

November 19, 1996 TIME: 7:41 AM
TO: (Ms LISA MUSCATI) PHONE: []
Guest,
Intercontinental Hotel] FAX: [02-9240-1240]
FROM: (Dr. Peter Botman] PHONE: 02-9261-4756
[Evatt Foundation] FAX: [02-9261-4835]
RE: [Letter at Sidney Blumenthal's suggestion]
CC: [Names]

Number of pages including cover sheet: [5]

Message

[FOR URGENT DELIVERY]



Received Time 19, Nov, 19:33
Print Time 19, Nov, 19:33

EVATT FOUNDATION

6/377 Sussex St
Sydney, NSW, AUSTRALIA

November 19, 1996

**LISA MUSCATIN
MELANNE VERVER
MRS CLINTON'S STAFF
INTERCONTINENTAL HOTEL
SYDNEY**

Dear Ms. Muscatin and Ms Verver,

Sidney Blumenthal suggested that I contact you both.

I am currently the Executive Director of Australia's national Labor think tank - the Evatt Foundation.

Christine Pelz from the US Consulate contacted me yesterday to say that, though it had been requested by the White House that I attend some important functions conducted by the First Lady, the Australian end had limited my attendance to the lecture at the Opera House on Thursday.

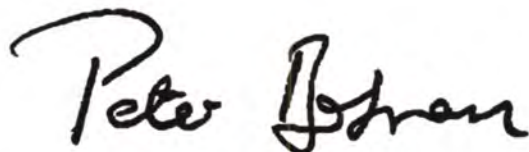
Such are the fortunes of being on a losing political side but, of course, I am disappointed not to meet the First Lady again in person. The last time I met the President and Mrs Clinton was in Cleveland in 1991 just as the decision was being made to run for the White House. I made a small contribution on the topic of what the US could learn from the Australian health care system in 1991 and my monograph was used in a comparative way by the White House Task Force in 1993.

However, my reason for contacting you is not for my own benefit, I was hoping that Joan Kirner (Australia's First Woman Premier of the State of Victoria) and two other founders of Australia's Emily's List might be able to have a brief photo opportunity with Mrs Clinton at a convenient time. I am sure that Mrs. Clinton would love Joan, one of our most courageous and respected women political leaders. Joan recently wrote to Mrs Clinton requesting such a meeting, so I am following up on that request.

*Finally, I have an opinion editorial on Mrs Clinton in our most important national daily **The Australian** tomorrow which I hope will be a warm welcome to Australia for her and for you*

My contact phone numbers are: home 02-9660-4770, work.02-9261-4766 and mobile 015-893-243. I hope that I will hear from you soon.

Sincerely,



Dr. Peter Botsman
[Executive Director, Evatt Foundation]

Attachment: Background Information on Australia's Emily's List

MEDIA BACKGROUNDER

11 November 1996

EMILY'S LIST AUSTRALIA - A POLITICAL NETWORK FOR LABOR WOMEN CANDIDATES AND SUPPORTERS

The origin of EMILY's List

The acronym, Early Money is Like Yeast stands for 'It makes the dough rise'. EMILY's List Australia is based on EMILY's List USA which identifies talented Democrat women and supports them for election with funding, campaign advice, skills and information.

Formed in the United States in 1985 as a financial and political resource for Democrat women, its current 30,000 members have raised more than \$US 14 million for candidates who are pro choice, pro child care and supportive of a gender equity amendment to the US Constitution.

EMILY's List USA was widely hailed in the 1980s as "the best new idea in politics" in the US. Over the last decade, their success has been impressive. EMILY's List USA has helped elect 34 Democrat women to the US Congress and Senate and increased the numbers of women voting in a non-compulsory system.

Why is EMILY's List Australia being established?

EMILY's List Australia is being established on a national basis to provide financial support to endorsed Labor women candidates standing for election in winnable federal and state seats. This could involve conducting surveys and political research, developing resource materials, providing campaign assistance, fund raising, media and marketing.

Who will receive support from EMILY's List Australia?

To qualify for support, endorsed Labor women candidates will have to have demonstrated their potential to win and their commitment to, and ongoing advocacy of women's rights to:

- . determine their own lives;
- . be free from fear and violence;
- . equal pay for equal work;
- . decide on matters concerning their own sexuality.
- . participate fully in decision-making;
- . affordable child care;
- . control their own fertility;

Why do we need EMILY's List (Australia)?

In 1994 the Australian Labor Party (ALP) took an important step towards gender equity in parliament by introducing a rule change requiring that women have to be pre-selected for a minimum of 35 per cent of winnable seats by the year 2002.

There has been some progress towards this goal. But the progress is slow, partly because of electoral defeats in all states and territories except New South Wales. At the same time defeat provides a real opportunity, to ensure more women are elected in safe winnable seats, when the electoral pendulum swings back to Labor.

To meet the minimum target for parliamentary representation by 2002, EMILY's List Australia will need to ensure that at least 17 Labor women candidates will be elected to the House of Representatives.

- 2 -

Who will manage EMILY's List Australia?

EMILY's List Australia will not be under the control of the National Executive of the ALP. An Inaugural Committee of EMILY's List Australia has been established by 14 Labor women with a commitment to gender equity in parliament. It includes parliamentarians, branch members and women unionists from across Australia:

Hon Carolyn Pickles, MLC	South Australia
Ms Deirdre Tedmanson	South Australia
Ms Helen Creed	Western Australia
Hon Dr Carmen Lawrence	Western Australia
Ms Barbara Boden	Northern Territory
Hon Fran Bladel MHA	Tasmania
Ms Helen Hudson	Tasmania
Ms Judy Spence MLA	Queensland
Ms Kerry Rae	Queensland
Ms Nareen Young	New South Wales
Ms Lynda Voltz	New South Wales
Ms Ann Wentworth AM	Australian Capital Territory
Hon Joan Kirner AM	Victoria
Ms Leonie Morgan	Victoria

The Inaugural Committee will guide the organisation until the 1998 Annual General Meeting, at which time, Committee elections will take place.

How will EMILY's List Australia be able to support endorsed candidates?

As in the United States and the United Kingdom, EMILY's List Australia will be able to support selected candidates through the funds generated by membership donations from Founding and full members and specific fund raising strategies.

Full membership of EMILY's List Australia will be open to those women who support the purpose and principles of EMILY's List Australia and pay an annual subscription fee of \$100.

Through the information and skills database, EMILY's List Australia will register the skills of members willing to provide further assistance for State/Federal candidates at the time of their election campaign. Funds given by EMILY's List to candidates will be over and above the normal ALP campaign contributions.

How will the EMILY's List Australia funds be used?

Funds given to EMILY's List Australia will be used to:

- establish a political support network and database of information and skills;
- carry out targetted research on women's interests and voting patterns;
- provide funding and strategic support for ALP endorsed women candidates in winnable seats
- encourage women who support EMILY's List Australia purpose and principles to stand for parliament.

EMILY's List Australia

FEDERAL AND STATE PARLIAMENTS								
ALP Lower House			ALP Upper House			ALP Parliament		
Member	Women	%	Member	Women	%	Member	Women	%

State and Territory									
WA	23	8	35	13	2	15	36	10	28
NSW	51	9	18	17	7	41	68	16	24
Vic	29	6	21	10	3	30	39	9	23
Qld	44	6	14	-	-	-	44	6	14
Tas	14	5	36	3	0	0	17	3	29
SA	11	4	36	9	2	22	20	6	30
ACT	6	3	50	-	-	-	6	3	50
NT	8	2	25	-	-	-	8	2	25
TOTAL	186	43	23	52	14	27	238	57	24

Federal									
WA	3	1	33	4	0	0	7	1	14
NSW	20	1	5	5	2	40	25	3	12
Vic	16	1	6	5	1	20	21	2	10
Qld	2	0	0	3	2	67	5	2	40
Tas	3	0	0	5	2	40	8	2	25
SA	2	0	0	4	1	25	6	1	17
ACT	3	1	33	1	1	100	4	2	50
NT	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	49	4	8	28	9	32	77	13	17

State and Federal									
WA	26	9	35	17	2	12	43	11	26
NSW	71	10	14	22	9	41	93	19	20
Vic	45	7	16	15	4	27	60	11	18
Qld	46	6	13	3	2	67	49	8	16
Tas	17	5	29	8	2	25	25	7	28
SA	13	4	31	13	3	23	26	7	27
ACT	9	4	44	1	1	100	10	5	50
NT	8	2	25	1	0	0	9	2	22
TOTAL	235	47	20	80	23	29	215	70	22

HOTEL INTERCONTINENTAL
SYDNEY

96 NOV 19 PM 06

W

draft #6

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
NOVEMBER 21, 1996

It is a pleasure to be here and to have this opportunity to join you at the Sydney Opera House, one of the architectural wonders of our world.

I want to thank Mrs. Howard for the warm hospitality that she and the Prime Minister have extended to my husband and me in Sydney and Canberra. I also want to thank Senator Newman for her kind words. Thank you, too, Ambassador Dalrymple [DAHL-rimble], for chairing the host committee. And thank you Kaarn Weaver for the wonderful job you do every day in representing the United States in Australia.

Let me also thank our sponsors this afternoon: The Australian Center for American Studies at the University of Sydney, the New South Wales Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, and the Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific, also at the University of Sydney.

Finally I want to thank the Australian people. We have met and seen waving in crowds along every street we have traveled. You have made my husband and me feel so welcome and have only increased our desire to return with our daughter to this extraordinary country. The timing of our next visit, and whether we come in disguise, may depend more on the outcome of the golf match my husband is currently playing than on scheduling concerns. He may wish he had encountered a shark in the harbor -- rather than on the fairway.

This is my first visit to Australia. I must confess that, like many Americans, my sense of Australia growing up was based on movie images of the outback: Vast expanses of land similar in look and feel to America's Wild West, occupied by roguish types like Ned Kelly and kookaburras and kangaroos. Just as, I assume, Australians who have never been to the United States might imagine my country as one long-running episode of Dallas, not to mention a place where all children like to dunk basketballs and wear baseball caps backwards.

I was thinking about this when my husband and I arrived here by plane from Honolulu. A few years back I had read Jill Ker Conway's memoir, The Road from Coorain, which included a

memorable passage about her return home after a long sojourn in Europe. In it she describes flying into Sydney and seeing -- from above -- the beauty of the harbor, the golden beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe, but to Japan and Continental Asia."

Having read that passage, and now being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand -- the Near North, not the Far East -- I feel better oriented in our world too.

Despite the thousands of miles of ocean that separate your country and mine, we are bound together in friendship and partnership based on common experiences.

We are united, not least, by our commitment to democracy and the values that democracy seeks to uphold. As proponents of freedom, we rejoice in recent developments around the globe: There is no Iron Curtain any more. In country after country, dictatorships have crumbled and democracy has come alive. The threat of nuclear war no longer hovers over us. As my husband said yesterday in Parliament, opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater than ever before. And the prospect of a new and even more dynamic century beckons us.

Yet at the same time, many people in our countries and around the world feel the strains caused by global competition and the rapid pace of change. The superficial cultural homogenization of the world means that people from Boston to Brisbane [Briz-bin], Paris to Perth, and Moscow to Melbourne wear the same jeans, eat the same fast food, and listen to the same music. But these surface similarities do not override a longing for identity and meaning in their lives. Despite improving material conditions in advanced economies, families seem under stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in the United States and Australia, the social safety net -- health care, education, pensions, good wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying for those less able to navigate this new world.

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for all of us as we approach the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how parents will raise children in the face of the influences of the mass media and consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will preserve their ethnic pride and value their national

citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

~~freedom~~
Regular elections
or even free market
economics.

Thinking about these challenges, and how free nations like ours will respond to them, we may need to be reminded that democracy is not just about our legally protected rights. It's about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It's about how, in the absence of either hot or cold wars, democracy is rooted in the experiences of our young people. It's about developing among democratic nations what I call "an alliance of values" that withstands tyranny and terrorism. Such an alliance is based on the shared values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

Building and sustaining democracy has always required a balance of power that allows those values to flourish: A balance of public political power, private economic power and the power of civil society, the formal and informal networks that bring people together to make decisions for themselves and for the common good.

Democratic values are at risk when that balance shifts to the extremes: When government becomes too cumbersome or too intrusive or too restrictive. When the marketplace, which by definition knows the price of everything but the value of nothing, turns citizens into becoming merely consumers who care solely about satisfying their personal wants. When civil society, which consists of local organizations, philanthropies, volunteer associations, neighborhood groups and individual families, is weakened by larger political and economic forces.

Every generation faces the task of achieving the proper balance of power so that democratic values can survive and thrive.

Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women, whose voices are still too often silenced in too many parts of the world. It is equally important for women in countries such as ours who still are striving to attain and define their rightful place in government, the economy and civil society and claim their share of personal, political, economic, and civic power.

During the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, I said that women's rights were human rights -- and human rights are women's rights. One would think that at the end of this century that should be an unremarkable statement. I have been overwhelmed by the response that speech received. And also bewildered that the proposition should be open to question.

A few months ago I appeared on a radio program for the Voice of America. I fielded questions from all over the world. Many callers referred to my Beijing speech. And one male caller asked what my statement about women's rights really meant. I told him to imagine the rights men had and wanted and to apply them to women: the right to be valued as a member of a family, to be protected from violence and exploitation, to be assured equal access to the tools of opportunity -- health care, education, legal rights, political participation, economic empowerment -- that equip an individual with the capacity to make responsible decisions for one's life. Where women are given human rights they help create conditions in which they, their families and communities flourish. Yet we know that even in ^{advanced} democracies such as ours, where these conditions are present for the vast majority of women, women's roles and rights are still being debated. They are being debated among women as well as between men and women, with implications for whether our democracies will meet the challenges of the future.

A few weeks ago we had an election in the United States. Many critical issues were raised during the campaign. But for the first time a new set of concerns took on political importance -- concerns about enhancing the quality of our lives, about raising children, about meeting the demands of work and family.

Why were these issues suddenly at the heart of American politics? Because they are about real issues on people's minds -- kitchen table issues -- and about how public and private power should be balanced to address them.

Will a new mother and her infant be allowed to stay in the hospital as long as a doctor deems it necessary -- or will private business considerations determine when they are ready to be sent home?

Will parents be allowed to take time off from work to care for a sick child or loved one -- or will they be forced to choose between meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and meeting their responsibilities to their families?

The Family and Medical Leave law, which was the first piece of legislation my husband signed as President in 1993, took on greater political significance because my husband's opponent and leaders of the other party in Congress disagreed about the law and the need to expand it. Family leave became a leading issue during the campaign, along with maternity stays for new mothers and how to protect health care coverage for older and poorer Americans, the majority of whom are women.

Even the book I wrote, It Takes a Village, became an issue in the campaign after it was attacked as an endorsement of

government taking ^{a dominant role in} ~~over~~ the raising of children. Anyone who reads the book knows that was not its theme. Rather, I argued that, although families bear the primary responsibility for child-rearing, each individual and institution in society has a responsibility toward children too. The village of which I wrote is not a geographic location but a community of shared values and relationships. People all over America started coming up to me at my campaign appearances on behalf of my husband wearing buttons that said, ~~It~~ ~~does~~ ~~take~~ ~~a~~ ~~village~~ ~~or~~ ~~I~~ ~~am~~ ~~a~~ ~~villager~~ ~~or~~ ~~Welcome~~ ~~to~~ ~~our~~ ~~village~~. They recognized that building a sense of community based on mutual responsibility ~~requires~~ all of us to work for our own ends -- but also to help each other succeed. From what I know of your country, that is an unassailable tenet of your social contract even though you may disagree over the specifics.

