone else he could get.

I thank you for your concern about the poor,, the homeless which came across the airwaves in unmistakable clarity. To see the First Lady of the U.S.A. on T.V. speaking for and with the poor and homeless and doing it with such poise and charm is something no other nation will be able to equal, but I think they should try.

No talk show leader that I ever saw or heard of has your theatrics ability to lead the show. if you decided to go into that business, you would out class all of them. But you are doing more good for the service of God and the human family where you are. This is an appeal to you to keep doing it with the poor and homeless. They are in increasing need of your help and love.

Gratefully, in Christ,

Richard T. McSorley
Richard T. Mc Sorley S.J.

BIEN

Since

1882

ONLY DANISH WEEKLY NEWSPAPER PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 9, 1995

Vejret i Danmark
i dag ... 3 gr. Celcius
(36/37 Fahrenheit—Skyet)

113. AARGANG

Thursday, March 9, 1995

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Fattigdom og nød trækker hverken overskrifter eller TV-seere—det gør til gengæld en sortklædt nydelig dame ved navn Hillary Clinton. Hendes besøg i Københavns blev en historisk seer-succes—det britiske nyhedsbureau Reuters har solgt billeder af Fru Clintons optræden i Bella Center til 120 Europæiske TV-stationer, en lang række amerikanske TV-stationer i det fjerne østen og Australien.

CNN og amerikanske ABC sendte i gaar direkte fra Bella Center til millioner af TV-seere. I følge Reuters var især de amerikanske TV-stationer nærmest hysteriske for at få de rigtige billeder af Fru Clinton.

"De amerikanske selskaber har været meget mere interesserede i Hillarys frisure end al den snak om nød og fattigdom," siger nyhedsredaktør Julian Jarrant fra Reuters, der optager stort set alt i Bella Center og sælger det videre til TV-selskaber over hele verden.

Californiske rødtræer plantet i Mindelunden

I Mindelunden i Ryvangen vil to californiske rødtræer blive plantet i forbindelse med højtidelighederne i Mindelunden i anledning af 50 året for Danmarks befrielse.

Det danske kirkeministerium har givet tilladelse til, at Den Danske Soldatforening og andre danske i Californien skænker de to californiske træer. De vil blive en erstatning for elmtræer, der er bukket under for elmesygen.

Der er planlagt en større række arrangementer i Mindelunden den 4. og 5. Maj, og plantingen kan derfor ikke ske paa selve datoen for befrielsen. Men den vil finde sted ved en lille højtidelighed den 10. Maj.

Der er givet tilladelse til, at der ved træerne opsættes en lille bronze plade, med inskriptionen:

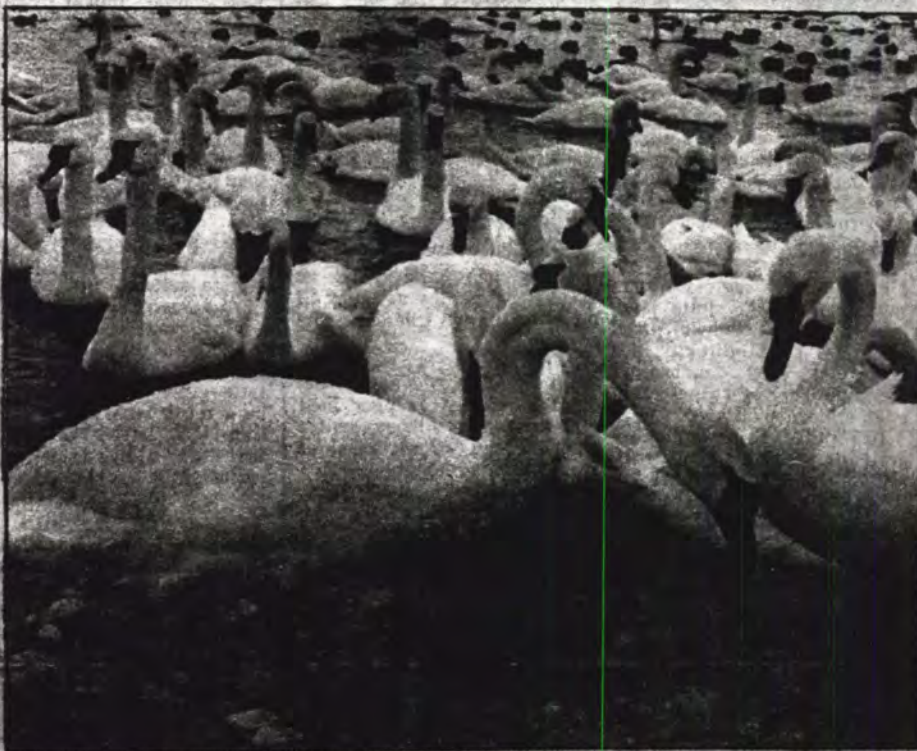
1945—5. maj—1995

Til minde

Sequoia Redwoods

Fra Danske i Californien

Det er meget symbolisk at der samme dag paa Arlington kirkegården vil blive plantet 3 danske egetræer som en gave fra Frihedskampens veteraner i Danmark som et minde om de



SVANER JEDER VINTERRAPSEN—I tusindvis af svaner slaar sig ned i Danmark om vinteren. Og mange landmænd betragter den danske nationalfugl som et alvorligt skadedyr, der kan anrette skader for i tusindvis af kroner paa markerne. Foto: Preben Tolstoy

Hillary Clinton tog København med storm

SPECIELT TIL BIEN

Hun kom, saa, og sejrede. Det er essensen af USA's førstedames besøg i København i forbindelse med FN's sociale topmøde i denne uge.

Arrangørerne havde oprindeligt haabet paa, at præsidenten selv ville deltage i topmødet og var lidt skuffede, da man fik at vide, at han bliver repræsenteret ved vicepræsident Al Gore, naar slutdokumenterne skal underskrives lørdag.

Tale modtaget med klapsalver

Det var oprindelig planen at Hillary Clinton ville besøge det alternative NGO-møde, der afholdes paa Holmen, men her fandt man ikke sikkerhedsforholdene tilfredsstillende. I stedet mødte hun op i Bella Center og talte om militærbudgetter og kvindernes sociale undertrykkelse i mange af verdens lande. En tale, der via storskærm blev transmitteret direkte til Holmen, og blev modtaget med klapsalver begge steder.

Hillary nr. 1

Et rundspørge blandt delegerede ved begge konferencer vi-

mødernes absolutte nummer et. dagens ret, stegt flæsk med persillesovs, side og side med den fornemme gæst.

Fra Bella Center tog Hillary Clinton til Marienborg, den danske statsministers sommerbolig og repræsentationslokaler, hvor hun spiste frokost med Poul Nyrup Rasmussens frue, den radikale EF-parlamentariker Lone Dybkjær, og derefter besøgte hun en børneinstitution paa Østerbro.

Fik husets platte med øl og snaps

En række af Københavns finere restauranter havde maaske set frem til at skulle servere middag for den amerikanske præsidentfrue, men Hillary Clinton overraskede alt og alle ved at vælge den beskedne kælderrestaurant Sct. Petersborg i Bredgade, hvor hun fik serveret husets platte, bestående af sild, røget laks og aal, fiskefilet, frikadelle, leverpostej og ost, skyllet ned med fadøl og dansk snaps.

Bordet var reserveret samme formiddag, men blev holdt

Ved at kæde menneskeretigheder sammen med bistand og hjælp til social udvikling kastede Hillary Rodham Clinton en brand ind i FN's sociale

Brunch med kvindelige ministre

Onsdag spiste Hillary Clinton brunch sammen med en række kvindelige danske politikere og ministre og derefter indtog hun igen talerstolen i Bella Center, hvor hun markerede den internationale kvindedag ved at præsentere et omfattende amerikansk hjælpeprogram, som skal forbedre uddannelsen af pigerne i Asien, Afrika og Sydamerika.

Paa lørdag dukker en lang række landes statsoverhoveder op i København for at underskrive de endelige dokumenter, men der er næppe tvivl om, at topmødets absolutte topfigurer og forbliver Hillary Clinton.

Dunder-tale af Hillary Clinton

Ved at kæde menneskeretigheder sammen med bistand og hjælp til social udvikling kastede Hillary Rodham Clinton en brand ind i FN's sociale

Danmark eftergav en milliard kr.

Den danske regerings beslutning om at eftergive seks af verdens fattigste lande deres gæld paa i alt godt en mia. kr. har givet genlyd og skabt glæde i u-landenes delegationer paa det sociale topmøde i København.

Samtidig giver det danske udspil næring til u-landenes haab om, at andre rige lande vil følge trop. U-landenes tynkende gældsbyrde er ifølge udviklingsminister Poul Nielson en af de alvorligste hindringer for at sikre den sociale og økonomiske udvikling, der efterlyses fra alle sider paa det sociale topmøde.

"Det danske initiativ fylder maaske ikke meget i u-landenes samlede gæld, men jeg haaber, at dette budskab fra os vil brede sig til andre donationer og ikke mindst deres repræsentanter i Verdensbanken og andre internationale finansieringsinstitutioner," siger Poul Nielson.

Castro til højborgs

Dronning Margrethe faar Cubas præsident Fidel Castro, til bords, naar stats- og regeringschefer lørdag aften samles til middag paa Christiansborg slot.

Jordans kong Hussein har meldt afbud til topmødet, og det betyder, at Cubas kontroversielle leder som det længst regerende statsoverhovede blandt gæsterne faar hæderspladsen ved siden af Dronningen.

Dollar-bekymring hos danske virksomheder

Danmarks eksport til USA viser en pæn stigning i de første ni måneder af 1994. Men det fortsatte dollar-fald skaber i stigende grad bekymring hos de danske eksportvirksomheder paa USA-markedet.

"Det er klart at dollarfaldet er en belastning. De fleste kurssikrer naturligvis, men det er jo ogsaa kostbart," siger konsulent Hans Bentzon Hvidtved fra handelsafdelingen paa det danske generalkonsulat i New York. Dollar'en er i dag 5.6376 kr.

Læs inde i Bien:

50 aar siden Shellhuset blev bombarderet
Antallet af 100-aarige vil eksplodere
(Danmarksbrevet)
Stor fest i London paa befrielsesdagen

F

Bien, Thursday, March 9, 1995:

Hillary Clinton Swept Copenhagen Off Its Feet

Hillary Clinton came, saw and conquered. That is the essence of the First Lady's visit to Copenhagen in connection with the U.N. Social Summit this week. Originally the organizers had hoped that the President would attend the summit and were a little disappointed when they learned that he would be represented by Vice President Al Gore when the documents will be signed Saturday.

Speech received with rounds of applause.

Originally Hillary Clinton should have visited the alternative NGO meetings at Holmen, however, the security arrangements were not satisfactory. Instead she went to the Bella Center and spoke about military budgets and womens' social oppression in many of the world's countries. A speech that was transmitted directly to Holmen and was received at both sites with rounds of applause.

Hillary No. 1.

A poll among the delegates at both conferences indicated that the American First Lady will probably enter the history books as the No. 1. of the summit. Both the representatives of the western countries and the developing countries felt that she represented important new visions. From the Bella Center Hillary Clinton went to Marienborg, the Danish Prime Minister's summer and representational residence, where she had lunch with Lone Dybkjær, member of the European Parliament and wife of Poul Nyrup Rasmussen. Later she visited a childcare institution at Østerbro.

Had the House platter with beer and schnapps.

Maybe a number of Copenhagen's leading restaurants had been looking forward to serving dinner for the American First Lady, but Hillary Clinton surprised everybody by selecting the modest restaurant Skt. Petersborg in Bredgade, where she was served the house platter consisting of herring, smoked salmon and eel, fish filet, frikadeller, liver paste and cheese accompanied by draft beer and Danish schnapps. The table had been reserved the same day but was kept a secret, and the regular customers in Skt. Petersborg had a very special experience as they ate their dish of the day, fried bacon with parsley sauce, side by side with the prominent guest.

Brunch with female ministers.

Wednesday Hillary Clinton had brunch with a number of female Danish politicians [sic]. After the brunch she went back to the Bella Center where she marked International Womens' Day by presenting an extensive American aid program to support the education of girls in

Asia, Africa, and South America. On Saturday a large number of Heads of State and Government will arrive in Copenhagen to sign the final documents, but there is hardly any doubt that the top profile is and remains Hillary Clinton.

Powerful speech by Hillary Clinton.

By connecting human rights with aid and assistance for social development, Hillary Clinton set fire to the U.N. Social Summit in Copenhagen. In a powerful and perfectly delivered speech, where human engagement was felt beyond the podium, Hillary Clinton did not avoid the hot potato of the summit. "Elementary human rights must be observed," she said. She called upon everybody for "decent and social behavior" and urged all the countries present to agree to a reduction of arms that the Super Powers are already working on. "Many countries use far too many of their resources on the military instead of people," she declared.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 18, 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 *HRC*

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 useful to our relations in the region. I tried to convey to the governments and the people of the countries I visited how important the United States thinks this region of the world is and how significant you believe the development of the people of this region to be, important not only for the futures of their own countries, but also for our entire global family.

My trip to South Asia highlighted the importance of investments in people, especially women and girls, and 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 Nepal and Bangladesh, 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 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 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,

"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 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 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 by leveraging aid from

other donors and local governments in expanding effective activities. One example is the population program in Bangladesh.

-- 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, 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 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 we can learn here at home from some of the projects 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 where I announced the USAID initiative on girls' education. Women ministers and non-governmental leaders, in particular, talked about the significance of the upcoming UN Fourth World Conference on Woman for progress for women and the 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 Prime Minister 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 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 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 marginalized, and their countries severely disadvantaged by their lack of education and productivity.

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 Home Delivery 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, 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 has 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 (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) and a government school. BRAC schools, which serve primarily girls, have been burned by extremists protesting the role of NGOs promoting change. The government school participates in one of Prime Minister Zia's favorite programs, Food for Education, which provides weekly commodities to families that keep their children, primarily girls, in school instead of putting them to work.

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 overall economic growth, which was nearly 7% last year. Low population growth (1.2% per year) has 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. If Sri Lanka's President is able to negotiate an end to the country's bloody internal conflict, prospects for growth will be even greater.

