

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (10 pages)	11/14/1997	b(7)(E)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Civil Society and Democracy Building Volume 1 [Binder] [2]

2013-0534-S

ry1689

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997
FINAL*

BUKHARA, UZBEKISTAN/SAMARKAND, UZBEKISTAN/TASHKENT, UZBEKISTAN

LEAD ADVANCE

MWITU NDUGU

BUKHARA:

HOTEL BUKHORO

011-7-3712-230-024 RM#424

011-7-3652-231-033 FAX

011-7-3712-301-077 CELL

STAFF OFFICE RM#423

SITE ADVANCE:

EVAN RYAN

RM #425

011-7-3712-301-087 CELL

STEPHANIE HURST RM #426

011-7-3712-301-019 CELL

PRESS LEAD:

GRETCHEN MICHAEL RM #442

011-7-3712-301- CELL

RON ADVANCE

ERICA ROSE RM #430

011-7-3712-301-079 CELL

LEAD ADVANCE

SARAH FARNSWORTH

SAMARKAND:

AFROSIYOB HOTEL

011-7-3662-312-080 RM #163

011-7-3662-311-368 FAX

011-7-3662-360-781 CELL

STAFF OFFICE RM#152

SITE ADVANCE:

BRIDGER MCGAW

RM #162

NOA MEYER

RM #161

PRESS LEAD:

MARISA LUZZATTO

RM #164

LEAD ADVANCE

RICK JASCULCA

TASHKENT:

INTERCONTINENTAL HOTEL

011-7-3712-325-252 RM#703

011-7-3712-406-459 FAX

011-7-3712-8210-0902 CELL

STAFF OFFICE: SAMARKAND ROOM

SITE ADVANCE:

TYLER DENTON

RM#

PAUL RIVERA

RM#704

PRESS LEAD:

JASON SCHECTER

RM#705

RON ADVANCE

STEPHANIE BAKER

RM#716

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997
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SCHEDULER:	JAYCEE PRIBULSKY	
	202/456-2922	OFFICE
	202/456-5340	FAX
	202/544-4123	HOME
	WHCA PAGER	#4797

PREV RON	HOTEL BUKHORO
	BUKHARA, UZBEKISTAN

BAGGAGE CALL WILL BE AT 8AM OUTSIDE HOTEL ROOM DOORS

STAFF NOTE: STAFF WISHING TO VIEW THE SYNAGOGUE SHOULD BE
ASSEMBLED AT 9:00AM IN THE LOBBY FOR DEPARTURE - ALL OTHER STAFF
SHOULD BE ASSEMBLED IN THE LOBBY AT 9:30AM FOR DEPARTURE.

9:30am	DEPART Hotel Bukhoro
	EN ROUTE Jewish Synagogue
	[drive time: 10 minutes]

(b)(7)e

9:40am	ARRIVE Jewish Synagogue
--------	-------------------------

STAFF NOTE: Staff should hold on the bus.

Greeters:

- Rabbi Aaron Sianov, Chief Rabbi, Jewish Synagogue
- Raphael Davison, Chief Representative of the Bukhara Jewish
Community

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997
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9:45am- **DROP-BY Jewish Synagogue**
9:55am HRC Hold: n/a
 Phone: n/a
 Fax: n/a
 POOL PRESS

PROGRAM:

-- The First Lady briefly tours torahs and
 meets the Rabbi.

10:00am **DEPART Jewish Synagogue**
 EN ROUTE Bukhara Airport
 [drive time: 20 minutes]

(b)(7)e

10:20am **ARRIVE Bukhara Airport**

10:30am **WHEELS UP Bukhara, Uzbekistan**
 Bukhara Airport
 HRC Hold: Mr. Muhamediev's Office
 Phone: 011-7-3652-231-306
 Fax: n/a
 OPEN PRESS/CLOSED PUBLIC

FLIGHT TIME: 50 MINUTES

NOTE: The plane will be the last opportunity to use a restroom
until arrival at the Afrosiyob Hotel for lunch.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997

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11:20am

WHEELS DOWN Samarkand, Uzbekistan
Samarkand Airport
HRC Hold: Plane
Phone: n/a
Fax: n/a
OPEN PRESS/CLOSED PUBLIC

NOTE: Sarah Farnsworth will meet the First Lady on arrival.

Greeters:

- Mr. Nosirov, Mayor of the City of Samarkand
- Mr. Mardiev, Governor of Samarkand Oblast
- Mr. Khaidarov, Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Samarkand Department

NOTE: Three women will present the First Lady with flowers on arrival.

11:40am

DEPART Samarkand Airport
EN ROUTE Shah-I-Zinda Mausoleums
[drive time: 10 minutes]

(b)(7)e

11:50am

ARRIVE Shah-I-Zinda Mausoleums

Greeters:

-n/a

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997
PAGE 5

12:00pm-
12:30pm

VISIT to Shah-I-Zinda Mausoleums
HRC Hold: limo
Phone: n/a
Fax: n/a
OPEN PRESS

PROGRAM:

STAFF NOTE: All staff proceed on a tour in front of the First Lady's touring group.

- The First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, proceeds through a portal leading to the **"STAIRWAY TO HEAVEN"**.
- The First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, proceeds halfway up the stairs and stops briefly at a mausoleum to allow the press to pre-position.
- The First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, proceeds up the stairway to the **"STREET OF THE DEAD"**, which is lined on either side with sepulchers of the ruling dynasty and feudal nobility.
- The First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, proceeds along the passageway to the **KUSSAM IBN-ABBAS** Mausoleum and adjoining mosque.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997

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-- The First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht; Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, traces her steps back through the hall and paved passageway towards the entrance.

-- The First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, proceeds to the end of the passageway, descends the steps and departs.

12:30pm

DEPART Shah-I-Zinda Mausoleums

EN ROUTE Registan Square

[drive time: 5 minutes]

(b)(7)e

12:35pm

ARRIVE Registan Square

Greeters:

-President Karimov

-Kurban H. Hasonov Director, Registan Square

12:45pm-

TOUR of Registan Square

1:10pm

HRC Hold: Limo

Staff Hold: Staff Van

Phone: n/a

Fax: n/a

OPEN PRESS

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997
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NOTE: The tour is outdoors, comfortable footwear is recommended.

PROGRAM:

- The First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, proceeds to the **SHIR DOR MADRASA** for a tour of **REGISTAN SQUARE**.
- The First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, proceeds inside the **SHIR DOR MADRASA** to see the Islamic studies students' rooms.
- The First Lady, accompanied by President Karimov, proceeds to the **TILLA KARI MADRASA** for a **PHOTO OPPORTUNITY**.

NOTE: Other members of the touring party will remain at the portico edge for the First Lady's photo opportunity.

- Upon conclusion of the photo-op, the First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, President Karimov, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, proceeds to the courtyard of the **GOLDEN DOME**.
- Upon conclusion of the tour, the First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, President Karimov, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, proceeds to the stage to watch a three-minute dance program by traditional **UZBEK DANCERS**.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997

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1:15pm

DEPART Registan Square
EN ROUTE Afrosiyob Hotel
[drive time: 5 minutes]

(b)(7)e

1:15pm

ARRIVE Afrosiyob Hotel

Greeters:

- Farkhod Khudojarov, Manager, Afrosiyob Hotel
- Raushan L. Sabirov, Assistant Manager, Afrosiyob Hotel

1:15pm

PROCEED TO HOLD

1:30pm-

2:30pm

REMARKS ON CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Conference Hall, Afrosiyob Hotel
HRC Hold: Apartment 178
Staff Hold: first floor of Apartment 178
Phone: 011-7-3662-312-080
Fax: 011-7-3662-311-368
OPEN PRESS

PROGRAM:

NOTE: The translation will be simultaneous.

- Off-stage announcement of the President of Uzbekistan, accompanied by the First lady and Madina Ibadova, student.
- Student Madina Ibadova delivers brief remarks and introduces President Karimov.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997

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- President Karimov delivers brief remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady delivers brief remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, the First Lady, accompanied by President Karimov, exits stage right.

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 175 people to attend.

2:30pm-

3:15pm

LUNCH

Banquet Room I, Afrosiyob Hotel

HRC Hold: Room 178

Phone: 011-7-3662-312-080

Fax: 011-7-3662-311-368

CLOSED PRESS

U.S. PARTICIPANTS:

- The First Lady
- Charge Limprecht
- Melanne Verveer
- Ambassador Courtney
- Ambassador Morningstar
- Don Pressley

UZBEK PARTICIPANTS:

- President Karimov
- Mrs. Karimova
- Gulnara Karimova
- Mr. Kamilov, Foreign Minister
- Mr. Mardiev, Governor of Samarkand Oblast
- Mr. Safiev, Uzbek Ambassador to the U.S.

3:20pm

DEPART Afrosiyob Hotel

EN ROUTE Tomb of Amir Timur

[drive time: 5 minutes]

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997
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(b)(7)e

3:25pm

ARRIVE Tomb of Amir Timur

Greeters:

-n/a

3:30pm-

VISIT TO THE TOMB OF AMIR TIMUR

3:50pm

HRC Hold: Limo

Staff Hold: Staff Van

Phone: n/a

Fax: n/a

OPEN PRESS

PROGRAM:

-- Upon conclusion of the tour, the First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, President Karimov, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, tours the Tomb of Amir Timur.

3:55pm

DEPART Tomb of Amir Timur

EN ROUTE Meros Center

[drive time: 5 minutes]

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997
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(b)(7)e

4:00pm **ARRIVE USAID Artisan's Development Center**

Greeters:

-n/a

4:00pm- **DROP-BY at the USAID Artisan's Development**
4:15pm **Center**

HRC Hold: n/a

Phone: n/a

Fax: n/a

OPEN PRESS

PROGRAM:

-- The First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, President Karimov, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, visits the USAID Artisan's Development Center.

4:15pm **DEPART USAID Artisan's Development Center**
EN ROUTE Oleg Bek's Observatory
[drive time: 5 minutes]

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997
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(b)(7)e

4:20pm

ARRIVE Oleg Bek's Observatory

Greeters:

-n/a

4:25pm-

TOUR OF OLEG BEK'S OBSERVATORY

4:45pm

HRC Hold: n/a

Phone: n/a

Fax: n/a

OPEN PRESS

-- The First Lady, accompanied by Mrs. Karimova, Gulnara Karimova, Charge Limprecht, President Karimov, Luba Goraschenko, tour guide and Liana Ibragimova, interpreter, tours Oleg Bek's Observatory.

4:45pm

DEPART Oleg Bek's Observatory

EN ROUTE Samarkand Airport

[drive time: 5 minutes]

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997
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(b)(7)e

4:50pm **ARRIVE Samarkand Airport**

NOTE: The First Lady will greet the 32 members of the Embassy staff in a photo receiving line on departure.

Greeters:

- President Karimov
- Mr. Nosirov, Mayor of the City of Samarkand
- Mr. Mardiev, Governor of Samarkand Oblast
- Mr. Khaidarov, Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Samarkand Department

5:00pm **WHEELS UP Samarkand, Uzbekistan**
Samarkand Airport
HRC Hold: plane
Phone: n/a
Fax: n/a
OPEN PRESS/CLOSED PUBLIC

FLIGHT TIME: 1 HOUR

6:00pm **WHEELS DOWN Tashkent, Uzbekistan**
Tashkent International Airport
HRC Hold: VIP Lounge
Phone: 011-7-3712-553-370
Fax: n/a
VIP Room, Tashkent II
OPEN PRESS/CLOSED PUBLIC

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997

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6:15pm

DEPART Tashkent Airport
EN ROUTE Intercontinental Hotel
[drive time: 20 minutes]

(b)(7)e

6:35pm

ARRIVE Intercontinental Hotel

6:45pm-

DOWN TIME

7:25pm

Intercontinental Hotel

7:30pm-

AMERICAN COMMUNITY EVENT

8:00pm

Amir Temur Room
Intercontinental Hotel
Phone: 011-7-3712-325-252
Fax: 011-7-3712-406-459
CLOSED PRESS

- The First Lady, accompanied by Charge Limprecht and Nancy Limprecht, enter the room.
- Charge Joe Limprecht delivers brief remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady delivers brief remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, the First Lady, works a ropeline from left to right and departs.

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 200 people to attend.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1997
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RON

INTERCONTINENTAL HOTEL
011-7-3712-325-252 PHONE
011-7-3712-406-459 FAX

WEATHER FORECAST FOR BUKHARA, UZBEKISTAN:

-Partly sunny. High of 55 degrees. Low of 40 degrees.

WEATHER FORECAST FOR SAMARKAND, UZBEKISTAN:

-Partly cloudy. High of 60 degrees. Low of 40 degrees.

WEATHER FORECAST FOR TASHKENT, UZBEKISTAN:

-Partly sunny. High of 60 degrees. Low of 40 degrees.

**VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO SAMARKAND, UZBEKISTAN
NOVEMBER 14, 1997**

EVENT: Cultural Diversity Remarks

DATE: November 14, 1997

TIME: 1:30 P.M. to 2:30 P.M.

LOCATION: Hotel Afrosiyob Conference Center

PARTICIPANTS: Greeters: Farkhod Khudojarov, Manager,
Afrosiyob Hotel
Raushan L. Sabirov, Assistant Manager,
Afrosiyob Hotel
HRC
President Karimov
Student TBD

PRESS: OPEN

SCENARIO: HRC arrives via motorcade at Hotel Afrosiyob and is greeted by the Manager and Assistant Manager of the Hotel. HRC proceeds to Hold. After brief respite, HRC moves to Conference Center where she rejoins President Karimov backstage. There is an offstage announce of the Student TBD, President Kasimov, and HRC. Student gives remarks and introduces the President. The President gives remarks and introduces HRC. After remarks, HRC exits stage left to work a ropeline. HRC will exit up the right aisle and depart Conference Center. HRC proceeds to lunch.

PROGRAM: Off-stage announce of Student TBD, President Karimov, and HRC

Student TBD speaks and introduces President Karimov

President Karimov speaks and introduces HRC

HRC gives remarks

HRC exits stage left into crowd to work a ropeline

HRC departs Conference Center enroute Lunch.

P.87/13

Afrosiyob Hotel Conference Center Remarks Site November 14, 1997

NOV-12-1997 12:39

Stairs to Staff Lunch

LIMO

Greeters

TO HOLD
ROOM 178

HRC

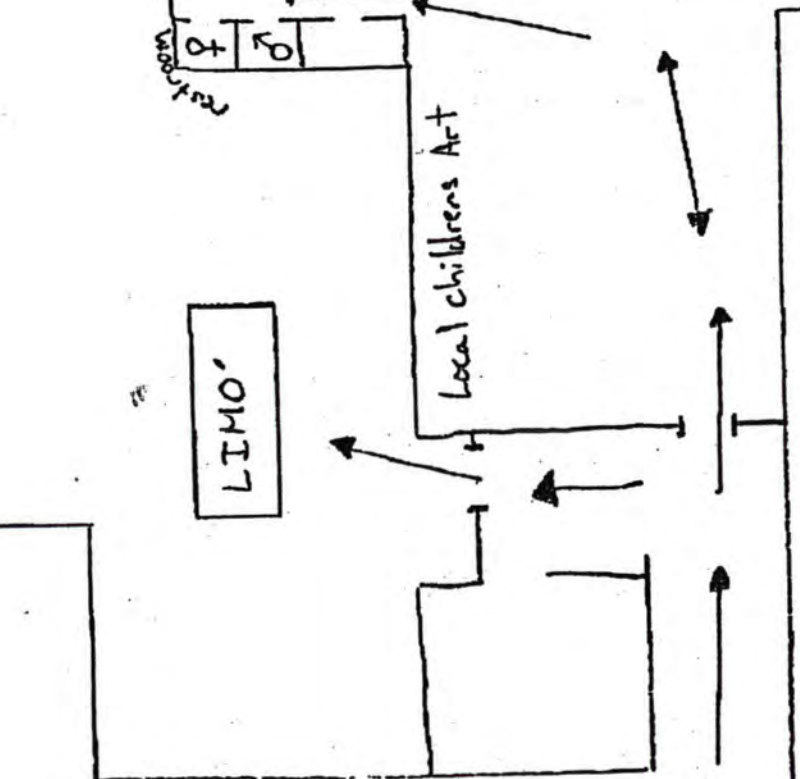
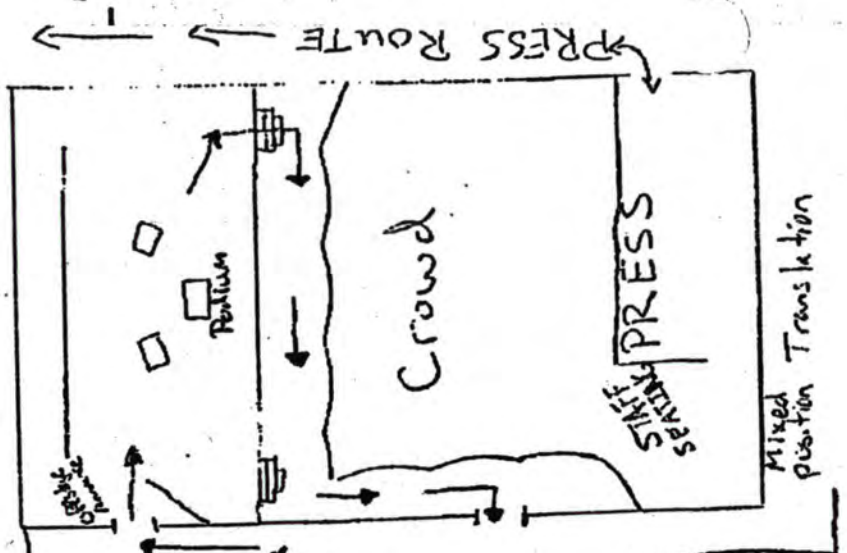
LU

LIMO

Local childrens Art

Restroom
♂
♀

Press Bus



Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on Cultural Diversity

Samarkand, Uzbekistan
November 14., 1997

Thank you so much, Mr. President. You may be assured that I will carry your warm words and your kind invitation to my husband, who is quite sad that I have had the opportunity to come to Uzbekistan first. I know that if there is any way possible, he will want, also, to come and see your beautiful country and I hope that will come to pass. I want to thank you and Mrs. Karimova for the very warm and gracious welcome and hospitality that I have received from you and from your people.

In the last two and a half days, I have met with professional and business women in Tashkent to talk about what nongovernmental organizations are doing. I have talked with university students in Tashkent and teenagers in Bukhara about their questions as they asked me in English with great confidence in their voices about what was going on in the United States and what I thought of them and their country. I complimented them because I have met with students from all over the world and I say this not because I am here in Samarkand, I will say it when I return home. I have never met with groups of young people, young men and young women who were better prepared and asked better questions than the ones I met with in both Tashkent and Bukhara. I have also had the opportunity to visit your ancient monuments and I want to thank the people of Bukhara and Samarkand for opening these monuments for the entire world to appreciate.

I have been privileged to see the old and the new Uzbekistan. This morning, Mrs. Karimova and I visited a Jewish synagogue in Bukhara; and there, the Rabbi of that small and ancient congregation told me of the ways that you, Mr. President, and your government have restored religious freedom and encouraged religious and cultural tolerance. Mrs. Karimova explained to me that under the Soviet Communist regime, individuals and families were forbidden to exercise their religion, and even prohibited from practicing time-honored traditions surrounding the birth of a child, a marriage, or the loss of a loved one. Thankfully those days are over. In Uzbekistan today, people of all religions can worship freely and openly. As we heard from our first speaker and from the President, the nationalities that are present in this one city alone represent the talents and abilities and aspirations of people of so many different traditions, all of whom are living peacefully in this cultural and religious heart of Central Asia.

I have come to Samarkand and Uzbekistan on behalf of my husband, President Clinton, and the American people to reinforce the young but strong and growing ties between our two countries and to witness firsthand the important progress you are making as you move toward democracy, create a civil society, and build an economy that helps all citizens realize their own dreams. I have come for another reason as well. I have come to learn from you, to learn from you not only about your rich past and rich culture, but also about the deeply-rooted traditions of respect for religious and ethnic differences which have enabled this culture to flourish for so many generations.

In the last days, starting in Tashkent and traveling through Bukhara here to Samarkand, I have been struck by the beauty of your places of worship. What

has made the sharpest impression on me, however, is their proximity. Muslims, Christians, and Jews follow their faiths in the same neighborhoods. Perhaps even more remarkable is that they have done so for centuries. This spirit of respect extends to all corners of your society. For millennia, people of different backgrounds have lived together peacefully, and they do so today. In the school I visited yesterday in Bukhara, there were children sitting in a circle, asking me questions Uzbeks, Tajiks and Russians. The questions came fast as their curiosity raced ahead and they wanted to carry on this conversation for a very long time. I reluctantly had to leave, but I could see in that group of children the future of this great country. I know that the people of Uzbekistan have a long-standing commitment to knowledge and learning. After all, this is the country that invented algebra.

Now, when I was growing up as a young girl and studying algebra in school, I'm not sure I would have been grateful for the invention of algebra. But of course, the world advanced because of the scholarship that you had here. You are blessed by a great artistic and literary tradition. Your literacy rate is the envy of many countries. I recognize that these are demanding times as you build your new society and that resources are scarce. I hope, however, that you will protect your strong system of education for girls as well as boys, because I know from seeing the faces of the university students and the high school students that you have such great potential in the minds of your young people. We know that a strong foundation of education is essential for building a thriving democracy.

Perhaps your record of finding strength in your diversity does not seem remarkable to you. As President Karimov told me and repeated again here, he grew up in Samarkand. He perhaps took for granted the numbers of different people living together. However, this tradition, this diversity, is rare. For if you look around the world today, you will see where differences, old and new, ethnic and religious, are used as a pretext for hatred, violence and inhumanity, in Bosnia and in Rwanda, in Northern Ireland and in the Middle East. You will also see places where extremists hijack holy traditions, not to lift people up closer to God, but to push them apart.

I imagine that the diversity of cultures represented by the caravans which plied the ancient silk road helped instill this tradition of respect that has armed you against these darker impulses. Travelers from China, Europe, India, Byzantium and the Arab world would sit and talk and drink tea together in the caravansaryan experience which could only deepen the bonds between individuals. After all, what does trade depend upon? To trade, you must live in an open society, free from walls and barriers. Information, ideas, goods, and people must be able to come in and go out. Trade is built on respect. To trade, you have to believe that someone someone who may be unlike yourself has something of worth to offer, and that you, by the same reasoning, have something of equal value to offer them in return. This basic transaction does more than spark commerce. It nurtures tolerance, a willingness to at least try to understand those whose race, heritage or religion might be different from our own.

This openness to ideas led the great philosophers of Islam to incorporate Western thought into their teachings in the medressas of Bukhara and Samarkand in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries. Their efforts literally preserved wisdom, like the work of Aristotle, that would otherwise have been lost to the ages. This openness also made Uzbekistan a safe home for the world's oldest Jewish community outside the Middle East. It led to the growth of Naqshbandi Sufism now the largest strain of Sufism. Bukhara is the seat of that remarkable

movement, which respects other traditions, while at the same time, rejecting extremism. I was very touched and honored when I met the Mullah at the mosque in Bukhara yesterday. He expressed the hope that echoes that of President Karimov, that the relations between our two countries will grow deeper and stronger.

I imagine this openness, which honors many religions, which accepts people from many different places, is one of the reasons that Samarkand and Bukhara have survived for more than 2000 years. Despite your great history, I would not be surprised if your people did not have concerns about the years that lie ahead. While the architecture of communism lies in rubble, the hard work of building the new structures of freedom is just beginning. I know, based on the experience of my own country, which is now the oldest surviving democracy, that building democracy is a never-ending task that requires the commitment of all citizens, generation after generation.

From what I know of Uzbekistan and of the other countries of Central Asia that I have visited, Kazakhstan and Krygyzstan, I have every confidence that you will succeed. For it must have taken unimaginable courage and steadfastness to survive under the old order in a system whose goal it was to stifle difference and erase culture and religion. You held fast, even as the Iron Curtain cut through the Silk Road. Now that curtain has been torn down, and the Silk Road thrives again as you travel on your journey, not on camels but moving toward a new destination, a democracy, and looking toward the future like the traders of old who risked their lives to travel the Silk Road to new lands and new opportunities as well.

I want you to know that democracy in my country, and in yours, depends not only on developing institutions that protect individuals and include all individuals from different backgrounds. It depends not only on holding free and fair elections, not once but time and time again. It depends not only on freedom of religion and freedom of expression, but ultimately on whether democratic values live in the hearts and minds of all citizens. Nurturing these values, passing them down from generation to generation, is one of the most challenging tasks for any democracy, particularly a new emerging one like yours. I am confident that the tradition of respect and tolerance that has stood this land so well for so many generations prepares you well to face the challenges that lie ahead.

In a few short years, the bonds between our countries have grown strong and I trust that they will grow even stronger. We have so much to learn from each other, and you have much to teach the world about finding strength in diversity. For centuries, that ancient Silk Road took the people of Central Asia to new worlds rich in commerce and culture. Today you are traveling this road again, only this time in a different direction toward new worlds of freedom and democracy. Though the journey is hard and the horizon may at times seem distant, I hope you will take faith from the fact that the President and people of the United States will walk with you every step of the way. We are proud to be your friend and your partner on this journey to democracy.

Thank you very much.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Trip to Central Asia, Russia, Ukraine



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IVAN FRANKO OPERA AND BALLET THEATER

The Ivan Franko Opera and Ballet Theater of Lviv is located at the north end of Svobody Avenue. This architectural masterpiece was designed by architect Zigmund Gorgolewski and built between 1897 and 1900. The neo-Classical theater with elements of Renaissance and Baroque has a truly exquisite facade. Its left and right projections have niches with stone statues of, respectively, Comedy and Tragedy in them. The three-meter high figures of the Muses, located on the main cornice of the facade, are the works of sculptor Anton Popel. The 20-meter wide and four-meter high triangular shape (tympanum) in the center contains a relief depicting the joys and sorrows of life (e.g., merry scenes of dancing and scenes of terror and death). The three bronze statues crowning the facade represent the Genius of Tragedy (left), the Genius of Glory (center), and the Genius of Music (right).

With a seating capacity of 1001, the theater boasts one of the most beautiful interiors in Europe. The current repertoire includes operas and ballets by classical and modern composers. Among the most popular operas are *La Boheme*, *Tosca*, and *Madam Butterfly* by Puccini, *Iolanta* by Tchaikovsky, *Rigoletto* and *Othello* by Verdi, and ballets *Giselle* by Adan, *Coppelia* by Delibe, and *La Bayadere* by Minkus.