Many observers in America, ^{economic} ^{not only helps} (however, were perplexed that these issues were so important to voters this year. Accustomed to discussions of defense, diplomacy, and trade, some commentators never really caught on that so-called ~~women's issues~~ mattered because -- at root -- they were about the way that men and women live together and in society.

Such issues instead were often dismissed as marginal to the larger challenges our nation is facing or derided as "the feminization of politics."

What an unfortunate term. After all, don't fathers worry about how long their wives and babies can stay in the hospital when they need care? Don't men want to be able to take time off when a family member is gravely ill? Don't sons want to ensure that their elderly parents have health care coverage in the later stages of life?

Instead of the "feminization of politics," I prefer to think of this phenomenon as the "humanization of politics" in America. What we saw being played out in the political arena was how in a democracy people's personal concerns can become political if they use their voices -- and their votes -- to define them.

That represents a maturing of politics. The gender gap we heard so much about was simply a measure of how women, who are experts on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, voted their self-interest and their values. In so doing they delivered a clear message that the issues they care about deserve to be on the front burner of national politics.

I have come up with my own term for this phenomenon. Like some of you, I studied political science in college. I've followed politics closely in my years as a citizen activist and political spouse. And I have come to a fairly good understanding

of the historic concept of *realpolitik* among and between nations.

What women are saying today -- loudly and clearly -- is that national politics is not just about *realpolitik*. It's also about *real life politik*.

specific issues and
I realize that there will be women who disagree with me and with each other about where the balance of power between and among institutions and individuals should rest. In my country, some women believe the President and Congress over-extended government's power in legislating family leave and the length of maternity hospital stays. ~~They believe that power should be concentrated in the unregulated free market.~~ In contrast, other women think government needs more power to control economic forces that can disrupt the lives of families and communities.

And some women are just plain squeamish when the subject of power arises. It is something, they believe, that should be discussed quietly behind the scenes and exercised -- if at all -- by women only within the scope of their personal lives.

Regardless of where we stand on any particular issue or on the larger question of balancing the powers in our lives, we must acknowledge that much is at stake for women collectively in this debate. Not just in the United States but here and around the world.

Will democracies on every continent come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the progress and prosperity of every nation?

Will public and private institutions help empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean: Will education be affordable and accessible to all women so that they can acquire the skills and knowledge they need to help themselves and contribute to society? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care, flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will law enforcement and justice systems act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal rights, particularly from violence in their own homes?

Will financial institutions provide credit for women -- especially poor women who, with access to small loans, can lift themselves and their families out of poverty?

Will individual women be respected for the choices they make

about family, work and personal growth -- and will they be able to make those choices free of the burden of other people's and society's expectations? Will we stop pigeon-holing women and invoking stereotypes that limit their potential? Will we admit that there is no formula for being a successful or fulfilled woman in today's society? That one can choose full-time motherhood and homemaking. Or be committed to work outside the home without marriage or children. Or, like most of us today, balance work and family responsibilities. And that each of our choices is supported and respected.

Yumelle
Yesterday at the Australian War Memorial my husband and I visited the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Canberra. One of the honor guards was a woman. I was heartened that she had the freedom to choose military service as a way to fulfill her aspirations. This was the right choice for her. It would not necessarily be the right choice for me, or for many of you. But we should all be able to celebrate the diversity of experiences that women are choosing for themselves today.

And finally, will we acknowledge, once and for all, that issues of concern to women do not just affect women but affect men too?

These are the questions we are struggling to answer. They are about the balance of power and about the balance we seek in our lives and in the larger community we share.

I welcome the debate. It is a great debate. It is a contentious debate. It is a necessary debate for any democracy on the eve of a new century.

And I am optimistic that woman will help shape the answers we seek. I'm optimistic because I have met women throughout the world who have seized this moment to make their voices heard on behalf of themselves and democracy's values. I have met women in Northern Ireland -- Catholics and Protestants -- who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa -- blacks and whites -- who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid. I have met women in Bosnia -- Croats, Serbs and Muslims -- who are transcending long-standing ethnic hatreds to keep the peace in that war-torn land. I have met women in Russia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, the Baltic region and in Mongolia who are leading the effort to build democratic governments, free market economies and civil society from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South America who are joining forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. I have met women in South and East Asia who are working to provide economic opportunity for the poorest of the poor through small loans and credit.

I have met women in my own country who have come together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and the environment cleaner. And just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are enriching this nation through their contributions to politics, law, science, education, the arts and journalism.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But many are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles.

They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and make their voices heard. They had faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they weren't going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

So I am hopeful. Because every country and every time has its Caroline Chisholm, Edith Cowan, Mother Mary McKillop -- women who, well known or not, understand that we must find common ground. And on that common ground we will build a society that is in balance, where our democratic values are alive and where individuals can seek fulfillment and live up to their own God-given potentials.

Mary Woolstonecraft once said: ❖I do not wish women to have power over men, but over themselves.❖

That is what we are all striving for. This is what will ensure progress for women and their families, safeguard democracy, and make the world a better place for our children and ourselves.

Thank you very much.

###

draft #5

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
NOVEMBER 21, 1996

It is a pleasure to be here and to have this opportunity to join you at the Sydney Opera House, one of the architectural wonders of our world.

I want to thank Mrs. Howard for the warm hospitality that she and the Prime Minister have extended to my husband and me in Sydney and Canberra. I also want to thank Senator Newman for her kind words and for the work that the Office on the Status of Women has done in organizing and coordinating this event. Thank you, too, Ambassador Dalrymple [DAHL-rimble], for chairing the host committee. And thank you Kaarn Weaver for the wonderful job you do every day in representing the United States in Australia.

Let me also thank our sponsors this afternoon: The Australian Center for American Studies at the University of Sydney, the New South Wales Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, and the Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific, also at the University of Sydney.

Finally I want to thank the Australian people. We have seen and met waving crowds along every street we have traveled. Our Australian friends have made my husband and me feel so welcome and have only increased our desire to return with our daughter to this extraordinary country. The timing of our next visit, and whether we come in disguise, may depend more on the outcome of the golf match my husband is currently playing than on scheduling concerns. He may wish he had encountered a shark in the harbor -- rather than on the fairway.

This is my first visit to Australia. I must confess that, like many Americans, my sense of Australia growing up was based on fanciful images of the outback. I envisioned vast expanses of land similar in look and feel to America's Wild West, occupied by roguish types like Ned Kelly and the occasional kookaburra and kangaroo. Just as, I assume, Australians who have never been to the United States might imagine my country as one long-running episode of Dallas, not to mention a place where all children like to dunk basketballs and wear baseball caps backwards.

I was thinking about this a few nights ago when my husband and I arrived here by plane from Honolulu. A few years back I had

read Jill Ker Conway's memoir, The Road from Coorain, which included a memorable passage about her return home after a long sojourn in Europe. In it she describes flying into Sydney and seeing -- from above -- the beauty of the harbor, the golden beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe, but to Japan and Continental Asia."

Having read that passage, and now being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand -- the Near North, not the Far East -- I feel better oriented in our world too.

Despite the thousands of miles of ocean that separate your country and mine, we are bound together in friendship and partnership based on common experiences.

We are united, not least, by our commitment to democracy and the values that democracy seeks to uphold. As proponents of freedom, we rejoice in recent developments around the globe: There is no Iron Curtain any more. In country after country, communism has crumbled and democracy has come alive. The threat of nuclear war no longer hovers over us. Opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater than ever before. And the prospect of a new and even more dynamic century beckons us.

Yet at the same time, many people in our countries and around the world feel the strains caused by global competition and the rapid pace of change. The superficial cultural homogenization of the world means that people from Boston to Brisbane, Paris to Perth, and Moscow to Melbourne wear the same jeans, eat the same fast food, and listen to the same music. But these surface similarities do not override a longing for identity and meaning in their lives. Despite improving material conditions in advanced economies, families seem under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in the United States and Australia, the social safety net -- health care, education, pensions, good wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying for those less able to navigate this new world.

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for all of us as we approach the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how parents will raise children in the face of the influences of the mass media and consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people

will preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Thinking about these challenges, and how free nations like ours will respond to them, we may need to be reminded that democracy is not just about our legally protected rights. It's about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It's about how, in the absence of either hot or cold wars, democracy is rooted in the experiences of our young people. It's about developing among democratic nations what I call "an alliance of values" that withstands tyranny and terrorism. Such an alliance is based on the shared values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

Building and sustaining democracy has always required a balance of power that allows those values to flourish: A balance of public political power, private economic power and the power of civil society, the formal and informal networks that bring people together to make decisions for themselves and for the common good.

Democratic values are at risk when that balance shifts to the extremes: When government becomes too cumbersome or too intrusive or too restrictive. When the marketplace, which knows the price of everything but the value of nothing, turns citizens into consumers who care only about satisfying their personal wants. When civil society, which consists of local organizations, philanthropies, volunteer associations, neighborhood groups and individual families, is weakened in the face of larger political and economic forces.

Every generation faces the task before to achieve the proper balance of power so that democratic values can survive and thrive.

Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women, whose voices are still too often silenced in too many parts of the world. It is equally important for women in countries such as ours who still are striving to attain their rightful place in society and claim their share of personal, political, economic, and civic power.

During the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, I said that women's rights were human rights -- and human rights are women's rights. One would think that at the end of this century that should be an unremarkable statement. I have been overwhelmed by the response that speech received. And also bewildered that the proposition should be open to question.

A few months ago I appeared on a radio program for the Voice of America. I fielded questions from all over the world. Many callers referred to my Beijing speech. And one male caller asked what my statement about women's rights really meant. I told him to imagine the rights men had and wanted and to apply them to women: the right to be valued as a member of a family, to be protected from violence and exploitation, to be assured equal access to the tools of opportunity -- health care, education, legal rights, political participation, economic empowerment -- that equip an individual with the capacity to make responsible decisions for one's life. Where women are given human rights they help create conditions in which they, their families and communities flourish. Yet we know that even in democracies such as ours, where these conditions are present for the vast majority of women, women's roles and rights are still being debated. They are being debated among women as well as between men and women, with implications for whether our democracies will meet the challenges of the future.

A few weeks ago we had an election in the United States. Many critical issues were raised during the campaign. But for the first time a new set of concerns took on political importance -- concerns about enhancing the quality of our lives, about raising children, about meeting the demands of work and family.

Why were these issues suddenly at the heart of American politics? Because they are about real issues on people's minds -- kitchen table issues -- and about how public and private power should be balanced to address them.

Will a new mother and her infant be allowed to stay in the hospital as long as a doctor deems it necessary -- or will private business considerations determine when they are ready to be sent home?

Will parents be allowed to take time off from work to care for a sick child or loved one -- or will they be forced to choose between meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and meeting their responsibilities to their families?

The Family and Medical Leave law, which was the first piece of legislation my husband signed as President in 1993, took on greater political significance because my husband's opponent and leaders of the other party in Congress disagreed about the law and the need to expand it. Family leave became a leading issue during the campaign, along with domestic violence, maternity stays for new mothers, and how to protect health care coverage for older and poorer Americans, the majority of whom are women.

Even the book I wrote, It Takes a Village, became an issue in the campaign after it was attacked as an endorsement of

a Munsoumian Note

government taking ~~over~~ the raising of children. Anyone who reads the book knows that was not its theme. Rather, I argued that each individual and institution in society has a responsibility toward children and that families bear the primary responsibility for child-rearing. The village of which I wrote is not a geographic location but a community of shared values and relationships. People all over America started coming up to me at my campaign appearances on behalf of my husband wearing buttons that said, ~~It does take a village~~ or ~~I am a villager~~ or ~~Welcome to our village~~. They recognized that building a sense of community on mutual responsibility requires all of us to work for our own ends -- but also to help each other succeed.

Many observers were perplexed that these issues were so important to voters this year. Accustomed to discussions of defense, diplomacy, and trade, some commentators never really caught on that so-called ~~women's issues~~ mattered because -- at root -- they were about the balance of power in our lives and in our society.

Such issues were often dismissed as marginal to the larger challenges our nation is facing or derided as "the feminization of politics."

What an unfortunate term. After all, don't fathers worry about how long their wives and babies can stay in the hospital when they need care? Don't men want to be able to take time off when a family member is gravely ill? Don't sons want to ensure that their elderly parents have health care coverage in the later stages of life?

Instead of the "feminization of politics," I prefer to think of this phenomenon as the "humanization of politics." What we saw being played out in the political arena was in a democracy people's personal concerns can become political if they use their voices -- and their votes -- to define them.

That represents a maturing of politics. The gender gap we heard so much about was simply a measure of how women, who are experts on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, voted their self-interest and their values. In so doing they delivered a clear message that the issues they care about deserve to be on the front burner of national politics.

I have come up with my own term for this phenomenon. Like some of you, I studied political science in college. I've followed politics closely in my years as a citizen activist and political spouse. And I have come to a fairly good understanding of the concept of *realpolitik* among and between nations.

What women are saying today -- loudly and clearly -- is that

the phenomenon [?] we are witnessing is not just about *realpolitik*. It's about *real life politik*.

I realize that there will be women who disagree with me and with each other about where the balance of power should rest. In my country, some women believe the President and Congress over-extended government's power in legislating family leave and the length of maternity hospital stays. They believe that power should be concentrated in the unregulated free market. In contrast, some women think government needs more power to control economic forces that can disrupt the lives of families and communities.

And some women are just plain squeamish when the subject of power arises. It is something, they believe, that should be discussed quietly behind the scenes and exercised by women within the scope of their personal lives.

Regardless of where we stand on the issue as individuals, we must acknowledge that much is at stake for women collectively in this debate. Not just in the United States but here and around the world.

Will democracies on every continent come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the progress and prosperity of every nation?

Will public and private institutions help empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean: Will schools be more flexible in providing opportunities for women who raise children? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care, flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will law enforcement and justice systems act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal rights, particularly from violence in their own homes?

Will financial institutions provide credit for women -- especially poor women who, with access to small loans, can lift themselves and their families out of poverty?

Will individual women be respected for the choices they make about family, work and personal growth -- and will they be able to make those choices free of the burden of other people's and society's expectations? Will we stop pigeon-holing women and invoking stereotypes that limit their potential? Will we admit that there is no formula for being a successful or fulfilled woman in today's society?

Yesterday my husband and I visited the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Canberra. One of the honor guards was a woman. I was heartened that she had the freedom to choose military service as a way to fulfill her aspirations. This was the right choice for her. It would not necessarily be the right choice for me, or for many of you. But we should all be able to celebrate the diversity of experiences that women are choosing for themselves today.

And finally, will we acknowledge, once and for all, that issues of concern to women do not just affect women but affect men too?

These are the questions we are struggling to answer. They are about the balance of power -- about the balance we seek in our lives and in the larger community we share.

I welcome the debate. It is a great debate. It is a contentious debate. It is a necessary debate for any democracy on the eve of a new century.

And I am optimistic that woman will help shape the answers we seek. I'm optimistic because I have met women throughout the world have seized the moment to make their voices heard on behalf of themselves and democracy's values. I have met women in Northern Ireland -- Catholics and Protestants -- who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa -- blacks and whites -- who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid. I have met women in Bosnia -- Croats, Serbs and Muslims -- who are transcending long-standing ethnic hatreds to keep the peace in that war-torn land. I have met women in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and the Baltic region who are leading the effort to build civil society and democracy from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South America who are joining forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. I have met women in South and East Asia who are working to provide economic opportunity for the poorest of the poor through small loans.

I have met women in my own country who have come together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and the environment cleaner. And just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are enriching this nation through their contributions to politics, law, science, education, the arts and journalism.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But many are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles.