REMARKS AT MARCH 26, 1995 LUNCHEON HOSTED BY PRIME
MINISTER BENAZIR BHUTTO IN HONOR OF FIRST LADY HILLARY
RODHAM CLINTON

PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO:

Mrs. Clinton, distinguished friends:

It is an honor for me as a democratically elected woman Prime Minister of a Muslim nation to welcome the First Lady to Pakistan and to South Asia. It is also an honor for me as a Harvard woman to greet a daughter of Yale. (Laughter.) For over two years, I and the rest of the people of Pakistan have been utterly fascinated by the First Lady's heroic efforts to redefine the role of women in America, to substantively restructure the responsibilities of the office of First Lady, and to provide caring and sensitive leadership on the key social issues of the modern era. Women who take on tough issues and stake out new territory are often on the receiving end of ignorance. I can personally attest to that. Mrs. Clinton, I think you and I both should recall the words of Lady Margaret Thatcher who once said, "if a woman is tough, she is strident, but if a man is tough, gosh, he's a great leader. (Laughter.) Mrs. Clinton, to me and to the people of Pakistan, you are both tough and a great leader -- a great leader for the cause of health care, a great leader for the cause of children, a great leader for investing in the future, and a great leader and a great role model to girls and to women all over this planet. When we were reelected to office seventeen months ago, we too made a frontal assault on institutional discrimination against women in our society. We have guaranteed that at least ten percent of all federal bureaucratic jobs will be reserved for the women of Pakistan. And we have established a women's development bank for small, female entrepreneurs, a bank run by women for women, where men can keep their money but cannot borrow. We have established special women's police stations, police stations for women staffed by women for domestic violence directed against women. And for the first time in the history of our nation, women jurists are being appointed to the highest courts in our land. Last year I appeared before the United Nations Conference on Population and Development in Cairo and said to the assembled delegates, "I dream of a Pakistan, of an Asia, of a world where every pregnancy is planned and every child conceived is natured, loved, educated and supported." These were not idle words. My government plans to train a hundred thousand lady health workers to teach family planning and maternal health so that women can make the most

fundamental choices of their lives for themselves, and this is just the beginning, the beginning for a new Pakistan. I think that our two countries, standing side by side, can lead all of the world into a new era, an era where people are only constrained by the self-imposed limits of their own dreams. Distinguished ladies, the name of Hillary Rodham Clinton has earned a special place of honor in history. Mrs. Clinton is a symbol to all women everywhere, in the east and in the west, that women, yes they can. They can run corporations and run households. They can be partners, as well as wives. They can be great lawyers and still be great mothers. And when I think of you, Mrs. Clinton, I also recall Adlai Stevenson's words about another American first lady, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who he said would light a candle and then curse the darkness, and whose glow has warmed the world. Your glow and your presence warms us today. On behalf of 130,000,000 Pakistanis, it is my honor to welcome you into our home, and into our heart, and having concluded my official welcome, I would now like to extend an informal welcome on behalf of my spouse, Mr. Asif Zardari. The First Lady does not know it, but according to newspapers in Pakistan, Mr. Asif Zardari is de facto Prime Minister of the country. (Laughter) He says only the First Lady can appreciate it's not true.

(Applause.)

MRS CLINTON:

Prime Minister, thank you for that warm welcome, and thank you for your leadership--your leadership on behalf of your nation which has been such a beacon to all of us as it has demonstrated clearly that this country, which has got such a great and rich history, has also a great and rich future. And we are especially pleased to be here to reaffirm the partnership and friendship between our two countries and also between the peoples of our countries. I am delighted for this opportunity to have the chance to meet some of the women who are breaking new ground and giving new meaning to the opportunities of women around the world here in this country. I have taken the chance that has been given me every time I have traveled to visit with women in the countries where I have visited, and I find that so much keeps us in common as we move together to define our lives, that it is much more keeping in common than keeping us separate that we need to emphasize together. And it is a great privilege for me to be here with all of you. I also want to thank the Prime Minister publicly for her efforts on behalf of women and girls, not only here in

Pakistan, but around the world. Your speech in Cairo was an historic event of great importance. It was looked to by women all over the world, and I have heard that as I have traveled and visited with women. What you have done to recognize the great potential of your country as being tied with the great potential of its women is something that makes common sense and is giving all of us hope that as we invest in women and girls, we invest in men, we invest in the future, we invest in our society. I also want to say a particular word of thanks for your emphasis on children. It is an emphasis that is the most important in my personal opinion because by investing in the education and health of children, we are saying that the future is worthwhile, that every child will be given the opportunity to live up to his or her God-given potential. And the work that you are doing from the extension of primary schooling to girls, to the eradication of polio, all of it is being looked at with great interest and admiration around the world. I know that much remains to be done in every society, in both of our countries, to ensure that women assume their rightful place and are given the opportunities to exercise their rights, but I am very optimistic by what I see happening in the world, and I am particularly grateful that we are going to be investing in girls and women together, because by doing so we are investing in our future prosperity together. And so on behalf of our country, and the women of our country particularly, it is a great privilege for me to be here to see and to learn, to have the opportunities I will be able to take in the next two days. I wish that my visit were only longer, but I feel that those of us in this room, particularly as women, have been blessed with a full range of opportunities and now we are called on to listen and learn and do what we can as the Prime Minister is leading this country to do, to extend those opportunities to all women and girls, and I am appreciative of this opportunity informally to visit with all of you, and I would like to extend my warmest welcome again to your husband who met me in the rain last evening, and I must say that as a political spouse, I feel a great sense of identity with him as well. Thank you so much.

To : Hillary Rodham Clinton
From : Muhammad Yunus
Date : April 2, 1995

1.0 Welcome to Bangladesh. Thanks for coming to Bangladesh.

I did not realise that you are so popular with the people of Bangladesh. They are going wild to get a glimpse of you. You are number one topic everywhere in Bangladesh.

2.0 Thanks for going to Copenhagen. That made a big difference to the Summit. Your remarks made big impact in the Summit.

3.0 Thanks for your Copenhagen speech. Your mention of Grameen has put us on the world map. Now policy-makers are paying attention to what we have to say.

4.0 Beijing has to be built upon the groundwork done in Copenhagen. I request you to take a lead role in Beijing to focus on credit for poor women.

5.0 Credit-for-Poor-Women issue needs to be promoted in many areas :

- a) *World Bank*
- b) *Regional banks*
- c) *Commercial and special banks*
- d) *International finance market*
- e) *Foreign aid*
- f) *Development policies*
- g) *Employment policies*
- h) *Welfare programmes*
- i) *Academic circles*
- j) *Media*

We need to create a network of committed people in all these areas. You can play a strategic role in creating this network.

- 6.0 Preparation for Beijing is in full swing. Credit-for-Poor- Women Caucus needs to be organised and orchestrated to achieve concrete results. You may pay your attention to this. US delegation can provide leadership in the Beijing conference.
- 7.0 RESULTS, a group of committed American citizens, are organising programmes to influence decision-makers. Jan is familiar with their work. They wish to play an active role in Beijing to draw attention of decision-makers.
- 8.0 RESULTS will organise a "Micro-Credit Summit" in May, 1996. They want you to participate in the "Summit". If you agree they can contact you.
- 9.0 UNIFEM was very active in Copenhagen on Credit-for-the-Poor-Women issue. They wish to become more active in Beijing. They want your help. They can organise a day-long Seminar/Workshop which you can address.
- 10.0 While visiting Grameen Bank borrowers in Jessore you may make the most significant statement of your entire trip to the press indicating your total commitment to promoting credit - for- the- poor- women all over the world.
- 11.0 With your and President Clinton's support we can create a poverty-free world much earlier than anybody ever expected.
- 12.0 Your Copenhagen statement and your visit to Grameen have already made a major impact.
- 13.0 Let us plan to reach 100 million poor people, preferably women, with credit by year 2005. If we can get to anywhere near that number, we can change the world.
- 14.0 I hope you and Chelsea will enjoy your stay in Bangladesh.



OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

January 4, 1996

FYI
re: press
coverage following
HRC's trip to Asia

MEMORANDUM FOR: Melanne Vereer
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Deputy Chief of Staff to the
First Lady

Michael McCurry
Assistant to the President and
White House Press Secretary

FROM: Iris Burnett *JB*
Chief of Staff
U.S. Information Agency

SUBJECT: Pakistani Press and TV Highlight First Lady's
Message on Islam

Teresa
Donice
TQ for
Iris.
(circulate
memo)
PROV
staff
MC

Below is the transcript of a cable received from our post in Islamabad regarding the First Lady's slide presentation "My Visit to South Asia."

Islamabad is delighted to report that it achieved a double success by airing excerpts of the videotape of First Lady Hillary Clinton's slide presentation "My Visit to South Asia" on the Pakistan National Television Network (PTV) while also placing her complimentary remarks on Islam from the video tape in every major paper in Pakistan. The First Lady's message forcefully countered the often-heard perception here that the U.S. is anti-Islam, supporting one of this post's top public diplomacy goals.

PTV aired the complete portion of Mrs. Clinton's presentation on Pakistan during its prime time slot (7:15 p.m.) on Wednesday, December 27. PTV also heavily promoted the program during prime time on December 28.

On December 29 all USIS posts in Pakistan distributed a press release in English and Urdu highlighting Mrs. Clinton's statements on the importance of a better understanding of Islam by Americans and her appreciation for the rich cultural heritage of Pakistan along with a color photograph taken of her at Faisal Mosque in Islamabad. The following day, a Friday when newspaper readership is at its weekly peak and space is at a premium, the full USIS press release appeared prominently in almost every important national daily of the country, from Karachi to Peshawar, both in English and Urdu language press. Many papers carried the story with a color or black and white photo. As it was also released by the two largest national wire services, a large number of regional newspapers are likely to carry the story in more far flung areas like Myderabad, Mulian, Quetta, Bahawalpur and Faisalabad.

2.

Since her March 1995 visit here, Pakistanis have consistently expressed great admiration and respect for Mrs. Clinton. The largest circulation English-language daily "Dawn" carries her weekly syndicated column. Mrs. Clinton's slide presentation and call for improved understanding of Islam was a story the Pakistani press could not resist.

The Daily Star

Founder-Editor: Late S. M. Ali

Dhaka, Sunday, April 2, 1995

Welcome to Hillary

Whatever maybe the official label put on it — she no doubt deserving the trappings of a state visit as the US' First Lady — we prefer to describe her visit as the magic name Hillary's pilgrimage to where the Clinton family's heart has always lain — Bangladesh. She and her daughter Chelsea are arriving here because of the magnetising pull of Prof. Yunus' Grameen Bank. It is not just a Bangladeshi celebrity bringing them here; for, they have met him quite a few times over, and could have done so anywhere else if they wished. In fact, it is the much broader concern for the under-privileged women and children which Prof Yunus has himself addressed tangibly to set a trend in rural revolution that has drawn her to his sites of some remarkably pioneering projects.

The Clinton family has been fond of Prof Yunus and his work without the slightest hint of patronisation and, that is where the genuineness of their love for the Grameen Bank lies almost as an article of faith. Their setting up of the good Hope Fund modelled on the Grameen concept a decade ago in Arkansas followed by the replication of the same in some other countries, have proved that the task of serving the poor is frontierless and indivisible.

So we see in her visit a rare kind of a prospect for bridge-building not only between the people of the USA and that of Bangladesh but also in terms of globalisation of poverty concerns which have been addressed rather inadequately so far by the world leadership.

It does us proud that she tied up her South Asian visits "keeping Grameen Bank and Bangladesh in focus." In diplomatic parlance, her trip reflects the measure of importance South Asia as a region has been enjoying with the White House lately.

For our part, we shall be content with her contributions to global awareness-building on child welfare and women empowerment issues.

Hearty welcome to Hillary, Chelsea and other members of the US contingent.

Costly Lessons

The fertiliser crisis has thrown up three issues. These relate to the citizens' right to know what and who really caused it; orderly distribution of whatever little urea we are able to get from the factories; and containment of damage in terms of Boro crop deficit that stares us in the face anyway.

As for the public's right to information, the ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party has decided to institute a judicial probe into the crisis. This is a good development on a question that boiled over so much that an allegedly miscarried private distribution of the input went largely into the

Omphalo

HILLARY Rodham Clinton's love for Albert Camus and Picasso is not for nothing: she is deeply conscious that plague never dies or disappears; it hides itself in everything only to reappear. The mindless destruction of the Spanish Civil War left in its wake a scar on human spirit: soon degenerated into the wasteland of Second World War. Guernica's savage and emotional vignette is always a reminder of man's beastiality to man.....

First Lady Hillary Clinton embraces the vision of activist and compassionate government of her husband — she wants to play a more solid and meaningful role. The role of first lady was more difficult in 18th and 19th centuries. Abigail Adams was taunted with the derisive name 'Mrs. President'. But 20th century has given them more leeway. Woodrow Wilson's second wife Edith Bolling Galt encoded and decoded sypher messages. Eleanor Roosevelt was the genteel, sophisticated — perfect mate for her husband. Jacqueline Kennedy gave a certain sophistication to the office with her background of French culture, love for the arts and the finer things of life. Barbara Bush was the beloved first lady.

Hillary Clinton gives the impression of discarding the Cinderella syndrome: once you get the Prince Charming, you live happily ever after.

She eschewed the ceremony and the ritual of the camelot White House and has chosen to take on the challenge of the problems both in America and the world at large. The same idealism that prompted her to strive relent-

AT the financial year's end countries draw up a balance sheet of their gains and losses. As with most modern practices, in this case too the indicators have been established by the advanced capitalist countries. Poor countries follow the indexes drawn up by the rich without regard to their usefulness in conditions of underdevelopment. We do not have a set of indigenously developed criteria by which to measure the performance of governments and calculate the gains and losses of societies in what are still called third world countries. Below, a few indicators are offered to help us judge the state of our unfortunate nations. Readers are invited to

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THE WHITE HOUSE

October 24, 1995

Ms. Anasuya Sengupta
2E-102, DOS Housing Colony
Airport Road, Domlur
Bangalore, INDIA 560 071

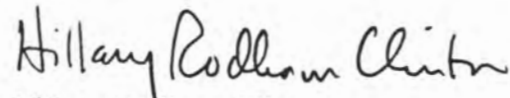
Dear Anasuya:

Thank you for your beautiful letter. You are a very gifted young writer. With your outstanding talent for expression and your many other abilities, I know you will one day realize your commendable goal to "make a difference" in the world. I will be very interested in knowing about your future achievements, and I hope you will continue to stay in touch with me.

I appreciate your expression of support for my participation in the World Conference on Women in Beijing. The enclosed compilation of speeches is sent to you with my compliments. I hope you do not mind that I took the privilege of sharing your lovely poem with the women who attended the NGO Forum in Huairou. You will find my reference to you and your poem on page 13.

With admiration and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

ANASUYA SENGUPTA

2E-102, DOS Housing Colony
Airport Road, Domkur
Bangalore, India - 560 071.

15th August, 1995.

Dear Mrs Clinton,

It seems rather strange (and terribly difficult) to be writing to the First Lady of the United States... and how many letters to you begin this way?

I can, however, testify that when I met with you in New Delhi in March, I felt extraordinarily inspired. I almost entirely forgot who you were in the excitement of finding out how you were - I do hope you will take this as the compliment it is meant to be!

It has been four months, Ma'am, since you read out my poem at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation on your tour of SE Asia. Since then, other than battling with the media (thankfully a short term phenomenon), I have had to battle with my final year Economics exams; I'm not sure which of the two take top honors for being unpredictable and terrifying. Anyhow, I did survive long enough to graduate with a first division (wonders will never cease) and am now with my family in Bangalore, getting my breath back.

For the wonderful gift you gave me - of sharing my thoughts with the world - I thank you. I had never felt that any of my words were capable of moving people to tears, leave alone worthy of their attention. But for you, I may never have truly appreciated the power of words - for that too, I thank you.

I suppose, at 21, I share a certain impatience with all my friends - we want the world to change overnight, through the power of people's actions. I guess those are the fires and the fallacies of being young. You hope every day will be Christmas, and every activist, a Santa Claus.

Perhaps if we tempered our idealism with some amount of realism, then we might just make a difference some day. Maybe not of the earth shaking bull-dozer kind, but at least of the little, hug-at-night variety! Like I had mentioned to you, I will be applying to universities in the US for Environmental Management; hopefully, that is the first step in the right direction.

