

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton [partial] (1 page)	04/06/1993	b(7)(E)
002. resume	re: Robert M. Berdahi [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	04/05/1993	b(6)
003. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton [partial] (4 pages)	04/14/1994	b(7)(E), b(6)
004. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton [partial] (1 page)	03/28/1997	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 19009

FOLDER TITLE:

Civil Society and Democracy Building Volume 1 [Binder] [1]

2013-0534-S

rc1873

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]
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Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady of the United States

**CIVIL SOCIETY
AND DEMOCRACY
BUILDING
Volume 1**



Archive Binder

FLOTUS
Archive

Civil Society and Democracy Building Volume 1



CIVIL SOCIETY/
DEMOCRACY BUILDING
PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Civil Society/ Democracy Building Index

Volume 1

Date	Event
April 6, 1993	Liz Carpenter Lecture Series at UT
April 14, 1994	Wiesel Foundation's Humanitarian Award
September 5, 1995	UN 4 th World Conference on Women
September 6, 1995	NGO Forum at Huairou, China
July 4, 1996	Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Event in Czech Republic
March 24, 1997	Statement at The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
March 28, 1997	Roundtable with Rwandan Women in Kampala, Uganda
November 14, 1997	Cultural Diversity Remarks at Samarkand, Uzbekistan
November 18, 1997	Ivan Franko Opera and Ballet in L'viv, Ukraine
December 10, 1997	UN Economic and Social Council Chamber in New York
February 2, 1998	World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland
March 24, 1998	Talking It Over Column on Atrocities in Uganda
March 25, 1998	Address to Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda
April 15, 1998	Talking It Over Column on Peace Talks with Northern Ireland
July 1, 1998	Visit to Jewish Synagogue in Shanghai, China
September 1, 1998	Talking It Over Column on Northern Ireland-US Partnership
September 17, 1998	Center for National Policy Dinner in Washington, D.C.
October 11, 1998	Faith, Hope, & Love Center Event in Sofia, Bulgaria
October 11, 1998	Panel Discussion with Bulgarian NGO Leaders
October 13, 1998	Forum 2000 in Prague, Czech Republic
November 21, 1998	Meeting with Representatives of Haitian Civil Society Organizations

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

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SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

DATE: TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1993

FINAL

Washington, DC; Austin, TX; Washington, DC

Travelling Staff: Kelly Craighead 1-800-SKYGRAM PIN#8835746
Lisa Caputo
Ralph Alswang-WH Photographer
Linda Aaker

(b)(7)e

[001]

Scheduling Desk: Julie Hopper
(202) 456-7561 office
(202) 456-2317 fax
(202) 544-4223 home
1-800-528-7528 WHCA #4096 (beeper)

**Lead Advance
Austin, TX**

Pat Halley
(512) 448-2222 Hotel Rm. 427
(512) 448-4744 Fax

PREV RON The White House

9:10 am **DEPART** The White House South Portico
EN ROUTE Andrews Air Force Base

9:35 am **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base

9:40 am **WHEELS UP** Andrews

Manifest: Flight Time: 3 hrs. 20 min
HRC, Craighead, Caputo, Alswang, Aaker,
Food: Snack

(b)(7)e

12:00 pm **WHEELS DOWN**
FBO: Signature Aviation, West
Robert Mueller Field
4209 Airport Blvd
(512) 476-5451
(512) 480-9129 Fax
Contact: Jim Jepson

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1993
PAGE 2

CLOSED PRESS ARRIVAL

Note: Pat Halley will meet HRC at the airport.

12:05 pm **DEPART** The Airport
 EN ROUTE Erwin Center

Note: Gov. Ann Richards will meet HRC at the airport and will ride to event w/HRC

12:15 am **ARRIVE** The Erwin Center, The University of Texas

Note: Lady Bird Johnson will greet HRC & Gov. Richards curbside.

12:20 am **PROCEED TO PRESS PHOTO-OP**
 Stage of Auditorium

Participants:

HRC, Gov. Ann Richards, Lady Bird Johnson

12:25 pm **PROCEED TO LUNCH**

12:30 pm **LUNCHEON/INFORMAL PANEL MEETING**
 Green Room (Erwin Center)

HRC Holding Rm: Dressing Room #3
 (512) 472-7282

Staff Holding Rm: Dressing Room #4
 (512) 472-7311
 (512) 471-9652 Fax

Participants:

William Cunningham-Chancellor of U T System
Dr. Isabella Cunningham
Robert Berdahl - UT President
Mrs. Margaret (Peg) Berdahl
Lady Bird Johnson
Liz Carpenter
Christy Carpenter
Sandra Cuneo
Paula Stout - Liz Carpenter's Asst
Bill & Judith Moyers
Gov. Ann Richards
Joy Anderson - Gov. Richards Asst
Mary Beth Rogers

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1993
PAGE 3

Sarah Weddington
Ronnye Vargas
Paul Leong
Barbara White
Fran Chapman
Brian Price
Barbara Myers

Continued:

Nancy Neff
Robert & Karen King
Charles Hackett

Format: Informal discussion regarding issues that
will be raised at the lecture series.

1:55 pm

PROCEED TO MAIN AUDITORIUM
Liz Carpenter Lectureship
OPEN PRESS

Site Advance: Jack Murray
Press Advance: Sharon Kennedy

2:00 pm

Welcoming Remarks By President Robert Berdahl

2:05 pm

Liz Carpenter intros program & members of panel

2:10 pm

Gov. Ann Richards, prologue

2:20 pm

Hillary Rodham Clinton, Lecture

2:50 pm

Panel Discussion

3:30 pm

Questions From Students

4:00 pm

Summation By Gov. Ann Richards

4:10 pm

Bill Moyers Closing

4:15 pm

PROCEED TO EXIT

4:20 pm

DEPART Erwin Center
EN ROUTE Signature Aviation

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1993
PAGE 4

Note: Car ride w/Gary Mauro to the airport.

4:30 pm **ARRIVE** The Airport
 Signature Aviation

4:35 pm **OFFICIAL PHOTO-OP W/DIGNITARIES**
 Flight Support Room
 CLOSED PRESS

April 6, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FROM: Sara Grote

SUBJECT: Briefing materials for Tuesday, April 6, 1993

The following material is attached for tomorrow's events:

Luncheon/Informal Panel Meeting

- List of luncheon participants and biography summaries
- Complete biographies of key luncheon participants

Speech: The Liz Sutherland Carpenter Lectureship Series

- Excerpt from memo from Paul Leong, a Senior at UT: Info. on panel discussion
- Seating plan for program participants and panelists, on stage
- Letter from Liz Carpenter. Includes a brief expression of sympathy and some talking points for the program.
- Daily Texan advertisement re: tickets to hear HRC speak at lectureship series
- Austin American-Statesman article re: Hugh Rodham's ill health
- Austin American-Statesman article re: HRC at lectureship series
- Austin American-Statesman article re: sale of tickets
- The Dallas Morning News editorial re: Task Force secrecy
- List of Past Programs of The Liz Carpenter Lectureship Series

Meet and Greet/Photo-Op w/ Dignitaries

- Political Briefing
- Three bios of Australian Dignitaries

Political Briefing

- Includes "Testimony of Gov. Ann Richards before the House Insurance Committee regarding House Bill 2055"

FYI Memo from Bill Galston

April 6, 1993

LUNCHEON AND INFORMAL PANEL MEETING

DATE: April 6, 1993
LOCATION: Erwin Center, Green Room
TIME: 12:30 pm
FROM: Sara Grote

I. PURPOSE

To meet and greet with program participants and friends. To discuss issues that will be raised at the lecture series. Issues may include: health care, children, your role as First Lady, etc.

II. BACKGROUND

This event was organized by Liz Carpenter. Verbal invitations were extended two days ago to a select group, who helped organize this year's Liz Carpenter Lectureship Series.

III. PARTICIPANTS

HRC

President Robert Berdahl
Mrs. Margaret [Peg] Berdahl
Liz Carpenter
Chancellor William H. Cunningham
Dr. Isabella C. M. Cunningham
Lady Bird Johnson
**Paul Leong
**Bill Moyers
Judith Moyers
Governor Ann Richards
**Mary Beth Rogers
**Ronnye Vargas
**Sarah Weddington
**Barbara White

NOTE: ** Indicates panel member. Bill Moyers will act as moderator.

FORMAT: Informal Discussion. All participants will be seated at a U-shaped table.

Complete list of luncheon participants and bios follows.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- o Photo-Op with Lady Bird Johnson and Gov. Ann Richards upon arrival at Erwin Center.
- o Proceed to Luncheon/Informal Panel Meeting
- o Proceed to Lectureship Series

VI. REMARKS

None.

LUNCHEON PARTICIPANTS AND BIOGRAPHY SUMMARIES

JOY ANDERSON

Assistant to Liz Carpenter

PRESIDENT ROBERT BERDAHL

President of The University of Texas at Austin. His term began in January 1993 when he replaced the present Chancellor of The University System, William Cunningham. Pres. Berdahl is the former Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He is living on campus in student housing until his wife, Margaret [Peg] moves to Austin permanently.

MRS. MARGARET [PEG] BERDAHL

Wife of Robert Berdahl. Professional focus is on the prevention of teenage pregnancy. She is still living in Illinois and plans to move to Austin in June.

LIZ CARPENTER

Graduated from UT in 1942 with a degree in journalism. Distinguished alumnus of UT and the UT School of Communications. Founder and organizer of The Liz Carpenter Lectureship Series. Former press secretary and staff director to Lady Bird Johnson, past president of the Women's National Press Club, a founder of the National Women's Political Caucus, member of International Women's Year Commission under Presidents Ford and Carter, former Assistant Secretary of Education for Public Affairs under President Carter. She is the author of Ruffles and Flourishes and Getting Better All the Time. On Saturday, April 3, 1993 she received The Pro Bene Meritis Award, given to individuals who are committed to the Liberal Arts, who have made outstanding contributions in professional or philanthropic pursuits, or who have participated in service related to the College of Liberal Arts at UT at Austin.

CHRISTY CARPENTER

Liz Carpenter's daughter and Clinton campaigner in San Francisco.

FRAN CHAPMAN

Executive assistant to Robert King, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts at UT.

SANDRA CUNEO

Close friend of Liz Carpenter and Clinton campaigner.

CHANCELLOR WILLIAM H. CUNNINGHAM

He became Chancellor of the UT System on September 1, 1993. He is also a professor of Marketing at UT. Prior to assuming the Chancellorship, he served as President of UT at Austin for 7 years and as Dean of the College and Graduate School of Business Administration for the 3 preceding years.

DR. ISABELLA C. M. CUNNINGHAM

Wife of Chancellor Cunningham. She is the Ernest A. Sharpe Centennial Professor in Communication at UT at Austin. She joined the Department of Advertising at UT as an Assistant Professor in 1974.

CHARLES HACKETT

Member of Distinguished Speakers Committee

LADY BIRD JOHNSON

Former First Lady, who put the environment on the political agenda of city councils and national legislators. UT graduate of 1932. Close friend of Liz Carpenter.

ROBERT KING

Dean of the College of Liberal Arts at UT

KAREN KING

Wife of Robert King

PAUL LEONG

UT Senior honors student, economics and pre-med major, headed for Yale Medical School, chair of the Distinguished Students Speakers Committee, creator of Hillary Clinton T-shirts and campus flyers, a key organizer of the event. Born in London.

BILL MOYERS

Graduated from UT with a degree in journalism. He was recently presented with UT's Distinguished Alumnus Award. He is a journalist who has concentrated on the social, political and international issues facing the US. He has received 18 Emmy Awards for excellence from the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. Executive Editor of his production company, Public Affairs Television, Inc.

JUDITH MOYERS

Wife of Bill Moyers. Vice Chair of the Board of Trustees of the State University of New York, an educational specialist who serves on several corporate boards, and President of their production company, Public Affairs Television, Inc.

BARBARA MYERS

Assistant Dean of the College of Liberal Arts at UT

NANCY NEFF

UT graduate of 1973 - degree in journalism. Senior Information Writer at UT News and Information Service.

BRIAN PRICE

Assistant to Fran Chapman

GOVERNOR ANN RICHARDS

First female governor of Texas since Miriam A. "Ma" Ferguson served two terms [1925-27 and 1933-35] following her husband, former Governor James Ferguson, into office. Gov. Richards is currently Co-Chair of The Campaign To Pass The School Finance Constitutional Amendments [see political briefing].

MARY BETH ROGERS

Graduate of UT at Austin. Visiting Professor and Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr. Chair in Government/Business Relations, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at UT. Ann Richard's 1991-92 Chief of Staff and 1990 campaign manager.

PAULA STOUT

Assistant to Liz Carpenter

RONNYE VARGAS

UT Freshman honors student. A Dedman Scholar [scholarship for undergraduate degree]. From El Paso, TX.

SARAH WEDDINGTON

Received her J.D. from UT in 1967. Now, she is Adjunct Associate Professor at UT in Government and American Studies. She argued the winning side of Roe vs. Wade before the Supreme Court. First woman elected from Austin, Travis County to the TX House of Reps. Assistant to the President of the US from 1978-1981. President Carter designated her to lead White House efforts for an extension of time for ratification of the national ERA. A former president of NARAL.

BARBARA WHITE

Dean and Centennial Professor in Leadership for Community, Professional, and Corporate Excellence at UT at Austin, School of Social Work. Former Associate Dean, Associate Professor and Director of the Master of Social Work Degree Program at Florida State Univ., School of Social Work.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Robert M. Berdahl

512/471-1232

Education:

B.A., Augustana College, 1959

M.A., University of Illinois, 1961

Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 1965 (Thesis Advisor: Otto Pflanze)

Experience:

1993 - Present	President, The University of Texas at Austin
1986 - 1993	Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
1986 - 1993	Professor of History, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
1981 - 1986	Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Oregon
1981 - 1986	Professor of History, University of Oregon
1980 (summer)	Acting Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Oregon
1977 - 1980	Associate Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Oregon
1972 - 1981	Associate Professor of History, University of Oregon
1967 - 1972	Assistant Professor of History, University of Oregon
1965 - 1967	Assistant Professor of History, University of Massachusetts, Boston

Honors and Fellowships Held Since Ph.D.:

American Philosophical Society Fellowship, summer, 1969

Summer Research Fellowship, Oregon, summer, 1969

Research Associate, The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 1972-73

Fulbright Research Fellowship, Germany, 1975-76

National Endowment for the Humanities Independent Study and Research Fellowship, 1976-77

Research Stipend, Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen, summers, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1984

Who's Who In America, 1983-Present**Publications:****Books:**

The Politics of the Prussian Nobility: The Development of a Conservative Ideology, 1770-1848,
(Princeton University Press, 1988)

Klassen und Kultur. Sozialanthropologische Perspektiven in der Geschichtsschreibung, (Syndikat
Verlag, 1982); Robert M. Berdahl, et al, editors.

Felix Gilbert, with the assistance of Robert Berdahl, *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, (Oxford
University Press, 1975).

Articles:

Conservative Politics and Aristocratic Landholders in Bismarckian Germany, *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (March 1972), pp. 1-20.

New Thoughts on German Nationalism, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 77, No. 1, (February 1972), pp. 65-80.

The Stände and the Origins of Conservatism in Prussia. *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3, (Spring 1973), pp. 298-321.

Myth and Symbol in German Nationalism, (review article), *Reviews in European History*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (March 1977), pp. 78-83.

Prussian Aristocracy and Conservative Ideology: A Methodological Examination, *Social Science Information*, XV-45 (1976), pp. 583-599.

Der deutscher Nationalismus in neuer Sicht, in Heinrich A. Winkler, *Nationalismus* (Neue Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 1978), pp. 138-154. (This is a German translation of the AHR article and printed in anthology of articles on nationalism.)

Christian Garve on the German Peasantry, *Peasant Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Spring 1979), pp. 86-102.

Robert Berdahl, A. Lüdtke, H. Medick, D. Sabeau, *Il 'Processo Lavorativo' Nella Storia: Note su un Dibattito*, *Quaderni Storici*, Vol. 40, (April 1979), pp. 191-204.

Anthropologie und Geschichte: Theoretische Perspektiven und ein Beispiel aus deutsche Geschichte, in Berdahl, et al, *Klassen und Kultur* (Syndikat Verlag, 1982).

Preussischer Adel: Paternalismus als Herrschaftssystem, in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*. Sonderheft 6: *Preussen im Rückblick* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), pp. 123-145.

Paternalism, Serfdom and Emancipation in Prussia, presented at a symposium at the University of Cologne, June 1980. The papers in this symposium, *Germany and the United States in the Age of Carl Schurz*, appear in *Oceans Apart?*, (Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1981), pp. 19-44.

Junker and Burgher: Conflicts Over the Purchase of Rittergüter in the Early Nineteenth Century, in *Mentalitäten und Lebensverhältnisse*, Festschrift for Rudolf Vierhaus, (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlag, 1982), pp. 159-172.

The Lessons of Military History, Swords and Ploughshares, Vol. 1., Number 2, (March, 1987), 3-4.

Professional Presentations:

Pacific Coast Branch Meeting of the AHA, 1968, 1970
 History Department, University of Chicago, 1971
 History Department, Johns Hopkins University, 1973
 History Department, Universität Bielefeld, 1977
 History Department, University of Oregon, on various occasions
 Conference: Understanding Cultural Production. Interpretations and Institutions, Lille, France, 1974
 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, 1976, 1982, 1987
 Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen, 1975, 1977, 1980, 1984
 German Studies Association, 1983, 1984
 National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, Annual Meeting, 1989
 Keynote speaker at several major meetings:
 NEH Regional Conference for Public Programs, San Francisco, 1985
 Lilly Teaching Fellows Conference, Indianapolis, 1990
 NUCEA Conference, *Developing and Teaching Programs in the Humanities, Arts, and Sciences*,
 Chicago, 1992

Other Professional Activity:

Book Reviews appearing in the *Journal of Modern History*, *The American Historical Review*, and *The Historian*.

Together with Alf Lüdtke, Hans Medick, and David Sabean, I have organized and participated in a series of international meetings of the Roundtable of Historians and Anthropologists. The first meeting was held in Göttingen, Germany, June 1978; this group has met roughly every other year since then. I organized the most recent planning session for the group, Summer 1991.

Chairman, Nominating Committee, Conference Group for Central European Studies, 1982.

Reviewed manuscripts for Random House, Cambridge University Press, Princeton University Press, Howard Fertig, *Journal of Modern History*, and *The American Historical Review*.

Oregon Committee for the Humanities, 1982 to 1986.

National Endowment for the Humanities, grant review panels, from 1983 to present; Special Study Group on Undergraduate Education, 1984, which advised the Chairman on the *To Reclaim a Legacy* publication.

Member, Board of Directors, Association of American Colleges, 1987-1990

Member, Executive Committee, Council of Chief Academic Officers, National Association of State and Land Grant Universities and Colleges, 1990-

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Member, Association of American Universities, 1993-

Courses Taught at the University of Oregon:

Honors History

History of Western Civilization

History of Germany

History of Europe since 1789

Colloquia and seminars on various topics of social, political, and intellectual history, including:

Problems of Germany in the 19th Century

Comparative Studies in the History of Aristocracy

Social Institutions in Early Modern Germany

Intellectual Currents in Early Modern Germany

History of the Family

Courses Taught at the University of Illinois:

Early Modern German History

(Team taught with Paul Bernard and Geoffrey Parker)

Personal Data:

Born: (b)(6)

[002]

Married: Margaret "Peg" Berdahl

Three Children: Daphne, Jennifer, Barbara



The Honorable Liz Sutherland Carpenter

Journalism and politics have intertwined in Liz Carpenter's career since her University student days when she was a reporter on the *Daily Texan* and the *Austin American* as well as the first woman elected vice-president of the Students' Association. After graduating with a journalism degree in 1942, she covered the White House and Congress as a Washington correspondent from the presidency of Franklin Roosevelt through that of John F. Kennedy.

Early in her Washington days, Mrs. Carpenter put on her hat and white gloves and visited her congressman "as you did in those days." The visit to Congressman Lyndon B. Johnson was the first step in an enduring friendship and working relationship with the Johnson family. She was in Dallas the day President Kennedy was assassinated and drafted the fifty-eight words the new president spoke on his return to Washington. Then she became press secretary and staff director for Lady Bird Johnson.

Two years after her husband Lealie died in 1974, Mrs. Carpenter decided to return to Austin. She also "made up my mind that I was never going to say no. That decision has made life more interesting—busier, of course, too packed with happenings—but why say no when yes might lead to a new open door, a new wisdom, a new friend?"

One of the things she said yes to was serving as Assistant Secretary of Education for Public Affairs for President Jimmy Carter. Another happening that has packed the succeeding years is the annual Liz Sutherland Carpenter Distinguished Visiting Lectureship in the Humanities and Sciences, established in 1984. The Lectureship has brought an unusual variety of programs—including Madam Jehan el-Sadat, President Gerald Ford, Jean Auel, Nora Ephron, Betty Friedan, and Dr. Jane Goodall. Mrs. Carpenter has been "a tireless organizer" of these programs, according to Liberal Arts dean Bob King—"Mrs. Carpenter lends to each program her vast store of energy, personal contacts, and down-home charm. We are indebted to her vision and creativity. Each year we look forward to a new adventure."

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The Pro Bene Meritis Award

The Liberal Arts Foundation has established the Pro Bene Meritis Award to be presented each year at the College of Liberal Arts Honors Day Convocation.

The purpose of the award is to honor individuals who are committed to the Liberal Arts, who have made outstanding contributions in professional or philanthropic pursuits, or who have participated in service related to the College of Liberal Arts at The University of Texas at Austin. In addition to expressing appreciation to those distinguished individuals so honored, the Liberal Arts Foundation, through this award, is seeking to heighten public awareness of the critical role played by the liberal arts in education and society today.

The liberal arts—history, literature, languages, the human sciences—are the core of the University. These have endured as the foundations of learning at universities from the very beginning. They teach the values that are eternal—how to think, how to write, what it is to be a complete human being. These are the liberal arts. Every generation must reaffirm its commitment to these enduring values. To that end the College of Liberal Arts offers diverse, innovative and challenging courses in its basic core curriculum, which provides a solid educational base for each student at the University. The College enjoys the support of the Liberal Arts Foundation, a group of dedicated alumni and friends interested in ensuring that the College continues on its course of excellence.



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WILLIAM H. CUNNINGHAM

Dr. William H. Cunningham became the seventh Chancellor of The University of Texas System on September 1, 1992. He holds the Lee Hage and Joseph D. Jamail Regents Chair in Higher Education Leadership. He is a Professor of Marketing at The University of Texas at Austin and holds the James L. Bayless Chair for Free Enterprise. Prior to assuming the Chancellorship, he served as President of The University of Texas at Austin for seven years and as Dean of the College and Graduate School of Business Administration for the three preceding years.

He joined The University of Texas at Austin faculty in January 1971 from Michigan State University, where he earned his B.A., M.B.A., and Ph.D. degrees. He was named a distinguished alumnus of Michigan State University's College and Graduate School of Business in 1983.

Dr. Cunningham is a nationally known marketing scholar and former editor of the Journal of Marketing. His research interests include marketing management and research and strategic market planning.

Dr. Cunningham is an experienced teacher and author. He has won seven teaching awards from The University and has written eleven books.

Dr. Cunningham is a member of the Board of Directors of La Quinta Motor Inns, Transamerica Fund Management Company, Jefferson-Pilot Corporation, and Freeport-McMoRan Incorporated.

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To <i>Sarah Drote</i>	From <i>Sybil Hodges</i>
Co. <i>White House</i>	Co. <i>UT System</i>
Dept.	Phone # <i>512 499-4204</i>
Fax # <i>(202) 456-6244</i>	Page #

Isabella C. M. Cunningham is the Ernest A. Sharpe Centennial Professor in Communication at The University of Texas at Austin. She joined the Department of Advertising at UT as an Assistant Professor in 1974, after serving one year as a Visiting Assistant Professor in the Department of Marketing and two years at St. Edward's University as an Assistant Professor of Marketing and Acting Dean. Dr. Cunningham was promoted to Associate Professor in 1976 and to Professor in 1981, receiving her current endowed professorship in 1983. From 1978 to 1985 she served as Chair of the Department of Advertising.

Dr. Cunningham has authored and co-authored seven books and numerous articles. She has been active on many university committees, and served as Chair of the Women's Athletics Council for seven years. She is a member of several professional and honorary associations and editorial boards, and has done extensive consulting work.

In addition, Dr. Cunningham has been active in many civic organizations, currently serving on the boards of the National Museum of Natural History (Smithsonian), St. Edward's University, the Susan G. Komen Breast Cancer Foundation, and Austin Smiles, as well as chairing the Daughters of Charity Health Services of Austin Planning Council and serving as a member of the Campaign Executive Committee of the Allan Shivers Radiation Therapy Center, among others.

Dr. Cunningham received J.D. and M.B.A. degrees from universities in Brazil where she spent most of her childhood. She came to the United States in 1966 and earned an M.B.A. and a Ph.D. in Marketing from Michigan State University. Dr. Cunningham is married to William H. Cunningham, Chancellor of The University of Texas System, and they have one son.

Public Affairs Television, Inc.

Bill Moyers

BILL MOYERS -- BIOGRAPHY

Bill Moyers is one of America's veteran journalists -- the recipient of every major award a broadcaster can win.

Over his 17 years in broadcasting Moyers has concentrated principally on the social, political, and international issues facing the United States. The Academy of Television Arts and Sciences has recognized his work with 18 Emmy Awards for excellence. He has received the Madison award from the National Broadcast Editorial Association; the Mental Health Association Award for outstanding reporting in the field of mental health; the Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award for outstanding coverage of the poor; the Medal of Excellence from the Board of Regents of the State of New York for his contributions to education; the George Peabody award for political reporting and international coverage; the Alfred I. Dupont-Columbia University Award for excellence in broadcast journalism; and the James Madison Award from the National Broadcasting Editorial Association for outstanding service in defense of the first amendment. The Association for Continuing Higher Education presented Moyers with a Special Recognition Award "for his many contributions to the continuing education of the American public, especially through the insights and integrity of his personal commitment to public education."