They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and make their voices heard. They had faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they weren't going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

So I am hopeful. Because every country has a Caroline Chisholm, an Edith Cowan, a Mother Mary McKillop, a Sally Morgan -- women who, well known or not, understand that we must find common ground. And on that common ground we will build a society that is in balance, where our democratic values are alive and where individuals can seek fulfillment and live up to their own God-given potentials.

Mary Woolstonecraft once said: ❖ I do not wish women to have power over men, but over themselves. ❖

That is what we are all striving for. This is what will ensure progress for women and their families, safeguard democracy, and make the world a better place for our children and ourselves.

Thank you very much.

###

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
NOVEMBER 21, 1996

It is a pleasure to be here and to have this opportunity to join you in the Sydney Opera House. Being in this beautiful city and in Canberra yesterday has only increased my desire to visit Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth and the rest of your extraordinary country. Perhaps I can combine a trip to the Sydney 2000 Olympics with a visit to some of the cities and sights that have eluded me this week.

I want to thank Mrs. Howard for the warm hospitality that she and the Prime Minister have extended to my husband and me since the moment we arrived. She has been gracious in taking time to accompany me during our stay. I also want to thank Senator Newman for her kind words and for the work that the Office on the Status of Women has done in organizing and coordinating this event. Thank you, too, Ambassador Dalrymple, for chairing the host committee. And thank you Kaarn Weaver for the wonderful job you do every day in representing the United States in Australia.

Finally, let me thank our sponsors this afternoon: The Australian Center for American Studies at the University of Sydney, the New South Wales Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, and the Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific, also at the University of Sydney.

This is my first visit to Australia. I must confess that, like many Americans, my sense of Australia growing up was based on fanciful images of the outback. I envisioned vast expanses of land similar in look and feel to America's Wild West, occupied by roguish types like Ned Kelly and the occasional kookaburra and kangaroo. Just as, I assume, Australians who have never been to the United States might imagine my country as one long-running episode of Dallas, not to mention a place where all children like to dunk basketballs and wear baseball caps backwards.

I was thinking about this a few nights ago when my husband and I arrived here by plane from Honolulu. A few years back I had read Jill Ker Conway's memoir, *The Road from Coorain*, which included a memorable passage about her return home after a long sojourn in Europe. In it she describes flying into Sydney and seeing -- from above -- the beauty of the harbor, the golden beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe, but to Japan and Continental Asia."

Having read that passage, and now being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand -- the Near North, not the Far East -- I feel better oriented in our world too.

Despite the thousands of miles of ocean that separate your country and mine, I'm reminded of the many characteristics our nations and cultures have in common. And I am profoundly aware of the ideals and aspirations that Americans and Australians share as we look ahead to the 21st century.

We are united, not least, by our commitment to democracy and the values that democracy seeks to uphold. As proponents of freedom, we rejoice in recent developments around the globe: There is no Iron Curtain any more. In country after country, communism has crumbled and democracy has come alive. The threat of nuclear war no longer hovers over us. Opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater than ever before. And the prospect of a new and even more dynamic global civilization beckons in the future.

Yet at the same time, we feel the strains of global competition and scarcer resources. The rapid pace of change -- the superficial homogenization of the world -- inflames old tensions and weighs us down with new ones. In every nation on earth, families seem to be under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in countries with advanced economies like the United States and Australia, the social safety net -- health care, education, pensions, good wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying.

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for all of us in the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how parents will raise children in the face of the mass media and consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Thinking about these challenges, and how we will respond to them, we are reminded that democracy is not just about institutions. It's about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. As I wrote in my

book, It Takes a Village, it's about how we, as societies, convey ourselves to our own young people -- and to the rest of the world. It's about consciously developing what I call "an alliance of values" -- an alliance based on the values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

Building a strong and lasting democracy requires a balance of power that allows those values to flourish: A balance of public political power, private economic power and the power of civil society, the formal and informal networks that bring people together to make decisions for the common good. This balance of power is not simply manifested in relationships among nations or competing blocks within a nation, but also in our homes and workplaces.

Democratic values cannot thrive when that balance shifts to the extremes: When government becomes too cumbersome or too restrictive. When the marketplace knows the price of everything but the value of nothing. When local organizations, philanthropies, volunteer associations, neighborhood groups and individual families are weakened in the face of larger political and economic forces.

Today, the task before us is to find ways to achieve the proper balance of power so that democratic values can survive and thrive in a new century.

Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women, who still are striving to attain their rightful place in society and claim the political, economic, and civic power they are due.

This is what I would like to talk about today.

A few weeks ago we had an election in the United States. Many critical issues were raised during the campaign. But for the first time a whole new set of concerns took on political importance -- concerns about the quality of our lives, about how to raise children, about meeting the demands of work and family.

Why were these issues suddenly at the heart of politics? Because they are about the balance of power.

Will a new mother and her infant be allowed to stay in the hospital as long as a doctor deems it necessary -- or will business considerations determine when she is ready to be sent home?

Will parents be allowed to take time off from work to care for a sick child or loved one -- or will they be forced to choose

between meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and meeting their responsibilities to their families?

In the United States, our Family and Medical Leave law was the first piece of legislation my husband signed as President. Because the candidates and the leaders of the parties in Congress disagreed about the law and the need to expand it, family leave became a leading issue during the campaign, along with domestic violence, maternity stays for new mothers, and how to protect health care coverage for older Americans, the majority of whom are women.

Many observers were perplexed that these issues were so important to voters this year. Accustomed to discussions of defense, diplomacy, and trade, some commentators never really caught on that so-called "women's issues" mattered because -- at root -- they were about the balance of power in our lives and in our society.

Too often they were dismissed as marginal to the larger challenges our nation is facing or derided as "the feminization of politics."

What an unfortunate term. After all, don't fathers worry about how long their wives and babies can stay in the hospital when they need care? Don't fathers want to be able to take time off when a family member is gravely ill? Don't fathers want to ensure that their elderly parents have health care coverage in the later stages of life?

Instead of the "feminization of politics," I prefer to think of this phenomenon as the "humanization of politics." What we saw being played out in the political arena was that people's concerns are not always global. Often they are personal.

We also saw a maturing of politics. Our recent election showed that women are willing to assert their power in the political sphere. The gender gap we heard so much about was simply a measure of how women, who are experts on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, voted their self-interest and their values. In so doing they delivered a clear message that the issues they care about deserve to be on the front burner of national politics.

I have come up with my own term for this phenomenon. Like some of you, I studied political science in college. I've followed politics closely in my years as a citizen activist and political spouse. And I have come to a fairly good understanding of the concept of *realpolitik*.

What women are saying today -- and saying it loud and clear

-- is that the phenomenon we are witnessing is not just about *realpolitik*. It's about *real life politik*.

And they are not just saying it in the United States. They are saying it here in Australia. In South America, South Asia, South Africa, and Southern Europe and beyond. Whether or not it makes headlines, the role of women is a continuing challenge and opportunity in every country in the world.

I realize that there will be women who disagree with me and with each other about where the balance of power should rest. In my country, some women believe the President and Congress over-extended government's power in legislating family leave and the length of maternity hospital stays. They believe that power should be concentrated in the free market. On the other hand, some women think government needs more power given the capacity of economic forces to disrupt the lives of our families and our communities.

And finally, some women are just plain squeamish when the subject of power arises. It is something, they believe, that should be discussed quietly behind the scenes and exercised by women within the scope of their personal lives.

Regardless of where we stand on the issue as individuals, we must acknowledge that much is at stake for women collectively in this debate. Not just in Australia and the United States, but around the world.

Will our global community come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the progress and prosperity of every nation?

Will individual women be respected for the choices they make about family, work and personal growth -- and will they be able to make those choices free of guilt, tension, and the burden of other people's and society's expectations? Will we stop pigeon-holing women and invoking stereotypes that limit their potential? Will we admit that there is no formula for being a successful or fulfilled woman in today's society?

Will institutions empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean: Will schools be more flexible in providing opportunities for women who raise children? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care, flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will law enforcement and justice systems act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal

rights, particularly from violence in their own homes?

Will financial institutions provide credit for women -- especially poor women who, with access to small loans, can lift themselves and their families out of poverty?

And finally, will we acknowledge, once and for all, that issues of concern to women do not just affect women but affect men too?

These are the questions we are struggling to answer. They are about the balance of power -- about the balance we seek in our lives and in the larger community we share.

I welcome the debate that will deliver the answers. It is a great debate. It is a contentious debate. It is a necessary debate for any democracy on the eve of a new century. And women must be a part of it.

And I am optimistic that they will be a part of it. I'm optimistic because I have met women throughout the world who have seized the moment to make their voices heard. I have met women in Northern Ireland -- Catholics and Protestants -- who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa -- blacks and whites -- who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid. I have met women in Bosnia -- Croats, Serbs and Muslims -- who are transcending long-standing ethnic hatreds to keep the peace in that war-torn land. I have met women in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and the Baltic region who are leading the effort to build civil society and democracy from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South America who are joining forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. I have met women in South and East Asia who have endured exile, prison, and the assassination of loved ones because they courageously promoted the cause of democracy and freedom.

I have met women in my own country who have come together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and the environment cleaner. And just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are enriching this nation through their contributions to politics, law, science, education, the arts and journalism.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But many are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles.

They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and

make their voices heard. They had faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they weren't going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

So I am hopeful. Because every country has a Caroline Chisholm, an Edith Cowan, a Mother Mary McKillop, a Sally Morgan -- women who, well known or not, understand that we must find common ground. And on that common ground we will build a society that is in balance, where our democratic values are alive and where individuals can seek fulfillment and live up to their own God-given potentials.

That is what we are all striving for. This is what will ensure progress for women and their families, safeguard democracy, and make the world a better place for our children and ourselves.

Thank you very much.

###

Evatt Foundation

6/377 Sussex St
Sydney, 2000, NSW, Australia

Fax Cover Sheet

DATE: November 19, 1996 **TIME:** 7:41 PM
TO: [Ms LISA MUSCATIN] **PHONE:** []
[Guest,
Intercontinental Hotel] **FAX:** [02-9240-1240]
FROM: [Dr. Peter Botsman] **PHONE:** 02-9261-4766
[Evatt Foundation] **FAX:** [02-9261-4835]
RE: [Letter at Sidney Blumenthal's suggestion]
CC: [Names]

Number of pages including cover sheet: [5]

Message

[FOR URGENT DELIVERY]



Received Time 19.Nov.19:33
Print Time 19.Nov.19:45

EVATT FOUNDATION

6/377 Sussex St
Sydney, NSW, AUSTRALIA

November 19, 1996

**LISA MUSCATIN
MELANNE VERVER
MRS CLINTON'S STAFF
INTERCONTINENTAL HOTEL
SYDNEY**

Dear Ms. Muscatin and Ms Verver,

Sidney Blumenthal suggested that I contact you both.

I am currently the Executive Director of Australia's national Labor think tank - the Evatt Foundation.

Christine Pelz from the US Consulate contacted me yesterday to say that, though it had been requested by the White House that I attend some important functions conducted by the First Lady, the Australian end had limited my attendance to the lecture at the Opera House on Thursday.

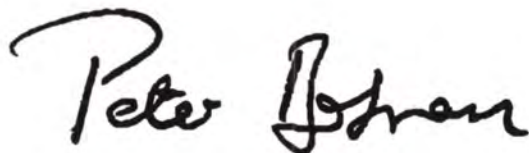
Such are the fortunes of being on a losing political side but, of course, I am disappointed not to meet the First Lady again in person. The last time I met the President and Mrs Clinton was in Cleveland in 1991 just as the decision was being made to run for the White House. I made a small contribution on the topic of what the US could learn from the Australian health care system in 1991 and my monograph was used in a comparative way by the White House Task Force in 1993.

However, my reason for contacting you is not for my own benefit, I was hoping that Joan Kirner (Australia's First Woman Premier of the State of Victoria) and two other founders of Australia's Emily's List might be able to have a brief photo opportunity with Mrs Clinton at a convenient time. I am sure that Mrs. Clinton would love Joan, one of our most courageous and respected women political leaders. Joan recently wrote to Mrs Clinton requesting such a meeting, so I am following up on that request.

Finally, I have an opinion editorial on Mrs Clinton in our most important national daily **The Australian** tomorrow which I hope will be a warm welcome to Australia for her and for you

My contact phone numbers are: home 02-9660-4770, work.02-9261-4766 and mobile 015-893-243. I hope that I will hear from you soon.

Sincerely,



Dr. Peter Botsman
[Executive Director, Evatt Foundation]

Attachment: Background Information on Australia's Emily's List

HOTEL INTERCONTINENTAL
SYDNEY

me

'96 NOV 19 P8 04

draft #3

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
NOVEMBER 21, 1996

It is a pleasure to be here and to have this opportunity to speak to you in the Sydney Opera House. Being in this beautiful city and in Canberra yesterday has only increased my desire to visit Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth and the rest of your extraordinary country. Perhaps I can combine a trip to the next summer Olympics with a visit to some of the cities and sights that have eluded me this week.

I want to thank Mrs. Howard for the warm hospitality that she and the Prime Minister have extended to my husband and me since the moment we arrived. She has been gracious in taking time to accompany me on this visit. I also want to thank Senator Newman for her kind words and for the work that the Office on the Status of Women has done in organizing and coordinating this event. Thank you, too, Ambassador Dalrymple, for chairing the host committee. And thank you Kaarn Weaver for the wonderful job you do every day in representing the United States government in Australia.

Finally, let me thank our sponsors this afternoon: The Australian Center for American Studies at the University of Sydney, the New South Wales Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, and the Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific, also at the University of Sydney.

This is my first visit to Australia. I must confess that, like many Americans, my sense of Australia growing up was based on fanciful images of the outback. I envisioned vast expanses of land similar in look and feel to America's Wild West, occupied by roguish types like Ned Kelly and the occasional kookaburra and kangaroo. Just as, I assume, Australians who have never been to the United States might imagine my country as one long-running episode of Dallas, not to mention a place where all boys dunk basketballs and wear baseball caps backwards.

I was thinking about this a few nights ago when my husband and I arrived here by plane from Honolulu. A few years back I had read Jill Ker Conway's memoir, *The Road from Coorain*, which included a memorable passage about her return home after a long sojourn in England. In it she describes flying into Sydney and seeing -- from above -- the beauty of the harbor, the golden

beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe, but to Japan and Continental Asia."

Having read that passage, and now being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand -- the Near North, not the Far East -- I feel better oriented in our world too.

Despite the thousands of miles of ocean that separate your country and mine, I'm reminded of the many characteristics our nations and cultures have in common. And I am profoundly aware of the ideals and aspirations that Americans and Australians share as we look ahead to the 21st century.

We are united, not least, by our commitment to democracy and the values that democracy seeks to uphold. As proponents of freedom, we rejoice in recent developments around the globe: There is no Iron Curtain any more. In country after country, communism has crumbled and democracy has come alive. The threat of nuclear war no longer hovers over us. Opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater than ever before. And the prospect of a new and even more dynamic global civilization beckons in the future.

Yet at the same time, we feel the strains of global competition and scarcer resources. The rapid pace of change -- the superficial homogenization of the world -- inflames old tensions and weighs us down with new ones. In every nation on earth, families seem to be under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in countries with advanced economies like the United States and Australia, the social safety net -- health care, education, pension, good wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying.

The greatest threat to democracy today is no longer a Communist monolith with imperial designs, but the pressures of competition, mass consumerism and the volatile economic and social conditions that accompany any period of historic change.

*and by
Heidi*

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for all of us in the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how parents will raise children in the face of the mass media and consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will preserve

their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Thinking about these challenges, and how we will respond to them, we are reminded that democracy is not just about institutions. It's about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It's about how we, as societies, convey ourselves to our own young people -- and to the rest of the world. It's about consciously developing what I call "an alliance of values" -- an alliance based on the values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

Building a strong and lasting democracy requires a balance of power that allows those values to flourish. A balance of public political power, private economic power and the power of civil society, the term we use in America to describe the formal and informal networks that bring people together to make decisions affecting the common good.