I'm sure I join a great many women across the world in wishing you every strength for the Beijing Conference. I understand that some issues are likely to remain unresolved, but I'm sure there will be unanimity in the wish for a better world for women. Ergo - a better world for everyone.

I feel privileged to be an educated young woman capable of fighting for justice and empowerment. I also feel privileged, Mrs Clinton, to have met someone like you who already does fight for both.

With best wishes,

Ananya Sen Gupta

P.S. A hug to Socks - I love cats!

Silence

Too many women
in too many countries
speak the same language.
Of silence.
My grandmother was always silent --
always aggrieved --
only her husband had the cosmic right
(or so it was said)
to speak and be heard.

They say it is different now.
(After all, I am always vocal
and my grandmother thinks
I talk too much)
But sometimes, I wonder.

When a woman gives her love,
as most women do, generously --
it is accepted.
When a woman shares her thoughts,
as some women do, graciously --
it is allowed.
When a woman fights for power,
as all women would like to,
quietly or loudly
it is questioned.

And yet, there must be freedom --
if we are to speak.
And yes, there must be power --
if we are to be heard.
And when we have both
(freedom and power)
let us not be misunderstood.

We seek only to give words
to those who cannot speak
(too many women
in too many countries)
I seek only to forget
the sorrows of my grandmother's
silence.

- Anasuya Sengupta
Class of '95
Lady Shri Ram College

Remarks of J. Brian Atwood

INMED Sixth Millennium Conference

September 11, 1995
Washington, D.C.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to be with you today at the Sixth Annual Millennium Conference of INMED. Your special focus this year on child-centered strategies for health is an important element in development. And you in this room were among the pioneers in moving this issue to front and center.

The Fourth World Conference on Women now taking place in Beijing, continues to produce news. We have heard a great deal of rhetoric about the importance of women, of children and of the family. I am confident that delegates in Beijing will be advancing a position on these issues that will have been informed by the pioneering work of INMED.

Before getting further into these important issues, I want to say that Hillary Rodham Clinton's speech demonstrated, as *The New York Times* put it, that "a clear and forceful statement makes a far more powerful point than staying home in sullen protest." I respect the well-meaning critics (some weren't so well-meaning) who urged the First Lady to stay home to protest the Chinese government's abhorrent human rights record. But she was correct to have gone. She did more for the cause of human rights in China and women's rights, in general, by going to Beijing than she ever could have done staying home.

Many of the critics of the Beijing conference were even more hostile to the issues being discussed at the Conference than to its venue. They asserted in the media that the conference was a nefarious attack on the foundations of family and society in the developing world; that it was an attempt to replace fathers and mothers with government programs; that the delegates were anti-male and anti-religion; and that their real goal was to undermine family values and redefine gender.

Some conservative critics even claimed that "working women deprive their children of parenting needed to establish firm social values." Well, I have news for these critics, women have been working in these societies for thousands of years -- of necessity. And, in many places families have worked together. Work and social values are not antithetical, at least they weren't where I grew up. My mother worked and, as a child of the depression, she felt pride and relief that she could. Her work made our family stronger.

The Beijing Conference is about strengthening the family through empowering women, as Hillary Rodham Clinton so eloquently put it.

For years, the international community too often ignored the vital role of people, particularly women and families, amid the noisy din of debates over structural adjustment, infrastructure needs and policy formulation. We tended to focus on macro-economic statistics without looking at the effects on people. Those of us who look at development through the eyes of real people understand that the family is the basic unit of society. It is within the family that decisions are made about whether to invest resources in housing, schooling or micro-enterprise. It is only when we focus on the family that we really begin to understand how societies work. Without that understanding, our best intentions may miss the mark.

We know that in the developing world women and children are terribly vulnerable. Seventy per cent of the poor in the world are women and inevitably those children for whom they are responsible also live in poverty. Women and children comprise 2/3 of the populations of refugee camps. Children are often forced into work when they should be in elementary school. Women's reproductive function exposes them to special health problems. Maternal mortality rises with the number of births and infant mortality rises when pregnancies are not spaced.

The exciting thing about programs like INMED's is that they focus on these problems from the perspective of real people, their families and their communities. Your special emphasis on women, children and youth as part of the solution has opened so many new possibilities for development.

Children as agents of change. A fascinating concept. The ability of children to learn at school and carry these lessons home -- whether about oral rehydration therapy, sanitation, appropriate use of medication, or identifying medical symptoms. That is a powerful tool for development.

I also believe that these people-oriented programs have an important long term impact in building civil societies. By teaching children to be advocates for themselves and for their families, you are helping train individuals who are willing to be advocates for their communities and their nations.

All over the world, we have seen fragile new democracies struggle to establish constituencies to support a lasting commitment to open government. By teaching civic education at an early age, we help plant the durable seeds that a democratic system needs to flourish. By teaching children the basic values of ethnic tolerance and respect for human rights, we can avoid future conflicts.

We have made a real effort at the new USAID to get back to these basics and to practice participatory development. We know that economic growth cannot be sustained where civil society is not strong. We understand that institutional vehicles for constructive community engagement are essential.

A few months ago, in Copenhagen, Vice President Gore announced USAID's New Partnerships Initiative. This is a program that is the antithesis of old fashioned top-down government-to-government foreign aid. "New Partnerships" helps create the vehicles for community action. It has three main objectives: strengthening the role of nongovernmental organizations in development programs; empowering small businesses and entrepreneurs to drive economic growth; and helping nations bolster democracy at the local level. The New Partnerships Initiative is driven by a single idea -- that families and individuals, when given the power and opportunity to change their lives, will do exactly that. The initiative will increase the proportion of USAID funds that flow to NGOs, and it will strengthen the rich mosaic of organizations operating in the developing world.

Another key part of our approach is a concentration on the role of women in society. It should be obvious that economic and social progress will remain beyond our reach if women are denied equal legal status and lack a clear voice in public decision making. In most countries women have the right to vote, but a web of cultural, social, legal, economic, and educational constraints often inhibit their participation in society. So long as these obstacles stand, women will have less access to education, less access to health care, less access to the economies of their countries and less ability to contribute to development. That isn't good for anyone.

Two weeks ago, in Beijing, Ambassador Madeleine Albright announced USAID's Women's Political Participation and Legal Rights Initiative. This effort will provide assistance in leadership training, political networking, civic education and technical training. It's goal is to strengthen women's participation in the political process. The Women's Legal Rights program will both develop knowledge and disseminate information regarding women's legal status; and build the capacity of organizations and institutions to bolster those legal rights.

We believe this Initiative will make an important contribution to the consensus goals world governments have embraced at U.N. conferences in Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing. More importantly, it will allow us to finally exploit the untapped potential of women in the developing world.

In designing our programs, we must not only consider the interrelationships between people and the institutions of society, but also the linkages between all aspects

of peoples lives -- between health, education, family size and economic opportunity. Look at family planning.

Despite the convenient rhetoric of critics, family planning has proved again and again to improve the welfare of families and their individual members. Children born into smaller families enjoy higher educational achievement, health and economic productivity. Family planning *saves* lives. By helping a woman bear her children at the healthiest times for both baby and mother, family planning increases child survival rates and decreases maternal deaths. A smaller family can allow a woman to be more economically and civically involved in her community. Where girls begin childbearing later, that is, after their teenage years, they are able to pursue more opportunities for education and employment. These activities in turn, encourage young women to have smaller, healthier families.

Similarly, improving access to basic education for girls can make a powerful difference. Better education often leads a woman to want a smaller family. It allows families and individuals to be more economically productive, it makes for improved public health and it is the very backbone of a healthy democratic society. One is hard pressed to imagine how anyone could object to expanding access to basic education for all members of a society, particularly for girls who had been heretofore excluded.

Education, child survival, family planning, nutrition, microenterprise, and democracy programs are all part of the collective effort we undertake with organizations such as INMED, PAHO and many others to build the institutional capacity that will enable developing countries to gain their independence from our programs. We all have the same long-term goal. All of us work to ultimately put ourselves out of business. But first we have to help build the institutions that are the prerequisites for a democratic society. The family. Small business. Grassroots democratic institutions.

But we all know that our work is being challenged as never before. The debate in Congress over the funding and existence of USAID is taking place against the backdrop of the larger battle over the federal budget. Like every government agency we have to reduce our program. But it is also clear that there are some who would use the pretext of the budget debate to disengage the United States, to end foreign aid once and for all.

There could not be a worse time to isolate America from the rest of the world. The investments we make in children today will be repaid many-fold in the future. If we ignore issues such as polio and the AIDS epidemic abroad, we will pay high costs in our own communities. If we abandon our commitments, history will prove a harsh

judge of our generation.

I recall, almost exactly a year ago, walking through the massive refugee camp at Goma during the Rwanda crisis. I still carry with me the poignant memory of the faces, particularly the eyes, of the children I saw there. Eyes that should have been filled with happiness and dreams for the future were, instead, nearly lifeless. The blank stares were haunting. A whole generation of Rwandan children had been cast into uncertainty and were living on the very brink.

Rwanda risks losing that generation of children. If that happens, conflict and misery will be perpetuated.

That is what is at stake as we consider the world's children. If we do not reach the children, there will be no chance to break the cycle of poverty and violence that has cost so many so much. But we can also create a positive self-fulfilling prophecy: If we can educate and care for the youth of the developing world, we can watch the ripples of hope and energy that will, in Robert Kennedy's words, "build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

Latin America
Trip

—

file S America

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON *HRC*

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

SUBJECT: REPORT ON LATIN AMERICA TRAVEL
OCTOBER 12-17, 1995

Thank you for asking me to travel to Latin America. The purpose of my six-day visit to Nicaragua, Chile, Brazil and Paraguay was to advance the Administration's goals to alleviate poverty; promote universal, quality education; provide wider access to health care; and protect the rights of women and children throughout the Western Hemisphere. These United States goals were endorsed in Miami at the Summit of the Americas by the hemisphere's thirty-four democratic leaders and addressed directly by the hemisphere's First Ladies at the Symposium on Children.

During the trip, I stressed that only with persistent progress on social goals will the region be able to attain and sustain democracy and economic prosperity. This message was received with enthusiasm. I sensed a real commitment to tackle difficult but critical social issues and saw firsthand the region's incredible recent progress. As I traveled, I found that representatives of the entire political spectrum -- even in countries with a recent history of severe political polarization like Nicaragua and Chile -- now understand the compelling arguments for social progress. Media coverage on this message was universally positive.

Political leaders repeatedly made reference to the commitments made in Miami. This is particularly true for the social issues. The Latin American representatives had pushed the hardest in the preparatory sessions leading up to Miami for a strong focus on poverty eradication. It was in fact the Central Americans, working with a hemispheric coalition of private-sector and NGO leaders, who first proposed what became the Summit's initiative on women's

rights. There were also repeated references to the United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women and the issues of the Conference -- microenterprise; comprehensive health care, including family planning; education; programs that value women as full and equal partners in society; freedom from violence; full political participation for women. These themes were underscored again and again.

Schedule of Speeches and Site Visits

In each country, through public remarks and site visits, I sought to focus attention on one or more critical social issues:

Nicaragua

In Nicaragua, I focused on the theme of the rights of women and children. President Violeta Chamorro had been the leading sponsor of the Summit's initiative on women's rights. In an economically depressed barrio, I visited a community-run bank which makes small loans to women microentrepreneurs. There, I observed the transforming impact that credit has had on lives and livelihoods. I also visited a primary health care clinic which is part of Nicaragua's new decentralized public health delivery system, and I engaged in a discussion with patients and staff. Both of these projects are supported by USAID. My speech in Nicaragua drew linkages between social investments and durable democracy through the metaphor of family:

"We see that through better health, education, and good jobs, women are building stronger families. We see that through democratic reconciliation and investments in people, Nicaragua is building a stronger national family. And we see that, as the Nicaraguan family unites and your economy grows, your nation will continue to be a vital partner in building a hemispheric family of democracies."

I also had the opportunity to visit with President Chamorro at her residence and talk informally with her about Nicaragua and its challenges. Mrs. Chamorro hosted a luncheon to which she invited members of her Cabinet, particularly those who oversee social programs.

Chile

In Chile, my focus was the value of education and educational reform. I visited a World Bank-supported model vocational training school, where I saw a demonstration of education through computers and learned of plans to equip the schools with interlinking technology. As an example of Chile's education reform agenda, I was told of a proposal to

keep the schools open on weekends to allow children to pursue interests and help parents who are working. Mrs. Frei introduced me to her work with publicly-funded foundations which serve poor families by providing head-start-like day care and equipping women with marketable skills. The foundations also have innovative programs to involve fathers so they can realize the full potential of parenthood. Also in Chile, I participated in a forum on the importance of microcredit with representatives of community-based lending institutions and borrowers who had become economically self-reliant.

My speech at the University of Chile praised Chile's strong educational system and highlighted our common goals for educational reform that strives to improve high school completion rates, promote quality training to enable workers to compete in the global marketplace, and nurture civic virtues to encourage participation in democratic decision-making. The University's rector noted that Teddy Roosevelt had spoken in the same Hall of Honor in 1917 and had outlined the many collaborative efforts that link the institution to the United States. I also had the opportunity to meet informally with President Frei at the Presidential Palace.

Brazil

In Brazil, I focused on the health of women and children. We visited modern Brasilia as well as Salvador de Bahia, the capital of the poverty-ridden northeast. Site visits in Salvador included a circus which aims to save street children by enhancing their teamwork and self-esteem, a community center which provides health, education and vocational skills to at-risk adolescents, and a hospital which assists in birth and also cares for women who have performed self-induced abortions. The hospital's programs emphasize how critically important health education and family planning are to the poor community, and the programs I saw provide a model for replication. The Minister of Health is hoping to extend this successful USAID-supported program to rural areas in the region.

In Brasilia, I had an excellent meeting with President and Mrs. Cardoso. In Brasilia and Salvador, I participated in discussions with prominent women who are involved in addressing challenges in the areas of jobs, health, education, family life and other careers. President Cardoso discussed an education initiative he was about to announce that would address the problem of school drop-outs by putting more federal resources in schools below the university level.

Paraguay

In Paraguay, I participated in the Fifth Conference of Wives of Heads of State and Government of the Americas, an annual Conference which brings together the spouses of the leaders of our hemisphere. This Conference marked the first year that North America has participated, and therefore the first year that it was a hemisphere-wide gathering. The Conference focused heavily on follow-up to the issues we had discussed at the Symposium on Children in Miami. We called attention to three concrete initiatives stemming from the hemispheric Summit: the eradication of measles by the year 2000, reduction of maternal mortality by one-half by the year 2000, and education reform. I was proud to announce USAID support for a new Partnership for Education Revitalization in the Americas (PERA), which is designed to help identify, disseminate and replicate innovative education reform programs throughout Latin America. Also, as I had helped launch the measles eradication campaign initiative at the PAHO headquarters last April, it was especially gratifying to learn of the activities of the hemisphere's First Ladies in support of the measles project. The First Ladies of this hemisphere are actively engaged in their own countries on these important social issues.

In my keynote address on the opening night of the Conference, I stressed that the conferences in Miami, Copenhagen and Beijing have made clear that democracy and prosperity cannot be attained or sustained in countries that do not value women as full and equal partners in society. President Wasmosy spoke eloquently about the important role that a First Lady can play in working to better life for the people of her nation. He lauded Mrs. Wasmosy's work and stressed how complementary he viewed their efforts.