UKRAINE: TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN

On November 21, the United States Government and the European Union will formally launch a joint information campaign to combat the trafficking of women from and through Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union (NIS). The USG and the EU began discussing such a campaign in April 1997 as a mechanism to expand migration activities within the context of the New Transatlantic Agenda and to address a common, serious problem which we face. At the U.S.-EU Summit on May 28, President Clinton highlighted both the despicable nature of the problem -- terming it as "modern day slavery" -- and U.S.-EU resolve to undertake joint action to prevent it.

The U.S. and the EU are developing the information campaign concept jointly and will implement it on separate, twin tracks in the region. The U.S. will sponsor an information campaign designed for Ukraine and will use the International Organization for Migration (IOM) as its implementing partner, while the EU will sponsor one in Poland, using a European non-governmental organization (NGO) as its implementing partner. While the two countries are considered as both source and transit venues for trafficking in women, they were chosen for this project not to single them out in this status, but as likely candidates for a successful and productive effort.

The Government of Ukraine has responded enthusiastically to our proposal. Ukrainians already recognize trafficking in women as a problem for women who lack opportunity in the existing economic system. "La Strada" -- a European network of NGOs funded by the EU and the Dutch NGO, "STV," focused on preventing trafficking in Central and Eastern Europe -- has opened a branch office in Kiev. "La Strada Ukraine" has established a hotline in Ukraine for exploited women and has begun a small information campaign focused on young women who are finishing high school -- the group considered to be the most at risk.

The U.S.-EU information campaign will focus on providing information to both potential victims so that they can protect themselves from exploitation, and to host-country officials, indigenous NGOs, and foreign consular officers to assist them in identifying and preventing potential problems. At the November 21 workshop hosted by the EU in Luxembourg, all involved parties -- the USG, EU Commission, EU Member States, EU implementing NGO, IOM, and the governments of Ukraine and Poland -- will review the information campaigns designed for Ukraine and Poland and will formally launch the joint initiative. Detailed components of the information campaigns will be further developed from December through February and will be implemented from mid-March through mid-May. We envision that the overall project will end with a USG-sponsored wrap-up workshop in June 1998 in Ukraine for all involved parties, as well as local NGOs, to evaluate the effectiveness of the campaigns in the two countries and to highlight their messages. If the project is successful, we hope to broaden the campaign to other countries in the region.

UKRAINE: L'VIV OPERA HOUSE SPEECH

SCENESETTER

Speech at the Ivan Franko Opera House on Tuesday, November 18 at 10:00 - 11:00 a.m. Attendees: local dignitaries and prominent women in Ukraine.

You will give a speech at the L'Viv Opera House, a beautiful example of Viennese style opera houses, built in 1897-1900. The Opera House seats approximately 1000. The audience will consist of prominent Ukrainian women, parliamentarians, local dignitaries, students, artisans and others (guest list TBD).

BACKGROUND

Zonta International Club of L'Viv, an association of professional women, will sponsor this event in coordination with the American Chamber of Commerce.

PUBLIC THEMES FOR THE FIRST LADY'S VISIT
TO KAZAKHSTAN, KYRGYZSTAN, UZBEKISTAN, RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

The First Lady's November visit to Central Asia, Russia and Ukraine will underscore the continuing United States interest in developing close bilateral relations with these countries and using people-to-people partnerships throughout the region to foster the establishment of democratic institutions, educational opportunities and a responsive social safety net. The First Lady will also pay tribute to the cultural achievements of the region as a means of highlighting the long history of ethnic and religious tolerance. Mrs. Clinton will visit regions not frequented by high-level officials and she will devote considerable time to meeting with ordinary citizens and grassroots organizations to focus attention on the building blocks of civil society.

Central Asia, where the trip will begin, is a resource-rich region whose history is associated with the Silk Road, Tamerlane and the imperial rivalries of the 19th century. Today, the countries of this region are in the formative stages of defining and asserting their identities following the break-up of the Soviet Union. The United States was among the first countries to recognize the independence of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan and has consistently supported the development of these countries as democratic states with market economies.

Since gaining independence in 1992, these countries have taken remarkable strides to establish themselves as independent states with effective governing institutions. Kyrgyzstan has been especially successful in developing responsive democratic institutions that protect human rights and foster the rule of law. No longer tied solely to Moscow, these countries are now establishing links with one another, their neighbors as well as with the broader international community. Almaty, Bishkek and Tashkent each regard relations with the U.S. as pivotal.

By visiting Novosibirsk and Yekaterinburg in Russia and Lviv in Ukraine, the First Lady will be recognizing the importance of regional and local initiative in developing democratic governance and prosperous economies. Her visit will symbolize the commitment the United States is making, through the Partnership for Freedom, to encouraging the establishment of self-sustaining cooperative relationships at the regional level by businesspeople, educators, journalists, healthcare workers and local government officials.

Independence has also engendered fundamental economic changes. Most of these countries are rich in natural resources and are now working with outside investors - including Americans - to develop them effectively. In many cases, the expensive and highly subsidized social guarantees of the Soviet era have not yet been replaced by a viable, affordable safety net or the broad-based economic growth needed to sustain those suffering from the effects of economic dislocation. The First Lady's visit will highlight U.S. efforts to help these societies alleviate the hardship of these difficult transitions.

Since 1992, the U.S. has demonstrated its commitment to the NIS by providing over \$8 billion in technical and humanitarian assistance to the region since 1992. These programs reflect our national interest in encouraging these countries to become responsible members of the international community. Moreover, the American people support initiatives that help these countries improve the quality of their healthcare systems and that promote expanded people-to-people contacts through educational exchanges and community partnerships. Our policy also recognizes the importance of this region for American business and promotes the development of market economies that are open to outside investment.

In Almaty, Mrs. Clinton will focus on building democratic institutions. She will deliver a speech at the Central Asian Conference on Women in Politics and she will meet with Kazakhstani youth leaders. In Bishkek, the First Lady will continue to focus on the next generation of leaders with an event at the opening of the Kyrgyz-American University. She will also highlight Kyrgyzstan's exemplary performance on economic reform by visiting a U.S.-Kyrgyz program that provides loans to small businesses.

The First Lady's trip to Uzbekistan will highlight the importance of religious tolerance and human rights as part of our bilateral relationship, and of health and education, especially for women, as the focus of our humanitarian effort and as keys to economic development. She will also pay homage to the rich heritage of the region with visits to the historic cities of Bukhara and Samarkand. Mrs. Clinton will also meet with the president and First Lady in each of the Central Asian capitals she visits.

President Yeltsin's wife Naina, like the President himself, is a native of Yekaterinburg and she will host the First Lady's visit there. Mrs. Yeltsina first met her

husband at the Urals Polytechnic Institute, which Mrs. Clinton will visit. Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin will also pay tribute to the positive contributions of U.S.-Russian cooperative programs by visiting a clinic that benefits from a U.S.-Russian partnership in healthcare. They will also meet with members of a leading local women's organization and attend a concert of the Yekaterinburg Symphony Orchestra.

In Novosibirsk, the First Lady will visit Akademgorodok, one of Russia's preeminent scientific centers which has also been in the vanguard of educational innovation at the secondary level and has maintained long-standing student-exchange partnerships with American schools. While there, she will give a speech accenting the importance role of educational institutions in building a civil society. Mrs. Clinton will also salute the pioneering spirit of Siberia by spending some time interacting with the local population.

In Lviv, Mrs. Clinton will be hosted by Ukrainian First Lady Ludmila Kuchma. Events planned there will highlight the important role that ethnic and religious tolerance play in democratic societies. A speech before an audience of prominent Ukrainian women will conclude the visit.

**Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Ivan Franko Opera and Ballet**

L'viv, Ukraine
November 18, 1997

Thank you, very much, Mr. Kuchma, Ambassador Miller, Ministers, Mayor, distinguished members of the community, representatives of the governments of both my country and of Ukraine. It is a great honor and pleasure for me to be here today.

I want particularly to thank Mrs. Kuchma for being with me yesterday and today, and for the warm hospitality she has extended to me now on two occasions in Ukraine during the visit with my husband and during this visit. I would also like to thank my Chief of Staff, Melanne Starinshak Verveer, for her introduction of me today. But more than that, I want to thank her for her wisdom, compassion, and good humor all of these I attribute in large measure to her Ukrainian heritage. Melanne and her husband attended Georgetown University with my husband and have been dear friends of ours ever since. Like the more than one million Ukrainian-Americans, she has made immeasurable contributions to the life of my country, and I want to thank her on behalf of all of us who value her many, many attributes.

The writer, Ivan Franko, after whom this beautiful opera house is named, wrote that, "There will come a time when you will sit in the circle of free nations." That time for Ukraine is now and I am honored to be sharing that time with you. I don't believe that there is a more beautiful opera house anywhere in the world. I must confess that being here on the stage, looking at the galleries and glorious decorations, I am tempted to join the many famous performers who have appeared here to sing. However, in the interest of preserving the strong and warm ties between our countries, I will not do so. I would like, however, to talk with you about the voices of women, the voices of young people, all those throughout Ukraine and the New Independent States [NIS] who are speaking a new language of freedom and democracy and then turning their words and ideas into concrete actions.

I can think of no better place to do this than Ukraine. It was in L'viv in 1879 that the Union of Ukrainian Women was established. This organization, one of the largest women's organizations in Europe between the two world wars, went into villages to teach women and their families how to start small businesses, how to start child care centers, how to pool their resources to purchase first aid materials that would save lives in rural areas.

Like so much that is good, the Union was crushed by communism. And like so much that is good, it was reborn in 1990, along with your sovereignty. With each year of freedom, the Union has grown stronger. This fall, thousands of people gathered when the remains of the Union's last pre-communist president, Milena Rudnyska, were brought back here to L'viv for eternal rest.

Today I return home to the United States after a week-long journey to Central Asia, Russia, and now here in Ukraine. When I first came to Ukraine, it was with my husband in 1995. The sun of freedom was rising in the sky. In the time that I have been here, I have seen how much farther the sun has traveled.

In only six years, you have done much to sweep away the oppressive structures

of communism. You have developed a constitution and held free and fair elections which have resulted in the peaceful transfer of power, the first ever in the NIS.

Now the challenge is to build upon this architecture of freedom with a structure supported by the rule of law, an independent judiciary, and an expanded free press that is able to tell the truth in print and over the airwaves. In only six years, you have done much to tear down a rigid state-controlled economy that stifled human ingenuity and enterprise. You have reduced inflation and privatized small businesses.

Now, the challenge is to create a vibrant marketplace based fundamentally on private property; a marketplace where business can be conducted in an atmosphere of openness and fairness; where private activity can thrive without government interference; and where hard-working people can lift themselves up without the fear of crime and corruption. Neither the rule of law nor the free market alone can be sustained in isolation. If we do not have true democracy in my country or yours, we cannot or should not rest. If we do not have a free market, we cannot and should not rest. But if we also do not have the space between what the market should do and what the government should do, what we call the civil society, we also cannot and should not rest. Each the free markets, democracy, and the civil society is indispensable to the blessings of liberty and prosperity.

In this space between the free market economy on the one hand, and a democratic government on the other hand, in this space we call civil society, resides family and community life, religious traditions, and participation in voluntary associations. For democracy ultimately depends on individual citizens believing that they have a role to play in the life of their country. It depends on people choosing, not being compelled to, but choosing to participate in society. It depends on seeing to it that what Alexis de Tocqueville called "the habits of the heart" are passed on from one generation to the next.

If you think of a modern, independent, well-functioning society as a three-legged stool, then you and this audience have been working to strengthen each of the three legs. You have worked in government to make the government democratic and transparent. You have worked to build a free market economy that gives more opportunity to individuals. You have worked to create the third leg of this stool, that we call civil society. You have chosen to help build civil society by fighting for women's health, by running for political office, by cleaning up the environment, by starting child care centers and beginning summer camps for the children at Chernobyl, and in many other ways.

Whether you are gathering in civic associations, voluntary efforts to help others, places of worship, or even in your neighbor's home, you are strengthening civil society and making it clear that the most important person in any democracy is, not my husband or Mrs. Kuchma's husband, but the citizen. Governments cannot be serious about democracy unless they recognize and work with non-governmental organizations. Yesterday I saw citizens of this city building a civil society. I stood with thousands of people at the new Memorial Honoring Victims of Communist Repression. This memorial was erected not by the government. It was a gift of the victims of communism, their families, and private organizations. They didn't have to do this but they did.

I visited a health clinic filled with children balanced between life and death, infants born prematurely, some critically ill. But for their cries, these children

have no voice. They cannot compel someone to come to their aid. Yet doctors, nurses, parents, and communities, from both Ukraine and the United States, chose to do so. As one mother told me, doctors and nurses she didn't even know saved her child's life. They didn't have to do this. Ukrainian and American nurses and doctors didn't have to work together but they did. I stood in the beautifully restored Gilad Synagogue, where citizens can once again worship freely. There the rabbi told me what it meant to open a Jewish school after so many years of unspeakable hardship. It had given him faith that the community would survive. The community didn't have to do this for its children but it did.

I stood in the magnificent renovated St. George's Cathedral. For too many years, the faith of the people whom I met had been driven underground. The congregation prayed in hidden places; the beautiful symbols of their faith were hidden away in cellars and attics. Today, the members of St. George's practice their religion in the clear light of day. They are using their faith not only to worship as they please, but also to reach out to others whom society pushed away, such as children with disabilities. The people of St. George's didn't have to do this but they did.

What an irony that on the property of St. George's Cathedral, the Soviets installed radio-jamming antennas. Yet as powerful as they were, they could not silence the voices of faith and freedom.

It is especially important that the voices of women be heard, for the legacy of communism placed special strains on women especially in the old state structures. Too many women are the first to lose their jobs and the last to get new ones. Too many women often live in fear of violence at the hand of family members. For them, home provides no refuge, the law no protection, and public opinion no sympathy. Too many women are prevented from getting proper health care, either because quality care is not available, or because they are simply unable to find the time, between family and work obligations, to care for themselves. Through all of this in too many countries, not enough women are sitting at the table when decisions are made.

It is clear that democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms. Human rights are women's rights and they must be respected. It is, for example, a violation of human rights when women are trafficked, bought, and sold as prostitutes. As my husband has said, this is nothing less than modern-day slavery. And I know that many of you here today are working hard to end this practice once and for all.

Today I am pleased to announce that the United States government, in cooperation with the United Nations, will be working with NGOs [Non-Governmental Organizations] in Ukraine to launch a new information campaign to reach women who may be in danger. The program will also inform law enforcement and consular offices, and international organizations so that they can be on the look out for, and ultimately put a stop to, this crime against humanity.

I will return home with many impressions and wonderful memories. I will also return home to speak to my own people, the citizens of the United States. I will tell my fellow citizens what I have seen and why the United States must stay constantly engaged to support forward-looking reform and leaders who are working on reform. In recent days, I have seen first-hand what America, working hand in hand with the people of Ukraine, has accomplished fostering innovative health clinics, providing loans to start small businesses, and sending Peace Corps volunteers to work with the people here.

I want all of the American citizens to know what I now know, and I wish that I had brought all of them with me, to see what I have seen. The work that has been done between our governments and organizations, such as the United States Agency for International Development and through the private sector, business to business, and through the voluntary, non-governmental sector, has made it very clear that we are strengthening our bonds and building stronger societies together.

Later this week Vice President Gore and President Kuchma will join together to reach out to members of the international community to secure more support for safely encasing the Chernobyl Reactor Number 4. What could be more important than the United States and Ukraine working together to contain one of the greatest environmental threats facing Europe and the world today?

Just as I hope to be able to explain to Americans what I have seen, I hope also that the people of Ukraine see what I, and my party, have seen here. In the last few days, I saw citizens and spoke with leaders determined to make further progress. In six short years, you have done so much to erase seven long decades of Communist waste and misrule. There is no doubt that your path has not been an easy one and that many challenges remain especially as you expand private activity so that Ukraine can become competitive in today's fast-paced global economy.

As Americans have learned through the years, democracy is a never-ending struggle. We became a "new independent state" in 1776. For the past 221 years our democracy has been a work in progress. It took us more than ten years to draft a constitution; 89 years to rid our nation of slavery; 144 years to give women the vote; and 188 years to make all our citizens equal under the law. A critical difference, of course, is that the modern world is much less forgiving. With global communications and with a global economy, everything moves at a much faster pace, and countries and societies must reform more quickly in order to take their rightful place in such a new world.

Just six years after your independence, you have much to be proud of. The sun of freedom is higher in the sky. And yes, it has a way to travel. I know that the people of Ukraine will stay the course. As you do, please know that the American people will stand with you. I hope that you take great pride in where Ukraine stands today and that I hope you take great confidence in the fact that the United States will be your partner and your friend, as we travel together into the twenty-first century and the new millennium.

Thank you very much. God bless the United States and God bless Ukraine.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Trip to Central Asia, Russia, Ukraine



PHOTOCOPY
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REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY AT THE UNITED NATIONS

December 10, 1997

United Nations Economic and Social Council Chamber
United Nations Plaza
New York, New York

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you. Mr. President, your excellencies. I welcome this opportunity to be here as we begin this yearlong commemoration, which is not just a commemoration of the universality of human rights; it is a celebration of the United Nations. I am especially pleased that we are able to gather this morning in the economic and social council, which at its first session in February of 1946, established the Commission on Human Rights.

Forty-nine winters ago the world acknowledged the new common standard for human dignity, a code for the peoples and governments of the world to live by. One of the people who labored to create that code was Eleanor Roosevelt, then the United States representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. The place was Paris. The delegates who came together to craft the language hailed from countries as diverse as Lebanon, Chile, France, China, and Ukraine. And the dream was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the first international agreement on the rights of humankind.

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

Let me read a passage from that document: "Disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind. The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief, and freedom from fear and want have been proclaimed as the highest aspirations of the common people. Therefore, the General Assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations."

The document goes on to state what should be obvious, but too often is not: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience, and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood." How radically idealistic an act it was at first for the nations of the world to describe publicly in this Declaration. That act did not, however, take place in a vacuum. It was a response to evil, and I used that word deliberately. Those study the Holocaust know that Nazis were able to pursue their crimes precisely because they were able progressively to constrict the circle of those defined as humans. From the moment they came to power, they proceeded step by step to dehumanize, through laws and propaganda, the mentally ill, the infirm, gypsies, homosexuals, Jews -- they whom they identified as lives unworthy of life.

This cold, dark region of the human soul, where people withdraw first understanding, then empathy, and finally even the designation of personhood from another human being, is not, of course, unique to Nazi Germany. This new device, this ability to dehumanize, has been witnessed in all times and places. And it is precisely this device that the Declaration attempted to help us resist.

Thankfully, in the half-century since the birth of the Declaration, we have as a global people

managed progressively to expand the circle of full human dignity. Because of this document, individuals and nations alike have a standard by which to measure fundamental rights. Many of the countries that have emerged in the last 50 years have drawn inspiration from the Declaration in their own constitutions. Courts of law look to the Declaration. It has laid the groundwork for the world's war crimes tribunals. And it has prompted governments to set up their own commissions to safeguard basic liberties.

At the United Nations Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, it was the power of the Declaration that inspired the establishment of a High Commissioner on Human Rights. And let me add how lucky the United Nations and indeed the world is that Mary Robinson fills that post.

At the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, it was the strength of this Declaration that enabled us to say for all the world to hear that human rights are women's rights, and that women's rights are human rights.

And yet -- and yet, in spite of this half-century of progress, we have not expanded the circle of human dignity human dignity far enough. There are still too many of our fellow men and women excluded from the fundamental rights proclaimed in the Declaration, too many whom we have hardened our hearts against -- those whose human suffering we fail fully to see, to hear, and to feel.

Any look back at history shows that every nation has had its blind spots that have kept people out of the promised circle of full humanity. Take the example of my own country. We in the United States have had our own difficult experiences with the selective or unequal application of the rights established in the American Constitution. Even the founding fathers, whose ideas of human dignity were so far ahead of their time, proclaiming that all men are created equal in the Declaration of Independence, inscribed slavery in our Constitution.

It has taken most of our 220 years, some of them bloody, few of them easy, to extend the benefits of citizenship to African Americans, to those without property, and women. Eleanor Roosevelt herself was 35 years old before she could vote.

Even today, we circumscribe the circle -- in what we choose not to see. Black South Africans described what it was like to work all day in white environments in which one was literally not seen. In the Balkans people have willed themselves not to see the humanity of those whose heritage is different from their own. We ourselves in the industrialized world often choose not to see the child labor that goes into our beautiful carpets or are comfortable shoes.

And in too many places today what we fail to see are the injustices done to women. We choose not to see the injustice of legal systems around the world that continue to treat women as less than complete citizens. In too many places female heirs are seeing less inheritance than male heirs. Inequitable divorce laws compel women to remain in cruel marriages. And courts of law require the testimony of two women to equal that of a solitary man.

Our vision is limited in other areas as well. We choose not to see the contribution of women to the economic lives of their families and countries. In too many places women are discriminated against for bank loans and credit, first jobs and promotions. They are denied pay equal to that of men, or any pay at all. And they live disproportionately in poverty, making up 70 percent of the world's poor.

We also circumscribe the circle by what we choose not to hear. Freedom and equality for all depend first on whether a citizen truly has a voice. It is telling that even in the drafting of the Universal Declaration, there was a debate about women's voices. The initial version of

the first article stated, "All men are created equal." It took women members of the Commission, led by Hansa Mehta of India, to point out that "all men" might be interpreted to exclude women. Only after long debate was the language changed to say, "All human beings are born free and equal."

Today we still choose not to hear the voices of many women. In too many places women are blocked from participating in the political lives of their countries. Just nine days in Sudan, 36 women were arrested while attempting to deliver a petition to the United Nations office there in protest of human rights violations in their country. They were arrested, fined, and at least one woman received 40 lashes.

In too many places girls and women never even learn to project their voices. Two-thirds of the 130 million children out of school are girls. Two-thirds of the 96 million people worldwide who can neither read nor write are women. Even now the Taliban in Afghanistan are blocking girls from attending school. Not only that, they are blocking those like Emma Bonino, the European Union Commissioner for Humanitarian Affairs, who would speak out on behalf of this injustice.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press, the rights to petition the government and to assemble -- all these are essential. But think how much weaker these rights are in a nation where the majority of young women are illiterate. Rights on paper that are not protected and implemented are not really rights at all.

We further constrict the circle of human rights through what we choose not to feel. As Eleanor Roosevelt put it, "When will our conscience grow so tender that we will act to prevent human misery rather than avenge it?"

In too many places the suffering of women is designed as trivial, to be explained away as a cultural phenomenon. Perhaps is for this reason that women do not receive proper health care, including access to family planning. Perhaps that's why the genital cutting in some countries more than 90 percent of women have undergone continues. Perhaps that is why domestic and sexual violence remains the most serious under-reported and widespread human rights violation in the world.

In almost every country of the world, domestic violence is one of the leading causes of injury and death to women. In my country 30 percent of female murder victims are killed by current or former partners. As Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has said, domestic violence can never again be dismissed, as it often has in the past, as part of a country's norm or as a set of private assumptions about family life. Let us say it loudly for the entire world to hear us: We do not believe that violence against women is simply cultural; we believe it is simply criminal. (Applause.)

And perhaps that is why rape and sexual assault continue to be tactics of war. It is the cruelest injustice that so many wars end not in peace for women and their families, but in refugee crises that trapped women and children in lives that go from bad to worse. Women and children make up 80 percent of the world's 23 million refugees.

The full enfranchisement of the rights of women is unfinished business in this turbulent century. What meaning do the language of freedom and human rights have for a young woman forced into prostitution and traffic in the commercial sex trade? What meaning can it have for women forced into involuntary servitude as sweat shop workers or domestic servants? What meaning can it have for a woman forced either to bear a child or abort one? What about the very ingrained practices that undermine the growth and development of girls from their very first years, such as the common practice of feeding them last or less?

As I have been privileged to travel around the world, I have met countless women who know nothing of this Declaration and its promises. But they are eloquent in their belief that

they deserve respect and better treatment, in their families, workplaces, and societies.

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

Other critics dismiss human rights violations as harmless. A report released this week by the Carnegie Commission on preventing deadly conflict proves otherwise. According to the report, an upsurge of egregious human rights violations is almost always a powerful warning of dire events to come, including massive refugee flows and civil wars.

Still others say that human rights are a Westerner's luxury -- not inalienable, but alien. But I believe, and the women I've listened to believe, that human rights are as essential to life as air or water, that they are felt beyond culture and tradition as innate. The women I have met do not feel that human rights are a foreign concept invented by purists. Rather they know, in spite of everything they are told by culture and tradition, in their very hearts and souls, that these are God-given rights that they were born with as surely as they were born into the human family.

For if they are not innate, how have people throughout history known to fight for them so valiantly? Paradoxically, the proof of universality lies with the perpetrators of human rights violations themselves. Why would those who have dishonored humanity run to cover their tracks were it not for the knowledge that wrong had been done? The Nazis tried to hide their concentration camps. Communism kept its terrors in the shadow of the Iron Curtain. Scores of bodies are hidden in the hard ground of places like Bosnia and deep in the forests of places like Rwanda.

Throughout my hemisphere, people have disappeared. Why go to the trouble? Because human rights transcend individual regimes and customs. The beliefs inscribed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were not invented 50 years ago. They are not the work of a single culture or country. They have been with us forever -- from civilization's first light.

Sophocles wrote about them 2,500 years ago. He had Antigone declare that there ethical laws higher than the laws of even kings. Isi Chang (phonetic), who helped draft the Universal Declaration, pointed out that Confucius articulated them in ancient China. The belief that we must respect our neighbors as we would respect ourselves resides in the core of the teachings of all the major faiths of the world.

The principles inscribed in the document whose birth we mark today are not constructed, but revealed. Every great religion exposed and taught their truth. If I were to tear up this declaration, its values would abide. If I were to burn this document, its meaning would remain. If I were to prevent someone from hearing these words, they would still ring as loudly as ever in the hearts of men and women.

It is because every era has its blind spots that we must see our own unfinished business now while we stand on the threshold of a new millennium with even greater urgency. We must rededicate ourselves to completing the circle of human rights once and for all. We must challenge ourselves to see more sharply, to hear more clearly, to feel more fully.

And we must do something else. We must support democracies new and old that work to fulfill the aspirations of this Declaration. As my husband the President said last night: Democracy, the rule of law, civil society -- those things are the best guarantees of human

rights over the long run.

It is time for us as a global community to commitment ourselves. We have run out of excuses not to. Here we are at the very close of the 20th century, a century that has been scorched by war time and time again. If the history of this century teaches us anything, it is that whenever the dignity of any individual or group is compromised by the derogation of who they are, of some essential attribute they possess, then we all leave ourselves open to nightmares to come.