Democratic values cannot thrive when that balance shifts to the extremes: When government becomes too burdensome or too restrictive. When the marketplace knows the price of everything but the value of nothing. When local organizations, philanthropies, volunteer associations, neighborhood groups and individual families are weakened in the face of larger political and economic forces.

Today, the task before us is to find ways to restore the balance of power so that democratic values can survive and thrive in a new century. *A. J. J. J.*

Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women, who still are striving to attain their rightful place in society and claim the political, economic, and civic power they are due.

This is what I would like to talk about today.

A few weeks ago we had an election in the United States. Many critical issues were raised during the campaign. But for the first time a whole new set of concerns took on political importance -- concerns about the quality of our lives, about how to raise children, about meeting the demands of work and family.

Why were these issues suddenly at the heart of politics? Because they are about the balance of power *over* *the right of life of individual*

Will a new mother and her infant be allowed to stay in the hospital as long as a doctor deems it necessary -- or will

business considerations determine when she is ready to be sent home?

Will parents be allowed to take time off from work to care for a sick child or loved one -- or will they be forced to choose between meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and meeting their responsibilities to their families?

In the United States, ~~we have something called the~~ Family and Medical Leave law, which requires businesses of a certain size to grant parents unpaid leave so they can care for newborns or family members who are sick. ~~It~~ ^{Our} was the first piece of legislation my husband signed as President. And it became a leading issue during the campaign, along with domestic violence, maternity stays for new mothers, and how to protect the health coverage of older Americans, the majority of whom are women.

Many observers were perplexed that these issues were so important to voters this year. More accustomed to election-year discussions of defense, diplomacy, and trade, these commentators never really caught on that so-called "women's issues" mattered because -- at root -- they were about the balance of power in our lives and in our society.

Too often they were dismissed as marginal to the larger challenges our nation is facing or derided as "the feminization of politics."

What an unfortunate term. After all, don't fathers worry about how long their wives and babies can stay in the hospital when they need care? Don't fathers want to be able to take time off when a family member is gravely ill? Don't fathers want to ensure that their elderly parents have health coverage in the later stages of life?

Instead of the "feminization of politics," I prefer to think of this phenomenon as the "humanization of politics." What we saw being played out in the political arena was that people's concerns are not always global. Often they are personal. They are not simply about the balance of power in the world, but the balance of power in our relationships, our homes, and our workplaces.

We also saw a maturing of politics. Our recent election showed that women are willing to assert their power in the political sphere. The gender gap we heard so much about was simply a measure of how women, who are experts on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, voted ~~in~~ their self-interest. In so doing they delivered a clear message that the issues they care about deserve to be on the front burner of national politics.

+ their values

I have come up with my own term for this phenomenon. Like some of you, I studied political science in college. I've followed politics closely in my years as a citizen activist and political spouse. And I have come to a fairly good understanding of the concept of *realpolitik*.

What women are saying today -- and saying it loud and clear -- is that it's not just about *realpolitik*. It's about *real life politik*.

And they are not just saying it in the United States. They are saying it here in Australia. In South America, South Asia, South Africa, and Southern Europe and beyond. Whether or not it makes headlines, the role of women is a continuing challenge in every country in the world.

I realize that there will be women who disagree with me and with each other about where the balance of power should rest. In my country, some women believe the President and Congress over-extended government's power in legislating family leave and the length of maternity hospital stays. They believe that power should be concentrated in the free market. On the other hand, some women think government needs more power given the capacity of economic forces to disrupt ~~the~~ the lives of our families and our communities.

And finally, some women are just plain squeamish when the subject of power arises. It is something, they believe, that should be discussed quietly behind the scenes and exercised by women within the scope of their personal lives.

This is a perfectly appropriate point of view for individual women. But we must also acknowledge that much is at stake for women collectively in this debate. Not just in Australia and the United States, but around the world.

Will our global community come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the progress and prosperity of every nation?

Will individual women be respected for the choices they make about family, work and personal growth -- and will they be able to make those choices free of guilt, tension, and the burden of other people's and society's expectations?

Will institutions empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean: Will schools be more flexible in providing opportunities for women who raise children? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care, flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value

women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will law enforcement and justice systems act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal rights, particularly from violence in their own homes?

Will financial institutions provide credit for women -- especially poor women who, with access to small loans, can lift themselves and their families out of poverty?

And finally, will we acknowledge, once and for all, that issues of concern to women do not just affect women but affect men too?

These are the questions we are struggling to answer. They are about the balance of power -- about the balance we seek in our lives and in the larger community we share.

I welcome the debate that will help us arrive at answers. It is a great debate. It is a contentious debate. It is a necessary debate for any democracy on the eve of a new century. And women must be a part of it.

And I am optimistic that they will be a part of it. I'm optimistic because I have met women throughout the world have seized the moment to make their voices heard. I have met women in Northern Ireland -- Catholics and Protestants -- who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa -- blacks and whites -- who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid. I have met women in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and the Baltic region who are leading the effort to build civil society and democracy from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South America who are joining forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. I have met women in South and East Asia who have endured exile, prison, and the assassination of loved ones because they courageously promoted the cause of democracy and freedom.

Romania

I have met women in my own country who have come together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and the environment cleaner. And just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are enriching this nation through their contributions to politics, law, science, education, the arts and journalism.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But many are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles.

They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and make their voices heard. They had faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they weren't going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

So I am hopeful. Because every country has a Caroline Chisholm, an Edith Cowan, a Mother Mary McKillop, a Sally Morgan -- women who, well known or not, understand that we must find common ground. And on that common ground we will build a society that is in balance, where our democratic values are alive and where individuals can seek fulfillment and live up to their own God-given potentials.

That is what we are all striving for. This is what will ensure progress for women and their families, safeguard democracy, and make the world a better place for our children and ourselves.

Thank you very much.

###

USSA
12m 29.15

draft #3

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
NOVEMBER 21, 1996

It is a pleasure to be here and to have this opportunity to speak to you in the Sydney Opera House. Being in this beautiful city and in Canberra yesterday has only increased my desire to visit Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth and the rest of your extraordinary country. Perhaps I can combine a trip to the next summer Olympics with a visit to some of the cities and sights that have eluded me this week.

I want to thank Mrs. Howard for the warm hospitality that she and the Prime Minister have extended to my husband and me since the moment we arrived. She has been gracious in taking time to accompany me on this visit. I also want to thank Senator Newman for her kind words and for the work that the Office on the Status of Women has done in organizing and coordinating this event. Thank you, too, Ambassador Dalrymple, for chairing the host committee. And thank you Kaarn Weaver for the wonderful job you do every day in representing the United States government in Australia.

Finally, let me thank our sponsors this afternoon: The Australian Center for American Studies at the University of Sydney, the New South Wales Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, and the Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific, also at the University of Sydney.

This is my first visit to Australia. I must confess that, like many Americans, my sense of Australia growing up was based on fanciful images of the outback. I envisioned vast expanses of land similar in look and feel to America's Wild West, occupied by roguish types like Ned Kelly and the occasional kookaburra and kangaroo. Just as, I assume, Australians who have never been to the United States might imagine my country as one long-running episode of Dallas, not to mention a place where all boys dunk basketballs and wear baseball caps backwards.

I was thinking about this a few nights ago when my husband and I arrived here by plane from Honolulu. A few years back I had read Jill Ker Conway's memoir, *The Road from Coorain*, which included a memorable passage about her return home after a long sojourn in England. In it she describes flying into Sydney and seeing -- from above -- the beauty of the harbor, the golden

beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe, but to Japan and Continental Asia."

Having read that passage, and now being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand -- the Near North, not the Far East -- I feel better oriented in our world too.

Despite the thousands of miles of ocean that separate your country and mine, I'm reminded of the many characteristics our nations and cultures have in common. And I am profoundly aware of the ideals and aspirations that Americans and Australians share as we look ahead to the 21st century.

We are united, not least, by our commitment to democracy and the values that democracy seeks to uphold. As proponents of freedom, we rejoice in recent developments around the globe: There is no Iron Curtain any more. In country after country, communism has crumbled and democracy has come alive. The threat of nuclear war no longer hovers over us. Opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater than ever before. And the prospect of a new and even more dynamic global civilization beckons in the future.

Yet at the same time, we feel the strains of global competition and scarcer resources. The rapid pace of change -- the superficial homogenization of the world -- inflames old tensions and weighs us down with new ones. In every nation on earth, families seem to be under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in countries with advanced economies like the United States and Australia, the social safety net -- health care, education, pension, good wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying.

The greatest threat to democracy today is no longer a Communist monolith with imperial designs, but the pressures of competition, mass consumerism and the volatile economic and social conditions that accompany any period of historic change.

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for all of us in the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how parents will raise children in the face of the mass media and consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will preserve

their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Thinking about these challenges, and how we will respond to them, we are reminded that democracy is not just about institutions. It's about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It's about how we, as societies, convey ourselves to our own young people -- and to the rest of the world. It's about consciously developing what I call "an alliance of values" -- an alliance based on the values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

Building a strong and lasting democracy requires a balance of power that allows those values to flourish. A balance of public political power, private economic power and the power of civil society, the term we use in America to describe the formal and informal networks that bring people together to make decisions affecting the common good.

Democratic values cannot thrive when that balance shifts to the extremes: When government becomes too burdensome or too restrictive. When the marketplace knows the price of everything but the value of nothing. When local organizations, philanthropies, volunteer associations, neighborhood groups and individual families are weakened in the face of larger political and economic forces.

Today, the task before us is to find ways to restore the balance of power so that democratic values can survive and thrive in a new century.

Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women, who still are striving to attain their rightful place in society and claim the political, economic, and civic power they are due.

This is what I would like to talk about today.

A few weeks ago we had an election in the United States. Many critical issues were raised during the campaign. But for the first time a whole new set of concerns took on political importance -- concerns about the quality of our lives, about how to raise children, about meeting the demands of work and family.

Why were these issues suddenly at the heart of politics? Because they are about the balance of power.

Will a new mother and her infant be allowed to stay in the hospital as long as a doctor deems it necessary -- or will

business considerations determine when she is ready to be sent home?

Will parents be allowed to take time off from work to care for a sick child or loved one -- or will they be forced to choose between meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and meeting their responsibilities to their families?

In the United States, we have something called the Family and Medical Leave law, which requires businesses of a certain size to grant parents unpaid leave so they can care for newborns or family members who are sick. It was the first piece of legislation my husband signed as President. And it became a leading issue during the campaign, along with domestic violence, maternity stays for new mothers, and how to protect the health coverage of older Americans, the majority of whom are women.

Many observers were perplexed that these issues were so important to voters this year. More accustomed to election-year discussions of defense, diplomacy, and trade, these commentators never really caught on that so-called "women's issues" mattered because -- at root -- they were about the balance of power in our lives and in our society.

Too often they were dismissed as marginal to the larger challenges our nation is facing or derided as "the feminization of politics."

What an unfortunate term. After all, don't fathers worry about how long their wives and babies can stay in the hospital when they need care? Don't fathers want to be able to take time off when a family member is gravely ill? Don't fathers want to ensure that their elderly parents have health coverage in the later stages of life?

Instead of the "feminization of politics," I prefer to think of this phenomenon as the "humanization of politics." What we saw being played out in the political arena was that people's concerns are not always global. Often they are personal. They are not simply about the balance of power in the world, but the balance of power in our relationships, our homes, and our workplaces.

We also saw a maturing of politics. Our recent election showed that women are willing to assert their power in the political sphere. The gender gap we heard so much about was simply a measure of how women, who are experts on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, voted in their self-interest. In so doing they delivered a clear message that the issues they care about deserve to be on the front burner of national politics.

I have come up with my own term for this phenomenon. Like some of you, I studied political science in college. I've followed politics closely in my years as a citizen activist and political spouse. And I have come to a fairly good understanding of the concept of *realpolitik*.

What women are saying today -- and saying it loud and clear -- is that it's not just about *realpolitik*. It's about *real life politik*.

And they are not just saying it in the United States. They are saying it here in Australia. In South America, South Asia, South Africa, and Southern Europe and beyond. Whether or not it makes headlines, the role of women is a continuing challenge in every country in the world.

I realize that there will be women who disagree with me and with each other about where the balance of power should rest. In my country, some women believe the President and Congress over-extended government's power in legislating family leave and the length of maternity hospital stays. They believe that power should be concentrated in the free market. On the other hand, some women think government needs more power given the capacity of economic forces to disrupt our the lives of our families and our communities.

And finally, some women are just plain squeamish when the subject of power arises. It is something, they believe, that should be discussed quietly behind the scenes and exercised by women within the scope of their personal lives.

This is a perfectly appropriate point of view for individual women. But we must also acknowledge that much is at stake for women collectively in this debate. Not just in Australia and the United States, but around the world.

Will our global community come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the progress and prosperity of every nation?

Will individual women be respected for the choices they make about family, work and personal growth -- and will they be able to make those choices free of guilt, tension, and the burden of other people's and society's expectations?

Will institutions empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean: Will schools be more flexible in providing opportunities for women who raise children? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care, flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value

women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will law enforcement and justice systems act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal rights, particularly from violence in their own homes?

Will financial institutions provide credit for women -- especially poor women who, with access to small loans, can lift themselves and their families out of poverty?

And finally, will we acknowledge, once and for all, that issues of concern to women do not just affect women but affect men too?

These are the questions we are struggling to answer. They are about the balance of power -- about the balance we seek in our lives and in the larger community we share.

I welcome the debate that will help us arrive at answers. It is a great debate. It is a contentious debate. It is a necessary debate for any democracy on the eve of a new century. And women must be a part of it.

And I am optimistic that they will be a part of it. I'm optimistic because I have met women throughout the world have seized the moment to make their voices heard. I have met women in Northern Ireland -- Catholics and Protestants -- who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa -- blacks and whites -- who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid. I have met women in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and the Baltic region who are leading the effort to build civil society and democracy from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South America who are joining forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. I have met women in South and East Asia who have endured exile, prison, and the assassination of loved ones because they courageously promoted the cause of democracy and freedom.

I have met women in my own country who have come together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and the environment cleaner. And just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are enriching this nation through their contributions to politics, law, science, education, the arts and journalism.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But many are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles.

They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and make their voices heard. They had faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they weren't going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

So I am hopeful. Because every country has a Caroline Chisholm, an Edith Cowan, a Mother Mary McKillop, a Sally Morgan -- women who, well known or not, understand that we must find common ground. And on that common ground we will build a society that is in balance, where our democratic values are alive and where individuals can seek fulfillment and live up to their own God-given potentials.

That is what we are all striving for. This is what will ensure progress for women and their families, safeguard democracy, and make the world a better place for our children and ourselves.

Thank you very much.

###

Village

draft #3

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
NOVEMBER 21, 1996

Sydney 2000
It is a pleasure to be here and to have this opportunity to speak to you in the Sydney Opera House. Being in this beautiful city and in Canberra yesterday has only increased my desire to visit Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth and the rest of your extraordinary country. Perhaps I can combine a trip to the ~~next~~ summer Olympics with a visit to some of the cities and sights that have eluded me this week.

I want to thank Mrs. Howard for the warm hospitality that she and the Prime Minister have extended to my husband and me since the moment we arrived. She has been gracious in taking time to accompany me on this visit. I also want to thank Senator Newman for her kind words and for the work that the Office on the Status of Women has done in organizing and coordinating this event. Thank you, too, Ambassador Dalrymple, for chairing the host committee. And thank you Kaarn Weaver for the wonderful job you do every day in representing the United States government in Australia.