During his broadcasting career he has been executive editor of the highly-acclaimed series, BILL MOYERS' JOURNAL; senior news analyst for THE CBS EVENING NEWS; and chief correspondent for the acclaimed documentary series, CBS REPORTS. His public television series, A WALK THROUGH THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, was named the outstanding informational series of the year (1987) by the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. Since his return to public television in the fall of 1986, Moyers' company, Public Affairs Television, Inc., has produced IN SEARCH OF THE CONSTITUTION, THE SECRET GOVERNMENT...THE CONSTITUTION IN CRISIS, REPORT FROM PHILADELPHIA, GOD AND POLITICS, FACING EVIL, JOSEPH CAMPBELL AND THE POWER OF MYTH, and his latest series, A WORLD OF IDEAS.

In addition to broadcasting, Moyers has pursued a wide range of public interests. He was Deputy Director of the Peace Corps in the Kennedy Administration and Special Assistant to President Lyndon B. Johnson from 1963-1967. He left the White House to become publisher of Newsday. He has

Bill Moyers...2

been a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, a director of The Council of Foreign Relations, a director of the Harte-Hanks newspaper group which from its base in San Antonio, Texas, operates newspapers and broadcasting properties throughout the country, and an advisor to Cox Communications, based in Atlanta, Georgia. Born in Oklahoma and raised in Texas, Moyers began his varied career as a cub reporter on the Marshall News-Messenger at age 15. He is a graduate of the University of Texas, which recently presented him with its Distinguished Alumnus Award. Moyers is also author of the book, Listening to America. His wife, Judith, is the Vice Chair of the Board of Trustees of the State University of New York, an educational specialist who serves on several corporate boards, and President of their production company, Public Affairs Television, Inc., of which Bill Moyers is Executive Editor. They have three grown children.

October, 1988

ANN W. RICHARDS

GOVERNOR OF TEXAS

- Elected:** Elected governor November 6, 1990. Took office January 15, 1991. First female governor of Texas since Miriam A. "Ma" Ferguson served two terms (1925-27 and 1933-35) following her husband, former governor James Ferguson, into office.
- Personal:** Born September 1, 1933 in Lakeview, Texas, the only child of Cecil and Ona Willis.
Married in 1953 to Dave Richards. Divorced in 1984.
Mother of four grown children (Cecile, Dan, Clark and Ellen) and four grandchildren (Lily, Jennifer, Hannah and Daniel).
- Education:** Graduated from Waco High School in 1950. Graduated from Baylor University in 1954 with a major in speech and a minor in political science. Earned a teaching certificate from the University of Texas.
- Public Service:** 1955-1956: Teacher (social studies and history) at Fulmore Junior High School in Austin, Texas.
1976-1982: Travis County Commissioner.
1982-1990: Texas State Treasurer.
1991- : Texas Governor.

RICHARDS BRINGS ACCOUNTABILITY, INCLUSION TO GOVERNMENT

When Governor Ann W. Richards took office January 15, 1991, she promised to make state government accountable, accessible, efficient and inclusive. She has successfully streamlined state government and begun training programs for the thousands of state agencies and commissions.

As part of her program to make government accessible and accountable, Richards appointed the state's first ombudsman, who has been aggressive in investigating citizen complaints as far-ranging as inept government regulation of alcohol sales to nursing home abuse.

Governor Richards has made appointments that are representative of the people of Texas. She has made giant strides in making government inclusive rather than exclusive, bringing in men and women from all walks of life and viewpoints. In her first year alone, Richards appointed more African Americans, Hispanics and women to state posts than any previous governor.

Mary Beth Rogers
4214 Shoalwood
Austin, Texas 78736

Current Position: Visiting Professor and Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr. Chair in Government/Business Relations, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin

Degree: B.A., University of Texas at Austin, 1968

Experience:

Chief of Staff to the Governor of Texas, 1991-92

Campaign Manager, Ann Richards, General Election Campaign, 1990

General Planning Consultant, St. Edward's University, 1989-90

Deputy Treasurer, State of Texas, 1983-88

Owner, M.B. Rogers Associates, 1977-83

Director, Texas Women. A Celebration of History, a research and exhibition project on the history of Texas women, 1989-92

Deputy Director, Democratic Presidential Campaign in Texas, 1976

Executive Assistant to Land Commissioner Bob Armstrong, 1971-76

Research Analyst, San Antonio Model Cities Program, 1969-70

Books:

Cold Anger. A Story of Faith and Power Politics, Denton: University of North Texas Press, 1990.

With Sherry Smith and Janelle Scott, We Can Fly. Stories of Katherine Stinson and Other Gutsy Texas Women, Austin: Ellen C. Temple Publisher, 1983.

With Gerald Sewell, The Story of Texas Public Lands, Texas General Land Office and J.M. West Texas Corporation, 1974.

Exhibition Catalogue:

Texas Women. A Celebration of History, Austin: Foundation for Women's Resources, 1981.

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Contributions to Books:

"Million-Dollar Inventor, Bette Graham," in Jack Cassidy, Doris Roettger, Karen K. Wixson, eds., Touch The Sky, New York: Scribner Education Publishers, 1987.

"Katherine Stinson: Aviator," in Theodore Clymer, Roselmina Indrisano, Dale Johnson, eds., Flights of Color, Lexington: Ginn and Company, 1987.

Forward in Ruthe Winegarten, Texas Women: A Pictorial History, Austin: Eakin Press, 1986.

introduction in Francis Abernathy, ed., Legendary Ladies of Texas, Dallas: E-Hart Press and the Texas Folklore Society, 1981.

Articles and Publications:

"Texas Women," Texas Libraries, Vol. 45, No. 4, Winter, 1984.

"Women in Texas History," Texas Heritage, Spring, 1985.

"Running, Winning, Leading," Indiana University and National Women's Education Fund, 1980.

Contributing editor, Texas Observer, 1966-71 (numerous articles about the social, economic, political and religious aspects of life in San Antonio and South Texas)

Board Memberships:

Board Member, St. Edward's University, 1991-present

Board Member, Foundation for Women's Resources, Leadership Texas and Leadership America, 1981-present

Awards:

"Woman of the Year," Texas Women's Political Caucus, 1982

"Outstanding Communicator," Austin Women in Communications, 1981.

Civic and Volunteer Projects:

Co-chair, Austin Charter Revision Commission, 1976

Founding Chair, Austin Ethics Commission, 1977

Board Member, Austin Dance Ensemble, 1992

SARAH WEDDINGTON

709 West 14th Street
Austin, Texas 78701-1707
512-478-7163

Sarah Weddington is a well-known attorney and spokesperson on public issues. She is particularly well-known for her work on issues affecting women in her role as an attorney, as a Texas state legislator, as an assistant to President Carter, as a professor, and as an expert called upon by the national media.

She argued the winning side of the landmark case of "Roe v. Wade" before the United States Supreme Court. In that January 22, 1973 decision, the Court ruled that the U.S. Constitution guarantees women the choice of whether to continue or terminate a pregnancy. For her work in that case, Ms. Weddington has received numerous awards, including the Planned Parenthood Federation of America's Margaret Sanger Award. She has written a book, "A Question of Choice" documenting first-hand, this landmark Supreme Court case. She is a past-president of NARAL (the National Abortion Rights Action League).

Ms. Weddington has also been a long-time advocate for women. In 1972 she was the first woman elected from the capital of Texas (Austin, Travis County) to be a member of the Texas House of Representatives. She served three terms. There she helped to reform the Texas rape statutes, passed an equal credit bill for women, passed a pregnancy leave bill for teachers, and led successful efforts to prevent any passage of anti-abortion legislation. She was also instrumental in changing Texas law to provide equal consideration regarding custody issues for mothers and fathers.

From 1978 to 1981 she was Assistant to the President of the United States. She was designated by President Jimmy Carter to lead White House efforts for an extension of time for ratification of the national ERA, to assist in the selection of women for federal judiciary and other top federal appointments, to co-chair the U. S. Delegation to the United Nations Mid-Decade Conference on Women in Copenhagen in 1980, and to implement other programs to promote the equal treatment of women, for example, in the military, in securing business loans, and in social programs.

Ms. Weddington is now a writer, lecturer, and teacher. Her interview with First Ladies Lady Bird Johnson, Betty Ford, and Rosalynn Carter on "Women and the Constitution" appeared in the February 1988 Good Housekeeping. She speaks extensively on women's issues and the development of leadership skills. She is Adjunct Associate Professor at The University of Texas at Austin in the departments of Government and American Studies. She is a Distinguished Lecturer at Texas Woman's University in Denton; her course "Women as Leaders"

has drawn students from as far away as Iowa. She is working on another book tentatively titled, Some Leaders are Born Women.

She has received numerous honors and awards. For example, Time named her one of the "Outstanding Young American Leaders." Ladies Home Journal presented her with its "Woman of the Future" award. She was selected as one of the ten "Outstanding Women in America" in 1979. Esquire in 1984 recognized her as an "American Under 40 Making Things Happen." She has been featured in such publications as Working Women, People, and the Washington Post and has been a guest on such programs as "Today", "Good Morning America", and "CBS Morning News". Within twenty-four hours of the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Webster v. Reproductive Health Services on July 3, 1989, she was a featured commentator on every national news-related TV channel.

In 1990 she was named by NACA (the National Association for Campus Activities) as 1990 Lecturer of the year and nominated again in 1992.

She holds honorary doctorates from McMurry University, Hamilton College, and Southwestern University. She received the Distinguished Alumnus Award from McMurry University, October 1992.

VITA

BARBARA W. WHITE, PhD, ACSW

PERSONAL DATA:

Address: 5811 Mesa Drive #1214
Austin, TX 78731
Home: (512) 454-2184
Office: (512) 471-1937
FAX: (512) 471-9514

EDUCATION:

PhD: Florida State University, Department of Political Science, 1986.
Major: American Government and Politics
Minors: Public Administration and Policy Sciences.
Dissertation: The Reagan Effect: An Analysis of Change in Welfare Expenditures Over Time

MSW: Florida State University, 1975.
Major: Social Work Administration.

BS: Florida State University, 1974. Second Bachelor's degree.
Major: Social Work.

BS: Florida A. & M. University, 1964.
Major: Music Education; Cum Laude graduate.
Minor: Psychology.

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS:

January 1, 1993 to present - Dean and Centennial Professor in Leadership for Community, Professional, and Corporate Excellence. The University of Texas at Austin, School of Social Work, Austin, Texas.

Administrative and academic leader for the School of Social Work. Responsible for the continued development of nationally-recognized education and research programs in social work, and guidance of the School in its interactions with government and with local, state, and federal human service systems.

August, 1990 to December, 1992 - Associate Dean, Associate Professor and Director of the Master of Social Work Degree Program. Florida State University, School of Social Work, Tallahassee, Florida.

Assisted the Dean in overseeing the quality and implementation of the School's curriculum. Responsible for a variety of academic activities and the efficient operation of programs, including program and budget planning, admissions, student financial aid, student advising, and course scheduling. Supervised support staff. Chaired the MSW program committee. Provided general academic administration and management which included leadership in policy formulation and implementation. Teaching areas: Social Welfare Policy and Programs and Social Welfare Administration.

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July 1, 1986 to August, 1990 - Associate Dean, Assistant Professor, and Director of the Master of Social Work Degree Program, Florida State University, School of Social Work, Tallahassee, Florida.

September, 1979 to July 1, 1986 - Instructor and Associate Director of the Undergraduate Program, Florida State University, School of Social Work, Tallahassee, Florida. Teaching responsibilities in the undergraduate and graduate programs in the areas of Social Policy, Community Organization, Social Work with Black Families, and the Profession of Social Work. Responsibilities related to the Office of Field Instruction in the development and administration of the field program.

September, 1977 to August, 1979 - Assistant Professor, Florida A. & M. University, Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Human Services, Tallahassee, Florida. Taught courses in Social Policy, Introduction to Social Work, and Social Work Integrative Seminar. Director of Field Experience Program with responsibilities in the development, administration, monitoring and evaluation of the field program for undergraduate Social Work majors.

January, 1976 to September, 1977 - Adjunct Field Instructor, Florida State University, School of Social Work, Tallahassee, Florida. Supervised undergraduate and graduate students in direct and indirect service field placements in the agency setting.

SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE EXPERIENCE:

July, 1990 to Present - Accreditation Consultant. Consultant to undergraduate and graduate programs in social work applying for initial or reaffirmation of accredited status by the Council on Social Work Education.

July, 1990 to Present - Site Visitor. Council on Social Work Education. Approved site visitor for accreditation of undergraduate and graduate programs in social work.

January, 1976 to Present - Human Service Consultant. Conducting workshops and training sessions for professionals and non-professionals involved in the human service delivery system. Provide training in social work skills, interpersonal relations, and implications of ethnic and cultural influences in human service activities.

January, 1976 to September, 1977 - Co-Executive Director, Leon County Community Coordinated Child Care Council, Inc. (4-C), Tallahassee, Florida. Joint responsibility for program development, fiscal management, supervision of staff and public relations with this public, non-profit agency which provided services under Title XX of the Social Security Act. Responsible for the development and provision of social services to clients; consultation and coordination with other agencies and volunteers.

March, 1976 to December, 1978 - Consultant, Schaebus-White Associates, Inc., Tallahassee, Florida. Corporation created to provide technical consultation to human service organizations and state and local government bodies. Conducted research, evaluative studies on programs, examined management systems, developed staff training modules. Co-authored proposal for a demonstration project for Displaced Homemakers, funded through CETA, which resulted in the Center for Creative Employment, a viable agency still in existence in Tallahassee.

August, 1975 to January, 1976 - Coordinator, Drug Prevention Project and School Social Work, Leon District Schools, Tallahassee, Florida. Responsible for the development, promotion and implementation of drug prevention project in three middle schools in Leon County.

BARBARA W. WHITE

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Responsibilities included directing the activities of four project team members, coordinating the use of school and community resources. School Social Worker responsibilities involved individual and family casework, group work, case consultation, providing information and referral services.

January, 1975 to June, 1975 - Administrative Intern, Governor's Office of Social Services, State of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida. Assisted the Governor's advisor for social services in the performance of liaison tasks between the Office of the Governor and the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services. Analyzed and monitored legislation pertinent to human services programs and delivery systems. Participated in efforts to resolve citizen problems and complaints in the area of health and rehabilitative service activities.

June, 1974 to August, 1974 - Social Work Intern, Florida State Hospital, Chattahoochee, Florida. Provided casework and group work with hospital patients, participated in hospital team staffings, aided patient-family relationships.

OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

August, 1970 to June, 1973 - Coordinator, County Instrumental Music Pilot Project, Duval County Public Schools, Jacksonville, Florida. Responsible for all facets of the organization and administration of a pilot instrumental music program in grades five and six in the Duval Public Schools. In addition, provided instruction to students.

August, 1965 to June, 1970 - Resource Specialist, Duval County Public Schools, Jacksonville, Florida. Responsible for providing consultation and instruction in the area of music to elementary school teachers and students. Served as a resource in music for an average of three schools in the county.

August, 1964 to June, 1965 - Music Instructor, Lake County Public Schools, Leesburg, Florida. Provided music instruction to all students in grades one through six at Dabney Elementary School.

COURSES TAUGHT:

Undergraduate

- Introduction to Social Work and Social Welfare
- Social Welfare Policy and Programs
- Human Relations Lab
- Field Instruction
- Theory and Practice of Community Organization

Graduate

- The Profession of Social Work
- Social Welfare Policy and Programs
- Seminar in Community Organization
- Social Work with Black Families
- Field Instruction
- Integrative Seminar in Advanced Social Work Practice

BARBARA W. WHITE

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DOCTORAL COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP:

Lorraine Blackman, School of Social Work, FSU, 1988 - 1992
Sharon Williams, School of Social Work, FSU, 1988 - 1991
Brenda Jarmon, School of Social Work, FSU, 1988 - 1992
David Acker, College of Education, FSU, 1988 - 1992
Abdulmohsen Al-Saif, School of Social Work, FSU, 1989 - 1991
Beverly Bower, College of Education, FSU, 1990 - 1992

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP:

Florida State University System:

Social Work Coordinator, Statewide Course Numbering System Committee, 1986 - 1992.

Florida State University:

Commission of the Status of Women at The Florida State University, 1992.
SACS Steering Committee, 1992 - 1994.
President's Inaugural Planning Committee, 1992.
Faculty Senate Multicultural Screening Committee, 1990 - 1992.
Martin Luther King, Jr. Distinguished Scholar Award Committee, 1990 - 1992.
Equalizing Educational Opportunity Committee, 1988 - 1989.
University Teaching Awards Committee, 1988 - 1991.
Assistant Dean of Faculties Search Committee, 1989.
Special Services Program Advisory Board, 1987 - 1989.
University-Alumni Task Force, 1987.
Faculty-to-Faculty Articulation Visits to Regional Community Colleges, Spring, 1985.

Florida State University, School of Social Work:

Curriculum Coordinating Committee, Chairperson, 1991 - 1992.
MSW Program Committee, Chairperson, 1986 - 1992.
Faculty Affairs Committee, 1987 - 1992.
MSW Admissions Committee, chairperson, 1990 - 1992.
MSW Financial Aid Committee, chairperson, 1990 - 1992.
Undergraduate Program Committee, 1979 - 1986.
Community Advisory Committee, 1984 - 1985.
Student Affairs Committee, 1984 - 1986.
Advanced Generalist Practice Committee, 1984 - 1985.
Social Welfare Administration Track Committee, 1981 - 1991
Bylaws Committee, Chairperson, 1985 - 1986.
Promotion, Tenure, Merit Committee, 1984 - 1985.
Committee on Excellence, 1986 - 1992.
Dean's Advisory Committee, 1986 - 1992.
Minority Affairs Committee, 1979 - 1992.
Field Instruction Committee, 1979 - 1992.
Reaccreditation Committee, 1985 - 1987, 1989 - 1992

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE:

International:

Member, Executive Committee, International Federation of Social Workers, 1990 - 94.

BARBARA W. WHITE

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National:

President, National Association of Social Workers, 1991-1993.

Member, Implementation Committee, National Task Force on Social Work Research, 1992.

Member, Advisory Support Group for Association Development: Promote Associations Throughout Hungary, Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, 1991-1992.

Commission on Accreditation, Council on Social Work Education, 1984-87, 1987-90; Co-chairperson of the Commission 1988 to 1990.

Member, Insurance Trust, National Association of Social Workers, 1989-1990.

Member, Ad Hoc Committee on Structure and Staffing, Division on Standards and accreditation, Council on Social Work Education, 1989.

Member, House of Delegates, Council on Social Work Education, 1986-1989.

Chairperson, Competence Certification Board, National Association of Social Workers, 1987-1989.

National First Vice-President, National Association of Social Workers, 1983-1985.

Chairperson, National Program Committee, NASW, 1983-1985.

Member, National Program Committee, NASW, 1982-1983.

Chairperson, Conference Planning Committee, First National Conference on Minority Issues in Social Work Practice, NASW, Los Angeles, California, June, 1982.

Secretary, National Committee on Minority Affairs, NASW, 1979-1981.

Academy of Certified Social Workers, 1978 to present.

Member, National Committee on Women's Issues, NASW, 1976-78.

National Association of Black Social Workers, 1974 to present.

State and Local:

President, National Association of Social Workers, Florida Chapter, 1979-81.

Secretary and Vice-President, Big Bend Unit, Florida Chapter, NASW, 1976-78.

Member, Community Advisory Council, Department of Social Work, Florida A & M. University, Tallahassee, FL, 1990-1992.

BARBARA W. WHITE

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COMMUNITY SERVICE:

Treasurer, Mayor's 21st Century Council, City of Tallahassee, Florida, 1990-1992.

Member, Advisory Committee, One Church, One Child, 1991-1992.

Vice-President of Planning, United Way of The Big Bend, Florida, 1988-91; Strategic Planning Vice-Chair, 1992-93.

Member, Minority Audit Task Force, Girl Scout Council, 1989.

Member, Florida Association for Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors, 1989-1992.

State Task Force on Foster Care, 1980-82.

Vice-President and President, Board of Directors, Leon County Community Coordinated Child-Care Council, Inc., 1978-80.

Vice-President, Board of Directors, Center for Creative Employment, 1978-79.

Florida Organization of Family Services, 1976-77.

Phi Alpha Social Work Honor Society

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority

Tau Beta Sigma Sorority

Links, Inc.

PRESENTATIONS (Selected):

National:

Invitational presentation, "Women, Social Work Education, and Management: A View from Three Bridges," 39th Annual Program Meeting, The Council on Social Work Education, New York, NY, February 28, 1993.

Keynote speaker on behalf of the National Association of Social Workers in New Mexico, West Virginia, Texas, Alabama, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Amsterdam, Holland, Missouri, 1990-1991; Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Florida, Michigan, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Washington, Nebraska, Georgia, 1991-1992.

Keynote Speaker, "Improving the Role of the Father Figure in the Black Family," National Black Family Summit, Columbia, SC, March, 1992.

"Issues of Diversity in Accreditation Standards," Annual Program Meeting, Council on Social Work Education, New Orleans, LA, March, 1991.

"At the Crossroads: Teaching Human Diversity Content," Master Teacher presentation, Faculty Development Institute, Annual Program Meeting, Council on Social Work Education, Chicago, Illinois, March 3-7, 1989.

BARBARA W. WHITE

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"Developing New Professional Credentials for the Profession," Meeting of the Profession, National Association of Social Workers, Philadelphia, PA, November 9-12, 1988.

(with Gottschalk and Yee) "Children and Parents in Families: A Multi-ethnic Perspective on the Meaning of Social Work Intervention," Paper presented at the Society for the Study of Social Problems Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, August, 1988.

(with Lettie Lockhart) "Black Families and Spouse Abuse: An Age-Old Dilemma or Perceptions wrought with age?" Paper presented at that National Black Women's Conference sponsored by Ohio State University and the Department of Black Studies and the College of Social Work, Columbus, Ohio, May, 1988.

"Energizing Women of Color: What Have We Done for Ourselves Lately?" Invitational paper presented at the NASW Minority Issues Conference, Washington, DC, June 1987.

"Challenging Old Perceptions of Spouse Abuse in the Black Community," Paper presented at the NASW Minority Issues Conference, Washington, DC, June, 1987.

(with Roger Bash) "Occupational Social Work: A Century of Development in the United States." Paper presented at NASW First National Conference on Occupational Social Work. Boston, Mass., May, 1985.

"Black Women: The Resilient Victims," Paper presented at First Annual Conference on Women's Issues in Social Work, Washington, DC, 1980.

State/Regional:

"The Leadership Challenge for Women," Women in Public Service 8th Annual Professional Development Conference, Austin, TX, February 25, 1993.

Graduation Speaker, University of Maryland at Baltimore, MSW Hooding Ceremony. School of Social Work and Community Planning, May, 1984.

"Working with the Black Family in Alcohol Treatment Services," for Avon Park Alcohol Treatment Center, Avon Park, Florida, April, 1979.

"Counseling Skills in the Human Services," for Volusia County, Florida Home-School Liaison Teachers, February, 1979.

"Skills and Techniques in the Casework Process", for Volusia County, Florida Home-Liaison Teachers, August, 1978.

"The Child: Education for the New Century," for Florida Women's Conference on Observance of International Women's Decade, July 1977.

Local:

Speaker, "Women's Roles and Status in India," Women's History Month Activity, Florida State University, March, 1989.

Keynote Speaker, "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities' Banquet, Florida A & M University, Tallahassee, Florida, February 28, 1989.

BARBARA W. WHITE

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Speaker, "Well-Fare - does it Really?" Sigma Chi Iota's Black Forum, Florida State University, March, 1987.

Keynote Speaker, Third Annual Black Peer Facilitator/Community College Student Luncheon, Florida State University, November, 1986.

Speaker, "Issues Confronting the Profession of Social Work," Mini-Symposium, School of Social Work, October, 1984.

"Human Relations Training," inservice training program for staff of Leon County 4-C Council, Tallahassee, Florida, July, 1976.

In my roles as President of the Florida Chapter of NASW, and as National First Vice-President of NASW, I made an average of 20 to 25 formal and informal presentations and public speaking engagements per year of service.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS:

Books:

White, Barbara W., editor (1984). Color in a White Society. Silver Spring, MD: NASW Publications.

A book of competitively selected articles from the proceedings of the First National Conference on Minority Issues in Los Angeles, CA, sponsored by the National Association of Social Workers. The eleven articles focus on policy and practice concerns, with the goal of promoting knowledge and skills specific to the needs of ethnic minority clients and social workers.

Referenced Articles:

White, Barbara W. (1981). "Black Women: The Resilient Victims," in Women, Power, and Change, Silver Spring, MD: NASW Publications, pp. 69-77.

An article (competitively selected) which explores some of the racial and cultural influences that shape the black woman, in an attempt to understand her complexities and priorities relevant to social work practice.

Lockhart, Lettie and White, Barbara. (1989). "Challenging Old Perceptions on Marital Violence in the Black Community." Proceedings of the National Conference on the Black Family Summit - 1989; The Black Family: The Dawn of a New Decade, Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina.

A research study which examined cross-cultural differences between the proportion of black and white women who were victims of marital violence.

Lockhart, Lettie and White, Barbara. (1989). "Understanding Marital Violence in the Black Community," Chicago, IL: Journal of Interpersonal Violence, December (Volume 4, Number 4), Sage Publications.

An empirical study which utilized a purposive sample to study the incidence and form of marital violence across social class differences in the Black Community.

BARBARA W. WHITE

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Adams, James P., Spence, Susie and White, Barbara. (1992). "Collegiality in Social Work Education: Sharing Distribution of Course Syllabi," New York, NY: Journal of Teaching in Social Work, Binghamton, NY: The Haworth Press, 6(1), 137-155.

An empirical study to assess the extent of, attitudes toward, and educational benefits of the exchange of course syllabi among social work educators.

White, Barbara and Purcell, Elaine. (1989), "The Employee Assistance Program Concept. A Historical Definition," in Employee Assistance: Programs for the Future. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall (in press).

A historical review of the EAP concept which serves as the lead article in a book focusing on current trends and practice methods utilized in Employee Assistance Programs.

McNeece, Aaron and White, Barbara. (1990), "The Family of the Future," in Between Dreams: Visions for the Future. Journal of the 40th Anniversary of the School of Social Work. Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University.

Other Publications:

White, Barbara. (1992), "Improving the Role of the Father Figure in the Black Family," in The National Black Family Summit - 1992 conference proceedings, The Black Family: Black Males Overcoming Life Threatening Obstacles. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina.