Conversely, if the century has a lesson for us that is redeeming, it is that by extending the circle of citizenship and human dignity to include everyone without exception, then we have the basis where new worlds of hope can flourish.

So let us in this year of commemoration walk toward those new worlds. And let us do so knowing that the path will never be easy. These rights may be eternal, but so too is the struggle to attain them. Though the darkness of the human heart may recede, it will never go away. It must be with realistic eyes that we look for human rights. And it must be with a clean hand and open hearts that in this, the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, that we rededicate ourselves to their fulfillment.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)



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TRIP OF THE FIRST LADY TO SWITZERLAND
January 31 - February 3, 1998

BACKGROUND ON SWITZERLAND

- U.S./Swiss Relations
- Political and Social Overview
- Swiss Democracy and 150th Anniversary of the Modern Swiss Confederation
- Economic and Commercial Overview
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- Population and Family Planning
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- Swiss Pride
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- Arrival and Departure Statements

BIOS

LUZERN

- Children's Parliament Event
- Walking Tour of Luzern
- Buffet Luncheon on Steamship Uri

ZURICH

- Meet and Greet
- Speech at University of Zurich
- Meeting with President Cotti
- Meeting with Neufeld Students
- Walking Tour of St. Gallen

DAVOS

- Chicago Reception
- Private Dinner
- Address to the World Economic Forum
- Private Meeting with Shimon Peres
- UNAIDS Meeting (T)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 2, 1998

Hillary Rodham Clinton
at the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum

Davos, Switzerland
February 2, 1998

(Begin transcript)

PROFESSOR KLAUS SCHWAB: Dear Madam First Lady, dear Mrs. Hillary Clinton, it is with purpose that I address you in those two forms, because we welcome you here not only as the representative of a country which is the greatest power in the world, but we welcome you as a personality who in her own right has won high recognition for the causes you stand for as a relentless advocate for those who are disadvantaged and who need to be integrated into our efforts to improve the state of the world.

We have launched here, in Davos, a comprehensive initiative Trustees 21, to take on the challenges in the transition of human kind into the 21st Century. We are eager to hear from you. How you see the individual and collective priorities for our common future. Ladies and Gentlemen, let's welcome again Mrs. Clinton, a most remarkable, a most courageous woman of our times.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Good evening, thank you very much Professor Schwab, and thank all of you for the invitation to address this forum. I appreciated greatly the opportunity to come and be part of these sessions, and to speak with you about the priorities for the 21st Century, as seen perhaps from a slightly different perspective from the one that brings many of you here to this conference.

After having looked at the program, and seen some of the sessions, I think it is probably more appropriate to refer to this gathering as the World Economic, Political and Social Forum, because certainly in the discussions that I have been privileged to hear about and to hear directly, it has struck me that there is a very strong awareness of how interdependent the economic, political and social spheres of life happen to be.

It is something that I think we need to pay even closer attention to. Certainly when one thinks about the economy, whether it is the economy of a business, of a nation state, or of our entire globe, one talks a great deal about the importance of and the significance of the free market. And I believe that as we end this century, any doubt about the effectiveness of organizing our economy along the lines of a free market, have finally been put to rest. That is one of the major accomplishments, perhaps, of this past century. That we now understand that the greatest capacity to create employment, income, wealth and investment is derived from a free market.

At the same time, I hope we have also recognized as we end this century, that we need effective, functioning, competent governments. Governments that are neither oppressive, nor too strong and authoritarian, nor on the other hand, so weak that they can neither deliver goods and services for the public good to their citizenry or play the kind of partnership role that they should in connection with a vital free market.

But if that's all we were to speak about, the economy on the one hand, and government on the other, we would be leaving out one of the most important aspects of what we should turn our attention to as we move into this new century, that is society, civil society, because between the marketplace and the government, is what exists that makes life worth living. It is the stuff of life. It is the family, it is the religious belief and spirituality that guide us. It is the voluntary association of which we are a member. It is the art and culture that makes our spirits soar.

I think as we look at the end of this century and the beginning of the next, it behooves all of us, no matter what our perspective or experience, to think hard about how we create conditions in which the economy, governments and the civil society all flourish. Think of it, if you will, as a three-legged stool. We are not stable if we are only on one leg, no matter how strong the economy might be, no matter how strong a government might be. We are also not stable if we rest merely on two legs of the stool. Rather we need to see the independence and connection among the economy, the government and the civil society. And more than that, I think we need to recognize the ways in which each of those spheres of influence are affected by the other. I know there has been a great deal of useful conversation here about what needs to be done to help manage crises such as the Asian crisis, how to better provide technical assistance for banking supervision and the regulation of markets in many countries around the world, even suggestions as to what could be done to create more of a global regulator atmosphere along the lines perhaps of a new Bretton Woods.

These are all very important conversations. And I hope that the economic and political leaders gathered here will certainly follow up on them through the various entities that exist, and perhaps some that are yet to be born, so that we can address these very important problems that are posed by the state of the economy today. We have also heard how important it is for governments to work with the economies of their countries and regions and globally, and how significant it is to find the right balance between regulation that permits real competition to flourish and that which stifles entrepreneurship. So there is much for governments also to ponder coming out of this conference. How can they do a better job to unleash the energies of their people to provide environments in which businesses can flourish? How do they become more transparent? How do they stand against corruption? How do they create the instruments that are needed for governments today to provide the kind of support for the economy at the same time that they provide the sort of capacity for their people to be able to thrive in this new economic environment? I will leave it to others, many of whom have addressed you, to speak about how we can do more to make sure that our markets do what they should do, and to make sure that our governments do likewise.

But what I want to address is this third leg of the stool. A leg of the stool that I think is too often given short shrift in such conversations as those that take place here, or perhaps marginalized as being something less than important to the significant business of governing and creating economic opportunity.

Our founders in the American republic at the end of the eighteenth century left us with some very good advice that they enshrined in our founding documents and which we have over our centuries of development attempted to adapt to modern conditions. They warned us about unaccountable power, they warned us about creating checks and balances, and they set up a system that they thought would create a balance of power. I think that is what we have to see in creating such a balance among our economic interests, our governmental and political activities and the civil society. One without the other will create an imbalance.

I have been privileged to travel over the past several years to many of the new democracies around the world, particularly in the former Soviet Union. I have seen what has happened to people whose spirits have been crushed, whose economies have been driven into the ground, whose governments were authoritarian, as they attempt to rebuild a sense of potential and opportunity for themselves. It is very clear if one visits these countries that economic opportunity will certainly provide jobs and income but not necessarily long-term stability or governments that understand their duties to their citizens. It is also clear that stable governments, as important as they are, may not bring about those conditions that are essential to creating long-term social stability.

So in my travels I have focused on this third leg of the stool, the civil society, and I have seen many changes within the last several years, as governments and economic interests understand that there must be created within society, the work ethic for capitalism to thrive and continue, a sense of citizenship for governments to be stable and succeed one another peacefully. And so how do we nurture this civil society? Why is it in the interest of business leaders, such as many of you, to worry about whether in the countries in which you do business there is an effort being made to create these civil society functions and institutions? Why should you care whether women are given the opportunity to go to school, or have health care, or vote? Why should you worry whether or not children are being taught basic lessons about democracy or not? Well, I would argue again that it is in your long term interests to do so: to have conditions in the countries in which you do business supportive over the medium and long term of what we mean by a free market, and to have governments that understand their appropriate roles.

So I would urge that as we look towards the end of this century, as many of you work on the important issues of helping to perfect the imperfect mechanism of a free market, worrying about the many inherent problems that have been pointed out, that lead often to instability, particularly in financial markets today. Those of you who are directly involved in helping governments in Asia and elsewhere understand why it is imperative that they reform themselves, that you also think about what we can do to strengthen civil society. How do we create conditions for families to be strong in an age where family values and where the kinds of ideas one would wish to pass on to one's children face very stiff competition from the consumer culture, from propaganda, and from a media that stresses short term gratification. How do we support religious freedom, making it clear that we will honor the spiritual beliefs and journeys of people different from ourselves? How do we work together to create conditions in which tribal and ethnic and racial and other differences among people can be controlled and kept in check. And how can we create opportunities for common enterprises that go beyond the differences that too often divide us? How do we nurture non-governmental organizations in societies have no history of voluntary or charitable activity? How do we create associations that stand between the marketplace and the government, but give people an opportunity to exercise their own skills to become good citizens?

All of these are questions that are being addressed in various ways by many organizations around the world. I have stood in barrios in Latin America and in villages in Asia and Africa where I have seen the effects of micro-enterprise on the capacity of women to make an income for themselves, and not only to make an income, but to feel empowered so that they can become citizens of their village and of their country, so that they can begin to understand not only how a market works, but how a society and a political democracy work as well. I have watched creative projects all over the world that have taken the very poorest of the poor, and empowered them to learn about what it means to live in a democracy. And I have talked with students on every continent about their hopes and aspirations that they will be able to navigate what to them seems like a very difficult journey into the next century. And they have asked for help and guidance,

whether it is mentoring or internships or opportunities to work with businesses and government, so they can learn from adults about what works and what they can follow in their own lives and careers.

There are many large problems that confront us as a world. It is impossible to think of any corporation, no matter how large, or any government, no matter how powerful, addressing these alone. Whether we like it or not, we are more interdependent today than we have ever been. I believe that interdependence is a good development. And it should be respected by governments and businesses alike. Because through it we can meet mutual challenges of environmental degradation or security threats, and we can also work together to help build up strong, functioning markets, governments and civil societies.

I would just end these remarks by reminding us tonight that there isn't any perfect human institution. There is no perfect market except in the abstract theories of economists. There is no perfect government except in the dreams of political leaders. And there is no perfect society. We have to work with human beings as we find them. And we have learned a lot about what works. And the lesson of the global economy will certainly be that those who ignore the lessons that we have learned about effective functioning markets and political and governmental leadership will pay a steep price. That may be a necessary part of the learning curve. But as we go into the 21st Century, if we can keep in mind the balance of power among these three spheres that effect all of our lives, and if we can look for ways to work cooperatively together, then I think the doomsayers and the pessimists will be proven wrong. I wouldn't want to be more optimistic than conditions warrant, but I think based on the conversations that I've heard coming out of this conference, from people in a position to affect economic and governmental action, there is every reason to believe that there is a new awareness growing among the decision makers around the world about the steps that must be taken in order to ensure stability and sustained growth. I'll only ask that in that calculus, we remember the billions of men, women and children who are effectively without a voice, often without a vote, and that we understand that our long-term success, either economically or governmentally, will ultimately depend upon whether we empower them as well, to take their rightful places in forums around the world where they plan their own futures. Thank you very much.

SCHWAB: Mrs. Hillary Clinton, you have reminded us of our obligations, of our obligations toward society. As the First Lady, you have pursued an incredible active agenda to promote the social progress. Now, looking at the future, and I may ask you a very personal question, what is your personal priority for the remainder of the 21st Century in this respect.

CLINTON: You mean what will I do for the next three years?

SCHWAB: What will you in your own work put emphasis on?

CLINTON: I think I will continue to emphasize the issues that I have tried to speak out about, worked on, and addressed in my writing, and that is the need to invest in the future of children around the world. I don't know how many Americans in the audience heard Larry Summers say yesterday as it was reported to me that a child in Shanghai has a better chance of living to the age of five than a child born in New York City. But I hope if you did hear it, it caused some pause among you.

Of course it is not only in our own country where we have not done all we should to provide the opportunities for health and education and well-being for our children. It is certainly a problem that affects most if not all the nations of the world. And I believe it is

the best investment we can make in long-term stability to provide opportunities for education, and healthcare, to work on thorny issues like family planning and environmental degradation that affect the well-being of children, and to do all we can to provide the best possible beginning for as many children as we can reach, and that is what I will continue to work on and speak out about.

SCHWAB: In this context, you have heard in front of you many of the CEOs of leading American companies, and you have been a proponent of moving toward the program of universal health coverage. The program to date has met mixed success, and generally little enthusiasm from the business community. So my question would be, why should the business community have this program as a priority? What would you tell the business leaders here in this respect?

CLINTON: Well I think your characterization of it meeting with mixed success was too kind. I still believe that economically, politically, socially, and morally, the United States would be better off if it provided universal health care coverage for all of its citizens.

I think the economic arguments will again come to the fore. There was a pullback in the cost of health insurance to the major providers of it in our country, which our employers during the last several years ... but that apparently is about to turn around, and the cost of insurance will once again begin to rise. There has been, since 1993, an increase in the number of uninsured Americans, and an increase in the number of underinsured Americans. I believe that should pose a question for all of us as to whether or not we think it is appropriate for our country, as rich and powerful as it is, to be denying access to the kind of preventive and chronic health care coverage that many people miss out on.

It is true that most people will be taken in by an emergency room, perhaps not the first one they visit, if they are not insured, but perhaps the second or third one if they are lucky enough to still be around by the time they arrive. And that if that were the only assessment we would make, we would say, well eventually everyone gets care. But we are paying a very big price for those who do not get timely or preventive care.

In addition, there is another problem, which is that there are many functions of the American medical system which have helped us to attain the high level of quality that it currently enjoys, which can never be profitable.

There is no way for most research to be profitable. There is no way for the education and training of young physicians or nurses to be profitable. And there is no way for charity care to be profitable. And those functions are primarily performed in our country by our great medical schools and medical centers. Because they cannot turn a profit on performing those functions which are performed to the benefit of our entire system, they are at great financial risk. They are being forced into mergers, and they are finding themselves in a position of having to cut back on those functions. That is like eating the seed corn of the American health care system, in my view.

So there are a number of problems in my view, and I think that there is an ideological opposition among many in the American business community to the American government being any part of providing universal care. But of course we provide universal care to our citizens over the age of 65 through Medicare. And we provide it at the cheapest overhead and administrative cost of any insurance program in the United States. I daresay if you went back and you talked to your benefits people or your CFOs, and you asked them what percentage of the health care dollar you were spending on your employees, that went to administration and overhead and profit, compared with the two cents out of the dollar that goes to Medicare, you would have to ask yourself, is this an ideological opposition that no longer makes economic sense, or shall I hang on to it

while I find my capacity to provide health insurance for my employees further diminished, thereby creating more instability in the system. So I hope that we will continue to address these issues in the future.

SCHWAB: Under your husband's leadership, the US has emerged as a world leader in technology, finance, military power. What are the domestic key factors and priorities that you believe are required to maintain this leadership in the long run.

CLINTON: Well, I think my husband very well outlined those priorities in his State of the Union last Tuesday evening. He was able to address the remaining issues that he believes should be at the forefront of the American political debate, both domestically and internationally. And I think that if one were to look at them they would fall roughly into the categories that he has already outlined and has been speaking about for many years.

The first is to provide conditions that offer economic opportunity to as many of our people as possibly can be reached, and that has been I think very effectively accomplished during my husband's administration. We are very lucky, I believe, in having a president who understands not only politics, but economics, and has a very experienced, seasoned team, which is able to implement that policy. And the result is that we have, as you all know, reversed some rather disturbing trends that we saw in the late eighties and early nineties and emerged very strong economically.

But it is certainly clear that we have not by any means finished the job that has begun, and the President spoke about providing better educational opportunities, so that we have more of our people trained so that they can take the jobs that are available in the global economy. He has continued to press for more trade agreements and opening markets because he believes that America can compete and do very well internationally and he will continue to press that argument in the future. He has also spoken about trying to make it possible to put a floor, a social safety net, under some of our people, who are poorly educated, who are left out of the global economy through increasing the minimum wage again, and he has also talked about providing economic support for social security, child care, which is a very big issue in our country, with so many women working, and single women who are the sole support of their families, and our two parent families.

So I think he has outlined a very clear agenda for trying to provide more opportunity. At the same time, he has asked for more responsibility. Probably the clearest example of what that responsibility means is our continuing effort to reform our welfare system, to move people from welfare to work. He has also advocated strongly that Americans must be prepared to take their responsibility as citizens seriously and has advocated campaign finance reform so that our electoral system can have the confidence of the people, which it should.

Finally, he sees very clearly the role of the United States in building a community within our country and being part of building a community around the world. He has put on the table a race initiative to address the still unfinished business of race in the United States. It is controversial. It is challenging many people to think hard about what they believe. But it is very important if we are to try to create, among our very diverse population, a sense of common destiny and shared purpose.

He has also tried to help the American people understand why the United States must remain engaged around the world. And here I would also address the American business leaders in this audience. It is imperative that those of you who understand the global economy, who visit and do business in many countries, share your knowledge of what you see occurring around the world with members of Congress, with leaders of your

community, with anyone who you can reach, because we cannot build a public consensus for American engagement if the American business community is not a strong supporter of that engagement. And I would just ask that you think hard about what you can do to try to have your voices heard. One quick example, during the last session of Congress, when the President's plan for the United States to pay its debts to the United Nations, and to replenish our commitment to the IMF, came before the House of Representatives, it was not voted on because of a debate over whether or not the United States should continue to give family planning aid around the world to any organization that had anything however remotely to do with abortion. It was voted down. There was a coalition among people who believe the United States should not be engaged in the world, as well as those who are against abortion. There was a deafening silence from the American business community. I saw no press conferences. I saw no ads in newspapers. I saw no signed joint statements saying "we know what faces the United States around the world and we understand how important it is for America to lead and be engaged and we therefore raise our voices on behalf of American support for the United Nations, IMF and other multilateral institutions."

So I think the President has outlined a very clear agenda for where we go in the future. But it is not just the President's agenda. It has to be adopted and promoted by any who believe all or part of it in order for it to come to pass.

SCHWAB: In the same context, the fast-track trade legislation is very much at the top of the priorities of your husbands administration. What can you say also to the business community here to give the active and effective support for this legislative measure?

CLINTON: Well, I would probably just echo what I already said, at the risk of being repetitive. There was a very effective business effort in the United States on behalf of NAFTA. There was a very limited and ineffective effort on behalf of fast track. I don't know all the reasons for that. Some of them suggested, but I have no basis for any first-hand knowledge or any analysis that I find convincing. The bottom line is, however, that no one in Congress felt any particular pressure, or demand, by any business interest about giving the President the authority that other presidents have had to negotiate trade agreements.

Now again, I have to conclude that either American business doesn't care about opening markets around the world -- but I find that very hard to believe -- or they feel that their involvement in politics is something that they wish to minimize or steer clear of and don't want to become participants in any effort to pass such legislation, or some other reason that I have yet to understand. But the effect was the same. For whatever reason, the fact that the American business community made a very limited effort on behalf of the fast track, left the field completely clear to the rather unusual alliance between the right of the Republican party which is isolationist, anti-American engagement, quite critical and not supportive of the United Nations, IMF or any multilateral group, and the left of the Democratic party that believes that trade authority, and trade agreements are not in the interests of American workers. So that alliance carried the day. Now when the President comes back to the Congress with a request for fast track authority I hope that American business voices will be heard.

Having said that, I would add that there does need to be sensitivity to worker and environmental concerns in trade agreements going forward in the future. Certainly if they are going to be agreements that are negotiated with the United States government and require the consent of the United States Congress. So I think that there may be some good reason for business to engage early with labor and with political leadership in Congress and the Administration to try to hammer out a consensus about the kind of fast track authority and the sort of agreements that we want our President to be negotiating. But certainly that will not happen in the absence of some very stated and obvious

business concern.

SCHWAB: I have here a question from the floor. What do you think about the impact of American culture on the civil societies of the rest of the world, especially with regard to language, publicity, media, and the right of difference for all cultures of the world?

CLINTON: Well, I think that is a very important question. If I may, let me just start by talking about something which I think I know a little bit more about which I think is the impact of American culture on America, and then expanding that beyond our borders.

American culture is America's biggest export. We export our fashions, our music, our movies. We export our technology, which comes, as you know, with a bias towards English. That is our biggest export, if one were try to add up all of our GDP that could be attributed directly or indirectly to culture. And on the whole I think it has been a positive development for my own country, that we have the kind of culture and cultural institutions and the messages that are conveyed from them.

I remember so well during the tumult of the years of the Velvet Revolution in the Czech Republic or the fall of the Berlin Wall, hearing story after story about how influential and important American culture was behind the Iron Curtain in giving people a sense of freedom and human potential and the idea that there was a bigger World out there. So I think on balance, American culture and its effects have been positive both in my country and elsewhere.

Having said that, I have long worried and continue to worry and am becoming more worried, not only about the messages of American culture, but the medium in which they are delivered. Let me explain. There is no doubt that we are creating a consumer-driven culture that promotes values and ethics that undermine both capitalism and democracy. In fact, I think you could argue that the kind of work ethic, postponement of gratification, and other attributes that are historically associated with capitalism, are being undermined by consumer capitalism. And I think you could also argue that the same relentless pressure for instant, simultaneous judgment and for people judging themselves based on their consumer materialistic attributes, is also turning people away from being citizens into being consumers. I think these are two very troubling trends.

In my own country, because we have a very broad understanding of our first ammendment, because we are dominated by commercial television, we have a relentless, unstoping, message of consumer, materialistic pleasure, combined with instant gratification that surely affects our children if not our adults. We combine that with the kind of programming that is popular on American television and we are beginning now to have research which demonstrates that the level of violence that our children see desensitizes them, affects how they view the world, decreases their empathy, makes them more apathetic, less likely to assess their lives in terms other than the purely materialistic. Exporting that cannot be good for any culture. And I hope that there will be ways for individual societies to cherry pick, perhaps, and try to take what is best about American culture, but mitigate against the effects of the undermining, damaging aspects of it as well. That too, is part of the role of the civil society. To mitigate against the excesses of both the market and the government. And it will be critically important for schools, for families, for religious organizations, for associations like scouting, for example, to try to help balance the messages of the materialistic culture. And I think it is one of the biggest challenges we will face in the next century, because certainly there is no stopping the information explosion. There is no turning back the clock on what will be delivered through televisions and computers into the homes of people throughout our world, but we are going to have to think very hard about our responsibility as business leaders, political leaders, parents and others in our socities, about how to mitigate against

the excesses of that culture.

SCHWAB: Mrs. Clinton, I have three questions which seem to be very appropriate to conclude our session.

The first question is the following. If you had three concrete wishes to be shared here with the business community, actually which you want to be seen executed by the business community, what would be those wishes. In really concrete form, what would you wish the audience to do over the next year or going away from Davos.

CLINTON: That is an impossible question, and I will do my best to answer it. I think that I would hope that going away from Davos, the leaders who have gathered here, both from business and government, will take seriously the challenges that many have issued from this and other stages to look for ways to try to make sure that our markets function effectively and we do what we can through individual businesses, nation states and globally, to ensure that that comes to pass, whether it is being part of providing technical assistance to governments and businesses that need to learn how to be transparent, how to be able to operate in a regulated environment to their benefit, and there is much work that can be and I hope is done and I hope business leaders will urge government leaders through entities like the G-8 and the IMF and others, to try to move towards some kind of consensus about how we need to address these issues that the market has presented us with.

Similarly I hope that governments will be encouraged to be as transparent, as reform-minded as possible, wherever necessary, and that business leaders will support government reform in doing so, and that we will have the kind of functioning partnership that is so necessary for the next century, between business and government throughout the world, and that we will do away with the false debate and the false choice that too often dominates our debate in America, where there is an unnecessary and I believe false antagonism created between business and government. They need each other, they need to support each other for the kind of long-term stability that both require to function well.

And finally I hope that business and government leaders will do more to support the civil society. In your own countries, and throughout the world, wherever it is possible. There are many good ideas and programs that are working. I wish everyone of you could have been with me at a village in Bangladesh, or at a women's bank in India, or at a lending project in Africa, or in a very poor neighborhood in South America, to hear what a difference a little bit of credit makes in the lives of the poor. We now have a proven track record from institutions such as the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, that the poor, if given credit to buy another milk cow or a goat, or hire a rickshaw to go into business, are the best credit risks in the world. Most commercial banks particularly in today's environment, would die for a repayment rate of 96 to 98 percent, and that is what the poorest of the poor in these countries and in these programs have proven themselves capable of doing, at market interest rates.

Secondly, invest in opportunities for women around the world. If you look at any developing society that is making progress, there is a correlation between those societies that invest in women and those that are demonstration economic and political development and stability. In many instances women are still left out or shut out. We cannot go into this new century with half the world's population not empowered to act in their own best interests and in the best interests of their families. And that is what you will get when you invest in women. The investment will be very well taken care of, based on all we know, because it will in turn be invested in the community and in the family, and particularly in the children.

Thirdly, do not think of education, health care, and other issues as tangential or marginal. In many respects they will determine the long-term stability of the countries in which you do business, in the quality of the workforce that you employ, in the capacity of the consumers to whom you wish to sell your goods. It is in all of our interests to be more effective in investing in education and health care throughout the world, and wherever there is a particular pocket of poverty in an advanced economy, to take what we have learned about welfare reform and other strategies, and attack them through empowerment zones or tax credits or breaks for investment that can begin to provide opportunity in even the most destitute of communities.

And finally, I guess I would ask that we all be more thoughtful in looking at the world in which we live. That we work very hard to rid ourselves of preconceptions and assumptions and stereotypes. That we shelve our ideologies, whether it is of a conservative or a liberal bent. That we realize that conditions have changed, and with it must change also how we see the world, and how we interact politically, economically and socially. So not to rest on old conventions, but instead to be questioning them as well.

We have a great opportunity, as all of you know or you would not be here, to be, as Professor Schwab has titled it, trustees for the 21st Century. But we can only fulfill that responsibility if we understand that we are doing it not for ourselves but for generations to come. And so those, in a very general way, would be my three wishes.

SCHWAB: That was the best answer and the best end of such a highlight of our annual meeting. Nevertheless, nevertheless, I would take on one other question which came from the audience, and it says, don't you think it is time at the beginning of the next century for the U.S. to elect and support a strong, brilliant, woman for the job of the President?

CLINTON: Yes, and I look forward to voting for her!



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**PHOTOCOPY
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TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

KAMPALA, Uganda -- For most Ugandans, the night of Oct. 9, 1996, marked the end of a day celebrating the country's Independence Day. For Angelina Acheng, it was the beginning of a nightmare.

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

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

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

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

According to a 1996 U.N. Report, "Impact of Armed Conflict on Children," war affects millions of children all over the world. It steals their lives, violates their innocence and destroys their families, leaving them to fend -- often unsuccessfully -- for themselves. Unaccompanied children are far more likely to be raped and assaulted. War forces vulnerable children as young as 8 to become soldiers. It deforms their sense of right and wrong, turning 12-year-olds into cold-blooded killers. It ends hope. More than 60 percent

of Rwandan children interviewed in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide said they did not care whether they ever grew up.

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

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

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

I hope every citizen listens to these calls for peace and reaches out to Ugandans like Angelina who are answering them. Already, groups like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International are shining a spotlight on this tragedy. UNICEF is helping to investigate child abductions and get assistance to groups working at the local level. And non-governmental organizations like World Vision and Save the Children are operating trauma centers to care for children who escape.

