

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Michael Schwartz to the Mrs. Clinton re: personal (3 pages)	01/26/1999	b(6)
002. list	re: Speaker Profiles Panel I [partial] (1 page)	09/21/1993	b(6)
003. list	re: Speaker Profiles Panel II [partial, page 2 in full] (2 pages)	09/21/1993	b(6)
004. list	re: Speaker Profiles Panel I (1 page)	09/21/1993	b(6)
005. list	re: Speaker Profiles Panel II [partial] (1 page)	09/21/1993	b(6)
006. list	re: Speaker Profiles Panel I [partial] (1 page)	09/21/1993	b(6)
007. list	re: Speaker Profiles Panel II [partial] (2 pages)	09/21/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Lissa Muscatine
OA/Box Number: 21396

FOLDER TITLE:

Stories and Quotes

2015-0275-S

rc1922

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Suffering passes. Having suffered never passes.

—CHARLES PÉGUY
(1873-1914)

Say Yes when nobody asked.

—LAO PROVERB



*You have changed my sadness into a joyful dance,
You have taken away my sorrow
And surrounded me with joy.*

—PSALM 30:11

...you are being rooted and grounded in love.

—EPHESIANS 3:17

*You shall go out with joy
and be led forth with peace.*

—ISAIAH 55:12

*Above all, clothe yourselves with love,
which binds everything together in perfect harmony.*

—COLOSSIANS 3:14



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE
JENNINGS RANDOLPH PROGRAM FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
1550 M STREET NW SUITE 700
WASHINGTON, DC 20005-1708

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER PAGE

TO: LAURA SCHILLER
ORGANIZATION: FIRST LADY'S OFFICE
FAX NUMBER: 456 5709
PHONE NUMBER: _____
SENDER'S NAME: PAUL ARTHUR
SENDER'S PHONE: _____ FAX: (202) 833-1381
TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE): 7
DATE: 21 AUG.

MESSAGE:

Laura,

This is the best I can come up with in
the short time.

Paul

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ART

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STORIES: ART

1. *Column*, 10/29/96

An educator from New York visited Washington a few years ago and decided to go on a tour of the White House. He waited in line with thousands of others, eager for the opportunity to see America's most famous residence.

But as he walked through the public rooms and corridors, taking in all of the beautiful art on the walls, he was immediately struck that something was wrong. There were no depictions of black faces in any of the paintings, not even a portrait of the legendary abolitionist Frederick Douglass. In fact, there wasn't a single work by an African American artist -- not Edward Bannister, or Jacob Lawrence, or William Johnson, or any of the fine black painters our country has produced.

As an African American man, Edward D. Bell was saddened to discover this historical omission. So, he decided to do something about it. He wrote to the President to suggest a more representative White House collection that would offer a truer picture of American history -- one that would make all children who visit the White House feel a connection to our country's past. The President read Bell's letter and directed White House Curator Rex Scouten to look for a work by a leading African American artist to hang in one of the public rooms. Two leading experts on African American art -- the late Sylvia Williams, former director of the Museum of African Art at the Smithsonian Institution, and scholar David Driskell -- helped locate a magnificent landscape by one of our nation's finest painters, Henry Ossawa Tanner.

Titled "Sand Dunes at Sunset, Atlantic City," the painting was purchased by the White House Endowment Fund earlier this year from Tanner's grandniece, Dr. Rae Alexander-Minter. This week at the White House, the President and I presented the painting at a special ceremony that included Dr. Rae Alexander Minter, Tanner's grandson, Jacques and Edward Bell. It was a fitting tribute to Tanner and a homecoming of sorts for an artist whose work was far more appreciated overseas than here in the United States, largely because of racism during his time.

2. *Column* 2/25/97

Last summer I toured Prague with Czech President Vaclav Havel. As we walked across the Charles Bridge, we fell into a discussion about American culture, about how our greatest and world-transforming exports have been not only our ideals on democracy and the free market but our art, our jazz, our rock and roll. We didn't have to look too far for proof of this idea -- the young people perched on the bridge's balustrades were singing American folk songs and listening to heavy metal music as they read American books and magazines.

3. *Column 10/2/97*

The power of our arts to connect us to our heritage is also apparent in a new exhibition in the White House Sculpture Garden of works by Native American sculptors. Each piece, in its own way, represents the seamless fusion between ancient roots and modern spirit, the ties between past cultures and present-day creativity. It's an extraordinary collection, the sixth to showcase American sculpture since we inaugurated the garden in 1994 -- and it's there for anyone who visits the White House to see.

4. *Remarks at Arts and Humanities for At-Risk Youth Event, 4/26/96*

I was in a school in Philadelphia a few weeks ago, and a young boy in seventh grade said, "You know, Mrs. Clinton, All we hear about are the bad kids; nobody really pays attention to us, must be like when an airplane crashes; everybody pays attention, and people forget about the thousands that land safely everyday." And I told him that I would do my part, as each of you is doing, that in every corner of America there are examples of children -- who might otherwise have been written of --- discovering joy, and fulfillment, and discipline and confidence. And often the way they are doing that is through artistic and intellectual expression.

5. *Remarks at Arts and Humanities for At-Risk Youth Event, 4/26/96*

One teenager, at risk of dropping out of high school, became involved with an artist-in-training program sponsored by the Opera Theatre of St. Louis. Now she has a full time scholarship to college and is in her second year studying voice.

6. *Remarks at Arts and Humanities for At-Risk Youth Event, 4/26/96*

A sixth grader growing up in a low-income area of Philadelphia joined The People's Light and Theater Company, which works with students after school on a year-round basis. The students wrote, improvised and performed plays, including works of Shakespeare. Today, the girl is one of the top students in the 12th grade and is hoping to become a lawyer. Her 19 classmates in the program will all graduate from high school this spring.

7. *Remarks at Arts and Humanities for At-Risk Youth Event, 4/26/98*

A four-year-old boy came to pre-school every day but never talked. One day, as part of an early childhood arts program the boy drew a picture in class, and began to tell his classmates the story behind the picture. Since then, his development has flourished through arts projects.

8. *Los Angeles County Art Museum, 9/11/96; The President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, 2/25/97*

I am reminded of how the opportunity to explore and develop creative potentials through singing, painting, sculpting, dancing, writing, or acting can give children reasons to believe in themselves and in their futures each time I see a pair of brightly painted park benches in my

office in Washington. They are the gifts of the students of Gallery 37, an organization in Chicago that nurtures the artistic and creative talents of children of all backgrounds. Through paid apprenticeships in such fields as architecture, jewelry-making, bookbinding, and painting, the children have blossomed in so many ways. One child literally found his voice at Gallery 37. When he first joined the program, he refused to speak to either students or instructors. But in time, the eagerness to talk about his art not only moved him to speak, it also spurred him to critique the work of his peers.

9. *Los Angeles Art Museum, 9/11/96; The President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, 2/25/97*

I had an experience this spring, when I visited the Manchester Craftmen's Guild in Pittsburgh, an organization supported by both the NEA and private donations. At the Guild, which is located in one of Pittsburgh's most troubled neighborhoods, I met inner-city school children whose lives had been transformed by their participation in the Guild's ceramic, art and photography courses. When they spoke of their experiences at the Guild and of their newly discovered love for the arts, it wasn't difficult to hear the excitement in their voices or see the hope in their eyes. The Guild had given these children, whom many school had labeled "at risk," much more than the skills to shape clay or develop pictures. It gave them the confidence to finish school, to go to college, and to pursue their dreams.

10. *White House Millennium Evening, 2/11/98; National First Ladies' Library Website Event, 2/23/98; Remarks at Montpelier, Virginia, 7/9/98*

The portrait of one of our greatest presidents, George Washington, hangs behind me. But, as I often point out, that's only because of what Dolley Madison did to save it. When her husband sent word that the British were approaching during the War of 1812, she had little time to flee, but she still managed to take Gilbert Stuart's famous painting.

11. *Poetry Millennium Evening, 4/22/98*

Poet Laureate Joseph Brodsky wanted that "an anthology of American poetry should be found in the drawer in every room in every motel in the land." Seven years later, we see his dream being fulfilled in truck stops, supermarkets, and train stations where thousands of copies of "101 Great Poems" are being handed out by his American Poetry and Literacy Project every April.

12. *Poetry Millennium Evening, 4/22/98; Chicago Public Schools Principals' Luncheon, 6/3/98*

We saw this dream (see previous quote) being fulfilled in the confident young people we met at Johnson Junior High School in Southeast Washington. I wish you could have seen these students. They were rehearsing for a poetry slam taking place tonight. For those of you who have never seen a slam, it's not to be missed. It's a high speed, high spirit competition where students face off against each other by reading their own poems and receiving scores by a group

of judges. Sort of like a cross between Olympic gymnastics and old Vaudeville.

Using their voice as an instrument and their soul as a library, the students read poems about the beauty of their names, the plight of a homeless man, the contributions of Duke Ellington, their pride and pain. And they talked about how the poetry had helped them put their anger "on paper instead of acting it out." How it had opened up thoughts they never knew existed. How it had given them confidence. Every child in America should have that opportunity. In a poem one boy read, he said, "I'm so musical that when I write a song, you sing it for the rest of your life."

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CHILD CARE

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STORIES: CHILD CARE

1. *The University of Maryland, 10/3/97*

Our very bright spot is the military's child care system. Our Defense Department runs the largest child care system in the world, taking care of the children of the parents who are in the front lines of America. I was privileged just two days ago at Quantico Marine Base to be able to see firsthand what is being provided for the children of our Armed Forces and I have to say I saw what every parent would want for her child -- a beautiful facility, well-trained workers, high standards, unannounced inspections both in the center and in the family day care settings, a toll-free number for the parents to call with their concerns, mandatory training for everyone that comes into contact with and works with a child, and, most importantly, good wages and solid benefits and respect for staff. Now, that has resulted in lower turnover and more experienced care-givers.

Now that wasn't always the case, and I learned in a very open discussion that the military's child care was not always what we would hold up as an example. In fact, even the center that I visited at Quantico is brand-new because the previous one had to be shut down because it didn't make the grade a few years ago. But, the leadership of our military knows the readiness depends upon mothers and fathers being able to do their work without worrying about who's caring for their children. So the military made a commitment to turning its child care system around and Quantico is now a shining example of what can be done.

I want to tell two stories that I heard. The first, from one of the commanders that shows what happened before there was good child care in the military. I heard about a mother and a father who were both called to duty on an emergency basis at the same time. I believe they were both pilots. They had to be in the air at the same time. When that happened, they had to bring their two infants in bassinets to the office of their commander -- leave those bassinets in their commander's office with instructions for care and feeding. Now, that beats any story about child care challenges that I've ever heard.

The second story is about what happens now that there is quality care available, no matter what the occasion. I met a staff sergeant, a single dad raising two little girls. He said that when he took his daughters to day care the first day they cried when he dropped them off, but the second day they cried when he came to pick them up. I was especially impressed by this very tough Marine, who's obviously put in his time at the weight training facility, talking with great pride about how he mastered pigtailed and ponytailed for his daughters. But I think part of the reason his confidence is so high about embarking on the rather daunting task of being a single dad of two little girls is because he's gotten a lot of support from the child-care facility and the care-givers who have been there, helping him along, encouraging him, giving him advice, helping to create that village.

2. The University of Maryland, 10/3/97

I was in Miami at Baptist Hospital, a place that has also made a commitment to child care. I saw another first class facility. I learned about how they had adjusted the hours because, just like the military, they have 24-hour work days in a hospital. And I heard a lot of detail from the chief executive officer about why it is good economic sense to provide this service.

I met at the hospital with the Board of Directors of something called Florida's Child Care Executive Partnership, a group of business executives appointed by Governor Lawton Chiles to address child care issues. In creating this partnership, Florida put aside \$2 million the first year to match dollar for dollar corporate contributions for child care. And the board was charged with engaging the private sector in this effort.

Once asked, the Florida business community responded quickly and generously, and this year the legislature and the business community are doubling their commitment so that we're taking both public dollars and private-sector dollars and pooling them to create more affordable quality child care. And because of this effort, thousands of more working families in Florida now have access to the kind of care I saw at Quantico, I saw at Baptist Hospital, and I saw here at the university.

3. White House Conference on Child Care, 10/23/97

A question I was asked about child care sums up very well the dilemma that we face today. It (the question) was asked by a divorced mother who works full-time at the University of Maryland. To send her 4-year-old son to the center I had visited, she told me, would cost \$6000 a year, a quarter of her income, and she just couldn't do it. She had to do some real juggling to get the situation that she told me about. She was able to get her son to another less expensive center because she qualified for a scholarship, and she moved back in with her parents. Otherwise, she said, "I would have to quit my job and go on welfare and then I would have to worry about who would watch my child as I looked for a job."

4. The University of Maryland, 10/3/97

I've been to a lot of child care centers and I've met many, many terrific people running and working in them. But their salaries are woefully low, and many leave the profession because it's not one that enables them to support themselves and their own families. I remember one provider who told me with tears in her eyes that with the birth of her second child, she had to leave taking care of children, which is what she loved to do more than anything, and go to work in an office because she needed to make more income.

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DEMOCRACY

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STORIES: DEMOCRACY

1. *Remarks at City Hall (Poland), 7/2/96*

I met with a courageous editor of one of Poland's most important journals, Jerzy Turowicz, who kept ideas alive when ideas were dangerous to hold. Without, the bold efforts of people like him, there might have been no public discourse, no vocabulary for independent thought during the dark years of communism. I met with a Nobel-prize winning poet Czeslaw Milosz who spoke for captive nations and peoples in an era of totalitarian rule, ensuring that the story of their lives would never go untold.

2. *Radio Free Europe, 4/4/96*

Secretary (then Ambassador) Albright has told me the story of how in 1995, during the 50th anniversary celebration of the end of World War II, she visited the lands of western Bohemia, lands that were liberated by American troops in 1945. In every town and village she visited, the Czech people were waving American flags -- flags with 48 stars. The American troops had passed out the flags a half a century ago, when America had only 48 states. And these men and women in the Czech countryside had preserved those flags, held on to them year after year of Soviet domination.

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EDUCATION

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STORIES: EDUCATION

1. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98; Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

A young woman from New Delhi who gave me a poem she had written about why it (education) was so important, that she being the first young woman in her family ever to go on to college, had that opportunity. It was one of the most moving descriptions of what we mean when we talk about women's voices. Here is what she wrote:

"Too many women in too many countries, speak the same language of silence. There must be freedom if we are to speak and there must be power if we are to be heard. Those of us who have freedom and power must give voice to those who cannot speak, for as long as women are valued less, fed last, over worked, underpaid, non schooled, subjected to violence, the potential of all of us to be God's children, to contribute to a peaceful and prosperous world will not be realized."

2. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98*

In Senegal, I visited a small village, where education for girls and women's adult literacy programs, have been the first steps in helping the village understand how it could work together to create more prosperity. How it could take five pectars of barren land and turn it into an oasis of green growing crops that could not only support the village, but be sold in the marketplace.

3. *USAID Girls Education Conference, 5/7/98*

In Bangladesh, I visited a school run by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, an NGO that believes that education -- especially girls' education -- is a precondition for economic development. Because of that belief, some of the BRAC schools have burned by extremist groups. But the schools keep being rebuilt. And the families keep sending their children to attend.

4. *USAID Girls Education Conference, 5/7/98; Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

In Bangladesh, I saw where the government is attempting to provide incentives for families to keep their daughters in school. The families get food each week if they send their children, particularly their girls, to school. And, to help give girls the chance to go to secondary school, the government actually deposits a small amount of money in a family bank account, as long as the daughters attend school.

5. *USAID Girls Education Conference, 5/7/98; Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

I have seen the results of President Museveni's promise of Universal Primary Education in Uganda. I have been in classrooms that are absolutely filled with children; 70, 75, 80 third graders. A very big challenge to any teacher. But instead of feeling frustrated the teachers I have met have been proud. Proud because children are coming to school, and everyone is working very hard to create the materials and train the additional teachers to meet this challenge, but the overwhelming pride that is felt because for the first time, more girls than boys are attending school.

6. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98*

In Guatemala, the government and the Foundation for Sugar Producers teamed up to offer small scholarships to girls in rural schools. Because they do that, among the first and second grades, the drop out rate for girls in those schools was only one percent -- compared to 30 percent nationwide. In another Guatemalan program, afternoon school sessions have been introduced to accommodate girls who must carry out domestic and agricultural work in the mornings.

7. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98*

In Malawi, the villagers were not only asked why girls aren't attending school . . . they were asked to come up with solutions. And they performed plays and skits, they waived school fees, they took responsibility for enrolling girls in school, and as a result the enrollment increased from 50 to 83 percent.

8. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98*

In the Community Schools Program in Egypt, the number of girls enrolled in school increased from 2,000 to 35,000 because schools were located closer to homes, making them safer and more accessible. The curriculum was designed so that it was culturally appropriate and approved by village leaders. And girls were trained to be sure that they were understanding of how important this gift of education was, and parents were asked to become actively involved as well.

9. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98; Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

I remember so well being in a small village, about 40 minutes outside Labor, Pakistan. Where I visited a school that had been built, to give the girls in that area primary education. I sat out in the courtyard in front of the school, and talked with mothers of children who attended. One mother told me about her 10 children -- 5 girls and 5 boys. Her worry was that she had sent her children to school, to primary school, and when her boys graduated from primary school they had gone on. They had gone to the nearest secondary school continuing their education. But when her daughters finished the village school, there were no secondary schools nearby for girls. And she was not willing to send her daughters off alone to attend a school far away. So she

asked me, and she asked all the officials who were with me, if they could please have a secondary school built for girls in their village.

10. *USAID Girls' Education Conference, 5/7/98*

In South Africa I visited a school in Soeto, where there were not enough teachers, where there were many children, now coming back into the schools with the end of apartheid, and where they were attempting to teach as many children as possible English. So they were using tape recordings that the teacher could monitor, but individual students could work with.

11. *Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

I am particularly grateful that I had a youth minister in those long ago years who took it as part of his mission to tell this group of white suburban kids from a middle class suburb that there was a bigger world outside, one that they may not see on a day to day basis but would surely effect how they lived their lives in the future. He even arranged for us to go down to Chicago and have youth exchanges with children in African American churches and Hispanic churches. We discussed civil rights and other controversial issues and one of the highlights of my early teenage years was being taken by that minister along with members of our youth group to hear Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. speak in Chicago. He was constantly challenging us and telling us that we had to stretch, that if we were going to be Christians we had to understand what that meant in the fullest possible meaning. I certainly remember clearly the challenges that I faced in trying to put that into action.

12. *Remarks at Salzburg Seminar, 7/14/97*

It became clear to us, starting as early as the late 1950's, that education was never a finished enterprise. I remember very well when I was in grade school when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, before most of you were born. And when Sputnik went into the skies, our government decided we were not doing a very good job preparing our children for math and science education. And I remember very well my teacher telling us as young students we had to study harder because our President needed us to. Now, I was not particularly interested in math and science at the age of ten, but because it kept being told to me that this was something I could do for my country and my President, I tried my best. And through the years, I have seen over and over again how there comes a point in our country's history that we have to pull together and take a hard look at education. That what worked for earlier generations of Americans is no longer adequate for our children and certainly for the children that will come after.

13. *Council on Foreign Relation 3/19/96*

When I was in Bangladesh, I visited a school run by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, a non-governmental organization that acts on the theory that education is a precondition for economic development. Some of the BRAC schools, which primarily serve girls, have been burned by extremist groups protesting the role of NGOs promoting change.

In some rural areas, there simply are no schools nearby and parents are understandably reluctant to send their daughters far from home. I visited a village outside of Lahore, Pakistan, that had recently built a primary school. But as one mother told me, her five daughters had no hopes of schooling beyond the primary level because the only secondary school was too far away. There was no question, however, that her sons would attend.

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ENDOWMENT FUND

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STORIES: ENDOWMENT FUND

1. *White House Endowment Fund Dinner, 1/21/98*

One of these citizens was a young boy named Nathaniel from Virginia. It was Christmas time in 1992. And this little boy had heard during his studies that Mrs. Bush was interested in raising money for the White House to keep it for future generations. He wanted to do his part. So he donated \$3 to the Fund. I tell this story because behind every single contribution that helped us reach our goal is a private citizen or organization -- who regardless of political party, age, or income wanted to do the exact same thing that little boy did: preserve the White House for future generations.