Works in Progress:

White, Barbara, Johnson, Ruby, and Lockhart, Lettie, "A Study of Admissions and Termination Criteria in Undergraduate and Graduate Programs in Social Work."

Vinton, Linda and White, Barbara, "Curriculum Design and Social Work Practice in the 1990s."

Vinton, Linda and White, Barbara, "Trends in Concentrations and Specializations in Graduate Social Work Curricula: Implications for the 1990s."

Lockhart, Lettie, White, Barbara, and Causby, Vickie, "Conflict Resolution Tactics in Lesbian Relationships."

An empirical study (sample size of 275) used to examine factors associated with the quality of life and conflict resolution in lesbian relationships.

Postley, Brenda and White, Barbara, "The Effects of Racism on Mental Health Policies and Services for Minorities."

Explores the sources of theoretical orientations surrounding racist preconceptions and the impact of these on present and future policies intended to address the mental health needs of people of color.

BARBARA W. WHITE

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OTHER RELATED SCHOLARLY ACTIVITIES:

Member, Implementation Committee, National Task Force on Social Work Research, 1992.

Member, Editorial Board, Family Social Work, Haworth Press, 1990 to present.

Member, Editorial Board, Research on School Work Practice, Sage Publications, 1989 - present.

Contributing Editor, Journal of Poetry Therapy (Journal File Column). New York: Human Sciences Press, 1989.

Guest Reviewer, Journal of Social Work Education, Council on Social Work Education, 1989.

Proposal Review Committee for Annual Program Meeting, Council on Social Work Education, St. Louis, Missouri, March, 1987.

Associated Faculty, Policy Science Program, Florida State University, 1987.

AWARDS, HONORS, AND SPECIAL RECOGNITIONS:

Charter member, President's Council for Excellence in College Teaching, Florida State University, 1990.

Distinguished Scholar in Social Work, Albany State University, Albany, GA, 1992.

Award of Recognition from the College of Arts and Sciences, Florida A & M University, 1991.

"Professor of the Year," Association of Student Social Workers, FSU, 1988-1989.

Fulbright participant, International Women's Studies Seminar on Changing Status Roles in India.
July-August, 1988.

Honoree, Galleries of Distinction, College of Arts & Sciences, Florida A & M University, 1987.

"Being There" Award, Florida State University Division of Student Affairs, 1988.

University Teaching Excellence Award, Florida State University, 1985-86.

Florida Board of Regents Grant for Doctoral Studies, 1981-82 and 1982-83.

Florida "Social Worker of the Year," NASW 1982.

"Social Worker of the Year," Big Bend Unit, Florida, NASW 1982.

"Teacher of the Year," Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Human Services, Florida A & M University, 1978-1979.

Recipient, University Competitive Fellowship, Florida State University, 1974-1975.

April 6, 1993

**THE LIZ SUTHERLAND CARPENTER DISTINGUISHED VISITING
LECTURESHIP IN THE HUMANITIES AND SCIENCES**

DATE: April 6, 1993
LOCATION: Austin, TX
TIME: 2:00 pm
FROM: Sara Grote

I. PURPOSE

To speak on various issues to a diverse student body, state legislators and townspeople. The theme of the lectureship is "Remolding Our Society." You can speak on any topic you like, however, we have been told that most questions will focus on health care.

II. BACKGROUND

The Liz Sutherland Carpenter Distinguished Visiting Lectureship in the Humanities and Sciences was established by the Board of Regents of the University of Texas System with funds raised at a benefit honoring Mrs. Carpenter in 1983, the University's Centennial Year. The lectureship series was established in 1984 and actually began in 1985 with "THE ROAD TO PEACE," a lecture by Madam Jehan el-Sadat [list of past program to follow]. It is Liz Carpenter's goal to bring in non-academics, who offer fresh ideas and promote stimulating dialogue. Liz Carpenter calls her lectureship series the smallest endowed lectureship with the greatest reach. Her first letter inviting you to speak at this event was dated May, 1991.

Approximately 14,000 will attend. Tickets were distributed at no charge to students and townspeople. Approx. 1,000 VIP tickets were given to state legislators, friends of the Governor, etc. Students will make up the majority of the crowd. Hundreds of Hillary Clinton T-shirts have been made and worn around campus over the past two weeks; everyone is very excited. [FYI-supposedly 9,000 tickets were given away in 3 hours].

NOTE: The benefit honoring Mrs. Carpenter in 1983 was organized by a group of UT graduates. Ann Richards was a member of this group and Lady Bird Johnson was the Chair. They sponsored a mock performance called "A Celestial Evening," a spoof on Liz Carpenter's funeral. [FYI, Erma Bombeck and Mark Russell were two of the performers]. They received \$100,000, which the University matched.

The University of Texas at Austin

The University of Texas at Austin was founded in 1883. Among its alumni are Lady Bird Johnson, Walter Cronkite, Bill Moyers, and James A. Baker III. The campus population includes 49,000 students, 2,300 faculty, and 15,000 staff members. Student

Characteristics: 0.3% American Indian, 3.7% African American, 7.5% Asian American, 8.4% Foreign, 11.7% Hispanic, and 68.4% White. The campus newspaper is the Daily Texan and the school mascot is the Longhorn, a big rival of the Razorbacks when the Razorbacks were in the Southwest Conference. "Hook'em Horns!" is the battle cry for UT sports teams and is a very popular expression on campus. Despite several inquiries into hot issues on campus, none surfaced.

NOTE: You were at UT on August 27, 1992 with The President, The Vice-President and MEG for a rally in front of the LBJ Library and tour of the library.

III. PARTICIPANTS

HRC

President Robert Berdahl
Liz Carpenter
Bill Moyers
Governor Ann Richards

PANELISTS

HRC

Paul Leong
Bill Moyers, moderator
Mary Beth Rogers
Ronnye Vargas
Sarah Weddington
Barbara White

Complete bios on preceding pages.

IV. PRESS PLAN

National and local press coverage.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- o President Berdahl, welcome
- o Liz Carpenter intros. program and members of panel
- o Gov. Ann Richards, prologue
- o HRC to speak for 30 minutes
- o panel discussion-Bill Moyers to act a moderator [see attached pages]
- o questions from students

NOTE: Paul Leong and Ronnye Vargas will read questions that non-panel students have submitted. An add was published in the Daily Texan asking students for questions to ask HRC. These questions were chosen by The Texas Union Distinguished Speakers Committee [see attached pages].

- o Gov. Ann Richards, summation
- o Bill Moyers, closing
- o Proceed to exit

VI. REMARKS

You may want to congratulate Liz Carpenter on The Pro Bene Meritis Award she received on April 3, 1993.

Panel

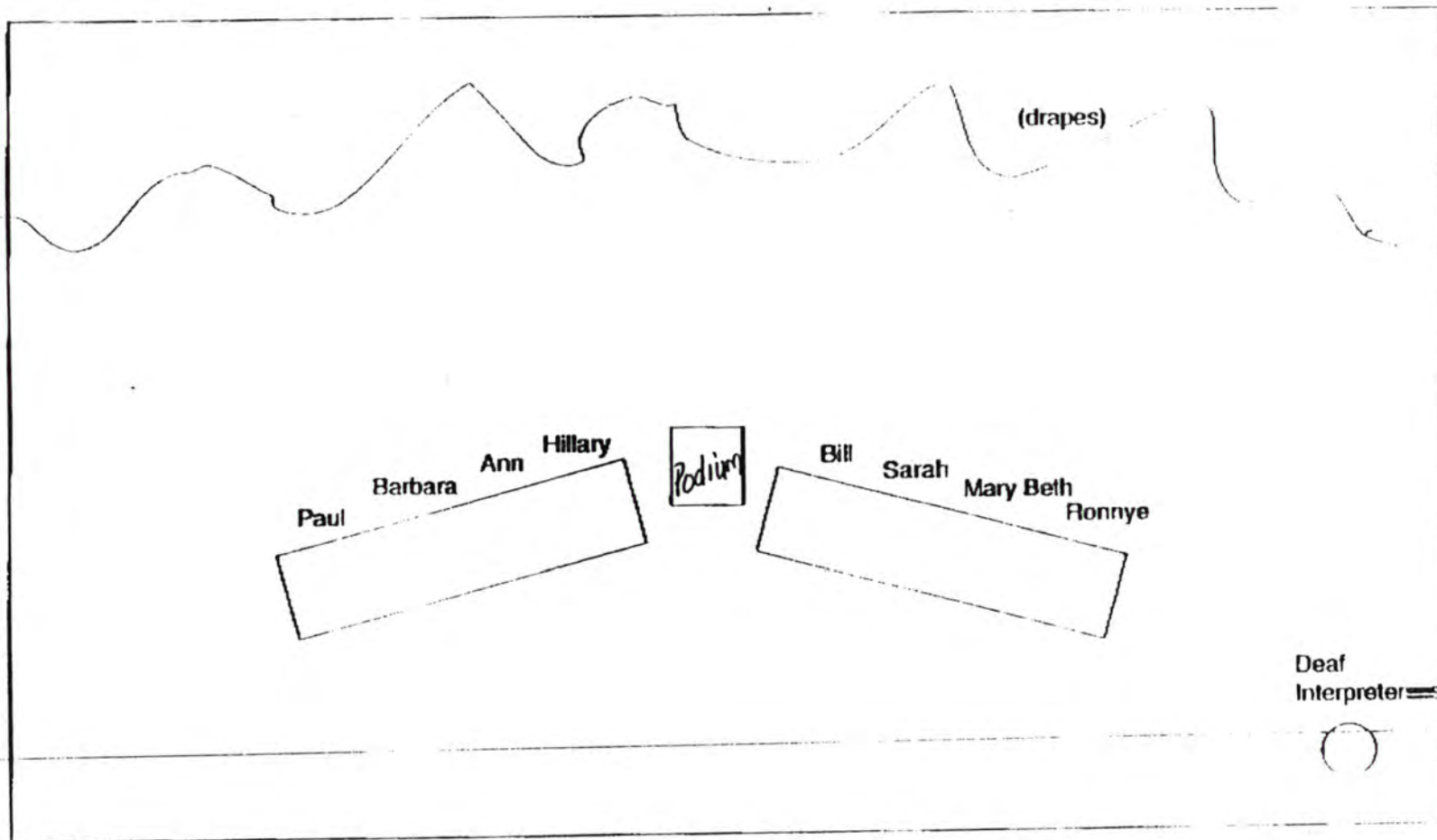
The panel will include: Bill Moyers (moderator), Mary Beth Rogers, Sarah Weddington, Dean Barbara White, Paul Leong, and a second student. Our aim is to have an open discussion on remolding society to address the nation's present and future needs. The projected duration of the panel discussion is 40 minutes. Each panelist should be prepared to comment (three to four minutes) on Mrs. Clinton's speech as well as his/her own thoughts. Within this commentary the panelists may incorporate a question directed toward Mrs. Clinton (or anybody else on the panel). Mrs. Clinton may respond to whichever points she wishes depending on the flow of conversation and the direction of Mr. Moyers. I feel it is important that we do not produce a mechanical discussion where we simply ask questions and move down the line. Panelists should feel free to interject their opinions as they wish. We will be depending on Mr. Moyers to coordinate this discussion and bring forth key points.

some issues raised at our first meeting

- the changing role of religious institutions
- human happiness in America
- leadership and the need to develop skills to tackle future problems
- the threat to the American dream
- the commercialization of television
- the role of the press in forming social outlooks
- the immediate emergencies involving the economic base and new jobs
- balancing short-term needs and long-term objectives
- giving hope and community support to inner city youth
- reestablishing the credibility of government as a problem solving entity
- the role individual people can take in remolding society

Questions from the student body

The Distinguished Speakers Committee will collect questions for Mrs. Clinton from the general student population. Mr. Moyers will present the most appropriate of these questions to Mrs. Clinton. I anticipate that Mrs. Clinton will answer the bulk of the questions, but once again panel members can add their opinion as appropriate.



To: Hillary Clinton
via Maggie Williams office Fax 202-456-6244; phone 202-456-6266. Please confirm received and send on to Little Rock

From: Liz Carpenter Fax 512-327-4272 or phone 327-4242

All of us deeply appreciate Mrs. Clinton's difficult situation with her father's condition and her valiant effort to be here for the Liz Carpenter lectureship at the University of Texas, on Tuesday, April 6 afternoon. We hope it can all fall into place with Little Rock only 2 hours away. The Governor will meet you at 12 noon and put you back on the plane at 4:30 if this serves your needs.

Here are some talking points for you and the program as planned.
The Title: Remolding Our Society.

What that leads to is the whole business of HEALING of body, of Society, of our spiritual self...a restoration of body as well as soul and peace of mind.

After your remarks, Bill Moyers, moderator, will bridge your opening remarks with the panel in dialogue with you as well as between themselves. They include seasoned people like the Governor, Sarah Weddington, Mary Beth Rogers, Barbara White, dean of Social Work. All have good examples to show what solutions they have seen work.

The Clinton Administration has come on stage as the nation is watching the unravelling of American society—not only of the economy and jobs but the whole fabric of society. Both you and Governor Richards have seen so much that we would welcome your own personal growth from the experience you are undergoing. How has being in the government limelight changed you and your family?

What do we want the audience of 14,000 to walk away with? The

extended page
healing of America with Hillary and the charge to each of us to be part of the healing process.

Moyers points out that a key question is : What is it like to govern today. The Clintons and Gores are a new stage in the political history of America, shaped by different forces than previous presidents from FDR on. Then, politicians were shaped by World War II and the depression. But we are in the 90s! For the first time, we have leaders who are shaped by Viet Nam and the environment. They want meaning in their jobs and in the workplace, a new sense of community, as so many of our people do.

We feel there is a new sense and a need to be our brother's keeper. To look beyond our own front door. We are hopeful that we as citizens can help HOPE replace GREED. You can rally them like no one else, my dear.

I attach my brief introduction as emcee to give you an irreverant glimpse of the panel.

Hillary Rodham Clinton



tuesday, 2:00 pm
april 6, 1993
Frank Erwin Center

Broadcast nationwide
by KUT 90.5 FM
Public Radio

FREE TICKET GIVEAWAY

on the steps of the Texas Union
Friday, April 2, at noon
ID required

Ask Ms. Clinton any question about remodeling our society! Drop your question at the Main Building, Foster Center, or Texas Union Info Desk. Bill Meyers will ask Ms. Clinton several of these questions during the panel discussion.

*Sponsored by the Liz Carpenter Lectureship,
The College of Liberal Arts, &
The Texas Union Distinguished Speakers Committee*



4/1/93

Clinton to speak in Austin despite father's ill health

From Staff and Wire Reports

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is expected to leave Austin on her scheduled Tuesday, after ending a visit for her father's illness and returning to Washington.

Clinton ended a 16-day stay at her father's bedside in Little Rock, Ark. Her deputy press secretary, Noel Lattimore, said the first lady decided to return to the capital because her father's condition had not changed. He said Clinton planned to go ahead with the Austin speech on Tuesday.

Her father, who turned 90 last week, suffered a stroke March 19 and has been listed in critical condition at the Vincent Thomas Medical Center in Little Rock.

Clinton is expected to lecture on "Remaking Our Society" Tuesday afternoon at the Erwin Center.

"We've had a lot of anxiety because of her father's condition, but apparently his condition has stabilized," Liz Carpenter said Sunday.

Carpenter was press secretary to Lady Bird Johnson during the Johnson administration in the 1960s. Clinton's lecture is part of the Elkhart annual lecture series. Carpenter Distinguished Lecture

ship at the University of Texas.

Solidifying Clinton's plans, Carpenter said that a U.T. team



Clinton

Richardson and UT president Robert Rowland, whose remarks will precede Clinton's. Her lecture will be followed by a panel discussion in which she will take part, Carpenter said.

The panelists are Bill Moyers of the Public Broadcasting System; UT professors Sarah Weddington and Mary Beth Rogus; Barbara White, dean of the UT School of Social Work; Paul Laing, chairman of the Texas Union Distinguished Speakers Committee; and Ronny Vargas, a liberal arts professor.

All 14,000 free tickets for the program have been given away.

Clinton's team in Austin is now drawing up travel arrangements. Joining the first lady on the Austin program, which begins at 2 p.m., will be Gov. Ann

Austin American-Statesman

Monday, April 5, 1993

MESS # AAS227755
ADLINE More tickets available for first lady's lecture
Byline: Daniel J. Vargas
ESTIMATED INFORMATION UNITS: 2.7 Words: 354
NGTH 03/23/93
TE
URCE AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN (AAS)
Edition: FINAL
Section: CITY/STATE
Page: B2
(Copyright 1993)

- * About 4,000 tickets to an April lecture by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will be available today after approximately 9,000 tickets were snatched up in less than five hours Monday, University of Texas officials said.

"We had no idea that we would give away 9,000 tickets," said Fran

Chapman, coordinator of the lecture and executive assistant in the College of Liberal Arts. "This is unprecedented. It's a big surprise."

Clinton will deliver a speech titled "Remolding Our Society" April 6 at the Erwin Center as part of the Eighth Annual Liz Sutherland Carpenter Distinguished Lectureship. Gov. Ann Richards and Lady Bird Johnson also will take part.

Chapman said the largest audience to attend the lectureship so far was last year when 3,000 people attended. She said another 1,500 people standing outside prompted organizers to move this year's

lecture to the Erwin Center.

John Graham, director of the Erwin Center, said that although organizers had not expected to give away 9,000 tickets so quickly, they were prepared to deal with the rush.

"It was steady throughout the day," he said of Monday when the 9,000 tickets were picked up. "Obviously there is a lot of interest in the entire event and in Hillary Clinton."

About 14,000 seats will be available for Clinton's speech, Graham

said. Maximum capacity for the Erwin Center is a little less than 15,000 seats.

Graham said the free tickets will be available when the three UTTM ticket locations on campus open today. The tickets, which are limited to two per person, can be picked up at the Erwin Center from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., the Bass Concert Hall from noon to 6 p.m. and at Jester Center from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

The lectureship was established by UT System Board of Regents using funds raised at a benefit honoring Carpenter in 1983. She graduated from UT in 1942 and spent 35 years in Washington, where she

was a news correspondent and held appointments during the administrations of three U.S. presidents.

@Art: MUG SHOT

@Art Caption: Hillary Rodham Clinton is scheduled to speak on 'Remolding Our Society' at the Erwin Center on April 6.

End of Story Reached

EDITORIALS ON MRS. CLINTON. 50+ ARTICLES WERE RETRIEVED FROM TWO SEARCHES. I HAVE PRINTED SOME OF THEM OUT IN "KWIC" FORMAT. PLEASE LET ME KNOW IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE ANY OF THESE IN FULL TEXT OR IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE OF THE RETRIEVAL.

DOCUMENT= 1 OF 50 PAGE = 1 OF 3

ACCESS # DAL1325798
HEADLINE HEALTH CARE REFORM What can someone say in three minutes?
* Column: EDITORIALS
LENGTH ESTIMATED INFORMATION UNITS: 2.9 Words: 400
DATE 03/26/93
SOURCE THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS (DAL)
Edition: HOME FINAL
Section: EDITORIALS
Page: 24A
(Copyright 1993)

RE * NME TX
* First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's juggernaut approach to crafting a health care reform is drawing criticism that may make it difficult to obtain the needed consensus. Her task force has conducted its work in such secrecy that even the names of its members aren't known to the public. Now, the task force is giving embarrassingly short shrift to the very groups that have a stake in any overhaul of the health care system.
Dozens of organizations representing doctors, hospitals, insurers and others have been asked to express their views at a when it finally presents its proposal.
As the president begins looking for support for his reform plan, few of these organizations will feel as though they have any stake in it. Indeed, some who have been given the cold shoulder may go out of their way to defeat it. And that would be a setback for the country as well as the Clinton administration. Those of us who hope the health care task force can come up with a winning program would feel more comfortable about the process if it were more open. Next week's hearing should be the first of several.
@Art: ILLUSTRATION: Medicine
Updated: YY93 MM04 DD04

DE

Past Programs
The Liz Sutherland Carpenter Distinguished Visiting
Lectureship in the Humanities and Sciences
College of Liberal Arts
The University of Texas at Austin

January 1985:

THE ROAD TO PEACE

A lecture by Madam Jehan el-Sadat

April 1986:

LITERATURE: FROM UNLIKELY PLACES AND UNLIKELY PEOPLE

A lecture, *The Ice Age and Me*, by Jean M. Auel

April 1987:

FUNNY WOMEN: BY PEN & PERFORMANCE

A program featuring Shana Alexander, Carol Channing, Nora Ephron, Fannie Flagg, Florence King, and Liz Smith

October 1988:

IS POLITICS A LAUGHING MATTER?

A program with Liz Carpenter, Pat Paulsen, Mark Shields, Jim Morris, and President Gerald R. Ford

October 1989:

WORD, SCRIPT, IMAGE: THE ART OF SCREENWRITING

A panel discussion featuring Liz Carpenter, Jack Valenti, Marty Kaplan, Ernest Lehmann, Horton Foote, Jay Presson Allen

March 1991:

CALLING ALL WOMEN: TO CELEBRATE OUR PAST AND EMBRACE OUR FUTURE

A day-long conference with a morning panel discussion featuring Liz Carpenter, Betty Friedan, Shana Alexander, Jill Ruckelshaus, and Sarah Weddington; a noon lecture by Linda Ellerbee; and afternoon workshop sessions. Co-sponsored by the Ronya Kozmetsky Centennial Lectureship for Women in Management and the Texas Union Distinguished Speakers Committee

April 1992

Jane Goodall

MEET AND GREET

Austin, Texas

Garry Mauro	Texas Land Commissioner, Texas state campaign chair
Garry Bledsoe	President of Texas NAACP
Roy Spence	political consultant and lobbyist
Judy Trabulsi	political consultant and lobbyist
Hazel Obey	African-American activist
Bob Slagle	State Democratic Party chair
Art Schechter	trial lawyer, Jewish activist
Rosa Walker	DNC member and AFL-CIO leader
Gonzalo Barrientos	State Senator
Joe Gunn	President of state AFL-CIO
Truman Arnold	President, Arnold Corp. (oil company)
Robert Alonzo	President of Mexican-American Democrats
Al Edwards	State Representative
Rodney Ellis	State Senator
Garnet Coleman	State Representative
Lukin Gilliland	entrepreneur
Jack Martin	political consultant
Tom Henderson	activist in the gay community
John Sharp	Texas Comptroller
Jim Mattox	former state Attorney General
Irma Rangel	State Representative

Wilhelmina Delco	State Senator
Judith Zaffirini	State Senator
Bruce Todd	Mayor of Austin
Bob Bullock	Lt. Governor
Dan Morales	State Attorney General
Christine Hernandez	State Representative
Glenn Maxie	State Representative
Allison Leland Briscoe	Vice President of Lehmann Brothers in Houston, widow of Congressman Mickey Leland
Cassandra Carr	Chair, Texas Dept. of Human Services
Barbara Jordan	former congresswoman, LBJ School of Public Affairs professor
Kathleen Krueger	wife of Senator Bob Krueger
Don Brown and Latimer Brown	
Frank and Debbie Branson	
Bill White	
Governor Ann Richards	
David Perry	
Rene Haas	
Ollie Besterio	
Nancy Williams	

Liz Carpenter Lecture Series
Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

University of Texas
Austin, Texas
April 7, 1993

Thank you so much. I am reminded, in following Anne Richards, of that old story of the fellow who died in one of the early Arkansas floods and makes his way to heaven and is met at the gates. And St. Peter says, "Well, you're just in time for our monthly seminar. What do you want to talk about?" The man said, "I want to talk about the most important experience that I have ever encountered. I want to talk about what it is like to be in a flood. I feel like I can make a real contribution to that dialogue." St. Peter says, "Fine. You'll go on after Noah." (Laughter.) So, here we are after Noah. (Applause.)

You know, it is not a common experience for me to be in any Texas athletic facility and feel good about it—(applause)—but I must say that now that we're no longer in the same conferences, my state and yours, that I am honored to be—(laughter)—in the arena where the Lady Longhorns play. (Applause.) And I also have to say—and I hope that you feel the same way I did—I was mighty proud of Texas Tech too. I thought that was a great victory. (Applause.)

You know, when Liz Carpenter asked me to come speak at her little seminar—(laughter)—it was one of those conversations that you have with Liz—those of us who are lucky enough to know her and call her a friend—where her enthusiasm just kind of takes over. She said, "I'm going to have some of my friends in, and we're going to do this lecture. It will be fun. I'll get Anne to come over and Mrs. Johnson will come over, and we'll just have a good old time."

And I had this sort of mental image of being over in one of the small rooms at the LBJ School and sitting with a bunch of my friends, maybe with some students around a table. And then I just put it out of my mind. And over the last two weeks, as Liz knows, it's been kind of touch-and-go for me whether I thought I could be here, and I told Liz that I would certainly try. And when it became clearer that I could, I renewed contact with the people who were helping her put this on and was told that there were going to be thousands, maybe 14,000 people at this event.

And my first response was, "No, no, no. You must have heard it wrong; there's an extra zero in there somewhere." But my second was, "Why would I doubt Liz Carpenter on anything? If she's going to put on a lectureship that's like Anne says, it's going to be a big one. And besides, it's in Texas. So what do we expect?" And I'm just pleased to be part of it. (Applause.)

I also want to say a special word of appreciation to Mrs. Johnson. You know, there is that wonderful old saying about how you never quite know what it's like until you've walked in another person's moccasins. Well, I don't know if you've ever worn moccasins, Mrs. Johnson, but I'm getting a sense of what it is like to try to walk in the footsteps of you and the other women who have been in the position that I now find myself in. And every day that goes by, I am more impressed by the kind of qualities that you and other women in this position have brought to taking care of your personal business on behalf of your family and your husband, and also trying to make your contribution to the country. And all of us in this arena are grateful for the grace and beauty by which you carried out both of those functions and as a wonderful example, not just for me, but for all of us. And I very much wanted to say that to you publicly. (Applause.)

You know, after you hear what I have to say, you'll think that Governor Richards and I not only coordinated outfits but coordinated comments. And I suppose the only thing left for me is to get a hair-do like that. (Laughter.) You know, I'm actually due for a new one, and I figure that if we ever want to get Bosnia off the front page, all I have to do is either put on a headband or change my hair

and we'll be occupied with something else. (Laughter and applause.)