The success of the Conference was noted by representatives of international organizations, such as UNICEF, PAHO, and IDB, who participated in the Conference as resources. They remarked that the Conference was one of the most impressive discussions in which they have participated, highlighting innovative developments to enhance progress on pressing social concerns. As First Ladies, we signed a declaration and agreed to be actively engaged in the issues we discussed, ranging from microenterprise and family planning to innovative education programs.

Also in Paraguay, I met with representatives of the Peace Corps in Paraguay, which was holding a training session for its volunteers. Paraguay has the largest number of Peace Corps volunteers in the world, and it was a pleasure to hear from the American men and women who are on the front lines trying to make a difference in the quality of life in Paraguay.

Conclusions

Throughout my visit, it was striking how very small amounts of money, when placed in the hands of dedicated, well-organized institutions, can transform people's lives. USAID programs, working in partnerships with international and local NGOs and with official entities at federal, state and local levels, are having a positive impact. The World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, Organization of American States, the Pan-American Health Association and the Inter-American Foundation are all investing in people in innovative ways. We need to do more to publicize these success stories so that they can be replicated widely, including in the United States. Development assistance is a critical component of our broad-based, active engagement in the hemisphere and it calls for our continuing strong support.

Latin America is a very diverse region undergoing dynamic change. The countries I visited are diverse in size, living standards and political development. Nicaragua and Paraguay are two small countries emerging from decades of repressive rule. President Chamorro has made great strides in consolidating democracy and restructuring the economy, even if Nicaragua is still traumatized by years of internal conflict and remains desperately poor, with over half of its population under the age of twenty-one. The United States can continue to work to promote national reconciliation. While the military still casts a shadow over political life in Paraguay, the current government appears to be working to strengthen democracy and make government accountable to its people. In his remarks at the opening of the First Ladies Conference, President Wasmosy focused his comments on the commitment to democracy.

Brazil enjoys the strong, enlightened leadership of President Cardoso, who reiterated his determination to stabilize the economy and is working with his wife, Ruth, to invigorate civil society and reform the health and education systems. The Cardosos noted that they very much enjoyed their State Visit last April and seek to forge a new partnership with the United States. Chile appears to be a spectacular success story, combining economic stability, democratic politics and a concern for social equity that has lifted many of its citizens out of poverty since democracy was restored in 1990. The Chilean government appears to be on track to attain the developmental status of southern Europe and become an articulate leader that other countries will seek to follow. The government and private sector continue to be very concerned about NAFTA fast track, and I reiterated the President's support.

Latin America continues to make progress, but the

region still confronts severe problems -- some of which we also face in the United States. Poverty is widespread and overwhelming in some areas and governments are handicapped by fiscal constraints and inflexible bureaucracies. Educational systems are badly in need of reform, both to reduce the high drop-out rates and to graduate students who can compete in the marketplace of the twenty-first century. Women are still undereducated and underpaid and many, many poor children crowd the streets of the continents' poor barrios.

Future Engagement

The United States has made a difference in ensuring hemispheric progress. It is my observation that Latin America seeks close working relations with the United States on a wide range of important issues, relations based on a genuine exchange and mutual learning. Finally, I believe we need to continue to help our neighbors strengthen their emerging democracies, expand market economies, and promote social integration.

The annual First Ladies' Conference offers another instrument to advance social progress.

Attached are copies of the speeches I gave in Nicaragua, Chile and Paraguay.



SECRETARY OF STATE

November 9, 1995

Dear Hillary,

Thank you so much for coming
to my 70th and for making it my most
memorable birthday. Because I have some
concept of the pressures on your schedule,
I am doubly grateful that you would
find time to be with us. My family and
friends were all surprised and charmed.
(over)

I continue to receive
glowing reports on your Latin American
trip. You add a unique and
invaluable dimension to our diplomacy,
and we are deeply appreciative.

With personal regards.

As ever,
Choi



United States Department of State

Assistant Secretary of State
Bureau of Inter-American Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20520-6258

November 3, 1995

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Room 100, OEOB
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I just wanted to let you know how helpful I believe your visit to Latin America was for advancing our overall interests in the region. The serious nature of your remarks at each stop and your superb delivery of them left no doubt as to the importance our Administration attaches to education, health and human rights, particularly concerning women and children. Your interlocutors appreciate greatly that you really listened to them, as well. Our Ambassadors in Managua, Santiago, Brasilia and Asuncion are uniformly enthusiastic about your visits.

In addition to being helpful, your trip was a lot of fun--at least for me. Your staff is great to work with--competent and authoritative, yet friendly, open to relative outsiders and ready to have a good time. They really made us feel part of the team, as did you, of course.

I must tell you that my wife is very pleased with the necklace with the "crava" pendant in the form of the Mapuche symbol of power I purchased in Santiago. I told her that, when I somewhat apprehensively sought your advice, you suggested that she wouldn't have to wear the pendant all the time. I'm a little worried, however, because she hasn't yet taken it off the necklace. I'll see how things go, but I may need further advice from you and Melanne.

Thanks again for including the trip in your crowded agenda. I hope we can do another one soon, perhaps even with the President.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Alex'.

Alexander F. Watson

rch

es watchdogs as a whole that allowed sts to curry favor ernor outside the aign finance laws. a longtime Clinton as, declined to pro- his subpoena. But he at he turned over to ocuments on three ive initiatives — the nics Campaign, Ar- ax Campaign and Ar- an education reform

accounts have been e Mr. Pledger began unk statements for mber 1992. o idea what they're in those three ac- 's been no activity in e past two and a half Mr. Pledger, who runs s State Fair and is gen- er of the Arkansas ow Association.

cide man wo lawsuits

wrongfully fired. The wyer Stephanie Rones, Dr. Gibson and other top fficials as defendants, know of, but did not

American scene

First lady to report on Gulf war illness

Breaking down in tears, retired Army Maj. Debra K. Stanislawski told first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton about the chronic fatigue and headaches that set in even before the end of her five-month tour in the Persian Gulf war.

And former Army Cpl. Kurt Kruedelbach said swelling in his joints rendered his hands useless and forced him to quit the police force.

"I have no answer for it," he told Mrs. Clinton, who sought yesterday to reassure Persian Gulf veterans of President Clinton's interest in the research and compensation issues surrounding their mysterious illnesses.

"He asked me to spend some time looking into the concerns of Gulf war veterans and file a report on what we're doing, and what we have left to do," Mrs. Clinton told five veterans who had assembled at the Department of Veterans Affairs Hospital to detail their unexplained symptoms since serving in the 1991 war against Iraq.

Cargo plane crashes, killing all 3 aboard

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — A DC-8 cargo plane crashed on takeoff at City International Airport

promise of the new GOP governor.

"There is no question in my mind that it will be a deterrent," Mr. Pataki said. "It will save lives. It will reduce the number of murders."

Women who smoke want to quit

ATLANTA — About three-quarters of women who smoke say they want to quit but can't, federal health officials said yesterday.

In a Centers for Disease Control and Prevention study involving more than 7,000 female smokers, about 73 percent said they wanted to quit and 75 percent reported at least one sign of addiction.

Of those who said they had tried to stop smoking in the past year, 80 percent said they failed. Only 2.5 percent of all smokers successfully quit each year, and the rates are about the same for women and men.

About 22 million of the nation's 48 million adult smokers are women.

Unpublished figures from the CDC show that about three-quarters of male smokers contacted also say they want to quit but can't, according to Michael Eriksen, director of the CDC's office of smoking and health.

OSTP

Diana Zuckerman, Ph.D.
Office of Science and Technology Policy
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D.C. 20500
(202) 456-6133, FAX (202) 456-6027

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE: Jan 26, 1996

TO: Katy

ORGANIZATION:

PHONE:

FAX: 6-6244

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER PAGE: 3

MESSAGE: This is the only letter that comes close to what you want. As I mentioned on voice mail, I don't have the Herb Smith letter because I didn't respond to it. It came with photos and I gave the letter and photos to Melanne to give to HRC.

I called Herb Smith (who I am friendly with) to see if he has a copy, but he was not home. I left a message asking him to call back, but he hasn't.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES



THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
WASHINGTON OFFICE

March 31, 1995

Mrs. Hillary Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I am writing to once again thank and commend you for your direct involvement on behalf of those Persian Gulf veterans who are sick or disabled as a consequence of their service in the Persian Gulf. Your meeting with VFW Commander in Chief Allen F. "Gunner" Kent in February of this year clearly bespoke a sincere commitment to work toward a resolution of the issues confronting these brave young Americans. I can assure you that the VFW's commitment is no less in this matter. This organization will exert its every influence to ensure that Persian Gulf veterans are fully and compassionately provided for.

In this regard, as the White House sets about establishing the President's Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans Illnesses, we are concerned that rank-and-file Persian Gulf veterans be represented on that body along with senior military personnel and members of the scientific and medical community. The VFW views it as absolutely critical that veterans representing the average Persian Gulf military enlistee - the men and women who actually fought the war - be included as members of the Committee. Not only have they earned such representation through their heroic actions in the Gulf, but it is only these former enlisted personnel who have the shared experience and empathy to fully see to the interests of their comrades in arms.

Additionally, it is our estimation that many Persian Gulf veterans will find it suspect if no such former enlisted personnel are included on the Committee. We point to the fact that of the over 2,500 respondents to the VFW's Persian Gulf Registry, 46% reported not being on either the VA or DoD's registries. While it is likely there are a number of reasons for this, it is evident that there is a certain distrust of the "system" among some Persian Gulf veterans. In our estimation a failure to include representatives of the non-career combat soldier on the Advisory Committee will undermine its creditability among members of the very group it would seek to help.

Mrs. Hillary Clinton
Washington, D.C. 20500
March 31, 1995

Page 2

So I would conclude by again thanking you on behalf of the entire VFW membership for your direct involvement in this issue, and urge that former enlisted non-active duty Persian Gulf veterans be included as members of the President's Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans Illnesses.

Sincerely,

James R. Currie
JAMES R. CURRIO
Executive Director

MEMORANDUM

To: The First Lady
From: Diana Zuckerman
Re: Summary of Accomplishments and Issues re Gulf War Illnesses
Date: February 27, 1995

The purpose of this memo is to summarize our accomplishments of the last month regarding Gulf War illnesses, and to list the unresolved issues that would benefit from the oversight of an independent commission or advisory committee.

Accomplishments

1. DOD and VA high level officials are now more attentive to veterans' complaints and frustrations regarding the government's response to Gulf War illnesses. They are making more efforts to improve the situation and to improve the public's perceptions.
2. The American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the two largest veterans' service organizations, are impressed by the interest and commitment of the First Lady and the President.
3. Your visits to the Washington, DC VA Medical Center and Walter Reed Army Medical Center were very well received by patients and staff, including General Blanck, who is Commander of Walter Reed.
4. Gulf War veterans, the media, and the public are beginning to be aware of the interest of the First Lady and President.
5. You reportedly impressed and inspired members of the Interagency Gulf War Illnesses Research and Clinical Committees whom you spoke to at Walter Reed. These Committees include the most involved staff from VA, DOD, and HHS. Your involvement in this issue encourages them to be less content with the status quo; we have feedback that this is especially likely for the HHS staff.
6. The National Security Council is more aware of the issues involved, and supportive of your interest and concerns.
7. DOD is revising their research plans so that they will comply with the law requiring them to provide at least \$5 million for research grants to independent scientists in FY 1995.

8. VA is planning public service announcements to make Gulf War veterans more aware of medical services and compensation that are available to those with undiagnosed illnesses.

9. VA is seriously considering a surveillance system for birth defects among Gulf War veterans.

10. DOD will soon make public relatively detailed responses to several recently reported allegations regarding the detection of chemical or biological weapons.

Other Good News

Progress is being made on other fronts, in response to Congressional efforts and other pressures.

1. The DOD is, for the first time, conducting a study of pyridostigmine use by women. Volunteers will take the pills for 3 weeks, whereas previous studies usually were for one week or less. [The study includes 30 men and 30 women who will take the drug, and 15/15 on placebo. Although not a large sample, it is a clear improvement over the 4-8 men in most studies conducted prior to the Gulf War.]

2. The DOD study of the effects of combining pyridostigmine and pesticides on rats will be completed in March. **I have confidential information (that we can't yet share with anyone) that the results will show that the combination of pesticides with each other or with pyridostigmine are more toxic than they would be alone.** The fact that these combinations kill rats does not necessarily mean they are causing illnesses for people who did not have an immediate adverse reaction; more research will be needed. While we can't call this good news, it does suggest that we soon may be able to determine some of the causes of Gulf War illnesses and prevent illnesses in future deployments.

3. The VA Gulf War Expert panel, which is meeting this week, will, for the first time, listen to Gulf War veterans and their ill family members. This is the first meeting that will be chaired by an independent scientist; previous meetings were chaired by Dr. Susan Mather.

4. I have contacted experts in the field of neurology to ask whether there are diagnostic tests (such as SPECT scans or brain mapping) that could determine if Gulf War veterans have chemically-induced brain damage. Herb Smith and other ill veterans and their advocates have claimed that such tests exist but that VA and DOD refuse to use them. According to the experts, these tests are not accurate and are easy to manipulate to "prove" damage that doesn't exist. Therefore, VA and DOD have made the right decision in not providing these exams.

THE WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

For Immediate Release

August 14, 1995

**Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
to the President's Advisory Committee on
Gulf War Veteran's Illnesses
Washington, DC**

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. I am delighted to be here at this first meeting, and on behalf of the President, I want to thank the Chair and members of the President's Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses for your willingness to perform this public service. I also want to welcome all the veterans, their friends and families, who are here to talk about their personal experiences and to hear from the Administration officials who have been working diligently on the issues raised in the President's Executive Order creating this Committee.

I want to start by emphasizing again how proud we all are of our victory in the Gulf War. Because of the enormous skill and bravery of American troops, an end was put to Saddam Hussein's brutal and illegal occupation of Kuwait. Because of the strength of U.S. leadership, the international community came together to stop and reverse unprovoked aggression against an innocent nation.

This Presidential Advisory Committee is an important example of the President's commitment to leave no stone unturned in the Administration's efforts to understand Gulf War veterans' illnesses and to make sure that the government is responsive to veterans' needs.

In his announcement, the President assured Gulf War veterans that we are grateful for their bravery, and we are as proud of them today as all of us were when they returned victorious in 1991. And most important, the President made it clear that just as we relied on our troops when they were sent to war, we must assure them that they can rely on us now.

The President and I have heard from many Gulf War veterans and their family members about their illnesses. We have received letters from all over the country, and have had the privilege of meeting with many veterans and family members in person. Some of these men and women, such as Steve Robertson and Nancy Kaplan, will be speaking to you this afternoon.

Veterans have told me about their frustrating efforts to find out why they are ill and how their illnesses can be treated. They have shared moving stories of the devastating effects on families

when fathers and mothers become disabled and unable to work. They have described what it was like to serve their country in a desert land where oil well fires turned the day to night, and where sandstorms made it difficult to breathe. Some described scud missile attacks, or told of frequent use of insecticides to protect them from insect-born diseases.