But we must join with the Ugandan people to do much more -- both to care for the victims and address the root causes of this tragedy. During a speech at Makerere University in Kampala this week, I was pleased to announce, on behalf of the President, new steps that the U.S. government is taking to provide assistance to local groups like the Concerned Parents Association to help them find abducted children and give them the medical care they need to heal. The United States will provide \$2 million to help people plagued by rebel activity in Northern Uganda get jobs rebuilding roads, dams, schools, health clinics and ultimately their own lives and communities.

Finally, all nations should pressure Sudan to end its support for the LRA and its cowardly abductions of children.

Children should never be used as weapons of war. If we speak with one voice against these atrocities, then, next Independence Day in Uganda, parents like Angelina will be able to celebrate freedom in the best possible way -- surrounded by their children.

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March 24, 1998

**PHOTOCOPY
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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kampala, Uganda)

For Immediate Release

March 25, 1998

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
AT MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

Kampala, Uganda

4:51 P.M. (L)

MRS. CLINTON: Bana' Uganda. Muli mutyano. (Applause.) It is such a great honor and pleasure for me to be here on the campus of this great university. (Applause.) Before I begin, I want to thank President and Mrs. Museveni for the warm hospitality that they have extended to us during our visit. And I particularly want to thank Mrs. Museveni, not only for that kind introduction, but I want to acknowledge her leadership on so many fronts, especially her creation of the Uganda Women's Effort to Save the Orphans. (Applause.) I also want to congratulate her on her recent graduation from the university. (Applause.)

Thank you for your warm welcome, Mr. Vice Chancellor. And, no, I do not mind at all, for you're asking that the needs of the students and faculty here be met, and I will carry your message back to the United States. (Applause.)

It is a pleasure once again to be with your Vice President, whom I admire so much and who told me that she, too, was a student and a teacher here at the University. (Applause.) I am also delighted to be joined by the Speaker of the Parliament, the Deputy Speaker of the Parliament, the Minister of Justice and Attorney General, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Deputy Chief Justice, the Minister of Education, the Minister of Gender and Community Development, and so many of you distinguished guests and faculty and students.

It is wonderful for me to have been able to return to Uganda. Last year when I visited with my daughter I made the promise that I would return with my husband. And I'm very pleased I could keep that promise. (Applause.) I learned a lot about your country, your struggles and challenges, last year. Since then I have followed your development with great interest and very great admiration, because I have some small sense from the conversations I have had with many men and women here in Uganda and Ugandans in the United States about what you have had to overcome.

As the choir sang the Uganda National Anthem a few minutes ago, I thought about how appropriate it is for these words to fill Freedom Square today -- united, free for liberty. For 75 years, Makerere University has stood for those principles. And, yet, I know that that forces of evil stole the life of Makerere's first Ugandan Vice Chancellor. I know that the forces of evil arrested, tortured and vilified students. They pushed faculty out of the country and tried to demean those who stayed. They wanted to destroy this world-class university. (Applause.)

People like Idi Amin and his ilk are not comfortable in the light of freedom and education -- they prefer ignorance and backwardness. And you did not let them succeed. (Applause.) Instead you healed the wounds of the past and you are now building this university for the future, just as Uganda is doing, just as Africa is doing.

Out of the hard soil of the Cold War, democracies, free market economies and civil societies are all taking root. Students who once fought oppression underground re-emerged as liberators and now as leaders of a free Uganda. And voices for freedom and dignity and human rights once silenced are now again echoing through the halls of this university and across this country.

Many such voices are here with us today. I could call the names of many faculty and students, government and academic leaders, members of the professions and the businesses here in Uganda -- people who stood up for freedom when it really counted. We can hear the voices of freedom from Sister Rachele Frassera, the Deputy Head Mistress of St. Mary's College in Aboke. When the Lord's Resistance Army kidnapped 139 girls, 75 percent of the student body, she chased down the terrorists, convinced them to release 109 girls and is working day and night to make sure all of them return safely. (Applause.)

We can hear the voice of freedom from Dr. Joy Kwesiga, the former Chair of Action and Development, the former Chair of the Women's Studies Department, and now Dean of Social Sciences here at Makerere. (Applause.) She has worked hard to ensure that the victims of domestic violence are heard, that their accusations are treated seriously and that the crimes are punished.

We can hear the voice of freedom from Sarah Bagalaliwo. As a founder and Chair of the NGO FIDA, Sarah instituted a legal aid clinic, which over the last 10 years has helped thousands of vulnerable women understand and exercise their fundamental legal rights. (Applause.)

Just a few hours ago my husband and I were in Rwanda, where we spoke with survivors of the 1994 genocide. It is still hard to imagine that in the space of three months, one million people were murdered. Nowhere has that number of people ever been murdered in such a short period of time in history. We listened to a delegation of six Rwandans who spoke of their experiences. One member was a woman whom I met exactly a year ago here in Kampala. I could not myself go to Rwanda, but several women came to see me and we met here to talk about their experiences.

Last year and again today, I will forever see the faces of the people I spoke with as they described the human toll of Rwanda's violence and what they were doing to rebuild their lives and communities. As my husband said in his remarks today, genocide destroys not only individuals, but our humanity. We must continue to bring healing to the victims, and we must bring the perpetrators of genocide to justice. (Applause.) We must continue to be vigilant about the dangers that still exist and do everything we can to make sure that nothing like what happened in Uganda in the '70s and what happened in Rwanda in 1994 happen again.

That means every one of us must act. Not just our leaders -- we must hold our leaders accountable -- it is for all of us to stand up for the rights of all people. We must work to end atrocities around the world, not just the ones that grab headlines, but the indignities that people suffer quietly, when they are denied the chance to speak or learn, to work or eat; when they're denied the chance to live free from fear or want. In other words, we should stand up for the rights of all persons to be fully human.

You have made many steps toward that goal here at this university. I could not name them all, but I want particularly to commend the University for creating the Department of Women's Studies, and now for creating the Human Rights and Peace Center. (Applause.) There is no better time than for all of us now to reaffirm our commitment to human rights and peace, for it was 50 years ago that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was born and the world acknowledged a common standard for human dignity. The document puts it very directly: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. All human beings -- not just men, not just adults, not just people of particular cultures or nations, races or religions. This declaration means that we must expand the circle of human dignity to all human beings.

And just think how much wider that circle has grown in Africa in just a few short years. Only a decade ago who would have imagined that Nelson Mandela would move triumphantly from prisoner to President in South Africa. (Applause.) Or that more than 30 years of turmoil would give way to healing and unity in Mozambique. And who would have imagined that it would have been your brave President, President Museveni, that would have taken on the scourge of AIDS with his public health campaign, and that he would and you would, working together, stem the rise of AIDS in Uganda. That is also standing up for human rights. (Applause.)

And who would have imagined that Uganda would produce your Vice President, the highest ranking woman in any African government. (Applause.) I could add, the highest ranking woman in many governments around the world, not just in Africa. (Applause.)

And yet, despite the steady march of progress, the commitment here to universal primary education, for example, there are still who will claim that human rights are a luxury of the West; that they have nothing to do with Africa, or Asia; that they are just the province of people like Americans. But the beliefs inscribed in the Universal Declaration were not invented 50 years ago; they are not the work of any single culture of country. They are universal and timeless.

Sophocles wrote about universal human rights 25 years ago, when he had Antigone declare that there were ethical laws higher than those of even kings. Confucius articulated them in ancient China. And we can look throughout this continent and find examples of ancient leaders of Africa who also said that all people walk the same way, all people must be treated with dignity. These are the core teachings of all major faiths in the world. They are the foundation of what it means to be a respected human being -- in Africa, in Asia, in America -- because they live in the human soul.

Around the globe, I have seen many women and men pushed to the margins of their societies. They may know nothing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but they are eloquent in their beliefs that they were born with God-given rights just as surely as they were born into the human family.

It is absolutely untrue that individual human rights and community rights cannot co-exist. The truth is, they are indispensable to each other. Democratic progress is possible when all citizens can be heard. Economic progress is possible when all citizens have the tools of opportunity, such as education and health care, that will enable them to support their families.

Yesterday, President and Mrs. Museveni went with my husband and me to visit a village -- the Jinja Village. We saw women who are working together through a village bank to make their lives better, increasing their income, helping their husbands support their families better,

taking care of the children that were orphaned that they have taken in from brothers or sisters or other relatives. And they are doing it because they've been given access to credit; they've been given tools to enable them to make economic progress.

Real security is only possible when we learn to live together and to respect each other's fundamental differences. I found a quote I particularly like from a Dinka Chief, who put it like this: "If you see a man walking on his two legs, do not despise him; he is a human being. Bring him close to you and treat him like a human being. This is how you will secure your own life."

But yet, it is not an easy task, in my own country, or any country, to make human rights a reality. The work is not done when a law is passed or a constitution is drafted. Securing human rights for all people is a never-ending struggle. In my own country, it has taken most of our 222 years -- some of them bloody and few of them easy -- to extend the benefits of citizenship to all Americans.

We went from a very small group of white, property-owning men having citizenship, and gradually expanded it to include black men, and then to include women. But then we had to work to make sure that the words in a constitution meant what they said. One of my predecessors, Eleanor Roosevelt, who helped to write the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was 35 years old before she could vote. My own mother was born before women were allowed to vote in the United States. And yet, if we do not secure human rights for all, none of us is secure in our own rights.

Some of you may recall the words of the Protestant minister living in Nazi Germany who said: "In Germany, first they came for the Communists, but I didn't speak out because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews and I didn't speak out because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists and I didn't speak out because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics and I didn't speak out because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak out."

At the dawn of the millennium, those of us who have the power to speak, and all of you here associated with this great university, by virtue of you being here and attaining this education, not only have the power to speak, but the obligation. We must speak up wherever we see injustice and inequality.

And particularly today, I want to speak up and ask you to speak up for the women in Africa and all over the globe. Too many of them every day do the work that needs to be done -- managing the home; feeding, schooling, and caring for children; providing water and fuel. But every day, too many women are also being fed less and last; too many are trafficked like drugs and sold into prostitution; too many are left out when important decisions are made about their lives and their families and in their communities.

I want to commend Uganda for your new Local Government Act, which will help more women be part of the decisions that affect their lives. (Applause.) I am pleased to announce today that the United States government will provide \$2 million to help train these elected official women as they assume their new roles and responsibilities. (Applause.)

Because, yes, women's rights are human rights. And everywhere I travel, I meet women who are struggling to make sure that occurs. We have to speak out when either law or customs treat women like children or second-class citizens, when women are blocked from owning land, receiving inheritances, securing credit, or participating in the

political process. We also have to speak out for more countries like Uganda to make sure that girls are educated.

Two-thirds of the 130 million children out of school worldwide are girls. I wish that some of the people in those countries that still prevent girls from being educated would come and visit the classrooms I have seen here in Uganda -- the bright faces of young boys and girls ready to learn so that they can become better citizens. I am so pleased that universal primary education is a critical part of Uganda's future.

There is much else we must speak up against: violence against women; the practice of genital mutilation; women and children who are brutalized by conflict wherever it occurs.

In Uganda, a pilot program here has reduced the number of women who endure genital mutilation by more than one-third. And when I go to Senegal in a few days, I will meet with a group of women who over the last year have voted in their villages to end this practice and are helping others to do the same.

We must also speak up for women and children caught up in war and conflict around the world. It used to be that women, children, and civilians were to be protected during a war. Today, they are increasing the targets of war. Since the turn of this century, civilian fatalities during war have increased from 5 percent to 90 percent, and 80 percent of war's refugees are women and children.

You have seen this here in your country, because nothing so offends any definition of human rights than the use of children as pawns of war and the mistreatment and abuse of women as a tactic of war. The war in Rwanda was waged against the lives and dignity of women. Rape and sexual assault were committed on a mass scale. Here, according to a U.N. report, the children of northern Uganda like children throughout the world, are also at risk.

Last year when I spoke with President Museveni, he talked to me about the more than 10,000 Ugandan children who have been abducted by the Lords Resistance Army. One of those children is Charlotte, and she is one of the girl's that Sister Rachele tried to save. I met with her mother, Angelina, at the White House a few weeks ago before we came on this trip. She told me what had happened the night that the LRA kidnapped Charlotte and the other girls from St. Mary's school; how they broke the windows, tied up the girls, beat them if they cried; took them away into a life of unspeakable horrors. Thankfully, many have been rescued or escaped, or their freedom has been purchased. But many others, like Angelina's daughter, have not returned.

Like terrorists and dictators throughout history, the LRA claims to be doing the Lord's work. But there is no greater sin than forcing children to murder each other, family members, and even the parents who brought them into existence. There is no greater sin than raping young girls and sending them into slave labor. And there is no greater sin than using children as human shields in battle.

The LRA call themselves soldiers, but they are cowards, for only cowards would hide behind children in battle. (Applause.) Through a group called Concerned Parents Association, Sister Rachelle, Angelina and other parents are working to save their children and all children.

One of Charlotte's classmates who escaped talked about what happened when another girl tried to escape. Listen to her words: The girl who is brought in front of us and the rebels told us to stomp her to death. We killed the poor innocent girl. If we did not kill the girl, we were going to be shot by guns. We prayed for that girl in our hearts,

silently, and asked God to pardon us and forgive us because it was not our will to kill her.

Another girl who was rescued wrote: I'm pleading with you to find a way of stopping this rebel activity, so they we children of northern Uganda could also share in the peace that other children around the world are sharing in. We need peace.

I'm hoping that every government around the world and every citizen joins your government and people in Uganda in your fight for peace and in your efforts to save these children. Already Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International are shining a spotlight on this tragedy. UNICEF is helping to get assistance to groups working at the local level. And non-governmental organizations like World Vision and Gulu Save the Children Organization are caring for children who escape.

There are three of those children here with us that I just had a chance to meet before I came out to see you. Their names are Isaac and Janet and Betty. They were kidnapped by the LRA in the north. They managed to escape, eventually finding refuge. As I looked into their faces and their eyes, I saw the faces and eyes of children the world over. And I thought to myself as I looked at these young men and women of Uganda that we owe them and the thousands more like them everything we can do to make sure that they, too, have a chance, like the children I saw yesterday, to grow up in peace, to be educated, and to look forward to their own families and futures.

There are no easy answers, but I want Janet and Betty and Isaac to know, and I hope that someday Angelina will be able to tell her daughter, Charlotte, as well, that America cares about your children, and we want to work with you to try to stop this tragedy and to care for the children who are its victims. (Applause.)

That's why I am very pleased to announce new steps our government is taking through the United States Agency for International Development. First, we will provide \$500,000 directly to local groups like the Concerned Parents Association and GUSCO, to help them find abducted children and give them the medical care they need to heal. (Applause.)

Second, we will provide \$2 million over the next three years for a new Northern Uganda Initiative that will help the people living there plagued by rebel activity get jobs rebuilding roads, dams, schools, health clinics and their own communities. (Applause.) I am very pleased that other donors, including the World Bank, have agreed to support these efforts.

Third, we will provide \$10 million to local African NGOs who are working to improve food security and to prevent, ease and respond to conflict in the region. (Applause.)

And, finally, my husband and our government will increase their efforts to pressure Sudan to end its support for the LRA and their cowardly abductions of children. (Applause.) We will work with you to end this terror, and we will work with you to continue your rebuilding of your country.

But I want to add just one more thought, because when we talk about democracy and human rights we know how important laws and institutions are. We know that strong and free markets are also important because they unleash so much creative entrepreneurial energy from people like the women I saw in Jinja yesterday. But, ultimately, the struggle to protect human rights depends upon the millions of decisions and actions that are taken every day by ordinary people like us.

It is what Alexis de Tocqueville called, the habits of the heart. It is what we tell our children. Do we continue to tell them to hate those who our grandparents hated, or do we try to help them give up that hatred? It is what we tell each other in our neighborhoods, our villages, our workplaces when we hear someone making disparaging comments about someone of another ethnicity or tribal or racial or religious background. Do we say: Why do you say that about a person's group? Do you know the person? Can you make a judgment about that person as an individual? If you cannot, don't engage in stereotypes. There have been too many stereotypes between us. (Applause.)

In so many ways every day each of us can stand up for human rights. We don't have to be as brave as Sister Rachele rescuing girls. We don't have to be as brave as these three young children who have endured so much, but have come back to build their own lives. We can in so many ways stand up for human rights every day.

That is why I'm pleased that the Human Rights and Peace Center is developing a curriculum to be used throughout the campus, so that the lessons taught and learned here will stay with everyone forever. Because, ultimately, all the work that the President or Mrs. Museveni, or the Vice President or the Vice Chancellor, any of those who are currently leaders in Uganda can do will not be successful unless the students at this University and the children in the schools today understand how important it is to stand up for democracy and freedom and human rights.

No one understands better the importance of human rights than Ugandans. You understand the nightmares that come when they are abused. No one is in a better position to honor the past generations by passing these lessons on to the next generations. I hope that you will accept this challenge, not only now as you are doing, but for many years in the future. Many of us will look to Uganda as an example; as a country that is putting the past behind it in ways that the rest of us not only can admire, but follow. You have a historic opportunity to build a future that is not only one that you are proud to pass on to your children, but one that stands as a beacon not only for Africa, but for the world.

Many of us know what you suffered. Today we stand in admiration of what you are doing now to build a better future. And we will look to you as we move toward this new century and new millennium to show us how people develop new habits of the heart, to make it clear that every person is worthy of dignity and respect, and that peace and freedom, democracy and human rights will always be part of Uganda's life.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

END 5:23 P.M. (L)

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
DRAFT SPEECH AT MAKERERE UNIVERSITY
KAMPALA, UGANDA
MARCH 25, 1998

Acknowledgments: from advance, including Mrs. Museveni, a recent Makerere graduate.

It is wonderful to be back in the pearl of Africa and to be here at the pearl of East African Universities: Makerere. I carry with me so many memories from the trip my daughter and I took last year -- but none more powerful than the people I met, who, in the face of great adversity, have triumphed in a new Uganda. It was in Kampala exactly one year ago, that I announced my husband would come to Africa. And I can't tell you how delighted I am to have the opportunity to join him on his historic trip -- the first visit ever by a United States President to Uganda.

[Just yesterday my husband announced a new Education For Democracy and Development Initiative that is bringing our nation's universities together to educate the next generation. Today, I am very pleased to tell you that one of those partnerships will be between Makerere University and John Hopkins University. It will bring high speed internet access to the entire Makerere community and help us do research together, teach together and learn from one another. Just as the bonds of friendship between our nations have grown, so too have the bonds between our Universities.]

As you played the Ugandan National Anthem a few minutes ago, I thought about how appropriate it was for these words to fill this campus today: "United, free, for liberty. Together we'll always stand." That is the promise we make this afternoon -- and that is the promise you have kept at Makerere University for more than 75 years.

Under Idi Amin, the forces of evil stole the life of your first Ugandan Vice Chancellor. They arrested and tortured students. They pushed faculty out of the country. They tried to destroy this world class University. But you did not let them. Any coward can destroy bridges and roads. But, as you have shown, no one can destroy the human spirit. It was with that spirit, that determination, that power of reconciliation that you overcame years of hardship to build this University for the future. Just as Uganda is doing. Just as this continent is doing. Out of the hard soil of the Cold War, we now see democracies taking root all over Africa; economies on the move, and citizens and non-governmental organizations healing wounds of the past and rebuilding lives and communities for the future.

[TBD -- Talk movingly about 4 human rights NGOs in audience and ask to stand]

Just a few hours ago, my husband and I were in Kigali to speak with survivors of the 1994 genocide. Two of them were part of a delegation of Rwandan women I met with exactly a year ago in Kampala. I will never forget their voices as they talked about the price tag of Rwanda's violence -- the young lives cut short, the families torn apart, the children orphaned. [insert from Kigali event] As my husband made clear: Genocide destroys not only our people, not only our nations, but our humanity.

We must continue to bring healing to the victims and the perpetrators to justice...we must continue to be vigilant about the dangers that still exist...and we must never -- ever -- let it happen again. [possible Justice Corps announcement]

Every one of us must bear witness. Not just to the atrocities that captivate the world, but also to the indignities that people quietly suffer around the world...when they are denied the chance to speak or learn, to work or eat, when they're denied the chance to live free of fear or want...to be, in a word, fully human. How inspiring it is to hear about what this University has done...first by creating a Women's Department and now by creating the Human Rights and Peace Center, the very first of its kind in the area. You are showing that whether we're building a University for the future, a nation for the future, or a world for the future, human rights must be central -- not peripheral -- to our progress.

What better time than now for all of us to reaffirm this commitment. For it was 50 years ago that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was born and the world acknowledged a new common standard for human dignity. The document says it directly: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." All human beings. Not just men. Not just adults. Not just people of particular cultures or nations, races or religions. We must expand the circle of human dignity to all human beings.

Just think about how much wider that circle has grown in Africa. Only a decade ago, who would have imagined that Nelson Mandela would move triumphantly from Prisoner to President in South Africa? Who would have imagined that more than 30 years of turmoil would give way to healing and unity in Mozambique? Or that democratic elections would take place in Liberia, a nation once ripped apart by civil war? And who would have imagined that a public health campaign would stem the rise of AIDS in Uganda; that Vice President Specioza Kazibwe would become the highest-ranking woman in any African government; and that universal primary education would be promised to girls and boys?

Yet, despite the steady march of progress here and around the world, there are still critics [better word?] who claim that human rights are a [Westerner's] luxury -- not inalienable but alien. The beliefs inscribed in the Declaration were not invented 50 years ago. They are not the work of a single culture or country. They are universal and timeless. Sophocles wrote about them 2,500 years ago when he had Antigone declare that there were ethical laws higher than those of even kings. Confucius articulated them in ancient China. The Akans [West Africa] say that "Every one is the offspring of God" The belief that we must respect our neighbors as we would respect ourselves is part of the core teachings of all major faiths of the world.

Human rights are the foundation of Africa, the foundation of Asia, the foundation of the United States, because they live in the soul of all of us. Around the globe, I have met countless women and others too often pushed to the margins. They may know nothing of this declaration and its promises. But they are eloquent in their belief that these are God-given rights that they were born with as surely as they were born into the human family.

Others claim that individual rights and community rights cannot co-exist. When the truth is that they are indispensable to each other. Democratic progress is only possible when all citizens can make their voices heard on the soapbox and at the ballot box. Economic progress is only possible when all citizens have the tools of opportunity -- like health care, education, and credit -- to support themselves and their families. Social progress is only possible -- a strong civil society is only possible -- when citizens are no longer blocked by law or custom, by ignorance or fear from reaching their God-given promise. And real security will only be possible when we learn to live together, to respect each's others fundamental differences; and to act collectively to protect human rights, moving beyond "I" and "me," to "us" and "we." As one Dinka Chief said, "If you see a man walking on his two legs...do not despise him; he is a human being...bring him close to you and treat him like a human being. That is how you will secure your own life." If history has taught us anything it's that when the dignity of one of us is compromised, the dignity of all of us is compromised.

Finally, there are some who think that our work on human rights is done the minute a law is passed or a constitution is drafted. As we have learned, promoting democracy and protecting human rights is something we must do every day. It's a never-ending struggle...a struggle in which every nation can point to failings in the past, every nation faces challenges for the future. Take the example of my own country. It took us more than ten years to draft a constitution. And it has taken most of our 221 years, some of them bloody, few of them easy to extend the benefits of citizenship to all Americans. Eleanor Roosevelt, who helped write the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was 35 before she could vote.

When it comes to protecting human rights, every nation -- every era -- has unfinished business. Wherever and whenever human rights are challenged, all of us must speak with one voice. All of us must act. I'm reminded of the famous words of a Protestant Minister living in Nazi Germany. He said, "In Germany, they first came for the Communists, but I didn't speak out because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews and I didn't speak out because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the Trade Unionists and I didn't speak out because I wasn't a Trade Unionist. Then they came for the Catholics and I didn't speak out because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time, no one was left to speak up."

At the dawn of the Millennium, those of us with the power to speak up must speak up...for there is much work to do.

Together, we must speak up for women in Africa and all over the globe. Because of the strength of the African women at the UN Conference on Women in Beijing, we were able to say for all the world to hear that human rights are women's rights and women's rights and human rights.

Every day, women are managing the crops for food. They're feeding, schooling, and caring for the children, they're providing water and fuel for the home. But everyday, women are also being fed less and last. Too many are caught in a deadly cycle of conflict and violence; too many are being trafficked like drugs and sold into prostitution. And too many are not at the table when decision are made about their lives. This must change. Everywhere I travel, I meet women who are struggling to secure their God-given rights. All of us must join them.

We must speak up to ensure that no girl is denied an education. How can we build for the future when two-thirds of the 130 million children out of school are girls? How can all citizens fully participate in their societies when two-thirds of the 96 million people worldwide who cannot read or write are women? As both our nations have learned, when you educate a woman, you educate a family, you educate a community, you educate a country. At the Kisowera school in Jinja yesterday, we saw what they are doing to end the disparities that keep so many girls from getting the education they need. That school now has an equal number of boys and girls.

We must speak up whenever laws or customs treat women like children or second-class citizens; when women are blocked from owning land, receiving inheritances, securing credit, or participating in the political process...we must speak up.

We must speak up whenever the health of women is threatened. There are more than 115 million women and girls who have been subjected to genital mutilation. It is time to end this deadly and inhumane practice all over the world. It has harmed the bodies and spirits of too many women for far too long. I am heartened by laws that are being passed in nations like Ghana [1994]...and by what NGOs are doing to change attitudes and lives at the community level. In Senegal, I will be meeting with a group of women who, over the last year, have voted in their villages to end this practice and are helping others to do the same.

It is time to stop violence against women in all its forms. No matter if it's in our homes or streets, violence against women must never again be dismissed as trivial or explained away as cultural....it is a human rights violation -- and it must be punished.

It was the women of Africa who first helped focus the world's attention on domestic violence at the UN Conference on Women in Nairobi and then again in Beijing. No nation is immune. In my own country, 30 percent of female murder victims are killed by a current or former partner.

We must also speak up for the women and children brutalized by conflict. It used to go without saying that women, children -- indeed all civilians -- were to be protected during a war. Today they are increasingly the targets of war. Since the turn of the century, civilian fatalities during war have increased from 5 percent to 90 percent. 80 percent of refugees are women and children.