But what Anne Richards talked about is what I want to expand on in my remarks leading into the panel discussion with all of these distinguished panelists and with questions from many of you that I understand were submitted. Because the problems that she alluded to are not just American problems; they are not just governmental problems. We are at a stage in history, I would suggest, in which remolding society certainly in the West is one of the great challenges facing all of us as individuals and as citizens.

And we have to begin realistically to take stock of where we are, stripping perhaps away the romanticism that Governor Richards referred to, to be able to understand where we are in history at this point and what our real challenges happen to be.

And I say that it is not just an American problem. Because if one looks around the Western world; if one looks at Europe; if one looks at the merging democracies, at Asia; if one looks certainly here in North America, you can see the rumblings of discontent, almost regardless of political systems, as we come face to face with the problems that the modern age has dealt us.

And if we take a step back and ask ourselves, "Why is it in a country as economically wealthy as we are despite our economic problems, in a country that is the longest-surviving democracy, there is this undercurrent of discontent—this sense that somehow economic growth and prosperity, political democracy and freedom are not enough? That we lack, at some core level, meaning in our individual lives and meaning collectively—that sense that our lives are part of some greater effort, that we are connected to one another, that community means that we have a place where we belong no matter who we are?" And it isn't very far below the surface because we can see popping through the surface the signs of alienation and despair and hopelessness that are all too common and cannot be ignored. They're in our living rooms at night on the news. They're on the front pages; they are in all of our neighborhoods.

On the plane coming down, I read a phrase in an article in the newspaper this morning talking about how desperate conditions are in so many of our cities that are filled with hopeless girls with babies and angry boys with guns. And yet, it is not just the most violent and the most alienated that we can look to. The discontent of which I speak is broader than that, deeper than that. We are, I think, in a crisis of meaning. What do our governmental institutions mean? What does it mean to be educated? What does it mean to be a journalist? What does it mean in today's world to pursue not only vocations, to be part of institutions, but to be human?

And, certainly, coming off the last year when the ethos of selfishness and greed were given places of honor never before accorded, it is certainly timely to ask ourselves these questions. (Applause.)

One of the clearest and most poignant posings of this question that I have run across was the one provided by Lee Atwater as he lay dying. For those of you who may not know, Lee Atwater was credited with being the architect of the Republican victories of the '70s and the '80s; the vaunted campaign manager of Reagan and Bush; the man who knew how to fight bare-knuckled in the political arena, who was willing to engage in any tactics so long as it worked and he wasn't caught at it.

And yet, when Lee Atwater was struck down with cancer, he said something which we reprinted in Life Magazine, which I cut out and carry with me in a little book I have of sayings and Scriptures that I find important and that replenish me from time to time, that I want to share with you.

He said the following: "Long before I was struck with cancer, I felt something stirring in American society. It was a sense among the people of the country, Republicans and Democrats alike, that something was missing from their lives—something crucial. I was trying to position the Republican Party to take advantage of it. But I wasn't exactly sure what it was. My illness helped me to see that

what was missing in society is what was missing in me. A little heart, a lot of brotherhood.

The '80s were about acquiring—acquiring wealth, power, prestige. I know. I acquired more wealth, power and prestige than most. But you can acquire all you want and still feel empty. What power wouldn't I trade for a little more time with my family? What price wouldn't I pay for an evening with friends? It took a deadly illness to put me eye-to-eye with that truth, but it is a truth that the country, caught up in its ruthless ambitions and moral decay, can learn on my dime.

I don't know who will lead us through the '90s, but they must be made to speak to this spiritual vacuum at the heart of American society—this tumor of the soul.”

That to me will be Lee Atwater's real lasting legacy, not the elections that he helped to win.
(Applause.)

But I think the answer to his question—“Who will lead us out of this spiritual vacuum?”—the answer is “all of us.” Because remolding society does not depend on just changing government, on just reinventing our institutions to be more in tune with present realities. It requires each of us to play our part in redefining what our lives are and what they should be.

We are caught between two great political forces. On the one hand we have our economy—the market economy—which knows the price of everything but the value of nothing. That is not its job. And then the state or government which attempts to use its means of acquiring tax money, of making decisions to assist us in becoming a better, more equitable society as it defines it. That is what all societies are currently caught between—forces that are more complex and bigger than any of us can understand. And missing in that equation, as we have political and ideological struggles between those who think market economics are the answer to everything, those who think government programs are the answer to everything, is the recognition among all of us that neither of those is an adequate explanation for the challenges confronting us.

And what we each must do is break through the old thinking that has for too long captured us politically and institutionally, so that we can begin to devise new ways of thinking about not only what it means to have economies that don't discard people like they were excess baggage that we no longer need, but to define our institutional and personal responsibilities in ways that answer this lack of meaning.

We need a new politics of meaning. We need a new ethos of individual responsibility and caring. We need a new definition of civil society which answers the unanswerable questions posed by both the market forces and the governmental ones, as to how we can have a society that fills us up again and makes us feel that we are part of something bigger than ourselves.

Now, will it be easy to do that? Of course not. Because we are breaking new ground. This is a trend that has been developing over hundreds of years. It is not something that just happened to us in the last decade or two. And so it is not going to be easy to redefine who we are as human beings in this post-modern age. Nor will it be easy to figure out how to make our institutions more responsive to the kind of human beings we wish to be.

But part of the great challenge of living is defining yourself in your moment, of seizing the opportunities that you are given, and of making the very best choices you can. That is what this administration, this president, and those of us who are hoping for these changes are attempting to do.

I used to wonder during the election when my husband would attempt to explain how so many of the problems that we were confronting were not easy Democratic/Republican, liberal/conservative problems. They were problems that shared different characteristics, that we had to not only define clearly, but search for new ways of confronting.

Then someone would say, "Well, you know, he can't make up his mind," or "He doesn't know what he wants to say about that." When instead what I was hearing and what we had been struggling with for years is how does one define the new issues? How do we begin to inject some new meaning? How do we take old values and apply them to these new—for many of us—undreamed of problems that we now confront? And that is what all of us must be engaged in in our own lives, at every level, in every institution with which we interact.

Let me just give you some examples. If we believe that the reconstruction of civil society with its institutions of family, friendship networks, communities, voluntary organizations are really the glue of what holds us together; if we go back and read deToqueville and notice how he talked over and over again about the unique characteristics that he found among Americans and rooted so many of those in that kind of intermediary institution of civil society that I just mentioned, then we know we have to better understand what we can do to strengthen those institutions, to understand how they have changed over time, and to try to find meaning in them as they currently are.

That's why the debate over family values over the last year, which was devised for political purposes, seemed so off point. There is no—or should be no—debates that our family structure is in trouble. There should be no debate that children need the stability, the predictability of a family. But there should be debate over how we best make sure that children and families flourish. And once that debate is carried out on honest terms, then we have to recognize that either the old idea that only parental influence and parental values matters, or the nearly as old idea that only state programmatic intervention matters, are both equally fallacious. Instead we ought to recognize what should be a common-sense truth—that children are the result of both the values of their parents and the values of the society in which they live. And that you can have an important—(applause)...

(End of side one of tape.)

(In progress)... how best to make sure parental values are the ones that will help children grow and be strengthened, and how social values equally must be recognized for the role they play in how children feel about themselves and act in the world. And then we can begin to have what should be a sensible conversation about how to strengthen both. That's the kind of approach that has to get beyond the dogma of right or left, conservative or liberal. Those views are inadequate to the problems we see.

Any of you who have ever been in an inner city, working with young people as I have over the years, will know as I do the heroic stories of parents and grandparents who, against overwhelming odds, fight to keep their children safe—just physically safe; and who hold high expectations for those children; whose values I would put up against any other person in the country, but who have no control over the day-to-day violence and influence that comes flooding in the doors of that housing project apartment; and who need a society that is more supportive of their value than the one they currently have. (Applause.)

Equally, all of us know the contrary story of families with enough economic means, affluent enough to live in neighborhoods that are as safe as they can be in our country today, so they have the social value structure of what we would hope that each child in America could have in terms of just basic kinds of fundamental safety and physical well-being, but whose parental values are not ones to promote a childhood that is a positive one, giving children the chance to grow up to achieve their own God-given potential. So that the presence of values of society are not enough, either.

There are so many examples of how we have to think differently and how we have to go beyond not only the traditions of the past, but unfortunately for many of us, well-held and cherished views of the past; and how we have to break out of the kind of gridlock mentality which exists not just in the Congress from time to time, but exists as well in all of us as we struggle to see the world differently

and cope with the challenges it has given us.

Yet I am very hopeful about where we stand in this last decade of the 20th century, because for all of the problems that we see around us, both abroad and at home, there is a growing body of people who want to deal with them, who want to be part of this conversation about how we break through old views and deal with new problems. And we will need millions more of those conversations.

Those conversations need to take place in every family, every workplace, every political institution in our country. They need to take place in our schools, where we have to be honest about what we are and are not able to convey to our children; where we have to be honest about the conditions which are confronting so many of our teachers and our students day in and day out; where we have to be honest that we do have to set high expectations for all children and we should not discard any because of who they are or where they come from. (Applause.)

And where we need to hold accountable every member of the educational enterprise—parents, teachers and students. Each should be held accountable for the opportunity they have been given to participate in one of the greatest efforts of humankind, passing on knowledge to children. And we have to expect more than we are currently getting. (Applause.)

We also need to take a hard look at other institutions. As Governor Richards said, we are in the midst of an intensive effort of trying to determine how we can provide decent, affordable health care to every American. (Applause.) And in that process we have to ask hard questions about every aspect of our health care system. Why do doctors do what they do? Why are nurses not permitted to do more than they do? Why are patients put in the position they're in? (Applause.)

But to give you just one example about how this ties in with what I have said before about how these problems we are confronting now in many ways are the result of our progress as we have moved toward being modern men and women: Our ancestors did not have to think about the many of the issues we are now confronted with. When does life start; when does life end? Who makes those decisions? How do we dare impinge upon these areas of such delicate, difficult questions? And, yet, every day in hospitals and homes and hospices all over this country, people are struggling with those very profound issues.

These are not issues that we have guidebooks about. They are issues that we have to summon up what we believe is morally and ethically and spiritually correct and do the best we can with God's guidance. How do we create a system that gets rid of the micro-management, the regulation and the bureaucracy, and substitutes instead human caring, concern and love? And that is our real challenge in redesigning a health care system. (Applause.)

I want to say a word about another institution, and that is the media, because it is the filter through which we see ourselves and one another. And in many ways the challenge confronting it is just as difficult as those confronting any other institution we can imagine. How does one keep up with the extraordinary pace of information now available? How do we make sense of that information now available? How do we make sense of that information? How do we make values about it even if we think we have made sense? How do we rid ourselves of the lowest common denominator that is the easiest way of conveying information? How do we have a media that understands how difficult these issues are and looks at itself honestly, because the role it must play is so critical to our success in making decisions about how we will proceed as a society?

I remember in the beginning of the campaign being asked a question at an editorial meeting in South Carolina that my husband was at to meet a lot of the editors and reporters from a lot of the small-town papers. These were not the folks who you'll see on a TV station anywhere, these are the people who got up every day and did the best they could to put out the paper that covered their community or their region. And one of the men, after hearing my husband speak, said, "Now you've talked about how we have to change—how we have to change government, how we have to change society. But as

a journalist, how do I change to be able to understand and report on those changes?" My husband said, "You know, I can't answer that. That's something you have to answer. But I'm really glad you asked the question, because every institution in our life has to ask those hard questions about who we are, what contribution we make to dealing with our problems and to injecting meaning again in the lives of us all."

So every one of our institutions is under the same kind of mandate. Change will come whether we want it or not, and what we have to do is to try and make change our friend, not our enemy. But probably most profoundly and importantly, the changes that will count the most are the millions and millions of changes that take place on the individual level as people reject cynicism; as they are willing to take risks to meet the challenges they see around them; as they truly begin to try to see other people as they wish to be seen and to treat them as they wish to be treated; to overcome all of the obstacles we have erected around ourselves that keep us apart from one another, fearful and afraid, not willing to build the bridges necessary; to fill that spiritual vacuum that Lee Atwater talked about.

You know, one of my favorite quotes is from Albert Schweitzer. And he talks about how the disease in Central Africa is called the sleeping sickness; there exists a sleeping sickness of the soul. The most dangerous aspect is that—(gap in the tape).

(In progress)—moving into a new millennium. Let us be willing to help our institutions to change, to deal with the new challenges that confront them. Let us try to restore the importance of civil society by committing ourselves to our children, our families, our friends; and to reaching out beyond the circle of those of whom we know, to the many others on whom we are dependent in this complex society; and understanding a little more about what their lives are like and doing what we can to help ease their burdens.

Our greatest opportunities lie ahead, because so many of the struggles of the Depression and the World War and the other challenges posed by the Cold War and communism are behind us. The new ones are equally threatening. But we should have learned a lot in the last few years that will prepare us to play our part in remolding a society that we are proud to be a part of.

Thank you all very much.

* Lee Atwater ("Lee Atwater's Last Campaign", LIFE Magazine, February 1991)



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send feedback to the Web Development Team.*

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton [partial] (4 pages)	04/14/1994	b(7)(E), b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 19009

FOLDER TITLE:

Civil Society and Democracy Building Volume 1 [Binder] [1]

2013-0534-S

rc1873

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.

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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]

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

DATE: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1994

FINAL*

WASHINGTON, DC; NEW YORK, NY; WASHINGTON, DC

Travelling Staff:	Craighead	SKYPAGE	PIN#883-5773
	Caputo	SKYPAGE	PIN#883-5733
	Verveer		
	Ralph Alswang		

Congressional Delegation:

Cong. Charles Rangel [D-NY]

Guest: Sara Ehrman

Lead Advance
New York, NY

Kara McGuire	Rm#28-T
Waldorf Astoria Hotel	
301 Park Avenue	
Phone: 212/355-3000	
Fax: 212/872-7272	
In Room Fax: 716/726-2502	
Cellular: 202/494-9730	
1-800-SKYPAGE	PIN#883-5738

Scheduling Desk:

Julie Hopper	
202-456-7561	office
202-456-2317	fax
202-544-4223	home
1-800-528-7823	WHCA#4096

PREV RON

The White House

7:15 am

(b)(6)

0033

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1994
PAGE 2

8:15 am **DEPART** The South Portico
 EN ROUTE Andrews Air Force Base
 [Drive Time: 25 minutes]
 Travelling w/HRC:
 Kelly Craighead
 Lisa Caputo
 Melanne Verveer
 Ralph Alswang
 Sara Ehrman

8:40 am **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base
 Phone: 301/981-2100
 Fax: 301/981-4527 OR 202/395-1233

8:45 am [EDT] **WHEELS UP** Washington, DC

FLIGHT TIME: 50 minutes
MANIFEST: HRC, Craighead, Caputo, Verveer, Alswang, Ehrman,
Cong. Charles Rangel, (b)(7)e
FOOD: Breakfast

9:35 am [EDT] **WHEELS DOWN** La Guardia
 FBO: Signature Flight Support
 Marine Air Terminal
 Holding Room: First Floor Conference Room
 Phone: 718/476-5200
 Fax: 718/476-5239
 CLOSED PRESS/PUBLIC ARRIVAL

Note: Kara McGuire will meet HRC at the airport

NO GREETERS

9:40 am **DEPART** The Airport
 EN ROUTE North General Hospital
 [Drive Time: Approx. 15 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST:
LIMO: HRC
STAFF VAN: Craighead, Caputo, Alswang
VIP VAN: Cong. Charles Rangel, Verveer, Ehrman

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1994
PAGE 3

9:55 am [EDT] **WHEELS DOWN** La Guardia
FBO: Signature Flight Support
Marine Air Terminal
Holding Room: First Floor Conference Room
Phone: 718/476-5200
Fax: 718/476-5239
CLOSED PRESS/PUBLIC ARRIVAL

NOTE: Kara McGuire will meet HRC at the airport.

NO GREETERS

9:40 am **DEPART** The Airport
EN ROUTE North General Hospital
[Drive Time: Approx. 15 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST:

LIMO: HRC

STAFF VAN: Craighead, Caputo, Alswang

VIP VAN: Cong. Charles Rangel, Verveer, Ehrman

9:55 am **ARRIVE** North General Hospital
1879 Madison/122nd Streets
[Main Entrance]
OPEN PRESS ARRIVAL

Greeters: Eugene "Gene" McCabe; Pres. Of North General Hospital
Livingston Francis; Chm. Of the Board
Assemblyman Angelo Del Toro [D]
Borough President Ruth Messinger [D]

10:00 am **VISIT** to North General Hospital
HRC's Holding Room: 7200 Conference Room
Phone: 212/423-4785
Fax: 212/423-4204
Staff Holding Room: 7th Floor, Conference Rm.
Attire: Business

10:00 am **PROCEED TO 7TH FLOOR**

ELEVATOR MANIFEST:

HRC, Craighead, McGuire, Cong. Rangel, Verveer, Caputo, Alswang, Rogers

10:05 am-

10:20 am

TOUR of the Pediatric Unit
7th Floor
POOL PRESS ONLY

PARTICIPANTS ON TOUR:

- HRC
- Cong. Charles Rangel
- Eugene McCabe
- Dr. Anthony Francis; Staff Pediatrician
- Dr. Idaise Peguaro
- Dr. Kata Rao; Chief of Pediatrics

FORMAT:

- HRC will tour pediatric unit; stop in playroom/atrium and visit with children and their mothers.
TIGHT POOL PRESS ONLY
- Proceed to nurses station for specialized Computer demonstration (up-to-date billing And processing for patients, etc.)
- Demonstration by Pat Norman; Facilities Adm.
TIGHT POOL PRESS ONLY
- Proceed with tour of pediatric unit
CLOSED PRESS
- Proceed to 5th Floor for Administrators Meeting

10:20 am

PROCEED TO STAIRWAY

10:25 am-

11:00 am

PRIVATE MEETING w/ Hospital Administrators
Conference Room - 5th Floor
CLOSED PRESS

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1994
PAGE 5

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 20 expected to attend
[See briefing book for further info]

Event Contact: Eugene McCabe 212/423-3900
Rangel Contact: Vivian Jones 212/663-3900

11:00 am-
11:10

OFFICIAL PHOTO/MEET & GREET
Adjoining Conference Room - 5th Floor
CLOSED PRESS

PARTICIPANTS: 20 expected to attend

FORMAT:
- Informal meet & greet/official photos

Rangel Contact: Emil Jones 225-0293

11:15

DEPART North General Hospital
EN ROUTE Waldorf Astoria Hotel
[Drive Time: 25 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST:

LIMO: HRC

STAFF VAN: Craighead, Caputo, Alswang

VIP VAN: Cong. Rangel [T], Ehrman, Verveer

11:40 am **ARRIVE** The Waldorf Astoria Hotel
301 Park Ave.
The Well

11:45 am-
12:15 pm

OFFICIAL PHOTO/MEET & GREET W/LOCAL DIGNITARIES
Hoover Suite -- 4th Floor
HRC's Holding Room: Hoover Anteroom
CLOSED PRESS

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 40-50 expected to attend
[See briefing book for further info]

FORMAT:
- Receiving line/official photos

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1994
PAGE 6

Staff Contact: Joe Velasquez 456-6257

12:30 pm-
1:00 pm

LUNCH

Suite: 42R
Staff Hold: 41M

1:00 pm-
2:30 pm

PRIVATE MEETINGS

Suite: 42R
CLOSED PRESS

PARTICIPANTS: To Be Determined

FORMAT:

- 20 minutes for each individual meeting

Event Contact: Patti Solis

2:30 pm-
2:35 pm

DROP BY w/Ambassador Madeline Albright [TENTATIVE]
Suite

Contact: Susanne McPartlin 202/415-4402

2:45 pm-
6:15 pm

DOWN TIME

Suite: 42R at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel

6:15 pm-
7:15 pm

(b)(6)

7:20 pm

DEPART The Waldorf Astoria Hotel
EN ROUTE New York Public Library
[Drive Time: 10 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST:

LIMO: HRC

STAFF VAN: Craighead, Caputo, Alswang, Verveer

GUEST VAN: Asnes, Thomases, Ehrman

7:30 pm **ARRIVE** New York Public Library
455 5th Ave. [40th Street Entrance]

7:35 pm **PROCEED** to Stairway

Greeters: - Dr. Paul LeClerc
 - Judith Ginsberg, wife of Dr. Paul LeClerc

7:40 pm **PROCEED** to Trustees Room

7:40 pm-
7:55 pm **MEET & GREET** w/VIP's
Trustees Room
CLOSED PRESS

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 20 expected to attend

FORMAT:

- Informal meet & greet/official photo

8:00 pm-
10:30 pm

ELIE WIESEL FOUNDATION'S HUMANITARIAN AWARD

Celeste Bartos Room
HRC's Holding Room: President's Office
Phone: 212/930-0735
Fax: 212/869-3567
Staff Holding Room: Library Cafeteria
Staff Phone: 212/930-0779
Attire: **BLACK TIE**
POOL PRESS DURING REMARKS ONLY

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 500 expected to attend
[See briefing book for further info]

Seated beside HRC:

- Elie Wiesel
- Edgar Bronfman

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1994
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FORMAT:

- Charlie Rose; Master of Ceremonies

Brief Remarks by the Following: Approx. 25 minutes total

- Dr. Paul LeClerc; Pres. Of NY Public Library
- Edgar Bronfman, Chairman
- Prime Minister Tansa Ciller
- Barbara Streisand
- Dr. Emanuel Rackman give invocation
- Dinner is served
- Bernard Kalb, Presentation of the 1994 Prizes in Ethics
- Carly Simon sings
- Elie Wiesel, Presentation of the Humanitarian Award to HRC
- Edgar Bronfman escorts HRC to podium
- HRC accepts award and delivers remarks
- HRC departs stage left

Event Contact: Marion Wiesel 212/221-1100

10:30 pm **DEPART** New York Public Library
EN ROUTE The Airport
[Drive Time: 20 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST

LIMO: HRC

STAFF VAN: Craighead, Caputo, Alswang, Verveer, Ehrman

10:50 pm **ARRIVE** The Airport

11:00 pm [EDT] **WHEELS UP** New York, NY

(b)(7)e

11:55 pm [EDT] **WHEELS DOWN** Washington, DC

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1994
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12:00 am	DEPART Andrews Air Force Base EN ROUTE The White House
12:25 am	ARRIVE The White House South Portico
RON	The White House

April 13, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FROM: Liz Bowyer
SUBJECT: Briefings for Thursday, April 14

North General Hospital

- Briefing
- Press release from the Doctor's Council
- Network Components of North General Hospital
- Bio of NGH President Eugene McCabe

Meeting with Hospital Administrators

- Briefing
- Response to Lewin AHA Report
- Possible Concerns of Administrators
- List of Attendees
- Testimony of President McCabe to the Ways & Means Committee

Rangel Meet & Greet

- List of Attendees

Political Meet & Greet

- Briefing
- List of Attendees

Elie Wiesel Foundation Humanitarian Award Dinner

- Briefing
- Bio of Elie Wiesel
- Elie Wiesel's prepared remarks introducing HRC
- Meet and Greet List
- Head Table List
- Guest List of Luminaries
- Transcript of Elie Wiesel's remarks accepting the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize
- "A Nobel Peace Prize-Winner Explores the Meaning of Fanaticism; When Passion Is Dangerous", Elie Wiesel, *The Houston Chronicle*, 4/19/92
- "Cry Out Against Injustice In Yugoslavia", Elie Wiesel, *USA TODAY*, 12/22/92

Political Profile

- Congressional Briefing
- Political Briefing
- Intergovernmental Briefing

Remarks

- Wiesel Foundation Dinner

April 13, 1994

THE ELIE WIESEL FOUNDATION HUMANITARIAN AWARD DINNER

DATE: April 14, 1994
TIME: 7:30 pm
LOCATION: New York Public Library
FROM: Nicole Rabner

I PURPOSE

To accept the Elie Wiesel Foundation Humanitarian Award and make remarks on the condition of children around the world, emphasizing the importance of taking bold action to protect their futures.

II BACKGROUND

The Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity

With the prize money from his 1986 Nobel Peace Prize and a gift from philanthropist Milton Petrie, Wiesel established the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity in January of 1987. The foundation emerged from Wiesel's resolve to speak out against indifference to human suffering. In his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, Wiesel remarked:

"...I swore never to be silent whenever and wherever human beings endure suffering and humiliation. We must always take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence always encourages the tormentor, never the tormented." (12/86)

The mission of the foundation, Wiesel has explained, is "to combat intolerance, fanaticism and hate in all their multiple disguises" (1991). To that end, the foundation organizes national and international forums for the discussion of urgent ethical issues. In 1988, the foundation embarked on a project to explore the subject of hate through a series of conferences around the world. The most recent conference, in 1992, explored "The Anatomy of Hate: Saving Our Children," and was organized jointly with Governor Cuomo.

Recently, the foundation sponsored a fact finding mission to Sarajevo, which resulted in the liquidation of a notorious prison camp. It plans to develop a television series for grade school children aimed at enhancing their ethical development.

The Elie Wiesel Foundation Humanitarian Award

The Elie Wiesel Foundation Humanitarian Award is given in recognition of individuals whose accomplishments are consistent with the goals of the foundation. Past recipients include Danielle Mitterand, for her work with children in Third World countries; President George Bush, for opposing tyranny during the Gulf War; and His Majesty King Juan Carlos of Spain, for bringing democracy to his country through peaceful means.

The award is in the form of a Tzedaka Box (tsa-duck-a), a collection device found in Eastern European synagogues until World War II, to gather funds to be distributed anonymously to the needy.

The award you will receive is inscribed: "The Elie Wiesel Foundation Humanitarian Award to Hillary Rodham Clinton Who Has Truly Been a Voice of Hope for America's Children."

Dinner

The The Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity sponsors this dinner every two years to honor the award recipients and raise money for the foundation. Mrs. Wiesel says that holding the dinner at New York Public Library is unprecedented; the library, as a matter of longstanding policy, does not allow fundraising events, outside of its own, to be held there. However, because of the foundation's relationship with the library and particularly because of your presence, the library has made an exception.

You will be seated between Elie Wiesel and Edgar Bronfman, who is the chairman of the dinner. Bob Burkett, in his fundraising efforts for health care, is trying to enlist Bronfman as a contributor.