Finally, let me thank our sponsors this afternoon: The Australian Center for American Studies at the University of Sydney, the New South Wales Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, and the Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific, also at the University of Sydney.

This is my first visit to Australia. I must confess that, like many Americans, my sense of Australia growing up was based on fanciful images of the outback. I envisioned vast expanses of land similar in look and feel to America's Wild West, occupied by roguish types like Ned Kelly and the occasional kookaburra and kangaroo. Just as, I assume, Australians who have never been to the United States might imagine my country as one long-running episode of Dallas, not to mention a place where all boys dunk basketballs and wear baseball caps backwards.

I was thinking about this a few nights ago when my husband and I arrived here by plane from Honolulu. A few years back I had read Jill Ker Conway's memoir, The Road from Coorain, which included a memorable passage about her return home after a long sojourn in England. In it she describes flying into Sydney and seeing -- from above -- the beauty of the harbor, the golden

beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe, but to Japan and Continental Asia."

Having read that passage, and now being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand -- the Near North, not the Far East -- I feel better oriented in our world too.

Despite the thousands of miles of ocean that separate your country and mine, I'm reminded of the many characteristics our nations and cultures have in common. And I am profoundly aware of the ideals and aspirations that Americans and Australians share as we look ahead to the 21st century.

We are united, not least, by our commitment to democracy and the values that democracy seeks to uphold. As proponents of freedom, we rejoice in recent developments around the globe: There is no Iron Curtain any more. In country after country, communism has crumbled and democracy has come alive. The threat of nuclear war no longer hovers over us. Opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater than ever before. And the prospect of a new and even more dynamic global civilization beckons in the future.

Yet at the same time, we feel the strains of global competition and scarcer resources. The rapid pace of change -- the superficial homogenization of the world -- inflames old tensions and weighs us down with new ones. In every nation on earth, families seem to be under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in countries with advanced economies like the United States and Australia, the social safety net -- health care, education, pension², good wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying.

~~The greatest threat to democracy today is no longer a Communist monolith with imperial designs, but the pressures of competition, mass consumerism and the volatile economic and social conditions that accompany any period of historic change.~~

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for all of us in the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how parents will raise children in the face of the mass media and consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will preserve

their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Thinking about these challenges, and how we will respond to them, we are reminded that democracy is not just about institutions. It's about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It's about how we, as societies, convey ourselves to our own young people -- and to the rest of the world. It's about consciously developing what I call "an alliance of values" -- an alliance based on the values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights. *village*

Building a strong and lasting democracy requires a balance of power that allows those values to flourish. A balance of public political power, private economic power and the power of civil society, ~~the term we use in America to describe~~ the formal and informal networks that bring people together to make decisions affecting the common good. *This balance of power is not, simply manifest in the three spheres of society or community (as it is often said), but also in our women, & our workplaces.* Democratic values cannot thrive when that balance shifts to the extremes: When government becomes too burdensome or too restrictive. When the marketplace knows the price of everything but the value of nothing. When local organizations, philanthropies, volunteer associations, neighborhood groups and individual families are weakened in the face of larger political and economic forces.

Today, the task before us is to find ways to ~~restore~~ *achieve* the *proper* balance of power so that democratic values can survive and thrive in a new century.

Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women, who still are striving to attain their rightful place in society and claim the political, economic, and civic power they are due.

This is what I would like to talk about today.

A few weeks ago we had an election in the United States. Many critical issues were raised during the campaign. But for the first time a whole new set of concerns took on political importance -- concerns about the quality of our lives, about how to raise children, about meeting the demands of work and family.

Why were these issues suddenly at the heart of politics? Because they are about the balance of power.

Will a new mother and her infant be allowed to stay in the hospital as long as a doctor deems it necessary -- or will

business considerations determine when she is ready to be sent home?

Will parents be allowed to take time off from work to care for a sick child or loved one -- or will they be forced to choose between meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and meeting their responsibilities to their families?

In the United States, ~~we have something called the~~ ^{our} Family and Medical Leave law, which requires businesses of a certain size to grant parents unpaid leave so they can care for newborns or family members who are sick, ~~it~~ ^{was} the first piece of legislation my husband signed as President. ~~It~~ ^{It} became a leading issue during the campaign, along with domestic violence, maternity stays for new mothers, and how to protect the health coverage of older Americans, the majority of whom are women.

Many observers were perplexed that these issues were so important to voters this year. More accustomed to ~~election year~~ ^{election year} discussions of defense, diplomacy, and trade, these commentators never really caught on that so-called "women's issues" mattered because -- at root -- they were about the balance of power in our lives and in our society. ^{These are the candidates & the issues they put in front of us about the law & the need to expand it}

Too often they were dismissed as marginal to the larger challenges our nation is facing or derided as "the feminization of politics."

What an unfortunate term. After all, don't fathers worry about how long their wives and babies can stay in the hospital when they need care? Don't fathers want to be able to take time off when a family member is gravely ill? Don't fathers want to ensure that their elderly parents have health coverage in the later stages of life?

Instead of the "feminization of politics," I prefer to think of this phenomenon as the "humanization of politics." What we saw being played out in the political arena was that people's concerns are not always global. Often they are personal. They are ~~not simply about the balance of power in the world, but the balance of power in our relationships, our homes, and our workplaces.~~ ^{But they are about the balance between the force of politics and the force of family.}

We also saw a maturing of politics. Our recent election showed that women are willing to assert their power in the political sphere. The gender gap we heard so much about was simply a measure of how women, who are experts on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, voted ~~in~~ ^{for} their self-interest. In so doing they delivered a clear message that the issues they care about deserve to be on the front burner of national politics. ^{and their values.}

I have come up with my own term for this phenomenon. Like some of you, I studied political science in college. I've followed politics closely in my years as a citizen activist and political spouse. And I have come to a fairly good understanding of the concept of realpolitik.

~~Politics~~ *Woman's new found muscle in politics*
What women are saying today -- and saying it loud and clear -- is that ~~it's~~ not just about realpolitik. It's about real life politik.

~~Realpolitik~~ *of power*
And they are not just saying it in the United States. They are saying it here in Australia. In South America, South Asia, South Africa, and Southern Europe and beyond. Whether or not it makes headlines, the role of women is a continuing challenge in every country in the world. *and opposite*

I realize that there will be women who disagree with me and with each other about where the balance of power should rest. In my country, some women believe the President and Congress over-extended government's power in legislating family leave and the length of maternity hospital stays. They believe that power should be concentrated in the free market. On the other hand, some women think government needs more power given the capacity of economic forces to disrupt ~~our~~ the lives of our families and our communities.

And finally, some women are just plain squeamish when the subject of power arises. It is something, they believe, that should be discussed quietly behind the scenes and exercised by women within the scope of their personal lives.

Regardless of where you stand on this individual
This ~~is a perfectly appropriate point of view for individual~~
~~women. But we must also~~ acknowledge that much is at stake for women collectively in this debate. Not just in Australia and the United States, but around the world.

Will our global community come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the progress and prosperity of every nation?

Will individual women be respected for the choices they make about family, work and personal growth -- and will they be able to make those choices free of guilt, tension, and the burden of other people's and society's expectations?

Will institutions empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean: Will schools be more flexible in providing opportunities for women who raise children? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care, flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value

women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will law enforcement and justice systems act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal rights, particularly from violence in their own homes?

Will financial institutions provide credit for women -- especially poor women who, with access to small loans, can lift themselves and their families out of poverty?

And finally, will we acknowledge, once and for all, that issues of concern to women do not just affect women but affect men too?

These are the questions we are struggling to answer. They are about the balance of power -- about the balance we seek in our lives and in the larger community we share.

And there is no doubt that this crisis will reveal
I welcome the debate that will help us arrive at answers. It is a great debate. It is a contentious debate. It is a necessary debate for any democracy on the eve of a new century. And women must be a part of it.

Bosnia
And I am optimistic that they will be a part of it. I'm optimistic because I have met women throughout the world have seized the moment to make their voices heard. I have met women in Northern Ireland -- Catholics and Protestants -- who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa -- blacks and whites -- who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid. I have met women in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and the Baltic region who are leading the effort to build civil society and democracy from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South America who are joining forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. I have met women in South and East Asia who have endured exile, prison, and the assassination of loved ones because they courageously promoted the cause of democracy and freedom.

I have met women in my own country who have come together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and the environment cleaner. And just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are enriching this nation through their contributions to politics, law, science, education, the arts and journalism.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But many are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles.

They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and make their voices heard. They had faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they weren't going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

So I am hopeful. Because every country has a Caroline Chisholm, an Edith Cowan, a Mother Mary McKillop, a Sally Morgan -- women who, well known or not, understand that we must find common ground. And on that common ground we will build a society that is in balance, where our democratic values are alive and where individuals can seek fulfillment and live up to their own God-given potentials.

That is what we are all striving for. This is what will ensure progress for women and their families, safeguard democracy, and make the world a better place for our children and ourselves.

Thank you very much.

###

Clearly policies and legislation are critical to women's progress and women's rights. And other countries would do well to borrow a page or two from you: Few countries have made the commitment to health care, child care, maternity benefits, parental leave, child support enforcement and affirmative action that Australia has, for example. Few countries have run a purple postcard campaign.

At the same time, women's progress here and elsewhere requires a new paradigm -- a shift in our attitudes and values.

I was fortunate, as many of you were, to attend the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. And I commend the Australian delegation for the vital role its members played in helping draw attention to the plight of women around the globe.

It was an extraordinary experience for all of us who were there. I will never forget looking out across a room full of delegates and seeing women of all backgrounds and beliefs, dressed in everything from business suits to saris to shalwar kameezes.

Some had daughters or sisters who have been denied medical care and food simply because they are women. Some lived in places where girls still are not permitted or encouraged to attend school. Some grew up in societies where girls are sold into prostitution or indentured servitude to augment family incomes. Some were returning to countries where women still are not allowed to vote.

But no matter their places of origin, they were united in the proposition that women's rights are human rights -- and that

no society or nation can flourish if half its population is ignored, oppressed, exploited or undervalued.

First, 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.

Wherever I go around the world -- whether I'm in Washington or Warsaw, San Francisco or Santiago -- I'm struck by the fact that women everywhere simply want the chance to make the best choices for their lives.

We all struggle to compose lives that best reflect our individual needs and family circumstances. But no matter what choices we make, many of us still feel the tension between family responsibilities and work -- and between our own expectations and those that society places on us.

It does no good to point fingers or invoke stereotypes when women decide to follow one life path or another. Instead of pigeon-holing each other in ways that limit our potential, let's admit that there is no formula for being a successful or fulfilled woman in today's world. And let's celebrate the contributions of each woman and relish the rich diversity of women's lives we see around us every day.

Second, we must avoid the trap which says that women's issues only affect women. If we truly care about strong families, strong communities, and strong societies, we have to recognize that men and women can complement each other inside and outside the home. We are, after all, partners in a common enterprise. Let's not allow ourselves to become enemies consigned to opposite poles.

Third, we can encourage institutions to empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take responsibility for their lives.

Schools can be more flexible in providing opportunities for women who raise children. Businesses can initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, whether it is assisting with child care, offering flexible hours, or giving parents the option of working from home whenever possible.

At the very least, businesses can value women by paying them equal salaries for equal work in every country 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.

Financial institutions can provide credit for poor women who, with access to small amounts of credit, can lift themselves and their families out of poverty.

I have seen for myself in Bangladesh, Nicaragua, Chile, and even in Denver, Colorado the extraordinary results when women are the targets of these kinds of investments. Women, it turns, out are exceptionally good credit risks. They repay their loans above 95 percent. And I dare say that many of our largest lending institutions would be very happy to have that kind of return on their loans.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a publication.

Publications have not been scanned in their entirety for the purpose of digitization. To see the full publication please search online or visit the Clinton Presidential Library's Research Room.

Sydney Dinner

5 pgs.



Dinner

in honour of

*The Honourable
William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
and Mrs Clinton*

given by

*The Honourable John Howard, MP
Prime Minister of Australia
and Mrs Howard*

*aboard Aussie One
Sydney Harbour Cruise*

Wednesday, 20 November 1996

draft #3

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
NOVEMBER 21, 1996

It is a pleasure to be here and to have this opportunity to speak to you in the Sydney Opera House. Being in this beautiful city and in Canberra yesterday has only increased my desire to visit Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth and the rest of your extraordinary country. Perhaps I can combine a trip to the next summer Olympics with a visit to some of the cities and sights that have eluded me this week.

I want to thank Mrs. Howard for the warm hospitality that she and the Prime Minister have extended to my husband and me since the moment we arrived. She has been gracious in taking time to accompany me on this visit. I also want to thank Senator Newman for her kind words and for the work that the Office on the Status of Women has done in organizing and coordinating this event. Thank you, too, Ambassador Dalrymple, for chairing the host committee. And thank you Kaarn Weaver for the wonderful job you do every day in representing the United States government in Australia.

Finally, let me thank our sponsors this afternoon: The Australian Center for American Studies at the University of Sydney, the New South Wales Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, and the Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific, also at the University of Sydney.

This is my first visit to Australia. I must confess that, like many Americans, my sense of Australia growing up was based on fanciful images of the outback. I envisioned vast expanses of land similar in look and feel to America's Wild West, occupied by roguish types like Ned Kelly and the occasional kookaburra and kangaroo. Just as, I assume, Australians who have never been to the United States might imagine my country as one long-running episode of Dallas, not to mention a place where all boys dunk basketballs and wear baseball caps backwards.

I was thinking about this a few nights ago when my husband and I arrived here by plane from Honolulu. A few years back I had read Jill Ker Conway's memoir, The Road from Coorain, which included a memorable passage about her return home after a long sojourn in England. In it she describes flying into Sydney and seeing -- from above -- the beauty of the harbor, the golden

beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe, but to Japan and Continental Asia."

Having read that passage, and now being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand -- the Near North, not the Far East -- I feel better oriented in our world too.

Despite the thousands of miles of ocean that separate your country and mine, I'm reminded of the many characteristics our nations and cultures have in common. And I am profoundly aware of the ideals and aspirations that Americans and Australians share as we look ahead to the 21st century.

We are united, not least, by our commitment to democracy and the values that democracy seeks to uphold. As proponents of freedom, we rejoice in recent developments around the globe: There is no Iron Curtain any more. In country after country, communism has crumbled and democracy has come alive. The threat of nuclear war no longer hovers over us. Opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater than ever before. And the prospect of a new and even more dynamic global civilization beckons in the future.

Yet at the same time, we feel the strains of global competition and scarcer resources. The rapid pace of change -- the superficial homogenization of the world -- inflames old tensions and weighs us down with new ones. In every nation on earth, families seem to be under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in countries with advanced economies like the United States and Australia, the social safety net -- health care, education, pension, good wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying.

The greatest threat to democracy today is no longer a Communist monolith with imperial designs, but the pressures of competition, mass consumerism and the volatile economic and social conditions that accompany any period of historic change.

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for all of us in the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how parents will raise children in the face of the mass media and consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will preserve

their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Thinking about these challenges, and how we will respond to them, we are reminded that democracy is not just about institutions. It's about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It's about how we, as societies, convey ourselves to our own young people -- and to the rest of the world. It's about consciously developing what I call "an alliance of values" -- an alliance based on the values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

Building a strong and lasting democracy requires a balance of power that allows those values to flourish. A balance of public political power, private economic power and the power of civil society, the term we use in America to describe the formal and informal networks that bring people together to make decisions affecting the common good.