As the face of conflict changes, how do we ensure that the hospitality most African countries have always shown and the international humanitarian principles that have guided all of us remain? We know that many refugees now live in fear that their camps will be militarized or attacked. Some are scared they won't be able to get asylum. All want to return home voluntarily, safely, and rebuild their lives with dignity. And we know that women refugees face even greater threats simply by virtue of the fact that they are women. It is the cruelest irony of all that so many wars end not with peace for women and children, but in refugee crises that go from bad to worse. Many of you have seen this tragedy first hand. Women losing their husbands. Women denied adequate food. Women unable to get even the most basic reproductive health care. Women at greater risk for pregnancy complications, HIV, and violence. Women refugees must be equal partners in delivering assistance during disasters. And whether women are refugees or citizens, they need health care and security.

The war in Rwanda was waged with the lives and dignity of women. Rape and sexual assault were committed on a mass scale...resulting in as many as 5,000 pregnancies. As a world community, we must speak with one voice: Rape was not a simple casualty of war. It was a cruel tactic of war. And it must never be tolerated.

Nothing so offends the standard set forth by the Universal Declaration of Human than the use of children as pawns of warfare. We must speak up -- and we must speak up loudly -- in the name of missing children, child soldiers, and other children victimized by war. According to a UN report written by Gracia Machel, the former Minister for Education in Mozambique, war is now stealing from millions of our children all over the world. It's stealing their entire support system -- taking away their parents, their homes, their friends. It's stealing their childhoods, raping girls, enticing boys to be soldiers, forcing young orphans to fend for themselves. It's stealing their sense of right and wrong, turning 12 year olds into cold killers. It's stealing their hope. More than 60 percent of children interviewed in Rwanda said they did not care whether they ever grew up. New patterns of war and conflict are stealing our children's lives.

When I met with President Museveni last year, he talked to me about the more than 10,000 Ugandan children who have been abducted by the Lord Resistance Army since 1994. One of them is named Charlotte. Her mother, Angelina [Acheng Atyam], came to see me in Washington a few weeks ago. She told me about the evening that the LRA kidnaped 139 girls from St. Mary's School in Aboke. They broke the windows, they tied up the girls, they beat them if they cried. And they took them away into a life of unspeakable horror. Many, like Angelina's daughter, have not returned.

The LRA uses the name of the Lord, but there is no greater sin than forcing innocent children to brutally murder other children with axes. There is no greater sin than forcing young girls to become the slaves and wives of rebel commanders. There is no greater sin than forcing children to kill the parents who brought them into this world. The LRA calls themselves soldiers, but they are cowards. For only cowards would hide behind children in battle.

Through a group called Concerned Parents Association, Angelina and other parents are working to save their children and all children. The world must answer these children's plight, must hear their words. One girl talked about what happened when another tried to escape. She said, "The girl was brought in front of us and the rebels told us to stomp her to death. We killed the poor innocent girl...If we did not kill the girl we were going to be shot by guns. We prayed for that girl in our hearts, silently and asked God to pardon us and forgive us because it was not our will to kill her." Another girl simply wrote: "I'm pleading with you to find a way of stopping this rebel activity so that we children of Northern Uganda could also share in the peace that other children around the world are sharing in...We need peace."

We must speak up with one voice to bring all our children peace: So that they are never again weapons of war, but always hope for the future; so that the progress we celebrate as a world includes the progress of all of God's children; and so that all children are born with the human rights and human dignity promised by our world 50 years ago. There are no easy answers -- and surely my nation does not have them. But, I want you to know that the people of the United States care deeply about your triumphs and challenges and want to stand with as your partners in your fight for peace, democracy, human rights and prosperity.

That's why I am pleased to announce three new steps our government is taking through the United States Agency for International Development. First, we will provide \$500,000 directly to local groups in like the Concerned Parents Association to help them find abducted children and give them and their families the medical care they need to heal. Second, we will provide \$2 million over the next three years for a new Northern Uganda Initiative. This will allow people plagued by rebel activity to get jobs rebuilding roads, dams, schools, health clinics, and ultimately their own lives and communities. And it will leverage resources from other donors -- including the World Bank, which has agreed to support these efforts. Third, through the Greater Horn of Africa Support project, we will provide \$10 million to local African NGOs who are working to improve food security and to prevent, ease, and respond to conflict in the region.

Human rights have always been best protected in places where strong democracies and vibrant civil societies live. I continue to be inspired by the rich tapestry of NGOs building civil society in Uganda and throughout Africa. You know that laws and institutions are important. You know that strong and free markets are important. But, you also know that our never ending struggle to protect human rights and promote democracy ultimately depends upon the stuff of life, the habits of the heart. It is in those places, our voluntary organizations and churches, in our markets and villages, where we ultimately determine how we're going to live our lives, how we're going to treat each other, the lessons we're going to teach our children as we tuck them into bed at night. [more] [End with reference back to Human Rights Center at University and what they're doing to pass these lessons down to this and every generation?]

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

Katherine Searcy (310) 337-7020

TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

RELEASE: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15, 1998, AND THEREAFTER

My husband was the first American President to travel to Northern Ireland while in office. When he and I visited there in 1995, we saw firsthand the depth of the Irish yearning for peace. At each stop, huge crowds gathered to meet America's leader -- Catholics and Protestants speaking in one voice -- urging him to help bring peace to their country.

Now, after 30 years of violence in which over 3,000 have died and from which 30,000 more bear the physical scars, Northern Ireland's leaders have repudiated their tragic history of hatred and violence and approved a series of sweeping political changes that hold out the promise of lasting peace.

We in the United States can be proud of the role our country has played in this historic moment. My husband, one of many Americans with Irish ancestors, has worked for this day for over four years.

Irish Times correspondent Conor O'Clery acknowledges the President's role: "An American President took office with Irish blood. ... He was open to the argument ... that only the United States could form a bridge ... and nudge the peace process along when it stalled."

It was only a few weeks ago, on St. Patrick's Day, that the President took the opportunity to bring all of Northern Ireland's leaders to the White House. Throughout the day, he met with them, driving home the point that they faced one of the most important moments in their history -- an opportunity for peace that might never come again in their lifetimes or in the lifetimes of their children. That evening, as we welcomed 650 visitors to the reception, I watched as they huddled in conversation in corners and over the buffet table.

Finally, last week, 22 months of negotiations ended with a marathon session that kept Bill up much of the night making at least a dozen phone calls to exhausted participants. When it was all over, he was able to say: "After a 30-year winter of sectarian violence, Northern Ireland today has the promise of a springtime of peace."

America and Northern Ireland were well-served throughout the process by the capable leadership of the chairman of the talks, former U.S. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell. Over the past three and one-half years, he has earned not only the respect but also the trust of the participants on both sides.

History will remember the faith and courage of every participant in this extraordinary process. Each took enormous personal and political risks even to take part.

They took these risks for the most unselfish of reasons -- to offer the hope of peace to their children.

Critical to the success was Dr. Marjorie "Mo" Mowlam, British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. It was Mo Mowlam, suffering from the effects of chemotherapy, who broke every taboo and precedent to keep the parties engaged and the process moving toward completion.

Women have not traditionally played a role in Northern Ireland's politics, but two, Monica McWilliams, a Catholic, and Pearl Sagar, a Protestant, working together, won seats at the table and were key to building support for the agreement.

Over the years, many women have suffered for the cause of peace. I remember Joyce McCartan, whom I met in 1995, and I wish she had lived to see this day. It was Joyce who talked about how sectarian politics won't put food on the table. She said, "You can't fry flags in a frying pan."

Women such as Joyce share as much responsibility for the peace process as anyone who sat at the table last week. They put aside the politics of religion, ethnicity, race and history for the sake of their families. By their resolve and example, they have helped bring a chance for peace to Northern Ireland.

We know that extremists on both sides will not fade quietly away. The future of peace hinges on the results of voting May 22. It's up to the people to choose peace. Nonetheless, we can expect that by words, and even violent deeds, opponents may yet try to undermine this agreement.

But, as my husband has made clear, the United States will stand by the people who want peace. We will stand by the memory of those who have died. We will stand by their families and their friends. We will stand by those who, like Joyce McCartan, spent their lives fighting for peace. And we will stand by their children.

To find out more about Hillary Rodham Clinton and read her past columns, visit the Creators Syndicate web page at www.creators.com.

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Synagogue Visit

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Remarks at a Jewish Synagogue

Shanghai, China
July 1, 1998

The point that is really a fine example of the government here in Shanghai is how the government here would be willing to honor the religious tradition and history of the Jewish people in Shanghai that goes back many years to the middle of the last century. There were many Jewish residents in Shanghai that made great contributions to the growth of the city. So, for this to be restored, I think, is a very good example of respect for religious differences and an appreciation for the importance of faith in one's life. I am delighted that I could come and see this today.

Of course, the Rabbi is very modest. He deserves a lot of the credit for bringing this to the attention of the mayor and making it known how significant this synagogue has been and is; and the mayor deserves an enormous amount of credit for his willingness not only to approve of the renovation, but to pay for it out of municipal revenues, which I think is a very important sign.

Thank you. Thank you very much.



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TALKING IT OVER

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

September 1, 1998

This week my husband and I are traveling to Russia and Northern Ireland. In the light of Russia's political and economic crisis, many have wondered whether now is the appropriate time for the President to make this trip. Actually a visit by the American President may carry particular significance for the Russian people now as they confront the difficult challenges ahead. The United States has an enormous stake in Russia's future, and as Russia struggles to build democracy and economic reform, we must remain engaged and demonstrate our support of their effort.

In addition, there are important foreign policy and security challenges facing the global community in which Russia must play a key role. And, the Russian people must know that, in times of difficulty, the United States will not turn its back.

Likewise, in the face of the recent violence in Northern Ireland, the President's visit stands as a tribute to the courage and determination of the people of Northern Ireland and the Republic who voted to make the Good Friday peace agreement possible. The President's presence also signals his support for the rapid implementation of the agreement and demonstrates that the United States will continue to be deeply involved in supporting the peace process and economic development both in the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland.

While in Northern Ireland, I will have the opportunity to announce the creation of a different kind of partnership smaller but, in many ways, just as important to the future of the region. It's a partnership designed to bring the children of Belfast one of the most fundamentals of childhood a safe place to play. This new partnership will join together PlayBoard, a group based in Northern Ireland and dedicated to improving the quality of children's lives by providing opportunities to play, with KaBOOM!, a \$2.3 million nonprofit corporation based in Washington, D.C. that brings individuals, organizations and businesses together to build safe and accessible playgrounds in some of this country's toughest neighborhoods. Their goal is to build 1,000 playgrounds in the U.S. by the end of the year 2000. Darell Hammond, the CEO of KaBOOM!, explains why he thinks playgrounds are so important: At KaBOOM!, we believe in play because it is the work of children. When we take away opportunities for children to test their physical skills, develop self-esteem and interact constructively with their peers, we effectively make these children unemployed.

By building playgrounds, we invest in our children and the safety of the communities on which our businesses depend. Sadly, millions of the world's children don't have safe places to play. Instead they play in the streets or other dangerous places, often littered with garbage, broken glass, abandoned cars, even discarded drug paraphernalia. In some parts of the world, the dangers include bombs, snipers and even landmines.

For eight years PlayBoard has studied the impact of violence and sectarianism on the children of Northern Ireland where 70 percent of 9- to 11- year-olds have witnessed a bombing or a shooting and where children as young as three manifest sectarian hatred when they play. PlayBoard's Chief Executive,

Antoinette McKeown says, "Our goal is to create an environment to bring out children's natural instinct to play freely to work out their negative experiences through play and to find a way of exploring their own true identities. We hope to rid our children of stereotyping and name calling."

Now, with the support of its American partner, KaBOOM!, PlayBoard hopes to create a unique new play space in the middle of Belfast. As Antoinette describes it, It won't be a traditional playground with swings and roundabouts. It's intended to be an environmental haven with a series of natural challenges designed by children themselves. For many of Belfast's children, this play space will give them their first opportunity to play with children of other faiths. In exchange, PlayBoard will work with KaBOOM! to share what it's learned about the value of therapeutic play with communities in this country. The two groups also hope to host an international conference next year on the value of play.

Darell and Antoinette know that KaBOOM! and PlayBoard are not only building safe places for children to play. They are also building community spirit and pride, bringing people together, breaking down barriers and inspiring hope. The partnership between KaBOOM! and PlayBoard reminds us that what the children of Northern Ireland need is not so different from what the children of our inner cities need or for that matter what children everywhere need. They need to play to explore their environments freely, without fear or prejudice. Only then will they develop the skills to become the leaders of nations that work together so their children can play in peace.

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Talking it Over

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**PHOTOCOPY
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September 16, 1998

CENTER FOR NATIONAL POLICY DINNER

DATE:	Thursday, September 17
TIME:	7:40 pm - 9:40 pm
LOCATION:	Ronald Reagan Building Washington, D.C.
FROM:	Brenda Costello

I. PURPOSE

To deliver remarks at the Center for National Policy's annual fall benefit and to receive the 1998 *Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award*.

II. BACKGROUND

On Thursday evening, the Center for National Policy will honor you with the 1998 *Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award* at CNP's annual fall benefit. You are being honored for your accomplishments in raising "the consciousness of the world community in regard to the humanitarian and political concerns relating to women and children," recognizing these concerns as critical challenges of international and national policy.

Approximately 550 guests are expected, including corporate sponsors, labor groups, Muskie family and former staffers, CNP Board members, members of Congress and other friends of CNP. Sen. Boxer and Minister Fujisaki of Japan are also scheduled to attend.

Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award

CNP accords a public service award annually to someone who has demonstrated a broad and deep commitment to serving the nation's interests. In 1996 the award was renamed after former CNP Chairman and former Secretary of State Edmund Muskie. Muskie was a founding member of the CNP Board, and received CNP's first Distinguished Public Service Award.

The first recipient of the newly named Muskie Award was Secretary Albright in 1996, followed by Congressman Lee Hamilton last year. Vice President Gore received CNP's Distinguished Public Service Award in 1995.

Center for National Policy

Established in 1981, the Center for National Policy (CNP) is a non-profit public policy organization whose mission is committed to the ideal of a vital public sector. CNP's

programs "promote practical opportunities to advance the public policy process and determine how government can best serve American interests in the U.S. and abroad."

Current initiatives include a series of conferences exploring the growth and development of urban areas, a project examining the impact of economic change on U.S. workers, and discussions on innovative approaches to environmental protection.

As a 501© 3, most of their funding is raised from private sources. CNP does some work with USAID.

Format

Ruth Harkin, Senior Vice President, International Affairs and Government Relations Chair, United Technologies International will open the program prior to dinner. Following dinner, the main speaking program will begin with Secretary Albright, who will present a five minute video tribute to you featuring interviews with five people, focusing your work on trips abroad. Sec. Albright will then present you with the Muskie Award.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Meet and Greet (Dinner Vice Chairs)

- Jane Muskie
- Barbara Easterling, Secretary-Treasurer, Communications Workers of America
- Dale Leibach, Senior Vice President, Powell Tate
- Patrick Griffin, President, Griffin, Johnson, Dover & Stewart
- Susan Thomases

Program

- The First Lady
- Ruth Harkin, Senior Vice President, International Affairs and Government Relations Chair, United Technologies International
- Maureen Steinbruner, President, CNP
- Michael Barnes, CNP Chair
- Mack McLarty, Dinner Co-chair
- Secretary Albright

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- The First Lady
- Ruth Harkin makes welcoming remarks and introduces the Reverend Canon Robert J. Brooks for the invocation.
 - Invocation, Reverend Canon Robert J. Brooks.
- Ruth Harkin makes brief remarks and recognizes Dinner Vice Chairs, Members

of Congress, and The Muskie Family.

— Dinner is served.

- Maureen Steinbruner, President of CNP, makes welcoming remarks and introduces Michael Barnes, CNP Chair.
- Michael Barnes makes brief remarks and introduces Mack McLarty.
- Mack McLarty makes brief remarks and introduces Secretary Madeleine Albright.
- Secretary Albright introduces the video tribute to the First Lady.

— Video Tribute.

- Secretary Albright presents the Muskie Award to the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes remarks.
- The First Lady departs

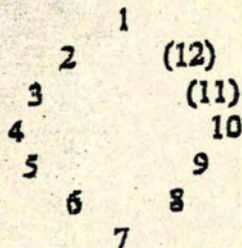
V. PRESS

Dinner: Closed press.

Program: Open press.

VI. REMARKS

Provided by Christy Macy.

Honoree Table

1. Ruth R. Harkin
2. Madeleine K. Albright
3. Maurser S. Steinbruner
4. Hillary Rodham Clinton
5. Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty
6. Claudia Barnes
7. Peter Kovler
8. Donna McLarty
9. Michael D. Barnes
10. Judy Kovler
11. (Rep. Lee Hamilton)*
12. (Sen. Tom Harkin)*

*The table may be seated for 10 or upgraded to 12 if Rep. Hamilton and Sen. Harkin are able to attend. I will call you when I have confirmation.



Center for National Policy

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 26, 1996

Contacts: Anne Sesler

Andrew Kauders

(202) 682-1800

CNP Chair Emeritus Edmund Muskie Praised As Dedicated Public Servant

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The Center for National Policy today paid tribute to the dedication and the service by former CNP Chairman Emeritus, former Secretary of State and U.S. Senator, Edmund Muskie. In his years as founding member of the CNP Board, Chairman, and Chairman Emeritus, Senator Muskie contributed immensely to the success and mission of the Center.

Under his leadership, in 1989, Muskie undertook a series of foreign policy missions on behalf of CNP, focused on U.S. policy toward Cambodia and Vietnam. As one of the first Americans with senior public service to engage these countries actively following the Vietnam War, he was instrumental in developing bi-partisan support for normalization of relations with Vietnam and a more flexible approach to the negotiation of the Cambodian settlement, an approach which eventually led to U.S. support for U.N.-sponsored elections.

CNP President Maureen Steinbruner said of Muskie, "He gave a great deal to American government and to the American people. He knew better than most the value of compromise, but he also saw more clearly than many the importance of passion in lifting public spirits. He brought a high intelligence, a deep pragmatism, a warm sense of humor, and an unflagging dedication to his vocation of public service. This country will miss his presence very much."

CNP Chair and former Congressman Michael Barnes added, "Ed Muskie was one of the great Americans of our time. I have often thought how different the history of this era would have been had he been elected President in 1972. So much positive could have been accomplished, and so much negative could have been avoided. In recent years, Ed Muskie's leadership of the Center for National Policy and many other important institutions in our society has never ceased. Having traveled the roads of Maine and Washington with this remarkable man for almost 30 years, it is impossible for me to imagine either place without his imposing presence and wonderfully infectious sense of humor. He was my boss, my mentor and my hero. I will miss him beyond measure."

Following his service as President Carter's Secretary of State, and prior to assuming the chairmanship of the board in the early 1980's, he was honored as the first recipient of CNP's Distinguished Public Service Award. Edmund Muskie was chairman of the board of CNP when now U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations Madeleine K. Albright, who worked for him in the Senate, became President of CNP. Over the years, they have had a strong and close working relationship. In 1993, the Senator became Chairman Emeritus, remaining a member of the Center's Executive Committee and continuing to be active and involved in the Center's governance.

Center for National Policy

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E-mail: cnp@access.digex.net • Internet Homepage: <http://www.access.digex.net/~cnp/index.html>

REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

THE CENTER FOR NATIONAL POLICY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1998

I would like to thank my friend, Secretary Albright, for those kind words. It's a pleasure to be here with so many of my friends who care so much about this country, and who have worked so hard, in both public and private life, to make it live up to its ideals. Thank you to the President of the Center for National Policy, Maureen (Mo) Steinbruner; Co-chairs of the Center Mike Barnes and Joyce Ladner; the two people who helped put together this wonderful dinner -- Ruth Harkin and "Mack" McClarty -- who has played such an invaluable role in shaping our policies toward Latin America. I'm also pleased to join members of Congress -- including Representative Lee Hamilton -- last year's recipient of the Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award; members of the Diplomatic corps; and the many guests and friends of the Center. I'm especially pleased to see Jane Muskie and other members of the Muskie family here this evening.

I join all of you tonight in mourning the loss of a great friend of the Center's and all of us -- Kirk O'Donnell. In the rough and tumble world of politics, his life exemplified the spirit of public service and private principle. We all know what great gifts he brought to making this Center the vibrant, active, and effective force that it is today -- and we will miss him greatly. Our thoughts and prayers are with his family and friends tonight.

I want to say a word about my friend, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright -- who is committed to defending the rights not just of Americans but of citizens around the world. Not only has Madeleine Albright broken many a glass ceiling -- by virtue of her own gender -- she's brokered many a peace, by virtue of her remarkable skills and tenacity. She's opened doors -- so that others can follow -- and she has opened minds, so others can change. I've had the enormous pleasure of traveling and working with her over the years, and have benefitted greatly from her wisdom, her humor -- and most of all, her friendship. Thank you, Madeleine, for all you have done.

First, I want to thank the Center, and all of you, for the great honor you have given me here tonight. Ed Muskie's life reflected a deep commitment to the principles of freedom and justice -- here at home and overseas. And he carried out his many responsibilities with great fairness, warmth, and intelligence. Whether he walked the backroads of Maine, or the corridors of power, he represented the best of America: our optimism that we can create a better future; the spirit of public service; and a deep commitment to forge bipartisan support for our national and international objectives. He was a highly respected leader and treasured friend of the Center's -- and I thank you for honoring me in his memory.

Tonight, I want to talk about a topic that was always close to Ed Muskie's heart -- the need to more fully engage the American people in our nation's foreign policy. Some of you might well be asking -- what did that film which you just saw -- where I was shown talking with women about their concerns in distant villages around the world -- have to do with our foreign policy?

My answer is that efforts to advance the status of women worldwide -- whether it's raising their level of education or ensuring safe motherhood or helping women gain greater economic independence -- must never be seen as "soft issues" -- or "side issues." They are as essential to the prosperity and stability of our global community as are the investments we make in open markets and trade. They are -- in fact - - at the core of our foreign policy objectives -- and the very progress of all nations.

Three years ago, in Beijing, I joined Secretary Albright at the 4th World UN Conference on Women. And the most powerful message that came out of that conference was that the progress of a country depends on women having equal access to life's basic tools of opportunity. And that no nation can move forward until all its citizens are able to participate fully in the political, social, and economic life of their country.

Over the past six years, I've seen first hand how America's programs overseas have helped further that progress -- by lifting up the lives of ordinary people in nations around the world -- particularly the lives of women.

From Nicaragua to Uganda, I've seen how a small loan to women villagers -- sometimes only a few dollars, can transform the lives of women and their families, and dramatically improve the resources and income of an entire community. One woman in Bangladesh told me about how she borrowed money to buy a milk cow -- and by selling the milk from that cow -- she bought another. And as the proud owner of two cows -- she was able to buy a rickshaw for her husband, so that he could become a taxi driver in their village. And I'm heartened by the increased interest among nations and non governmental agencies to promote these micro-credit opportunities.

In Bolivia, I met with expectant mothers at a primary health center run by an NGO with support from the government. They had created a safe place for very poor women to come and get health care. The women -- with their ruddy faces and bowler hats -- were receiving prenatal check ups and having their infants immunized. They were also learning about family planning, and how to space births so that they -- and their children -- would more likely survive -- and be able to lead a better life.

In Senegal, I visited a small village where education for girls, and women's adult literacy programs, had become a top priority. They saw how those efforts were the first steps in helping the village understand how it could work together to create more prosperity -- and how it could take five hectares of barren land, and turn it into an oasis of green -- growing products that could not only support the village, but be sold in the marketplace as well. When you educate a girl today, you help create a leader for tomorrow -- a leader within the family and the community. It's the single greatest investment any nation can make in its future.

When we work to stop the trafficking of women and end the brutal practice of female genital mutilation; when we work to promote women to elected office, and enable them to gain greater economic independence -- we advance the future of other nations -- and our own interests as well.

Today, we face unparalleled opportunities to share the world's prosperity and growth -- and continue the march of democracy around the world. Yet powerful global forces threaten to destroy the gains being made. The bombings of the U.S. Embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, where the lives of so many Americans and Africans were tragically lost. The global financial crisis -- which is pushing millions of people back under the yoke of poverty, and affecting the pocketbooks and stock markets of people from Argentina to Japan. These are grim reminders of the down side of our interconnected and interdependent world. They demonstrate once again how events in one corner of the globe impact the lives and fortunes of us all -- for better and for worse.

We are at a critical moment in world affairs. While more and more nations across the globe have made the fundamental choice in favor of democracy and free trade -- the leaders of those nations are engaged in perhaps an even more difficult job: to translate those new found freedoms into tangible benefits for ordinary citizens. We must have the resources to support those efforts in such fragile times, so that people don't question their commitment to freedom -- and slide back toward more repressive or corrupt regimes.

Yet at this time when American leadership -- and American foreign assistance -- are more critical than ever -- we continue to see a decreasing amount of attention being paid to our role in the world -- and diminishing support for international aid. There's a real -- and disturbing -- disconnect. As Under secretary of State for Political Affairs, Thomas Pickering, told me yesterday, we're moving backward, not forward -- and even the smallest amounts of aid are unavailable to meet these pressing needs.

Much is at risk. The peaceful -- yet incomplete -- transition of the newly independent states in Eastern Europe to stable, market democracies is vital to growth of that region -- and our national security. Yet the USAID assistance programs that would help those countries push for market reforms and support democratic forces are in danger of being cut. We cannot allow Congress to decimate this program.

In Africa, we're investing in the rule of law to help prevent future genocide on that continent -- and supporting Radio Democracy, which will help strengthen fledgling democracies in that region. We cannot allow Congressional cuts to weaken those efforts.

Through AID's International Disaster Assistance funds, we respond to natural and manmade disasters worldwide -- helping to suppress raging fires in Mexico, feeding starving children in Sudan, and promoting ethnic reconciliation on Bosnia. We cannot allow Congressional cuts to jeopardize this program.

This is no time to withdraw our involvement -- or attention. It's time to act. If we care -- as we do -- about opening foreign markets for American goods and services -- and if we want to help stabilize the financial crisis that is wrecking havoc in our world -- then Congress must fully fund the International Monetary Fund -- including the President's request for an additional \$18 billion.

If we care -- as we do -- about making our country secure in the face of new post-cold war threats, then we must pay our debts to the United Nations. Unfortunately, that issue has become entangled in an unrelated one -- family planning overseas. I respect the deeply held views of both sides. But we cannot continue to fail to pay our dues because of this unrelated issue. It's an outrage that the richest and most powerful country in the world is the number one debtor to the United Nations.

If we care -- as we do -- about expanding and sustaining the world's community of democracies, and strengthening our own security -- then we must fully fund the Foreign Operations budget -- and the many foreign assistance programs -- some of which I've mentioned this evening -- that give citizens the tools to improve their lives.

And if we care -- as we do -- that women around the world make up 70% of the poor and two thirds of those who can't read or write -- then we must support investments in lifelines like microcredit and education. And we must join the rest of the world and ratify the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Despite the fact that our government signed this treaty almost two decades ago, and despite its proven track record as an effective tool to improve women's rights -- the United States stands alone among industrialized democracies in not ratifying it.