Many Gulf War veterans have been outspoken in seeking and providing information about their illnesses. This Advisory Committee will determine whether the experiences these veterans describe in the Persian Gulf, and in receiving medical care, have been adequately addressed or whether there are additional actions that need to be taken.

When Secretary Jesse Brown and I met with veterans at the local VA Hospital here in Washington, and when then Deputy Secretary of Defense John Deutch and I met with active duty soldiers at Walter Reed Hospital, the stories we heard touched us deeply, and provided important information as well. I know you will be working closely with veterans, who will be an invaluable resource in your deliberations, and I am pleased you will begin by hearing directly from Gulf War veterans today.

I have also met with the physicians, nurses, and other health care professionals from the VA and DOD who have worked with Gulf War veterans who are ill. They too express great frustration about the difficulties they have faced in helping some of the veterans and their family members whose illnesses remain undiagnosed. I know you will also work closely with these dedicated men and women, and learn from their experiences.

When the men and women of the U.S. military, Reserves, and National Guard were called to war in 1990, our Nation knew that we could rely on them, and they served our nation honorably.

When we look back to the euphoric parades for returning U.S. troops in 1991, we can still remember a great feeling of relief. We had won the war, and most Americans had returned home safely.

But throughout 1991 and 1992, there was increasing concern about some of our Gulf War veterans. There were veterans who described symptoms that did not respond to treatment, and did not go away as expected. When my husband became President and learned that the numbers of veterans with chronic symptoms seemed to be increasing, he took an active interest in helping our veterans.

Because of the leadership and dedication of the Departments of Veterans Affairs, Defense, and Health and Human Services, this Administration has already made unprecedented efforts to help Gulf War veterans. For example, never before has an Administration moved so quickly to conduct research aimed at helping returning soldiers who are ill. This year alone, the three Departments will

spend approximately \$15 million to study possible environmental hazards, to determine whether illnesses have been transmitted to spouses and children, and to develop improved treatment programs.

With the leadership of the VA, this Administration strongly supported laws to ensure that compensation is available to those who are disabled, even if the direct causes of the illnesses stemming from their military service are unknown. The VA is also providing priority medical care to Gulf War veterans, and both VA and the Defense Department have established special treatment centers to help veterans whose illnesses are particularly difficult to diagnose.

The Defense Department has also recently initiated a new program that will declassify documents and other information about the Gulf War, and make them available on Internet.

All these efforts will serve our veterans well, and most were accomplished with bipartisan support from the 103rd Congress, under the leadership of then Chairmen of the Veterans Affairs Committees, Sen. Jay Rockefeller and Rep. Sonny Montgomery, and their Committee members.

As President Clinton stated when he first announced this Advisory Committee, he is determined to do whatever it takes to respond to the concerns of Gulf War veterans.

This Administration has already convened several other panels of outside experts to examine various issues pertaining to Gulf War veterans' illnesses, but it came to realize that the issues are so complex they require a more comprehensive, sustained effort.

And so the President established this Advisory Committee, to be independent and appropriately staffed, with the relevant experience and expertise that the members represent. This Advisory Committee is unique because, as the President outlined in his Executive Order, you will review all aspects of the Federal governments' programs and policies that affect Gulf War illnesses, telling us what we are doing right and what we should be doing better.

The Executive Order specifies that you will provide "advice and recommendations" based on your review of the following: research; medical treatment; risk factors from service in the Gulf War, including possible environmental factors, and drugs and vaccines; reports of the possible detection of chemical and biological weapons; coordinating efforts that have been established by Federal agencies; external reviews by other expert panels; and outreach to veterans.

As you can see from that list, your mandate is broad. In your efforts to review all these programs and policies, the Secretaries

are pledged to assist you, and you will find their doors open to you. And the President has made it absolutely clear, in his Executive Order and in his announcement of this Advisory Committee, that when you consider your task, no issue is off limits and every reasonable inquiry should be pursued.

There are many opinions about how many Gulf War veterans are ill, what has caused those illnesses, and how they can best be treated. In talking to veterans and to those who are trying to serve them, it is clear that those opinions are as strongly held as they are diverse.

And so, your task is a difficult one. There are many unanswered questions, and we are counting on you to make sure that this Administration is doing all it can to catalog relevant questions and, in so far as possible, answer them.

For that reason, you were selected on the basis of your wide range of expertise in medical issues, scientific research, policy, and military matters. The veterans on the panel will contribute their invaluable perspectives from their military experiences, and it is particularly important that two of you served in the Gulf War. You all were selected because you do not have pre-conceived notions about the scope of the problem of Gulf War illnesses, or the causes and treatment.

None of us knows what the research now being conducted or called for in the future will tell us. So far, the research that the government has conducted indicates that thousands of veterans who were healthy when they left for the Gulf War are now ill. Many veterans believe that these symptoms cluster together into a "Gulf War Syndrome" that is unique. Based on the research to date, however, experts have concluded that there is not enough evidence to call this a syndrome. This is an issue that will continue to be studied as more research is completed.

There are disagreements about the likely causes and the best treatments for these symptoms. These issues also will continue to be studied as more research is completed.

The President has appointed this Advisory Committee because we do not yet have the answers to these important questions. These are complicated scientific questions that deserve careful scientific scrutiny.

In his Executive Order, the President has entrusted you to make sure that the Federal government is supporting appropriate research, and that, whenever possible, the results are being used to inform treatment, compensation, and priorities for future research. You are also entrusted to examine the wide array of Federal programs and policies to make sure that they not only make

sense, but also that they are being administered effectively and humanely.

I want to leave you with the image of an open door. Perhaps your most important tool as you serve on this Committee is your ability to be open-minded, to take advantage of our open-door policy to seek out the information you need to evaluate all existing programs and policies, and to make recommendations to ensure that this Administration will continue to be responsive and responsible to our veterans. We owe them that much, and more, and all of us are grateful for your willingness to take on this important public service. Thank you very much Madame Chairman.

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Adoption

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the First Lady

For Immediate Release

November 13, 1995

**REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AT NATIONAL ADOPTION MONTH EVENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

MRS. CLINTON: Good Afternoon. Thank you. Thank you. Please be seated and please be welcomed to the White House. This is a very special day for all of us. And there have been many very important events that have occurred here in the East Room of the White House, but I honestly don't believe there is any that is more important than what we are doing by celebrating National Adoption Month. And November is a particularly appropriate time to highlight the importance of adoption in this country.

It's hard to believe but Thanksgiving and the Holiday Season are a little more than a week away. And during this season we traditionally focus on family. And we recognize how much we need and depend on the love of our parents and spouses and children and other relatives. So for all of you who are gathered here to begin this celebration, that we hope will ignite a fire of enthusiasm throughout the country about adoption, I want to say thank you.

There are several members of Congress here and I am delighted that all of you could join us. Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna Shalala, a long time advocate of family and children services is here with us because all of us believe that there isn't anything more important than our families and that the families formed by adoption are special and deserve the support of all the rest of us. Because we want to emphasize that there's a need in our country to bring the richness and love and support and guidance and discipline and attention of family life to every one of America's waiting children.

As we go into the Holiday Season, I hope every American will recognize that there are tens of thousands of children waiting for the love of a mother, a father, a sister, a brother, to have grandparents and aunts and uncles, to have a dog or a cat like Socks. Tens of thousands of those children, every single day, are growing up without mothers or fathers to help teach them, to nurture them and to tell them that they are special. We know

they are, but they need someone in their family to tell them that.

Often when we think of adoption, we have a picture in our mind of infants being welcomed into a family. But adoption today involves children and teenagers of all ages, backgrounds and circumstances. In this room today are adoptive families and waiting children who demonstrate the range of adoptive experiences. Adoption has provided a new beginning for school-aged children, for adolescents, for children with physical and emotional and educational disabilities, children of different races and cultures, and brothers and sisters who want to remain together.

Let me give you a picture of the children in America who are waiting. Six out of ten of them are school-aged children. Four out of ten are white. Four out of ten are African-American. The rest, Hispanic, Native American and every other race and color that you can imagine. Two out of three have special needs. Each one of these children has the capacity to love, to bring new joy and energy into a family. Most of you who are here, the families that already know that, are living proof of how adoption can be successful and emotionally rewarding. But we need more of you.

I recently met with Shane Salter, a young man who grew up in foster care without ever being placed in a permanent family. He described what that meant to him. He talked about his continued longing for parents who would not only care for him but who could be grandparents to his own children. Adoption can change lives, not only of those in the immediate family, but through generations.

I know that adoption in America today can be frustrating and emotionally draining and expensive. A newspaper column I wrote about adoption this summer generated more responses than any other I've written. I meet people throughout the country who come up and say they have read my column and they're an adoptive parent. Or they have read my column and they're a foster parent. Or they read my column, and they were adopted. Prospective parents have written to tell me of the immense obstacles, the red tape, and the costs, particularly the legal costs, that have led them to despair of ever being able to adopt a child.

I want you to know that the President is committed to easing and encouraging the adoption process. And I recently convened a group of experts to discuss how to make the government a better partner, and more responsive to the needs of prospective parents and children. In particular, the administration is working hard to ease the adoption of minority and special-needs children. The President is committed to enforcing the Multi-Ethnic Placement Act which prohibits adoption agencies from denying the placement

of a child solely on the basis of race, color, or national origin of a child or prospective adoptive parents.

The administration also championed -- and the first bill the President signed -- was the Family and Medical Leave Act which ensures that parents can take time off when they adopt a child without fearing the loss of their jobs. And the administration has launched a public education campaign about adoption. A campaign in which I am very honored to participate. These are just some of the many initiatives, both in the government and in the private sector, and in partnership between both the public and private sectors, that are designed to support the placement of children in loving homes.

But all of your efforts and all of the administration's efforts to strengthen our families and children could be jeopardized by actions in Congress. The government currently provides essential recruitment and training services for prospective adoptive parents. As well as subsidies to families who adopt special-needs children, those living with Cerebral Palsy, or HIV, or some other disability, since those children have large medical and educational expenses. Many of the children who are special-needs, when they are adopted into families, bring with them such large medical costs, that if Medicaid is cut back substantially, the medical insurance for many of those special-needs children will no longer be available after they are adopted. Which would be a great tragedy, because there are so many parents who just need a little bit of financial help with the costs. Need a little bit of subsidy but then do need continuing medical help to be able to open their lives to these children. So we must all who care about adoption know that putting our nation's economic house in order does not mean sweeping out compassion and caring for our neediest children and families, making it less likely they will ever have a house of their own.

We have to work together to improve our adoption system. In the Proclamation for National Adoption Month the President said that citizens from all communities and organizations from the public and private sectors must join together to renew our commitment to finding permanent homes for each one of America's children. Two of the private foundations doing this important work are the Ann E. Casey Foundation which is active in five states, and the W.K. Kellogg Foundation's Families For Kids, active in ten states.

I wish we could re-double, re-triple our efforts. I believe that if we really put our minds to it, if we could recruit qualified volunteers out of our judicial system and our legal system and our social work system, to be assigned to each child who is waiting to be adopted. We could make it possible for thousands and thousands more children to be adopted by this time

next year. We have to put our minds to it but there is no more important task than trying to do everything in our power to ensure that every child has a family.

Perhaps no person has been a more effective advocate for children waiting to be adopted, than our next speaker. The founder of Wendy's, the star of T.V., Dave Thomas started speaking out on adoption in 1990 when he became the national spokesperson for the White House Initiative on Adoption. As an adopted child himself, he says he would not have become the successful father, husband and businessman he is today, had he not been able to grow up in a supportive family.

The Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption seeks to make adoption more affordable, streamline the adoption process, and educate the public about the potential joys of adoption. Mr. Thomas believes that no child is unadoptable and every child deserves a home and a loving family. But he knows, as we all do, that we have to overcome some misconceptions about adoption. We have to make it very clear that the children who are waiting are children just like yours and mine and every other child who goes to school and plays in playgrounds. They are America's children. And we have to make it clear to America that they would benefit greatly from having one of these children in their lives.

Mr. Thomas has also been a leader in the campaign to encourage corporations to extend maternity benefits to adoptive parents. This is so important. We do a terrible job in our country of ensuring maternity benefits in nearly every instance in most of the businesses in our country. It's important for new parents to be able to spend time with that child. Think how important it is for a new child coming into a strange home, filled with anticipation to have some time where he is the center of that family's attention, and that at least one parent gets a chance to spend that time with the child.

Within Wendy's, adoption benefits are paid leave and financial assistance with adoption costs. Available to employees who have been with the company for at least one year. All of us are very proud of Mr. Thomas' leadership and grateful to him for it.

Following him to the podium will be the Reverend Wayne Thompson, President of One Church-One Child. This is one of the great ideas in America. And I wish every church would join One Church-One Child. Because through One Church-One Child, we have seen literally hundreds of thousands of children being given homes who might otherwise not have been known to anyone. And the church serves as a back-up extended family for the members who adopt children. Through this work, thousands of African-American children have found loving homes and supportive church congregations.

You will also be hearing from the Marshall Family. The proud parents of two beautiful little girls, they have experienced so much love and happiness with their two daughters, that they have spent considerable time promoting adoption in their own community. In fact, they are the family featured in the posters supporting adoption that appear in Wendy's restaurants around the world.

And then finally, we will hear from a young woman who knows exactly what's at stake. Deanna is 13. She lived in a foster home for seven years before moving into a group home in Topeka, Kansas. Though she no longer lives with her two foster sisters, she is still close to them and she is still waiting. She is a cheerleader, an avid reader, and a budding poet -- and a lovely young woman based on my experience with her a few minutes ago.

So these people who will be speaking to you have the experience that we would like to see transmitted to every American. They know what it's like to form a family by choice. To be able to say, I choose you to be my son or daughter. And in return to know what it's like as a child to have the love and support that can only come from one's own family. So please join me in welcoming Mr. Dave Thomas."

Dave Thomas: "Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. I thank you Mrs. Clinton. I asked Mrs. Clinton about, something like about a year ago, if she would help. And she said, "I will." And that's the reason why we're here today so I just want everyone to know that Mrs. Clinton and the President are dedicated to adoption. So let's give them a big hand, because they did it.

Let me tell you why I'm interested in adoption. I was adopted as Mrs. Clinton said, and my mother, my foster mother died when I was about five years old. And I was born out of wedlock and I had nothing to do with it -- trust me. And I had nothing to do about being adopted, it wasn't my fault. But I was adopted and I had six, no not six, I had three more foster mothers and step-mothers and then I left when I was 15 years old. But I do know how important it is, a family. And all through my life I've always been envious of mothers and fathers. Because I've never seen my mother and father. And if you have never seen your mother and father and the nurturing, you know everyone deserves the love and nurturing, when you grow up. I never had it, and I've always been kind of jealous of it.

And my kids, I have five children, fourteen grandchildren, and I probably spoil them for that reason. Now whether that's good or bad, but it's one of the things that, I wasn't spoiled. But I know one thing, I did have a grandmother that did care for

me. She was my foster grandmother and I didn't find out until I was 13 years old that I was adopted, and I was really hurt. So I do know how important it is and I feel so sorry for these children today, in particular, parents who don't take care of their children. I mean I just think it's a crime. I think we need to have an education to educate these parents about responsibility. I don't know how you feel about it but I'm real strong on responsibility.