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FOSTER CARE

Divider Title: _____

STORIES: FOSTER CARE

1. *Adoption Bill Signing, 11/19/97; It Takes a Village*

It was here in this room two years ago that a young woman named Deanna -- a child waiting to be adopted in foster care stood up and read a poem about what she wanted in life, and it wasn't real complicated. It is what all of us want. The poem read, "I would have a place that I would call home. I would have a room that I would call my room. I would have a family that I could love and would love me back." I'm happy that because of that event here in the East Room, she was able to meet a family who did adopt her. And I saw her last year at an event in Kansas City and almost didn't recognize her -- from a shy, withdrawn 13-year-old, she had blossomed into a cheerful, outgoing, confident teenager with a brilliant smile.

2. *It Takes a Village*

Public adoptions can take years, and private adoptions may be too costly to afford. One woman wrote to tell me how she and her husband, both musicians, had spent thousands of dollars adopting a little boy who is "the joy of our life." When her cousin's teenage daughter recently became pregnant and could not afford to keep her child, the same couple volunteered to adopt again. As simple as this case should have been - the parents and the baby being members of the extended family and all parties agreeing to the adoption - it still cost upward of \$4000 because of legal fees and paperwork.

3. *Column, 10/28/95*

I heard from lots of people who said they were eager to adopt children but they had become overwhelmed by the long wait, red tape and high cost involved. A Florida woman, frustrated by a lack of communication among adoption agencies and government social workers, summed up the feelings of many prospective adoptive parents: "I know there is a little girl in this country somewhere waiting for my home." One couple from Oregon, trying to adopt through a county agency, was told that it might take several years before a child was available. Their alternative, to adopt through a private agency, could cost \$16,000 or more.

4. *Column, 5/14/96*

The woman visited her new daughter in the hospital every day, reaching into the incubator to stroke her foot. The receiving blanket seemed heavier than the baby, who was being fed by a tube in her stomach. The woman is not the baby's birth mother, but she is her mother in every way that matters. She and her husband already had a 3-year old adopted son when they heard about a premature 1-pound baby whose birth parents could not take care of her. The couple decided to adopt the tiny baby. Her start was rocky, but now the child is a healthy 3-year old. "She was just like a little flower that blossomed," the mother says. "She is a burst of energy."

Now the couple , who are African-American, are in the process of adopting a 12-year-old girl who was abused. They also are encouraging more African-American families to open up their homes to children in need.

5. *Column, 5/14/96*

Margaret Fitzgerald , who participated in our gathering, said her employer, AT&T, gave her six weeks of unpaid leave when she and her husband adopted a son four years ago. The company also reimbursed her legal fees.

6. *Column, 5/24/96*

Julie Stinger is a teacher with five adopted children -- four biracial and one white -- several of whom have health problems. She told us how, as a white woman, she had to fight to adopt her first two black children, even though the birth parents agreed to the adoption and she had cared for them as a foster parent for 18 months. "I fought tooth and nail," she said.

Later, she had similar trouble when she wanted to adopt her fifth child, who is white. Authorities were concerned about placing a white boy with four non-white brothers and sisters. "Even though we went through some traumas in the adoptions, I would do it again, I would do it ten times over," she said, "Adopting a child is the most gratifying thing that has ever happened to me."

After Julie recounted her story, I asked her oldest son, Joey, if he had anything to add. He nodded. "I just want to thank my mother," he said.

7. *Presentation of Adoption 2002 Report, 2/14/97; Column, 11/18/97*

Decorating the Oval Office today are Valentine's created by some of the 600 children waiting in Iowa in foster care. Each valentine, sponsored by the Iowa Citizens Foster Care Review Board, tells the story of a child waiting to be adopted. The paper hearts list the age the child came into the foster care system, the age the child became free for adoption, and the number of days they have been waiting for a family. Every year these valentines are placed on trees at the Iowa State Capitol. This Valentine's Day, the children decided to send their valentines to the White House, as well. Some of them sent letters to accompany their valentines -- letters such as this one: "Dear President, my name is Rollie. I am 12. I live in Iowa. I like to play football and basketball. I've been waiting eight years for an adoptive family. I'm hoping for a family with pets, a brother and a sister and nice parents."

8. *National Adoption Month Event, 11/13/95*

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

9. *National Adoption Month Event, 11/13/9*

Dave Thomas, the founder of Wendy's, started speaking out about adoption in 1990 when he became the national spokesperson for the White House Initiative on Adoption. As an adopted child himself, he says he would not have become the successful father, husband and businessman he is today, had he not been able to grow up in a supportive family.

10. *Column, 11/18/97*

Bernell and Della Neal have adopted 11 children, many with severe physical and emotional needs. Though the Neals have faced tough challenges, they have shown that nothing is impossible. Their family motto is, "There's always room for one more."

11. *University of California at Berkeley, 10/24/97*

Twenty-five years ago, when I was a law student, I was assigned to do an internship in the Legal Services Office in New Haven, Connecticut, and I was assigned to a young lawyer. Among his cases was one representing a foster mother who had come to seek his assistance because she wanted to adopt the little girl that had lived with her for three years. This woman was not well educated. She wasn't wealthy. She was an older black woman who had taken in foster children for many years, but she had a reputation for being a loving, effective parent for all of the children who were lucky enough to come into her home. And, as sometimes happens, she fell in love with one little girl who was of mixed racial background -- black and white.

Well, it seemed to me, as a law student who, at the time, was not only going to law school, but studying at the Yale Child Studies Center, that this should be an open and closed case. It was before I knew very much about our foster care system.

You know, this child had been in one place for three years. There were no criticisms of the care she had received. She was flourishing in every respect, if you looked at her developmentally. I couldn't understand what the problem was, and I figured that all we needed to do was pick up the phone and talk to somebody in authority in the child welfare system and begin the process. Well, that began for me, instead, a very long and difficult education, the likes of which many of you in this room have gone through as well.

First, we were told that foster parents were not permitted to adopt children. They signed a contract which said that they couldn't adopt children. So it didn't matter what was in the

child's best interests; the contract was the contract, it governed the relationship, and there should be no further discussion.

When we pushed, the response came back, "Well, but she's not really -- not on the list to be an adoptive parent, and there are many people who are on the list ahead of her, so it doesn't matter that she has spent three years being the parent of this child and that the child sees her as the only mother she's ever had, because she wasn't on the list." So we had the contract and we had a list as our main obstacles.

When we pushed even further, the response came back, "Well, you know, she's old." In those days, I thought she was old too. She was about 50. Now I realize she was quite young. But you know, not only was she old, and therefore might not be able to keep up with a young child, but she was widowed, so she was alone, and she had a few minor health problems, and she wasn't very well off.

They were just convinced, in the child welfare system, that this little girl would be better off being taken from that home and being given to parents who hadn't signed a contract saying that they wouldn't do it, whose name had been on a list, and who were affluent and were able to give the child more of the material things that people sometimes want for children.

We took that case, and we argued it all the way up to the Supreme Court, where we lost. And we lost on all these grounds. The courts, at every step, said, "Well, if the standard is the best interests of the child, then we have no doubt that this child would be better off being with this white family in the suburbs, who can give her all of these material advantages.

12. University of California at Berkeley, 10/24/97

I got a chance to try another case when I was living in Arkansas, when a man came to me. He and his wife were foster parents. They had, once again, fallen in love with their child and wanted to adopt. They had the little boy for about three-and-a-half years. He was then about four-and-a-half, and they wanted to give this child a permanent home.

Even though it was some years later from my experience as a law student, we met the same arguments. They had signed a contract. It was a different state, but it didn't matter. This was what the standard of practice happened to be. And the contract forbade them to do anything to try to make permanent a foster relationship. They were not on a list, which would mean they would be given an opportunity to adopt over people who had been on the list.

Now the third set of arguments didn't apply to them, because they were of the same race as the child they wanted to adopt, and they were well off, and they had all of the material advantages. But the state fought it just as hard. And the biological mother showed back up, after having been missing for about three years and asserted her rights to the little boy.

So we went to trial, I representing the foster parents, the state representing their interests, and a private lawyer representing the biological mother, and we tried the case before a judge.

I put on a lot of testimony -- this was, back in probably '77 -- about what it meant to be a parent, and what the relationship of parenting really entailed.

The case went on for a number of days, and eventually we were successful, with the judge terminating the parental rights of the biological parent, abrogating the contract, with the argument that the best interests of the child took precedence, and awarding a guardianship leading to adoption of the little boy.

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HEALTH

Divider Title: _____

STORIES: HEALTH

1. *Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98; World Health Assembly 5/14/98; World Health Day, The World Bank, 4/7/98*

In Senegal, I met in 1997 with women and men who were learning about democracy and the role that one's voice plays in democracy. And I went out to a village and sat and talked with these, primarily women, but with some supportive men, about what they were doing with their new found sense of empowerment. And they told me they were creating health services for their families, and they were trying to get a closer school so their children could attend more easily and cheaply. And they told me also that they were concerned about the ancient practice known as female genital mutilation or female circumcision. Although it affects less than 20% of the women in Senegal, in many villages it was considered a right of passage.

During the year since I was in Africa the first time, I began getting correspondence from women in some of the villages who were talking to me about what they could do about this ancient practice. And I remember telling them, and writing them, that they should think of it as a health issue, that it would damage, and they knew it would, their daughter's lives, perhaps even kill them.

And so when I went back this time, again with my husband, to Senegal, I learned that one village had actually voted, with women's voices leading the way, to end the practice. And that men who had supported the women in the village, who were freer to travel than the women, had traveled from village to village. Among the things they took was a letter I had written them on White House stationary commending them for their study of this issue and they went from village to village and they performed skits and they talked about why they should stop this practice. So that by the end of 1997 there were about 13 villages that had voted to stop the practice and in February the President of Senegal said that he would advocate a law banning it.

When I went back, I met with women from the village where it had all started. They showed me a skit they had used to educate their religious leaders, their neighbors, and their husbands. And one sixty-six year old man who had been one of those who traveled from place to place proudly stood up and said he had studied the Koran and there was nothing in it about this practice. And he felt very empowered to go from village to village telling them they had to stop it in order to save the lives and the futures of their girls.

2. *World Health Assembly, 5/14/98*

In Bolivia, I visited with expectant mothers at a primary health center run by an NGO with support from the government. They had created a safe place for very poor women to come and get health care. The women -- with their ruddy faces and bowler hats -- were receiving prenatal checkups and having their infant immunized on the day that I visited. They were also learning about family planning and how to space births so they could more likely have their children survive, and themselves.

3. *World Health Assembly, 5/14/98; World Health Day, The World Bank, 4/7/98*

At a small clinic in Nepal, I saw a safe home-delivery kit that is given to expectant mothers. Inside is a bar of soap, twine, wax, a plastic sheet, and a razor blade. Its purpose is to reduce the two major causes of maternal and neonatal death -- tetanus and sepsis -- by promoting the "three cleans" principle -- clean hands, clean surfaces, clean umbilical care. These kits are made locally by a micro enterprise owned by women. And these kits, as well as the entire Safe Motherhood Initiative, teach us about the importance of investing in prevention.

4. *Remarks to Women of the Philippines, 11/24/96*

I have seen for myself the pioneering work being done to improve conditions for women in the Philippines. I had the chance when I was here before to tour the Fabella hospital, where innovative, low-cost techniques are used to help new mothers bond with and breast-feed their infants. When it comes to giving women and children the right start in life, the hospital is a model for the world.

5. *First Ladies Symposium, 12/10/94*

My friend, Elizabeth Gleaser, died last weekend after losing a long battle with AIDS. Elizabeth contracted HIV through a blood transfusion while hemorrhaging during the delivery of her first child Ariel. Unbeknownst to her, her daughter, and then a son born later, also contracted the virus. When Elizabeth learned that she and her children had been infected with HIV, she dedicated herself to raising awareness about AIDS. From a small office in Los Angeles, she created the Pediatric AIDS Foundation, which has raised over \$30 million since its founding in 1988. Elizabeth often said she was motivated and strengthened by the memory of her daughter, who died four years ago at the age of seven. Her son, now 10, lives with HIV every day. If Elizabeth could continue to contribute so much on behalf of her children throughout her own illness, I know we can make our own contributions too.

6. *Czech Republic/Bulgaria Trip Info.*

Diana Szijarto, a nurse at a planning clinic in Timisoara in Romania participated in a Reproductive Health Training Program at the Center for International Community Health Studies at the University of Connecticut. Since her return, Ms. Szijarto has been hard at work meeting with officials and making impressive changes to the available services in reproductive health in Timisoara. She has joined efforts with the local health department to plan a training course for nurses, like herself, in family planning. She brought a copy of the book "Our Bodies, Our Selves" back with her from her training program and plans to use it as a supplement in the training course. The first sessions of the course are currently being offered.

7. Remarks to the Council on Foreign Relations, 3/19/96

In Salvador Da Bahia in Brazil, I visited a maternity hospital that also cares for women who have tried to induce abortions themselves, a tragically common occurrence there. I saw classrooms throughout the hospital displaying charts and diagrams of the most basic reproductive information. The hospital also provides family planning services. The Minister of Health told me that he hoped to extend this USAID supported program to rural areas in the region. Even here, in a predominantly Catholic country, there is a growing recognition that family planning saves lives.

8. Remarks to the Council on Foreign Relations, 3/19/96

In Sri Lanka, women have had the right to vote for the better part of this century and enjoy greater access to education than their counterparts elsewhere in South Asia. Not surprisingly, Sri Lanka also has the region's best health care system and lower maternal mortality rates than many wealthier nations.

9. National Geographic, 10/98

To help improve health care, BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) has founded clinics throughout the country. "Many more women want contraceptives now," said Mergine Khatun, a village health worker in Mymensingh district. "They see that if a mother has fewer children, she can give them better care. And her health will be better." What if a conservative Muslim leader tells Mergina that contraception is against the will of God? "I say that God also told us to be responsible for our families."

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INSPIRATIONAL

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STORIES: INSPIRATIONAL

1. *Women of the 21st Century (Bulgaria), 10/11/98*

A few months ago in Bosnia I met a group of women who live in the aftermath of that war had come together to rebuild their lives, their families and their communities. One of them gave me a sculpture of a woman. It's about this tall. And like many women she is standing very proudly. But embedded in her knee are pieces of shrapnel. Real shrapnel that had been collected off the streets and out of the fields of that conflict. They are tangible symbols of the war and the pain she has endured. But on her heart is her hand. And on her face is a confident smile. And I look at that woman with that smile and I think if she could talk, if that small statue could just have a voice, she would say something like "Despite the past, I will dream and work for my children to live in peace." I keep that sculpture in my office. I look at it whenever I want to be reminded of the great price so many women have paid to bring justice, peace, freedom and democracy to themselves, their families and to all of us. And I look at that woman whenever I want to be inspired. Inspired as I am today. But what women can accomplish when we have the courage to put aside our differences, the differences that history has given us, not that we have made ourselves.

2. *Czech Republic/Bulgaria Trip Information*

Lena Constante is a Romanian woman in her late 80s who was a victim of a Stalinist-era trial. She spent eight years in solitary confinement, followed by another three and one-half in a cell with fourteen women. She spends much of her time now focusing on the arts, working in a puppet theater, produced extraordinary tapestries using embroidered blouses, and designed children's books. After the fall of the regime, her memoir was published in France, then in Romania and then in the US. Her memoir of the period of solitary confinement, she describes having eventually learned the "language of the walls," the system of tapping that enabled her to communicate with inmates outside of solitary confinement. She writes of the incredible solidarity among women inmates. On the final page of the book, she notes: "I cannot end this story without paying homage today to all these unknown women who very soon became my friends. All of them know that in one of the cells of their penitentiary lived, for years, a woman even more miserable than they. Moreover, I had spoke with some of them at the wall. They took me in with great friendship and helped me, with all their might, to adjust to this new environment [when she was moved to the communal cell after eight years] My three and one half years of communal life are really a whole other story. Despite outrageous privations of every kind, the lack of basic hygiene, the confinement, illness, the barbarous punishments, or perhaps because of all this, it is a fine story of human solidarity, of feminine solidarity in suffering."

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MICRO-ENTERPRISE

Divider Title: _____

STORIES: MICRO-ENTERPRISE and WOMEN IN BUSINESS

1. *Enterprise Opportunity Conference, 4/24/98*

About ten years ago, Bill and I went to Northern Italy; I don't know if any of you have had a chance to visit some of the enterprise that have been organized there. Northern Italy has one of the most thriving economies in the entire world. It is doing far better financially than the southern part of its country and in large measure because they had a tradition of guilds and organized networks that were established by the church or by political parties. But they began to understand a couple of decades ago that for small businesses to flourish they needed modern resources and tools. They needed to know how to market, they needed to keep their books right, they needed a way to communicate effectively with trade opportunities and export mechanisms around the world.

And it was impossible for an individual banker, or textile manufacturer, or other small entrepreneur to be able to do that on his or her own. So they began banding together, creating associations among small businesses, primarily businesses that had the same kind of needs and produced similar products. As a result, they shared costs, so that they hired one bookkeeper who took care of the books of 10, 20, 30, or 100 organizations. They hired one person to market all of their goods, so they only had to pay and share the expenses to send one person to a trade fair in Rome, or in Munich, or in the United States. So they really created the opportunity to leverage their resources and to share the costs.

2. *Enterprise Opportunity Conference, 4/24/98*

I heard a story about a woman living in a poor, rural area who was producing salsa in her home. She didn't have the money to move her operation out of her kitchen to expand her business, but it was a good business. So people in the community recognized her potential and donated an old building with commercial equipment and leased it to her and gave her support and the technical assistance to make the leap to larger scale production. Now, she's not only producing more salsa -- which happens to be one of my favorite foods in the world -- she's also attracted other entrepreneurs, who are now making jars and related products, who are pooling their common efforts to produce services and products that enhance economic opportunity far beyond the woman with her salsa.

3. *Enterprise Opportunity Conference, 4/24/98*

During our visit to Africa, I was able to take both my husband and President Museveni to a village far out in the countryside, about a 45 minute helicopter ride from Kampala to visit a micro-credit project, a FINCA borrowing group. And I think it probably, I may be wrong and I'd love to hear from someone later, I think it probably was the first time one head of state, let alone two heads of state visited a micro-credit project on the ground in a country where it is actually working to change lives.

4. *Enterprise Opportunity Conference, 4/24/98*

Sonja Thornsberry, from Swords Creek, Virginia has fulfilled her dreams because of her involvement with micro-enterprise. Sonja's husband was injured in a mining accident and she was suddenly faced with supporting her family. She's now running Family Motors, a used car company -- thanks to the skills and support she received from a micro-enterprise program.

5. *Enterprise Opportunity Conference, 4/24/98*

Janice Anderson, from Baltimore Maryland couldn't work a regular 8 to 4, 9 to 5 job because of her health, but she knew she always wanted to be self employed. She borrowed \$500 from her parents to purchase a computer, she received training from a women's entrepreneur group and a small loan -- and now runs a small profitable office service business out of her home. She has a plaque in her office that reads, "Lord help me to remember that nothing is going to happen to me today that you and I together can't handle." Next month Janice will receive the SBA's "1998 Welfare to Work Business Owner of the Year" from Maryland's Governor Glendening.

6. *Enterprise Opportunity Conference, 4/24/98*

Carol Willoughby, an entrepreneur from Duluth Minnesota began working out of her home making church and wedding banners when her husband was virtually unemployed. In 1991, AEO began providing her the tools to expand her business. Today, she's hired her husband, and provided part-time employment for her neighbors. In 1991, her gross sales were \$6,000, today they are \$60,000.

7. *Women's Economic Empowerment Panel (China), 9/6/95*

I will never forget a woman I met in my own country at a program called Mi Casa in Denver that is modeled after these programs you will hear about this evening. It is a program designed not only to provide credit, but to do something even more fundamental; to help build self-respect and self-sufficiency. The women who came to this program were on welfare, but they saw a better future for themselves and their children. And they just needed a little help -- a jump start -- to realize their own potential. But often that jump start is hard to come by.

As this one woman told me: "Many great ideas die in the bank parking lot -- because women get only so far, they don't even get in the door, in many cases, before they are turned away." That kind of discouragement has killed the dreams of millions and millions of women.

8. *NGO Forum (China)*

I think of the women in the village in Bangladesh, a village of untouchables, I think of how these women who were Hindus invited to their village for my visit women from the neighboring village who were Moslems. I think of how those women sat together under a lean-to. Hindus and Moslems together in one of the poorest countries of the world, but so many of

those women telling me what their lives had been changed to because they had become borrowers that were now part of the Grameen Bank micro-enterprise effort. I think particularly of the play that their children put on for me to see, a play in which the children acted out the refusal by a family to let a girl child go to school. And then further down the road from the village, I stood and watched families coming to receive food supplements in return for keeping their girl children in school.