Today, I believe we have a very real opportunity to right our priorities -- and engage public and Congressional support -- much like we did at the end of World War II. Back then, leaders such as Harry Truman and George Marshall had the vision to look beyond the wartime devastation and the underlying hostilities to a Europe in which regional cooperation would transcend adversarial boundaries and traditional rivalries. They believed that large-scale economic cooperation would facilitate not only postwar recovery but also long-term prosperity and international peace. And US leadership was instrumental in the creation of the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and NATO.

They understood back then that it wasn't enough to mobilize the government. They needed to lead a major campaign to educate the public, mobilize key constituencies, and persuade reluctant partners to make sure this great achievement would taken place. I've been reading about what a concerted, national effort that was -- and how leaders in government, and business, civic organizations, and religious institutions were enlisted to go from town to town -- speaking to rotary clubs and civic groups -- to bring their message home.

And that is what we must all do today -- to convince Americans -
- including members of Congress -- that our foreign policy not only
improves lives and strengthens the forces of freedom overseas -- but that
it directly affects the quality of life here at home -- including our jobs,
our pocketbooks, and our security. Above all, we must demonstrate that
if we are to maintain a strong, open, and democratic society here in
America -- we must promote those same values and opportunities
among citizens around the globe.

From what I understand from recent polls, Americans are far more
interested in these issues than they are given credit for. Here's the good
news: the overwhelming majority of Americans -- 86% -- believe we
should be involved overseas -- and they support international efforts like
the United Nations and foreign aid. Here's the bad news: That support is
often overshadowed by the fear that we are doing too much -- more than
our fair share. Yet when asked, many citizens believed our
commitments are far greater than they actually are. And as a result --
when a member of Congress votes against foreign aid -- the phones in
many of their offices remain silent. Their constituents don't call.

In other words, our work to more fully engage Americans won't be easy. And it's up to all of us -- academics; business leaders; foundations; the media; civic organizations -- to first clear up the misperceptions about foreign aid -- it actually makes up less than 1% of our total budget -- the lowest percentage -- in fact -- of any industrialized nation. And second, to help make the benefits of our investments overseas real -- and meaningful -- to the lives of ordinary citizens.

One of the ways we can do that is to show how much we learn from each other. I wish others could have joined me a few years ago, when I have visited a poor inner city neighborhood in Baltimore, Maryland, where grassroots strategies pioneered in Nairobi, Kenya, are now being used by community health workers in Baltimore to improve childhood immunization rates. And as a result, those immunization rates have soared. Thanks to an AID-sponsored effort -- "Lessons Without borders" -- we're helping to spreading the word about effective programs overseas -- like the one in Nairobi -- to communities here at home.

I wish others could have joined me, when I visited programs in this country -- including in this city -- that help women -- on the model of a lending bank in India, to acquire the same skills and the same access to credit that transformed lives many, many miles away. Today, this Administration -- through the Small Business Administration -- is making more loans than ever to women. And it's making a difference in the lives of families and communities across America.

Our leadership overseas -- and our efforts to empower citizens in their own communities -- are commitments that should matter to everyone. Yesterday afternoon, I met with a group of distinguished, committed Americans -- including a former secretary of state -- foundation heads, and experienced leaders from both inside and outside of government, to help think through how we can mobilize public engagement -- and build bipartisan Congressional support -- for our nation's foreign policy agenda.

We talked about the need to create a new way of explaining our commitments overseas, at a time when the boundaries between national and foreign interests continue to blur. As one of our top foreign policy advisors noted -- we're going from a familiar paradigm to a paradox. For the past fifty years, our foreign policy was based on dealing with one single monolithic threat to freedom -- communism. And that challenge was what fueled funding not only for our defense and foreign policy -- but for our investments in education, and roads, and other national priorities. Today, with the end of the Cold War -- we must articulate a new vision for ourselves and the world -- even as the old maps have been erased -- and the new ones not yet drawn.

And we must grapple with the paradox that while we are more interdependent than ever -- and the need for strong American leadership is greater than ever -- that the public's attention and engagement is turning away.

What better place to begin thinking creatively about how to build and strengthen bipartisan support for American foreign policy than here -- at the Center for National Policy -- and the people in this room. I hope tonight -- in honor of Ed Muskie's legacy -- that we will redouble our efforts to meet this -- perhaps the greatest challenge facing us in the 21st century.

We recognize that everyone must be part of this advocacy effort. But there is one priority I hope we can all agreed upon -- and that's to do a better job of engaging our young people in these vital issues.

They are the ones who could help build a world where we are as concerned about violence against women in their own homes as we are about outside terrorist threats; a world where we value basic freedoms of speech, and religion, and association as much as we treasure the benefits of the free market; a world where we recognize that by lifting up the lives of women and children in the poorest villages in the world, that we, as Americans, will be closer to fulfilling our own extraordinary potential -- as individuals, and as a nation.

I look forward to working with all of you to bring us closer to that day.

Thank you.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

**VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
SOFIA, BULGARIA AND PRAGUE, CZECH REPUBLIC**

October 10-13, 1998

Regional Background

- (Scope Paper)
- US Strategy for Southeast Europe
- (Challenges to Development in Southeast Europe)

BACKGROUND ON BULGARIA

- Background notes
- Political, Social, and Economic Overview
- U.S. Assistance
- Human Rights
- Ethnic and Religious Issues
- Women's Issues
- UN Fourth World Conference on Women
- Population and Family Planning
- NGO Development
- Children's Rights and Issues
- Health Care
- Education
- Q&A on Bosnia and Kosovo
- Arrival and Departure Statements

EVENTS IN SOFIA

Coffee with Mrs. Stoyanova and First Ladies

Women in the 21st Century Conference

- Background
- Agenda
- List of participants
- Meeting with Vital Voices Group

Faith, Love, and Hope Center (Roma Foundation)

NGO Roundtable

Courtesy Call with President and Mrs. Stoyanova

Receiving Line/Remarks

American Community Event

Small Business Roundtable

American College of Sofia

Cultural Site Visits

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- Health Issues
- Education
- Human Rights
- NGO Sector and Civil Society
- Arrival and Departure Statements

EVENTS IN PRAGUE

Courtesy Call with Prime Minister Zeman and Mrs. Zemanova

Vision '97 Foundation

Courtesy Call with President Havel and Dagmar Havlova

Forum 2000 Multifaith Ceremony

Dinner with Forum 2000 Participants

Forum 2000 Conference

American Community Event

Central Europe



U.S. STRATEGY FOR SOUTHEAST EUROPE

Introduction

U.S. objectives for the Southeast European (SEE) states are the same as our goals for the rest of Central Europe: to extend stability eastward by consolidating democratic and free-market reforms and integrating these states into Western security and economic structures. Our approach is based on the following three principles: (1) support for broad (European) integration; (2) securing the peace in Bosnia and Kosovo; (3) encouraging regional cooperation.

Southeast Europe and the Balkans require a different policy focus than other parts of Eastern Europe, however, since many of them started behind their northern neighbors in political and economic reform and have proceeded more slowly, and since their security problems stem primarily from ethnic rivalry. In addition, Western European prejudices against the Balkans could limit prospects for these countries' full involvement in Euro-Atlantic institutions -- unless U.S. leadership is brought to bear to change attitudes in Western capitals and in the SEE countries themselves.

The need to pay more attention to the region has grown since the Madrid summit, which provided a Euro-Atlantic embrace to countries on the inside track for NATO, but offered the other aspirants little beyond rhetoric. Other countries receiving significant Western attention are those of Dayton implementation (Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia) and the Baltic states receiving a Charter. Consequently, SEE populations increasingly conclude they will remain in an ignored, resource-starved corner of Europe. This perception could undermine fledgling democratic governments and reform efforts, paving the way for forces that proffer security through nationalist adventures or special relationships outside the Euro-Atlantic framework.

The broad outlines of our Strategy for Southeast Europe and the Action Plan were announced during the visit of Bulgarian President Stoyanov in February 1998.

U.S. Interests in Region

Strategic Dimension: Our principal interest is to maintain peace and stability in the region. Given the tremendous U.S. investment in Bosnian peace, it is important that the countries surrounding Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia serve as a buffer for reinforcing Dayton rather than a spillway for tension throughout the region. In addition, instability anywhere in this volatile region raises the risk of conflict embroiling our allies and disrupting Euro-Atlantic commerce. It would also complicate cooperative efforts to counter the illegal trade in

narcotics and arms that increasingly uses this strategic region.

Beyond avoiding conflict, building stability provides an opportunity to develop the new NATO and related structures (EAPC, PFP) in positive directions. All these states could, with infrastructure improvements, provide staging areas for allied military operations in the Gulf or Eastern Mediterranean.

Economic dimension: Because economic instability can undermine political stability, it is in our interest to support these nations' ongoing efforts to develop stable and prosperous market economies. In addition, dependable friends in SEE can help protect Western access to oil and gas in the Persian Gulf and Caspian Basin due to their geographic position along key sea routes and possible pipeline pathways. Increased trade and investment opportunities will arise as these nations attain macro-economic stability and pursue the structural reforms to establish an attractive business climate. Progress in banking and investment reform is needed to counter money-laundering and other economic crime, as well as deter scams and shaky offerings that affect neighboring markets when they collapse. Finally, expanding economic opportunity in SEE would relieve pressure for illegal emigration to the U.S. and Western Europe, where it results in significant social tension in some countries.

Approach

USG engagement in the region is being developed along three tracks -- bilateral, regional, and multilateral -- as fleshed out in the accompanying Action Plan.

Bilateral: The USG will expand our bilateral political, economic, military and social cooperation with the states in the region to promote democratic and economic reform.

Regional: We will work to promote greater regional cooperation between Slovenia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, FYROM and Albania. To the extent possible, we will encourage interested neighbors to work with us. This would include Austria, Hungary, Greece, Italy and Turkey. In addition to developing new programs and confidence-building activities, we will work through existing regional initiatives like the Southeast European Cooperation Initiative (SECI) and the annual South European Defense Ministerial (SEDM).

Multilateral: The USG welcomes and supports the aspirations of the countries in the region to join European and Euro-Atlantic institutions.

Where We Want to Go: Snapshot of the Year 2005

To reach our goals, we need to develop a partnership with the countries affected. This means first of all, creating a sense that the integration of this region into the Euro-Atlantic framework is possible and likely in the not to distant future. With a concerted effort by the U.S. and EU, and sensible policies that assign greater priority to the region for scarce resources and political attention, we can expect it to advance rapidly over the next decade. Prospects of full integration will be a major incentive for change.

Political characteristics we can realistically expect to see in these countries by the year 2005 would include:

- adherence to democratic standards of a society based on rule of law;
- legislation that fully protects the rights of minorities even if the implementing agencies are not yet in place and operating;
- clarity regarding national policy and priorities, as well as consistent implementation of that policy in the foreign affairs arena;
- understanding of the country's environmental problems and a policy which outlines actions needed to correct and/or ameliorate these concerns;
- positive foreign policy which is basically in tune with the USG's goals and objectives in multilateral settings;
- effective legislative branch, accountable to its constituents, which provides consistent and positive balance to executive power in that country;
- reformed/restructured judiciary with the independence to provide interpretations of laws consistent with the constitution of the country without interference from executive or legislative interests;
- active government stance to fight corruption among governmental entities as well as effective efforts to combat organized crime.

Economic characteristics which we could expect to see in the Year 2005 include:

- sound macroeconomic policies that promote sustained economic stability;

- a dynamic economy that has undergone wide-scale privatization and restructuring, such that the private sector reacts to market signals - both domestic and global - with the government providing appropriate regulatory oversight and a legal framework to prevent abuses;
- a viable financial sector that has effective regulatory bodies and the confidence of the population, providing reliable and competitive sources of debt and equity financing;
- an improved transportation network;
- economy that has pursued social sector reforms to ensure that pension, health and education systems can provide services in the most effective and efficient means possible;
- a region that is increasingly integrated with the global economy through the WTO, EU and other organizations;
- an investment climate governed by law which is attractive to foreign investors;
- a customs regime that facilitates the free flow of trade within the region, between the region the United States and the European Union, as well as allows for the free transit of goods and services along the historic "Silk Road" route from China/Central Asia to Europe;
- an effective legal/regulatory environment that controls commercial and financial abuse, including money-laundering and intellectual property piracy;
- a border regime providing effective controls to deter illicit trade in narcotics and weapons of mass destruction while being porous to legitimate trade.

Security characteristics would include:

- a transparent, cohesive link to Western security institutions (NATO, OSCE, WEU) which binds the country into effective dispute mediation mechanisms;
- military forces under effective civilian control, moving towards NATO standards, of a size and structure appropriate to national defense needs, and able to work easily with counterparts in NATO and neighboring states, thereby serving as a stable bulkhead for the southeastern reaches of Europe.

Philosophical Principles

The key aim of U.S. policy in the region would be to encourage cooperation and integration in Southeast Europe (recognizing that the FRY, barring major changes in policy, would not be included for the foreseeable future). Our general strategy would be to advocate meaningful participation of the SEE countries in a broad range of Western institutions. We would insist, however, that cooperation with neighbors and promotion of ethnic tolerance is the foundation for possible membership in NATO, the EU, and other institutions. In short, the SEE states will not be accepted fully into the Euro-Atlantic club until they resolve their ethnic and territorial squabbles responsibly.

Europe, despite its resources, cannot alone be the engine for the region's political and economic transformation, nor do EU institutions currently view possible accession by SEE states in these terms. We would provide U.S. vision and vigor to inspire both the established European governments and the former East bloc societies, using whatever tools and institutions are at hand. Consequently, some USG efforts will be bilaterally focused, others primarily multilateral in character. Many will have elements of both. The mix will necessarily vary from issue to issue and country to country. An important task of the Inter-agency Working Group will be to assure an effective balance between multilateral and bilateral activity.

Bilateral USG assistance and programs would, where appropriate, be tailored to support regional cooperation and programming. Bilateral assistance can help move fundamental structural reforms in recipient countries faster, particularly when used to leverage IFI-supported economic reform programs. Such assistance can also provide a vehicle for deeper engagement between USG representatives and host country officials. It also offers the accountability so important to Congress, as well as the Executive Branch. Consistent with our efforts to promote regional cooperation, we would expect multilateral and regionally linked bilateral activities to figure more largely in this mix over time. We would also encourage the IFI's, where feasible and appropriate, to support this policy, while the central IFI role remains support for each country's economic transformation.

SEED's ongoing strategic shift from northern to southern tier countries, pursuing the planned graduation of more-advanced CEE countries from SEED assistance programs, is consistent with this increased focus on U.S. interests in southeastern Europe. As SEED Act resources decline as projected during the next ten years, USG interests would be increasingly pursued through policy dialogue and enhanced focus on a trade- and investment-led economic development program.

Implementation

Implementation is being developed and managed in accordance with the attached Action Plan. The broad outlines of the Strategy and Action Plan were announced during Bulgarian President Stoyanov's visit. Prior to the announcement, we conferred with members of the EU, incorporated the ideas of the SEE countries, consulted with key Allies, and invited support from Russia.

Our initial focus is on the stable countries that have made the greatest strides and are firmly committed to Western integration but which could lose momentum in reform due to a sense of neglect: namely, Bulgaria, FYR Macedonia, Romania, and Slovenia. Nevertheless, we will discourage exclusively Balkan meetings, or otherwise creating a club of NATO also-rans. Instead, we will seek to involve Italy, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Greece, and Turkey, as well as the EU Troika and Commission, maintaining the membership of existing fora, e.g. EAPC (Southeast Europe Committee), SEDM (Southeast Europe Defense Ministerial), or SECI (Southeast Europe Cooperation Initiative), when dealing with particular issues. We will involve Albania to the extent possible, recognizing that greater efforts and progress are needed to stabilize the internal situation before we can work with Tirana in the same fashion as with other SEE capitals. We will seek to engage the Europeans using existing institutions, but avoid making execution of our policy dependent on efforts like Royaumont, which has yet to show much vitality.

We will engage Russia where possible, highlighting that this approach offers the best hope of overcoming a historical pattern of conflict in the Balkans drawing in the rest of the Europe. We will explore Russian ideas of cooperation from the Baltic to the Black Sea, in a variety of fields, including economic/commercial issues and environmental and cultural matters. The concept will be to increase cooperation in mutually beneficial areas of endeavor, such as combating organized cross-border crime.

Policies

Given this context, our Southeast Europe strategy seeks to advance the integration into the Euro-Atlantic mainstream of the Southeast European (SEE) states, as well as to further stability, deepen reform, and expand regional cooperation. In addition to our Presidential commitment to work with Bulgaria in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and enhanced Partnership for Peace, we will pursue these goals by:

- Supporting necessary democratic, economic, and military reforms;

- Fostering greater regional cohesion and confidence;
- Enlisting more support from SEE states for efforts to shape a durable peace in the former Yugoslavia;
- Adding value to similar efforts from European governments and institutions.

While keeping the door for integration open to all, we will undertake focused efforts that take into account different states' prospects. Regardless of future decisions on NATO and EU membership, with concerted international effort and U.S. leadership, Bulgaria, FYR Macedonia, Romania, and Slovenia can be brought into the mainstream of Euro-Atlantic institutions and behavior within the next ten years.

Prospects for the Dayton countries Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia-Montenegro and crisis-ridden Albania are more problematic, given the need for successful Dayton implementation, democratic transformations, and containment of divisive ethnic disputes, e.g. Kosovo. As noted above, we will begin working with Albania within this framework, but cooperation will be limited for the time being. We will wait to start involving Bosnia and Croatia, and with Serbia-Montenegro would wait even longer. Inclusion in a Southeast Europe moving toward close integration with the West is a carrot to have for these countries, but it is not one we would expect to deploy until they have moved farther along in implementing their Dayton commitments.

To achieve political stability in the region, it is essential to improve the economic climate. Both the European Union and the United States have provided economic assistance to Southeast Europe, the former in far greater amounts than the latter. But the assistance rendered is not sufficient, by itself, to effect significant improvements in the economies of the region. The taxpayers of the wealthier states are simply not prepared to use their funds in the form of project grants to close the gap between Southeast Europe's present level of economic development and a level, which can help bring stability to the region. That gap can be closed only through significant amounts of private investment and hard-currency earnings.

It follows that for political stability to be attained in Southeast Europe it is essential that the region make itself far more attractive to the private sector than it now is. To do this, countries must consolidate their macro-economic stability, proceed with second-tier reforms, such as social sector, legal and regulatory reforms and open themselves further to trade and investment. Such steps will reassure potential investors that an investor-friendly climate exists. Furthermore, the region must attain greater

cohesion, so as to present itself to investors as a market of significant size, rather than as a series of small fiefdoms. It must improve its infrastructure on a region-wide basis. It must also reduce the serious problems of crime and corruption.

To attain the goal of economic betterment, the governments of the region must, in the first instance, have the political will to undertake rigorous reform measures. They should then make use of loans from the international financial institutions and technical assistance from the wealthier states to lay a strong foundation on which private investors can build healthy economies. In this context, it is important to move forward with a coherent program rather than engage in a series of ad hoc ventures.

While it is the SEE governments that bear primary responsibility for pursuing reform as described above, they cannot do so without significant international advice and assistance. Through a variety of U.S. programs and institutions -- bilateral, regionally linked, multilateral, and IFI -- we would promote the objectives described above and seek to make the snapshot of the year 2005 a reality.

BULGARIA: FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY CENTER

Context of Event:

You will visit the Faith, Hope and Charity Center, which is devoted to helping Roma children. Roma find themselves increasingly isolated from mainstream Bulgarian life. Unemployment in Roma communities is estimated at 90 percent. Poverty has led to school truancy en masse as many children are forced to turn to begging, prostitution and petty crime to help them and their families survive. The result is a vicious cycle that deprives Roma youth of an education and the hope for a better future.

The center provides shelter and educational assistance to Roma children, most of whom have suffered some type of abuse. The center was the first of its kind in Sofia and has served as a model for the opening of centers in other Bulgarian cities. The center is only able to provide assistance to children until they are 16, at which point, the center hopes they will have been "mainstreamed."

The center is operated by John Panitsa, a Bulgarian born, naturalized American citizen, who has poured a considerable portion of his own money into the center's operations. The center relies primarily on private donations, but has received support from the EU. Funds are tight, however, and there is a projected \$65,000 shortfall in next year's operating budget. The center also has many basic equipment needs. During your visit you will announce a donation from the U.S. Democracy Committee fund designed to address the shortfall in operating expenses and deliver a minivan donated by the U.S. military.

Objectives:

- Underscore the plight of Roma in Bulgaria and encourage the Bulgarian government and people to address their pressing needs.
- Donate \$50,000 and two minivans to support the center's operations.

Talking Points:

- Bulgaria enjoys relative peace among its ethnic groups and most minorities enjoy acceptance and play a role in Bulgarian society. In the Balkan context, this is no small achievement.
- Nonetheless, we are concerned about the plight of the Roma, particularly continuing reports of official and unofficial discrimination against Roma.
- Our 1997 Human Rights Report noted that Roma are more often the victims of police brutality and vigilante justice and tend to serve longer prison terms for petty criminal offenses.
- The dramatic self-immolation protest in Lom this June illustrates the importance of vigorously attacking discrimination against Roma in Bulgaria.
- We urge the Bulgarian government and people to work in close cooperation with Bulgaria's Roma to address this problem.

BULGARIA: BUILDING BLOCKS - ROMA ORPHANAGE

- Acknowledge Jonh "Dimi" Panitsa, Bulgarian-American and founder of the Free and Independent Bulgaria Foundation (FIBF), which funds the Faith, Hope, and Charity Center.
- A retired managing editor of Reader's Digest, Panitsa decided to donate time and financial resources to Bulgaria after the fall of communism. Also founded Junior Achievement in Bulgaria and created the only Outward Bound program in Central and Eastern Europe.
- Fully integrating the Roma into Bulgarian society is a tremendous and pressing challenge.
- Particular problems exist with the Roma community, as they do in many other societies. Discrimination against Roma occurs both due to societal attitudes and sometimes overtly through mistreatment by the police.
- High unemployment in the Roma community, and resulting poverty, impacts most heavily on Roma children, who are often unable to attend school, or worse, find themselves homeless on the street.
- Unemployment in some Roma communities is estimated to be 90%.
- Poverty leads to school truancy and, in many instances, to begging, prostitution and petty crime. The result is a vicious cycle in which Roma children are deprived of an education and hope for a better future.
- We welcome efforts to alleviate the plight of the Roma population, and especially of the children. We, therefore, applaud the good work of the Faith, Hope and Charity Center, which deserves the support of all of us.
- Democratic societies have an obligation to respond to discrimination and social problems it causes. Their efforts to address these problems are what separate democracies from dictatorships.
- The work of the Faith, Hope, and Charity Center is impressive, and it demonstrates the role that non-

governmental organizations can play in addressing the problems of a society in transition.

- The Bulgarian government and people must make a commitment to overcome and fight prejudice to construct a better society for all Bulgarians.
- This is not an easy task.
- Delighted to offer a \$50,000 grant and two minivans to the Free and Independent Bulgaria Foundation to help support the Center's operations.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT FAITH, HOPE, LOVE CENTER
SOFIA, BULGARIA
OCTOBER 11, 1998**

I am delighted for this opportunity to visit the Faith, Hope, Love Center. I thank John Panitza, the Free and Democratic Bulgaria Foundation, and all of you for the commitment and compassion you bring every day to the children of this center.

Anyone who walks through this center, who sees the neatly-made beds and brightly-decorated classrooms, who hears the excited voices of the children at work and at play, knows that this is truly a place of faith, hope and love.

Three meals a day. A soft bed and a full night's sleep. Warm clothes and sturdy shoes. Freedom from physical harm. The opportunity to go to school. The love and encouragement of an adult. These are the simple -- and essential -- building blocks of childhood. No child should have to grow up without them. No child should have to spend days begging for food, nights sleeping on cold, concrete streets. No child should have to live in fear of the adults in their lives, of robbers or drug dealers or pimps. No child should have their opportunities limited by poverty, lack of education, or the color of their skin.

But we know that, for still too many Roma children here in Sofia and all across Europe, these are the facts of life. Let us acknowledge that no nation will ever fulfill its greatest potential if its children are never given the tools and the opportunity to fulfill theirs. That is why these children -- their health, safety, education and welfare -- are our shared responsibility. There is no such thing as someone else's child. They are all our children.

I want you to know that the United States is committed to working with all of you to bring a brighter future to our children. I am proud to announce a grant of \$xx from the U.S. Democracy committee, as well as the donation of two vans from our Department of Defense, to help this center provide its vital services to the children of Sofia. We believe in your mission and we are eager to do whatever we can to encourage your work.

It is difficult to imagine that the beautiful children I have met today come from worlds where the notion of a happy, safe and nurturing childhood is considered alien; where the hunger, fear and despair of life on the street are all too common. The bright smiles and hopeful eyes I see today are a powerful reminder that children are resilient. That it is not too late to change the course of a poor child's life. If all of us act, and act swiftly, we can help them build new lives -- lives full of faith, hope and love.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

BULGARIA: NGO ROUNDTABLE**Context of Event**

You will participate in a roundtable discussion with representatives from nine Bulgarian NGOs moderated by Ambassador Bohlen. The exchange will take place before a much larger audience, which will include representatives from a broad cross section of Bulgaria's NGO community including (but not limited to) groups that focus on democracy building, women's rights, environment, education, judicial reform, and sustainable development. Several think tanks and the American University of Bulgaria will also be represented. Vera Tagarinska, Advisor to the President on NGOs, will be a member of the audience. A full list of all the participants is attached.

The following individuals will serve on the panel:

1. Ginka Kapitanova; Foundation for Local Government Reform (Vital Voices participant);
2. Nelly Koutskova; Bulgarian Association of Judges;
3. Mariana Milosheva; Creating Effective Grassroots Alternatives;
4. Miroslva Sevlievski; Bulgarian Association for Free Elections and Civil Rights;
5. Maria Tchomarova; Animus Foundation (Vital Voices participant);
6. Genoveva Tisheva; Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation;
7. Kapka Panayotova; Center for Independent Living;
8. Antoinetta Shishmanova; Partnership Foundation; and,
9. Krastina Mandova; Environmental Training Project Foundation.

At the meeting you will announce a four-year, \$6 million program to provide support for the Bulgarian NGO community and strengthen its ability to contribute effectively to the development of civil society.

Objectives

- Demonstrate U.S. support for Bulgaria's NGO community by announcing a four-year, \$6 million grant program.
- Underscore the importance of the NGO community to building Bulgarian civil society and Bulgaria's transition to a free-market democracy.