You know, in foster care, there is almost a half-million children in foster care right now. And there's about 100,000 waiting to be adopted. And when we started the foundation, we said, well, we need to have some goals. And our objective was to make adoption affordable and take the red tape out of adoption, and so that's what we've really been trying to do. And so the first thing we did, we put adoption benefits right with the maternity benefits. And I want everybody to understand it's kind of a no-brainer. If you have maternity benefits, add adoption benefits. And we've done that--

I'm even trying to get the federal government to do the same. Right Mrs. Clinton? Mrs. Clinton said she's going support me. Congressmen? -- Women? -- Senators? Don't forget now, because it's really important. But right now we have, in about thirty-five states, we have adoption benefits. And in cities and in corporations. We wrote all kinds of letters and it's really the right thing to do. We have not said how much, but just to help.

And we also have a bill in the Congress to a tax-credit. And I think it's something for -- adoption is expensive. And we need to help people to adopt as Mrs. Clinton said. And I hope this bill -- Debby -- is going to work out real well. I hope everybody supports it because it's really an important thing.

And then, I think that the next thing that we've been working on, is that we've tried something that we call a computer. Does everybody understand what computers are? And Jan Heffner is the Director of the Dave Thomas Foundation -- stand up Jan -- Jan has been working on this real, real hard.

You know what it is, it's really children with willing parents. Now the children need to be matched with willing parents. And what's happened is IBM, AT&T and Marriot have helped with some government agencies working to make this happen. And the first example case of adoption's waiting children on-line through the National Adoption Center, there was 100,000 inquiries. Am I right Jan? Over 100,000. So Internet is really something that we're really trying to work on.

We're trying to do everything we can to make it possible and remind people about adoption. Because, what happens, these kids are out there, and they go from foster home to foster home. I was in Chicago not too long ago and a little boy, six years old, was in sixteen foster homes. Can you imagine that? I mean that's not fair. So that's what we're really trying to do and if we can get the federal government -- that would really be a good example to put in for all the federal workers adoption benefits. Don't you think so?"

Mrs. Clinton: "I do."

Dave Thomas: "So, I'd just like to say this, I'd like to just say this. I think this is really a great event. I think it's something that we need to work on. And the more awareness and the more we talk about it. And I just keep talking about, and some people like to listen to me and some don't. But I'm going to keep talking because that -- every boy and every girl deserves a loving family. So thank you, and god bless you."

Wayne Thompson: "Thank you Mrs. Clinton for the opportunity to be a part of this historic day, and for your help in raising the awareness of the need for adoptions in our nation. The importance of adoption of children throughout our country can never be overstated. For these children are fortunate enough to have loving, permanent homes, in which they have been nurtured and cared for. They're led into adulthood with the support of parents which every child is entitled to and every child requires."

The family values are embodied by those parents who choose to bring children into their families and experience the joys of parenthood. The mission of the National One Church-One Child is to challenge each and every African-American congregation to adopt one African-American child. We believe that this furthers our need in our community for taking responsibility for our children. Believe me, this plan works.

In our church, we have had over sixteen adoptions since my involvement in this worthwhile program. In fact, there's one little boy who thinks he's pastor. When he was adopted I noticed that -- I always go to the door to greet the members as they leave -- I noticed that my line was shorter than usual, and I became a little bit concerned. I looked around and saw him shaking hands. And he had been adopted by a single-parent, a young woman who was an accountant, so I went over to him and I said, 'Now listen, there are some ground rules in this church. I'm the pastor -- and I shake everybody's hands so if you want to shake hands, come stand by me.' Well the brightness of his eyes

told the whole story. That where he had had no friends, no extended family, no church home, he was rejoicing, because now he had a new family and new friends.

We've had enormous success in placing children in our community in much needed adoptive homes. Many families, however, cannot adopt children without the help of the federal guarantee of financial assistance for every child and especially for special-needs children. This includes the children with Downs Syndrome and Cerebral Palsy and HIV AIDS and crack-cocaine addictive. These children are important too. And children are important to god and so our mission is one that we feel that we must continue to fight until the battle has been won.

The average family could not accept the responsibility for these children without the federal guarantee of financial assistance that is currently provided. This guarantee enables these families to care for children who would otherwise languish in the foster care system. And we are aware that there are welfare reform proposals that are pending now in Congress that would eliminate this much needed guarantee. And so our aim, and our struggle continues as we sound the alarm throughout our communities and from our pulpits, that there are children who are needed to be adopted, but that the government needs to accept the partnership which we offer. We offer it willingly. We offer it gladly.

Two out of three children who are waiting for adoption in this country have special-needs, making this federal guarantee more essential than every before. In the history of One Church-One Child, since 1980, more than 90,000 children have found homes through our congregations across this nation.

We thank god for the vision of Father Clemence many years ago and we thank you, Mrs. Clinton, for the vision you've cast forth today, because with your support and the support of those who represent and make up our government, we know that the prayers of the righteous will be answered. And so we offer, in this partnership consortium, the prayers of many people who want children to have permanent loving homes. Many pastors who work in our programs have themselves, like me, become adoptive parents and so we know that we practice what we preach. And we know that the children are the ones who get the blessing.

Again, thank you for making this a special day for children across this nation. We know that they long and deserve permanent, loving homes. And so that the need for further guaranteed federal protection most come and we believe with the help of god it will come. Thank you."

Mrs. Marshall: "First of all, I'd like to thank Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Thomas and all others involved, for inviting my family to be a part of this special event for a very important issue.

First of all, I would like to say that if only everyone out there knew, how much joy and happiness Kayla and Terry have brought into me and my husband's life, everyone would be lined up at all adoption agencies everywhere to adopt a child.

My husband and I have been married for 12 years. After being married 9 years, we decided we wanted children. I went to the doctor and found out that I wasn't able to have children. I used to always watch a local spot on our local news program called, 'Wednesday's Child'. They highlight on children that are up for adoption and need homes. So we decided to call Franklin County Children's Services and see how we could go through the adoption process.

They invited us to an adoption party in April of 1992. We were there for about an hour and there were hundreds of kids there from the ages of new-born to 7 years of age. We were there and we played with kids, we made balloons, we jumped rope and then all of a sudden, a little girl comes in. She was late. She came in and she had her little friend's hand and I looked at my husband and I said, 'Look at those jaws, I just love her.' When I first saw her, we knew that she was the one.

She talked to us at lunch, she asked for our fruit that we didn't want. She wasn't shy at all. And so we knew that she was the one and we called the next day and said that we wanted to start our class immediately, we wanted to get her as soon as possible. After we adopted Terry, she wanted sisters and brothers and so we said, 'Hey, we're willing to go and adopt another.' So then, Kayla comes into our life and there's not a day that doesn't go by that she just makes us smile and laugh so much. And if we had room in our home we would adopt 1,000 kids, no matter what race, what religion, color. We just love kids, because children are our future.

I remember when one day we didn't have kids, back when we didn't have kids, we adopted 15 children, nieces, nephews, neighbors' kids, and we went to the Ice Capades. We took up a whole row. We came back to our one bedroom apartment, we threw a big pajama party for 15 children. So, I mean, if we had room, we would adopt more, but we don't have the room in our home but we do have the room in our hearts. And we would like to let the kids know that are waiting for families and homes to keep the faith and with a little bit of help, hope and prayer, you'll all have a family and a home some day. Thank you."

Deanna Moppin: "My name is Deanna Lee Moppin. I have been in SRS custody ever since I was five years old. I was removed from my birth home because of sexual abuse. I was then placed in a new home where I remained for seven years, but then we seemed to have some problems so I was removed from that home along with two other of the girls that were in there.

We were placed in a shelter in Topeka, Kansas where we remained for a few nights before moving on to the villages. In the villages, I have two foster parents and there are nine other kids living with me. The foster parents try to help us feel good about ourselves and they try to help us with our problems and they do the best to find us all good homes that we will happy in.

Some of the kids have nowhere to go, so they just have to keep putting one foot in front of the other and hope for the best while making goals for themselves until they reach their destination.

For most of them their destination is adoption. It is also one of mine. The reasons that I want to get adopted is usually if I want to go to the movies, I have to ask my house parents and they have to ask my village social worker who has to ask my social worker -- and then it has to come back the same way. That usually takes awhile. And if I want clothes, I have to ask my house parents who have to ask my village social worker who has to ask my social worker. There is also paper work that needs to be done and that usually takes up to about three weeks.

The other reasons that I want to be adopted is I would have a place that I could call home. I would have a room that I could call my room. I would have a family that I could love and would love me back.

I wrote a poem about waiting for a home and I would like to share it with you now:

My nerves cringe with excitement as I must wait.
I don't know when it will happen, there is no date.

My one wish that I hope to come true.
Will you make my wish come true, will you?

I don't want to be here forever, I want a home.
Please get me out of this system and out of this dome.

Does anyone want me; it feels like three whole years.
I am still waiting for you, I'm so close to tears.

I want to live happy with my spirit so free.
Only you can make it happen; when will it be?

The papers are here, you have finally heard.
I'd fly to you now if I were a bird.

One question left; Do we make a pair?
Are you somebody who will really care?

I hope you're the one for other choices have come.
I'll go through them all for my choice should not be dumb.

I've always been hoping for this day to arrive.
Without a good family I could not survive.

My nerves boil with excitement I no longer wait.
I know when it will happen and I do know the date.

Mrs. Clinton: "I want to thank everyone who's here and all of the participants. I want to invite all of you into the State Dining Room where there will be a reception and some cookies and things for all of the children who have demonstrated extraordinary patience this afternoon. I just want to end with something that really, I think, echoes what everyone said. The primary responsibility for children lies with the parents and parents have the highest obligation to their own children and should do everything in their power to take care of those children. But sometimes for a lot of reasons that go back to the beginning of human history, that responsibility is not accepted. And then all the rest of us, I think, have the responsibility. We are a part of every child's family whether we acknowledge it or not. And so in any way that we can, we should try to accept that responsibility and give the love and attention that every child who was born deserves to have. And so that's what we hope the result of this National Adoption Month campaign will lead to -- more and more Americans accepting responsibility for all our children. Thank you very much."



After 10 years in foster care, Deanna Moppin (center) will spend this Christmas with her new parents, Sherada and Bob. The 13-year-old girl moved into her new home this weekend.

MARCIO JOSE SANCHEZ/
The Star

New family fulfills girl's holiday wish

By ANNE LAMOY
Staff Writer

Thirteen-year-old Deanna Moppin got a Christmas present that money can't buy — a family of her own.

This past weekend, the Kansas City, Kan., girl who had been in foster care for 10 years officially moved into a new home, complete with a new dad, a new mom and her very own pink bedroom.

The national spotlight focused on Deanna in November when she met first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in Washington.

The youngster told the first lady that she wanted a family of her own, especially as the holidays approached. At the time, Deanna wasn't looking forward to spending Christmas at a group home in Topeka, where she lived this year.

"I'd like to have parents I can call Mom and Dad," Deanna had said.

Unbeknownst to Deanna, as she spoke with the first lady, social workers in Kansas were choosing her new family.

Deanna spent the long Thanksgiving weekend with her parents-to-be, Bob and Sherada, at their Johnson County home. To protect Deanna's privacy,

See **TEEN-AGER, A-22, Col. 1**

Teen-ager who longed for a family gets mom and dad for Christmas

Continued from A-1

Bob and Sherada's last names are not being used.

During Thanksgiving, Deanna met new aunts, uncles and cousins — the best part of finding a home.

"Actually getting treated like you're part of the family," Deanna said from her new home Saturday. "They all came in and gave me hugs and said: 'Oh, we've heard so much about you.'"

Since Thanksgiving it's been a whirlwind courtship between the couple and their new daughter.

They've spent weekends together shopping, watching movies, decorating gingerbread cookies and doing more shopping.

Aside from Deanna's first bedroom, she has new clothes ("not a whole new wardrobe," she said, "but close enough") and a pile of presents under the Christmas tree (Deanna said it was "weird" seeing so many packages for her).

On Saturday, Deanna, a tall, self-conscious young woman, confessed that she's still a little overwhelmed with her new life.

Although her adoption won't be final for a few months, Deanna is looking forward to the day when everything feels normal.

"I just think of myself as another kid."

Her new parents, however, are relishing their roles, focusing much of their energy on Deanna over the last month.

"I keep seeing things (in stores) that Deanna might like," Bob said. "I'm excited."

Bob brags about Deanna's artistic talents, boasting that she almost single-handedly decorated the Christmas tree. There's no doubt that he's proud of Deanna already.

"We want to encourage her to develop her artistic abilities, which are obvious," he said. "She can sing and draw and write."

Deanna's not as confident of her talents, but she smiles shyly with the praise.

red hair behind an ear. Instinctively, Deanna cringed and wrinkled her nose.

"She's a normal mother of a normal teen-ager," Bob explained. "She embarrasses Deanna, as a normal mother would."

And, like a normal teen-ager, Deanna wants to know how much her allowance will be. That remains under negotiation.

"That was her first question," Sherada said. "If she walks the dogs for me every day, we could be talking large sums of money."

Deanna said she would consider it,

Although Deanna is satisfied with new parents for Christmas, she admitted that she was looking forward to tearing into the packages under the tree.

She even threatened to pounce on Bob and Sherada in their bed if they didn't get up soon enough this morning.

"That's fine," Bob answered. "We don't have any traditions."

"It's our first Christmas as a family with a kid."



WENDY'S INTERNATIONAL, INC.

cc: Debbie Both

R. DAVID THOMAS
Senior Chairman of the Board & Founder

November 17, 1995

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady of the United States
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Thank you for hosting such a terrific event at the White House to help us raise awareness about the thousands of children awaiting homes and families in America. The children and families that attended felt very special and really enjoyed themselves--and I did, too!

I know you care deeply about these children, and I agree with you that the best place for children is with permanent families, not in temporary foster care. I also agree that families play an important role in each child's development, and greatly impact what they will eventually contribute to our nation's future. It is public-private partnerships, and innovative programs like some of the ones you highlighted, that will make a difference in the months and years to come.

Mrs. Clinton, initial media reports indicate that you brought the issues facing adoptable children to the nation in a very big way on Monday. I really appreciate your taking the time and making the commitment to use the power of the White House in such an effective and productive way. It was a wonderful thing that you did for these young people.

Thanks again for your help. We look forward to working with you in the future on developing focused, effective adoption programs that will make a difference. If, through this simple act, we can find a home and love for just one child, we will have been successful.

Best wishes to you and your family for the holiday season.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Dave". The signature is stylized with a large, bold "D" and a cursive "ave".

R. David Thomas

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 19, 1995

Maria Teresa Carrasco de Wasmosy
Mburuvicha Roga
Asunción, Paraguay

Maria Teresa
Dear Mrs. Wasmosy,

I am writing to you on behalf of a group of American parents now in Asunción trying to adopt Paraguayan children, many of whom have written to me about their personal concerns. As mothers, we both understand the strong urge of these adoptive parents to unite their families in this holiday season. But as spouses of Presidents, the intervening political and judicial realities are not lost on us either. I hope that there is some middle ground that will allow the authorities in your country to process as many legal adoptions as possible in the coming weeks.

As I understand the situation, approximately fifty American adoption cases are in the final stages of the judicial process at the moment. However, in connection with Paraguay's admirable judicial reform, many of these cases have recently been delayed. As the judicial summer recess approaches, the adoptive American parents face the prospect of putting their babies back into foster care, perhaps for months, and returning to the United States alone.