NOTE: Carly Simon composed a song especially for the foundation and for you; she will sing during the awards ceremony.

Elie Wiesel

Wiesel continues to be a public opinion leader, speaking out against injustice and indifference to human suffering through lectures and his writing. Last year, at the dedication of the United States Holocaust Memorial, Wiesel pleaded with President Clinton to do more on behalf of the suffering in Bosnia. "Mr. President," he said, "we must do something about the bloodshed."

The following quotes exemplify some of the major facets of Wiesel's philosophy:

- We must counter hate:

"Hate wears many masks. It comes disguised as racial or religious superiority. It can wear the mask of patriotism – or revolution. It is the cancer at the root of human relationships – among individuals and entire nations... [Hate] remains an uncharted sickness in the human soul." (Oslo, 1990)

- We have a moral duty to remember our experiences, especially painful ones, and share them:

"If we have learned one thing from our past, it is that to live through dramatic events is not enough; one has to share them and transform them into acts of conscience."

- We have an individual and collective moral duty to intervene where human suffering occurs:

"When injustice occurs – and war is the greatest injustice of all – indifference is not only a sin but also a punishment. Thus, intervention becomes a moral imperative. Everywhere? Yes, everywhere. That is the duty of nations and individuals." (USA Today, 4/20/93)

- Fanaticism in all forms is dangerous and must be countered:

"Fanaticism has many faces: racism, religious bigotry, ethnic hatred. What those faces have in common is an urge to replace words with violence, facts with propaganda, reason with blind impulses, hope with terror." (5/24/92)

- Personal religious faith:

"I believe in God – in spite of God! I believe in Mankind – in spite of Mankind! I believe in the future – in spite of the past!"

Wiesel's major works include:

- Night, 1956
- Dawn, 1961
- The Accident, 1961
- The Jews of Silence: A Personal Report on Soviet Jewry, 1966
- The Madness of God (play), 1968
- One Generation After, 1970
- A Jew Today, 1978
- Somewhere a Master: Further Tales of the Hasidic Masters, 1984
- Against Silence: The Voice and Vision of Elie Wiesel, 1985
- The Testament

- Twilight, 1988
- The Forgotten, 1992

Mrs. Marion Wiesel

Marion Wiesel is also a Holocaust survivor. She married Wiesel in 1969, and today serves as vice president of the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity. She has translated several of Wiesel's books from French into English.

III. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- HRC proceeds to New York Public Library
- HRC is greeted by Dr. Paul LeClerc and wife, Dr. Judith Ginsburg
- HRC proceeds to the Trustees Room
- VIP Meet and Greet [25 minutes]
- HRC proceeds to the Celeste Bartos Room, head table
- Charlie Rose, Master of Ceremonies, makes brief remarks
- Paul LeClerc makes brief remarks
- Edgar Bronfman makes brief remarks
- Prime Minister Tansa Ciller makes brief remarks
- Barbra Streisand makes brief remarks
- Dr. Emanuel Rackman (Rabbi) gives invocation
- Dinner is served
- Bernard Kalb presents the 1994 Elie Wiesel Ethics Prize
- Carly Simon sings
- Elie Wiesel presents award to HRC
- Edgar Bronfman escorts HRC to podium
- HRC makes remarks
- HRC departs stage left

IV. PARTICIPANTS

- HRC
- Elie Wiesel
- Marion Wiesel
- Charlie Rose, Master of Ceremonies
- Dr. Paul LeClerc, President, New York Library
- Prime Minister Tansu Ciller of Turkey
(who will have met with the President earlier in the day)
- Barbra Streisand
- Dr. Emanuel Rackman (Rabbi)
- Bernard Kalb
- Carly Simon
- Head table of 24 people – see attached list
- audience of c. 525 people – see attached list of luminaries

V. PRESS

Press pool for your remarks only.

NOTE: Many well-known print and broadcast journalists will attend the dinner as guests. Please see list of guest luminaries.

VI REMARKS

Provided by Lissa Muscatine.

Elie Wiesel

Elie[zer] Wiesel was fifteen when, in 1944, he was sent to the concentration camp of Auschwitz, where his mother and sister perished, and later to Buchenwald, where he watched his father die of dysentery and starvation. Wiesel has told of looking at himself in a mirror for the first time following the liberation: "From the depths of the mirror, a corpse looked back at me. The look in his eyes, as they stared into mine, has never left me."

When Wiesel left Buchenwald, he had vowed not to speak of his experiences for at least ten years; "How does one describe the indescribable? How can one be sure that the words ... will not betray, distort the message they bear?" However, in 1954, Wiesel was persuaded by Catholic writer Francois Mauriac to tell his story. Soon after, La Nuit (Night) was published, which has since been translated into many different languages and has become the most noted and perhaps the most influential personal account of the Holocaust. Once released from his self-imposed vow, Wiesel became a prolific writer, and has written over thirty books – novels, short stories, plays, essays, as well as many editorials.

Wiesel has long been an advocate for the oppressed. Among those he has supported are Soviet Jews, Miskito Indians, Cambodian refugees, the victims of apartheid in South Africa and of famine in Africa. Wiesel has also made many public pleas for intervention. In 1985, when President Reagan presented him with the Congressional Medal of Achievement, Wiesel implored the President to cancel his planned visit to a military cemetery in Germany because members of the SS, Hitler's elite military corps, were buried there. "This place, Mr. President," he pleaded, "is not your place. Your place is with the victims of the SS." President Reagan went ahead with his plans. Wiesel has also pleaded with President Clinton to do more for those suffering in Bosnia. Wiesel now teaches at Boston University.

ELIE WIESEL FOUNDATION FOR HUMANITY AWARD DINNER

ELIE WIESEL'S INTRODUCTION

Health Care. Head Start. Preservation of the family. Whenever we encounter an urgent children's issue, we discover that it is your issue. As one of the first staff lawyers of the Children's Defense Fund; then as its Board Member and Chair; and now as the First Lady of this great land, you have made it your mission to nurture the next generation and to uphold its dignity.

With unwaivering commitment, you have, for more than two decades, worked on behalf of our nation's children, especially the poor, the unloved, the forsaken. You have sought to protect their precious rights through ceaseless and inspired child advocacy. You have truly been a voice for America's children.

We know, Mrs. Clinton, that you hear not only the cry of the hungry child in Mississippi but also the despair of the orphan in Sarajevo. We know that the distress of any child affects you profoundly; that you believe we must do more to give hope to all of our children, that we must help them realize their dreams.

That is why those of us who have seen children suffer -- who have seen millions of children senselessly slaughtered -- are especially grateful to know that you, our First Lady, care desperately about their future.

THE ELIE WIESEL FOUNDATION HUMANITARIAN AWARD DINNER

MEET AND GREET LIST

- HRC
- Mr. and Mrs. Elie Wiesel (Marion)
- Dr. Paul DeClerc and Dr. Judith Ginsberg
- Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Bronfman (Jan Aronson)
- Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Heiskell (Marion)
- Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Bresler (Rita)
- Mr. Arthur Cohen
- Mr. and Mrs. Armand Bartos (Celeste)
- Mr. Matthew and Mrs. Lisa Betzberg
- Mr. Charlie Rose and Mrs. Amanda Burden
- Mr. and Mrs. John Heyman (Nizza)
- Mr. Bernard Kalb
- Mr. and Mrs. Moise Safra

THE ELIE WIESEL FOUNDATION FOR HUMANITY AWARD DINNER

HEAD TABLE LIST

- HRC
- Mr. and Mrs Elie Wiesel
- Prime Minister Tansu Ciller and Mr. Ozer Ciller
Prime Minister of Turkey
- Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Bronfman
Chairman of dinner; Chairman of Seagram's
- Dr. Paul LeClerc and Dr. Judith Ginsberg
President of The New York Public Library and his wife
- Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Heiskell
- Mrs. Rudolph Giuliani
Wife of the Mayor of NYC
- Mr. and Mrs. Jak Kamhi
Prominent businessman from Turkey; dinner co-chairman
- Mr. and Mrs. Randolph Hearst
Chairman, Hearst Publications
- Mr. William J. Flynn
Chairman & CEO, Mutual of America, dinner co-chairman
- Carly Simon
Entertainer
- Toni Morrison
Nobel Laureate
- Mrs. Angier Biddle Duke
Wife of the former Ambassador to Spain and former Chief of Protocol
- Mr. and Mrs. John Slade
Senior Partner of Bear Stearns & Co.; dinner co-chairman
- The Honorable Jo Benko
Former President of the Norwegian Parliament

- Mr. Will Baer
Producer, Universal Pictures
- The Honorable Robert M. Morgenthau
District Attorney - Manhattan

THE ELIE WIESEL FOUNDATION HUMANITARIAN AWARD DINNER

GUEST LIST OF LUMINARIES

Journalists

Mr. and Mrs. A. Am Rosenthal, NYT "On My Mind" Columnist

Ms. Nadine Brozan, journalist, New York Times Chronicles

Mr. and Mrs. Randolph Hearst, Publisher, Hearst Publishing

Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Heiskell, Former CEO of Time Inc.

Mr. Charlie Rose, Host, Syndicated PBS Radio and Cable Show

Ms. Barbara Walters

Mr. Mortimer B. Zuckerman, Owner, U.S. News And World Report

Politicians / Officials

Prime Minister Tansu and Mr. Ozer Ciller, (Turkey)

Governor and Mrs. Marie Cuomo (not confirmed)

Mayor and Mrs. Rudolph Giuliani (not confirmed)

The Honorable Robert Morgenthau, District Attorney

Judge and Mrs. Kirschenbaum

Senator Patrick J. Leahy

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (not confirmed)

Congressman and Mrs. Charles Schumer

Congressman and Mrs. Stephen Solarz

Congressman and Mrs. Tom Lantos (not confirmed)

Luminaries

Barbra Streisand

Al Pacino

Steven Spielberg

Toni Morrison

Carly Simon

Donna Karan

Bill Blass, designer

Ahmet Ertegun, owner, major music label

Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Lauder, Son of Estee Lauder

Mr. and Mrs. Samuel LeFrak, builder of "LeFrak City," Housing development

Professor Carl Sagan

Diplomats

Consul General Dag Sebastian Ahlander, (Sweden)

Ambassador and Mrs. Jacques Andreani, (France)

Ambassador and Mrs. Ansay

Ambassador Colette Avital

Ambassador and Mrs. Inal Batu, (Turkey)

The Honorable Mr. Jo Benkow, (Former President, Norwegian Parliament)

Consul General and Mrs. John Bjornebye, (Norway)

Ambassador and Mrs. Yusef Buluc, (Turkey)

Ambassador Yalim Eralp

Ambassador and Mrs. Nuzhet Kandemir, (Turkey)

Ambassador and Mrs. Marco Cesar Naslausky

Ambassador John Shad

LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 3 STORIES

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SECTION: Section A; Page 12, Column 4; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 889 words

HEADLINE: WIESEL'S SPEECH AT NOBEL CEREMONY

BODY:

Following is the prepared text of the acceptance speech by Elie Wiesel, the winner of the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize, at a ceremony in Oslo yesterday, as made available by an aide:

It is with a profound sense of humility that I accept the honor you have chosen to bestow upon me. I know: your choice transcends me. This both frightens and pleases me. It frightens me because I wonder: do I have the right to represent the multitudes who have perished? Do I have the right to accept this great honor on their behalf? I do not. That would be presumptuous. No one may speak for the dead, no one may interpret their mutilated dreams and visions.

It pleases me because I may say that this honor belongs to all the survivors and their children, and through us, to the Jewish people with whose destiny I've always identified.

I remember: it happened yesterday or eternities ago. A young Jewish boy discovered the kingdom of night. I remember his bewilderment, I remember his anguish. It all happened so fast. The ghetto. The deportation. The sealed cattle car. The fiery altar upon which the history of our people and the future of mankind were meant to be sacrificed.

'Can This Be True?'

I remember: he asked his father: "Can this be true? This is the 20th century, not the Middle Ages. Who would allow such crimes to be committed? How could the world remain silent?"

And now the boy is turning to me: "Tell me," he asks. "What have you done with my future? What have you done with your life?"

And I tell him that I have tried. That I have tried to keep memory alive, that I have tried to fight those who would forget. Because if we forget, we are guilty, we are accomplices.

And then I explained to him how naive we were, that the world did know and remain silent. And that is why I swore never to be silent whenever and wherever human beings endure suffering and humiliation. We must always take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented.

Sometimes We Must Interfere'

The New York Times, December 11, 1986

Sometimes we must interfere. When human lives are endangered, when human dignity is in jeopardy, national borders and sensitivities become irrelevant. Wherever men or women are persecuted because of their race, religion or political views, that place must - at that moment - become the center of the universe.

Of course, since I am a Jew profoundly rooted in my people's memory and tradition, my first response is to Jewish fears, Jewish needs, Jewish crises. For I belong to a traumatized generation, one that experienced the abandonment and solitude of our people. It would be unnatural for me not to make Jewish priorities my own: Israel, Soviet Jewry, Jews in Arab lands.

But there are others as important to me. Apartheid is, in my view, as abhorrent as anti-Semitism. To me, Andrei Sakharov's isolation is as much of a disgrace as Iosif Begun's imprisonment. As is the denial of Solidarity and its leader Lech Walesa's right to dissent. And Nelson Mandela's interminable imprisonment.

There is so much injustice and suffering crying out for our attention: victims of hunger, or racism and political persecution, writers and poets, prisoners in so many lands governed by the left and by the right. Human rights are being violated on every continent. More people are oppressed than free.

Palestinians and Israelis

And then, too, there are the Palestinians to whose plight I am sensitive but whose methods I deplore. Violence and terrorism are not the answer. Something must be done about their suffering, and soon. I trust Israel, for I have faith in the Jewish people. Let Israel be given a chance, let hatred and danger be removed from her horizons, and there will be peace in and around the Holy Land.

Yes, I have faith. Faith in God and even in His creation. Without it no action would be possible. And action is the only remedy to indifference: the most insidious danger of all. Isn't this the meaning of Alfred Nobel's legacy? Wasn't his fear of war a shield against war?

There is much to be done, there is much that can be done. One person - a Raoul Wallenberg, an Albert Schweitzer, one person of integrity, can make a difference, a difference of life and death. As long as one dissident is in prison, our freedom will not be true. As long as one child is hungry, our lives will be filled with anguish and shame.

What all these victims need above all is to know that they are not alone; that we are not forgetting them, that when their voices are stifled we shall lend them ours, that while their freedom depends on ours, the quality of our freedom depends on theirs.

'Every Hour an Offering'

This is what I say to the young Jewish boy wondering what I have done with his years. It is in his name that I speak to you and that I express to you my deepest gratitude. No one is as capable of gratitude as one who has emerged from the kingdom of night.

The New York Times, December 11, 1986

We know that every moment is a moment of grace, every hour an offering; not share them would mean to betray them. Our lives no longer belong to us alone; they belong to all those who need us desperately.

Thank you Chairman Aarvik. Thank you, members of the Nobel Committee. Thank you, people of Norway, for declaring on this singular occasion that our survival has meaning for mankind.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

THE WHITE HOUSE Office of the Press Secretary April 14, 1994 REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY ELIE WIESEL HUMANITARIAN AWARDS, NEW YORK CITY MRS. CLINTON:

Thank you very much. I am overwhelmed by this entire evening, and I am feeling not only overwhelmed but quite unworthy in the face of all of the words that have been said and all of the emotions behind those words: the hopes that they carry, and the challenges they face on the way to being fulfilled. I was very honored when I received word that the Foundation wished to bestow this award on me. And as I have thought about being here with you this evening, I have had many mixed feelings. I certainly looked forward to spending the time that I've had the opportunity to do so with Elie and Marian tonight, two people whom I admire. I told Elie last night that as I was putting my daughter to bed she asked me if I would be home tonight, and I told her no, I would be in New York, and what I would be doing. She immediately got out of bed and found her copy of *Night* and gave it to me, and said, "You might want to reread it on the way to New York." I have been very moved and grateful for the kind words that my friends Barbara Streisand and Carly Simon, two women whom I am very grateful to for their friendship and support -- and to all of you who made this dinner possible and who support the work of this foundation. It is important to stop on occasion, like we are doing this evening, bringing together so many in this room who represent the power of intellect, the power of money, the power of politics, the power of academia, the power of volunteers, and to spend some time thinking about the words that moved us, the stories, and perhaps rekindling our own commitment to doing what we can to take whatever action is available to each of individually and through our communities and our countries, to help children. I was particularly honored that the prime minister would be here. She is someone who is facing many challenges in her country. And our country, and certainly the President, are standing ready to help. But let's think for a minute about where we are and what lies ahead of us if we really expect that our children will inherit a world safer and ready for the challenges that they face. I was struck by the kinds of parallels between the words of a young woman whose book you may have read, who has so movingly described what it is like for a child today in the world that is too often cruel and filled with war. She wrote: boredom, shooting, shelling, people being killed, despair, hunger, misery, fear, that's my life. The life of an innocent 11-year-old girl, a schoolgirl without a school, a child without games, without friends, without the sun, without birds, without nature, without fruit, without chocolate or sweets, with just a little powdered milk, in short, a child without a childhood. That young woman, Zlota Filipovich (phonetic), wrote those words on June 29, 1992. Fifty years earlier another child sounded the same alarm with her own words, awakening us to the folly of indifference and the terrible toll it takes on our young. She wrote: "until all mankind, without exception, undergoes a great change, everything will be destroyed and disfigured, after which mankind will have to begin all over again." Those were Anne Frank's words. Those were the words of another child caught up in another -- following another war. But they are the words that you could hear throughout the decades, and that if we listen we can hear today. We can hear the cries of the children in Rwanda, Burundi. We can hear the cries of the children in Brazilian slums who are hunted by vigilantes and slaughtered at night, children in Thailand who are involuntarily ensnared in rings of prostitution and slavery, children in Somalia, starved and diseased until they are as frail as match sticks, children in Sarajevo, so numbed by violence that they no longer flinch at the sounds of bombs in their streets. Unfortunately, the persecution and the resulting fears of children knows no boundaries. Here in America, not far from where we are this evening, in one of the great centers of learning and education, there are children who do not flinch at the sounds of gunfire themselves. Just this week the Carnegie corporation issued an extensive report

decrying the conditions of millions of infants and children in our own nation. As unthinkable as it may seem, over the last 30 years conditions have actually worsened for American children ages zero to three. Yes, we have made progress, and we can point to it and take pride in it, but as Elie Wiesel has reminded us often, our technological and scientific progress has outpaced our progress as moral beings, and that is certainly true when it comes to the treatment of our children. We have machines that can detect tumors in the brain for those who are able to access them, yet 60 percent of American children are not immunized by the age of two. We have the finest libraries in the world, like this magnificent one, yet we have millions of our children who leave school at an early age, or even graduate unable to read and write adequately. We have the most elaborate and expensive system of justice that has ever been invented, yet more and more American children resolve their disputes not with words or debate, but with guns. So in the face of this it is very hard for me to feel what I know I should feel, which is the joy of this honor. I accept it, and I'm grateful for it, but it serves in some ways as a rebuke, because I and many in this room have worked for many years advocating changes that we thought were needed to promote the well-being of children, and yet we see so many unmet needs around us. It is not enough that we sympathize with the plight of children here and around the world. Sympathy is important, but empathy is even more important, and action is essential. We may not ever be able to comprehend the pain and suffering that many children feel during their days and nights, but we know what children need. We know, because we try to give it to those children in our families and the children that we have any kind of relationship with. We know what produces healthy, productive young people. We know it starts with making sure that they have decent health care and conditions for living, educational opportunities, the right combination of love and discipline, and attention. We know what children need. We lack the will to insure that every child has the opportunity for those needs to be met. As we are looking forward to the 21st century, a century which, as was said earlier, in some ways started with Sarajevo, and unfortunately seems to be ending there, two bookends of folly and hatred, of irrationality, of spite -- ancient enmities overcoming the present and leading into the future. We must do better, and we can start here at home by resolving that in our own lives we will make more of a commitment to the children whom we can touch. Simple acts of kindness and understanding accumulate. Those in business can ask themselves, how do I help my workers not only be good workers but also good parents? How do I provide opportunities to them to do that? How do I extend the skills of the business community into the larger community, and provide services and resources to assist? We've made some changes in the last year that will bear fruit. Tomorrow is not a red-letter day in America. It's tax day. But it is a red-letter day for 17 million working American families whose taxes will go down because we need to be sure that the people who are raising children in their homes in America have incentives to stay off welfare, to lift themselves out of poverty, to take care of their own families. And yes, we are pushing a crime bill that will try to restore sanity to our streets and our neighborhoods so that children will be able to walk safely to school and play in parks again. And we will do what we can to reform a welfare system that has kept enslaved in dependency millions of mothers and children. And we intend to provide a health care system that will enable every child to have the kind of basic health care that you and I take for granted and have provided to our own children. But beyond these programs and these changes, there is something more at stake. It is not enough just to look to the kinds of legislation or regulation, or business changes that are needed. This is at bottom, a moral and ethical concern. Our country has an opportunity again to recommit itself to human rights around the world and here at home. To once again make very clear that we are a great country because

we value the individual dignity of each person, respect that person's rights, and provide opportunities for those responsible and willing to take advantage of them. So it is with great pleasure I come tonight, with some trepidation that I accept this award, not feeling worthy of it, but hoping it will spur my conscience and my commitment, and also hoping that all of us will look into the eyes of the children we see on the streets, those in our schools, who are very different from us, come from very different backgrounds, and know there's a spark of the immortal in each of them, and that if we help to fan it we will not only be giving life to children, we will be giving life to ourselves and to the country we love. That's what I hope all of us can commit ourselves to.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

Scope Paper
Fourth World Conference on Women
September 4-15, 1995

Summary

The following outlines the United States approach and priorities for the Fourth World Conference on Women. Delegates should use the negotiating matrix developed by the U.S. Government.

A number of issues related to human rights, diversity, resources, and macroeconomic policies were successfully negotiated at a July 31-August 4 informal negotiating session in New York. What remains to be negotiated in Beijing are several difficult issues not resolved at the informals, as well as issues not addressed that week, those related to the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), and girls.

Priorities

The primary U.S. objective is to promote the advancement and empowerment of women, and to reaffirm and build on the commitments made at other important UN Conferences. Women played vital, participatory roles in those conferences and were principal actors in implementing those agreements. Many issues essential to women's empowerment were addressed at those conferences, and women's central role in sustainable development was recognized.

Health

Issues related to health are the least negotiated because they were pushed to the end of the March prepcom and were not addressed during the summer informals. The United States, in partnership with other key actors, was successful, however, in expanding the section to address a lifespan approach to women's health as well as a wide range of health issues. The language in brackets is primarily consensus language agreed to in 1994 at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD). During the prepcom, it seemed that generally the G-77 was standing behind the agreements on issues such as reproductive and sexual health, reproductive rights, unsafe abortion and condoms, but the handful of countries which took reservations at the ICPD were not willing to accept the language again here.

- 2 -

The United States places a high priority on its commitment to reaffirming the agreements achieved at the ICPD, many of which are fundamental to women's empowerment.

At the ICPD, a great deal of time was spent negotiating broadly accepted language on parental involvement with adolescent health services. Unfortunately, that language is not included in the draft Platform, but more than 20 references using non-consensus language on parental involvement (some of which are entirely ill-placed) are included in the draft Platform. The United States will recommend the inclusion of the ICPD consensus paragraph 7.45 in the section on health, and the removal of the additional parental involvement references that are in brackets.

The United States supports including language opposing coercive reproductive practices, such as forced sterilization or forced abortion. We also support language requiring fully informed consent regarding prescriptions and medical procedures.

Human Rights

Significant progress was made at the recent informals in reaching consensus on human rights related language. Two important issues were left unresolved: clear language about the universality of human rights and about equality between men and women. In addition, issues of reproductive rights were not addressed at the informals and remain to be negotiated.

At the informals, the United States, the Holy See, and the European Union sought to unbracket references to the "universal nature of all human rights," drawn directly from the Declaration from the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, while the G-77 as a group sought to add language regarding "objectivity and non-selectivity" in applying human rights standards (also from Vienna). A compromise was worked out which would have combined these ideas. Only Malta objected. The United States will seek support of all delegations in advancing this compromise in Beijing.

There was no resolution of the proposal by Iran to refer to "equitable" and not just "equal" rights between men and women, in particular in regard to inheritance rights, property rights, and the right to engage in business or other economic activity. Several African delegations led the opposition to the Iranian proposal, which would undermine the concept of equality. African and Latin delegations told us that they believe they can isolate Iran and several other countries and emerge with a document with strong references to equality. The United States will support this move and will work closely with these and other delegations on the strategy to do so.

- 3 -

Reproductive rights issues and related paragraphs about cultural and religious particularities were not discussed at the informals, and like health related issues remain to be negotiated. The United States places high priority on upholding language from Cairo about reproductive rights, both in the health and the human rights sections. We will also seek to replace currently bracketed language about cultural particularities, and place high priority on unbracketing all reproductive rights and other Cairo language before accepting any such language.

Political Issues

There are several political issues currently bracketed in the document which the United States will seek to delete, or reduce the number of references to.

While the United States condemns all harmful practices, including the idea of trafficking in human tissues and organs, there is no evidence that this practice exists, and references to it in the document derive from a 1980s Soviet and Cuban disinformation campaign to spread the rumor that U.S. citizens sought organs and tissues from children in developing countries. There is no validity to the charge. Unfortunately, however, the rumors continue and resulted in the near-fatal beating of an American woman in Guatemala. The United States will seek to delete references to this issue throughout the document, particularly in the sections referring to the girl child.

In addition, the United States will seek to ensure that references to military spending and weapons are pertinent to the other issues in the document. We will seek to use Copenhagen language regarding excessive military spending. The United States is a leader in world-wide efforts to stop the indiscriminate use of anti-personnel landmines, and will propose language calling for export moratoria of such landmines.

Families/Mothers

Like many other countries, the United States wants this document to refer to the many roles women play in society, including but not limited to that of mother. At the intersessionals the United States took the lead in reformulating two paragraphs (one referring to the burdens women bear and one to media images of women leaders) which would include reference to women's roles as mothers, among other roles. Latin delegations strongly supported our language. Some African and EU delegations were hesitant to accept the reference to mothers because of their concern that emphasis is all too often placed only on motherhood excluding other aspects of life. We believe all these references are important, and can demonstrate the multiple roles of women and that they should be able to change those roles.