9. *Nicaraguan Institute of Women, 10/12/95*

I visited a community bank here in Managua. That bank is controlled by 34 women who borrow modest amounts of money to invest in their own businesses. They also make sure that everybody pays back what is owed. And, in stark contrast to the payback rates in my own country, all these women have paid their loans back, their repayment rate is 100 percent, which should be the envy of any commercial bank.

10. *Microenterprise Summit (Barbados), 5/10/97*

My first experience with microcredit came via Mohammed Yunus. In 1986, he came to Little Rock to help my husband and me understand how the lessons of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh could be applied to development in Arkansas. With his guidance, we started the Good Faith Fund, which is still improving the lives of some of the poorest people in one of the poorest states in my country.

11. *Microenterprise Summit (Barbados), 5/10/97*

I will always remember a group of women I met at a FINCA bank in Managua. After these women described the businesses they had started, I asked them if they had any questions. One woman stood up and asked me to tell her about women I had met at a microcredit organization in India. She wanted to know what her counterparts a world away were spending money on and what businesses they were starting. At that moment, I knew that microcredit was transforming lives around the globe.

12. *Remarks to Council on Foreign Relations, 3/19/96*

In Ahmedabad, a textile center in western India there is a woman's bank on the edge of town founded by a disciple of Gandhi named Ela Bhatt. The bank had one room. The teller's counter was an old kitchen table. Bank clerks recorded all transaction by hand, on yellow sheets of paper bound in volumes that looked like worn-out telephone books. I was there for only a few hours. But in that time I saw women who walked 12 to 15 hours from remote villages to take out loans -- some as small as \$1 -- to invest in dairy cows, plows, or goods they could sell at market.

Women run the bank. Only women are allowed to make deposits and borrow money. Today this bank has assets of more than \$3 million. Its loan repayment rate -- nearly 100 percent -- would be the envy of most commercial banks. It has nearly 60,000 members -- all women, many of them among the poorest, least educated and most ostracized in India.

Against enormous political, social and economic odds, these women have joined together in a trade union and cooperative called the Self-Employed Women's Trade Association, or SEWA (say-wah), that provides them with job training, microcredit and mutual support. One after another these women have told me how access to credit has given them confidence in themselves and their futures. Through SEWA they have been able to increase their earning power and transform their lives, as well as the lives of their families and communities. Local government, police and commerce all have felt SEWA's influence.

13. Bulgaria/Czech Republic Trip Information

Dairy farming remains the major source of income for a large percentage of rural Albanian families. The women, as the caretakers of the cows, therefore play an important role in the economic stability of their families. By helping the women to produce more and better cow's milk and by engaging them as effective partners within the dairy industry, they not only enjoy higher incomes but also higher status. Many project women have proudly told how other village women now consult them rather than the veterinarian when their cows have problems; and there are numerous stories of Land O' Lakes women saving either their cow or a neighbor's cow by applying something they learned in the program...

The Land O'Lakes message, "Organize to solve your own problems rather than waiting for others to solve them," has been taken to heart by the Albanian women...The women's groups have enabled women to attack larger problems such as portable water and sewage...They have also given rural women a voice to government: several key leaders from the Land O'Lakes project formed an NGO called Law and Women Rights, which was instrumental in protecting women's interests when new legislation regarding women's land ownership and sale was enacted.

14. Bulgaria/Czech Republic Trip Info.

OLMI Milk Products is a small dairy plant located in Kumannovo, Macedonia which operates out of the family home of the owner, Ms. Olivera Spasic. The business began in 1993, when Olivera graduated from the University of Skopje with a degree in social sciences. Because of her father's previous involvement in dairy processing (he's a retired yoghurt and cheese maker) and her instinct that there was a good market for dairy products, Olivera chose to start a business making curdled milk. Since then, she has added yoghurt and cheese to her product line.

15. Bulgaria/Czech Republic Trip Info.

Ms. Szijarto also began a project to open a Family Planning Center on the campus of the University of Timisoara in Romania to meet the needs of the many students, both men and women. She has also identified a need of some programs for abused women, which she often sees among the women she treats at her clinic. Ms. Szijarto has also begun to research the activities of non-profit organizations, because she believes that she may not be able to realize her goals at the clinic where she currently works. A non-profit will give her the organizational framework to implement some of the innovative services she would like.

16. *Czech Republic/Bulgaria Trip Info.*

Founders of the new women's business organization in Southern Europe are stepping out into the business sphere in response to the call to action issued at CIPE's conference entitled *Organizing for Success: Strengthening Women's Business Organizations* to get out into the community and initiate programs and organizations where women are the priority. This call was initiated in response to the fact that economic fluctuations within Central and Eastern Europe and the rest of the world have hit women particularly hard. The public sector before the fall of communism had been a large employer of women; thus the effects of government downsizing, increased unemployment and poverty have disproportionately affected women.

An outgrowth of this conference was a network Marta Turk, a Slovenian woman came to DC last year for the conference, along with a few other women established for Central and Eastern Europe called the International Women's Academy which will work towards strengthening women through training and education programs furthered by private business initiatives. While they haven't actually done anything yet (they are very new) they will ultimately work to develop a network. The impression is that the NGO world is pretty under developed in Slovenia and this woman's involvement is viewed as pretty progressive.

17. *Czech Republic/Bulgaria Trip Info.*

In Albania during times of extreme economic hardships, when families could not afford to buy a washing machine, a TV set, a refrigerator, and there were no credit systems in place, women developed structures that today are recognized as credit-unions and have spread all around the world as a tool for the economic empowerment of women. The groups were organized on a neighborhood or friendship basis. Each member of the group would contribute a monthly sum to the common fund. The savings would be used by members to buy household equipment.

18. *National Geographic, 10/98*

Anowara Begum, a woman from Chamurkhan, a village in Bangladesh, has the only phone in the village. It's a Nokia cellular phone. She bought it with a loan from the Grameen Bank and she makes money with it. Instead of selling milk or eggs, as many of her neighbors do, she sells telephone calls at 4.6 taka (about ten cents) per minute. At this rate, she can pay the phone bill and weekly loan installment and keep some profit too.

"Every week I make 300 taka (\$6.50) from the phone," she says, "and I repay 160 taka. In three years the loan will be repaid. In some parts of Bangladesh an illiterate widow with several children could be destined to beg or even turn to prostitution. But once the loan is paid off, Anowara Begum stands to net an average of \$2 a day - more than \$700 a year- in a country with an average annual per capita of about \$250.

Sharifa Akhtar Shikha, Anowara's 20-year-old daughter) studies Islamic history at Dhaka's Jagannath University. "If my mother hadn't gotten the loan," Shikha says, "it would have been impossible for me to go to the university. But she wanted me to have a higher education."

Why? Anowara smiles. "For the future," she answers. "She will be independent and have more income. And she'll be happy also."

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RELIGION

Divider Title: _____

STORIES: RELIGION

1. *Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

My mother taught Sunday school and my brothers and I were there as soon as the church doors opened not only for services but for all of the activities that were available to young people growing up in the 50's and early 60's in a suburb of Chicago. My mother of course later confessed one of the reasons she taught Sunday school was to keep an eye on my brothers, so they actually showed up after they were dropped off at church.

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WOMEN MAKING A DIFF.

Divider Title: _____

STORIES: WOMEN MAKING A DIFFERENCE

1. *Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

I have seen it (revolution in the world about the roles and voices of women) in Santiago, Chile where I visited a religious institution and listened as a woman told me that when she got her small loan to buy a new high speed sewing machine she felt like a caged bird set free. I have seen it in the faces and activities of women at a housing project outside Cape Town, South Africa. Women who had lived in shanties and shacks as homeless squatters who decided they would take a stand for their own futures, their dignity, and build their own houses and again with the help of a religious institution bought some very scruffy land and began to build.

When I first visited them in 1997 they had 18 homes built and a lot of dreams. But I asked the group of women before me how many thought they would eventually have their own home and every hand was raised. When I took my husband back on our recent trip to Africa there were 140 homes and they had bought the property across the railroad tracks to build 400 more. They had a community center, a day care center and a store and they were letting their voices be heard.

2. *Yale Divinity School, 4/30/98*

We are seeing women transform from someone who did not believe she had worth, to someone who understands the contribution she could make to her own life, her family and even in her community. In Northern Ireland, Catholic and Protestant women are working side by side to address the root causes of Secretarian violence. I met with the two women leaders of the Women's party in Northern Ireland that actually won a place at the table for peace negotiations. And they recited to me chapter and verse the extraordinary abuse they were subjected to. They had no right to be there as women, they had no contribution to make and yet day after day they showed up and they held their ground and they talked about the issues that were on the minds of women and I remembered very well that when I first went to Belfast meeting with women who told me how they were crossing those Secretarian lines, because they were tired of seeing their husbands, and their fathers, and their sons and their nephews gunned down. And as one woman memorably said, "You cannot fry flags in a pan". And to her that meant all of this violence, all of this prejudice and discrimination were standing in the way of a better life, for her and her family.

3. *Vital Voices Speech, 7/11/97*

On my visits to Central and Eastern Europe, I have heard the sounds of those voices. I have heard women from many countries articulating their dreams for the world and their lives after communism. Despite the differences between them, everyone seemed to speak the same mother tongue -- the language of freedom and hope. I heard women's voices in Estonia when I visited a clinic that is the first in that country to offer a broad range of health services for women. I heard them in Romania when I met with teachers who are developing a new pedagogy that

emphasizes civic participation and democratic values. I hear them in Ukraine when I met with nurses who had just started their own professional organization. I heard them in Hungary when I visited a center that is helping the minority overcome barriers to education, employment and full participation in Hungarian society. I heard them in the Czech Republic when I met with leaders of non-governmental organizations who are involved in local projects to protect the rights of children and to safeguard the environment. I heard them in Belarus when I spoke with women health professionals struggling to bring quality health care to the critically ill children of Chernobyl. I hear them in Russia when I talked over the radio with listeners throughout the country on a women-owned radio station. I heard the voices of women asking "what do we do now? We are educated; how do we use that education to be part of democracy?" And I heard them in Poland when I sat around a table with women representing different political points of view and participated in one of the most important democratic acts, disagreeing with one another respectfully, as we debated the issues that were important to us. And I heard women's vital voices in Bosnia where I was told by a teacher how she kept trying to keep her students learning despite a horrific war. How I was told by health professionals the struggles they faced treating the wounded and how they were all committed to rebuilding their lives.

4. Vital Voices Speech, 7/11/97

When I am privileged to travel as I do, I always meet with groups of women for informal discussions. Whether I am in Bangladesh, Romania, Poland, Nicaragua, or Chile, I find that women have much more in common than might appear on the surface. And yet I also find that even in those cities where I am meeting with women who represent the academia or the professions or business or politics, they often do not speak to one another. They sometimes do not even know one another. They are surprised to learn what the woman down the street is doing to assist them in their work. We cannot build strong civil societies without working together and creating associations that enable us to make progress on the issues we care about.

5. Lahore Institute of Management Sciences (Pakistan), 3/27/95

A few weeks ago I met with a group of Pakistani-Americans in Washington who wanted to make a concrete contribution to promote the education of girls in this, their homeland. They have decided to endow a scholarship at the Lahore University of Management Sciences. They have secured the funding for the first year of the scholarship and are in the process of establishing an endowment to ensure that every year a woman student, whose family does not have the resources to finance an education here at LUMS, Pakistan will need in the 21st century.

6. Bulgaria/Czech Republic Trip Info.

Ms. Gordana Stojanovic is the President of the Association for Peace in Baranja, Croatia an organization which encourages tolerance and aims to decrease regional tensions. She has spent over three years bringing families back together who were separated by the war. She also acts as a mediator between former colleagues who are trying to reestablish business ties. The association has been able to make a genuine impact on the lives of many Croats. It has provided legal help and advice to more than 800 people in the region.

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QUOTES

Divider Title: _____

QUOTES

1. The Arts

"I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy...in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music..." President John Adams, *NY Times Column*, 6/21/95

"If children are unable to voice what they mean, no one will know how they feel. If they can't imagine a different world, they are stumbling through a darkness made all the more sinister by its lack of reference points. For a young person growing up in America's alienated and disparate neighborhoods, there can be no greater empowerment than to dare to speak from the heart -- and then to discover that one is not alone in one's feelings. Once hope and self-esteem have been engendered, the work of redefining the future can begin." Rita Dove, Poet Laureate, *Arts and Humanities For At Risk Youth*, 4/26/96

"It is far too often forgotten that art and life have an inextricable entwined rootage." Robert Penn Warren, *Remarks for Heritage Awards*, 9/23/97

"You know a child can be in a gang, or a gang of singers." Choir Director in Oakland, California, *Chicago Public Schools Principals' Luncheon*, 6/3/98

"Be a Columbus to whole new continents and world within you; opening up new channels not of trade, but of thought." Henry David Thoreau, *Opening of Thoreau Institute at Walden Pond*, 6/4/98

2. Democracy

"For everyday life revolution consists much more of the small things, of sounds, of looks and images." Croatian writer, *Vital Voices Speech*, 7/11/97

"Many of us who in recent years strove to speak the truth in spite of everything, were able to maintain an inner perspective, a willingness to endure, a sense of proportion, an ability to understand and forgive others and a light heart, only because we were speaking the truth, otherwise we might have perished with despair." Austrian President Havel, *Vital Voices Speech*, 7/11/97

"Of course, I will fight with the word; the word is my tool and my weapon. With the word, which in a fellow human seeks a word, a dialogue, and a discussion, through with truth, not the Truth, eventually evolves" Spomenka Hribar, *Slovenian philosopher, social scientist, and member of Sloven parliament from 1990-1994*.

3. Health

"Of all the forms of inequality, injustice in health is the most shocking and the most inhumane." Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., *World Health Day-World Bank*, 4/7/98; *World Health Assembly*, 5/14/98

"Statistics are people with the tears wiped off." Health care worker, *World Health Day-The World Bank*, 4/7/98

"Maternal mortality is not about statistics . . . It's about women who have names, women who have faces, faces which we have seen in the throws of agony, distress and despair." Dr. Mahmoud Fathalla, *World Health Day-The World Bank*, 4/7/98

4. Human Rights

"All people are born free and equal in dignity and rights." Universal Declaration of Human Rights, *Yale Divinity School*, 4/30/98

5. Inspirational

"Shout out! Do not hold back! Lift up your voice like a trumpet!" Isaiah 58, *Yale Divinity School*, 4/30/98

"Lord help me to remember that nothing is going to happen to me today that you I and together can't handle." Plaque in office of Janice Anderson, woman affected by micro-enterprise, *Association for Enterprise Opportunity Conference*, 4/24/98

6. Women's Rights

"Too many women in too many countries, speak the same language of silence. There must be freedom if we are to speak and there must be power if we are to be heard. Those of us who have freedom and power must give voice to those who cannot speak, for as long as women are valued less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, non schooled, subjected to violence, the potential of all of us to be God's children, to contribute to a peaceful and prosperous world will not be realized." Excerpt from a poem written by a college student, *USAID Girls Education*, 5/7/98

"There are so many poets among women in my land. The mute whose speech is suddenly restored will rend the air with a moan or a shout-- centuries of silence crying to come out." - ?

And what was Dr. Barrinson's reward for his honesty and his professionalism? He was placed on the insurance company's "special exceptions" list. You know, that's a list of troublesome doctors who make the insurance company wait a few days or a few weeks to determine the bottom line on a particular patient.

From that point on, the insurance company called Dr. Barrinson six times in two weeks. Each time he had to be summoned away from the patient to take the call. Each time he spoke to a different insurance company representative. Each time he repeated the same story. Each time he repeated the same story. Each time his role as the physician was subverted. And each time the treatment of the patient was impeded.

Dr. Barrinson and you know that medicine, the art of healing, doesn't work like that. There is no master checklist that can be administered by some faceless bureaucrat that can tell you what need to do on an hourly basis to take care of your patients; and, frankly, I wouldn't want to be one of your patients if there were."

(Remarks to the AMA, 6/13/93)

"One nurse told me that she entered the profession because she wanted to care for people. She said that if she had wanted to be an accountant, she would have gone to work for an accounting company instead. But she, like many other nurses, and as you know so well, many of the people in your offices now, are required to be bookkeepers and accounts, not clinicians, not caregivers."

(Remarks to the AMA, 6/13/93)

"I can remember so well sitting in the St. Vincent's waiting area and talking with a friend of mine who's a physician there who told me that every day he discharges somebody from the hospital who needs continuing prescription medication to stabilize a condition. And every day there is at least one patient who he knows cannot afford the drug he prescribes. And so what often happens is that patient decides not to take those prescription drugs, or to self-medicate. Instead of the four a day required, maybe only one to stretch them a little further. And, sure enough, it's not too long before the patient ends up back in the hospital, costing all of us more."

(Remarks to the Catholic Health Association, 6/9/93)

"Most of you know Monsignor Charles Fahey. Monsignor Fahey served on our working group on ethics, the group charged with making sure that the system we develop is driven by fundamental

*Success
Stories*

Statement of
The Honorable Mark L. Schneider
Assistant Administrator
For Latin America and the Caribbean
U.S. Agency for International Development
before the
Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs
Committee on International Relations
U.S. House of Representatives
June 25, 1997

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

It is a pleasure to appear before you this afternoon to discuss developments in Central America, especially as this hearing comes so soon after the successful visit of the President and the First Lady to San Jose. The President met in Costa Rica with six heads of state, including the Prime Minister of Belize and the President of the Dominican Republic and reaffirmed our shared commitment to a common vision for the hemisphere.

That vision, first outlined and agreed to by all 34 elected leaders of the hemisphere at the historic Miami Summit in 1994, calls for preserving and strengthening a hemisphere-wide community of democratic nations, favoring economic integration and free trade, eradicating poverty and discrimination and guaranteeing sustainable development and environmental protection for future generations.

The importance of U.S. interests in Central America is reflected in the first U.S. Presidential summit meeting in the region with all of the Central American presidents. The commitments undertaken by our elected leaders at the San Jose meeting advance our common goals and promote a new partnership with Central America and the Caribbean. Developments anywhere in the Caribbean basin are quickly felt here and actions here have immense impact on the economies and people of Central America.

The U.S. Government has a strong interest in seeing that the democratic process in Central America continues its present course. Today, all the leaders of the region came to power in free and fair elections. In Nicaragua last fall, for the first time in that country's history, one elected civilian president succeeded another. This consensus on the democratic rules of the game has ended "winner-take-all" politics. In Central America today, opposition political movements are represented by legal political parties with representation at the national and local levels. Armed conflict stemming from ideological divisions has been replaced by peaceful debate over the competing visions these leaders have for their countries' futures. Polarization too often continues to promote zero-sum political strategies but

compromise is gaining acceptance as an acceptable mechanism to resolve political controversy.

In the words of the San Jose declaration, the presidents reaffirmed "the remarkable democratic transformation in Central America. Central America is now a region of peace, liberty, and democracy, profoundly committed to a process of integration, in which a spirit of harmony, cooperation, pluralism and respect for human rights prevails. This spirit marks an unprecedented era of stability in Central America."

Stability in Central America also promotes U.S. interests through the fostering of strong trade relations.. U.S. exports to the region now exceed \$7.5 billion, growing at a rate of 14% from 1990 to 1995. The exports to these seven small Central American countries exceed the combined total of U.S. exports to all of Eastern Europe (\$2.2 billion) and the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union (\$3.8 billion).

A more important and telling fact is that these Central American countries import almost 50% of their goods and services from the United States. With nearly half their population now living in poverty, bringing these people into the national economy will generate even greater demand for goods and services, resulting in rapid expansion of U.S. exports and the jobs associated with those exports.

Prosperity and stability in Central America also will decrease immigration pressures. As a direct result of the civil war in El Salvador, between the years 1980 and 1990, 12.7 percent of the 1985 Salvadoran population --some 600,000 people -- entered the United States. During the same time, only 19,000--about 0.7 percent of population--came from Costa Rica.

USAID'S ROLE

The U.S. Agency for International Development plays a critical role in supporting U.S. foreign policy interests through its programs of sustainable development assistance. In Central America, those interests are clustered around three complementary themes: completing the transition from war to peace, promoting sustainable development and advancing regional integration. All three of these themes were at play at the San Jose Summit and the final declaration once again demonstrated the political will of the region's leaders to work together to carry out the ambitious vision for a prosperous, democratic region.