I hope there is some way to minimize the heartbreak for both the adoptive parents and the babies who have been bonding with them, in some cases for months. I understand that our embassy has been in contact with your judicial authorities in Asunción and I know that our diplomats are prepared to cooperate in any way to move the adoption process forward.

The President and I wish you and President Wasmosy a wonderful holiday season and all success in 1996. Thank you again for your leadership and gracious hospitality during the First Ladies hemispheric meeting in October.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hillary

Hillary Rodham Clinton

ROUTINE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: RABNER

SIT: NSC

<PREC> ROUTINE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 161927Z JAN 96

FM AMEMBASSY ASUNCION

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 6167
INFO RUEHBR/AMEMBASSY BRASILIA 3920
RUEHMN/AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO 2758
RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
RHBUE/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 2125
RUEHSG/AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 8635
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STATE FOR ARA/BSC (PLANTY) AND CA (A/S RYAN)

WHITE HOUSE FOR FIRST LADY'S OFFICE (NICOLE RABNER)

E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: CVIS, PREL, PA

SUBJECT: PARAGUAYANS DELIVER RECORD ADOPTIONS BEFORE
JUDICIAL RECESS: A HAPPY ENDING, BUT PROBLEMS
REMAIN

REFS: (A) 95 ASUNCION 3977, (B) 95 STATE 291542

1. SUMMARY. A WELL-TIMED LETTER FROM FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, INTENSE LOBBYING BY THE EMBASSY AND TIRELESS WORK FROM OUR CONSULAR SECTION RESULTED IN A RECORD 90 ADOPTIONS COMPLETED UNDER THE WIRE BEFORE THE PARAGUAYAN JUDICIAL SUMMER RECESS. THIS OUTCOME IS A CREDIT TO USG ADVOCACY FOR AMERICANS ABROAD AND A GENUINE HAPPY ENDING FOR THE ADOPTIVE PARENTS. NEVERTHELESS, THE PARAGUAYAN ADOPTION SYSTEM IS STILL FRUSTRATING AND UNPREDICTABLE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO NEED DEPARTMENT HELP TO GET THAT WORD OUT TO THE AGENCIES AND TO THE ADOPTIVE PARENTS. END SUMMARY.

2. REF A AND PREVIOUS REPORTED THE SERIOUS BOTTLENECK OF U.S. ADOPTION CASES IN PARAGUAY AROUND CHRISTMAS. WITH THE NEARLY 2-MONTH PARAGUAYAN JUDICIAL RECESS LOOMING, 70-PLUS AMERICAN ADOPTIVE PARENTS IN ASUNCION APPEALED TO THE EMBASSY FOR HELP.

3. IN RESPONSE, EMBASSY ADVOCACY FOR THE BELEAGUERED AMERICANS HAS STEPPED UP, INCLUDING CONTACTS WITH

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PAGE 02 OF 02

PRESIDENT WASMOSY, SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT PACIELLO AND WITH EVERY MEMBER OF THE APPELLATE JUVENILE COURT.

4. HOWEVER, IT WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY A PERSONAL LETTER FROM FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON TO MRS. WASMOSY (REF. B) WHICH MOVED THE ADOPTIONS ISSUE TO THE FRONT BURNER. ACTIVE FOLLOW-UP ON THE PARAGUAYAN SIDE BY MRS. WASMOSY'S CHIEF OF STAFF, LEILA RACHID, WAS ALSO A KEY FACTOR IN MOVING NOT ONLY THE COURTS, BUT ALSO THE CIVIL REGISTRY AND GOP PASSPORT OFFICE.

5. BY THE DECEMBER 31 DEADLINE, THE COURTS HAD SIGNED OUT 90 ADOPTION DECREES FOR U.S. CITIZEN PARENTS. THE EMBASSY CONSULAR SECTION HANDLED 25 PERCENT OF THE ENTIRE YEAR'S ADOPTIONS IN A WEEK, AND DID SO WITH EQUANIMITY AND PROFESSIONALISM -- DESPITE FURLOUGHS AND NO PAY.

COMMENT

6. INTERNATIONAL ADOPTIONS IN PARAGUAY ARE TERRIBLY COMPLICATED AND THE FRUSTRATION LEVEL OF AMERICAN ADOPTIVE PARENTS GENERALLY RUNS FROM HIGH TO OFF THE SCALE. THIS EPISODE ENDED WELL. HOWEVER, WE CANNOT REALISTICALLY SUSTAIN THE LEVEL OF PRESSURE ON THE GOP APPLIED IN THE LAST 10 DAYS OF DECEMBER. FURTHERMORE, THE PARAGUAYANS ARE TRYING TO CLEAN UP THE ADOPTION PROCESS, IN PART, BECAUSE WE HAVE ASKED THEM TO. SOME DEGREE OF CHAOS WILL INEVITABLY PLAGUE THE REFORM EFFORT AND THIS WILL NOT BE LOST ON AMERICAN ADOPTIVE PARENTS. POST WILL CONTINUE TO NEED DEPARTMENT'S HELP IN WARNING AGENCIES AND PROSPECTIVE ADOPTIVE PARENTS ABOUT THE DELAYS AND FRUSTRATIONS OF ADOPTING IN PARAGUAY.

HARRIS

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As delivered

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF
WIVES OF HEADS OF STATE AND OF GOVERNMENTS OF THE AMERICAS
LA PAZ, BOLIVIA
DECEMBER 3, 1996

President and Mrs. Sanchez de Lozada, First Ladies and special envoys representing the nations of the Western Hemisphere, and distinguished guests:

It is a great pleasure for me to be in La Paz and to join you for this annual conference. I particularly want to thank Mrs. Sanchez de Lozada for her leadership on behalf of women -- especially her work to promote safe motherhood, education, and to reduce domestic violence -- and for extending to all of us a warm welcome this week.

I know that, as in the past, this gathering will provide new insights and fresh inspiration as we work to expand opportunities for women, children, and families in North, Central, South America and the Caribbean region. I am also pleased to note that Vice President Gore will be in Santa Cruz in a few days representing the United States government at what promises to be a significant hemispheric meeting on sustainable development.

This is my first trip to Bolivia, but I have long felt a special connection to this country. Little Rock, the capital of my home state of Arkansas, is a sister city of Santa Cruz in what is called the Eastern Bolivia-Arkansas partnership. This partnership has initiated cultural, professional and health exchanges that have benefitted the people in both of our countries. So I am especially delighted finally to be in Bolivia after all these years.

Many Bolivians have made their mark on my country. I am proud to say that President Clinton named a woman who was born and raised here in La Paz, Maria Otero, to be the Chair of the

Board of the Inter-American Foundation. That foundation funds grassroots development in the region, and Maria is with me today.

I'm also pleased to be here at a time of such hope and promise for women, children and families across the Americas and around the world. A few days ago, I returned from a trip with my husband to Australia, the Philippines and Thailand, and at each stop I had the chance to talk to diverse groups of women -- from government leaders to grassroots activists to teenage school girls. And I was reminded once again, no matter where we find ourselves in the world today, our aspirations and concerns are fundamentally the same.

Thanks in part to the agenda set at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, as well as the conferences of this group in Miami, and Asuncion and elsewhere, the status of women is improving in many countries.

In the Philippines last week, I had the opportunity along with Mrs. Frei to speak to 15,000 women and girls in Manila. Some had traveled for days by boat and car to celebrate the Beijing Agenda and just as we are doing today, they came together to renew their commitment to women's rights -- and to ensure that every woman and girl has access to the tools of opportunity: health care, education, jobs and credit, legal protections and the right to participate fully in the political life of their countries.

In the 15 months since Beijing, we have seen advances on every continent. In country after country, governments, non-governmental organizations, businesses and corporations, and individual citizens are beginning to recognize that elevating the status of women and girls in society is essential to progress and prosperity. That is the same whether we are talking about the East, the West, the North or the South; there is a growing appreciation of women's contributions inside and outside of the home - and a greater understanding that everyone in society benefits when women are allowed to claim the political, economic, social, and civic power they are due.

The Western Hemisphere is no exception. In Panama, the family code has been reformed, giving women more say in alimony, child support and child custody cases. The country's new Law 27

on Intra-Family Violence criminalizes certain forms of domestic violence. In Colombia, men and women now have equal weight in determining divorce. In El Salvador and Peru, new institutions have been established to address issues relating to women's development. In Guatemala, a national university has created scholarships for indigenous women to study political science.

Jamaica's Gold Street Program, which addresses teen violence and adolescent pregnancy, has become a model that the United States is using to confront the same issues in the city of Baltimore. In Brazil, women are now entitled to free breast and uterine exams. And in Chile, the government has committed itself to tackling AIDS and adolescent pregnancies and to expanding educational opportunities for girls. And here in Bolivia, as part of the President's plans, the Plan de Todos, special efforts are being made to reach out to the indigenous population.

From the northernmost reaches of Canada to the southern tip of South America, women are pushing governments to lift the veil of secrecy that for too long has concealed the tragic crime of domestic violence. I mentioned the legal advances in Panama. Another ground-breaking domestic violence law was passed in Ecuador, creating Family Courts that are empowered to separate an abusive spouse from the home. In Costa Rica, police officers receive special training on how to handle domestic violence cases. In my own country we recently launched a national hotline for victims of domestic violence which has already received 50,000 calls.

Looking across our region, we also see progress on the goals that this group outlined at our previous meetings. Those goals to eliminate measles from the hemisphere, reduce maternal mortality, and promote education reform are making progress. Since 1995, our region has witnessed a 63 percent decline in measles. We have seen the Partnership for the Revitalization of Education in the Americas launch new efforts to expand educational opportunities in six countries. And while the tragic problem of maternal mortality continues to haunt us, we know that progress will come if we focus more energy and resources on this issue.

It is clear that pioneering efforts are underway across the Americas to improve conditions for women and girls. Earlier

today in La Paz, I visited with Ximena, Banco Sol, the only commercial bank in the world and the largest that specializes in microenterprise right here. I spoke to women whose lives had been transformed because they had received a modest loan to start selling vegetables in the market, to start making skirts. Not only had they become economically self-sufficient, they had begun to lift their families out of poverty and improve the economies of their communities. We met one woman in the market who is caring for her six orphan grandchildren because of the loans that she had received. I have seen the same encouraging results at FINCA, a micro-lending enterprise that I visited in Managua, Nicaragua. I've visited a comparable enterprise in Santiago and I have seen it in my own country.

In La Paz today I also visited new and expectant mothers at a primary health care center run by an NGO, PROSALUD. The 28 PROSALUD clinics offer prenatal care and family planning services that have resulted in safer pregnancies and deliveries and, in some cases, have saved lives.

This is but one piece of the nationwide effort here in Bolivia to promote safe motherhood and family planning so that women and girls are educated about their own health and their own reproductive options.

Although the rate is far too high, Bolivia's success over the past five years at reducing maternal mortality offers a model for the world of how one nation has responded to a serious health crisis and galvanized the government, non-governmental organizations, and the medical communities. I wish to commend the President and the Vice President for their leadership in this very important effort.

It is worth noting that Bolivia undertook this campaign not only as a way to reduce maternal mortality, but also to reduce the increasing rate of abortion. Without access to family planning, women often turn in desperation to illegal, unsafe abortion procedures that account for half of all maternal deaths in this country. Deaths from abortion complications are responsible for from 30 to 70 percent of maternal mortality in our hemisphere, depending on the country.

Here, in Brazil, and in other places around the globe, I have seen examples of how investments in family planning improve maternal health and the well-being of families as well as reduce the number of abortions. The United States has supported family planning efforts, including Bolivia's. However, as you may know, some members of the United States Congress have voted to limit American support for family planning initiatives. My husband's Administration remains committed to encouraging a continuation of these investments, which represent a sensible, cost-effective and long-range strategy for improving women's health and for lowering the rate of abortion. And for my part, I will certainly remember and share the powerful stories I have heard around the world to explain why these programs are critical.

Education is also critical. It is inextricably tied to how women and children achieve progress. Children of illiterate mothers are twice as likely to die as those with mothers who are educated. So our efforts across the Western Hemisphere to educate girls and mothers will have a profound and concrete effect on women's health. The better educated a girl or woman is, the healthier she is. The healthier she is, the healthier her family is. And all of society stands to gain.

While some may dismiss the achievements of this conference and the conferences before or of the Beijing Agenda as merely "women's issues" that have no place on the front-burner of global politics, I believe that you here in Bolivia, and certainly your President and Vice President understand how they are part of sustainable development and progress. They represent a balancing of power that is just as crucial to the endurance of democracy as issues like trade, diplomacy and national security. Democracy, after all, requires the full participation of all citizens, including women.

And today, we can take heart knowing that democracy has replaced dictatorship around the world and virtually throughout our own hemisphere. Building and sustaining democracy has always required a balance of power, a balance of public power, private economic power, and the power of civic society, those formal and informal networks that bring people together. It is the balance of power that Bolivia has incorporated into its Popular Participation Law, and by doing so, insured the further success of democracy. Whether we succeed at achieving the balance of

power is particularly important for women who despite the strides we have made, still find their voices silenced and their potential stymied in too many parts of the world. In country after country -- from the most advanced democracies to those newly emerging, from the most dynamic free market economies to those struggling in the face of rapid global change -- women are still striving to define and attain their rightful place in government, the economy, the civil society and throughout their lives.

Women are seeking balance in their lives and in their societies, and I am heartened that civic education is on the agenda of this conference. Teaching people about democratic values and the importance of their participation in the political process is critical to sustaining democracy. When we look at what is happening in our hemisphere, when I look at what is happening in my own country, I see that the voices and votes of women can make a difference. If all of us believe in the God-given potential of each human being, then all of us should do what we can in our own ways and our own roles to further those voices and that potential.

For all of the challenges that confront us on the eve of this new century I am optimistic about our future. I am optimistic about our hemisphere and about our capacity to meet those challenges. And certainly, if there is one vision that should guide us, it is that of the young people who rely on us to leave them a world that encourages their dreams, nurtures their talents and respects their choices. That is really why we are gathered today -- most of us in this auditorium have made most of the choices we will make that will determine the course of our lives. It is up to us to determine how we provide the same opportunities for all of our sons and daughters.

Building a better future for children, women, men, and families in the Western Hemisphere is not just the opportunity of government, it is the responsibility of all of us. And I thank you very much for being part of meeting that responsibility and challenge.