- 4 -

In both the ICPD and the WSSD, countries recognized the family as the basic unit of society and that various forms of families exist (e.g. single parent or multi-generational families).

We hope all delegations will accept the carefully balanced language on mothers and reaccept the concept of families, other than simply "the family."

Media

The Media section in the document has not been controversial, but some of it remains to be negotiated, and there are a few key points of concern for the United States.

The United States is particularly concerned that the references to the media both in the media section and other sections, not in any way compromise freedom of the press. The United States will oppose language that implies or states that governments can direct the media to cover certain issues or tell the media how to cover issues. The United States will seek to include further references to freedom of the press in relevant chapeaus and action items. The United States will oppose any efforts to include discredited ideas such as the "right to communication" which have been promoted by authoritarian governments that seek the "right" to direct the media.

Financial Resources

The draft Platform for Action contains bracketed language, introduced by the G-77, that requests "new and additional resources" to implement the Platform. Given the increasing constraints placed on the U.S. budget, we believe it is unrealistic to continue to ask governments to provide "new and additional" resources.

At past conferences, Japan and the European Union have shared the U.S. view. However, we understand that Japan and the EU can now accept the term "new and additional" -- not because they intend to increase their financial contributions, but because the exchange rate favors their currency, making their current contribution worth more in U.S. dollars than it was in the past.

In describing resources required by UN organizations to carry out their mandates, the United States should insist on the terms "adequate" or "sufficient" and "within existing resources of the regular budget of the UN."

- 5 -

In describing resources needed to implement the Platform, the United States should push for "adequate" rather than "new and additional." The United States can accept "new and additional" only if the language is consistent with (preferably identical to) the World Summit for Social Development, which recognizes that other actors--not just governments--will have to be approached for resources (as in Commitment 9(i) and paragraph 14a of the Programme of Action.

Debt Cancellation

The draft Platform for Action contains three alternative proposals on debt relief (para 61c):

-- The original text, proposed by the G-77, calls on the international financial institutions (IFIs) to cancel or substantially reduce the debt burden, or convert the debt servicing of developing countries.

-- The EU text paraphrases the Social Summit language and calls on IFIs to find effective development-oriented and durable solutions to external debt problems...through the immediate implementation of the terms of debt forgiveness agreed upon in the Paris Club in December 1994.

-- The text proposed by Japan calls on IFIs to continue efforts to alleviate the debt service burden.

The United States prefers the language introduced by Japan, although it is unlikely to be accepted by the G-77. The EU text paraphrases the World Summit for Social Development and the ideas presented in it are acceptable. However, rather than paraphrasing the WSSD, we would prefer to quote directly from it. (WSSD language on debt: Commitments 1(k), 7(c), 9(o), and paragraphs 10(a), 11(e), 90(a)-(f).)

The language on debt relief was a hard fought consensus at the WSSD, which took place less than six months ago. We believe it is too early to reopen the negotiations on this issue. If the Japanese alternative text is not accepted, the United States should push for the WSSD language.

Environmental Issues

There are a few key environmental issues which remain unresolved:

We want to make sure that the Platform for Action recognizes that women who live in low income and urban areas, where there is a high concentration of polluting and industrial facilities, may face disproportionate health risks (para 247).

- 6 -

The United States supports language concerning respect for and preservation of the knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous women. A paragraph on this issue (para 110j) is already agreed to in the health section of the Platform. The United States also supports including language in the Environment Section of the Platform that reaffirms the goals established by Article 8(j) of the Convention on Biological Diversity. However the bracketed text on that issue (para 253c) goes beyond Article 8(j) by, for example, introducing a reference that might be interpreted as creating a new intellectual property right for indigenous knowledge.

On the issue of transboundary movement of hazardous and radioactive waste, the United States agrees with the EU that the language should be consistent with the Basel Convention and para 208 of the 1994 ministerial decision of the Commission on Sustainable Development.

G/CS:S B Kotok, M Curtin, E Marshall
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Cleared by: G/CS:T Loar
IO:S.Blodgett - OK
USUN:V Marrero - OK
PRM/POP:E Marshall - OK
L/HRR:D P Stewart - OK
L/UNA:E T Bloom - OK
NSC:ESchwartz
EB/IFD/ODF:J Dehmlow - OK
USUN/W:S A George - OK
IO/SB:D Wynes - OK
IO/ESA:M Pollack - OK
DRL:T Hushek - OK
USUN:B Williams-Manigault - OK
EPA:R Ward - OK

produce. The United States is proud of its leadership at the ICPD that resulted in a new direction on population policy emphasizing the need to educate girls and empower women in order to slow population growth and achieve sustainable development. The Clinton Administration has pledged additional resources to ensure implementation of these goals.

- * This year, the World Summit for Social Development, which will be held in Copenhagen March 6-12, will be the first time heads of governments will have gathered to address the core problems of poverty, unemployment and social integration. Again, the advancement of women is an integral part of the solutions to those problems.

In addition, the U.S. delegation will work to ensure the full participation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the World Conference on Women, in its deliberations and in its plans for enforcement of policies advancing women in the United States and worldwide. The public/private partnerships between government and community organizations are critical to achieving new global victories for women everywhere.

0 KEY OBJECTIVES FOR THE U.S. AT THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

Delegates from the United States are committed to providing leadership for the development of a consensus U.N. Plan of Action. Key issues include:

The Family: Women play a vital role in sustaining strong families worldwide. But too often, women are left to raise children on their own, without access to quality health and child care. Too many single-parent families live in poverty. Both mothers and fathers must be held accountable for [child-bearing] and child-rearing, including economic support of their children. At the same time, women deserve equal pay at work. And, at a time of falling wages, women and men need decent income and support systems at their jobs to enable them to balance work and family responsibilities. There is a need to promote healthy and enduring relationships between parents and children.

- * Recent USA Successes: In 1993, President Clinton signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, now being enforced at the federal and state levels. In addition, in 1994, new resources were put into child immunization, Head Start, family support services and child support enforcement. By 1996, every child in the United States will be immunized.

Economic Security: Women in the U.S. and in all parts of the world need access to decent-paying jobs, family health benefits, food, housing and education to be productive members of the modern economy. Over the last two decades, women have entered the work force in record numbers, both as employees and business owners.

However, three out of five U.S. workers earning minimum wages are women. In many countries women constitute 60 to 80 percent of the poor.

- * **Recent USA Successes:** The number of women starting their own businesses has more than doubled in the last 10 years. Throughout the United States, women-owned businesses have fueled economic growth and helped to keep families stable, and, in the last two years, the Small Business Administration has increased loans to women-owned business by 25 percent. New tax policies, such as the earned-income tax credit, have helped millions of working families who live just above the poverty line. President Clinton has asked Congress to raise the minimum wage to \$5.25 over the next two years.

Equal Access to Education: Education is a core American value. Without a good education, all Americans are acutely vulnerable to shifts in the rapidly changing global economy. There is now an international focus on equal education for girls as a critical building block for economic security. Girls and young women in the 1990s face new social and economic challenges. These challenges include conflicting and confusing pressures from their parents, peers, the media and society in general and have resulted in increasing rates of school drop outs, teenage pregnancies, under-employment and unemployment.

- * **Recent USA Successes:** In 1994, Congress passed comprehensive education legislation called Goals 2000. This Administration is strongly committed to full implementation of this law, which will improve our education system and ensure equal access for girls under the Gender Equity Act affecting public schools across the country.

Violence Prevention and Issues of Personal Safety: From battered women in the United States to millions of impoverished women living in refugee camps worldwide, women of every class, race and ethnicity are subject to violence and its aftermath. Women must have full legal and civil protections for all of their human rights, including, most importantly, protection from abuse and violence, and their voices must be heard in the resolution of conflicts. Young women who have been subjected to violence suffer harmful effects to their personal development.

- * **Recent USA Successes:** The Violence Against Women Act, a landmark new law passed in 1994, includes programs to curb family violence and to help its victims by providing support networks and violence prevention programs in local neighborhoods. In addition, new provisions strengthen penalties for crimes against women including rape and spousal abuse. Secretary of Defense Perry has committed additional resources to insure that all U.S. troops, including those involved in U.N. peacekeeping and humanitarian missions, are

trained in working with civilian populations that include women and children.

The Clinton Administration will be working to make sure that the World Conference on Women goes beyond rhetoric to implementation and accountability. It is time to complete our own plan of action on the issues that have been discussed and debated over the past twenty years. These issues, raised by women everywhere, deserve responsive action from their government. But more importantly, women must become full partners in the decision-making that affects their lives and families, their communities, their governments and the world.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

**Remarks to the United Nations
Fourth World Conference on Women**

*Beijing, China
September 5, 1995*

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much Gertrude Mongella, for your dedicated work that has brought us to this point.

Distinguished delegates and guests, I would like to thank the Secretary General of the United Nations for inviting me to be part of this important United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. This is truly a celebration -- a celebration of the contributions women make in every aspect of life: in the home, on the job, in the community, as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, learners, workers, citizens and leaders.

It is also a coming together, much the way women come together every day in every country.

We come together in fields and in factories. In village markets and supermarkets. In living rooms and board rooms.

Whether it is while playing with our children in the park, or washing clothes in a river, or taking a break at the office water cooler, we come together and talk about our aspirations and concerns. And time and again, our talk turns to our children and our families.

However different we may appear, there is far more that unites us than divides us. We share a common future. And we are here to find common ground so that we may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world -- and in so doing, bring new strength and stability to families as well.

By gathering in Beijing, we are focusing world attention on issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families: access to education, health care, jobs, and credit, the chance to enjoy basic legal and human rights and to participate fully in the political life of their countries.

There are some who question the reason for this conference. Let them listen to the voices of women in their homes, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

There are some who wonder whether the lives of women and girls matter to economic and political progress around the globe. ... Let them look at the women gathered here and at Hairou.... the homemakers, nurses, teachers, lawyers, policymakers, and women who run their own businesses.

It is conferences like this that compel governments and peoples everywhere to listen, look and face the world's most pressing problems.

Wasn't it after the women's conference in Nairobi ten years ago that the world focused for the first time on the crisis of domestic violence?

Earlier today, I participated in a World Health Organization forum. In that forum we talked about ways that where government officials, NGOs, and individual citizens are working on ways to address the health problems of women and girls.

Tomorrow, I will attend a gathering of the United Nations Development Fund for Women. There, the discussion will focus on local -- and highly successful -- programs that give hard-working women access to credit so they can improve their own lives and the lives of their families.

What we are learning around the world is that, if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish.

And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish.

That is why every woman, every man, every child, every family, and every nation on our planet does have a stake in the discussion that takes place here.

Over the past 25 years, I have worked persistently on issues relating to women, children and families. Over the past two-and-a-half years, I have had the opportunity to learn more about the challenges facing women in my own country and around the world.

I have met new mothers in Indonesia, who come together regularly in their village to discuss nutrition, family planning, and baby care.

I have met working parents in Denmark who talk about the comfort they feel in knowing that their children can be cared for in creative, safe, and nurturing after-school centers.

I have met women in South Africa who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid and are now helping build a new democracy.

I have met with the leading women of my own hemisphere who are working every day to promote literacy and better health care for the children in their countries.

I have met women in India and Bangladesh who are taking out small loans to buy milk cows, rickshaws, thread and other materials to create a livelihood for themselves and their families.

I have met doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine who are trying to keep children alive in the aftermath of Chernobyl.

The great challenge of this conference is to give voice to women everywhere whose experiences go unnoticed, whose words go unheard.

Women comprise more than half the world's population. Women are 70% percent of the world's poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

Women are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not valued -- not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.

At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries.

Women also are dying from diseases that should have been prevented or treated; they are watching their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty and economic deprivation; they are being denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers; they are being forced into prostitution, and they are being barred from the bank lending office and banned from the ballot box.

Those of us who have the opportunity to be here have the responsibility to speak for those who could not.

As an American, I want to speak up for women in my own country -- women who are raising children on the minimum wage, women who can't afford health care or child care, women whose lives are threatened by violence, including violence in their own homes.

I want to speak up for mothers who are fighting for good schools, safe neighborhoods, clean air and clean airwaves...

...for older women, some of them widows, who have raised their families and now find that their skills and life experiences are not valued in the workplace... for women who are working all night as nurses, hotel clerks, and fast food chefs so that they can be at home during the day with their kids... and for women everywhere who simply don't have time to do everything they are called upon to do each day.

Speaking to you today, I speak for them, just as each of us speaks for women around the world who are denied the chance to go to school, or see a doctor, or own property, or have a say about the direction of their lives, simply because they are women.

The truth is that most women around the world work both inside and outside the home, usually by necessity.

We need to understand that there is no one formula for how women should lead their lives.

That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. Every woman deserves the chance to realize her God-given potential.

We also must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected.

Our goals for this conference, to strengthen families and societies by empowering women to take greater control over their own destinies, cannot be fully achieved unless all governments -- here and around the world -- accept their responsibility to protect and promote internationally recognized human rights.

The international community has long acknowledged -- and recently affirmed at Vienna -- that both women and men are entitled to a range of protections and personal freedoms, from the right of personal security to the right to determine freely the number and spacing of the children they bear.

No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture.

Tragically, women are most often the ones whose human rights are violated.

Even in the late 20th century, the rape of women continues to be used as an instrument of armed conflict. Women and children make up a large majority of the world's refugees. And when women are excluded from the political process, they become even more vulnerable to abuse.

I believe that, on the eve of a new millennium, it is time to break our silence. It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights.

These abuses have continued because, for too long, the history of women has been a history of silence. Even today, there are those who are trying to silence our words.

The voices of this conference and of the women at Hairou must be heard loud and clear:

It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.

It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes by their own relatives.

It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.

It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, let it be that human rights are women's rights.... And women's rights are human rights, once and for all.

Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely. And the right to be heard.

Women must enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure.

It is indefensible that many women in non-governmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend -- or have been prohibited from fully taking part.

Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments.

United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women

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**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

Remarks to the NGO Forum

Huairou, China

September 6, 1995

Thank you. Thank you so much. I feel so much at home and so much a part of this group. I only wish that in addition to the enthusiasm and interest amongst all of the NGOs who are gathered here, the weather had been more cooperative this morning and I greatly regret that we were forced to move this occasion indoors in order to avoid any of us drowning out there. But I am very sorry that not everyone who wished to be with us this morning was able to be in, and I hope all of you will convey my personal regrets to anyone who was turned away or disappointed because of the size of this auditorium.

It is a great pleasure for me to be here, and I want to start by thanking Supatra and Irene for their leadership in this extraordinary and historic enterprise. But I also want to thank all of you who are here, because I know from looking at the lists of people who have come, of knowing personally many of the Americans who have come, that in this auditorium and at this Forum, there are thousands and thousands of women and men who every day work to make lives better in their communities for all people. And that is the greatest contribution any one of us is able to make, and that is why the United States and many other countries so strongly support the efforts of NGOs and have worked very hard to ensure that NGOs could participate in this Forum. As many of you know, our government and other governments recognize the important role that NGOs play in policy and planning, in development and implementation and monitoring of programs that advance the progress of women.

I have come here, to Huairou, to salute you for your dedication to a cause greater than all of us. I know that many of you went to great efforts to be here. I know many were kept from attending this Forum. I know that for many of you who did get here, getting here was far from easy. Many of you did not even know until the last minute that you would be permitted to travel here, and others bore great personal expense in order to come. In addition to the weather, which is not in anyone's control, and is always unpredictable, I know that you have had to endure severe frustrations here as you have pursued your work. And I also want to say a special word on behalf of women with disabilities who have faced particularly challenging (inaudible) But I mostly want to thank you for your perseverance, because you did not give up, you did not stay away, you are here, and the fact that you are, will make a difference in the days and months and years to come. Because even though you may not be physically present in Beijing at the Conference during these ten days, the wisdom that is accumulated here, the experience, the energy, the ideas are on full display. Thanks to your resourcefulness, your tenacity, your sense of purpose and your spirit, you are playing an important role in this Conference, and you will be the key players in determining whether or not this Conference goes beyond rhetoric and actually does something to improve the lives of women and children.

As I said yesterday, the faces of the women who are here mirror the faces of the millions and millions who are not. It is our responsibility, those of us who have been able to attend this

Conference and this NGO Forum, to make sure that the voices that go unheard will be heard. This Conference is about making sure that women, their children, their families, have the opportunities for health care and education, for jobs and political participation, for lives free of violence, for basic legal protections, and yes, for internationally recognized human rights no matter where they are or where they live.

Time and time again we have seen that it is NGOs who are responsible for making progress in any society. Some of us never knew we were NGOs twenty and twenty-five and thirty years ago. That was not even a phrase that any of us had ever heard. We were people working together on behalf of all of those rights which we care about and hold dear. But when one looks at the progress that has been made throughout the world, it is clear that it is the NGOs who have charted real advances for women and children. It is the NGOs who have pressured governments and have led governments down the path to economic, social, and political progress, often in the face of overwhelming hostility. Again, NGOs have persevered, just as you have by coming here and staying here and participating in this Forum. What will be important as we end the Forum and the Conference at the end of this week is that it will be NGOs who will hold governments to the commitments that they make. And it is important that the final Platform for Action that is adopted be distilled down into words that every woman, no matter where she lives, or how much education she has, can understand. I think we should want every woman, no matter where she is, to believe that there are women all over the world who care about her health, who want her children to be educated, who want her to have the dignity and respect that she deserves to have. When I think of the faces that I have seen in my own country, when I think of the women who did not have health care because they cannot afford it in the United States of America, when I think particularly of a woman I met in New Orleans, Louisiana, who told me that because she did not have enough money she was told by physicians there in our country, that they would not do anything about the lump in her breast, but would merely wait and watch, because if she had insurance she would have been sent to a surgeon. I think about the woman I met in a village outside Lahore, Pakistan, who had ten children, five boys and five girls, and was struggling as hard as she could to make sure her girls were educated and wanted help to get that job done. I think of the faces of the beautiful women I met at SEWA, the Self-Employed Women's Association in India. All of them had walked miles and miles, some of them for twelve and fifteen hours to get to our meeting together, and I listened as they stood up and told me what it had meant that for the first time in their lives, they were having a little money of their own. They could buy their own vegetable carts. They could buy their own thread and materials so that they could make income for themselves and their families.

I think of the women in the village in Bangladesh, a village of untouchables, I think of how those 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 become 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 that village, I stood and watched families coming to receive food supplements in return for keeping their girl children in school.

Those are the kinds of women and experiences that happen throughout the world, whether one talks about my country or any country. Women are looking for the support and encouragement they need to do what they can for their own lives and the lives of their children and the lives of their families. The only way this Conference will make a difference to these women is if the results of the Conference are taken and distilled down into one page perhaps, which states basic principles that you and I would perhaps debate and understand but may not be easily communicated.

If that is done, then to carry that message into every corner of the world so there can be sharing of experiences. When I came home from Bangladesh, I visited in Denver, Colorado, a program that is modeled on the Grameen Bank, helping American women who are welfare recipients get the dignity and the skills that they need to take care of themselves and their children. So despite all of the difficulties and frustrations you have faced in coming here and being here, you are here not only on behalf of yourselves, but on behalf of millions and millions of women whose lives can be changed for the better. If you resolve along with all of us, to leave this place and do what we can together to make the changes that will give respect and dignity to every woman.

I know that today at the women's conference there is a special celebration of girls. The theme is: "Investing in Today's Girls, Tomorrow's Women, and the Future." We know that much of what we do, we are doing not for ourselves, but we are doing for our daughters, our nieces, our granddaughters. We are doing it because we have the hope that the changes we work for will take root and flower in their lives. When I was privileged to be in New Delhi, India, I met a young woman who I think spoke for many, many women, and someone asked me yesterday at the Conference if I had a copy of the poem which this young woman wrote. And I said that I did and she asked if I could read it today, and I said that I would. Because this was a poem about breaking the silence, the silence that afflicts too many women's lives, the silence that keeps women from expressing themselves freely, from being full participants even in the lives of their own families. This poem written by a young woman, I think, is particularly appropriate since we are celebrating today the future of girls. Let me read it to you:

"Too many women in too many countries speak the same language of silence. My grandmother was always silent, always agreed. Only her husband had the positive right, or so it was said, to speak and to be heard. They say it is different now.

After all, I am always vocal, and my grandmother thinks I talk too much. But sometimes I wonder. When a woman gives her love as must do generously, it is accepted. When a woman shares her thoughts as some women do graciously, it is allowed. When a Woman fights for power as all women would like to, quietly or loudly, it is questioned. And yet, there must be freedom if we are to speak. And yes, there must be power if we are to be heard. And when we have both freedom and power, let us not be misunderstood. We seek only to give words to those who cannot speak --- too many women in too many countries. I seek only to forget my grandmother's silence."

That is the kind of feeling that literally millions and millions of women feel every day. And much of what we are doing here at this Forum and at this Conference is to give words to break the silence and then to act. When I was at Copenhagen for the Summit on Social Development, I was pleased to announce that the United States would make an effort to enhance educational opportunities for girls so that they could attend school in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Today that effort, funded with United States' dollars, is being organized in countries throughout those continents by NGOs.

There are so many ways we can work together. There are so many things that must be done. And let me just end with a postcard that I received from a woman who, with many, many others, wrote me her feelings and thoughts about this Conference. I don't know this woman, but she wrote to tell me that she wanted me to carry this card to Beijing. And she went on to say, "Be assured of many prayers for the success of the Conference, to better conditions for women and children throughout the world."

She put on this card a prayer and the prayer was written in many languages. It's a prayer that applies and can be said by many, if not all of the world's religions. And I want to end with that because I think that in many respects what we are attempting to do requires the kind of faith and commitment that this prayer represents:

"Oh God, creator of the heavens and the earth, we pray for all who gather in Beijing [and I would add Huairou as well] bless them, help them and us to see one another through eyes enlightened by understanding and compassion. Release us from prejudice so we can receive the stories of our sisters with respect and attention. Open our ears to the cries of a suffering world and the healing melodies of peace. Empower us to be instruments in bringing about your justice and equality everywhere."

That is my prayer as well, and with my thanks to all of you I believe we can take the results of this Forum and this Conference and begin to translate them into actions that will count, in the lives of girls and women who will have never heard of what we have done here, by whose lives can be changed because of what you have done coming here.
Thank you all very much.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

Radio Free Eur.

Czech Republic: Speech and Reception at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Context

You will deliver a speech in the main assembly hall at RFE/RL headquarters, formally the Czechoslovak Parliamentary building. RFE/RL's move to Prague from Munich, completed in March 1995, was an initiative of Presidents Clinton and Havel. This was a major sign of U.S. confidence in Czech democracy and a signal of our commitment to remain engaged. It was also a successful example of reducing government size and budget without retreating from our objectives (RFE/RL's budget dropped by 2/3rds to an anticipated \$75M per year). With Czech support, including that of PM Klaus, the radios would not have survived.

The Czech government provides the building at a nominal rent. The radios broadcast 725 hours per week in 19 languages to countries of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. Attending the speech and reception will be approximately 500 Czech political leaders, cultural figures, prominent women and other professionals. After the speech, you will be escorted on a 15-minute tour of the RFE/RL facilities by Kevin Klose while guests move from the assembly hall into the reception area.

The reception will last approximately 60 minutes and will give you an opportunity to meet a number of Czechs from a variety of fields.

Objectives:

- To express support for the progress that has been made by countries in the region toward democratic society.
- To meet a range of outstanding Czech men and women.
- To exchange ideas on democratic development, social reform and a free market economy.
- To recall the decades-long U.S. commitment to democracy during the communist era, and our commitment to remain engaged now.

Talking Points:

- Proud of U.S. support for freedom and democracy that the radios represent.
- U.S. will remain engaged. Move to Prague symbolizes this.



Texts of Remarks

by Hillary Rodham Clinton

President Vaclav Havel

Ambassador Madeleine Albright

Kevin Klose

July 4, 1996 in Prague

Following is a transcript of Mrs. Clinton's address as delivered at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty headquarters in Prague today:

Thank you. Thank you President Havel. Ministers, Ambassador Walker, Ambassador Zantovsky, Ambassador Albright, Mr. Klose, distinguished guests, staff of the radios, and listeners across the Czech Republic, Central and Eastern Europe, and the new, independent states.

It is an honor to have this opportunity to speak to you on the fourth of July 1996. I am especially pleased to be in the Czech Republic with the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, my friend, Madeleine Albright. Ambassador Albright is a daughter of Czechoslovakia whose family was uprooted by war and repression. In the United States she found a home, and the opportunity to rise as far as her God-given talents would take her. But never once did she forget her roots. We Americans are better for her service, and so are the people of Central Europe and around the world who believe in the cause of peace, liberty and justice.

One of the ways men and women in this country and this region kept alive their faith in freedom before 1989 was through Radio Free Europe's broadcasts.

Today I am speaking to you from the new headquarters of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in Prague. This itself is an emblem of the political, economic and social transformations that have taken place in Central Europe.

Not so long ago, members of an old Soviet-style parliament filled this room. Today hundreds of journalists report the real news from within these walls. Not so long ago, this was a place where ideas were suppressed. Today, it is a place where ideas are given life and a voice that delivers them from the heart of this young democracy to the Baltics in the north, the Balkans in the south, and all the way east to the Pacific Ocean.

Ask anyone who fought for liberty in Central Europe during the Cold War and they will tell you that Radio Free Europe was like a member of the family. I have heard of men and women who always placed their radios in front of a certain window, or on one side of the house, where the signal from Radio Free Europe came in the strongest.

I have talked to men and women who, for years, arranged their daily schedules around Radio Free Europe's broadcasts. President Havel has said that he and other Czech dissidents relied on Radio Free Europe to share their ideas with their countrymen and women. Were it not for Radio Free Europe, he has said, he might have spent more years in prison.

For four decades, Radio Free Europe unmasked the lies and deceit of dictatorship by broadcasting information about the world beyond the Iron Curtain and spreading a message of freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

Now, Radio Free Europe has a new mission, but one no less urgent. It is helping to strengthen the foundations of democracy through news broadcasts, conferences about current affairs, and courses designed to promote an independent media in countries where a free press was silenced before. The United States continues to demonstrate its commitment to democracy by supporting Radio Free Europe's vital activities.