A. CONSOLIDATING THE PEACE PROCESS

Mr. Chairman, last month I witnessed the final end of the Cold War in Central America.

I had the honor of accompanying Secretary Albright to the Guatemalan demobilization camp at Tululche where the last of nearly 3,000 former combatants of the Guatemalan civil war were making plans to rejoin civilian society. With the December 29, 1996 signing of the final peace accords in Guatemala which formally ended over three decades of war, the last of the region's civil conflicts has been brought to an end.

Now, the challenge will be implementing the ambitious social, economic and political goals outlined in the accords, encompassing hundreds of government commitments. This can be done only through the collective efforts of the Guatemalan people and the international donor community, including the United States.

I led the U.S. delegation to the January Consultative Group meeting at which the U.S. Government pledged \$260 million over four years to assist Guatemala in turning the vision outlined in the accords into a reality. Our early and significant commitment was important in generating donor support that resulted in total pledges of \$1.9 billion from the international community in support of the Guatemalan plan to implement the Peace Accords. All of us who have followed Guatemala recognize that these accords represent the best opportunity ever to address the underlying economic and social impediments to Guatemala's growth and integration into the region's and the world's economy.

The first task was to ensure the success of the demobilization and reintegration program. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to report that USAID, working closely with the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the European Union, the OAS and PAHO helped in the successful demobilization of the 2877 ex-combatants. These former guerrillas were in eight camps where they spent approximately 60 days receiving food, medical treatment, basic literacy and civic education. Surveys were conducted to determine the educational and skill level of each ex-combatant as well as their vocational preference and intended destination after they left the camps.

The majority of the ex-combatants have now left the camps after turning in their remaining weapons and receiving citizenship documents and have been placed in communities. Each departing ex-combatant has been given a stipend for three months and will receive follow-up assistance (vocational education, scholarships, agricultural extension and microcredit) to help them reintegrate into the productive life of the country. All but one of the camps have been dismantled, but it is now a halfway house for demobilized ex-combatants who have not yet been resettled. These ex-combatants are receiving vocational education until they are finally resettled. The construction materials from the dismantled camps have been provided to surrounding communities for local development projects.

When I was in the camps, I had the opportunity to talk with the last few ex-combatants preparing to leave. They spoke of their hopes of returning to their homes, or becoming farmers or auto mechanics or opening a small business.

USAID, in close collaboration with other donors, will be supporting vocational education, agriculture training, scholarships and other programs to help the ex-combatants reintegrate into productive civilian society. USAID will continue to track their progress over the next year to ensure their successful reincorporation into civilian life.

USAID has reoriented its ongoing development program to focus on geographic areas most affected by the conflict and areas with the most severe poverty. Programs include judicial reform and strengthening democratic institutions and processes, family health, sustainable natural resources management and poverty alleviation through economic growth.

This integrated package of development assistance programs, combined with the additional resources made available to support the peace process, represents the best opportunity in a generation to attack the fundamental problems in Guatemala. I am particularly interested in having USAID and other donors address child and adult literacy, particularly in the indigenous community. With nearly half of the Guatemalan population of indigenous origin, Guatemala's future success depends on their successful incorporation into the political and economic life of the country.

In El Salvador, the transition from war to peace is approaching a successful conclusion. Since the signing of the Chapultepec Peace Accords in January of 1992, the U.S. Government has dedicated its resources to ensuring their successful implementation through the National Reconstruction Program. Today, some 35,000 beneficiaries of the Land Transfer Program have received title to their land and the majority are farming it productively. Approximately 101,000 (71% men and 29% women) received vocational and technical training, or high school or university-level education. Over 94,000 beneficiaries were given agricultural or microenterprise credit. Credit was channeled through some 50 NGOs and the Agricultural Development Bank.

As a result of microenterprise training and credit, many fledgling entrepreneurs were able either to launch new businesses or expand existing enterprises. After receiving credit and technical assistance, an estimated 73% of male and 71% of female beneficiaries were able to earn greater incomes. As a result, the overall household incomes of beneficiary families grew by an average of 35%.

Approximately 136 NGOs (125 Salvadoran and 11 international) have participated in the NRP, channeling about \$100 million to beneficiaries.

Nearly 11,000 ex-FMLN, 11,000 ex-government troops, and over 4,000 demobilized members of the National Police force have received benefits from the NRP, including credit, starter kits (tools and household furnishings), medical care, land, shelter, vocational training, counseling, and academic scholarships.

Nearly a quarter of the 10,000 kilometers of roads damaged in the former conflictive zones were improved, thereby benefiting every resident of the NRP zone.

An estimated 365 open municipal town meetings have been held in the 115 NRP municipalities, and 89% of the 871 cantones participated in these meetings. That shows an increase in turnout of 15% from 1994 to 1995.

A recent survey of more than 1,000 USAID-assisted ex-combatants found 4 out of 5 ex-combatants consider themselves to be fully reintegrated into productive civilian life as a result of all of the aforementioned transition to development activities.

Over the past five years, we have also supported the Salvadorans in achieving major goals called for in the Accords:

- the creation of a new civilian police force, which is carrying out its duties in a much more professional, apolitical manner.
- passage of key judicial reforms called for by the Truth Commission, including a new Criminal Procedures Code (which sets forth the process by which an individual will be tried); a Criminal Code (which stipulates penalties for crimes) and a Sentencing Law. In addition, Truth Commission-mandated Constitutional reforms were passed which included protection of the right of *habeas corpus* and a reduction in the duration of administrative detention.
- And four key electoral reforms needed to broaden citizen participation and modernize electoral systems (creation of a national registry and single voter identification card; professionalization of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal; proportional representation on municipal councils and residential voting) have yet to be fully implemented. We view these as key electoral reforms essential to fully realize the goals of the Peace Accords.

Mr. Chairman, last month I met with Hector Silva, the newly-elected mayor of San Salvador. He spoke of the successful electoral coalition that he forged from across the political spectrum. The acceptance of the transition of power in the capital city by the ARENA party, complete with customary calls of congratulation, concession speeches and the usual day-after post-mortems by party leaders and political commentators took place in El Salvador. For anyone who has followed that country for the last 15 years, these free and fair local and parliamentary elections, accepted as legitimate by winner and loser, represent a major advance in consolidating democracy.

Earlier this year, I testified before the Subcommittee on the three transitions unfolding in Nicaragua: from war to peace; from dictatorship to democracy and from centralized, command economy to a market-driven economy. Within the last five years, Nicaragua has made significant progress, with our help. Nicaragua today is at peace, enjoys political stability, and is rapidly becoming an open, market economy. Nicaragua's economic situation has improved markedly since 1990.

USAID assistance has contributed to the following accomplishments:

- The holding of free and fair elections in 1996, with a 76% participation rate resulting in the first transfer of power between two democratically elected presidents in over 100 years;
- A reduction in inflation from 13,000% in 1990 to 10.8% in 1996 and an increase in GDP growth rate from 0.0% in 1990 to 4.2% in 1995 and 5.5% in 1996 due to a successful economic stabilization program;
- Reform of a banking system which in 1990 was a state monopoly. In 1996, the private banks handled 70% of the deposits and loans in the financial sector;
- In 1990, private capital was flowing out of Nicaragua at the rate of about \$200 million a year. Since 1994, private capital has been flowing into Nicaragua at over \$150 million each year;
- U.S. exports to Nicaragua have grown from \$2 million in 1989 to \$260 million in 1996;
- Nicaragua's non-traditional agricultural exports have risen from almost nothing in 1991 to more than \$85 million in 1996;
- Grade repetition has dropped from 41% to 26% of first graders; and more students are completing sixth grade

of these products to the U.S. reached a level of \$333 million in 1995, rising from just \$85 million in 1985. More important, small producers benefitted from the majority of these exports.

- * **MICROENTERPRISE:** In El Salvador last year, USAID-financed activities reached over 30,000 borrowers and nearly 10,000 depositors. In Guatemala, USAID assistance to Guatemalan credit unions and a private NGO microenterprise lender ("Genesis Empresarial") has permitted the sustained provision of savings and loan services to over 200,000 low income clients using locally mobilized resources. In Honduras, USAID-assisted NGOs have nearly 40,000 borrowers which represents about 21 % of all microenterprises in the country. The NGO network in Honduras currently has 1150 village banks and nearly 1200 solidarity groups. ACORDE, a Costa Rican umbrella organization, established with USAID support in the early 1990s, provided \$4.9 million to some 40 NGOs benefitting 22,000 individual microenterprises. In Nicaragua, USAID support for ACCION, Catholic Relief Services, Opportunity International, FINCA and Pro Mujer will result in the provision of financial services for 51,000 clients of whom 80 percent are women.

In El Salvador, a woman named Hortensia Contreras Linares was selling small cakes on the side of the road and barely making enough to feed herself. With the help of a small loan -- \$46 dollars -- she began to sell soda and ice along with the cakes and bought better baskets and equipment for her roadside market. Three weeks later, she was robbed. She lost everything. But that didn't stop her. Hortensia re-established her shop inside her home. She was able to expand her business and she plowed her profits into improving her business and her home. In five years, these improvements have totalled \$8000 dollars. She has purchased two real beds, added a second room, paid for an electric hook-up, a cement patio for cooking, two refrigerators for the store, a television and a new stereo. Hortensia, who is nearly illiterate, was recently elected to serve as the president of her village bank group. She is a leader and a role model.

EDUCATION: In Honduras more than 70 percent of 14 year olds graduated from the sixth grade in 1996 compared with 50 percent in 1985 and more than 40,000 adults had completed the ninth grade through the alternative basic education program compared with only 5,000 in 1994. In Nicaragua, over five million modern primary school textbooks purchased by USAID have benefitted over 750,000 children in improved quality education. In Guatemala, our Girls' Education program is increasing opportunities for rural indigenous girls to

ELECTIONS: With respect to the historic elections in Nicaragua, I want to highlight The nonpartisan Ethics and Transparency (ET), Nicaragua's first domestic election monitoring organization, which fielded 4,200 volunteer election observers and conducted a parallel vote tabulation of actual election results. The Washington Post commented that the USAID-supported ET played a crucial role during the election and will be important to Nicaragua's development into a pluralistic rather than polarized society. In El Salvador, USAID programmed \$1.5 million to assist the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) make improvements to the electoral process in 1997 and finance NGO civic and voter education activities, facilitating delivery of voter identification cards, printing of posters and other materials to assist voters understand voting day procedures.

RULE OF LAW: In Honduras for the first time in history corrupt judges are being investigated and prosecuted and the number of these cases pursued by the Public Ministry increasing from 73 in 1995 to 136 in 1996. In December 1996, the first trial in Guatemala to employ all aspects of the new criminal procedures code successfully took place with USAID/MINUGUA trained judge, prosecutor, and defense attorney, as well as a translator, demonstrating that rule of law and due process have finally become possible for Guatemalan citizens. Working with a reform-minded Supreme Court and Attorney-General, USAID is helping Nicaragua modernize its judicial sector. USAID has provided assistance in reforming antiquated laws dating from the previous century, including the Organic Law, and we are currently assisting in drafting Nicaragua's first Administrative Procedures Code. In addition to code reform, prosecutorial services are being improved through assistance to the Attorney General's Office. A public defenders program will be launched later this year.

Health and Population

USAID assistance in the health sector is improving health status of children under five and their mothers through a variety of interventions: vaccination programs, oral rehydration therapy, maternal health care, family planning, nutrition interventions and the development and construction of rural water and sanitation systems. In Honduras, rural water/sanitation programs have helped drop diarrheal diseases from the first to the third leading cause of death among children. With USAID help, Honduras has achieved a 95% vaccination coverage for polio, tuberculosis and DPT (diphtheria, pertussis and tetanus). In Guatemala the infant mortality rate declined from 73 per 1000 in 1987 to 51 per 1000 in 1995, a reduction of 30%. In Nicaragua the number of couples using modern contraceptives exceeded 224,000 in 1996, more than 2 1/2 times the level of usage in 1992.

Environment

In Panama, USAID focuses on promoting sustainable protection of the Panama Canal Watershed in order to ensure the long-term viability of canal operations. USAID is working with the Government of Panama and non-governmental organizations to monitor changes in forest cover, water quality, erosion and siltation rates, and biodiversity, and to develop a management plan for the watershed. This plan includes demarcating boundaries of national parks and strengthening an ecological trust fund that provides a self-sustaining funding source for NGO-run environmental activities and park protection.

On a regional basis, the Parks in Peril program, a partnership between USAID, The Nature Conservancy, and local conservation NGOs, has greatly improved protection of six Central American parks, covering approximately 2.5 million acres. Critical accomplishments include: (a) enabling four of these parks to persist without additional USAID funding; (b) adding over 120,000 acres of critical wildlands under legally protected status; (c) eliminating 90% of the illegal incursions into Sierra de las Minas Biosphere Reserve, Guatemala, by improving guard training and community relations; and (d) improving the economic well-being of indigenous people in Belize, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Panama. Five of these park sites form part of the *Paseo Pantera*, an important biological corridor whose protection will greatly enhance the biodiversity of the region. An additional Parks in Peril site in the Honduran Mosquitia, cofinanced by PROARCA, our regional environment program run out of Guatemala, is expected to begin implementation this year.

among bilateral donors: Japan, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Germany and Canada, which have significant assistance programs throughout the region

The results of the coordination are impressive. In Honduras and El Salvador, and now beginning in Guatemala, the bureau has worked with the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank to develop significant and innovative judicial reform activities that expand upon USAID's pioneering work. In El Salvador, USAID's health and education programs served as a catalyst for comprehensive health and primary education reforms financed by the two banks. Bilateral cooperation is pursued through our Common Agenda with the Japanese and the Transatlantic Agenda with the European Union. Collaboration includes work with the Japanese on civil society strengthening in El Salvador and a joint study with the European Union on where Central America will be in the year 2020.

Bureau representatives actively participate in the regularly scheduled country consultative group meetings for each of the Central American countries hosted by the Inter American Development Bank. Participation includes the collaborative preparation of an analytical agenda for the meetings and a thorough discussion of recent trends affecting the economic and social development of the country. To insure continuity and compliance with the recommendations of the consultative groups, USAID has assigned staff representatives to each of the U.S. executive directors' offices at the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank.

Threats to the Region

While we are able to document solid progress across the board in our sustainable development, it is clear that this progress could be put in jeopardy by the threats that still exist to the peaceful, democratic development of the region. Chief among these threats is poverty. While nominal growth rates are satisfactory, they mask the fact that nearly half the region's people live in poverty. Too many children go to bed hungry, too many men and women lack the opportunity for work and for the means to make a better life for themselves and their families.

Our challenge is to broaden the gains of economic growth and expanded trade through policies that reach down to the local village level. It means increased expenditures on health and education as the long-term key to economic growth and success. It means relieving the barriers to women that prevent them from holding property or gaining credit to start small businesses and microenterprises. It means promoting labor standards that protect workers and seeing that these labor codes are enforced to ensure that the benefits of increased trade are shared throughout the economy. Finally, it means developing strong local governments where people have a

greater say in the decisions that affect their every day life. It is my view that the greatest protection against a return to authoritarian solutions of the past is having efficient, transparent and participatory local governments operating with the confidence of the people they govern.

Promoting respect for the rule of law is paramount if we are to assist these countries in responding to the growing problem of international crime, including drug trafficking, illegal immigration, stolen cars, money-laundering as well as a host of their domestic crime problems. Geography and a long history of weak institutions make the region vulnerable to the operations of international criminal organizations. At the same time, the region's grinding poverty provide ample incentive for people to pursue illegal forms of enrichment at a tremendous cost to the country's development and social fabric. Finally, a strengthened rule of law promotes predictability and accountability which is needed to draw the levels of private investment needed to spur the region's economic and technological growth into the next century. Without it, the region will suffer as investors choose other options in the region and outside of it.

Finally, there are a number of threats to our shared environment. The continuing degradation of Central America's natural resource base is reducing its overall productivity and potential for future broad-based economic growth. Further deterioration is likely to affect the stability of fragile democracies by limiting the opportunities for poverty alleviation and the maintenance of adequate water supplies.

Our challenge is to assist these nations in responding to three major threats:

(1) **Deforestation and Biodiversity Loss:** Central America is losing 1.6% of its tropical forests every year -- one of the highest rates anywhere. Two thirds of this loss has occurred in the last forty years. Currently, less than 40% of the region's original forest remains. Deforestation is the primary threat to the region's biodiversity, which represents 6% of the world's total, and damages watersheds essential to provide adequate water supplies to communities and hydroelectric utilities.

(2) **Environmentally unsustainable agricultural practices:** Although improved agricultural practices exist which are both environmentally and economically sustainable, most Central American farmers use agricultural techniques which lead to profound deforestation, soil erosion, and especially the dangerous overuse of pesticides. Central America has the world's highest per capita usage of pesticides, with 75% of them banned in the U.S. Although ecological affects of pesticide overuse are poorly documented, they have likely affected local water quality, and led to the evolution of pesticide resistance by

agricultural pests.

3) Urban and Industrial Pollution: Of the seven countries in Central America the average population growth between 1985-1990 for urban areas was double that of the rural areas, placing a great stress on city services. The combination of chemical residues and toxic waste from industrial development, unsanitary water, and motor vehicle emissions pose a major health hazard, particularly for the poor, the elderly, children, and pregnant women. Disposal of raw sewage in ocean outfalls is also the norm. Ninety percent (90%) of all Central American sewage is untreated, thereby leading to health problems (e.g., of the over 30 million people in the region, only 63% have access to potable water supplies), and negatively impacting coastal ecosystems.

Conclusion

Mr. Chairman, the San Jose Declaration opens a new relationship between the United States and the countries of Central America, a relationship based on shared principles -- democracy and open markets and a common approach to the problems that plague the region. The answers to illegal immigration, drug trafficking, crime, poverty, pollution in the long-term are addressed through sustainable development: economic and social growth that will allow all the people the region to enjoy democratic freedoms and economic opportunity in a way that is sensitive to the needs of the environment.

We do face many challenges in the coming decade. Dealing with these threats will call on the economic, diplomatic and political resources of all of our nations. But I think it is safe to say that the U.S. Government, the governments of the countries of Central America, the private sector, non-governmental organizations here and in the region are all united like never behind a vision of a common destination. While there are liable to be twists and turns in the road, the forces of history, geography and above all, our common interest in seeing a secure and prosperous region, will ensure that we reach that destination together.

From nobody@www2.whitehouse.gov Wed Jun 3 12:42:24 1998
Date: Wed, 03 Jun 1998 12:41:02 -0400
From: "Maxwell J. Barrington" <barrington007@hotmail.com>
Subject: Inbound-White_House_WWW_MAIL => FIRST_LADY
Apparently-to: first.lady@WhiteHouse.GOV
To: first.lady@WhiteHouse.GOV
Errors-to: The Postmaster <postmaster@www2.whitehouse.gov>
Reply-to: "Maxwell J. Barrington" <barrington007@hotmail.com>
Message-id: <199806031641.MAA05350@www2.whitehouse.gov>

Comments: This message scanned by SCAN version 0.1 jms/960226

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BROWSER: Mozilla/4.03 [en] (Win95; I;Nav)
URL: http://www.whitehouse.gov/WH/Mail/html/Mail_First_Lady.html

[Sender Information]

PERSONAL-NAME: Maxwell J. Barrington
EMAIL-ADDRESS: barrington007@hotmail.com
ORGANIZATION:
RELATIONSHIP:
STREET-ADDRESS: 2926 South Outer Drive
CITY: Saginaw
STATE-PROVINCE: MI
ZIP-CODE: 48601
COUNTRY: USA

[Message Information]

PURPOSE: Offer neutral commentary, advice, or a suggestion
TOPIC: First Family
AFFILIATION: Private Citizen
SUBJECT: Recognition

[Message]

Dear Mrs Clinton,

I am very thankful to have this opportunity to send you a letter over the Internet. Please don't think that my letter is "corny" but I am 43 years old, and I am not

well versed in political protocol. Nonetheless, I'll

get right to the point. As an African American, I want to say that I am so very proud of you and Mr Clinton. When your husband was named President I almost cried. Ever since you and Mr Clinton have been in the White House, you have consistantly demonstrated that we can live together, regardless of race, creed, or religion. I have never seen a First Lady or President take so many pictures with minorities, or even take the time to do something like hold an African American child in your lap, and have the whole world see this in the news paper; or travel to Asia and other underdeveloped countries and try to help. I know these things are small in terms of your enormous responsibilities, but for me, I have to say that I am deeply touched. You and Mr Clinton are doing a wonderful job, and I can honestly say that in my heart, I strongly feel that I am speaking for nearly all minorities in America when I say that you are the most beautiful, gracious, and intelligent First Lady that we have ever had, and that Mr Clinton, in spite of all of the opposition from his adversaries, is, and will always be, out greatest President. May God be with you both.