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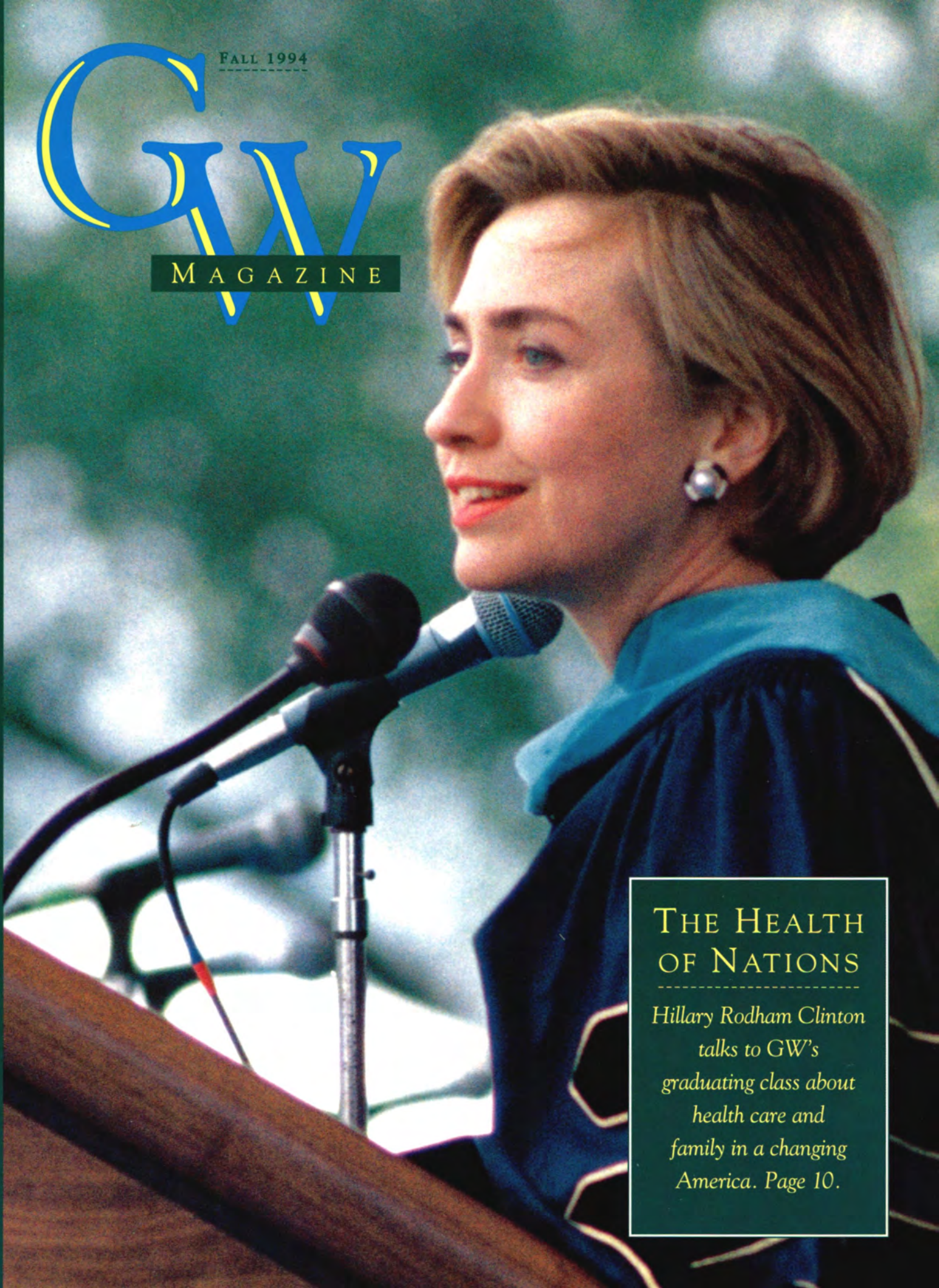
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GW

FALL 1994

MAGAZINE



THE HEALTH OF NATIONS

*Hillary Rodham Clinton
talks to GW's
graduating class about
health care and
family in a changing
America. Page 10.*

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S AND FIRST LADY'S RECENT SPEECHES

The President's Committee would like to share with you excerpts from recent speeches by the President and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton addressing the importance of the arts and culture for individuals and our society. Mrs. Clinton serves as Honorary Chair of the President's Committee.

EXCERPT FROM THE PRESIDENT'S GREETING TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF LOCAL ARTS AGENCIES MEETING IN SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA, JUNE 9TH, 1995.



Photo: Elisa Komins

EXCERPT FROM THE FIRST LADY'S REMARKS AT THE OPENING OF THE 20TH CENTURY SCULPTURE EXHIBIT IN THE FIRST LADY'S GARDEN, MAY 15TH, 1995:

At a time of great debate about the role of art in society, I am particularly pleased that we can showcase American art and artists at the White House. The President and I have always believed that art is not a marginal part of our culture nor a luxury that should only be accessible to those who can afford it. Art evokes our emotions and provokes our ideas. It enlarges our understanding of the world around us. It tells us who we are and what we can be and it ought to be experienced and shared by all Americans.

...At a time when government support for the arts is being challenged as never before, my Administration is committed to preserving America's artistic traditions. Our budget proposal maintains our strong support for the National Endowment for the Arts so that it can carry on the essential work of inspiring all Americans to celebrate our nation's rich cultural heritage. The revitalized President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities is working to strengthen these efforts by encouraging partnerships among Federal agencies and by striving to stimulate private sector participation.

EXCERPTS FROM THE FIRST LADY'S SPEECH AT THE 125 ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, JUNE 6, 1995:

...For all we celebrate tonight, I must say, though, it is something of a bittersweet moment for those of us who care deeply about the arts in our country. Because, there is, as you know well, a movement underway to undermine the cultural traditions that all of you in this room are upholding by your presence tonight.

It is sad that there are those among us who do not appreciate what this Museum represents - what it stands for. And who more than that, do not understand that our democracy depends upon culture. We are witnessing a full-scale assault on public support of the arts which in many ways is misguided and misinformed. One of the great accomplishments of the arts in America, is that it truly has become part of the public domain.

...I would argue strongly, that, contrary to those who say, "Public support for the arts is a luxury we can no longer afford," that it is, instead, a necessity for the continuing strength and vitality of our community of culture in this country.



Photo: The White House

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S OPINION EDITORIAL PIECE, "ARTS FOR OUR SAKE," IN THE NEW YORK TIMES, JUNE 21, 1995.

I find it ironic that those who talk the loudest about America's loss of civility, character and values (particularly those arising from Western civilization) are often the first to recommend obliterating the agencies responsible for promoting ... programs that make Sophocles, Shakespeare, Mozart and O'Keefe available to our children.

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AT THE NATIONAL DESIGN AWARDS, MARCH 9, 1995:

...The GSA, in partnership with the National Endowment for the Arts, deserves great credit for encouraging creative design in our nation's infrastructure. Together they have encouraged preeminent national designers to participate in this process. These kinds of public-private partnerships are essential to bringing out the best, not only in government, but also in the private sector.

As the world's leading purchaser of design services, the Federal government should be the leader in fostering design excellence. Good design can affect our lives by beautifying our surroundings, improving our productivity and helping to affect positive social change. Too often we take our surroundings for granted. Too often we forget that the spaces we work in influence the way we live and do our jobs, the way we interact with each other, how we enjoy our days. I am lucky enough to be spending my days in very beautiful Federal buildings

— The Old Executive Office Building, The West Wing, The White House. They say to me every day as I walk through the doors, this is a very special country, because the people who came before cared enough to think about the designs of the buildings they lived and worked in....



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and PCAH Chairman John Brademas, December 2, 1994.

Photo: Elisa Komins

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
TO THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE,
DECEMBER 2, 1994:

As the President said earlier this fall, government provides only a small measure of support for the humanities and the arts, but that small investment reaps enormous rewards in human institutions and organizations

without which we would all be so much poorer. That federal support is like yeast: it helps grow the local and state support for the arts, it encourages private philanthropy, it gives voice to the many people who see the arts and humanities from different points of view but find common ground in their commitment to supporting the richness that we have in our country.

... I truly believe this Committee has tremendous potential to help provide healthful and productive outlets for young Americans and I believe those outlets can, in many ways, help to change lives. Many years ago when I was working with my husband on education reform, one of the strongest feelings I had was that we needed to require that the arts be a part of all school curricula and that every child have at least one chance, however fleeting, to be exposed to the rich artistic traditions of our land. We were able to do that but at the time I remember many conversations with people who would ask, "Why the arts? why the humanities? That's not practical. That won't make a difference." And then, I would go through the halls of schools in small, small towns, and I would see the art work of the students proudly displayed. I would be introduced to the young boy or young girl who had written the essay that everyone was proud of. I would meet the child who no one could reach but all of a sudden that child began to draw and was encouraged by the teacher who stayed after school to help. And I would turn to the adults who were with me from the community, and I would say, "That is why every child needs the chance to explore for him- or herself what the arts can mean in that child's life."

THE WHITE HOUSE

July 13, 1995

Ms. Penelope McPhee, President
Grantmakers in the Arts
c/o John S. & James L. Knight Foundation
2 South Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Florida 33131-1803

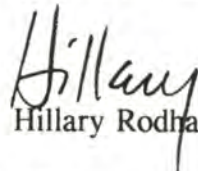
Dear Penny:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter following the op-ed piece. I was glad the opportunity presented itself to make that statement and appreciate hearing from you.

I am delighted to learn of the Knight Foundation's grant to the President's Committee and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund match. Everyone on the Committee is thrilled with the news. I know the study will contribute greatly to our efforts to look at arts funding in new and different ways.

With appreciation and warm regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

cc: Hon. John Brademas, Chair
President's Committee on the Arts & Humanities

✓ Melanne Verveer, Deputy Chief of Staff



GRANTMAKERS IN THE ARTS

c/o John S. and James L. Knight Foundation
One Biscayne Tower
2 South Biscayne Boulevard, Suite 3800
Miami, FL 33131-1803

Telephone 305/539-0009
Facsimile 305/530-1534

June 21, 1995

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

Dear Hillary:

Bravo! Thanks for the very thoughtful op-ed piece about the necessity for continued public support of the arts in today's New York Times. With the continuing assaults on public funding for so many important programs, your advocacy for this issue is even more meaningful. Those of us in the trenches are truly appreciative.

You will be interested to learn that the Knight Foundation's board approved a grant yesterday to the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities for \$25,000 for a study to determine the feasibility of establishing a "true" arts endowment with proceeds generated by an extension of the current copyright term. I understand from Ellen Lovell that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund has agreed to match the Knight grant.

Although complex and fraught with practical and political problems, this idea seemed interesting enough to warrant gathering more information in an effort to determine whether it's worth pursuing.

Again, my sincere thanks for your vocal support of the arts. Please let me know how I can be of service as Congress continues its attack on the NEA budget.

Warmly,

Penelope McPhee
President

THEODORE BIKEL
94 HONEY HILL ROAD
WILTON, CT 06897

October 7, 1995

Mrs. Hilary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

I have meant to write to you for some weeks now. Being occupied as an artist I was prevented from doing so: but, since it was pressing on my conscience I am writing now.

I have read your remarks relating to the NEA which you made at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York as reported in the New York Times. Needless to say, I am in full agreement with all you expressed, not merely because I am an artist myself; not merely because I seek to serve the artistic community by asking for continued support from our government; and lastly not merely because I'm a former member of the National Council on the Arts who was intimately connected with the process of furnishing such support to the arts. Mine is not a self-serving quest for I myself am one of the lucky few who has never had to avail himself of government resources to make ends meet. But hundreds, indeed thousands, of my colleagues in all facets of the arts cannot function in a world which forces them to seek their livelihood elsewhere and maintain at one and the same time a concentrated quality output in the arts. For many years it was a matter of deep regret to me that, as president of the Actors union, I occupied a leadership position in a field populated by full-time waiters and taxi drivers and only part-time actors. None of this bespoke their quality and talent as artists, but merely a world which forces them to feed their own and their family's mouths with other means than their art. There is no self-respecting Western country which did not and does not furnish support

for the arts. Indeed, on a per capita basis, countries much poorer than ours do so to a far great extent.

It is daunting to see the NEA whose budget -- compared to the national mammoth one -- is infinitesimal, being dictated to by some lawmakers who make political hay by focusing on a target they see as vulnerable. When the Endowment was established the legislation spelled out that there was to be no interference with artistic decisions which were to be left to the adjudication of peer panels and the National Council. These were charged with responsibility to look at artistic excellence in the first place, to fiscal responsibility by grant recipients in the second and into politics not at all. We have come to a sad state when senators who have never been known to ever visit an art gallery make pronouncements on paintings and sculpture or congressmen who are tone-deaf meddle in music.

In the prevailing atmosphere it is most heartening to see how courageously and adamantly you support the arts and humanities without which we would surely be thrown back into an era of barbarism which we thought long ago to have left behind.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Theodore Bikel', with a large, sweeping flourish above the name.

Theodore Bikel

P.S.: I was so very pleased that you and Chelsea were able to come to the last matinee of FIDDLER in Washington. My cast and I only regretted the fact that your schedule did not permit you to come backstage.

Arts for Our Sake

By Hillary Rodham Clinton

This is an ominous time for those of us who care deeply about the arts in America. A misguided, misinformed effort to eliminate public support for the arts not only threatens irrevocable damage to our cultural institutions but also to our sense of ourselves and what we stand for as a people.

One of the great successes of the arts in America is that they are not the preserve of any "cultural elite." Through museums, libraries, schools, dance companies and concerts, the arts are truly part of the

Cutting support
for the N.E.A.
will hurt children.

public domain, accessible to all and capable of encouraging every person's artistic expression and sensibility.

The National Endowment for the Arts, in partnership with individuals, corporations, foundations and other patrons of the arts, has helped trans-

Hillary Rodham Clinton is honorary chairwoman of the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities. This article is based on her remarks at the Metropolitan Museum of Art earlier this month.

form whole communities by bringing the arts and artists to millions who otherwise might never have had the opportunity to explore first-hand our shared artistic heritage.

The President has shown that we can balance the budget over the next 10 years without undermining our commitment to the arts. The N.E.A. budget accounts for less than 0.02 percent of the Federal budget. Eliminating this small but vital agency would have grave consequences for local economies. Federal support for the arts helps attract tourists, stimulate business, expand the tax base and improve the quality of life — a huge return on a small investment.

Despite a 30-year bipartisan commitment to the arts, there are those who argue that public support is a luxury we can no longer afford. They mistakenly suggest that the arts are enjoyed only by a small, wealthy minority. But if public support for the arts disappears, those most affected will not be the richest Americans but the millions of citizens who rely on the N.E.A. to bring the arts to their local schools and communities.

I find it ironic that those who talk the loudest about America's loss of civility, character and values (particularly those arising from Western civilization) are often the first to recommend obliterating the agencies responsible for promoting and arts programs that make Sophocles, Shakespeare, Mozart and O'Keefe available to our children.

They fail to appreciate what every generation of Americans has intuitively known — that the artistic imagination is critical to our civilization and our democracy. They forget the prescient words of John Adams: "I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study

mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy . . . in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music."

The power of the arts is not simply to provide pleasant esthetics but to help move us forward as a democracy. Human expression, as conveyed through the arts, enables us to under-

stand better the complexities of life and gives us a bridge to the world preceding and surrounding us. Most important, exposure to our cultural traditions enriches the lives of our children.

Too often, we see children who, instead of discovering the joys of painting, music, sculpting or writing, express themselves through acts of frustration and even violence. The arts offer an alternative to the more disturbing elements of our popular culture, and a safe haven that allows children to explore their creative potential, transporting them beyond the bounds of their difficult circumstances. Their exposure to the roots and diverse richness of human civilization will enhance their understanding of their own heritage and the world in which they live.

Clearly our nation faces difficult choices. But as the rhetoric heats up over the role of government in our society, I hope we will remember that public support for the arts is a down payment on our future. It is an investment in the values we claim to honor and in the cultural traditions in which democracy has flourished for 218 years. Now is no time to turn our backs on that legacy or its promise. □