Today, Americans at home and abroad are celebrating our Independence Day, the 220th anniversary of our nation's birth. Throughout our history, America has represented an ideal of freedom, and of possibility and promise for humanity. Indeed, we are a nation of many different people, people from every corner of the world, but rooted in common values and hopes.

Our nation's story is of those values and hopes being realized. On our national seal is written: *E pluribus unum*. Out of many we are one - not just as a people, but in the democratic values that we cherish.

On this day marking America's independence, part of my heart is at home with my family and with the American people. But another part is here with you in Central Europe, a homeland to millions of Americans, a place where the principles of democracy have taken root, been nurtured, and now are flowering. I have traveled to this region on behalf of my husband to emphasize and strengthen the relationships between our countries and to celebrate your achievements in building strong democracies and dynamic market economies. I also carry a message of encouragement from America to people who might question the pace of progress or the pain of change. Perfecting democracy is a never-ending challenge, as my own country knows so well.

Over the past few days, I have had the chance to visit Romania and Poland. Now I am in Prague, one of Europe's jewels, where a Velvet Revolution peacefully buried more than 40 years of totalitarian rule in 1989. On Saturday, I will leave for Slovakia, Hungary, and Estonia. I only wish I had the time to visit every country in this region to see for myself the ways in which you are meeting the challenges of this extraordinary period.

Today, I would like to talk about the past and the future - a past that prevented old neighbors and friends from being partners, and a future that requires it.

For 50 years, a cruel and arbitrary line divided Europe. On one side of that line, people came together to contain the threat of Communism moving West. On the other side, tyranny and domination forced people to exchange their freedom for the false promise of a utopian ideal and a distorted sense of social stability.

Today, the Berlin Wall, as we know, is gone. There is no Iron Curtain. The line has been erased. In country after country, Communism has crumbled; democracy has come alive. The threat of nuclear war no longer hovers over us. Opportunities for peace and prosperity are greater than ever before. And the prospect of a new and even more dynamic civilization in Europe and the West is before us.

In Russia tens of millions of people exercised their democratic franchise by voting and opting to shape their future through peaceful, free choice. What a hopeful milestone for Russia and us all.

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

The greatest threat to democracy today is no longer a Communist monolith with imperial designs, but volatile economic and social conditions that emerged with the collapse of the old regimes and the demagogues and dictators that can be generated.

These challenges are not unique to Central Europe but to democracies new and old. To meet them, the West needs to expand its democratic family by opening up the institutions that have served us for decades. But even as we do this, we must recognize that democracy is not just about institutions; it is also about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives.

Along with wider political, economic and strategic alliances, we must consciously develop an alliance of democratic values to guide us as we confront the unavoidable questions of the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how families will raise children in the face of pressures from the mass media and the consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload and high-technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will be able to preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

But how do we convey to ourselves, and especially to our young people, the values upon which this alliance is based -- the values of opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human dignity?

We do it the way it has always been done best; by building and strengthening civil society, a term I borrow from social scientists and philosophers who use it to describe the countless daily associations and actions that weave together the fabric of democratic life. In the early 19th century, de Tocqueville observed that voluntary organizations, activities, philanthropic associations, had already become a hallmark of American citizenship and a distinctive part of our national life.

Civil society is the vehicle for our values, the way we convey who we are and what we stand for. And when we encounter the inevitable setbacks and historical bumps in the road, the alliance of values that fuels civil society is what will carry us through.

In the short time I've been in Central Europe, I've already met with people who are forging this alliance of values and building democracy from the ground up. Earlier this week, I met with teachers in Romania who are developing a new pedagogy that emphasizes civic participation and democratic values. I met doctors and nurses caring for children with AIDS and leaders of voluntary organizations who are training citizens to participate in elections.

In Poland, I met leaders of non-governmental organizations who are helping citizens protect the environment, improve health services, promote women's rights and strengthen the free press.

And here in the Czech Republic, another set of free and fair elections has recently taken place. And the most remarkable thing about these elections was how unremarkable they were. Candidates debated, people voted, ballots were counted, and political leaders sorted out the consequences to form a new government. That's what we call a democracy based on values in action.

In Slovakia, Hungary and Estonia, I will meet with people working to strengthen the role of minorities, incorporate women into the full life of their societies, promote an independent judiciary and free democratic institutions.

In many cases, America and Americans are supporting these local efforts. And what we are creating together is more than the training of nurses and teachers, more than the strengthening of an independent media, more than the cleaning up of dirty water and polluted air.

What we are creating together is an ethos of responsibility, caring and initiative that allows people to participate fully in the civic life of their communities and their countries.

We in America are also discovering that we have much to learn from you. As you -- the people of Central Europe --- construct democracy from the ruins of dictatorship, we Americans are reminded of just how precious freedom is, and what a stake we have in democracy's success around the world.

We also can offer, though, some lessons from our own experiences. The first is that democracy is a messy business that requires patience, hard work, flexibility and the acceptance of its inherent imperfections. For more than two centuries we Americans have been striving to perfect democracy and we will continue to do so but without any assurance we will ever fully succeed. Human nature guarantees that democracy requires constant nurturing and vigilance. But we can never waver from the struggle because nothing is more precious to us than the freedoms our ancestors struggled to preserve.

The second hard lesson is that democracy asks us to live peacefully as neighbors with people who are different from us and whom we may not even like. What most of us discover is that we share more in common than we think, and that we are stronger as a people if we overcome our superficial differences and unite around our shared interests and ideals.

And the third lesson is that democratic values must be steeped into our daily lives. President Woodrow Wilson, whose name graces the railway station and a boulevard near here, once said that "liberty does not consist...in mere declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite actions." Americans have taken that idea to heart.

Just last week, I was in Seattle, Washington meeting with a group of mothers who have formed a national organization to help fight crime on our streets and in their neighborhoods.

Community groups and civic associations across America raise money for their local schools, libraries, parks and hospitals. Nearly every town and city in America has voluntary church groups, Scout troops, sports leagues, book clubs, historical associations that act as mediating influences both on government and on the forces of a market economy.

Americans also come together when our values are endangered. As you may know, several dozen churches serving African-American congregations in different parts of the United States have been burned by criminals in the past few months. Our citizens have not met these acts of evil with silence or indifference. In nearly every instance, men and women of goodwill -- and all religious faiths -- have banded together to repair buildings and rebuild spirits in the aftermath of these anti-democratic hate crimes.

No country is free of purveyors of hate and fear. But the measure of a country's dedication to the values of opportunity, responsibility, community and human dignity is how it resists the forces of darkness and intolerance.

In this century, we in the West have traveled together with you down a long and hard road, with many setbacks and tragedies along the way. But you never relinquished your faith. And neither did we.

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, just as they had preserved their faith that freedom would finally come.

Freedom has come, and now it is up to each of us to determine what freedom will mean.

Last night, it was a beautiful evening in Prague, and I walked across the Charles Bridge. It was filled with young people, talking, laughing, listening to music. And I could not help but think that throughout Central Europe there were groups of young people doing the same.

But I was also reminded of the young men and women of earlier generations who lost years of their productive lives in prison or exile to make sacrifices for the values we celebrate today.

And I thought too of all the young people who fought and died for the freedom to form their own ideas, speak their own words, make their own decisions and dream their own dreams.

I cannot tell you what any of the young people on the Charles Bridge will do with their lives. But I know that it will be their choice, without fear or coercion from any ideology or government.

Many will make mistakes along the way. But it is our duty, having struggled so long to arrive at this moment of opportunity, to pass on to them a clear understanding of the values that will guide their choices as well as the decisions societies make. And that depends upon our own alliance of values being articulated, given meaning, taking root.

In President Havel's eloquent words: "we are not accountable solely to our party, our voters, our lobbies and our state, but in fact to the entire human race, including those who come after us, and that the decision on the worth of our deeds will ultimately be made beyond the realm of the mortals around us. In the language of today's world, this means nothing more than to harken, in our various dilemmas, to the voice that speaks to us from the depths of our conscience."

That voice is now free to speak. Let it speak. Let it speak of the values and ideals that brought us to this point and that should guide us now into the future that awaits.

May God Bless my country and yours. And may God Bless our common cause.

* * *

Following is a transcript of introductory remarks by U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright today at RFE/RL headquarters in Prague:

Thank you very much. As someone who was born in Prague, it is a great pleasure to visit the new headquarters of Radio Free Europe in this city. And you can only imagine what a special feeling it is for me to be here with America's spectacular first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, and to introduce her to Central Europe's spectacular first city.

It is a special privilege for this Czech-American to introduce the man who did so much to bring this historic broadcasting facility to the Czech Republic and who indeed has done as much as anyone to ensure the survival of Radio Free Europe in the post-Cold War era. That man is Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech Republic.

President Havel is known to RFE listeners. He was the voice of free Europe. He was a leader among those who dissented from Communist rule. He was an architect of the successful transition to democracy. He has been and remains one of the great moral leaders and philosophers of our era. And as President Havel knows so well, at the heart of freedom is a commitment to open exchange of information and opinion.

Communists sought to control those ideas and that information. But Radio Free Europe defied them. Those who advocate freedom believe when people are able to think for themselves, to make their own choices, to choose their own leaders and to express themselves politically, culturally and spiritually in their own manner, all of society will benefit. New and exciting ideas will find the soil fertile and grow. Life will be richer and we will find deeper meaning in our own lives and greater communion with others.

No institution has been more effective as an instrument for the full and open transmission of information than Radio Free Europe and no individual has been more eloquent an advocate of freedom or a more insightful instructor of freedom's responsibilities than Vaclav Havel.

* * *

Following is a transcript of introductory remarks by Czech President Vaclav Havel today at RFE/RL headquarters. He spoke in English:

Thank you Madeleine (Albright). Nice to have you home. It is a great pleasure for us all to welcome Mrs. Hillary Clinton to the Czech Republic. I deem it an honor that she has accepted my invitation. Mrs. Clinton is esteemed by many in this country as a first lady who has filled this position with a sense of purpose and dedication. I am delighted that we shall hear her speak now.

The house where we have met for this occasion was once a symbol of the rule of totalitarianism over this country. Now with Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty as its occupants it has become a focal point spreading a message of freedom, peace and democracy to a great part of the world. It is significant that the voice of the First Lady of the United States of America will address us right here today.

Hillary, the floor is yours.

Following is a transcript of introductory remarks by Kevin Klose, President of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty:

Ladies and gentlemen, President Havel, Mrs. Clinton, Ambassador Walker, Ambassador Albright, Ambassador Zantovsky [Czech Ambassador to the United States], government officials, ministers, and distinguished guests.

On this Independence Day, 1996, the 220th celebration of the United States, we are also celebrating the second anniversary of the decision to move Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty to the former Federal Parliament Building here in Prague. We are deeply honored that Mrs. Clinton has chosen our headquarters from which to make an historic Independence Day address.

I am pleased to note that another greatly admired First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, broadcast a message of hope to the Soviet peoples from our New York bureau in January, 1958. And as Mrs. Roosevelt's address was carried to millions immediately, so Mrs. Clinton's address today will be carried eastward by our transmitters and satellite connections to our broadcast lands.

History has taught that democracy cannot live in an information vacuum. Indeed, a well-informed citizenry is essential for democracy and free-market economies to flourish. This powerful historic truth guides our radios each day. Our services in 23 languages provide accurate, objective news and information to millions of people across 11 time zones.

Citizens in newly emancipated lands can be freed from the past by the power of information itself to establish civil societies. The stakes are enormous. Civil societies that guard human freedoms across our broadcast region can guarantee a stable, peaceful future for all of Europe and the world. Our mission, to assist democratic change, to combat nationalism and racism, must not falter.

Thanks to the generosity and farsightedness of President Havel and the Czech government, matched by the wisdom and responsiveness of President Clinton and the United States government, we are here. We are proud to say to all, "Come to Prague."

Here at the radios you will find 350 Czechs and Americans, and men and women from more than 20 other countries, working in harmony and partnership to broadcast truthful information for the sake of our homelands and the futures of our children.

Thank you, one and all. Thank you, Mrs. Clinton, for joining us to celebrate our Independence Day.

Ladies and gentlemen, with great pleasure I introduce the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright.

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**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

PROPOSED SCHEDULE - *Training Workshop*

A four day agenda is proposed.

Day 1: Sunday 23 March 1997 - Arrival to Arusha, Transport to Meeting Site

(a) Participants arrive

One representative staff member from both Tribunals in the following work areas:

1. Trial attorney
2. Team legal advisor
3. Team investigation leader
4. Investigation commander
5. Senior international legal advisor
6. Staff member of victims and witnesses Protection unit

(b) Opening and welcome address by the Prosecutor, Judge Louise Arbour.

Day 2: Monday 24 March 1997 - Identifying Areas of Concern

(a) Debriefing by Rwanda and Yugoslav staff.

Each staff member will be given 20 minutes to present and discuss their area of work. Each staff member will be required to identify and elaborate upon investigation and prosecution issues surrounding sexual violence with which he/she has had particular problems. Additionally, he/she should highlight techniques which he/she has found to be most helpful in performing his/her requisite duties. Finally, the staffer should suggest approaches which if adopted by the OTP would, in his/her opinion, effectively address the problems in investigating and prosecuting sexual violence which the staffer has identified.

(b) The Setting of ground rules.

Prior to the meeting, the organizers will ensure that each participant receives a packet of information which contains four-page summaries on varying but relevant legal positions and policies of the OTP in the Hague and Rwanda. The information will be briefly discussed by the legal officer for gender-related crimes so that participants are prepared for the intense training seminar which will take place on the next day. The following positions, as they pertain to crimes of sexual violence, will be included in the packet:

1. command responsibility;
2. rape defined as a crime against humanity or a violation of the laws and customs of war;
3. OTP policy position on sexual violence as torture;
4. sexual violence as evidence of enslavement;
5. enforced prostitution as an international crime;
6. consent as a defense or an element of sexual violence;
7. the five hoops of witness anonymity and confidentiality;

8. Kradezic Rule 61 decision as relating to sexual violence;
9. sexual violence as a crime against humanity versus sexual violence as an enumerated act of genocide;
10. if the Tadic decision is out by time of conference.

Day 3: Tuesday 25 March 1997 - Training Seminar

- (a) The purpose of this day is to assist the ICTR in its approach to investigating and prosecuting crimes of sexual violence. Thus, the organizers will stage a mock "indictment review" by using a series of fictitious witness statements which have been compiled specifically for this purpose. In so doing, the ICTR staff members, with the assistance of the ICTY staff members, will go through the different steps of analyzing witness statements, drafting an indictment and drafting a motion for witness anonymity.

The organizers will ensure that the participants receive the mock witness statements which will be similar to those used by the ICTR, as well as a pre-drafted indictment. Additionally, one mock witness statement will be taken during the meeting. Examples of the type of witnesses whose statements will be distributed to the participants are:

1. witness was raped by interhamwe perpetrator;
2. victim was raped and killed by interhamwe perpetrator;
3. witness was raped or sexually mutilated in sanctuary;
4. victim / witness was taken to refuge camp as a forced wife by Interhamwe perpetrator;
5. male refuge as an eye-witness;
6. NGO as witness.

In going through this exercise, the participants will use the Statute and the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the ICTR. The court decisions which have thus far been promulgated by both Tribunals will be considered. Greater weight will be placed on the ICTR precedents.

- (b) The participants will have to apply not only the positions of OTP which were disseminated the previous day, but also their practical and technical experience when deciding on:

1. on which statements should charges be based;
2. given the statements how should charges be formulated;
3. given charge and statements, which witness should receive anonymity;
4. given the witness chosen for anonymity, which steps must be taken in drafting an anonymity motion.

Tanzania: Visit to the
International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
(Training Workshop and Remarks)
Arusha, Tanzania

Context

You will visit Arusha, Tanzania, where the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda has its courtroom and administrative headquarters. The U.S. is a strong supporter of the Tribunal. Your visit to the International Criminal Tribunal presents an opportunity not only to view the court and meet the Chief Prosecutor of the Tribunal (and Chief Prosecutor of the Yugoslavia Criminal Tribunal), Justice Louise Arbour, but also to drop in on a first-of-its-kind training workshop on rape indictments which is scheduled to be held at the Tribunal from March 23-26.

The Tribunal is headquartered in the multi-story Arusha International Center. The courtroom is on the ground floor. Justice Arbour will greet you on arrival at the entrance to the building. She will then present Judge Laity Kama, President of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. This would be a courtesy greeting only; Judge Kama speaks little English.

Justice Arbour will accompany you to the training workshop on rape indictments, which would be in progress. The training workshop, which will be attended by 10-15 Tribunal employees, is designed to help them investigate and prosecute crimes of sexual violence. Staff from the Office of the Prosecutor for the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal will conduct the workshop for their counterparts with the Rwanda Tribunal. The training will enhance the skills of the Tribunal investigators and prosecutors to prepare indictments and, ultimately, prosecute those responsible for mass rape and sexual assaults. The U.S. Government has made a \$50,000 contribution toward the funding of this workshop. Patricia Sellers, an American employed by the Yugoslav Tribunal, will co-chair the training workshop along with Justice Arbour.

On March 25, the training workshop organizers plan to stage a mock "indictment review" by using a series of fictitious witness statements which have been compiled specifically for this purpose. In so doing, the ICTR staff members will go through the different steps of analyzing witness statements, drafting an indictment and drafting a motion for witness anonymity. Additionally, one mock witness statement will be taken during the meeting. You will spend about 20-30 minutes observing the workshop in progress and participating in the discussion.

You and Justice Arbour will leave the workshop and proceed to a large conference room where the judges and Tribunal staff will be gathered. The workshop participants will also join this group. Justice Arbour will introduce you; you will then greet the staff and make brief remarks emphasizing U.S. Government support for

the Tribunals and stress the importance of pursuing rape indictments. Your remarks will be recorded for broadcast into Rwanda via a U.S.-funded program for providing reliable reporting about the Tribunal trials to the Rwandan people. Survivors of the Rwandan genocide have mixed feelings about the Tribunal, upset that it cannot apply the death penalty, concerned about its slow progress and administrative problems, and feeling (probably incorrectly) that the Tribunal occasionally gets custody of alleged genocidists who otherwise would have been extradited to Rwanda.

Following your remarks, Justice Arbour will accompany you back to the entrance, stopping en route for a photo op in the Tribunal Courtroom. Other photo opportunities during the visit could include your participation in the training workshop, the greeting of Judge Kama, or a group shot of you with the U.S. government employees of the Tribunal (between 5-10, depending on how many come from Kigali).

Objectives

- o Reinforce U.S. support for the objectives of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.
- o Underline U.S. interest in the Tribunal's efforts to pursue indictments, including for crimes of sexual violence.
- o Stress the continued need to implement reform at the Tribunal to make it an effective body.

Talking Points for Workshop Observation

- Those responsible for organizing and directing the genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law must be brought to justice.
- It is important that crimes of sexual violence be addressed. This workshop is an important step for the work of the Rwanda Tribunal as it carries out its important mandate.

Elements for Remarks

- 1) Underline the importance of the tribunal:
 - I am pleased to have the opportunity to visit Arusha and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and to have an opportunity to meet Justice Louise Arbour. We support Justice Arbour in carrying out immensely difficult work and we appreciate President Kama's hospitality and his own hard work.
 - The importance of this Tribunal, and that in Yugoslavia. in ensuring that criminals who perpetrate genocide and ethnic cleansing are brought to justice cannot be underestimated.

- The Tribunal, created by the UN Security Council in 1994, can be a powerful tool. Under international law, all countries have an obligation to extradite persons sought by the Tribunal to Arusha. To date, 21 indicted war criminals have been indicted and 13 of those are in custody. Eleven are being held here in Arusha.
- With its investigative and prosecution staff and international mandate the Tribunal can help bring the masterminds of the genocide to justice.
- The Tribunal will fulfill an important function beyond that of adjudicating individual cases -- that of a truth commission. In front of the world media, the trials of persons such as former Army Chief of Staff Bagosora will record the details of the 1994 genocide on permanent record.
- (If asked) The U.S. is pleased domestic trials on crimes committed during genocide have begun in Rwanda as well. We hope this process will be conducted with as much concern as possible for both the victims and accused.

2) Discuss the importance of the tribunal's effort to prosecute sexual crimes.

- The workshop held by the Tribunal today is an important step in the Prosecutor's efforts to indict those responsible for the mass rapes and other sexual crimes that occurred during the genocide.
- Rape and sexual assault on a large scale were committed during the Rwandan genocide of 1994. It is essential that these crimes be investigated and prosecuted by the Tribunal and not dismissed as simple unfortunate by-products of war.
- By prosecuting those who advocated and carried out the Rwanda massacres, the Tribunal can serve as a deterrent-- putting all would-be criminals on notice that this type of violence will not be tolerated by the international community, including sexual assault and rape as a war tactic.
- International vigilance and prosecution of criminals can help prevent another genocide, and another refugee crisis like that which followed the massacres in Rwanda. Women and children are always the first to suffer in war and as refugees. This Tribunal can help stop the cycle of violence which drags down women, children, and consequently entire countries.

3) Advocate continued reform to increase the effectiveness of the Tribunal.

- The Rwanda Tribunal faces other challenges, too. Recently, the UN Inspector General issued a strong report detailing the extent of serious problems, particularly in the management of the Tribunal.
- The mismanagement deeply affected the Tribunal's ability to carry out its tasks.
- The important work of the Tribunal investigating genocide, rape and other war crimes cannot come to fruition unless the Tribunal addresses its management problems which have prevented it from working effectively.
- In response to the report, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan dismissed two high Tribunal officials, and we are hopeful that other steps recommended by the report to improve the Tribunal are implemented and will enable it to efficiently carry out its important work.
- The UN should be commended for bringing the tribunal's problems to light and Secretary General Annan should be complimented for taking decisive action.
- The U.S. supports the goals of this Tribunal, and will monitor its progress in implementing reform and carrying out its important work closely. This work is far too important to fail for lack of effort to make the necessary reforms.
- The President and Secretary Albright are firmly committed to supporting the work of this Tribunal. The U.S. is the largest contributor: our total contribution is over \$12 million, including donation of computers and many other resources, and 10 Americans are currently on the staff of the Office of the Prosecutor.
- The U.S. facilitated the convening of a training workshop on sexual assault indictments held here this week, and which I had the opportunity to observe today.
- I thank the judges and the staff of the Tribunal for their dedication to this historic undertaking. I also recognize the contributions of the Americans who work for the office of the Prosecutor in the pursuit of justice.

Tanzania: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

The UN Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) on November 8, 1994. Though the Tribunal is dependent in administrative and financial matters on the UN, as a judicial institution it is independent of any one State or group of States, including the Security Council. The Security Council gave the ICTR the power to prosecute persons responsible for genocide, and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda, between January 1 and December 31, 1994. An estimated 800,000 minority Tutsis and Hutu moderates were murdered during that period.

The Tribunal's Court and Registrar are located in Arusha, Tanzania. The cases are tried before a panel of three judges; the Tribunal has two three-person "trial chambers." To date, the Tribunal has indicted 21 individuals, 13 of whom are in custody. However, the administrative problems at the Tribunal have prevented it from closing the books on a single case. It's first trial began in January 6 of this year, and additional trials are expected to commence this year. The investigative work of the ICTR is currently run out of the Office of the Prosecutor in Kigali, Rwanda. Two attorneys from the Department of Justice have been hired by the Tribunal and form the core of its prosecution experience. In addition, the U.S. has eight investigators and case managers working for the Tribunal's Kigali office.

The aim of the Tribunal has been to indict and try the key figures involved in planning and carrying out the genocide, and leave the trials of lesser figures to the Rwandan justice system. Under the terms set up by the UN Security Council, the maximum sentence is life in prison. This causes an anomaly, since those tried by the Rwandan justice system can be sentenced to death.

The U.S. has been the single largest benefactor and strongest political supporter of the Tribunal, contributing \$12 million to its support. Secretary Christopher announced a new U.S. voluntary contribution of \$650,000 to the Tribunal during his visit last October. A small part of that sum is being used to fund the training workshop on the prosecution of crimes of sexual violence being held at the Tribunal in late March.

The Tribunal has been in the news recently because of an internal audit performed by the UN equivalent of Inspector General. The report found extreme and widespread mismanagement at the Tribunal -- as the UN report concluded, "not a single area functioned effectively."

The UN inspector's report underlined that: the finance department had no accounting system at all; unqualified and incompetent people were hired; unacceptable procurements were made;

construction of a second courtroom has not even started; and the registrar, the man who was supposed to manage the tribunal, spent more than half his time traveling, including 32 days of travel in one period of a month and a half.

Upon the release of the internal audit report, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan took swift steps to fire two top Tribunal officials -- the Registrar and the Deputy Prosecutor -- held responsible for much of the mismanagement. Annan has selected a new Registrar, a Nigerian. Justice Arbour is searching for a qualified Deputy Prosecutor from Africa. The U.S. was strongly supportive of the investigative audit, and of Kofi Annan's quick corrective action. However, the other underlying management problems noted in the inspection report have not yet been addressed. The Tribunal has also had problems with protecting witnesses inside of Rwanda; several have been killed.

There have also been tensions between the Tribunal and the government of Rwanda. The Tribunal's mandate extends to investigating crimes perpetrated through December 1994. The government of Rwanda is concerned that incidents involving the RPA (the rebel movement which took power and stopped the massacre in the spring of 1994) may become the subject of investigation. In early March a computer was stolen from the home of one of the Tribunal's security officers in Kigali which may have contained information on ongoing investigations. The Government of Rwanda also recently called for the removal of Chief Prosecutor Arbour.

After significant international pressure to ease conditions in overcrowded and makeshift prisons housing in excess of 85,000 people suspected of committing crimes during the period of genocide, the Rwandan government began domestic trials in January of those accused of committing various crimes including murder, rape and robbery. The domestic trial process is hampered by a lack of trained lawyers and judges, many of whom were killed in 1994. The international community is finding it difficult to confront the Rwandan government on the lack of defense representation due to the earlier strong pressure to start the trials. The Rwandan populace appears cautiously supportive of the trials as a concrete step to met out justice. Several convictions and at least one acquittal have been issued in the last two months.

On a domestic note: The administration has a pending request for a \$1 billion advance appropriation to pay off our UN arrears. There is great resistance in some quarters on the Hill to this request. It is important to note that opponents to the request may use any indications that the Administration is soft on UN reform to stall this request. The Tribunal's problems have been specifically highlighted by this group.