Maxwell J. Barrington
2926 South Outer Drive
Saginaw, MI 48601

THE WHITE HOUSE

Christy / Laura -

I thought this might
be of interest if you need
speech materials on
women and social
security.

Alice

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FIRST LADY HEALTH CARE ANECDOTES

Forms

"I went to a forum, a community college, and there were a number of excellent presenters. But the one who sticks in my mind was a practicing physician who came with his stack of forms, he pulled out and he said, I want to show you this form. It's the government form for me to get reimbursement if I take care of a patient that can be paid for by government money. It's on 8 1/2" by 11" paper, and it's in red ink. It says HIFCA Form 1500 on top of it. Now, let me show you a form from a private insurance company. It is on the same size paper and the same color ink, but it has the name of the insurer on top. I cannot send the HIFCA 1500 form to the insurer, I have to fill out a whole second form. And, he said, that is just the top of the iceberg.

(Interview with Ron Fournier, AP, 3/8/93)

"So it is in our interest to reach universal coverage as soon as possible. I mean, I had another example of that in New Orleans...the woman who told me she didn't have insurance and, yet, she tries to take care of herself so she goes for a yearly checkup every year, so she saves and affords that, well, she had a mammogram which found a mass in her chest and she was referred to a surgeon, the surgeon said, well, I would do a biopsy, but since you don't have insurance, we'll just watch it.

Do you know how much cheaper a biopsy is than a mastectomy? So it makes no sense."

(Interview with Ron Fournier, AP, 3/8/93)

"Or to listen to a veteran in that same group (working people from New Orleans) who had worked in that same business for many years but who wasn't eligible for VA benefits because he didn't have a service-connected disability and he was working and wasn't poor enough to access the VA system. So, again, without insurance the emergency room was his physician. And he talked about how he hated to go to the emergency room because it was always so expensive. He tried not to go, but the times that he did have to go often he couldn't pay the bill he was presented. And he felt bad about that as well."

(Remarks at Health Care Briefing, Lincoln, NE 4/16/93)

"Many of the farmers and ranchers in this state are like the ones that I met in Iowa when I sat for over an hour and listened to four farm families talk to me about how they could not afford insurance. And these were people who put literally the food on our table. And what they did was despite the fact it made no

sense by any accounting measure, they just squeezed every dollar out of everything else so that they paid for those very expensive single-family policies that they were able to access.

Or they even went through their local farm bureau; but because it wasn't a very big policy or they had a preexisting condition, they were still paying more and more every year with the cost continuing to escalate.

And I sat there in the living room of this farmhouse thinking to myself: Why on Earth would we want, literally, to drive out of business, which is what we are doing, farm families and ranch families who are still among the most productive workers in our entire country? Why would we want our government to look at their balance sheet when they come in for some kind of loan from some government-supported program and have the government representative say, you know, you're not really in a good position to borrow as much money as you want because your assets are obviously highly mortgaged. You can't really afford much but if you cut out your monthly health insurance, we think we can make this work for you? Why are we doing that to ourselves, why are we doing that to the people who work for us?"

(Remarks at Health Care Briefing, Lincoln, NE, 4/16/93)

"One man who owns a small family bowling alley has one employee. That one employee had a son with a serious illness and the illness was one that was difficult to continue to insure for and the costs continued to go up. And the owner looked at me with tears in his eyes and he said, 'Look at the choice I'm asked to make. This man has worked with me like a member of my family, And now I'm either going to have to make a decision to just cut him and his family off of health insurance or to tell him to see if there's any other place he can go to work where he might get in, but I've checked for him and I don't think that's possible. Or to continue to try to pay the insurance when we don't make all that much money. What am I supposed to do?'"

(Remarks at Health Care Briefing, Lincoln, NE 4/16/93)

"Dr. Bob Barrinson, one of the practicing physicians who spent hours and hours working with us while also maintaining his practice, told us recently of an experience that he had as one of many. He admitted an emergency room patient named Jeff. Jeff suffered from cirrhosis of the liver and ---. Dr. Barrinson put him in the hospital and within 24 hours received a call from Jeff's insurance company. The insurance company wanted to know exactly how many days Jeff would be in the hospital and why. Dr. Barrinson replied that he couldn't predict the precise length of the stay. A few days later the insurance company called back and questioned whether Jeff would need surgery. Again, Dr. Barrinson said he wasn't sure.

values, shared responsibilities, social justice. Monsignor Fahey has confronted the fragmentation and backward incentives of our long-term care system first hand. He took a month off this year to care for both his parents, seriously ill, in order to keep them out of a hospital or a nursing home. As he struggled to nurse his parents back to health in ways that met their needs and maintained their dignity, he took on a system that looked at the moving parts but never at the whole system. As the Monsignor put it, 'We've got a system that cares for the eye or the foot or the nose, but never for Charlie or Elizabeth.'

(Remarks to the CHA, 6/9/93)

"Another example from my visit to St. Agnes: That hospital, as many of yours do, runs an adult day care center. And what they found is that they couldn't get reimbursed on even a sliding scale to help keep their patients and their families from the neighborhood at home. And so what often happened is that, although nursing home care is so much more expensive, the \$35 a day for adult day care in a hospital setting was beyond the financial reach of so many families that they went ahead, met the Medicaid requirements and, very regretfully, put their relatives in a nursing home."

(Remarks to the CHA, 6/9/93)

"I am especially proud that one work of the Catholic Health Care providers in Arkansas was recognized this year, and I'm speaking about the wonderful work in caring for the needy by the St. Elizabeth Health Center in Gould, Arkansas, which serves a community that other health care providers have abandoned.

For the 1,500 residents of a community like Gould out in the country, the nearest doctor was out of reach. Many people didn't have transportation and couldn't reach even the facilities 18 miles away. But about three years ago St. Elizabeth's set itself up in an old police station and it's been filling the critical health void in that community ever since."

(Remarks to the CHA, 6/9/93)

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Des Moines

IOWA**SPEAKER PROFILES****PANEL I: CONTROLLING COSTS**

Coo 23

(b)(6)

Paul Nannis, Commissioner, Health for the City of Milwaukee.

Mr. Nannis, the Commissioner of Health for the City of Milwaukee, knows the cost benefits of prevention well. A measles outbreak in 1989 cost the city \$5 million. Had at-risk populations been immunized for about \$300,000, such an extensive and expensive outbreak could have been avoided; 4.7 million additional dollars would have been available for community health care needs. Mr. Nannis is a long-time Wisconsin resident active in numerous local and national professional organizations.

Tom Child, President, Des Moines Stamp Co.

Mr. Child, President of the Des Moines Stamp Company, recently had to reduce his company's contribution to family insurance coverage. Soaring insurance rates forced him to change a longstanding company policy, reducing the company's contribution from 100 to 50 percent. The company employs 41 people. The rise in insurance rates, due in part to health problems of five members of Mr. Child's group, has also forced cuts in health benefits offered employees. Employee pre-existing conditions prevent Mr. Child from switching to another carrier.

Gerard Stanley, M.D.

Dr. Stanley is a family practitioner at a rural health clinic in Iowa. He is concerned about the effect managed care will have on rural health clinics. He is a member of the Legislative Committee, Iowa Academy of Family Practitioners. Dr. Stanley was formerly Associate Clinical Professor of Family Medicine at the University of Colorado and Medical Director of a PPD in Colorado from 1987 - 1989.

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SPEAKER PROFILES

PANEL II: PEACE OF MIND

(b)(6)

[003]

Russ Sporer, Insurance Agent

Mr. Sporer, an independent insurance agent, serves small businesses, groups of up to 200 people and individual policy holders. Among problems he has encountered and tried to help address are people once identified "high-risk" who become uninsurable, job loss leading to loss of insurance, and cost shifting from people who are uninsured to those who have insurance.

Vivian Lynn, R.N. Dickinson Public Health Nursing Service

For Vivian Lynn, Nurse Administrator for Dickinson Public Health Nursing Service, the shortage of primary care physicians is all too familiar. Recently designated a medically underserved area, Dickinson County serves a rural population; over one quarter of its residents are elderly. The county lost one physician last year due to retirement and faces the retirement of another physician soon. Despite the expected addition of a new physician in 1994, Dickinson County is likely to continue to have an inadequate number of physicians.

Vivian Lynn is an RN who has 26 years of experience providing public and preventive health services in a rural setting.

SPEAKER PROFILES

PANEL III: RURAL HEALTH

Glee Christ, R.N. Holy Family Hospital

Ms. Christ was forced to travel over 140 miles roundtrip from her home in Lakota to Mason City for routine prenatal care and for the delivery of her baby. Two hospitals are located between Lakota and Mason City. One no longer provides obstetrical care because the surgeon on staff left; the other hospital closed and provides only clinic services. She continues to travel to Mason City for her child's health care as her community has no pediatricians. Ms. Glee is frustrated by the fact that people in rural areas pay the same amount for insurance premiums as people in more populated areas who have better access to health care.

Ms. Christ is a nurse at Holy Family Hospital in Estherville, IA.

Donna Sloan, Mayor, Ogden, Iowa

Over the past year Ogden Mayor Donna Sloan has tried aggressively -- and without success -- to recruit a physician for her town of 2,000 residents. For many years, the community had two physicians. One was lost recently to retirement, and the remaining physician is approaching retirement age. Ogden is part of Boone County; local analysts estimate on a per capita basis the County needs at least five additional doctors to assure residents minimum levels of needed care.

Mayor Sloan is a native Iowan who serves both as Ogden's Mayor and as a clerk in the Ogden Post Office.

Craig Thompson, D.O. Strawberry Point Medical Center

Dr. Craig Thompson is in his 14th year of family practice in Strawberry Point, IA. The community has approximately 1,400 residents but the population served is larger. Provider burn-out is a familiar theme; the imbalance of community health needs and limited medical resources requires him to schedule patients as late as 10:00 p.m. Among his many professional and public activities, Dr. Thompson is President of the Clayton County Medical Society and Medical Director for the Northeast Iowa Emergency Medical Services Council.

Edward R. Maahs, CEO, Stewart Memorial Hospital

Edward Maahs is Chief Executive Officer of Stewart Memorial Hospital and Administrator of the adjacent McCrary Rost Clinic. Through what Mr. Maahs terms "managed cooperation," these two institutions have demonstrated how to meet rural health care needs effectively through integration of services. The arrangement results in considerable cost savings because it eliminates duplication of services. Mr. Maahs is also the Chairman of the Iowa Hospital Association and has served on the Governor's Rural Health Task Force.

Fritz Wenzel, Executive Director, Marshfield Clinic

Fritz Wenzel, Executive Director of the Marshfield Clinic, has overseen the development and growth of one of the largest rural group practice HMO networks in the country. Under Wenzel's direction, the Marshfield Clinic, a 400-physician multispecialty group practice with a 60,000 member HMO, serves central and northern Wisconsin through its center in Marshfield. 23 rural primary and primary/secondary care rural health clinics are also served through Marshfield.

Mr. Wenzel has been Marshfield's Executive Director for the past 16 years. He is President of the American College of Medical Group Administrators and Chairman of the Health Care Economics Committee of the American Group Practice Association.

MICHIGAN

SPEAKER PROFILES

PANEL I: CONTROLLING COSTS

Andrea Hayosh-Welborn, Dental Hygienist, Warren, Michigan

Andrea Hayosh-Welborn graduated from dental hygiene school ten years ago and has worked at the same office ever since. Her insurance costs are not fully covered by her employer, and her husband, a small business owner, has a policy which covers only him. As a result, she purchases insurance for herself and her 6-year old son. She has seen her premiums rise an average of twelve to fifteen percent every six months, and in an effort to limit her costs, she was recently forced to change carriers and is continuing to look for more affordable insurance.

Dr. Federico Mariona, Chairman, Department of OB/GYN, Providence Hospital X

Dr. Federico Mariona was recently named Chairman of Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Providence Hospital in Southfield, Michigan. He was previously a professor of OB/GYN at Wayne State University, in Detroit. Mariona has received many grants to study a variety of issues, ranging from preterm birth prevention to attempting to identify mothers who are likely to give birth to premature infants.

A native of Argentina, Dr. Mariona has been in the Detroit area since 1968. He will address the issues and costs that face physicians in the practice of defensive medicine.

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005. list	re: Speaker Profiles Panel II [partial] (1 page)	09/21/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

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Stories and Quotes

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RESTRICTION CODES

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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SPEAKER PROFILES

PANEL II: PEACE OF MIND

Lisa Brown, Iron River, Michigan

As a resident of a small rural community, Lisa Brown has experienced difficulty obtaining basic primary and pediatric care for herself and her family. The mother of two children, one with special health care needs, Brown often has to drive at least 90 miles to receive needed medical care. The only realistic alternative for Brown and other community residents when they need basic care is the local emergency room since, with only three doctors in town, residents often confront significant backlog when attempting regular office visits.

Brown lives in the small town of Iron River on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan with her two children, one of whom requires specialized eye care.

(b)(6)

[005]

Jannet Edison, RN, Detroit Receiving

Jannet Edison has been an Emergency Room nurse at Detroit Receiving Hospital since she completed her nursing school studies in 1989. Ms. Edison will detail the costs and consequences of treating the numerous patients forced to use emergency rooms as their only source for primary care. Detroit Receiving treats patients with and without insurance, serving all income levels.

Panel Two Biographies, Page TwoGiles G. Bole, M.D., Dean, University of Michigan Medical School

Dr. Giles Bole has been the Dean of the University of Michigan Medical School since 1990. He has been a professor of Internal Medicine as well as Chief of the Rheumatology Division and held a variety of other administrative posts at the Medical School. He has been affiliated with the University for over forty years, attending as an undergraduate and medical student and subsequently joining the faculty in 1959. Dr. Bole has served on many national and state boards and professional societies, particularly relating to rheumatism and arthritis.

SPEAKER PROFILES

PANEL III: CHALLENGES FACING INDUSTRIAL REGIONS

Peter Pestillo, Executive Vice President, Corporate Relations, Ford Motor Company

As Executive Vice President of Ford, Peter J. Pestillo supervises Employee Relations, Governmental Affairs and the Dealer Policy Board. Mr. Pestillo joined Ford in 1980 and has held a variety of positions with the Corporation including Vice President for Labor Relations and for Employee and External Affairs. Before coming to Ford, he was vice president for employee relations at B.F. Goodrich and held industrial relations positions with General Electric.

William Hoffman, Ph.D., Director, Social Security Department, UAW

William Hoffman is the Director of the UAW Social Security Department. He is responsible for health care, retirement, disability and layoff income protection issues, both in the public policy and collective bargaining arenas. He has eighteen years of negotiating and program design and administration experience within the automobile, aerospace and agricultural implement industries and with numerous other companies across the U.S. and Canada. He is a director of two social research foundations, is an Adjunct Professor of Sociology at Wayne State University and represents the UAW on several private and governmental boards and committees.

Panel Three Biographies, Page Two

Bonnie Dellinger, Office Manager, R & R Management

Small business office manager Bonnie Dellinger deals with the difficulties of finding affordable insurance for a 55-person property management firm. She has been with R & R Management, which manages 3000 apartments in the Detroit metro area, for 32 years. R & R Management has found success in buying group rates with Blue Cross/Blue Shield of Michigan, but faces a continuous struggle with increasing costs. They cannot afford to offer family coverage for their employees.

Cynthia Taueg, Director/Health Officer, Wayne County Health Director

Cynthia Taueg has been the Director/Health Officer of the Wayne County Health Department since 1990. She is responsible for policy making, administration, and the operation of a local health program serving 1.1 million people, with a budget of \$27 million. The programs and services that the Health Department oversees include: immunizations, communicable disease control, AIDS counseling and testing, school hearing and vision centers, family planning, WIC, prenatal care, pediatrics, air pollution control, emergency medical service coordination, and environmental protection.

Before joining Wayne County's Department of Public Health, Taueg worked at the Detroit Health Department's Public Health Center in administrative roles and as a public health nurse. She has served on several task forces, covering issues ranging from infant mortality to child abuse and neglect.

FLORIDASPEAKER PROFILESPANEL I: PEACE OF MINDFrances Hightower

Frances Hightower is a 59-year-old resident of Tallahassee facing many dilemmas common to Americans taking care of elderly parents. Over the past decade, her family's medical problems have had a dramatic effect on her life, as she has had to give up her career, move, and mortgage her, her brother's, and her family's homes.

Her 85 year-old mother suffers from Alzheimer's disease and other related disorders. She is incontinent and unable to bathe, eat, or transfer without assistance. Her 86-year old father was attacked in his home last year by an intruder, suffering a concussion from which he has never fully recovered. The resulting, persistent vision problems, dizziness, vertigo and other physical ailments leave him ill-equipped to care for himself or his wife. Ms. Hightower's 62-year old brother, a diabetic who suffers from mental retardation, also lives with her parents.

The financial strains of caring for her mother have been immense. Her mother's condition does not meet the criteria to qualify for Medicare "skilled" nursing home care, and her monthly income of \$1337, from state retirement and social security, puts her over the income bracket to qualify for Medicaid by just a few dollars.

In 1992, Ms. Hightower's hopes were raised when the State of Florida's Eldercare program began providing 35 hours a week of personal assistance for her mother a week through a Nursing Home Diversion Program. However, the number of hours of care was reduced to 20 in September due to budget cuts, and, soon, because the program is being moved under Medicaid, she will no longer be eligible for care through this program at all.

Last year, Ms. Hightower spent more than \$20,000 on caregivers for her family, including someone to live with her parents. The money she collected from mortgaging the family's homes can only be stretched for a few more months, yet while her funds are diminishing, her family's needs will only continue to grow. She cannot afford to place them in nursing homes, but she will not be able to keep them in their own home for much longer.

As devastating to Ms. Hightower as the cost is the amount of time and energy she has had to devote to her parents' care. In 1983, she left her job in Washington as Staff Director at the National Academy of Sciences and now works as a public information specialist at the Department of Professional Regulation in Florida. Currently, her life revolves around caring for them or paying for their care. She spends 20 to 30 hours a week engaged in such tasks as, paper work, arranging or accompanying her parents on

doctor's visits, dealing with insurance or health care providers, or monitoring her parent's medication. It is a constant job, and yet, according to Ms. Hightower, she still always feels like her efforts are inadequate.

As she faces the future, Ms. Hightower is very concerned, not only about her plight, but that of thousands of other caregivers who share similar emotional and financial burdens.

Jeffrey A. Heath, President, Management Recruiters

Jeffrey A. Heath is President of Management Recruiters, a Manhattan-based executive search firm. He has owned the business for twelve years, employing seven full-time and two part-time employees. The firm specializes in filling middle and upper level management positions.

The firm has always provided insurance for its employees, even though its premiums have risen 500 percent since 1981. However, in the face of New York State's community rating law, Mr. Heath's insurance carrier has notified him several weeks ago that they are terminating coverage effective April 1st. Since that time, Mr. Heath has been exploring possible alternative insurance coverage and has found that his family rates could cost \$11,500 per year (up from \$3500 under the current policy) and individual rates may rise as much as \$2,400. Given these costs, the company is still uncertain how to provide coverage after April 1st.

Mr. Heath will discuss how, prior to five or six weeks ago, he shared a certain sense of complacency concerning his and his company's health insurance situation. As with many Americans, he took for granted many aspects of his health care situation, including the availability of insurance coverage. The termination notice, however, has forced him to spend enormous energy and time researching possible alternative coverage and has awoken him to the precarious insurance situation that many Americans face.

Mr. Heath is particularly concerned with the impact that the new community rating law in New York state will have on small businesses. As Mr. Heath points out, the only sector of the economy that has shown the ability to generate jobs recently is small business, and it is important to ensure that the burden of paying for health care reform does not fall disproportionately on their shoulders.

Mr. Heath is also concerned with the speed with which New York state's law went into effect and the limited amount of time that it allowed companies and insurance carriers to prepare for the changes it entailed. He is hopeful that any national reform will allow adequate time for businesses and individuals to plan and adjust their coverage.

SPEAKER PROFILES

PANEL II: DELIVERY SYSTEM REALITIES

Joseph Von Thron, M.D.

Joseph Von Thron is a 65 year old family practitioner from Cocoa Beach, Florida. He has practiced medicine for 35 years in Cocoa Beach where he was the first doctor to open a permanent practice. He has always been a family doctor, with an office open seven days a week, and he has practiced in partnership with his medical school roommate for the last twenty-five years.