Talking Points

- See remarks for NGO roundtable

MEMORANDUM

DATE: October 6, 1998

TO: The Ambassador

FROM: POLEC - Aldo Sirotic *AS*

THROUGH: DCM - Christopher Dell *AS*
POLEC - Steven Blake *AS*

SUBJECT: FLOTUS - NGO Roundtable Participants

As you requested, here is some brief background on the eight roundtable participants. Diana Arnaudova reports that all have confirmed their participation.

Mariana Milosheva, President, Creating Effective Grassroots Alternatives (C.E.G.A.) - C.E.G.A. focuses on raising civic participation, local democracy, and community development and is one of two Bulgarian NGOs which received the U.S./E.U. Democracy and Civil Society Award for 1998. Since 1989, Ms. Milosheva has held leadership positions at the Center for the Study of Democracy, the Yanko Sakazov Foundation, and the ACCESS Association. She is currently on the Advisory Committee of the USAID Democracy Network Program and a co-organizer of the Women in the 21st Century Conference.

Ginka Kapitanova, former mayor of Zlatograd (Smolyan region), is Executive Director of the Foundation for Local Government Reform, which works closely with USAID's Local Government Initiative. Ms. Kapitanova is also a founder of the Agency for Regional Development of the Smolyan Region and the Association of Rhodope Municipalities, which promote regional and local government interests. Ms. Kapitanova also serves on the Advisory Board of USAID's Democracy Network Program. She attended the Vital Voices Conference in Vienna last year.

Miroslav Sevlievski, is the National Secretary for the Bulgarian Association for Free Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR), an NGO dedicated to strengthening civil society. BAFECR is Bulgaria's leading election monitoring organization, with 27 offices around the country. BAFECR has received assistance from the National Democratic Institute, the National Endowment for Democracy as well as European foundations. Mr. Sevlievski is also a managing

director of Cresta Marketing Limited, a Bulgarian consulting firm.

Maria Tchomarova, is the founder of the Animus Association, an NGO providing refuge to female victims of physical and sexual abuse. The Association also collects statistics on abuse and trafficking in women. It has established links with similar NGOs in other countries to reunite these women and their families. Ms. Tchomarova participated in the Vital Voices Conference.

Genoveva Tisheva, is the Executive Director of the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation, which has implemented a project on protecting citizens' rights during privatization with the support of USAID. Ms. Tisheva was the Executive Director of the Bulgarian Center for Human Rights, a clearinghouse for human rights information from 1996 to 1998. She has also been a leading figure in other Bulgarian NGOs, including the Bulgarian Association of Women in the Legal Profession, the Women's Alliance for Development Foundation, and the Women's Resource Center.

Nelli Kutzkova is the Chairperson of the Sofia District Court and a founder of Legal Initiatives for Training and Development, an NGO representing legal professionals. Ms. Kutzkova is working closely with USAID's Rule of Law assistance program and is likely to manage a new training program for Bulgarian judges. Mrs. Kutzkova is also a member of the Association of Judges.

Kapka Panaitova is the Executive Director of the Center for Independent Living, a Sofia NGO for people with disabilities. Ms. Panaitova has been active in NGO development in the disabilities field and has served on the Board of the Civil Society Development Foundation and the Union of Bulgarian Foundations and Associations.

Antoinette Shishmanova founded the Partnership Foundation, dedicated to mediation and conflict resolution, in 1994. The Foundation, funded by USAID, USIS, the PHARE program of the European Union and others, also conducts programs on preventing youth drug abuse and humanitarian relations in the Sliven Women's Prison.

Remarks for Meeting with Bulgarian NGO Leaders

Round Table Opening Remarks

- Recognition of the personal contributions of attendees to the development of the Bulgarian civil society sector as representatives of the most active NGOs.
- highlight the strong USG support for the development of NGOs in Bulgaria and announce a \$6 million four-year grant for Democracy Network (DEMNET II) to support development of advocacy groups, including women's groups. This builds on earlier grant.

Women

- Recognition of achievements in women's issues: more than 50 active NGOs working on women's issues.
- The U.S. government, through the Democracy Network program has supported more than 20 NGOs working in gender, women's and children's issues. (\$172,391)
- There are no legal restrictions based on sex, and there are no spheres of activity reserved exclusively for women or men; yet, there are no specific laws on human rights and gender equality.
- Domestic Violence: Domestic violence in Bulgaria is not considered a general crime, except when it results in a severe physical injury. Awareness of society, and legislation issues should be raised to provide legal and physiological assistance to the victims.
- Feminization of poverty: There is a high and growing share of women-headed households (21 percent), 65 percent of which are poor (study conducted by ILO and UNDP).
- Limited participation of women in decision-making (National Assembly (10.4 percent), central (24 percent) and local (16 percent) government.

Human Rights/Minority Rights/Children's Rights:

- Abolishment of Discrimination of Minorities: On December 4th, 1997, the Bulgarian government adopted a decree setting up a national Council on Ethnic and Demographic Questions at the Council of Ministers. On the other hand, in the government spectrum, the Constitution and the Political Parties Act provided for a

discriminatory ban on the formation of political parties on ethnic and religious grounds, which is viewed by some Roma leaders as discrimination.

- The attitude towards disabled people in Bulgaria does not meet the respective international standards in terms of equal access to opportunities and guarantees of their social and economic rights.
- Condition of children poses serious concerns: there is no integrated strategy for improving their living standards and solving their problems. Bulgarian legislation needs to be harmonized with the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child.
- Bulgaria is reporting a rising number of HIV/AIDS cases due to increasing intravenous drug use, primarily by adolescents, increased prostitution, and cross-border spread of infectious diseases from high-risk areas such as the former Soviet Union.
- One of the concerns is the lack of an integrated strategy on children as well as the lack of mechanisms to monitor progress in all areas covered by the Convention. Children are strongly affected by the difficulties of the transition period. Policies, measures and programs for protection of poor, out-of-marriage, homeless and disabled children, children from minority groups (especially Roma children) can be considered unsatisfactory.
- Street children are an important social issue in Bulgaria. They come from disadvantaged families and number roughly a few thousand. Most street children are of Roma origin. All are at high risk from malnutrition, violence, sexual abuse, neglect, absence of health care, and lack of education opportunities.
- Building and maintaining a social safety net for children that takes into account their needs and rights is a daunting task, especially given the shortage of resources that Bulgaria has. At the same time many civic groups and individuals in Bulgaria are working towards improvements in the system. In the US, local, State and Federal Government work closely with Non-profits to help deliver social services, something that is now legally possible in Bulgaria under the recently passed social assistance law. Bulgaria can learn from US experience.

Education:

- Think tanks contribute to educational change by engaging the Ministry and the Parliament Commission on Education to work towards a more democratic, decentralized, and autonomous educational system.
- Education includes civil society values and tolerance for different cultures. This will help enhance awareness and understanding of the procedures for defending human rights; education can also help by creating the environment for stable and harmonious relations between all social groups and promote mutual understanding and tolerance as a way to successful completion of the transition in Bulgaria.
- The major problems of Bulgarian education include restricted budget and lower than average salary payments.
- There is an ever-growing dropout tendency, especially among children from ethnic communities. A parallel can be drawn between the U.S. and Bulgaria on the problems of providing high quality education to minority students.

NGOs:

- The United States is a strong supporter of the development of NGOs in Bulgaria. Phase I of USAID's Democracy Network Program (DEMNET) has committed over \$3.5 million to assist the development of over 120 NGOs since 1996. The second phase, which will continue for the next four years will use \$6,000,000 to strengthen institutions in Bulgaria such as the Civil Society Development Foundation, which helps sustain NGOs, including women's groups. The U.S. emphasis has been on strengthening and empowering citizens groups to solve their own problems and become more engaged in the public policy debate. This has been an extremely successful program, providing grants and assistance to more than 100 Bulgarian NGOs. It also promoted over 75 real partnerships between NGOs and local, regional, and central government bodies. The USIA-administered Democracy Commission grants have also played a part in building NGOs and improving democratic practices in Bulgaria.
- Sustainability of transition depends on learning to work together even in cases when approaches or perceptions differ. There is a strong need of networking among the different organizations, which, while depending on their

- One task of civil society is to promote the development of a social network (e.g. health issues).
- Civil society has to unite efforts to engage in lobbying for protection of its interests
- Public perception: surveys show that the NGOs are not perceived by the public as promoters of cultural values.
- Legal base: The current legislative environment for NGOs is not very conducive to a vibrant NGO sector because of an unclear definition of the sector, lack of adequate tax concessions, and similar problems. In late autumn 1996, an expert group with the Ministry of Justice concluded its work on a draft law on Non-Profit Organizations. It was the culmination of approximately five years' work in conjunction with outside experts and NGOs. The resulting draft is generally considered to be one of the best models in the region, and it has been used as the basis for legislative initiatives throughout transitional countries from central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The draft, however, has still not been accepted by the GOB for introduction into Parliament.

Health Care:

- Although the free medical services are a constitutional right in Bulgaria, the state has difficulties meeting this obligation because of the limited resources and budget restrictions.
- From 1993 to 1996, the number of beds in hospitals decreased by 4000 and in sanatoria by 5,000. Meanwhile, the number of cancer illnesses has risen to 2,201 per 100,000 inhabitants. In the absence of medical insurance funds, the quality and organization of medical services has deteriorated. The situation is aggravated by the increase in the number of retired people as a percentage of the population and the rising morbidity rates.
- Eight years after the collapse of socialism, the centrally distributed healthcare funds have been exhausted without any functioning system of medical insurance being established in their place.
- A positive step towards the separation of public and private medical services and in creating a working Medicare insurance system was the adoption of the amendments to the Healthcare Act and the Ministry of Health's regulation No. 22 from 1997, which regulates the

partial payment of certain medical services. These also seek to regulate the distribution of regional and referral medical assistance by dividing the territory and population into local centers. All medical services are free of charge for patients in their regional and referral ambulatory and hospital medical centers.

Population and Family Planning:

- In 1996, the population of the country was 8,340,775.
- The largest ethnic group in the country is the Bulgarians--86% of the whole population, or 7.2 million. Next are the Bulgarian Turks--800,000 and the Gypsies (Romani)--300,000, who account for 9.6% and 3.6% of the population respectively.
- Bulgaria is one of the countries in central and Eastern Europe with a continuously falling birthrate and rising mortality rate. Since 1990, Bulgaria has not marked a single year of positive natural population growth. It is expected that by the year 2000 the Bulgarian population will be less than 8 million. In the 1990's, funds for stimulating population growth were drastically reduced.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

Czech Republic: Forum 2000 Conference

Context of the Event

The annual Forum 2000 conference, now in its second year, is the brainchild of President Havel and Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel. It is designed to bring together a wide range of distinguished intellectuals to discuss the challenges the world faces as it prepares for the Millennium.

At this event, you will give a keynote speech on October 13 at 9:30 a.m. opening the second day of the conference. The theme for the second day is somewhat trade oriented ("Global Markets vs. Local Identities"), but it is not necessary for your speech to correspond.

Objectives:

- To deliver a keynote speech on the problems of globalization and civil society.
- To thank President Havel for his vision to create Forum 2000.
- To wish the conference success as it goes about its important work.

Talking Points:

- Pleased to have this chance to address such a distinguished group of intellectuals concerned about the fate of our world as we approach the Millennium.
- Wish to thank President Havel, under whose auspices this conference is possible.
- My particular focus is on globalization and the development of civil society.
- Wish the conference much success and look forward to continuing the important dialogue it has stimulated.

General Info.

FORUM 2000

The end of the millennium as a symbolic turn in history makes us reflect on the inconsistent and, for Europe, horrifying 20th century, as well as on the past one thousand years which have changed the world so dramatically. The start of a new era is above all a challenge to accept responsibility for the future of our planet. Looking for ways to enable the further existence of mankind, its cultures and civilisations will be the theme of several conferences held in Prague as part of the FORUM 2000 series. The first of these conferences took place in September 1997, and the second will take place in October this year.

The Nippon Foundation is the major sponsor of this undertaking.



Vaclav Havel
President of the Czech Republic



Yohei Sasakawa
President of the Nippon Foundation

Number of hits: 000366

"With the end of a bipolar division of the world, we have entered into a multipolar era. Let's consider this as a challenge to find new keys to stability on our planet. In today's global civilization the divisions between various cultural and religious groups, as well as those of civilizations, are stepping into the forefront. We should attempt to find common spiritual roots of various cultures and religions and, based on these, build new systems of global cooperation. FORUM 2000 should provide us with a platform for such a reflection."

Václav Havel
President of The Czech Republic

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Info. on 1998 Conference

FORUM 2000: Globalisation - Experiences, Instruments, Procedures (Prague Castle, October 11 - 14, 1998)

The second of the Forum 2000 Conferences will be held in Prague this year between the 11th and 14th of October. The conference will once again be convened by President Václav Havel and will be attended by many prominent personalities.

The FORUM 2000: „Globalisation - Experiences, Instruments, Procedures" conference will consider the instruments, potential and applied, which are available to humankind for the immediate future, examining them from the angles of politics, science, economy, and law, as viewed through the prism of different cultures and civilisations. The final part of the conference shall deal with the hindrances that obstruct the use of the existing knowledge and instruments.

The Nippon Foundation is the major sponsor of this undertaking.

Programme of the FORUM 2000 conference

Sunday, October 11

- 19.00 Ceremonial opening of the Conference in the Vladislav Hall of Prague Castle
Keynote address by Václav Havel, President of the Czech Republic
Address by Yohei Sasakawa, President of the Nippon Foundation
Message of H.R.H. Crown Prince El Hassan bin Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
Address by Jiří Musil, Member of the International Advisory Board and Chairman of the Programme Committee of The Forum 2000 Conference
- 20.00 Gala reception

Monday, October 12

First day of the conference, discussing current political systems and patterns of governance in different parts of the world and in the world as a whole

Morning Session

- 9.00 Introduction by *Václav Havel*, President of the Czech Republic

The World of Cooperation and Conflicts (Institutions and Instruments)

- 9.30 Keynote speeches: *Henry Kissinger* and *Jean-Louis Bourlanges*
Moderator: *Jacques Rupnik*
Panel discussion: *Ashis Nandy, Lord Weidenfeld, Tun Daim Zainuddin*

Coffee break - 30 min.

- 12.30 End of discussion

Buffet luncheon (Rudolph Gallery)

Afternoon Session

The New Partners of Globalisation (Actors or Subjects?)

- 14.00 Keynote speeches: *Hanna Suchocka* and *Karan Singh*
Moderator: *Gareth Evans*
Panel discussion: *Krishan Kumar, Miklos Sukosd*

Coffee break - 30 min.

- 17.00 End of panel discussion

18.45-19.45 **Multireligious assembly (St. Vitus Cathedral)**

Tuesday, October 13

**Second day of the conference, discussing economy and problems of globalisation.
National state, regional and global interests.**

Morning Session

9.30 Distinguished addresses by *Hans van den Broek*, member of the European Commission
Distinguished addresses by *Hilary Clinton*, First Lady of the United States of America

Coffee break - 30 min.

**Dilema: Global Markets vs. Local Identities
(Regional Approaches)**

11.30 Keynote speeches: *Tun Daim Zainuddin* and *Osvaldo Sunkel*
Moderator: *Ji í Musil*
Panel discussion: *Kurt Biedenkopf, Amitai Etzioni, Weiming Tu*

14.00 End of discussion

Buffet luncheon (Rudolph Gallery)

Afternoon Session

**Environmental Response to Globalisation
(Performance of Institution)**

15.00 Keynote speeches: *Hazel Henderson* and *Bed ich Moldan*
Moderator: *Mae-Wan Ho*
Panel discussion: *Thomas Bata, Hans Küng, Osvaldo Sunkel*

Coffee break - 30 min.

18.00 End of discussion

Wednesday, October 14

**Third day of the conference concentrating on human rights, spiritual, ethical and cultural
dimension of contemporary civilisation**

Morning Session

- 9.30 Distinguished addresses: **Rabbi Meir Lau**, Chief Rabbi of Israel
H.E. Mohammad Said Tantawi, Grand Sheikh of Al Azar
Bishop Jonas Jonson, Member of the World Council of Churches
Introduction: **Tomáš Halík**, President of the Czech Christian Academy

Global Civilisation and Cultural Identities

- 10.30 Keynote speeches: **Adam Michnik** and **Ashis Nandy**
Moderator: **Ivan Gabal**
Panel discussion: **Mehmed Aydin**, **Alberth Friedlander**, **Jonas Jonson**, **Kani Kóei**,
Czesław Miłosz, **Mohammed Amine Smaili**, **Shariff M. Abdullah**

Coffee break - 30 min.

- 13.30 End of discussion

Buffet luncheon (Rudolph Gallery)

Afternoon Session

Universality or Plurality of Human Rights?

- 15.00 Keynote speeches: **Robert L. Bernstein** and **Wei Jingsheng**
Moderator: **Martin Bútora**
Panel discussion: **Leszek Kolakowski**, **Serguey Kovalyov**, **Wole Soyinka**

Coffee break - 30 min.

- 18.00 End of discussion
An International Advisory Board member evaluates the conference from the viewpoint of the participants and presents a theme for the next year

- 18.30 Final address by the President of the Czech Republic

Thursday, October 15

Departures of participants

List of participants

Mehmet Aydin - Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Dokuy Eylül in Izmir (Turkey), Professor of philosophy.

Thomas Bata - famous Czech-born businessman resident in Canada. He is the president of Bata limited, presides over the BIAC at OECD, and he is the Canadian director of the International Trade Council. He acted as the expert advisor to the UN Commission on supranational corporations and a member of IBM Canada Ltd. and Canadian Pacific Airlines boards of directors.

Robert L. Bernstein - president of the Human Rights Watch, he is also engaged in the Robert Kennedy and Aaron Diamon foundations.

Kurt Biedenkopf - Prime Minister of Saxony.

Jean-Louis Bourlanges - Member of European Parliament, Chairman of the European Movement in France.

Martin Bútora - sociologist and writer, president of the Institute for Public Affairs in Bratislava. From 1990 to 1992, he was the advisor to President Havel for human rights.

Hillary Clinton - first lady of the USA. In the 80's, she became a recognised lawyer specialising in commercial law. In 1989 the National Law Journal ranked her among the one hundred most influential lawyers in the US.

Amitai Etzioni - leading German-born American sociologist and social psychologist, classic of economical sociology. He has been awarded an honorary doctor's degree at various American universities. Author of many publications.

Gareth Evans - Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Australia. Best known for his role in developing the UN Peace Plan for Cambodia and for founding the ASIA Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum.

Albert Friedlander - Rabbi of the Westminster Synagogue, London. Dean of the Leo Baeck College.

Ivan Gabal - renown Czech sociologist, former head of the political analysis department of the CSFR Presidential Office, member of the Czech Helsinki Committee.

Tomáš Halík - president of the Czech Christian Academy, professor at Charles University. Catholic priest, former advisor to the Pontifical Council for dialogue with non-believers. He is concerned with the philosophy and sociology of religion and with inter-religious dialogue.

Václav Havel - President of the Czech Republic. Playwright and political activist, he was incarcerated several times for his views and writings. One of the leaders of the Civic Forum opposition movement which helped to bring about the overthrow of communist rule in Czechoslovakia.

Hazel Henderson - futurologist and author of multiple publications (among others, „Building a Win - Win World") translated into almost all world languages. Her articles are published in a range of world newspapers, also is a member of the „Worldwatch Institute".

Mae - Wan Ho - professor of biology at the British Open University. Author of many publications, among others „Genetic Engineering: Dream or nightmares ?".

Wei Jingsheng - major dissident, father of the Chinese movement for modern pro-western democracy. Spent long years in prison. Awarded the Olof Palme Prize (1995) and the Andrej Sacharov Prize (1996).

In 1996 nominated for the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Jonas Jonson - Bishop of Strängnäs, Church of Sweden. Member of the World Council of Churches Central Committee.

Henry A. Kissinger - American politician, diplomat and political scientist. Aid to several American presidents and State Secretaries between 1973 and 1977. In 1973 awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Kani Kōei - representative of the Japanese Tendai Buddhist school.

Leszek Kolakowski - leading world philosopher of Polish origin. Lectured at several universities. Resident in Oxford lecturing at the All Saints College.

Serguey Kovalyov - defender of human rights and opponent of the war in Chechnya. Member of the Russian Parliament, chairman of the committee for human rights.

Christian Krause - bishop of the Evangelical - Lutheran church in Braunschweig, president of the World Lutheran union.

Krishan Kumar - internationally recognised professor of social political science, lecturing in Central Europe, Great Britain and the US. Published a range of books on modern society, e. g. „The Rise of Modern Society" and „From Post-Industrial to Post-Modern Society".

Hans Küng - president of the foundation for global ethics and former director of the Ecumenical Research Institute at Tübingen university. Author of many major publications.

Meir Lau - chief rabbi of the Israeli Ashkenazi community in Israel, of Polish origin. The first rabbi since the establishing of State of Israel to meet the Pope and invite him to Jerusalem in 1993.

Adam Michnik - former Polish dissident, currently the Editor -in-Chief of the Gazeta Wyborcza daily. Member of the Solidarity trade union. In December 1981 interned after the introduction of emergency state (until 1986).

Bed ich Moldan - former Minister of the Environment of CSFR, director of the Environmental Issues Centre at the Charles University and deputy chairman of the UN committee bureau for sustainable development.

Jiří Musil - sociologist, founder of the Czech sociology of town and housing. Former advisor to the Housing Committee at the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. Lectured at international universities.

Ashis Nandy - highly critical of western politics, director of a large Indian institute.

Jacques Rupnik - political scientist active in Paris, devoted to Central European issues, author of the book „Other Europe" on the communist block.

Yohei Sasakawa - renowned philanthropist and President of the Nippon Foundation. His Foundation is heavily engaged in of medical assistance programs in the wake of the Chernobyl disaster. He is involved in Leprosy Control Project, Sasakawa Global 2000 agricultural programs in Africa and many other projects throughout the world.

Shariff M. Abdullah - director of the Commonway Institute in the USA. He is concerned with the negative impact of globalization on the developing world.

Karan Singh - former major Indian politician, minister and ambassador. Lecturing Indian philosophy.

Mohammed Amine Smaili - professor of Islamic Dogmatic and Compared Religions at the University of Rabat. Expert in islamic-christian dialogue. Religious advisor to the King of Morocco.

Wole Soyinka - First African to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature, in 1986, for his existentialist-oriented work. He has devoted his entire life to the struggle for human rights and democracy in Nigeria, and now lives in exile in the USA

Hana Suchocka - Minister of Justice and Attorney General of the Polish Republic, Prime Minister of a central-left government between 1992 - 1993. Deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Commission. Author of about 30 specialised publications.

Miklos Sukosd - Hungarian sociologist engaged at the Central European University.

Oswaldo Sunkel - distinguished Chilean economist devoted to economics of development, international relations, economic history, and the environmental consequences of economic development. Lectured at universities in Latin America, the United States, and Europe.

Mohammad Said Tantawi - former Great Mufti of the Egyptian Muslims, Great Imam at the university at the al - Azhar mosque. He is regarded as a liberal muslim scholar consistently denouncing violent fight of radical Muslim fundamentalists against the government.

Weiming Tu - historian, philosopher, and writer of Chinese origin. Lectured at various universities in the USA, Hong Kong, Paris, China. Author of many books on the Chinese history and philosophy.

Magda Vášáryová - former ambassador of the CSFR to Vienna and founder and Chairperson of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association.

Sir Arthur George Weidenfeld - journalist and publisher. Founder and director of the Weidenfeld and Nicolson publishing house. Worked with the BBC as an international commentator for Europe and North America. He was the advisor and the Head of the office of the Israeli president Weizmann.

Tun Daim Zainuddin - leading Malaysian economist, Minister with special Functions focused primarily at leading the country out of the current crisis, former economic advisor to the Malaysian government.

SPEECH BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON AT FORUM 2000
Spanish Hall, Prague Castle
Prague, Czech Republic
October 13, 1998

PRESIDENT HAVEL:

Thank you very much Mr. Hans van den Broek for your address and mainly for your words on the crisis of complexity and what you said about the world governments. It's very important for this forum. Now I should invite you, Mrs. Clinton, to deliver your address.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON:

Thank you very much. I am honored to be here, and I want to thank President Havel for convening another extraordinary gathering of Forum 2000. I am told that during the Velvet Revolution, there were posters all over Prague with the message: "Havel to the Castle." Well, here we are, at the Castle, with President Havel, thinking about the future that awaits all of us.

With poetry and prose, no one has done more to spread the message of freedom and democracy throughout the world than President Havel. No one has worked harder to nurture civil society and keep us focused on the real questions confronting us as we end this century. He has reminded us that we live our lives not just as consumers, but as citizens, as diverse and spiritual beings. And no one has done more to make this castle a place for gatherings such as this, where ideas can be discussed and where all of us can do more to ask ourselves the hard questions about what kind of societies and world we expect to help build.

If we are gathered here today to talk about globalization, then I know there are many different reactions to that rather long word. It is hard sometimes even to define what one means by it. Certainly the increases in technology, the changes in the economy help us to define what we think we mean by globalization. We see the effects of rapid transportation and communication on our everyday lives. We are more interconnected, and I would argue, more interdependent than perhaps we have ever been. And as with any great sweeping change at any point in history, there are those who are the great proponents of globalization, whether they can define it or not, and those who are its great opponents, whether they can define it or not. So conversations such as the one provoked by this forum are extraordinarily important. We have to do more talking with one another across the lines that too often divide us, so that we not only can define what is occurring in our world today, but can summon up the will to take the forces that are at work and try to move them in a direction that will better our common humanity.

It is particularly appropriate that we would do this on the brink of the millennium and again I commend President Havel, and the organizers of Forum 2000, for choosing this theme this year. My husband and I have also done a lot of thinking about the millennium. We know it will come whether we think about it or not. Whether we do anything about it or not. We know that it will be accompanied by great parties on New Year's Eve, either 1999 or 2000 depending upon how it is defined. We know that there will be entrepreneurs who will produce products like "millennium toothpaste" or "millennium candy," so we understand that this event in history, which none of us will ever experience again, has significance in and of itself. But then, what we give to that event and how we further define it can perhaps help us tackle some of the issues that you are dealing with at the forum.

We have adopted, in the United States, a theme for our discussions about the millennium: honor the past, imagine the future. And if one thinks about those two aspects of this theme, clearly, by honoring the past, one cannot shut ones eyes to it. There were many references yesterday night in the cathedral to the century that is just closing. We do ourselves no honor if we are not realistic enough to acknowledge all of the great violence and disappointment that came with this century as well as the great progress. So honoring the past requires us to be honest about our past. To take a hard look about where we have been and who we are in order better to live in the present and imagine a better future. It gives us this opportunity now to think through what we would do if given the chance to imagine a future where we

could summon the political will, create the institutions, and provide an opportunity for all individuals, in whatever society, to feel that they were participating, and not only imagining, but creating their own futures.