Democratic values cannot thrive when that balance shifts to the extremes: When government becomes too burdensome or too restrictive. When the marketplace knows the price of everything but the value of nothing. When local organizations, philanthropies, volunteer associations, neighborhood groups and individual families are weakened in the face of larger political and economic forces.

Today, the task before us is to find ways to restore the balance of power so that democratic values can survive and thrive in a new century.

Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women, who still are striving to attain their rightful place in society and claim the political, economic, and civic power they are due.

This is what I would like to talk about today.

A few weeks ago we had an election in the United States. Many critical issues were raised during the campaign. But for the first time a whole new set of concerns took on political importance -- concerns about the quality of our lives, about how to raise children, about meeting the demands of work and family.

Why were these issues suddenly at the heart of politics? Because they are about the balance of power.

Will a new mother and her infant be allowed to stay in the hospital as long as a doctor deems it necessary -- or will

business considerations determine when she is ready to be sent home?

Will parents be allowed to take time off from work to care for a sick child or loved one -- or will they be forced to choose between meeting their responsibilities to their jobs and meeting their responsibilities to their families?

In the United States, we have something called the Family and Medical Leave law, which requires businesses of a certain size to grant parents unpaid leave so they can care for newborns or family members who are sick. It was the first piece of legislation my husband signed as President. And it became a leading issue during the campaign, along with domestic violence, maternity stays for new mothers, and how to protect the health coverage of older Americans, the majority of whom are women.

Many observers were perplexed that these issues were so important to voters this year. More accustomed to election-year discussions of defense, diplomacy, and trade, these commentators never really caught on that so-called "women's issues" mattered because -- at root -- they were about the balance of power in our lives and in our society.

Too often they were dismissed as marginal to the larger challenges our nation is facing or derided as "the feminization of politics."

What an unfortunate term. After all, don't fathers worry about how long their wives and babies can stay in the hospital when they need care? Don't fathers want to be able to take time off when a family member is gravely ill? Don't fathers want to ensure that their elderly parents have health coverage in the later stages of life?

Instead of the "feminization of politics," I prefer to think of this phenomenon as the "humanization of politics." What we saw being played out in the political arena was that people's concerns are not always global. Often they are personal. They are not simply about the balance of power in the world, but the balance of power in our relationships, our homes, and our workplaces.

We also saw a maturing of politics. Our recent election showed that women are willing to assert their power in the political sphere. The gender gap we heard so much about was simply a measure of how women, who are experts on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, voted in their self-interest. In so doing they delivered a clear message that the issues they care about deserve to be on the front burner of national politics.

I have come up with my own term for this phenomenon. Like some of you, I studied political science in college. I've followed politics closely in my years as a citizen activist and political spouse. And I have come to a fairly good understanding of the concept of *realpolitik*.

What women are saying today -- and saying it loud and clear -- is that it's not just about *realpolitik*. It's about *real life politik*.

And they are not just saying it in the United States. They are saying it here in Australia. In South America, South Asia, South Africa, and Southern Europe and beyond. Whether or not it makes headlines, the role of women is a continuing challenge in every country in the world.

I realize that there will be women who disagree with me and with each other about where the balance of power should rest. In my country, some women believe the President and Congress over-extended government's power in legislating family leave and the length of maternity hospital stays. They believe that power should be concentrated in the free market. On the other hand, some women think government needs more power given the capacity of economic forces to disrupt ~~our~~ the lives of our families and our communities.

And finally, some women are just plain squeamish when the subject of power arises. It is something, they believe, that should be discussed quietly behind the scenes and exercised by women within the scope of their personal lives.

This is a perfectly appropriate point of view for individual women. But we must also acknowledge that much is at stake for women collectively in this debate. Not just in Australia and the United States, but around the world.

Will our global community come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the progress and prosperity of every nation?

Will individual women be respected for the choices they make about family, work and personal growth -- and will they be able to make those choices free of guilt, tension, and the burden of other people's and society's expectations?

Will institutions empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean: Will schools be more flexible in providing opportunities for women who raise children? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care, flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value

women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will law enforcement and justice systems act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal rights, particularly from violence in their own homes?

Will financial institutions provide credit for women -- especially poor women who, with access to small loans, can lift themselves and their families out of poverty?

And finally, will we acknowledge, once and for all, that issues of concern to women do not just affect women but affect men too?

These are the questions we are struggling to answer. They are about the balance of power -- about the balance we seek in our lives and in the larger community we share.

I welcome the debate that will help us arrive at answers. It is a great debate. It is a contentious debate. It is a necessary debate for any democracy on the eve of a new century. And women must be a part of it.

And I am optimistic that they will be a part of it. I'm optimistic because I have met women throughout the world have seized the moment to make their voices heard. I have met women in Northern Ireland -- Catholics and Protestants -- who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa -- blacks and whites -- who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid. I have met women in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and the Baltic region who are leading the effort to build civil society and democracy from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South America who are joining forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. I have met women in South and East Asia who have endured exile, prison, and the assassination of loved ones because they courageously promoted the cause of democracy and freedom.

I have met women in my own country who have come together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and the environment cleaner. And just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are enriching this nation through their contributions to politics, law, science, education, the arts and journalism.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But many are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators. They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles.

They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and make their voices heard. They had faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they weren't going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

So I am hopeful. Because every country has a Caroline Chisholm, an Edith Cowan, a Mother Mary McKillop, a Sally Morgan -- women who, well known or not, understand that we must find common ground. And on that common ground we will build a society that is in balance, where our democratic values are alive and where individuals can seek fulfillment and live up to their own God-given potentials.

That is what we are all striving for. This is what will ensure progress for women and their families, safeguard democracy, and make the world a better place for our children and ourselves.

Thank you very much.

###

Feminist issues centre stage

Hillary Clinton has taken women's policies into mainstream politics

AUSTRALIAN politicians put women's issues on to the fag end of mainstream policy. The ALP pioneered women's launches in 1993. John Howard has rediscovered the virtues of home-making. Hillary Clinton breaks the mould: she has learned to mainstream feminist issues and, not only that, win elections.

One of the most senior social democratic thinkers in the United States told me in Washington recently that the thing Australian politicians had most to learn from the Clintons was "how to speak to women".

Women vote for Bill Clinton en masse. In 1992, it was the women's vote that pushed Clinton over the line against George Bush. In 1996, there was a 17 per cent gap in the women's vote between Clinton and Bob Dole. The most dynamic factor in the 1996 Democratic election campaign was Hillary Clinton's ability to mainstream women's issues.

When Clinton was thrown out of office as governor in 1980, one of the telling blows in the conservative South was the fact that Hillary did not change her name to Clinton. Two years later he was re-elected: in the lead-up to the election his wife had quietly changed her name to Hillary Rodham Clinton. During the next term she transformed herself from being an extreme negative to being, in the words of David Osborne, "more popular than her husband".

With her experience as a lawyer for the Children's Defence Fund and as a past veteran of the George McGovern presidential campaign and the Watergate impeachment committee, she became chair of the most difficult committee in Arkansas — the committee to recommend new standards

Peter Botsman



for education and teacher accreditation. With a one-year timetable for legislation, she took her committee on the road and held hearings involving more than 10,000 people. In the face of trenchant opposition, she paved the way for new tax revenue to pay for increased teachers' salaries, new standards, and stricter employment guidelines and performance criteria.

THE tough 1980s Arkansas learning curve has been revisited in the first term of the Clinton presidency. After the failure in health-care reform, Hillary Clinton has buckled down to plan quieter and more effective revolutions. Her best-selling book, *It Takes a Village*, complete with Vaseline-lensed pictures, puts children and their interactions with the community on to the central political stage.

She pushes for widening the concept of child rearing to allow men to play a more active role, and fights for decent childcare and the primacy of family, community and socioeconomic development over "geneticists" such as Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein, who in their book *The Bell Curve* (1994) put forward racial inferiority as an explanation for social inequality.

Despite the many achievements of the women's movement in Australia, there has not been a mainstream

Australian federal campaign manifesto that put domestic violence as a major national issue. In contrast, the 1996 US Democrat campaign document states: "When it strikes, nothing is a more dangerous threat to the safety of our families than domestic violence because it is a threat from within. Unfortunately, violence against women is no stranger to America but a dangerous intruder we must work together to drive from our homes."

I can't remember a central campaign manifesto in which "a woman's right to choose", teen pregnancy, child support, investment in women's business and community policing were purposefully made major electoral issues. But the 1996 Democratic Party National Manifesto did all these things.

On top of this, every Clinton speech, from foreign policy to economic policy, was vetted for its women's dimension, for its delivery style and for its substance to women.

None of the issues is very novel. But Hillary Clinton has brought forward many women's issues to the point where the mainstream political culture must either consciously or unconsciously deal with them. They cannot be ignored.

As if reflecting on her own treatment and the political thuggery she has had to endure, she concludes her book: "In times of profound and overwhelming social change like the present ... extreme views hold out the appeal of simplicity. By ignoring the complexity of the forces that shape our personal and collective circumstances, they offer us scapegoats. Yet they fail to provide a viable pathway from the Cold War to the global village."

Australian political culture may have something to learn from Hillary Clinton's quiet revolution.

Dr Peter Botsman is executive director of the Evatt Foundation.

THE AUSTRALIAN, WEDNESDAY NOV 20 1996.
P. 15.

- just finished an election in US

draft #1

Vissitu
Viciissitudes

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
NOVEMBER 21, 1996

Acknowledge groups + individuals

It is a pleasure to be here. This is my first visit to Australia. And I must confess that, like many Americans, my sense of your country was once based on fanciful images of the outback -- vast expanses of grassland occupied by roguish types like Ned Kelly [an Australian legend who was part Jesse James, part Robin Hood], along with the occasional kookaburra and kangaroo. I am happy to say that over the years I have gained a broader and more accurate view, thanks in part to the disproportionate number of great Australian writers and film makers whose works have graced American audiences.

I was thinking about this a few nights ago, when my husband and I arrived here by plane from Honolulu. A few years back I had read Jill Ker Conway's wonderful memoir The Road from Coorain, which included a memorable passage about her return home after a period of studying [ck] in Britain. In it she describes flying into Sydney and seeing -- from above -- the beauty of the harbor, the golden beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment, she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe, but to Japan and continental Asia."

Having read that passage, and now being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand -- the Near North, not the Far East -- I feel better oriented in our world too. I see that Australia no longer suffers from what one of your most famous historians called "the tyranny of distance;" it is not a remote outpost on the margins of civilization. It is, in fact, a country uniquely its own, as well as a vibrant partner alongside one of the most dynamic regions of the world. A country whose pioneering spirit has endured over time, a place where technology is embraced as a tool of opportunity, and where the approach of a new century and a new millennium evokes not fear of change but the promise of progress.

Whatever notions we Americans may have about Australia and vice-versa -- and I'm sure that many an Australian child grows up imagining that the United States is filled with people seven-feet tall who can dunk basketballs, and boys who wear baseball caps backwards. -- I am reminded more often of the many characteristics our nations and cultures have in common. And I am profoundly aware of the ideals and aspirations we share as we look ahead to the 21st century.

We are united, not least, by our commitment to democracy and the values that democracy seeks to uphold. As proponents of freedom, we rejoice in recent developments around the globe: There is no Iron Curtain anymore. In country after country, Communism has crumbled and democracy has come alive. The threat of nuclear war no longer hovers over us. Opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater than ever before. And the prospect of a new and even more dynamic global civilization beckons in the future.

Yet at the same time, we feel the strains of global competition and scarcer resources. The rapid pace of change -- the superficial homogenization of the world -- inflames old tensions and weighs us down with new ones. In every nation on earth, families ^{are} under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in countries with advanced economies like the United States and Australia, the social safety net -- health care, education, pensions, good wages and good jobs -- is fraying.

The greatest threat to democracy today is no longer a Communist monolith with imperial designs, but the pressures of competition, mass consumerism and the volatile economic and social conditions that accompany any period of historic change.

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for all of us in the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how parents will raise children in the face of the mass media and the consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high-technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Thinking about these challenges, and how we will respond to them, we are reminded that democracy is not just about institutions. It is also about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It is about

freedom
how we, as societies, convey ourselves to our own young people -- and to the rest of the world. It's about consciously developing what I call "an alliance of values" -- an alliance based on the values of opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human ~~dignity~~ *rights*.

may
Democracy ~~cannot~~ survive if competition and material greed preclude sacrifices for the common good. It cannot thrive if every citizen is not able to participate fully in all aspects of civic life.

There are many ways to address this issue. Today, I will focus on one: How the participation of women in society requires a re-appraisal of who and what is valuable in our world.

Like some of you, I was fortunate to attend the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. And I commend the Australian delegation for the vital role its members played in helping draw attention to the plight of women around the world.

It was an extraordinary experience for all of us who were there. I will never forget looking out across a room full of delegates and seeing women of all backgrounds and beliefs, dressed in everything from business suits to saris to jilbobs to shalwar kameezes.

Some had daughters or sisters who have been denied medical care and food simply because they are women. Some lived in places where girls still are not permitted or encouraged to attend school. Some grew up in societies where girls are sold into prostitution or indentured servitude to augment family incomes. Some were returning to countries where women still are not allowed to vote.

But no matter their places of origin, they were united in the proposition that women's rights are human rights -- and that no society or nation can flourish if half its population is ignored, oppressed, exploited or undervalued.

As the Beijing conference reminded us, women are the world's greatest untapped resource.

But what must change to unleash the full power and glory of women's potential? Clearly policies and legislation are critical to women's progress and women's rights. And other countries would do well to borrow a page or two from you: Few countries have made the commitment to health care, child care, maternity benefits, parental leave, child support enforcement, and affirmative action

that Australia has, for example. Few countries have run a purple postcard campaign. [ck] ?

At the same time, women's progress here and elsewhere depends on a shift in attitudes and values as well.

First, 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.

Wherever I go around the world -- whether I'm in Washington or Warsaw, San Francisco or Santiago -- I'm struck by the fact that women everywhere simply want the chance to make the best choices for their lives.

We all struggle to compose lives that best reflect our individual needs and family circumstances. But no matter what choices we make, many of us still feel the tension between family responsibilities and work -- and between our own expectations and those that society places on us.

I say: Let's not make it more difficult than it already is. As women, let's call a truce among ourselves. It does no good to point fingers or invoke stereotypes about what kind of a mother a woman is who works outside the home. Nor is it productive to question the judgment of a woman who has chosen to work full-time at home. }

Instead of pigeon-holing each other in ways that limit our potential, let's admit that there is no formula for being a successful or fulfilled woman in today's world. And let's celebrate the contributions of every woman and relish the rich diversity of women's lives today.

Second, we must avoid the trap which says that women's issues only affect women. If we truly care about strong families, strong communities, strong societies and strong values, we have to recognize that men and women can complement each other inside and outside the home. We are, after all, partners in a common enterprise. Let's not allow ourselves to become enemies consigned to opposite poles.

Third, we can encourage institutions to empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take responsibility for their lives.

Schools can be more flexible in providing opportunities for women who raise children. Businesses can initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, whether it is assisting with

child care, offering flexible hours, or giving parents the option of working from home whenever possible.

At the very least, businesses can value women by paying them equal salaries for equal work in every country 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 own homes.

Financial institutions can provide credit for poor women who, with access to small amounts of credit, can lift themselves and their families out of poverty.

I have seen for myself in Bangladesh, Nicaragua, Chile, and even in Denver, Colorado the extraordinary results when these kind of investments are made in women. Women, it turns out, are exceptionally good credit risks. They repay their loans above 95 percent. And I dare say that many of our largest lending institutions would be very happy to have that kind of return on their loans.

Despite the great challenges that remain for women -- and for the democratic values that we hold dear -- I am optimistic.