Dr. Von Thron is past president of the Florida Medical Association and past president of the Florida Academy of Family Physicians. In 1980, he was Family Doctor of the Year and was one of Good Housekeeping Magazine's top ten family doctors in the United States that year. He is currently chairman of the Florida delegation to American Medical Association. He speaks today in his personal capacity as a family doctor, concerned about the future of medical practice in this country.

Dr. Von Thron describes himself as proud to be a family doctor and proud that his two sons and a daughter-in-law are doctors as well. He feels lucky to be a doctor, and more importantly, to be a doctor in the United States.

In addition to pride in his profession, Dr. Von Thron expresses fear and concern about the direction in which medicine is heading. He says, for instance, that he no longer offers polio immunizations to children in his care. He pays \$10.40 per dose for the vaccine, while the Health Department pays \$1.04 per dose. So he suggests that families go to the Health Department where they can get the vaccine for free. Of course, this works to the detriment of the family, which has to make yet another appointment, sometimes across town and sometimes in neighborhoods that are not particularly safe.

Other aspects of health care today concern him as well, all of which drive up its costs:

- o First, the difficult question of providing care to terminal patients in their last days of life and its accompanying costs and benefits;
- o Second, the expectations of patients who demand entire batteries of tests and procedures because insurance or the government will pay;
- o Third, lawyers and the impact of the threat of litigation on the growing practice of defensive medicine;
- o Fourth, the burden of paperwork, which can take over half of a doctor's time; and,

- o Finally, the doctors themselves who knowingly do extra, sometimes unnecessary, tests in order to provide themselves the economic return to cover ever-increasing overhead.

These are some of the issues which Dr. Von Thron will raise in his testimony and which he hopes can be addressed by national health care reform. Dr. Von Thron remains optimistic about the future and hopeful that family doctors can be a part of the solution, as the country tackles the difficult problems of national health care reform.

Frederick J. Wenzel, Executive Director, Marshfield Clinic

Frederick "Fritz" Wenzel has overseen the development and growth of one of the largest rural group practice HMO networks in the country. Under Wenzel's direction, the Marshfield clinic, a 400-physician multispecialty group practice with a 60,000 member HMO, serves central and northern Wisconsin through its center in Marshfield. Mr. Wenzel has been Marshfield's Executive Director for the past 16 years. He is President of the American College of Medical Group Administrators and Chairman of the Health Care Economics Committee of the American Group Practice Association.

Wenzel will discuss how the service delivery system at the Marshfield clinic can be successfully adapted as a model for reforming the national system of health care delivery. Marshfield provides a seamless system of care from primary through tertiary services through physician providers and affiliation with rural hospitals. Wenzel will discuss how this form of service delivery can work in inner cities as well as rural areas.

Wenzel sees many benefits to the HMO model of service delivery:

- o Captures integrated information on enrolled members, allowing for identification of needed preventive services, facilities, and the targeting of populations in need
- o Encourages integration with hospital systems and the establishment of primary health care networks
- o Provide cost-efficient, competitively priced services

Wenzel is particularly hopeful about the benefits that will emerge from integration among providers. This has already happened at Marshfield whose physicians work closely with affiliated rural hospitals. Consultants are sent to rural hospitals and physicians' offices to provide services as close to the patient as possible. Through this arrangement ancillary services such as clinical and anatomic pathology, echocardiography, and cerebral vascular studies are provided throughout the state.

Wenzel will also discuss the barriers to developing integrated systems. They include antitrust questions of physician ownership and referral, tax issues related to the corporate practice of medicine, state health planning and Certificate of Need laws, existing federal legislation, and lastly, the legal status of health systems.

SPEAKER PROFILES

PANEL III: CONTROLLING COSTS

Richard F. O'Brien, Vice President, General Motors

Richard O'Brien was appointed vice president of General Motors Corporate Personnel in June of 1992. Prior to this, he was vice president of the Industrial Relations Staff and of Personnel Administration and Development. He is responsible for developing policies and administering GM's compensation planning and personnel departments, which includes responsibility for the corporation's health benefits policy.

Mr. O'Brien will be discussing the impact of the rising cost of health care on General Motors' finances and operations. GM is the largest single provider of health care in the private sector in this country, responsible for nearly 1.8 million employees, retirees and their family members. GM shares the concern of the country's large businesses that the increasing share of GNP taken up by health care is crowding out sales, investment and jobs in the non-health care sectors of the economy. They are also particularly worried about the discriminatory effect that health care costs have on companies with older workers and large numbers of retirees.

O'Brien will discuss how companies particularly feel the effects of these rising costs when competing in the international arena. For instance, when BMW opens a plant in Spartansburg, South Carolina, it has an automatic competitive advantage because of the differences in the health care structure between Germany and the United States. GM has no such advantage when it operates abroad. As an additional illustration of this competitive disadvantage, at its transmission plant in the Detroit area, health care costs exceed \$5.00 per hour. Across the border at its transmission plant in Windsor, Canada, they are only \$1.50 per hour -- or a difference of \$7000 annually per employee. Health costs add \$1400 per car to the cost of each automobile GM produces, as calculated under new accounting procedures effective this year.

The projected continued upward spiral of health costs is of utmost concern to G.M. If changes are not made in the health system, O'Brien projects that auto production in this country could decline by 800 to 900,000 units, costing as many as 120,000 jobs. The \$300 billion (5 percent of GNP) projected increase in national health expenditures by the turn of the century is larger than the value of the annual contribution to GNP by the entire U.S. automobile industry.

These facts and figures demonstrate, according to O'Brien and numerous other representatives of corporate America, the need for immediate reform to preserve the ability of America's corporations to compete in today's global economy.

Thomas W. Chapman, President/CEO, Greater Southeast Healthcare System

Thomas Chapman has been president of the Greater Southeast Healthcare System (GSHS) since 1981. He was previously President of the Greater Southeast Community Hospital, a 450-bed urban hospital under the auspices of GSHS. His board memberships include the D.C. Hospital Association, of which he is immediate past chair; the Group Health Foundation Minority Training Program, where he is current chair; and The Healthcare Forum.

GSHS is the parent company for a network of hospitals, nursing homes, home care services, pharmacies, medical office buildings and community outreach programs in the Washington D.C. area. He has seen first hand the structural incentives to increase costs that are inherent in hospitals and other health delivery systems and he has direct experience with the difficulties involved in managing large, complex organizations.

Chapman believes there should be three primary focuses for reducing health care costs:

- o Reducing preventable and avoidable hospital admissions
- o Reducing extensive hospital-based speciality and high tech care
- o Refocusing existing and new resources on social and health care services stressing prevention

To achieve these goals, Chapman will discuss GSHS's philosophy that reform must take a long-term rather than the short-term view of health care and must effectively involve communities and citizens as partners. GSHS has implemented several community based programs that embody these principles effectively: (1) The Breast Cancer Screening Community Project which involves community based education, referral and mammography screening; (2) The Neighborhood Blood Pressure Screening and Education Project which for eight years has used 400 volunteers in churches, barbershops and other community organizations to screen community residents and refer those with high blood pressure for treatment; (3) The Serving Spoons Project, a volunteer-based program that provides nutrition and socialization to hospitalized frail elderly who would otherwise be in nursing homes.

Chapman believes that health reform must be community based and that strategies must be designed to reach beyond traditional health institutions to respond directly to the problems of the people who ultimately end up in the health care delivery system as expensive and difficult problems.

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SPEAKER PROFILES

PANEL I: CONTROLLING COSTS

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Dr. Arturo Perez, Private Practitioner, Winter Haven Hospital

Dr. Arturo Perez has been in private practice of internal medicine, geriatrics, at Winter Haven Hospital since 1972. He is the chairman of the Polk County Blue Ribbon Commission, a body organized under the auspices of the County Commission and the Governor of Florida to study the health care needs of Polk County. As a private practice physician, he has been active in meeting the needs of the underprivileged and elderly.

Cindy Nagel, Owner, Fantastic Sam's

Cindy Nagel, and her husband Fred, own three Fantastic Sam's franchised hair salons in Tampa with over forty employees. She also works parttime for the Florida Perinatal Association. She has been an active spokesperson on behalf of small business owners on the issue of health care. She moved from Texas with her husband and children to Florida nine years ago to become small business owners. She has testified and spoken publicly on the issue in an effort to raise national awareness of the problems facing small businesses.

Speaker ProfilesRindy Rudy, Director of Prospective Payment, Orlando Regional Healthcare Systems

Rindy Rudy is the director of prospective payment, in which she heads up the cost-savings program at the Orlando Regional Healthcare Systems. They have embarked on an ambitious and creative program of cost cutting through outcome review, and has been a leader in establishing information systems to compare regional, state and national norms on cost-effectiveness and quality. To assure goals are met, ORHS developed a process to analyze the system data, identify trends and make recommendations to improve the cost and quality of care.

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SPEAKER PROFILES

PANEL II: PEACE OF MIND

(b)(6)

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Dr. Marcos Lorenzo, Medical Director, Family Care Medical Center

Dr. Marcos Lorenzo is Medical Director of the Family Care Medical Center at Tampa General Hospital has experienced and witnessed the extreme lengths physicians must go to in order to justify preventive procedures in a manner insurance companies will approve for coverage. Among such preventive medical procedures are immunizations and mammograms.

Dr. Lorenzo is the Medical Director of the Family Care Medical Center at Tampa General. This is the ambulatory care/primary care clinic at the local public hospital in Tampa. He is a strong advocate of universal coverage and preventive medicine. His clinic is one of those funded under the Hillsborough County half-cent sales tax initiative to provide coverage to uninsured county residents.

Speaker ProfilesAnne Scupholme, Chief Nurse Midwife, Jackson Memorial Hospital

Anne Scupholme is the chief nurse midwife in the obstetric unit at Jackson Memorial Hospital in Miami, the second largest public hospital in the country. The hospital's obstetric unit serves twelve hundred women each month. All are poor, some are medicaid eligible, others have no health coverage. Most patients have no easy access to routine primary care.

Ms. Scupholme believes health care consumers should have guaranteed government access to a system that provides primary care at insurance or government cost, provides for identification of a primary care provider and system quality assurance measures. Until basic system issues are addressed, these problems will continue.

Anne Scupholme, CNM, MPH is the Chief Nurse-Midwife at Jackson Memorial Hospital, in Miami and an adjunct Associate Professor, University of Miami, School of Medicine. After obtaining her basic training, she has worked in hospitals, homes, and birth centers in England, Jamaica, and the United States. She is currently a board member of the Division of Research, American College of Nurse-Midwives and project manager for a research project, entitled Nurse-Midwifery Care to Vulnerable Populations, which is funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

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SPEAKER PROFILES

PANEL III: OLDER AMERICANS

Speaker 1

We are still searching for an elderly couple whose drug costs are uncovered.

Bob Bobo, Owner, Davis Island Pharmacy

Mr. Bobo has owned the Davis Island Pharmacy since 1984. Prior to that, he worked as a pharmacist for Walgreen's. The Davis Island Pharmacy is community based, and, as the owner, Mr. Bobo has become increasingly concerned with the rising costs pharmaceuticals incurred by the current system. In particular, he notes that for insurance purposes some of his elderly customers are directed to pharmacies that are too far away, or they are forced to use mail order supply houses to get their medications. Mr. Bobo is also a member of the Hillsborough County Pharmaceutical Association, the National Association of Retail Druggists, and the American and Florida Pharmaceutical Associations.

Frances Hightower

Frances Hightower is a Tallahassee resident who has been frustrated in her efforts to find and afford care for her ill, elderly parents. Her 85 year old mother is disabled by Alzheimer's Disease; her 86 year old father is unable to care for himself or to help care for Ms. Hightower's mother or her 62 year old retarded, diabetic brother who lives at home with them.

Neither Medicaid nor Medicare is available to cover the care Ms. Hightower's mother requires. In fact, because of \$1396 monthly income from State retirement and social security, Medicaid benefits were denied.

The Alzheimer's program of Eldercare pays a caregiver 8 hours a week. Ms. Hightower's mother requires 24-hour care, 7 days a week. Last year, over \$20,000 was paid to caregivers.

She has been forced to mortgage her family's home her home and her brother's home. Most of that money has been spent and, at the current rate, the balance will be gone within the next 3-6 months. Her family has no other resources and cannot afford the \$2,000 monthly fee for nursing home care her mother requires.

Speaker Profiles

Patricia Pier, Continuing Case Management Nurse, University of Miami/Jackson Medical Center, Family Practice Services, Foresee Programs

Patricia Pier's background as a public health nurse, a continuing care specialist, a clinical nurse and as a utilization review specialist brought her to the Foresee Program a year and a half ago. On a daily basis, Pier deals with patients who have had such fragmented care that they have seen no result despite thousands of dollars worth of medical treatment.

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

Justice cannot be for one side alone, but must be for both. . . .

-- "My Day" Newspaper Column, October 15, 1947

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

Life was meant to be lived, and curiosity must be kept alive. One must never,
for whatever reason, turn his back on life.

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

No one can make you feel inferior without your consent.

-- Catholic Digest August 1960, p. 102

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

One thing life taught me: if you are interested, you never have to look for new interests. They come to you. When you are genuinely interested in one thing, it will always lead to something else.

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

This I know. This I believe with all my heart. If we want a free and peaceful world, if we want to make the deserts bloom and man grow to greater dignity as a human being-we can do it!

-- Tomorrow Is Now 1963

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

Too often the great decisions are originated and given form in bodies made up wholly of men, or so completely dominated by them that whatever of special value women have to offer is shunted aside without expression.

-- Speech, United Nations December 1952

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

We cannot exist as a little island of well-being in a world where two-thirds of the people go to bed hungry every night.

-- Speech, Democratic Fund-Raising Dinner December 8, 1959

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

We must be willing to learn the lesson that cooperation may imply compromise,
but if it brings a world advance it is a gain for each individual nation.

-- "My Day" Newspaper Column, January 21, 1946

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

They Israelis are still dreamers, but they make their dreams come true. . . .

-- Quoted by Ruth G. Michaels in Hadassah December 1962

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home-so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual persons; the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerned citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world.

-- Speech, "The Great Question," United Nations 1958

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

You gain strength, courage, and confidence by every experience in which you really stop to look fear in the face.

-- "You Learn by Living" 1960

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt
1884-1962
American. First Lady, Social Reformer

You gain strength, courage, and confidence by every experience
in which you really stop to look fear in the face.

-- "You Learn by Living" 1960

Born: October 11, 1884 in New York, NY. Died: November 7, 1962 in New York, NY.

Career Highlights: Married Franklin D Roosevelt, 1905; US representative to UN, 1945, 1947-52, 1961; often chosen in polls as world's "most influential woman."

Also known as: Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt; The First Lady of the World

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

You must do the thing you think you cannot do.

-- "You Learn by Living" 1960

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt
1884-1962
American. First Lady, Social Reformer

You seem to think that everyone can save money if they have the character to do it. As a matter of fact, there are innumerable people who have a wide choice between saving and giving their children the best possible opportunities. The decision is usually in favor of the children.

-- Letter to Franklin Roosevelt III, January 15, 1962

Born: October 11, 1884 in New York, NY. Died: November 7, 1962 in New York, NY.

Career Highlights: Married Franklin D Roosevelt, 1905; US representative to UN, 1945, 1947-52, 1961; often chosen in polls as world's "most influential woman."

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... all big changes in human history have been arrived at slowly and through many compromises.

Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), U.S. First Lady, author, and speaker. As quoted in *Eleanor and Franklin*, ch. 27, by Joseph P. Lash (1971).

Stated in 1925.

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As life developed, I faced each problem as it came along. As my activities and work broadened and reached out, I never tried to shirk. I tried never to evade an issue. When I found I had something to do—I just did it.

Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), U.S. First Lady, author, and speaker. As quoted in *Eleanor and Franklin*, ch. 35, by Joseph P. Lash (1971).

In a *Washington Herald* interview in 1933, her first year as First Lady. She had been asked how she overcame her youthful shyness to become an influential political personage.

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As with all children, the feeling that I was useful was perhaps the greatest joy I experienced.

Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), First Lady of the United States, author, speaker, and diplomat. *This Is My Story*, ch. 1 (1937).

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I think, at a child's birth, if a mother could ask a fairy godmother to endow it with the most useful gift, that gift would be curiosity.

Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), U.S. columnist, lecturer. *Today's Health* (Chicago, Oct. 2, 1966).

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The basis of world peace is the teaching which runs through almost all the great religions of the world. "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Christ, some of the other great Jewish teachers, Buddha, all preached it. Their followers forgot it. What is the trouble between capital and labor, what is the trouble in many of our communities, but rather a universal forgetting that this teaching is one of our first obligations.

Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), First Lady of the United States, author, speaker, and diplomat. As quoted in *Eleanor and Franklin*, ch. 27, by Joseph P. Lash (1971).

Written in 1925, before her husband, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, had yet been elected President.

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

A democratic form of government, a democratic way of life, presupposes free public education over a long period; it presupposes also an education for personal responsibility that too often is neglected.

-- "Let Us Have Faith in Democracy", Land Policy Review, Department of Agriculture, January, 1942



Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

A mature person is one who does not think only in absolutes, who is able to be objective even when deeply stirred emotionally, who has learned that there is both good and bad in all people and in all things, and who walks humbly and deals charitably with the circumstances of life, knowing that in this world no one is all-knowing and therefore all of us need both love and charity.

-- It Seems to Me 1954

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

A society in which everyone works is not necessarily a free society and may indeed be a slave society; on the other hand, a society in which there is widespread economic insecurity can turn freedom into a barren and vapid right for millions of people.

-- Speech, "The Struggle for Human Rights," Paris September 27, 1948

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

. . . a trait no other nation seems to possess in quite the same degree that we do-namely, a feeling of almost childish injury and resentment unless the world as a whole recognizes how innocent we are of anything but the most generous and harmless intentions.

-- "My Day" Newspaper Column November 11, 1946

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt
1884-1962
American. First Lady, Social Reformer

As for accomplishments, I just did what I had to do as things
came along.

-- New York Times October 8, 1954

Born: October 11, 1884 in New York, NY. Died: November 7, 1962 in New York,
NY.

Career Highlights: Married Franklin D Roosevelt, 1905; US representative to
UN, 1945, 1947-52, 1961; often chosen in polls as world's "most influential
woman."

Also known as: Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt; The First Lady of the World

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

Change means the unknown. . . . It means, too many people cry, insecurity.
Nonsense! No one from the beginning of time has had security.

-- New York Times Magazine, November 3, 1963

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

Could we have the vision of doing away in this great country with poverty? . .
. what can make us not only the nation that has some of the richest people in
the world, but the nation where there are no people that have to live at a
substandard level. That would be one of the very best arguments against
Communism that we could possibly have.

-- Speech, Democratic National Convention August 13, 1956

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

Do what you feel in your heart to be right-for you'll be criticized anyway.
You'll be damned if you do, and damned if you don't.

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

For it isn't enough to talk about peace. One must believe in it. And it isn't enough to believe in it. One must work at it.

-- Broadcast, Voice of America, November 11, 1951

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

I believe that it is essential to our leadership in the world and to the development of true democracy in our country to have no discrimination in our country whatsoever. This is most important in the schools of our country.

-- Letter to Richard Bolling, January 20, 1956

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

I could not, at any age, be content to take my place in a corner by the fireside and simply look on. Life was meant to be lived. Curiosity must be kept alive. The fatal thing is the rejection. One must never, for whatever reason, turn his back on life.

-- New York Herald Tribune October 11, 1961

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

I have spent many years of my life in opposition and I rather like the role.

-- Letter to Bernard Baruch, November 18, 1952

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

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-- Letter to Bernard Baruch, November 18, 1952

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

I think if the people of this country can be reached with the truth, their judgment will be in favor of the many, as against the privileged few.

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

I used to tell my husband that, if he could make me understand something, it would be clear to all the other people in the country.

-- Newspaper column, "My Day", February 12, 1947

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

It is not fair to ask of others what you are not willing to do yourself.

-- "My Day" Newspaper Column, June 15, 1946

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

It isn't within my hands to resign or not to resign. Each of us does that automatically.

-- Letter to Bernard Baruch, November 18, 1952

Eleanor (Anna Eleanor) Roosevelt

It seems to me . . . we have reached a place where it is not a question of "can we live in the same world and cooperate" but "we must live in the same world and learn to cooperate."