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA

**STATEMENT ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE SPOKESMAN
OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL**

70037

1. After reviewing the report of the Office of Internal Oversight Services on the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the Secretary-General discussed its findings with his senior advisers at Headquarters as well as the President of the Rwanda Tribunal and the Prosecutor. He also held separate meetings with Mr. Honoré Rakotomanana, Deputy Prosecutor and Mr. Andronico Adede, Registrar. He concluded that the findings of the investigation that there are serious management and operational deficiencies required decisive action.

2. In view of the high importance the United Nations and the international community attach to the work of the Tribunal, the Secretary-General decided that the continuation of the two officials of the Tribunal in their posts would not be in the interests of the United Nations and of the work of the Tribunal in a case involving human tragedy of incalculable proportion.

3. Following the discussions with the Secretary-General and accepting that the best interests of the United Nations and the Tribunal are overriding concerns, Mr. Rakotomanana and Mr. Adede submitted their resignations from their respective posts, the latter also resigning from the Organization. The Secretary-General has accepted their resignations and administrative procedures are being taken to separate them from the Organization. It should, however, be noted that the investigation found no evidence of corruption or misuse of funds.

4. The Secretary-General has decided, in consultation with the President of the Tribunal, to appoint Mr. Agwu Okali (Nigeria) as the new Registrar of the Rwanda Tribunal with immediate effect. Mr. Okali is currently serving as Director and Deputy to the Assistant Secretary-General for HABITAT in Nairobi. He had worked in the Office of Legal Affairs and served as Director of the HABITAT Office in New York.

5. The announcement regarding the replacement of the Deputy Prosecutor will be made shortly.

26 February 1997

FIRING OF RWANDA TRIBUNAL OFFICIALS

Q: What is our comment on the firing of two officials of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda?

A:

- WE SEE YESTERDAY'S ACTION AS AN AFFIRMATION OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S COMMITMENT TO UN REFORM.
- THE RECENTLY-RELEASED REPORT BY THE UN OFFICE OF OVERSIGHT INSPECTION SERVICES MADE IT CLEAR THAT MAJOR CHANGES HAD TO BE MADE IN ORDER TO IMPROVE OPERATIONS AT THE TRIBUNAL.
- WE BELIEVE THIS MARKS A TURNING POINT FOR THE TRIBUNAL. WITH NEW PERSONNEL IN KEY POSITIONS, THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO ENHANCE THE OPERATIONS OF THE TRIBUNAL.

Q: What is our view of their successors?

A:

- WE UNDERSTAND THAT MR. AGWU OKALI OF NIGERIA HAS BEEN NAMED AS THE NEW REGISTRAR, EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY. WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH HIM AND BEING OF ANY ASSISTANCE POSSIBLE.

(NOTE: A new Deputy Prosecutor has not yet been named.)

Q: What is the status of the Tribunal's work?

A:

- THE FIRST TRIAL IS IN PROGRESS IN ARUSHA. OTHER TRIALS ARE SCHEDULED TO COMMENCE LATER THIS YEAR, AND INVESTIGATIONS ARE PROCEEDING APACE.

U.N. Chief Fires Top Officials of Rwanda

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 26—Secretary General Kofi Annan has fired the chief administrator and deputy prosecutor of the U.N. war crimes tribunal for Rwanda after an internal investigation found widespread mismanagement and incompetence, the United Nations announced today.

U.N. spokesman Juan-Carlos Brandt said Annan had accepted the resignations of Andronico Adede of Kenya, the chief administrator, and Honore Rakotomanana of Madagascar, the deputy prosecutor, because "continuation in their posts would not be in the interests of the United Nations and of the work of the tribunal in a case involving human tragedy of incalculable proportion."

The tribunal was established by the Security Council two years ago to try persons implicated in the massacre of more than half a million Tutsis and moderate Hutus during the tribal strife that engulfed Rwanda in 1994. Several months ago, the United Nations was rocked by complaints from Western staff members and media reports that the tribunal's functioning had descended into chaos because the administrators had given jobs to unqualified friends, relatives and lovers, discriminated against non-Africans and misused tribunal funds and equipment.

The situation posed the first serious test for Annan, who took office Jan. 1 promising to subject the United Nations to top-to-bottom reform. Western diplomats and private organizations in the human-rights field warned that failure to take stern action would be viewed in the world community as a sign of weakness and indecisiveness. But Annan, a na-

War Crimes Tribunal

tive of Ghana who was elected as the candidate of Africa, also was aware that some African governments deeply resented the idea that a housecleaning in the U.N. bureaucracy should begin with the largely African Rwanda tribunal staff.

Two weeks ago, a report by Karl Paschke, the U.N.'s equivalent of an inspector general, said that while there was no evidence to substantiate charges of corruption and racism, his investigators had found massive mismanagement and waste at every level of the tribunal. Noting that "not a single administrative area ... functioned effectively," Paschke left Annan little room for leniency.

Paschke recommended discharging Rakotomanana. But he left to

Annan a decision about Adede, noting the tribunal had been hampered by inadequate administrative and personnel support from U.N. headquarters in New York. The tribunal's headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania, is headed by Adede, and Rakotomanana directed a prosecution branch office in the Rwandan capital, Kigali.

After Paschke's report was made public, many non-African judges and others associated with the tribunal privately contacted the secretary general's office and the media to repeat earlier charges that administrators hobbled their work through bureaucratic interference. Despite Paschke's findings, some asserted

anew that the tribunal was rife with racism and nepotism.

Brandt said that following talks with Annan, Rakotomanana and Adede had submitted their resignations "accepting that the best interests of the United Nations and the tribunal are overriding concerns."

Named as Adede's replacement was Agwu Ukiwe Okali of Nigeria, a graduate of the London School of Economics and Harvard law school, who has been serving in the U.N. habitat office in Kenya. A new deputy prosecutor will be named later.

The tribunal so far has indicted 21 people, and now is conducting its first trial against Jean-Paul Akayesu, a former Rwandan mayor charged with inciting the public to murder.

United Nations
Nations Unies



International
Criminal Tribunal
for the former
Yugoslavia

Tribunal Pénal
International pour
l'ex-Yugoslavie

International
Criminal Tribunal
for Rwanda

Tribunal Pénal
International pour
le Rwanda

Office of the
Prosecutor

Bureau du
Procureur

Ref: 970032/LA/sz

5 March 1997

Dear Mr. Schoffer:

Per our conversation, I am submitting a modified proposal to the Government of the United States regarding the round-table to assist the Office of the Prosecutor [OTP] for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in confronting crimes of sexual violence.

As I have previously indicated, the experience of the staff of the Yugoslav OTP is perhaps one of the most valuable resources available to the Rwanda OTP. Therefore, the primary objective of this round-table discussion is to be a training seminar which will be conducted by staff members of the Yugoslav OTP for their counterparts in Rwanda. In that end, key Yugoslav staff members, which have already been identified, will go to Arusha and offer information to the Rwanda staff on investigating and prosecuting crimes of sexual violence.

However, I do believe that the round-table's secondary objective should be to provide a confidential forum for the staff of both tribunals to openly identify and discuss anticipated problems. It will allow us to develop a closer working relationship, a consistent operational practice and a better understanding of the difficulties surrounding prosecution of sexual violence as well as protection of witnesses and victims within an international jurisdiction.

For the round-table to satisfy the two requirements which I view as necessary for its efficacy, I respectfully request that the US Government allocate \$50,000 to the Rwanda Tribunal for a frank discussion which will be held in Tanzania on the last week of March 1997 between the two offices of the Prosecutor. If my proposal is accepted, we would like our access to the US funds to be as simple and as convenient as possible. Therefore, due to the shortage of time, I would appreciate if the money were deposited as soon as possible into the Rwanda Tribunal's Trust Fund. The account number of the United Nations General Trust Fund at the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York is: 001-1-508140. In depositing the money, please refer to the: "U.S. contribution to the ICTR, Trust Fund for Rwanda".

Please find attached my proposed outline for the event. Once again, let me thank you for your assistance and support. I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

Judge Louise Arbour

Prosecutor

Mr. David Scheffer
via: Sean Murphy
Embassy of the United States of America
Lange Voorhout 102
2514 EJ The Hague

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Statement at The International Criminal Tribunal
for Rwanda
Arusha, Tanzania

March 24, 1997

I want to thank Justice Arbour and the other Justices for taking the time to speak with me about the International Criminal Tribunal and its efforts to bring peace to central Africa and justice to those who committed genocide, acts of sexual violence, and other war atrocities in Rwanda in 1994. Justice Arbour has established herself as a determined guardian of the rule of law. She and the Tribunal's investigators, prosecutors and justices deserve our strong support as they undertake this difficult work. Let me also thank the staff of the Tribunal for their dedication and their willingness to serve under conditions that are often far from ideal.

Genocide is a crime against humanity. The perpetrators of genocide must be brought to justice whenever genocide occurs; wherever genocide occurs. As a signatory of the International Convention on Genocide, the United States is legally and morally bound to prosecute and punish those who commit such crimes. But let me be clear: We seek punishment not for its own sake, but as a signal of the return of the rule of law and accountability, as a stark warning against future acts of horror, and as a first step on the road to peace and reconciliation.

The training workshop on sexual violence that I just observed is critical to the Tribunal's efforts to live up to its mandate. The war in Rwanda was waged with the lives and dignity of women and children. The evidence suggests that rape and sexual assault were committed on a mass scale. They were tactics of war. On this, the world community must speak with one voice: Such tactics will never be tolerated. We will do our utmost to see to it that the war criminals who practice them who subject women and children to sexual abuse and violence will be investigated, prosecuted, and punished with the full force of the law.

This tribunal has an immense and important job before it. The results of its work will be felt not just in Africa, but around the world. The Tribunal can help bind up the wounds of war; it can guard against future acts of genocide and their horrible aftermath refugee crises that trap women and children in a world of despair. In short, because the Tribunal is prosecuting the lowest of crimes, it must be held to the highest of standards.

That is why the United States is encouraged by the decisive action United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan has taken to repair and reform the Tribunal's management and operations. Working with Justice Arbour, the Secretary General has taken the necessary first steps to correct the problems that have plagued the Tribunal's short existence.

We applaud these ongoing efforts to create a Tribunal that is fair, efficient, effective, and just. A Tribunal that does not live up to these standards will undermine the prospects for peace in central Africa and dishonor the memory of those who perished in Rwanda.

President Clinton and Secretary of State Albright are firmly committed to the Tribunal's goals and to these critically important reform efforts. The United States is the Tribunal's largest contributor. Our financial support totals more than \$12 million. We have provided computers and other necessities. Ten Americans currently serve in the Office of the Prosecutor. In fact, the United States helped to sponsor the workshop on rape and sexual assaults that I visited today.

I should add that the United States is also working to rebuild the judiciary in Rwanda. While this Tribunal will concentrate on bringing to justice the architects of genocide, Rwanda's courts will focus on those who participated in the violence at lower levels. It is essential that we continue to help Rwanda to put in place a system of laws that will ensure fair treatment for all innocent and guilty alike.

Finally, let me say that this is an international Tribunal. It can succeed only with sustained support and cooperation from the community of nations. Every country has the responsibility to assist the Tribunal with its work.

This is a holy week one that marks the passage from loss and despair to hope and redemption. In many ways, that is the mission of this Tribunal to heal and bring justice to a place that has known too much sorrow. It must succeed.

[First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Trip to Africa](#)

[Read our Privacy Policy](#)

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1997
FINAL

KAMPALA, UGANDA

LEAD ADVANCE

KAMPALA, UGANDA: KARA MCGUIRE-MINAR RM#418
SHERATON KAMPALA
011-256-41-346-351 PHONE
011-256-41-346-352 FAX
(IN CONTROL ROOM)

SITE ADVANCE: PAUL MEYER RM #718
MWITU NDUGU RM #632

PRESS LEAD: JIM LOFTUS RM #407

RON ADVANCE: KATIE BUTTON RM #414
STAFF OFFICE RM#630
EMBASSY CONTROL RM#629

SCHEDULER: JAYCEE PRIBULSKY
202/456-2922 OFFICE
202/456-5340 FAX
202/544-4123 HOME
WHCA PAGER #4797

PREV RON SHERATON KAMPALA
KAMPALA, UGANDA

9:20am DEPART Sheraton Kampala
EN ROUTE Seguku Primary School
[drive time: 20 minutes]

9:40am ARRIVE Seguku Primary School

Greeters:

- Amanya Mushega, Minister of Education and Sports
- James Muhwezi, Minister of State for Primary Education
- Benon Kalemere, Headmaster of the Seguku Primary School

NOTE: This event is outdoors.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1997

PAGE 2

9:40am-

10:05am

WELCOME CEREMONY at Seguku Primary School

HRC Hold: Headmaster's Office

Phone: 011-256-41-200-846

Fax: n/a

POOL PRESS

FORMAT:

-- HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni, Minister Mushega, Minister Muhwezi, Mr. Kalemere and Ambassador and Mrs. Southwick, proceed up the stairs to the platform above the playground.

-- HRC proceeds to her chair.

NOTE: HRC is seated between Mrs. Museveni and Minister Mushega.

-- The Ugandan National Anthem is played.

-- The United States National Anthem is played.

-- HRC views two dance performances.

-- Minister Mushega delivers brief remarks and formally welcomes HRC.

-- Mrs. Museveni delivers brief remarks and introduces HRC.

-- HRC delivers brief remarks from a standing microphone.

-- Upon conclusion of remarks, HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni, Minister Mushega, Minister Muhwezi, Ambassador Southwick, and Carol Peasley, proceeds down the steps to the signing ceremony.

NOTE: This event is outdoors.

10:05am-

SIGNING CEREMONY

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1997
PAGE 3

10:10am

HRC Hold: Headmaster's Office
Phone: 011-256-41-200-846
Fax: n/a
POOL PRESS

-- HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni,
and Carol Peasley, proceeds to a
standing position behind the table to
witness the signing ceremony.

-- HRC observes Don Clark, USAID/Tanzania
Director and Minister Mayanja-Nkangi
signing the next tranche of USG
assistance to the Ugandan Ministry of
Education.

-- Upon conclusion of the signing ceremony,
HRC proceeds up the stairs for the tour.

10:10am-
10:30am

TOUR of Seguku Primary School
HRC Hold: Headmaster's Office
Phone: 011-256-41-200-846
Fax: n/a
POOL PRESS

-- HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni,
and Minister Muhwezi, proceeds to
the Coordinating Center for teacher
training activities.

NOTE: A wire reporter will accompany HRC
on the tour.

Greeters: (at Coordinating Center):

-Steve McCarthy, Peace Corps Director
-Lucia Kimono, Coordinating Center Tutor
-Kim Hansen, Peace Corps Volunteer
-Monica Ford, Peace Corps Volunteer

-- HRC sits down briefly to view the
teaching aids and talk to the Peace
Corps volunteers about the Coordinating
Center.

-- HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni,
and Minister Muhwezi, proceed to

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton [partial] (1 page)	03/28/1997	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 19009

FOLDER TITLE:

Civil Society and Democracy Building Volume 1 [Binder] [1]

2013-0534-S

rc1873

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.

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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]

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1997
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the second grade classroom (P2).

-- The second grade class welcomes HRC and tell her about their class.

-- HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni and Minister Muhwezi, departs the classroom.

NOTE: As HRC departs, the class will begin singing a song.

-- On departure, HRC signs the Seguku Primary School guestbook and greets a representative group of parents, teachers and Peace Corps officials.

10:45am

DEPART Seguku Primary School
EN ROUTE AIDS Information Center
[drive time: 10 minutes]

10:50am

ARRIVE AIDS Information Center

Greeters:

-Mary Grace Alwano-Edyegu [al-wa-no ed-ye-goo], Director, AIC

(b)(6)

[004]

-Isaac Namuli, child

-Moses Namuli, child

11:00am-

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION

11:20am

AIDS Information Centre
Kisenyi, Kampala
HRC Hold: Dr. Marum's Office
Phone: 011-256-41-271-433
Fax: n/a

POOL PRESS

FORMAT:

-- HRC, accompanied by Mary Grace Alwano-Edyegu and Mrs. Museveni, enters the Conference Room for briefing on the goals and activities of AIC.

(b)(6)

client, delivers
testimonial on her experiences.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1997
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NOTE: HRC has an opportunity to ask questions.

-- Upon conclusion of the discussion, HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni and Mary Grace Alwano-Edyegu, proceeds to the main entrance of the clinic.

11:20am-
12:00pm

VISIT to AIDS Information Centre

AIDS Information Centre
Kisenyi, Kampala
HRC Hold: Dr. Marum's Office
Phone: 011-256-41-271-433
Fax: n/a

POOL PRESS

-- HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni and Mary Grace Alwano-Edyegu, proceeds to the main entrance of the AIC to unveil a plaque.

-- HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni and Mary Grace Alwano-Edyegu, proceed on a brief tour of the laboratory and counseling room.

-- Upon conclusion of the tour, HRC and Mrs. Museveni plant a commemorative tree in honor of their visit.

-- Upon conclusion of the tree planting, HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni and Mary Grace Alwano-Edyegu, proceeds to the Training Hall.

-- HRC and Mrs. Museveni proceed to their seats in the front row in the Training Hall.

-- Mary Grace Alwano-Edyegu delivers welcoming remarks and introduces the TASO Drama Group.

-- The TASO Drama Group performs one song.
-- Upon conclusion of the performance,

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1997
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Minister of Health Kiyonga delivers
brief remarks and introduces Mrs.
Museveni.

-- Mrs. Museveni delivers brief remarks and
introduces HRC.

-- HRC delivers brief remarks from a
podium.

-- Upon conclusion of remarks, HRC works a
ropeline from right to left.

NOTE: A group will be performing a song
in courtyard on departure.

12:05pm

DEPART AIDS Information Center
EN ROUTE FINCA Village Bank
[drive time: 15 minutes]

12:20pm

ARRIVE FINCA Village Bank

Greeters:

-Alice Sembuya, Chairwoman, FINCA Bank
-Margaret Mugabane, Chairwoman, FINCA Bank

12:30pm-
1:30pm

Visit to FINCA Village Bank
Bwaise Village
HRC Hold: n/a
Phone: n/a
Fax: n/a
POOL PRESS

FORMAT:

-- HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni,
proceeds to her chair under the tent.

-- Mrs. Kasenene, Master of Ceremonies,
will welcomes HRC and lead the group
in the singing of the Ugandan National
Anthem and the Women's National Anthem.

-- HRC views FINCA microenterprise song
performance and FINCA testimonials.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1997
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NOTE: A translation sheet will be distributed prior to the beginning of the performance.

- Upon conclusion of the performance, Mrs. Museveni delivers brief remarks and introduces HRC.
- HRC delivers brief remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, HRC holds briefly and signs the Church guest book.
- After signing the guest book, HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni and Mrs. Kasenene visits a clinic, a baker, a tailor, a banana saleswoman and a general store.
- Upon conclusion of the tour, HRC departs.

1:30pm

DEPART FINCA
EN ROUTE Sheraton Kampala
[drive time: 15 minutes]

1:45pm

ARRIVE Sheraton Kampala

2:00pm-

MEETING with Rwandan Women

3:00pm

Masaba Lounge, Sheraton Kampala
HRC Hold: HRC Suite
Phone: 011-256-41-346-351
Fax: 011-256-41-346-352
OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- HRC proceeds to a seat at the table.
- HRC delivers welcoming remarks and welcomes guests.
- Patricia Hajbakiga, moderator, introduces other participants and moderates an open discussion.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1997
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-- Upon conclusion of discussion, HRC
departs.

3:00pm-
5:45pm

DOWN TIME
Sheraton Kampala
HRC Hold: HRC Suite
Phone: 011-256-41-346-351
Fax: 011-256-41-346-352
CLOSED PRESS

5:55pm

DEPART Sheraton Kampala
EN ROUTE Nile Conference Center
[drive time: 5 minutes]

6:00pm

ARRIVE Nile Conference Center

Greeters:

- Mrs. Janet Museveni
- Vice President Specioza Wandir Kazibwe
- Hajat Janat B. Mukwaya [HAH-jaht JAN-at mook-WAY-ah], Minister
of Gender and Community Development
- Betty Okwir [BET-tee oh-QUEER], Deputy Speaker of Parliament

6:00pm-
7:00pm

SPEECH
Main Auditorium
Nile Conference Center
HRC Hold: VIP Lounge
Phone: 011-256-41-235-900
Fax: n/a
OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

-- HRC, accompanied by Mrs. Museveni,
Deputy Speaker Okwir, Vice President
Kazibwe, and Ambassador Southwick, is
announced onto the stage.

-- HRC proceeds to her chair.
NOTE: HRC remains standing for the

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1997
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Ugandan National Anthem and the U.S.
National Anthem.

NOTE: HRC is seated next to Mrs.
Museveni and Vice President Kazibwe.

-- Hajat Janat B. Mukwaya introduces Dr.
Kazibwe.

-- Dr. Kazibwe delivers brief remarks and
introduces Mrs. Museveni.

-- Mrs. Museveni delivers brief remarks and
introduces HRC.

-- HRC delivers remarks.

-- Upon conclusion of remarks, HRC proceeds
back to her chair but remains standing.

-- Betty Okwir gives a traditional Ugandan
vote of thanks.

-- HRC departs.

7:00pm

DEPART Nile Conference Center
EN ROUTE Ambassador's Residence
[drive time: 15 minutes]

7:15pm

ARRIVE Ambassador's Residence

7:20pm-

7:50pm

EMBASSY MEET AND GREET
Ambassador's Residence
HRC Hold: Living Room
Phone: 011-256-41-233-175
Fax: 011-256-41-257-678
CLOSED PRESS

PROGRAM:

-- HRC, accompanied by Ambassador Southwick
and Mrs. Southwick, proceeds down the
garden steps onto the stage.

-- Ambassador Southwick intros HRC.

-- HRC delivers brief remarks.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1997
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-- upon conclusion of remarks, HRC works
a ropeline from right to left.

-- HRC departs.

7:50pm

DEPART Ambassador's Residence
EN ROUTE Sheraton Kampala
[drive time: 5 minutes]

7:55pm

ARRIVE Sheraton Kampala

RON

SHERATON KAMPALA
011-256-41-346-351 **PHONE**
011-256-41-346-352 **FAX**

BC RON

THE WHITE HOUSE

**Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
At a Roundtable with Rwandan Women
Kampala, Uganda**

March 28, 1997

Let me just say a few things because I know you've had a long journey here and I am sorry that I was not able on this trip to come to Rwanda. I am encouraged by what I hear both from you and more generally about the efforts of reconciliation and reconstruction that are currently under way in Rwanda. I am particularly encouraged to hear about the role that women are playing in those efforts.

The genocide and other horrible experiences that are depicted in this book of photographs that you have presented to me, as well as the personal experiences you have related, are a very important challenge not only to the people of Rwanda but indeed to the entire world. I am aware of the concerns that many of you have about the International Criminal Tribunal which I visited in Arusha. I visited it for two reasons: I wanted to make it clear that the United States is very supportive of the efforts to bring to justice those who were the architects of genocide and other crimes, and also to signal that the United States is aware that the Tribunal has had administrative problems and has been rightly criticized as being ineffective. However, as I stated in a radio address which I taped for the people of Rwanda, the United States and other countries are committed to the essential task of the Tribunal.

I had a long meeting with Justice Arbour, who has been appointed to work on behalf of the Tribunal. I am hoping that the critical work of the Tribunal will now go forward more effectively and that you will be able to see the differences. As I told members of the Tribunal who were focusing particularly on the crimes against women and children, and in particular crimes of sexual violence, this is one of the most critical tasks to investigate and prosecute. Those who were responsible for the genocide must be brought to justice.

One of the results of war and genocide and ethnic cleansing around the world is that women and children often suffer the most. When I went to Bosnia last year, I met with a group of women, most of whom had survived the war in Bosnia and had been subjected both personally and through their families to ethnic cleansing. Their stories are, as you would imagine, tragic like your stories in terms of the horrors that were visited upon them. Women and children endured disproportionate suffering.

The United States is committed to assisting Rwanda with its reconciliation and reconstruction. You may know that in November of 1996, the United States announced a new USAID program with funding of about 153 million dollars. The vast majority of that assistance will be spent inside Rwanda on reconciliation issues, re-integration, and humanitarian aid to returnees. This program targets aid to women via the Women in Transition Program.

As I look at the list of participants here and at the kind of work in which you are personally engaged, such as the World Women's Network for Development, the women's bank, assistance for widows, promotion of solidarity, promotion of building, it is the work that is the most critical for the psychological and physical reconstruction of your people and your country. USAID is attempting to focus as much as possible on female heads of households and to assist you with the overwhelming task of caring for the many children orphaned as a result of this genocide.

Despite the legacy of genocide which you will live with in Rwanda, I think now that most Rwandans have returned home, the world is hopeful that your government will continue its efforts to rebuild. Although I speak only for my own country, I think the world will be actively

involved in assisting you in making sure that these fundamental building blocks for your society can be put into place.

Those of us who have only watched from afar, as you endured and survived the genocide, cannot really find the words to describe any of your experiences or your feelings. We can say that we will do what we are able to do to assist you and to support efforts both in Rwanda and internationally to bring to justice those who should be brought to justice.

We meet today on Good Friday. For those of us who are Christians, that is a very significant day in our religious year. We know very well that from the beginning of time there have been periods of horror and tragedy but that the human spirit has survived. And that is what you are showing the world again. Even though it is Good Friday, for Christians the darkest day of the year, Christians and all human beings don't live for Good Friday; we live for Easter Sunday. We live for hope and reconciliation; we live for forgiveness and reconstruction; we live for new life and promise. I'm hoping that the women of Rwanda will know that women, as you saw at the Pan African meeting and as you have heard from many others throughout the world, will be standing ready to assist you.

I want to thank you for coming to see me, because I could not come to see you. Thank you also for sharing with me these visual reminders that are in the beginning an album of horrors and at the end an album of hopes. This is what I will take away from our meeting: that both are in one book and that you will, through your efforts and your example and your testimony, make sure we do not forget the horrors but that we do not dwell on them either. We will continue to build toward hope, hope for a new Rwanda that can be an example to all of us. Thank you.