I'm optimistic because I have seen how women throughout the world have seized the moment to make their communities safer, more peaceful and more just. I have met women in Northern Ireland -- Catholics and Protestants -- who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa -- blacks and whites -- who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid. I have met women in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and the Baltic region who are leading the effort to build civil society and democracy from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South and East Asia who have endured exile, prison and the assassination of family members because they courageously promoted the cause of democracy and freedom. [Add South America]

I have met women in my own country who have joined together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and their political system more responsive to the needs of their families and communities. Just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are adding their perspective through politics, law, science, and education and enriching this nation's civic life on the eve of the 21st century.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But many are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators.

They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles.

They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and make their voices heard. They had faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they weren't going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

So I am hopeful. Because every country has a Caroline Chisholm, an Edith Cowan, a Mother Mary McKillop, a Sally Morgan - women who, well known or not, understand that we must find common ground, and on that common ground build a society that enables individuals to seek fulfillment and live up to their own God-given potentials.

This is what we are all striving for. This is what will ensure progress for women and their families, safeguard democracy, and make the world a better place for our children and their children. ~~Thank you for doing your part.~~ *Ourselves.*

And Godspeed.

###

TO: HRC

FROM: Lissa Muscatine *LM*

RE: Australia Speech

DATE: November 15, 1996

Here is a first draft of the Australia speech. There are several Australia references (and attempts at humor) that I can explain when we talk. Overall I've tried to integrate the alliance of values and your women's themes. Also have tried subtly to make Soros' point about unchecked competition eroding values. What's missing is any discussion of the "family feminist" because I didn't feel I knew enough about what the term means.

RB

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
NOVEMBER 21, 1996

It is a pleasure to be here. This is my first visit to Australia. And I must confess that, like many Americans, my sense of your country was once based on fanciful images of the outback -- vast expanses of grassland occupied by roguish types like Ned Kelly [an Australian legend who was part Jesse James, part Robin Hood], along with the occasional kookaburra and kangaroo. I am happy to say that over the years I have gained a broader and more accurate view, thanks in part to the disproportionate number of great Australian writers and film makers whose works have graced American audiences.

I was thinking about this a few nights ago, when my husband and I arrived here by plane from Honolulu. A few years back I had read Jill Ker Conway's wonderful memoir The Road from Coorain, which included a memorable passage about her return home after a period ~~of studying [ck]~~ in Britain. In it she describes flying into Sydney and seeing -- from above -- the beauty of the harbor, the golden beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment, she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe but to Japan and continental Asia."

Having read that passage, and now being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand -- the Near North, not the Far East -- I feel better oriented in our world too. I see that Australia no longer suffers from what one of your most famous historians called "the tyranny of distance;" it is not a remote outpost on the margins of civilization. It is, in fact, a country uniquely its own, as well as a vibrant partner alongside one of the most dynamic regions of the world. A country whose pioneering spirit has endured over time, a place where technology is embraced as a tool of opportunity, and where the approach of a new century and a new millennium evokes not fear of change but the promise of progress.

Whatever notions we Americans may have about Australia and vice-versa -- and I'm sure that many an Australian child grows up imagining that the United States is filled with people seven-feet tall who can dunk basketballs, and boys who wear baseball caps backwards -- I am reminded more often of the many characteristics our nations and cultures have in common. And I am profoundly aware of the ideals and aspirations we share as we look ahead to the 21st century.

We are united, not least, by our commitment to democracy and the values that democracy seeks to uphold. As proponents of freedom, we rejoice in recent developments around the globe: There is no Iron Curtain anymore. In country after country, Communism has crumbled and democracy has come alive. The threat of nuclear war no longer hovers over us. Opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater than ever before. And the prospect of a new and even more dynamic global civilization beckons in the future.

Yet at the same time, we feel the strains of global competition and scarcer resources. The rapid pace of change -- the superficial homogenization of the world -- inflames old tensions and weighs us down with new ones. In every nation on earth, families are under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in countries with advanced economies like the United States and Australia, the social safety net -- health care, education, pensions, good wages and good jobs -- is fraying.

The greatest threat to democracy today is no longer a Communist monolith with imperial designs, but the pressures of competition, mass consumerism and the volatile economic and social conditions that accompany any period of historic change.

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for all of us in the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how parents will raise children in the face of the mass media and the consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high-technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Thinking about these challenges, and how we will respond to them, we are reminded that democracy is not just about institutions. It is also about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It is about

how we, as societies, convey ourselves to our own young people -- and to the rest of the world. It's about consciously developing what I call "an alliance of values" -- an alliance based on the values of opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human dignity.

Democracy cannot survive if competition and material greed preclude sacrifices for the common good. It cannot thrive if every citizen is not able to participate fully in all aspects of civic life.

There are many ways to address this issue. Today, I will focus on one: How the participation of women in society requires a re-appraisal of who and what is valuable in our world.

Like some of you, I was fortunate to attend the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. And I commend the Australian delegation for the vital role its members played in helping draw attention to the plight of women around the world.

It was an extraordinary experience for all of us who were there. I will never forget looking out across a room full of delegates and seeing women of all backgrounds and beliefs, dressed in everything from business suits to saris to ~~jilbobs~~ to shalwar kameezes.

Some had daughters or sisters who have been denied medical care and food simply because they are women. Some lived in places where girls still are not permitted or encouraged to attend school. Some grew up in societies where girls are sold into prostitution or indentured servitude to augment family incomes. Some were returning to countries where women still are not allowed to vote.

But no matter their places of origin, they were united in the proposition that women's rights are human rights -- and that no society or nation can flourish if half its population is ignored, oppressed, exploited or undervalued.

As the Beijing conference reminded us, women are the world's greatest untapped resource.

But what must change to unleash the full power and glory of women's potential? Clearly policies and legislation are critical to women's progress and women's rights. And other countries would do well to borrow a page or two from you: Few countries have made the commitment to health care, child care, maternity benefits, parental leave, child support enforcement, and affirmative action

that Australia has, for example. Few countries have run a purple postcard campaign. [ck]

At the same time, women's progress here and elsewhere depends on a shift in attitudes and values as well.

First, 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.

Wherever I go around the world -- whether I'm in Washington or Warsaw, San Francisco or Santiago -- I'm struck by the fact that women everywhere simply want the chance to make the best choices for their lives.

We all struggle to compose lives that best reflect our individual needs and family circumstances. But no matter what choices we make, many of us still feel the tension between family responsibilities and work -- and between our own expectations and those that society places on us.

I say: Let's not make it more difficult than it already is. As women, let's call a truce among ourselves. It does no good to point fingers or invoke stereotypes about what kind of a mother a woman is who works outside the home. Nor is it productive to question the judgment of a woman who has chosen to work full-time at home.

Instead of pigeon-holing each other in ways that limit our potential, let's admit that there is no formula for being a successful or fulfilled woman in today's world. And let's celebrate the contributions of every woman and relish the rich diversity of women's lives today.

Second, we must avoid the trap which says that women's issues only affect women. If we truly care about strong families, strong communities, strong societies and strong values, we have to recognize that men and women can complement each other inside and outside the home. We are, after all, partners in a common enterprise. Let's not allow ourselves to become enemies consigned to opposite poles.

Third, we can encourage institutions to empower women with the tools they need to expand their choices and take responsibility for their lives.

Schools can be more flexible in providing opportunities for women who raise children. Businesses can initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, whether it is assisting with

child care, offering flexible hours, or giving parents the option of working from home whenever possible. *Technology advances make these options possible today!*

At the very least, businesses can value women by paying them equal salaries for equal work in every country 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 own homes.

> *U.S. accomplishments!*

Financial institutions can provide credit for poor women who, with access to small amounts of credit, can lift themselves and their families out of poverty.

I have seen for myself in Bangladesh, Nicaragua, Chile, and even in Denver, Colorado the extraordinary results when these kind of investments are made in women. Women, it turns out, are exceptionally good credit risks. They repay their loans above 95 percent. And I dare say that many of our largest lending institutions would be very happy to have that kind of return on their loans.

Despite the great challenges that remain for women -- and for the democratic values that we hold dear -- I am optimistic.

I'm optimistic because I have seen how women throughout the world have seized the moment to make their communities safer, more peaceful and more just. I have met women in Northern Ireland -- Catholics and Protestants -- who are working together to address the root causes of sectarian violence. I have met women in South Africa -- blacks and whites -- who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid. I have met women in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and the Baltic region who are leading the effort to build civil society and democracy from the ruins of dictatorship. I have met women in South and East Asia who have endured exile, prison and the assassination of family members because they courageously promoted the cause of democracy and freedom. [Add South America]

I have met women in my own country who have joined together to make their streets safer, their schools stronger, and their political system more responsive to the needs of their families and communities. Just in the few days I have been here, I have met women who are adding their perspective through politics, law, science, and education and enriching this nation's civic life on the eve of the 21st century.

Some of the women I have met are famous. But many are not. They are not high-level diplomats or professional negotiators.

They have not been elected to office. They aren't wealthy or connected in the right social circles.

They simply took it upon themselves to get organized and make their voices heard. They had faith in their own capacity to affect change. And they weren't going to wait around for someone else to do it for them.

So I am hopeful. Because every country has a Caroline Chisholm, an Edith Cowan, a Mother Mary McKillop, a Sally Morgan — women who, well known or not, understand that we must find common ground, and on that common ground build a society that enables individuals to seek fulfillment and live up to their own God-given potentials.

This is what we are all striving for. This is what will ensure progress for women and their families, safeguard democracy, and make the world a better place for our children and their children. Thank you for doing your part.

And Godspeed.

###

MEMO

To: Lissa

From: Erika

Subject: "jilbob"

I spoke with a librarian at the Textile Museum and she wasn't able to find (after a morning of searching) any reference to a "jilbob." She did, however, come across a garment called a "jellaba." A jellaba is a caftan-like over-garment worn by Moroccan women.



White House Communications Agency



CUSTOMER INFORMATION BULLETIN

Communications Travel Bulletin For Hawaii, Australia, The Phillipines, and Thailand

This bulletin provides important information for the President's visits to Honolulu, Sydney, Canberra, Cairns (Port Douglas), Manila, Subic Bay, and Bangkok.

Radio Information

Staff Radios: Use USA-Sierra in Hawaii and Australia. Use PI-Sierra in The Phillipines, and use BAN-Sierra in Bangkok.

USSS Radios: Use USA-Oscar and USA-Charlie in Hawaii. Use USA-Tango(Oscar) and USA-Charlie in Australia. Use USA Tango(Oscar) and USA-Mike(Charlie) in The Phillipines. Use BAN-Oscar and BAN-Charlie in Thailand.

Pager Information

Your permanent issue Bravo or Advisor pager will function at the Hawaii, Australia, and The Phillipines trip sites. **Temporary Issue pagers will be required in Bangkok.** These assets will be provided at the Manila Trip Site. **Skytel pagers will not function overseas.**

Telephone Information

From a 395, 456, or 757 extension, call a trip site direct by dialing the two digit trip code followed by the three digit office extension:

Approx. Activation Date:	Trip Codes:	Trip Site Office Extensions:
Active	Honolulu 36	Signal Switchboard 000
Active	Sydney 31	White House Staff Adv Office 220
Active	Canberra 32	Press Advance Office 224
Active	Cairns (Port Douglas) 33	Press Office 228
16 NOV	Manila 34	Traveling Staff Office 281
16 NOV	Subic Bay 37	USSS Command Post 238
17 NOV	Bangkok 35	WHCA Office 240
		NSC Office 287

For Example, the Sydney Staff Advance Office is 31220.

TO: HRC

FROM: Lissa Muscatine 

RE: Australia Speech

DATE: November 15, 1996

Here is a first draft of the Australia speech. There are several Australia references (and attempts at humor) that I can explain when we talk. Overall I've tried to integrate the alliance of values and your women's themes. Also have tried subtly to make Soros' point about unchecked competition eroding values. What's missing is any discussion of the "family feminist" because I didn't feel I knew enough about what the term means.

The American Oxonian

published by The Association of American Rhodes Scholars

James O'Toole, *Editor*
c/o The Aspen Institute
1000 North Third Street
Aspen, Colorado 81611
970-544-7914
Fax 970-544-7983

November 10, 1996

Alison Muscatine
Office of Speechwriting
The White House
Washington, DC, 20500

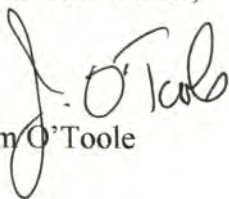
Dear Ms. Muscatine:

In the public mind today, Rhodes Scholars are probably most closely identified with the law and politics. Yet, it is in the life of the mind where most scholars have made their marks. One of those notables in the field of higher education was Scott Buchanan (Massachusetts and Balliol '17), who devoted his entire life to advancing the great ideas of Western civilization. Buchanan is perhaps best known for chairing Robert Hutchins' Committee on Liberal Arts at the University of Chicago, where he attempted to develop a core curriculum, a set of "great books" that every student would read.

In the spirit of Buchanan, *The American Oxonian* is asking sixty distinguished educators and authors from the ranks of Rhodes Scholars to identify ten books every American should read. Hence, we ask you to make a list of the ten books you would sleep better knowing every adult American had read. If you would like to write a short paragraph explaining or defending your list, please feel free to do so, but limit your comments to no more than 150 words total.

Please send your list to me at the above address before the end of December. We will publish your list and the results of our unscientific survey in the Spring '97 issue of *TAO*. Thank you.

With best wishes,



Jim O'Toole

AUSTRALIA OUTLINE

I. Australia Opening

First time in the country - on way to Asia

^{Fantiful} Images of outback + isolation (despite disproportionate # of writers + filmmakers whose works have enriched Amer. audiences)

My notions enlarged after reading Jill Kerr Conway's book, + particularly the memorable description of flying into Sydney harbor

Situates Australia so clearly as a nation not suffering from what one of yr. great historians ^{Geoffrey Blainey} called "the tyranny of isolation" - but one poised in one of the most vibrant regions of the world

A place where a pioneering spirit is still alive + well -- technology embraced as a tool of opportunity

where the ^{approach of} 21st c. ~~has not~~ ^{evokes} not ~~the~~ fear of change but ~~the~~ promise of progress

Shared values of American/Australia

II.

As two of the world's most successful democracies

[your country and mine represent
nat'l spirit

Other parts of Asia - S. ... / Corazon Aquino
Purple postcard = grass root

THAILAND

W. Lord/ Made some efforts

Recognize problems due to other countries

Protest / ~~Burman~~ - will give language

→ Take off sue a.m. → China w/ Christopher

TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

When I was growing up, my sense of Australia was based on fanciful images of the outback. I envisioned wide, open spaces similar in look and feel to the American Wild West but with lots of koalas and kangaroos. Over the years, I've gained a broader and more accurate view of Down Under, thanks in part to many wonderful Australian writers and filmmakers whose works have captivated me.

Now I am in Australia for the first time, having arrived by plane with the President a few nights ago. We landed on a glorious spring evening, and I was reminded of a passage I had read in "The Road from Coorain," a memoir about growing up in the bush. The author, Jill Ker Conway, describes returning to Australia in her mid-20s after a long sojourn in Europe. From the plane, she looks down on Sydney and sees the beauty of the harbor, the golden beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment, she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe but to Japan and continental Asia." Although it retains its ties to England and the West, Australia is also connected both geographically and economically to Asia.

The outdated term "Far East" brings to mind distant outposts on the margins of civilization. In fact, Southeast Asia and the South Pacific are among the most dynamic, vibrant regions of the world. They will have great influence on global economic and social progress in the 21st century, particularly the progress of women.