-- Letter to Queen Juliana of the Netherlands, February 14, 1958

STORIES: Healthcare

1. *GW Commencement Speech, 5/8/94*

I was in the Children's Hospital in Cleveland talking to parents, as some of you now are and as many of you will be in the next few years, parents who did not know that when their children were born they would face serious chronic illnesses. And I had a mother say to me that she and her husband both made a good living, they both were well educated, they'd had one healthy child and then two children, two little girls, born with serious health problems.

They had always paid for insurance; they had always counted on it. But all of a sudden, those two little girls were not insurable, and they went from place to place looking for insurance. They didn't want a handout, they wanted to pay their way. But no one would insure two little girls against certain and expensive medical care because they were sick.

And finally, the mother told me that she realized she would never, under any current system, be able to insure her daughters when a man across a table she was begging for some way to get insurance looked at her and said, "You just don't understand. We don't insure burning houses." Think, if you will, all of us who are mothers, how we would feel if that had been said about one of you, one of our children."

2. *GW Commencement Speech, 5/8/94*

I think about the man who grabbed my hand as I left a speech here in Washington and said to me, you know, I didn't really understand what you and your husband were talking about. I've always been pretty healthy. But I have a secretary in my office who told me what had happened in her family, where two of her grandchildren, two cousins who lived in the same big old rambling house, both got sick.

One of those little cousins was the child of a family with insurance. She was taken to the hospital, she was diagnosed with meningitis, she was admitted, and she was cured. The other little cousin also had meningitis, but her family didn't have any insurance. They took her to one hospital; they were referred to another hospital. They sat in the emergency room and went through all the rigmarole that we go through to try to prove that we deserve to have medical care, and finally she was looked at, given two baby aspirins, and sent home. She died on the day her cousin was discharged. The little brother of the girl who died came down with the same illness. The hospital that had turned away his sister took him on as a charity case.

I don't want another year to go by where we have to hear stories like this. Not one of our children deserves to have any of that happen to him.

STORIES: Personal

1. *Wellesley Commencement Speech, May 29, 1992*

I remember one very long night when my daughter, Chelsea, was about four weeks old and crying inconsolably. Nothing from the courses in my political science major seemed to help. Finally, I said, "Chelsea, you've never been a baby before, and I've never been a mother before, we're gong to have to help each other get through this together."

2. *UPENN Commencement Speech, 5/17/93*

My father, if he were here today, would tell you that the reason I have changed from being a Goldwater Girl, to a Democrat is because I went to college. Not that he didn't approve of my going to college, he always believed in education but that I came out different than what he had sent.

STORIES: International

1. *University of Illinois Commencement, 5/15/94*

A few days ago I was honored to be a part of the American delegation that attended the inaugural of Nelson Mandela in South Africa. I wish everyone of you could have been there with me. It was both an incredibly moving experience. But also one that confronted those of us who were there with profound questions about our commitment and conviction to freedom and democracy.

I sat and watched a man take the oath of office, and two other men; one, his comrade of many years, the Deputy President Embekki; the other, his foe over many years, Deputy President DeClerk. Three men, who despite enormous differences in a far away land, torn by racial strife and hatred and violence that we cannot even imagine, join together in a vision of a new South Africa.

The inaugural ceremony was especially moving because of the speech that President Mandela gave, because of the platform which consisted of Black and White and Colored citizens of South Africa, because of the presence of the military and security forces both on the platform, in their uniforms, and in a display of a 21 gun salute and a fly-over of the most advanced military equipment committing itself to the new South Africa.

But the highlight of the entire inaugural came for me later at a lunch where President Mandela stood and talked about he had invited to his inaugural ceremony three of his former jailers. This is a man who was in prison for 27 years -- longer than many of you have yet lived - in the constant confinement and under the watchful supervision of jailers.

And yet because he was a man who understood that real change must come from within, who understood that and incorporated the message of love and forgiveness that too many of us only give lip service to, he learned to love his jailers. And they in turn learned to love him. They no longer saw each other as stereotypes, as people who came from different backgrounds. But they broke through the barriers, that divide us even in this country, to see each other in their full humanity.

Eleanor Roosevelt and Universal Declaration By HRC

1. Column, 10/14-15

One thing I've learned since becoming First Lady is that wherever I go, Eleanor Roosevelt has surely been there before me. I've been to farms in Iowa and factories in Michigan where Mrs. Roosevelt paid a visit half a century ago. I've been to schools and colleges named for Mrs. Roosevelt and walked the halls of hospitals she toured before I was born.

Even when I go to other countries, Mrs. Roosevelt has doubtless been there first. When my daughter and I went to Pakistan and India last spring, we discovered that Eleanor Roosevelt had traveled there in 1952, and even had written a book about her trip.

2. Column, 10/14-15

Traveling now through South America, I find myself thinking often about Mrs. Roosevelt. And I'm convinced that if she were still alive today, nothing would thrill her more than coming to watch children perform at the Circus School in Brazil. It's a place I'm visiting on this trip where runaway children learn the principles of discipline and teamwork, and build self-confidence through acrobatics and trapeze training. Not only do these children show a renewed interest in education and improved attendance in school, they perform before sellout crowds every weekend.

3. Column, 10/14-15

Wherever she went, Mrs. Roosevelt celebrated the richness of the human experience. She appreciated every person's potential to do something great with very little. Perhaps that is why people all over the world, including here in South America, remember her with such admiration and fondness. She was in the words of historian Doris Kearns Goodwin, "a woman for all times and all people."

4. Column, 6/4/96

Historians Doris Kearns Goodwin and Blanche Wiesen Cook both have shared their thoughts about Eleanor Roosevelt, someone I wish I could have talked to in person about the role of the First Lady. In fact, I occasionally have imaginary conversations with Mrs. Roosevelt to try to figure out what she would do in my shoes. She usually responds by telling me to buck up or at least to grow skin as thick as a rhinoceros.

5. *United Nations Economic and Social Council Chamber, 12/10/97*

Some of humanity's greatest lessons emerge only after the deepest tragedies. This Declaration took shape in a world ravaged by the horrors of militarism and fascism. In the wake of the most violent revelations of the depths to which human being can dehumanize one another, the world as whole was ready at last to agree upon those standards for human rights.

Thankfully, in the half-century since the birth of the Declaration, we have as a global people managed progressively to expand the circle of full human dignity. Because of this document, individuals and nations alike have a standard by which to measure fundamental rights. Many of the countries that have emerged in the last 50 years have drawn inspiration from the groundwork for the world's war crimes tribunals. And it has prompted governments to set up their own commissions to safeguard basic liberties.

6. *United Nations Economic and Social Council Chamber, 12/10/97*

And yet some critics continue to dismiss women's suffering as minor. But are they? In 1958 Eleanor Roosevelt wrote: Where do human rights begin? In small places, close to home, so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person -- the neighborhood he lives in, the factory, farm, or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere.

7. *POTUS Remarks in honor of Human Rights Day, 12/9/97*

Under the wise, compassionate leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt, half a century ago 18 delegates from China to Lebanon, Chile to Ukraine forged the first international agreement on the rights of humankind. On December 10, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration without a single dissenting vote. I am very proud that the First Lady, who has traveled the world to advance human rights, especially for women and young girls, will take part in tomorrow's United Nations commemoration.

Over the past half-century, the Declaration's 30 articles have formed a constellation of principles to which all people can aspire. They have entered the consciousness of people all around the world. They're now invoked routinely in constitutions and courts. They set a yardstick of humanity's "best practice" against which we must all now measure ourselves.

But as Eleanor Roosevelt said, words on paper bring no guarantees, and I quote: unless the people know them, unless the people understand them, unless the people demand that they be lived. Promoting respect for human rights is a fulfilling -- but never fulfilled -- obligation. Fifty years since the charter was forged, human rights still persist. Human rights are still at risk from Burma to Nigeria, from Belarus to China. Although more than half the world's people now live under governments of their own choosing, democracy's roots are still fragile in some countries; others are besieged by forces ranging from drug cartels to organized crime. And even in

democracies, human rights, which so often mean minority rights, are not guaranteed.

8. *POTUS Remarks in honor of Human Rights Day, 12/9/97*

Finally, I commend the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation for their efforts to teach a new generation of Americans that the future of human rights is "in their hands." Eleanor Roosevelt understood that our greatest strength abroad was the power of our example at home, our commitment to work together across the divides to create one from many and opportunity for all.

9. *Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/95*

I hope each of you associated with this college will continue to have, opportunities to consider the many ways in which these extraordinary public servants helped lead our nation through very difficult, stressful times. There is no comparison to the circumstances in which my parents--your grandparents--found themselves in facing the Great Depression, facing the second World War. What never flagged throughout that period, no matter how difficult circumstances were was the faith that the American people had, fueled in large measure by their confidence in themselves and their future despite the odds that America would continue to be great, America would grow, America would solve its problems.

10. *Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/95*

I am a die hard Eleanor Roosevelt fan. I have read her autobiography, her newspaper columns, and many books about her and President Roosevelt. And from the first time I can remember hearing about her, I have always admired her. I was born in 1947, the year before she was sent by President Truman to serve on the United States delegation of the United Nations. Once there, she oversaw the writing and passage of the UN Declaration on Human Rights. I have also read that document which she championed and I'm always struck at how this woman at the end of the second World War, the beginning of the Cold War, continued to emphasize the themes that she had sounded throughout the years. Namely, that we must cooperate, we must find ways to work together.

11. *Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/95*

I almost cannot even imagine the courage it took for her, at the dawn of the Cold War, to persuade delegates from so many different nations to sign their names on behalf of human rights. Although I admired Mrs. Roosevelt over the years, I must say that over the past few years I have felt an even greater affection for her. And have taken on occasion to having imaginary conversations with her. Now I am sure that there will be a talk show host somewhere who will point out with great glee that I have gone over the edge and am talking to myself and talking to Mrs. Roosevelt on a regular basis, but I believe the world, and particularly our country, would be better off if we all spent a little time talking with Mrs. Roosevelt and less time yelling at each other and listening to people yell at each other. And on occasion when confronted with a particular situation I might say to Mrs. Roosevelt, "Oh my goodness, what do I do now?" And in

my imaginary conversation -- my mind's eye -- she would listen to me calmly and look at me seriously and now say very much. I would then go on doing the best that I could and another occasion would arise when I would attempt to seek some pearls of wisdom from this woman who seemed to embody grace under pressure and I might say, "how did you handle this sort of thing. How did you deal with all of the concerns that you had and all of the difficulties that you faced?" And again in my mind's eye I would see her listening calmly and not saying very much. And finally the more I learned about her the more I understood what she dealt with on a daily basis as she persistently and passionately carried forward with what she believed would make the world better. That she could not answer my questions because in her view one simply went about life and did what was expected and did it to the best of one's ability.

So every time I begin to harbor thoughts like, "why haven't we solved this problem by now?" I imagine Mrs. Roosevelt shaking her head and saying something like, "the thing always to remember is to do the thing you think you cannot do." Or perhaps I see her again in my mind's eye saying, "these problems that we faced today are problems that we faced in the past. We have made progress, there are many, many improvements in the way that we treat one another, and we know we have more to do but continue to persist." I have found great inspiration in her example not only for the questions I ask and the role in which I find myself now, but more than that for the humanity and the dignity with which she led her life.

12. Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/95

She was often attacked and criticized but there was never any confusion in her own mind about what constituted a meaningful life. She refused to be categorized or stereotyped which of course greatly frustrated her critics. She was one of those rare people who strikes that elusive balance between "me" and "we." Between our rights and expectations as individuals and our obligations to the larger community. She conceived herself as a citizen. Someone who was there trying to make sure that democracy worked well. Someone who wanted to help educate other citizens about what they could do.

13. Women and the United Nations Conference, 3/14/95

It is impossible to think about the history of the United Nations, or the role of women in the United Nations, without thinking of Eleanor Roosevelt...When she came to the United States there were many who dismissed her arrival. They thought she came as a token, the widow of a great President, and she faced considerable personal challenges in undertaking the work she did. We know from various histories and from Mrs. Roosevelt's own writing that she was assigned to a committee where they said she could do no harm. She was assigned to the Third Committee: the Social, Cultural and Humanitarian committee. Apparently, assigned by men who had no idea what she was capable of doing. She made from the very beginning it her mission to insure that the committee, which deals so directly with the stuff of life, was one that had a very important portfolio. We also know that she was alternately perplexed and amused by what she viewed as an obsession with rule making among her male peers. As the men around here would sometimes argue for hours over matters that Mrs. Roosevelt felt did not deserve minutes of conversation, she would sit and knit.

It turned out to be not only a controversial job for her but one that took tremendous diplomatic skill. Among her critics was the very powerful American John Foster Dulles. Who at the end of the Assembly finally did say to her and I quote "I must tell you that when you were appointed I thought it terrible, and now I think your work has been fine." She wrote about her reaction to that statement in a letter home, and I quote, "so against the odds that women inch forward."...

Her role within the Assembly, although sometimes not welcome, and certainly never easy, was very important. She out worked most of her colleagues. She did turn that Third Committee into one of the most important of the entire Assembly. She became instrumental in decisions about the fate of refugees. And she negotiated over many very sensitive issues with a great deal of success.

Her greatest achievement, as we all know, was to help persuade 55 nations to sign a bill of human rights, something that had never been done before. Even with her successes she was under no illusions about the capacity of this organization, or any government body or agency, to effect changes on its own. The United Nations she said soon after its founding, is "a piece of machinery and the peoples of the world have to make it work. You make it work by what you do in your own communities, by the things you build there which spread out through your representatives into your national government."

That observations by Mrs. Roosevelt hold special weight today when all nations are grappling with a range of human problems at a time of shrinking resources and increased global competition. There is no panacea, no magic bullet that will suddenly empower women or free people from the bondage of inhuman living conditions. Progress depends on our working together in partnership to create conditions around the world that enable women, men and children to reach their God given potentials and flourish within their own families and societies.

14. *Women and the United Nations Conference, 3/14/95*

If one looks at among Mrs. Roosevelt's great accomplishments certainly the Bill of Human Rights continues to challenge all of us. Although international humanitarian law had been evolving before the United Nations, human rights in general and women's rights in particular, were not widely recognized. On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Eleanor Roosevelt played a major role in the drafting and adoption.

15. *Women and the United Nations Conference, 3/14/95]*

In paying tribute to Eleanor Roosevelt, as part of this conference, we would do well to consider her great vision, her compassion and her common sense approach to solving very difficult human problems. For her, no political obstacle was too large, no cultural gap was too wide, no difference of opinion was too serious to overcome. And as Ambassador Albright has reminded us, no controversy was to be avoided. One of my favorite quotations from Mrs. Roosevelt is that she often said her work was to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable.

16. *Found on H Drive*

Eleanor Roosevelt was a busy lady. In 1947, for example, her regular activities included: serving as a delegate to the United Nations; going on a long lecture tour; hosting a radio show and a television show; writing a daily newspaper column and a monthly magazine column; working on a multi-volume autobiography; serving on the boards of several organizations; and regularly making public appearances at various events.

Thus, that same year, when parts of the world were enmeshed in turmoil, the columnist Josephus Daniels wrote that the most startling news in the world came not from Turkey or Tibet, but from Hyde Park, where Eleanor Roosevelt had uttered the words, "I am tired." Mrs. Roosevelt wrote Daniels a letter explaining that, "I had been walking around with pneumonia, so it was true that I was weary. I am fine, now, however," she added, and she quickly resumed a schedule so busy, that it had once led her husband to pray, "O Lord, make Eleanor tired."

17. *Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/95*

I remember particularly a story that Doris relates in her book. When Mrs. Roosevelt was in California she went once with Helen Gahagan Douglas a writer, an actress, and later a congresswoman from California to the San Joaquin Valley. They were going to tour migrant labor camps and they were driving along when Mrs. Roosevelt spotted a row of migrants' shacks. She asked to stop the car so she could get out. She marched across the a field of mud and muck to inspect the migrants' living conditions. And as she approached one of the workers realized who she was and said matter-of-factly, "Oh Mrs. Roosevelt, you've come to see us." It seemed perfectly normal that the President's wife would get out of a car and walk across a field to talk to migrant workers.

18. *Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/98*

One of my favorite stories, again, takes place in California. She went to the West Coast to tour this part of the country on behalf of the President shortly after Pearl Harbor was bombed. You can imagine the swelling fear that existed in our state here. You can imagine the prejudice against Japanese-Americans. Editorials described Japanese-Americans as traitors, spies, and worse. Their houses and businesses were searched and many Californians were convinced that their former neighbors were now their enemies. As the hysteria mounted, Mrs. Roosevelt took it upon herself to pose with a group of Japanese-Americans. She issued a statement accompanying the photo that said, "Let's be honest. There is a chance now for great hysteria against minority groups -- loyal Americans born Japanese and German. If we treat them unfairly and make them unhappy we may shake their loyalty which should be built up." This act of honesty and courage so enraged so many in California that the Los Angeles Times essentially called for her removal from public life. But of course she continued to speak out against the unfair treatment of anyone -- Japanese-Americans, German-Americans, anyone who she believed was mistreated. And she particularly worked to reverse her husband's policy of internment camps here in California and elsewhere.

19. *Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/95*

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HRC Comments and on Children

International

1. *Fifteen Minute Speech, 7/19/??*

I've just returned from a trip to Central Europe where I visited several countries that are making the difficult transition from communism to democracy. Even there, citizens and governments are recognizing that the needs of children must come first if their countries are to become flourishing democracies.

As a modern society, we know more about what children need to develop than ever before. But we still have too few organized ways of supporting parents in the most important work they do. We have not figured out how to replace the extended family, clan or village that looked out for children in earlier times. As a result, many parents don't get the information or the help they need to become the best possible mothers and fathers that they can be.

It is time to make a change for our children's sake. Advances in technology and the global economy along with other developments in society have brought us much good, but they have also strained the fabric of family life, leaving us and our children poorer in many ways.

2. Remarks at Roma Children Foundation, 10/11/98

I have always been struck by how street children are able to survive in conditions that would often not be possible for us. And seeing the children here today, as I have, seen the same brightness and intelligence, and quickness that enable them to survive under difficult circumstances, and will permit them with proper help to become productive citizens in this society.

I know that many Roma children are particularly at risk. I have visited programs for Roma children in the Czech Republic and in Hungary, and now here, in Bulgaria. And I am so impressed that you see so clearly that all of our children in today's world have to be given opportunities to succeed. Because every child's future will affect our own.

3. International Development Girls' Education Conference

In Bangladesh, I visited a school run by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, a non-governmental organization that believes that education -- especially girls' education -- is a pre-condition for economic development. Because of that belief, some of the BRAC schools have been burned by extremist groups. But the schools keep being rebuilt and families keep sending their children to attend.

I also saw where the Bangladesh government is attempting to provide incentives for families to keep their daughters in school. Families get food each week if they send their children, particularly their girls, to school. To help give girls the chance to go to secondary school, the government actually deposits a small amount of money in a family banking account as long as the daughters attend school.

I have seen the results of President Museveni's promise of Universal Primary Education in Uganda. I have been in classrooms that are absolutely filled with children -- 70, 75, 80 third graders -- a very big challenge to any teacher. But instead of being frustrated the teachers I have met have been proud. Proud because children are coming to school and everyone is working very hard to create the materials and train additional teachers to meet this challenge. Overwhelming pride is felt because for the first time, more girls than boys are attending school.

There have also been results in Guatemala where the government and the Foundation for Sugar Producers teamed up to offer small scholarships to girls in rural schools because they knew that the drop out rate between the first and second grades for girls in those schools with scholarships was only one percent compared to 30 percent nationwide. In another Guatemalan program, afternoon school sessions have been introduced to accommodate girls who must carry out domestic and agricultural work in the mornings.

In Malawi, the villagers were not only asked why girls are not attending school, they were asked to come up with solutions. They performed plays and skits. They waived school fees. They took responsibility for enrolling girls in school. As a result, enrollment increased from 50 to 83 percent.

In the Community Schools Program in Egypt, the number of girls enrolled in school increased from 2,000 to 35,000 because schools were located closer to homes, making them safer and more accessible. Curricula were designed so that they were culturally appropriate and approved by village leaders. Girls were trained to be sure that they were understanding how important this gift of education was and parents were asked to become actively involved as well.

As we look across the globe, therefore, we see success stories everywhere. Yet, right now, there are still 100 million children worldwide who are out of school, and two-thirds of them are girls. 900 million people cannot read or write, and sixty percent of them are women. Two-thirds of the children who complete less than four years of primary education are girls and countless others do not even have access to a primary school, let alone a secondary school.