On this trip, I will be spending a few days here and then will travel to the Philippines and Thailand, where I will have the chance to see firsthand what is happening in each country to improve conditions for women and promote their involvement in civic life. In the Philippines, for example, President Ramos is working to protect the rights of Philippine women who are hired as domestic workers overseas. The Thai government has just instituted new restrictions on child prostitution and the selling of young girls to brothels. And here in Australia, efforts are under way to ensure equal pay for equal work.

TALKING IT OVER 11/19/96

Page 2

In some ways, Australia has been a pioneer. In 1902, almost two decades before women's suffrage was enacted in the United States, Australian women won the right to vote. Barriers still exist in many professions and in the workplace, but Australia has recognized the necessity of a social safety net for women, children and families.

Not only does Australia have universal health care, it has a wide network of government-supported child care centers. Maternity benefits and parental leave are generous. And child support enforcement is taken seriously.

So are efforts to stop domestic violence and break the glass ceiling that prevents women from being promoted in the workplace. While Australia, like many other countries, is grappling with how to protect critical social programs in an era of budget restraints, women are gaining ground in daily life here.

Being in Australia for a few days reminds me that wherever I go around the world, I see examples of women seeking to gain their rightful place in society -- in the public sphere of government, the private sphere of the marketplace and the individual sphere of family and community. In country after country, women are showing that their concerns are not marginal to the political, economic, social and civic life of their nations.

Whether it is Corazon Aquino, who led the peaceful People's Revolution in the Philippines a decade ago, or less famous women in Thailand who are working to give young girls alternatives to lives of prostitution, or mothers in America's suburbs who are concerned about improving their local schools and combating crime, women are making their voices heard in ways large and small.

I'm grateful for the chance to hear what they are saying -- and to be part of the growing chorus.

COPYRIGHT 1996 CREATORS SYNDICATE, INC.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

November 19, 1996

11/19/96 17:41 FAX 310 337 7625 CREATORS SYNDICATE 001
** Please forward to Lissa Muscatine, Rm. 2800
upon receipt. Thank you! **

CREATORS SYNDICATE

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO: Lissa Muscatine
White House Staff Office, Rm. 2800
FROM: Katherine Searcy

DATE: 11/19/96

TIME: 4:30

RE: column

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 3

MESSAGE:

Lissa -
Let me know if you have questions.

Thanks!

Kather

TALKING IT OVER
BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

When I was growing up, my sense of Australia was based on fanciful images of the outback. I envisioned wide open spaces similar in look and feel to the American Wild West but with lots of koalas and kangaroos. Over the years, I've gained a broader and more accurate view of Down Under, thanks in part to many wonderful Australian writers and filmmakers whose works have captivated me.

Now I am in Australia for the first time, having arrived by plane with the President a few nights ago. We landed on a glorious spring evening, and I was reminded of a passage I had read in "The Road from Coorain," a memoir about growing up in the bush. The author, Jill Ker Conway, describes returning to Australia in her mid-20s after a long sojourn in Europe. From the plane, she looks down on Sydney and sees the beauty of the harbor, the golden beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment, she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe but to Japan and continental Asia."

After a few days here in Australia, I will be traveling with Bill to the Philippines and Thailand. The President will attend an economic summit of Asia Pacific leaders in Manila and then go on to Bangkok for a state visit.

Also The outdated term "Far East" brings to mind distant outposts on the margins of civilization. In fact, Southeast Asia and the South Pacific are among the most dynamic, vibrant regions of the world. They will have great influence on global economic and social progress in the 21st century, particularly the progress of women.

I am eager to see firsthand what is happening in each country to improve conditions for women. In the Philippines, President Ramos is working to protect the rights of Philippine women who are hired as domestic workers overseas. The Thai government has just instituted new restrictions on child prostitution and the selling of young girls to brothels. And here in Australia, ensuring equal pay for equal work is a priority.

Australia has long been a leader in women's rights. In 1902, almost two decades before women's suffrage was enacted in the United States, Australian

TALKING IT OVER 11/19/96

Page 2

women won the right to vote. Barriers still exist in many professions and in the workplace, but Australia recognizes the necessity of a social safety net for women, children and families.

For example, not only does Australia have universal health care, it has made a real commitment to its children. A wide network of government child care centers are in place. Maternity benefits and parental leave are generous. And child support enforcement is taken seriously.

So are efforts to stop domestic violence and break the glass ceiling that prevents women from being promoted in the workplace. While Australia, like many other countries, is grappling with how to protect critical social programs in an era of budget restraints, women are gaining ground in daily life here.

Wherever I go around the world, I see examples of women seeking to gain their rightful place in society -- in the public sphere of government, the private sphere of the marketplace, and the individual sphere of family and community. In country after country, women are showing that their concerns are not marginal to the political, economic, social and civic life of their nations.

Whether it is Corazon Aquino, who led the peaceful People's Revolution in the Philippines a decade ago, or less famous women in Thailand who are working to give young girls alternatives to lives of prostitution, or moms in America's suburbs who are concerned about improving their local schools and combating crime, women are making their voices heard in ways large and small.

I'm grateful for the chance to hear what they are saying -- and to be part of the growing chorus.

COPYRIGHT 1996 CREATORS SYNDICATE, INC.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

November 19, 1996

draft #2

~~02-9251~~
011 619251 4014
ask 31508

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN FOR PUBLICATION NOVEMBER 21, 1996
TALKING IT OVER/CREATORS SYNDICATE

Like many Americans, my sense of Australia growing up was based on fanciful images of the outback. I envisioned vast expanses of land similar in look and feel to the American Wild West, only with a few more kookaburras and kangaroos. I'm happy to report that over the years I've gained a broader and more accurate view of Down Under, thanks in part to many wonderful Australian writers and film makers whose works have captivated American audiences.

Now I am in Australia for the first time, having arrived by plane with the President a few nights ago. We landed on a glorious spring evening, and I was reminded of a passage I had read in The Road from Coorain, a memoir about growing up in the bush. The author, Jill Ker Conway, who later became president of Smith College in Massachusetts, describes returning to Australia in her mid-20s after a long sojourn in Europe. From the plane she looks down on Sydney and sees the beauty of the harbor, the golden beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment, she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe but to Japan and continental Asia."

Being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand while the President attends an economic summit of Asia Pacific leaders in Manila and then goes to Bangkok for a state visit, I feel better oriented in our world too. Hardly distant outposts on the margins of civilization (as the term "Far East" might suggest), Southeast Asia -- and the South Pacific -- are among the most dynamic, vibrant regions of the world. And they will have great influence on global economic and social progress in the 21st century, particularly the progress of women.

For this reason, I was eager to see firsthand what is happening in each country to improve conditions for women and promote their involvement in civic life -- from efforts in Australia to ensure equal pay for equal work, to President Ramos' efforts to protect the rights of Philippine women who are hired as domestic workers overseas, to the Thai government's new restrictions on child prostitution and the selling of young girls to brothels.

Australia was a good place to start. Women won the right to vote in Australia in 1902, almost two decades before women's suffrage was enacted in the United States. And while barriers still exist in many professions and in the workplace, the country has recognized for many years the importance of a social safety net geared toward women, children and families.

Australia has universal health care and has made a national commitment to child care, accomplished through rebates and a wide network of government child care centers. Maternity benefits and

parental leave are generous compared to what is available in many countries. Child support enforcement is taken seriously. So are efforts to break the glass ceiling and stop domestic violence. The government even has established an Office on the Status of Women headed by a member of the Cabinet.

While Australia, like the United States and many other countries, is grappling with how to protect critical social programs in an era of budget restraints, women are gaining ground in daily life here.

Being here for a few days en route to the Philippines and Thailand reminds me that wherever I go around the world I see examples of women seeking to gain their rightful place in society -- in the public sphere of government, in the private sphere of the marketplace, and in the individual sphere of family and community. In country after country, women are showing that their concerns are not marginal to the political, economic, social and civic life of their nations.

Whether it is Corazon Aquino, who led the peaceful People's Revolution in the Philippines a decade ago, or less famous women in Thailand who are working to give young girls alternatives to lives of prostitution, or soccer moms in America's suburbs who are concerned about improving their local schools and combating crime, women are making their voices heard in ways large and small.

I'm grateful for the chance to hear what they are saying -- and to be part of the growing chorus.

draft #2



FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN FOR PUBLICATION NOVEMBER 21, 1996
TALKING IT OVER/CREATORS SYNDICATE

Like many Americans, my sense of Australia growing up was based on fanciful images of the outback. I envisioned vast expanses of land similar in look and feel to the American Wild West, only with a few more kookaburras and kangaroos. I'm happy to report that over the years I've gained a broader and more accurate view of Down Under, thanks in part to many wonderful Australian writers and film makers whose works have captivated American audiences.

Now I am in Australia for the first time, having arrived by plane with the President a few nights ago. We landed on a glorious spring evening, and I was reminded of a passage I had read in The Road from Coorain, a memoir about growing up in the bush. The author, Jill Ker Conway, who later became president of Smith College in Massachussetts, describes returning to Australia in her mid-20s after a long sojourn in England. From the plane she looks down on Sydney and sees the beauty of the harbor, the golden beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment, she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe but to Japan and

continental Asia."

Being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand while the President attends an economic summit of Asia Pacific leaders in Manila and then goes to Bangkok for a state visit, I feel better oriented in our world too. Hardly distant outposts on the margins of civilization (as the term "Far East" suggests), Southeast Asia -- and the South Pacific -- are among the most dynamic, vibrant regions of the world. And they will have great influence on global economic and social progress in the 21st century, particularly the progress of women.

For this reason, I was eager to see firsthand what is happening in each country to improve conditions for women and promote their involvement in civic life -- from efforts in Australia to ensure equal pay for equal work, to President Ramos' efforts to protect the rights of Philippine women who are hired as domestic workers overseas, to the Thai government's new restrictions on child prostitution and the selling of young girls to brothels.

Australia was a good place to start. Women won the right to vote in Australia in 1902, almost two decades before women's suffrage was enacted in the United States. And while barriers still exist in many professions and in the workplace -- Australian women generally make lower wages than men doing the same jobs -- the country has recognized for many years the importance of a social safety net geared toward women, children and families.

Australia has universal health care and has made a national commitment to child care, accomplished through rebates and a wide network of government child care centers. Maternity benefits and parental leave are generous. Child support enforcement is taken seriously. So are efforts to break the glass ceiling and stop domestic violence. (The government even has established an Office on the Status of Women headed by a member of the Cabinet.)

While Australia, like the United States and many other countries, is grappling with how to protect critical social programs in an era of budget restraints, it is clear that women are gaining ground in daily life here.

As I travel to this exciting region ~~of the world~~, I'm reminded that ~~wherever I go~~ ^{no matter where I go in the world} I see examples of how women are fueling the engines of progress. In country after country, women are forcing a re-appraisal of who and what is valuable in society. They are reminding us all that women's concerns are not marginal to the economic and social life of ~~our nations~~ ^{the world in which we live.}

Whether it is Corazon Aquino, who led the peaceful People's Revolution in the Philippines a decade ago, or less famous women in Thailand who are working to give young girls alternatives to lives of prostitution, or soccer moms in America's suburbs who are concerned about improving their local schools and combating crime, women are making their voices heard around the world.

I'm glad I have the chance to hear what they are saying -- and to ^{be part of} ~~join~~ the growing chorus.



**WHITE HOUSE SENIOR STAFF OFFICE
VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
NOVEMBER 19 - 21, 1996
Sydney Signal: 9247-6547**

*Travelling Staff FAX Number: 31508
Staff Advance FAX Numbers: 31501, 31502
Press Advance FAX Number: 31503, 31504*

FAX COVER SHEET

Date: 11/19/96

TO: KATHERINE SEARCY

FROM: LISSA MUSCATINE

FACSIMILE NUMBER: 310 337 7625

PHONE NUMBER: 310 337 7003

REMARKS: _____

K: I'll check back with you in a couple of
hours. Thanks. Lissa

Number of pages including cover sheet: 4

draft #1

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN FOR PUBLICATION NOVEMBER 21, 1996
TALKING IT OVER/CREATORS SYNDICATE

Like many Americans, my sense of Australia growing up was based on fanciful images of the outback. I envisioned vast expanses of ~~grass~~land similar in look and feel to the American Wild West, only with a few more kookaburras and kangaroos. I'm happy to report that over the years I've gained a broader and more accurate view of the land Down Under, thanks in part to many wonderful Australian writers and film makers whose works have captivated American audiences.

Now I am in Australia for the first time, having arrived by plane with the President a few nights ago. We landed on a glorious spring evening, and I was reminded of a passage I had read in The Road from Coorain, a memoir about growing up in the bush. The author, Jill Ker Conway, who later became president of Smith College in Massachussetts, describes returning to Australia in her mid-20s after a long sojourn in England. From the plane she looks down on Sydney and sees the beauty of the harbor, the golden beaches and the "grey-green city" lying at the edge of a continent.

At that moment, she finally understands Australia's unique orientation in the world. The country, she writes, looks "across the vast expanse of the Pacific, not to Europe but to Japan and

continental Asia."

Being here for a few days before I travel to the Philippines and Thailand while the President attends an economic summit of Asia Pacific leaders in Manila and then goes to Bangkok for a state visit, I feel better oriented in our world too. Hardly distant outposts on the margins of civilization, as the term "Far East" suggests, Southeast Asia and -- and the South Pacific -- are among the most dynamic, vibrant regions of the world. And they will have great influence on global economic and social progress in the 21st century, particularly the progress of women and children.

For this reason, I was eager to see firsthand what ^{is happening in} each country ~~is doing~~ to improve conditions for women and promote their involvement in civic life -- from efforts in Australia to combat domestic violence, to President Ramos' efforts to protect the rights of Filipino women who are hired as domestic workers overseas, to the Thai government's new restrictions on child prostitution and the selling of young girls to brothels.

Australia was a good place to start. Women won the right to vote in Australia in 1902, almost two decades before women's suffrage was enacted in the United States. And while barriers still exist in many professions and in the workplace -- Australian women continue to make lower wages for equal work than men -- the country has recognized for many years the importance of a social safety net geared toward women, children and families.

Australia has universal health care and has made a national commitment to child care, accomplished through rebates and a wide network of government child care centers. Maternity benefits and parental leave are generous. Child support enforcement is taken seriously. The government has established an Office on the Status of Women headed by a member of the Cabinet.

While these programs are inevitably competing with many other vital services in an age of budget restraints, it is clear that women are gaining ground in Australian society.

Refugees
Con. Higgins - role of women is non-violent
People's Revolution

~~In a few days I'll be in Manila +
then in Northern Thailand - Bangkok.~~

~~Although my stay in M.F. will be brief, I hope
to get a glimpse of the ... of Philippine women -~~

~~In Thailand, I'll see accounts at once
of people economically -- with my women doing ... --
and this to cope up~~

No matter where traveled - grasp recognition
that women's issues matter. Not just
to women. . .

What is a wolf heart?

Australia has universal health care and has made a national commitment to child care, accomplished through rebates and a wide network of government child care centers. Maternity benefits and parental leave are generous. Child support enforcement is taken seriously. The government has established an Office on the Status of Women headed by a member of the Cabinet.

And while Australia, like the United States and many other countries, is grappling with how to protect the social safety net in an era of budget restraints, it is clear that women are gaining ground in daily life there.

Being in Australia en route to the Philippines and Thailand reminds me that in every part of the world I have visited -- from South America, to South Asia, to Central Europe, to the Far East, to the United States -- there is growing recognition that women's issues matter. Not just to women, but to their families, communities and societies.

*Active participants
their voices heard*

*Women and world
are shogun but
we need a
re-appraisal
of who + what
is valuable - in our society
As women
They need as but they are not
marginal -*

*People's Rev'n
NGOs flourishing
Thailand -
dealing with*