4. International Girls' Education Conference

I remember so well being in a small village about 40 minutes outside Lahore, Pakistan where I visited a school that had been built to give the girls in that area primary education. I sat out in the courtyard in front of the school and talked with mothers of children who attended. One mother told me about her 10 children -- 5 girls and 5 boys. Her worry was that she had sent all of her children to school, to primary school. And when her boys graduated from primary school they had gone on. They had gone to the nearest secondary school continuing their education. But when her daughters finished the village school, there were no secondary schools nearby for girls and she was not willing to send her daughters off alone to attend school far away. So, she asked me, and she asked all of the officials who were with me, if they could please have a secondary school built for girls near their village.

5. Column, 3/24/98

For most Ugandans, the night of October 9, 1996, marked the end of a day celebrating the country's Independence Day. For Angelina Acheng, it was the beginning of a nightmare. That evening, her 14 year old daughter, Charlotte, was kidnaped from St. Mary's School in Aboke, Uganda, by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), a terrorist group based in Southern Sudan that abuses civilians in Northern Uganda. The kidnappers broke the windows of this girls' boarding school. They tied up the girls, all of whom were younger than 16. They beat those who dared to cry. And then they took away 139 of them -- 75 percent of the student body -- and sent them into a life of unspeakable horror. Many, like Charlotte, have not returned.

When I met Angelina at the White House a few weeks before I came to Uganda, she spoke movingly about her daughter and told me about the organization she and other local parents had formed -- the Concerned Parents Association. They work to save their children and all the other children held captive by this group. Since 1994, with 10,000 children in Uganda. These children are literally being snatched away from their homes. The boys are used in battle as human shields. The girls are sent into slave labor, raped and given away as "wives" to rebel commanders. They are often forced to kill other children who don't obey or -- worse yet -- who try to escape.

The LRA invokes the name of the Lord, but there is no greater sin than making children kill children or even the parents who brought them into this world. Followers of the LRA call themselves soldiers, but they are cowards. Only cowards would hide behind children in battle.

The plight of these children is part of a growing and alarming trend. It used to go without saying that innocent women and children were not supposed to be the targets of war; now increasingly, they are not only targets but even compelled to participate.

One of Charlotte's classmates who managed to escape talked about what happened when another girl tried to flee: "The girl was brought in front of us, and the rebels told us to stomp her to death. We killed the poor innocent girl...If we did not kill the girl, we were going to get shot by guns. We prayed for that girl in our hearts, silently, and asked God to pardon us and forgive us because it was not our will to kill her."

Another rescued student from St. Mary's school said, "I saw people's legs being cut off with either a panga or an ax. I saw a young baby of a few months held in hand and being beaten to death against a tree. Innocent people were being killed in a way I never thought a human being could (act toward) another human being."

One girl simply wrote: "I'm pleading with you to find a way of stopping this rebel activity so that we children of Northern Uganda could also share in the peace that other children around the world are sharing in. ...We need peace."

6. *Makerere University, Uganda, 3/25/98*

There are three children with us today that I just had a chance to meet with before I came out to see you. Their names are Isaac and Janet and Betty. They were kidnaped by the LRA in

the north. They managed to escape, eventually finding refuge. As I looked into their faces and their eyes, I saw the faces and eyes of children the world over. And I thought to myself as I looked at these young men and women of Uganda that we owe them and the thousands more like them everything we can do to make sure that they, too, have a chance, like the children I saw yesterday, to grow up in peace, to be educated, and to look forward to their own families and futures.

7. Remarks for Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand, 11/25/96

“Yesterday in Chiang Rai I visited a program started by the faculty at this university called Thai Women of Tomorrow. It offers girls education, vocational training and options for jobs -- alternatives to desolate and desperate lives of prostitution. Most of all, it encourages parents to appreciate their daughters as people not property, and to give girls a sense of their own value and promise.”

Earlier today at the new life Center I saw another program that is bringing hope to young women who are receiving education and training that will allow them to pursue their life ambitions with confidence and dignity.”

“When I was in Chiang Rai yesterday I visited some hill tribes in villages outside the city. In one village I met young women who participate in the Thai Women of Tomorrow program. I also spoke to a local businessman who supports the program financially. He said that he got involved out of sense of charity. But within months, he said, he was surprised to find that the girls were hard-working, quick to learn new skills, and determined to make better lives for themselves. Now he has decided to open a factory in Chiang Rai that will employ girls from the school”

8. -- Remarks at UNICEF 50th Anniversary, 1/26/98

“Because we believed it could be done, we can look to the 10th anniversary of the World Summit for Children, knowing that the majority of goals have already been met by the majority of nations. Because we believed it could be done, the percentage of children immunized against killer diseases has dramatically increased -- to 80 percent. And because we believed it could be done, a full 2.5 million more children will live past their 5th birthdays this year than they did just eight years ago.

At the Jose Fabella [Fa BAY ya] Memorial Hospital in the Philippines, I met mothers who were learning about breast feeding their newborns. In Senegal, I visited a village that is improving health, education, and nutrition -- especially for women and girls. And in Nepal, I went to the Kalimati Clinic, where Save the Children kits are helping women deliver healthy babies.”

CHILDREN-NATIONAL

1. Fifteen Minute Speech, 7/19/??

We all have roles to play in finding ways to make sure all children fulfill their God-given

potentials. When it comes to children we all have experience -- and we can all claim a kind of expertise. We have all been children. We all love our children. We all have visions and aspirations for what they can become. We think of and talk about them constantly, during coffee breaks, PTA meetings, on front porches and phones, in letters and e-mail. No other subject takes so much of our time, and touches our souls so deeply.

2. Fifteen Minute Speech, 7/19/??

Our children are, in the beginning and in the end, the best reason for our being, the greatest of all our gifts and works. There is no subject more important, no issue that should be more decisive, than how we see and treat our children. Children have no vote; they have no say in the political, business and economic decisions made by our nation. That is why we can and must be their voice.

3. National Conference on Youth Violence

Every young man or woman, every boy or girl, has a God given potential that we at our herald give up on. And it is incumbent upon us, as representatives of the adult community of this society, to recommit ourselves to youth. The young people who are here are pledging to you, "If you don't give up on yourself, we will not give up on you.

We see it everyday as we pick up our newspapers. I picked up a newspaper here in Washington today and read about another thirteen year old gunned down on the street corner. In Washington last summer, gun shots were fired at a public swimming pool packed with children trying to escape the 90 degree heat. A few months ago, a four-year old girl was fatally shot in the head when groups of youngsters opened fire on an elementary school playground. And during the past week a one year-old was grazed by a bullet from a gunfight. That thirteen year-old who died, it appears his killer is also thirteen years-old. What does it say about a society that has graduated from taunts and yells and thrown punches and raised fists--, that all of us remember from school yard fights, neighborhood fights in the past. To thirteen year-olds being gunned down on street corners, a four year olds being killed on playgrounds, and one year olds being grazed by bullets.

Let's just stop for a minute and ask ourselves, "Haven't we wasted enough lives, haven't we lost enough young men and women to prison instead of college? Haven't we turned our back too many times on the God given potential of every one of our young people?" I don't care what race they are, I don't care where they live, every single young person in this country, has a spark about them that we have for too long allowed to be extinguished by a level of violence, hatred, and divisiveness that still stalks this country. We can do much better than that, all you have to do is look at the faces of the young people around you today. We know we can do better. But we cannot unless we stand up and are willing to be counted. I hope you will not only attend this conference, I hope you will not only work on what needs to be done back in your own hometowns, I hope you will take the time to let your member of Congress know why you are here, what you stand for.

4. *Fifteen Minute Speech, 7/19/?*

In Kansas City, where I was part of a conference to discuss what we all can do to help children, I met educators, parents, business leaders and community activists who have already achieved much on behalf of their children. I heard how the city government offers employees up to four hours of paid annual leave to participate in their children's school activities; how dedicated volunteers are staffing evening and summer youth programs to keep their kids off the street and out of trouble; and how the local newspaper is dedicating many resources, reporters and pages of newsprint to cover children's issues thoroughly.

In Kansas City, I saw billboards all over town asking citizens the question, "Is it good for the children?" It is a question more Americans should ask themselves before making decisions for their families, their communities, and their country.

5. *It Takes A Village, pg 139*

Children know when adults are letting them down and it angers them. A boy in Kansas City told members of the National Commission on Children what it was like for him to walk to school every day. What could have been a ten minute walk took him double the time, because of the zigzagging course he took to avoid a house where he knew crack was being sold. "What I don't understand," the young man said to the commissioners, "is if the people who live on the street know what is going on in that house and the police drive by all the time as though they know something bad is going on in there, why don't adults do something about it?"

Eleanor Roosevelt Book

1. Her work for UNICEF forced Mrs. Roosevelt into tightrope walking between pressure from other nations and her obligation to represent the American position. She suddenly became aware of 575 million children in distress in the Middle East, the Far East, Africa, and Latin America who had been "ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-housed for generations."

2. Mrs. Roosevelt was supposed to speak at Bushnell Hall in Hartford, Connecticut, about the United Nations:

Three thousand people were expected. But by the time Mrs. Roosevelt arrived, only about three hundred people were scattered through the vast auditorium. Mrs. Roosevelt arrived, stepped onto the stage and looked around. "Oh let's all come down front and be a big family," she said with her big smile, motioning the scant audience to come forward. Then she gave her speech. Afterward, someone asked her if she felt disappointed

when after taking the trouble to come to our city, only such a small crowd appeared. "If I can reach one person only with my message about the United Nations," said Eleanor Roosevelt, "I feel that my efforts were rewarded and my time was not wasted."

3. In June 1940, Clarence Pickett, head of the Friends' Service Committee, asked Mrs. Roosevelt to bring together leaders of various groups for a concerted effort to rescue European children. She called a meeting and helped organize the United States Committee for the Care of European Children, of which she became honorary chairman. This was the only secular organization established exclusively to aid refugee children. It was designed to bring them from Britain, Finland, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France and place them in foster homes in the United States. On behalf of the committee, Mrs. Roosevelt urged Americans to take them into their homes and to request that Congress ease their admission into the United States. She complained of "horrid legal details" which slowed down the rescue program: "Red tape should not be used to trip up little children on their way to safety."

4. After the invalidation of the NRA by the Supreme Court had left children unprotected, she wrote in a telegram to a member of the Houston Labor Standards Committee:

The President has said in letters sent out to people who have asked him as to his stand ...the obvious method of maintaining the recent gains made by NRA codes is through ratification of the child labor amendment...As far as I am concerned, I have taken every opportunity to reiterate my stand in favor of the ratification of the child labor amendment.

Where the exploitation of children was concerned, she accepted no compromise. In reply to critics who claimed that the time was inopportune for ratification because families were dependent on the earnings of their children during the depression. Mrs. Roosevelt said that such arguments should not influence the passing of fundamental laws. To those who objected to increased interference by the government family life, she said, "We already tell people they must have their children vaccinated."

5. Mrs. Roosevelt devoted her long career to defending the rights of labor and minority groups, to seeing that adequate housing and standards of child welfare and education were maintained, and that all groups could benefit from the same opportunities. In these activities she regarded herself not as a crusader but as a citizen performing her basic duties in the democratic community...Because of her early association with the Women's Trade Union League and the National Consumers' League, Mrs. Roosevelt took a special interest in the abolition of child labor and the protection of the rights of women in industry. One of her more important goals in the 1930's was the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, a continuation of the long struggle. "No civilization should be based on the labor of children," she said at her press conference.

6. Appropriately, President Truman nominated the former first lady to be one of America's delegates to the United Nations. At the UN, her name became synonymous with the effort to compose a declaration of human rights embodying standards that civilized humankind would accept as sacred and inalienable. For three years, she argued, debated, lobbied and compromised

until finally on December 10, 1948, the document she had fundamentally shaped passed the General Assembly. Delegates rose in standing ovation to the woman who more than anyone else had come to symbolize the cause of human rights throughout the world. Even those from the United States who had most opposed her nomination to the delegation applauded her efforts. "I want to say that I take back everything I ever said about her," Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan commented "and believe me, it's been plenty." At times a figure of scorn and ridicule during the New Deal, Roosevelt was now fast becoming a national heroine, even to former enemies.

7. From Mrs. Roosevelt's Column

A little incident at one of the picnics, which I have held annually for the Wiltwyck boys at Hyde Park will, I think, emphasize how much a personal contact means for these youngsters whose background is often such an unhappy one. As I was greeting the boys on their arrival at Hyde Park, one little white boy stopped in front of me and said:

"Mrs. Roosevelt, do you remember me?"

"Yes," I answered, "I remember all of you. I have seen your school and many of you were here last year. Of course, I remember you."

The little boy with a determined face, looked me straight in the eye and said: "Mrs. Roosevelt what's my name?"

I had to explain that there were 100 boys and that I could not remember all of their names because I was an old lady and my memory was not as good as it once was.

He then told me his name. But he was so anxious to be identified by someone that, within five minutes, he stood before me again demanding:

"Mrs. Roosevelt, what's my name?"

To have a friend who knows you by name gives you a sense that you are not alone in the world. This is above all else what every single one of the Wiltwyck boys needs.

8. From National Women's Democratic Club Reception Speech, 1/10/95

One time Mrs. Roosevelt was invited scheduled to speak at the clubhouse on Dupont Circle and Edith Helms (Mrs. Roosevelt's Social Secretary) was asked to introduce her. She couldn't think of what to say and Lindy told her, "Don't worry something will come to mind." And when the time came to introduce Mrs. Roosevelt, Edith Helms stood up and simply said: "She is here." And that's all she needed to say.

Said by Eleanor Roosevelt

Humanity must "either recognize the fact that what serves the people as a whole serves them best as individuals"

--Eleanor Roosevelt

"To be afraid is wasting your time, if you keep busy helping others you have no time to be afraid."

--Eleanor Roosevelt

"It is not a true democracy when some people cannot eat unless the government provides the food."

"No civilization should be based on the labor of children."

"...the health of our whole country depends on providing young people with an environment in which they can grow instead of deteriorating." *My Day (her column) 3/21/1960*

"The one other thing (children) learn is that real love accepts people with their weaknesses as well as their strengths. You like to respect and admire someone who you love, but actually you often love even more the people who require understanding and who make mistakes and have to grow with their mistakes."

In 1958 Eleanor Roosevelt wrote: "Where do human rights begin? In small places, close to home, so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person -- the neighborhood he lives in, the factory, farm, or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerned citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world."

"To undo mistakes is always harder than to create them originally, but we seldom have foresight. Therefore, we have no choice but to try to correct our past mistakes."

"The thing always to remember is to do the thing you think you cannot do."

"It is not enough to wish, however earnestly, to bring these things about."

"It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness."

"There is not one civilization, from the oldest to the very newest, from which we cannot learn."

"A democratic form of government, a democratic way of life, presupposes free public education over a long period; it presupposes also an education for personal responsibility that too often is neglected." *Let us Have Faith in Democracy Speech*

"A mature person is one who does not think only in absolutes, who is able to be objective even when deeply stirred emotionally, who has learned that there is both good and bad in all people and in all things, and who walks humbly and deals charitably with the circumstances of life, knowing that in this world no one is all-knowing and therefore all of us need both love and charity." *It Seems to Me*, 1954

"A society in which everyone works is not necessarily a free society and may indeed be a slave society; on the other hand, a society in which there is widespread economic insecurity can turn freedom into a barren and vapid right for millions of people." *The Struggle for Human Rights Speech*, 9/27/48

"As for accomplishments, I just did what I had to do as things came along." *NY Times*, 10/8/54

"Change means the unknown . . . It means, too many people cry, insecurity. Nonsense! No one from the beginning of time has had security." *NY Times Magazine*, 11/3/98

"Do what you feel in your heart to be right-for you'll be criticized anyway. You'll be damned if you do, and damned if you don't."

"For it isn't enough to talk about peace. One must believe in it. And it isn't enough to believe in it. One must work at it." *Broadcast, Voice of America*, 11/11/98

"I could not, at any age, be content to take my place in a corner by the fireside and simply look on. Life was meant to be lived. Curiosity must be kept alive. The fatal thing is the rejection. One must never, for whatever reason, turn his back on life." *NY Herald Tribune* 10/11/61

"I have spent many years of my life in opposition and I rather like the role." *Letter*, 11/19/52

"I think if the people of this country can be reached with the truth, their judgment will be in favor of the many, as against the privileged few."

"It is not fair to ask of others what you are not willing to do yourself." *Column*, 6/15/46

"It isn't within my hands to resign or not to resign. Each of us does that automatically." *Letter*, 11/18/98

"It seems to me...we have reached a place where it is not a question of "can we live in the same world and cooperate" but "we must live in the same world and learn to cooperate." *Letter*, 2/14/58

"Justice cannot be for one side alone, but must be for both." *Column* 10/15/98

"Life was meant to be lived, and curiosity must be kept alive. One must never, for whatever reason, turn his back on life."

what is the trouble in many of our communities, but rather a universal forgetting that this teaching is one of our first obligations."

Quotes about ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

"Eleanor Roosevelt is a woman for all times and all people." Doris Kearns Goodwin

Quotes: Declaration

"Disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind. The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief, and freedom from fear and want have been proclaimed as the highest aspirations of the common people. Therefore, the General Assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations...All humans beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience, and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

Quotes: children

Senator Robert Taft, a conservative Republican leader in his era said in 1948 that the American economy was rich enough and, "to prevent extreme hardship and maintain a minimum standard of decent living, and to all children a fair opportunity to get a start in life."

"Many things we need can wait. The child cannot. Now it the time his bones are being formed; his blood is being made; his mind is being developed. To him we cannot say tomorrow. His name is today." Gabriela Mistral, from It Takes A Village

"If I could say just one thing to parent, it would be simply that a child needs someone who believes in him no matter what he does." Alice Keliher from It Takes a Village

"Every child comes with the message that God is not yet discouraged with mankind." Rabindranath Tagore, from It Takes a Village

"Children are likely to live up to what you believe of them." Lady Bird Johnson

"A civilization flourishes when people plant trees under whose shade they will never sit." Greek proverb, from It Takes a Village

"Of course we need children! Adults need children in their lives to listen to and care for, to keep their imagination fresh and their hearts young and to make the future a reality for which they are willing to work." Margaret Meade, from It Takes A Village

"That most sensitive, most delicate of instruments - the mind of a little child!" Henry Handel

"The hearts of small children are delicate organs. A cruel beginning in this world can twist them

into curious shapes.” Carson McCullers

“If our American way of life fails the child, it fails us all.” Pearl S. Buck

“The society that destroys its children is eating its own tail, committing suicide in the most perverse way.” Jennifer Stone

“The children are always the victim of social chaos.” Agnes E. Meyer

"No one can make you feel inferior without your consent." Catholic Digest, 8/60

"One thing life taught me: if you are interested, you never have to look for new interests. They come to you. When you are genuinely interested in one thing, it will always lead to something else."

"This I know. This I believe will all my heart. If we want a free and peaceful world, if we want to make the deserts bloom and man grown to greater dignity as a human being-we can do it!"
Tomorrow is Now, 1963

"Too often the great decisions are originated and given form in bodies made up wholly of men, or so completely dominated by them whatever of special value women have to offer is shunted aside without expression." UN Speech, 12/52

"We cannot exist as a little island of well-being in a world where two-thirds of the people go to bed hungry every night." Democratic Fund-Raising Dinner, 12/8/59

"We must be willing to learn the lesson that cooperation may imply compromise, but if it brings a world of advance it is a gain for each individual nation." Column, 1/21/46

"You gain strength, courage, and confidence by every experience in which you really stop to look fear in the face." You Learn by Living, 1960

"You must do the thing you think you cannot do." You Learn by Living, 1960

"You seem to think that everyone can save money if they have the character to do it. As a matter of fact, there are innumerable people who have a wide choice between saving and giving their children the best possible opportunities. The decision is usually in favor of the children." Letter to FDR III, 1/15/62

"All big changes in human history have been arrived at slowly and through many compromises."

"As life developed, I faced each problem as it came along. As my activities and work broadened and reached out, I never tried to shirk. I tried never to evade an issue. When I found I had something to do - I just did it."

"As with all children, the feeling that I was useful was perhaps the greatest joy I experienced."
This is My Story, chpt 1

"I think, at a child's birth, if a mother could ask a fairy godmother to endow it with the most useful gift, that gift would be curiosity."

"The basis of world peace is the teaching which runs through almost all the great religions of the world. "Love thy neighbor as well as thyself." Christ, some of the other great Jewish teachers, Buddha, all preached it. Their followers forgot it. What is the trouble between capital and labor,