Now, there are pessimists among us as we end this century and the millennium and there always have been at any point in history, but particularly at ends of points of time. I went back and read a little bit about the first millennium's end and about the panic terror where people supposedly gave away their possessions and hid in churches here in Europe, waiting for the end of the world. There was a rather controversial monk named, "Raoul Glauger" who lived in the tenth century. He consistently warned his local citizenry of impending doom. He had quite a checkered past- he was expelled from a number of monasteries, but he always has an audience. There were always people who were ready to believe the worst about themselves and about their futures. The earth did not implode as he had predicted, but there were great pockets of fear as there always are during times of transition.

So it is today, where the media is filled with doom and gloom and those who are more concerned about painting a pessimistic future than determining how together we can be realistic and optimistic. Even in that time so long ago, there were changes occurring that, coming out of so-called Dark Ages, set the tone for what was to come later. There was a spread of literacy, there was the emergence of craftsmen's guilds, and new universities were begun and new religious orders started. Not only in Europe, but in other parts of the world, there was the beginning of ferment about what would be the future and how it would be created.

Today, as we stand at the end of a very different time, we face some of the same issues that go to the root of who we are as human beings and how we define ourselves, our relations with one another, and whether or not we do summon the will required to create a better future. There is much to be optimistic about around the world and there is much to be pessimistic about. But clearly, whether one is able to define globalization or not, it is here to stay. There is no going back. There is no turning back the clock, doing away with computers, cutting off the Internet, stopping jet travel, preventing the mass media from bringing messages of different cultural ideas to remote parts of the world where they have never been heard of or seen before.

So our challenge, given the reality of what we face, is to ask ourselves some hard questions about how we will harness these forces of globalization, to deal with the important issues that have always confronted humanity. Will the global economy lead to growth and stability for nations? Will it lift up the lives and opportunities for all citizens in the world or only those of us lucky enough to be in this fabulous hall, who have the skills to deal with information and the ability to navigate our way through this new world? Will it help us to humanize ourselves and each other? Learn from one another? Or will it drive us further apart into our own particular self-proclaimed identity as a way of protecting ourselves from the challenges of the outside? Will it inspire a race to the bottom of the economic ladder? Will we deplete our resources? Will we see our unique cultures uprooted by a one-dimensional consumer culture? Our spirituality replaced by an obsessive materialism? Will we retreat inward? Will the fear of the unknown, which is always there when we think about the future, be transformed into a plague of racism, nativism, and xenophobia?

If you stop for a minute and think about how popular culture imagines the future, it is not a pretty sight. Most of the recent movies demonstrate our innate fear about what is to come. Apocalyptic visions with only a few people left. Whole cities that can only survive under domes because we have depleted our natural resources. We don't even yet have a popular image of this new world that we hope we can create.

So what vision of the future do we dare to imagine today? I hope that out of conversations like this here and others that are going on throughout the world, we will begin to realistically parse through globalization. In and of itself it is neither a good nor an evil. In and of itself, we are offered tremendous opportunities if only we take responsibility to address our problems. As with every age, we have to take the world as we've been given it, not as we wish it were, either with a too optimistic or pessimistic vision. And we have to create conditions in which democratic governments become even more the norm so that all citizens are given a stake in their future. In which free markets benefit all people and not just a privileged few. And in which a vibrant civil society fosters free and active citizens who will, after all,

ultimately determine our common human fate in the next millennium.

I often think of society with a very simple metaphor: as a three-legged stool. One leg is the government, another is the economy, and the third is civil society. Obviously we cannot sit on that stool if there is only one leg or two and we cannot sit on it if one leg is longer or shorter than the other two. Rather, we need three strong legs and a balance among them. They have to support each other. And so if we think about the challenges that confront us, it is simple for me to think about what needs to be done to make sure each of those three institutions and structures are strong enough to support society in the years to come.

We just heard a very eloquent description of some of the global governance issues confronting us, so we are not only talking about government in terms of national governments, but how we will create the institutions that will enable us to have strong governmental effects on runaway economies, on global capitalism, and other challenges. How we will redo international institutions like the IMF and the World Bank, to create new financial architectures to replace what was established more than fifty years ago at Bretton Woods. We know that government is an essential part of strong societies that will enable people to live up to their God-given potential, and yet in many parts of the world, particularly in my own country in the last decade or so, we have had a continued assault on government, as though the abolition or weakening of government would create conditions that would better foster human enterprise and individual freedom. That is, I believe, a mistaken notion that hopefully we will put to rest as we end this century. We need strong and active governments, neither oppressive nor weak, but able to deal with the problems of their citizens and able to create public goods for their citizens to enjoy.

Similarly, with the economy, there are those who are great critics of the free market and those who are great advocates. Either position probably overstates both the capacity of the market and also the defects of it. We are working our way toward trying to create in the global marketplace some of the rules and regulations that will enable us to enjoy the benefits without suffering from its excesses. There is a lot of work to do on that front. So there are many tough questions posed by how we best structure and create governmental and economic institutions that will prepare the way for a better future.

But I wish to just concentrate for a few minutes on the third leg of the stool. That of civil society, of citizenship. The space that is filled between, on the one hand, the government, and the economy on the other. It is really in that space that life is lived. The economy is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. To create enough wealth that people can enjoy what is best about life. Government is not an end in itself, but a means to an end, to help us order ourselves so that we have the freedom and individual space to pursue our own interests. In that space of civil society exists families and religion, voluntary associations, art and culture, and learning, and most importantly, the training ground of what creates citizens from people. Economic opportunity can provide jobs and income, but economic activity alone cannot create the work ethic that capitalism requires. It can create consumers and producers of goods, but not citizens.

Governments alone cannot create citizens either. Only civil society can do that important job. As I have traveled throughout the world, I have seen how critical this component is, for us to imagine a kind of future that all of us hope for. I have seen what happens to people whose spirits have been crushed, whose economies have been driven into the ground, whose governments have oppressed their spirits. And yet, I have seen how their determination and support for one another can lift them up to rebuild their lives and families.

If one thinks about the challenges that confront us, we have to believe that nurturing civil society, creating opportunities for people to become citizens in today's world, is essential. There cannot be strong, sustainable, global economy without a strong global society. And there are some simple rules about how one creates citizens- simple to describe and very difficult to execute. We have to invest in people; that means education and healthcare. It means creating structures that value all people no matter whether they come from minority groups defined by religion, race, or ethnicity. It means that we look at civil society in any of our countries, as I look at mine, we can see clearly that we are not investing sufficiently and where we must do more.

Whenever I see, as I saw just a few days ago in Bulgaria, and as I have seen in so many parts of the world, great effort being made to make the transition to full democratic, functioning government and strong economies. I see also how there is great understanding growing up on the part of individuals and non-governmental organizations, that they have to play their role as well. Much of the work that was done successfully in the recent elections in Slovakia owes its roots to the recognition by so many people there that non-governmental organizations and citizen activity were a necessary precondition for true democratic values.

If we think about how better we need to invest in people, then clearly, we have to reallocate the resources that are being produced by this global economy. We cannot be satisfied unless we are doing more to better educate all children and better prepare them to be citizens, to take their rightful places in their societies. And it goes without saying, I hope in this room, that that means educating both boys and girls to the fullest of their potential. It also means investing in people's dream and hopes by giving them access to credit, making it possible for them to create their own jobs and businesses. Not leaving them out by the great sweep of the global economy that pays little attention to what happens on the micro-level, but instead to create conditions in which local markets can grow and flourish and more people can participate in them.

I have met literally thousands of people now around the world whose lives have been transformed by something as simple as a loan of \$15.00 or \$50.00 or \$100.00. When my husband and I went to Uganda, we went with President and Mrs. Museveni out to a small village where we met women who because they were given access to credit had transformed their lives and in the process understood that they were worth something, that they had dignity and value and because of that, they understood better their citizenship responsibilities in a democracy. So within the civil society, the creation of small enterprises that then can grow into economic, viable ones is a way of giving people a stake in their own futures.

We also have to do more to ensure that people learn about their rights and responsibilities as citizens and then be encouraged to exercise them. There is good work going on around the world to help people understand how democracies operate, but there is not yet enough of that. I commend the European Union for its work in trying to create conditions in which people begin to learn, after so many years of being shut out of their political systems, what it takes to be a participant.

I have seen the effects of that in a very personal way. In Senegal, for example, several years ago, I visited a village where they were learning about democracy by performing skits for one another. Where people would stand up, make speeches, and others in the village would listen and then critique the speeches; where they would act out going to vote. Now that may sound very basic, but it gave those people their first understanding of what it meant to be citizens of a democracy. We have to take the abstract discussion of democracy, take the resolutions that are passed to promote democracy, and distill it into practical everyday advice and lessons about what that actually means in the everyday lives of people.

We also have to make it possible for us to learn how to treat our diversity as a source of strength. We have seen in too many places around the world that even with people elected as leaders in a democracy, old attitudes die hard. And old hatreds in the guise of democratically-elected leaders are no better for the citizens of a country and their neighbors than before democracy occurred. If people don't feel that they have a stake in their own futures and if the economy is working for them, if they don't have the space that civil society provides to give them meaning, then they often turn (as you know so well) against one another. They often begin to blame the other for whatever it is that they find lacking in their own lives. Whether that other is a minority group, religious, racial, or ethnic, we have seen the results of too much blaming of the other.

And yet, when people defy history they can begin to rewrite it. Recently, I spoke at a conference for women in Belfast. We brought together both Protestant and Catholic women who were doubly burdened by the sectarian hatred that had stalked their land for so long and by their status as women. They came together to talk about how they could assume responsibility to help make the peace and reconciliation they voted for real and lasting. They put aside old hatred because new and better leadership had encouraged them to do so, and began to learn the tools of citizenship that will permit them to make their

voices heard.

We also have to ensure that we do all we can to protect our natural and cultural treasures and we require citizens to do that. It often cannot be done from a distance or again by passing a resolution in a faraway place, but citizens living in our rainforests, on the edges of our savannas and our wetlands have to feel that they too have a stake in protecting what is best about our earth. And when it comes to cultural treasures we have to do more to be sure that we respect and preserve our religions, our languages, our heritage, which do give us our individual identity and which require us to learn to respect one another.

There is much to be done, but I am an optimist. I believe that we have great opportunities ahead of us if only we will seize them. If only we will be prepared to do what is necessary at the global level to deal with our economic and governance issues, as hard as that may be. And then to do at the local level what it takes to build civil society and citizens. Each of us in this room and so many countless beyond this hall have the obligation to do what we can to promote positive political and economic change and to nurture civil society wherever we are. There is much that each of us can do individually. We know today that we have global neighbors, but we haven't yet decided we want to build a global neighborhood. When we care about a toxic spill or a terrorist attack, or an economic downturn, or a civil war in another nation, it is not just because it may affect us down the road, but because we recognize that in a very fundamental way, we are now more interdependent than at any point in human history.

So that brings me back to where I started. When we imagine the future over the next years and over the next century and millennium, what is it we will see? In one of those popular movies I referred to that swept my country and apparently made a lot of money around the world, called Independence Day—these movies always seem to start with an attack on Washington D.C., which I don't really know how to take, the blowing up of the White House and Capitol to begin with—the ending of it required all of us to cooperate to fend off an alien attack. And certainly in the theater in which I saw it, there were great cheers as people of all different races and backgrounds and societies around the globe came together as human beings to save ourselves.

We certainly don't expect it to come to that, but in a real way, unless we do come together, we will not have the opportunities we deserve at the end of this very difficult and troubled century. We have done a lot in the last fifty years to create opportunity, to build democracy, to reach deep and to give more people a chance to fulfill their God-given potential. But when it is all said and done, globalization, however one defines it, can never be a substitute for humanization. We have a lot of work to do if we are to make sure that the global economy does not drive us apart from one another, drive some down and lift others up, but instead is an engine that we harness to create a strong global society in which all people are given a chance to imagine a future better than their past.

Thank you very much.

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OUTLINE . . .
not remarks?

- Open with a theme: Global economy will not work without strong global society.
- Acknowledgments: Havel -- refer to great time had during visit. [Lou Reed reference?] With poetry and prose, no one has done more to spread freedom through the world...No one has worked harder to nurture civil society and keep us focused on what I can realpolitiks, that is, how we live our lives -- not just as homogenized consumers, but as diverse and spiritual human beings. And, I especially want to thank him for convening the 2nd Forum 2000. When I attended this conference last year, [also refer to his speech?] I had the opportunity to meet with representatives of non governmental organizations in the Czech Republic. And, I was so impressed by the important work they are doing -- from standing up for the rights and health of the Roma to safeguarding the environment.
- Our country, like the Czech Republic, like Italy, like [tbd] has our own Millennium Program, with the purpose of encouraging Americans to use this time to think about who we are, where we've been, and the values, culture, indeed the world, we want to pass down to the next generation. It is, I think, a very humanizing time. Millions and millions of people around the world who may be connected by little else, not language or religion or custom, are all thinking about the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. [Even if it's primarily the party they hope to attend].
- And I guess what I hope we ask ourselves now and in the days ahead is, when we look into the future, what will we see?
- If we look back to the end of the last Millennium, we often hear about the myth of Panic Terror [real name?], where people gave their possessions away, and hid in churches waiting for the end of the world; and where a prolific and rather controversial monk by the name of Raoul Glaber, who lived in the 10th century, consistently warned his local citizenry of impending doom. Now, perhaps because of his checkered career -- he was expelled from several monasteries -- he didn't attract much of a following. The earth did not implode as he predicted. And though there were pockets of fear...though we know so little about that period, what we do know is that there was a revival of literacy, crescent guilds [Ellen more], and as we emerged from the dark ages, there were overwhelming signs of light -- not gloom. We have a lot of progress that we can look to over these last ten centuries, even through plagues and genocides and other unbearable human suffering.
- Raoul Glaber comes from a long line of doomsayers and pessimists about the human condition. The kind of people who are always looking for what is wrong with the advancements that occur, who are always pointing fingers at one another and predicting the end of civilization as we know it.
- So too today, are there different versions of the future -- most of which depend upon how we feel about globalization, some painted with light others with darkness. We live in a time, when democracies have taken root around the world, when we are no longer divided

into antagonistic blocks...when whatever affects one of us can ultimately affects all of us – from culture to terrorism to the economic crisis which has sent shock waves throughout the world. The new global economy is not a trend that will fade away or be chased away. Nor should it. It is here to stay. But what does that mean for us?

- Will the global economy increase growth and stability for nations, will it lift up the lives and expand the opportunities of all citizens of the world? Will it help us learn about each other, and create not just a global market, but a global community [**Sid can you fill in with better, more specific positives?**]
- Or will it inspire a race to the bottom? Will we, as many of its detractors and doomsayers predict, find our resources depleted, our culture and humanity replaced by a monolithic consumer culture, human nature utterly lacking in goodwill. Will we retreat inward, our fear of the unknown transformed into a plague of racism and xenophobia. If you look at American popular culture, the end of the century usually means the end of the world, where creatures from outerspace descend upon the earth and blow everything up -- especially Washington. [**Sid, pls. fill in better stuff if possible**]
- Which vision of the future will we imagine? Which version of the future will we create? This is not up to market forces out of our control. In some ways that would make things easier. It is up to us. Because globalization itself is not good or evil. It offers us -- as nations and individuals -- tremendous opportunities – but if and only if we meet new obligations. We must create the conditions in which strong democratic governments work for people, healthy and free marketplaces benefit all people, and a vibrant civil society fosters free citizens upon which all of it rests. [**Sid, is this the message?**]
- At my speech in Davos, I asked that we think of society, if you will, as a three legged stool – composed of the government, the economy and civil society. We will fall down if we sit on only one leg. No matter how strong the other two are. We will fall down if we rest on two legs. Rather we need a balance between three strong legs...and an understanding of how they affect each other.
- **Sid – here's where I really need input -- what are the most important points to make about the markets and the governments?** [ie: IMF/World Bank/etc need ability to meet new challenges – adjust to boom/bust cycle as we did. How do we strike right balance between regulation that permits competition and that which stifles entrepreneurship. How do they become more transparent and withstand corruption? grow economy while still upholding labor standards and protecting the environment...policies that build strong nations and tackle international challenges]
- But, the place I want to focus is on the third leg of the stool. The leg that is too often dismissed as not sufficiently important. Because if all we talk about is the economy on one hand and the government on the other, we would be leaving out the space

between...the stuff that makes life worth living. Civil Society is the family that sustains us. It is religious belief and spirituality that guide us. The voluntary associations that connect us and allow us belong and contribute. It is the art and culture that make our spirits soar. It is the stuff of life. And the training ground for the most important person in every democracy: a citizen. The global economy will not succeed unless citizens have the tools they need to be its architects and beneficiaries, not its victims.

- Governments cannot make citizens. They can endow people with rights and services and opportunities. The free market makes consumers, but it does not create citizens. Only the civil society can create citizens.
- I have been privileged to travel around the world to many emerging democracies. I have seen what has happened to people whose spirits have been crushed, whose economies have been driven into the ground. And it is clear when that economic opportunity can provide jobs and income, but not necessarily long-term stability or governments that understand their duties to their citizens. It is also clear that stable governments, as important as they are, may not bring ensure long-term social stability. [Why in everyone's interest to create vibrant civil society]
- So, in my travels, I have focused on the third leg of the stool. And I have seen many changes as societies come to understand that we need a work ethic for capitalism to thrive, a sense of citizenship for governments to be stable. **[Sid, do you think we should we frame this as Global society will only succeed if...or citizens will only succeed in a global economy if...or democracy/civil society will only succeed if...]** What follows are just some rough thoughts (not even sentences!)
- Unless we protect vulnerable populations: How can children one day participate in global economy if they're turned into child soldiers...malnourished....refugees...poverty. How can women, if they're underfed, underpaid, first to get fired, last to get fired, victims of violence at the hands of loved ones and strangers.
- Unless we invest in human capital – health care, education, helping families balance work and family, microcredit [story illuminating importance of education of girls – the difference between societies that are thriving and those that are left behind. Microcredit story -- perfect example of how to play a role in lifting up families and communities, while fostering, not compromising local culture...and helping women compete in the global economy]
- Unless we provide tools of citizenship – Senegal story. What women learned in their village. Voted to ban FGM, got other villages to do the same.

- Unless we manage diversity [more eloquent way of saying this?] – too many leaders use the politics of divide and conquer, too many citizens stigmatize those who don't look like them or talk like them as the other. New tensions have brought out primitive impulses of racism. What she's seen – Ireland. Able to do that because of grassroots organizations – mostly women. But, because of that, businesses are now coming to invest in Ireland, not just because of the hard working workforce. Not just because they speak English. It's because the people have chosen peace and no business wants to invest and set up shop in a nation until they do.
- Unless we save our local/national culture: Just as we protect our diverse ecosystems to safeguard the environment, we must retain our cultures, languages, and heritage. When the bridge in Sarajevo was bombed, when mosques are destroyed, when old synagogues are desecrated, and the last speaker of a language or maker of fabric passes away, we've lost something as precious as a rain forest. [Why safeguarding heritage imp...why it takes all of us – and that includes artists and scholars who should never stay behind a university wall or a studio door. Reference Havel going to jail for his beliefs.]
- Unless we ensure never a substitute for action by government or businesses. [Sid -- **What are our best points here – should we take stuff from the beginning where we're talking about stool and gov/economic role/responsibility and put it here? Or should we talk about how its in their interest...**]
- Some questions to raise – need to think through – even if we don't have answers. President's questions raised at NYU...How can we be proactive to meet needs across global marketplace before they are pressing. How can we act both to strengthen our individual nations...and also act across the international stage...[Sid – **any ideas on important and/or interesting questions that we can't possibly know the answer to, but we all must think through**]?
- We have global neighbors...how do we create a global neighborhood? [Story somewhere of CEO in St. Louis who raises the flag of a nation every time his company secures a contract with it. He does it to remind his workers of how their livelihoods and lives depend upon people thousands of miles away. There are dozens of flags flying around his plant.]
- Back to positive or negative image of the future...1000 years ago...world to end or exciting time? Like them, we cannot give into fears of unknown. 1,000 years from now, what will they say? I hope they say that...[uplifting stuff about citizenship, meeting our challenges, etc.]

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

HAILEI CIV. SOC.

Haiti: Reception with Prominent Women, Civil Society, and Artisans

Context of the Event:

Haitian civil society -- although still fragile -- is beginning to grow. Small neighborhood groups are emerging as forums for residents to demand services from local governments. Larger organizations, primarily in Port-au-Prince, work actively with donors and serve as a non-governmental voice, often opposing the government on key issues. Decades of authoritarian rule left Haitians with little experience in the art of compromise; the traditional way to resolve differences with authorities was through confrontation (disruptive strikes, intimidation, violence). Groups are gradually turning to peaceful conflict resolution, a sign that democracy may be taking root.

USAID has been active in promoting the development of Haitian civil society. More than 1400 organizations have participated in USAID-sponsored dialogues on setting goals for decentralization, poverty alleviation, and economic growth. Civil society groups have implemented over 2,250 local projects in 113 of Haiti's communities.

Women face many difficulties in Haiti. Haitian women experience the highest maternal mortality rate in the Hemisphere. One-third of Haitian Women age 15-19 have no education. More than 70 percent have experienced some form of violence, of which 37 percent is sexual in nature. USAID seeks to address the well-being and empowerment of women through programs in micro-enterprise credit, reproductive choice and family planning, women's and girls' education, advocacy training, and legal assistance.

For years, Haiti has been known as a major Caribbean craft center. Although still popular, quality and volume have suffered due to poor and costly materials, non-competitive designs, lack of working capital, and weak marketing channels. USAID is working to revive the arts and crafts industry. On display at the reception will be an array of Haitian crafts.

Objectives:

- Reiterate U.S. support for the strengthening of civil society;
- Applaud the efforts of Haitian NGOs;

- Express support for efforts to enhance the well-being and empowerment of Haitian women;
- Encourage the continued development of Haiti's crafts industry.

Talking Points:

- I am very pleased to meet with a group of people who are so committed to civic action, civic organizations, and women's issues. Your work represents a source of optimism for democracy in Haiti.
- To acknowledge a few of you here:
 - I congratulate COFAL for ground-breaking efforts to assist women detained in prison by improving their understanding of their rights and giving them professional legal counsel;
 - I applaud the efforts of the steering committee that has been formed across civil society organizations working on women's and girls' education;
 - I congratulate the Haiti Task Force on Reproductive Health and Family Planning, which serves as a model for USAID's population strategy, for its innovative and global vision for addressing the population issue;
 - In particular, I extend congratulations to the Haitian Consultative Committee of USAID's civil society project. Your contributions to the restoration of constitutional order and to strengthening civil society are exemplary.
- The efforts by your groups and others will ensure that Haiti's still young democracy will take root.

Participants:

U.S.

FLOTUS

Ambassador Carney

TBD

Haiti

- The Haitian delegation to the Vital Voices Conference;
- Other prominent Haitian women;
- Leaders of women's groups and other civic organizations (e.g., labor unions, professional organizations, interest groups in particular sectors such as business, media, health, human rights, law, education, and the environment);
- Ministers of the Haitian Government and Parliamentarians who work on women's issues;
- Representatives of international donors; and
- USAID staff and partners working on women's and children's issues.

Haiti: Pull Aside with Vital Voices Delegation

Context of the Event:

The Haitian delegation enthusiastically participated in the Uruguay Conference, attending all three thematic tracks. The delegation is working to develop a strategy for the future, including plans to promote women candidates for office and forming a network of resources on key issues and programs affecting women.

The following are some of the plans individual members of the delegation seek to undertake at least partially in response to Vital Voices:

- Marie Laurence Lassegue, who unsuccessfully ran for Parliament in 1996, is now planning to run again.
- Claire Lydie Parent, Mayor of Petionville, plans to develop a television program to address women's issues.
- Marie Antoinette Torreau is determined to create a network of women's resources.
- Nadine Perrault is planning a workshop on conflict resolution for women.
- Vanya Berrouet plans to help her NGO for private schools become self-supporting.

Objectives:

- Reiterate your support for the goals of the Vital Voices Conference and the aims of the Haitian delegation;
- Underscore the importance of improving the well-being of women and enhancing their role as leaders in democracy.

Talking Points:

- I am very pleased to learn of your plans and how they were influenced by your participation in the Vital Voices Conference. I urge you to continue your efforts.

- I applaud your concerns with population issues and I am told that limited access to family planning and birth control is a problem experienced by nearly 40% of women. I am encouraged that in the areas where USAID has worked in Haiti, the contraceptive prevalence rate is double the national average.
- Some of you are active in the area of women's and girls' education and health. I understand that one-third of Haitian women age 15-49 have no education and they experience the highest maternal mortality rate in the Western Hemisphere (one in 100 women die in childbirth).
- If women are to achieve an equitable political role, they must be educated. I am pleased to note that the enrollment of 12- and 14-year-old girls now exceeds that of boys by one percent in each age group, due to USAID's involvement in the education sector over the last ten years.
- I know that women are a particularly vulnerable group in the developing world, and that providing education on legal and civil rights is often neglected.
- I therefore congratulate the groups of professional women, and my own colleagues as attorneys, for your ground-breaking efforts to assist women detained in prison by improving their understanding of their rights and giving them professional legal counsel.

Participants:

U.S.

FLOTUS
Ambassador Carney
USAID Director Forbes
TBD

Haiti

Marie Laurence Lassegue is a member of the Presidential Cabinet on Public Relations; the former Director of Information Services under President Aristide; and a former journalist.

Marie Lucie Bonhomme is a reporter and commentator on women's issues on Radio Metropole.

Nadine Perrault is a lawyer and the Director of a legal aid group (COFAL) formed by women lawyers to serve indigent women and children.

Danielle Saint-Lot is the Executive Director of the Haiti Resource Development Foundation; works extensively with Haiti's National Federation of Mayors.

Vanya Berrouet is the Executive Director of FONHEP, the Haitian Foundation for Private Education.

Marie Antoinette Toureau is the Executive Director of KONESANS FANMI SE LESPWA TI MOUN (translated from Creole "Family Knowledge is Hope for Children").

Claire Lydie Parent is the Mayor of Petionville, a suburb of Port au Prince.

Dr. Hermine Medina is a gynecologist and an educator; Director of Family Planning at the Health and Life Medical Center.

Remarks of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to Representatives of Haitian Civil Society Organizations

Residence of the U.S. Ambassador, Port-au-Prince, Republic of Haiti
November 21, 1998

Thank you very much, Ambassador Carney, Mrs. Vicky Butler. I am delighted to be here at the United States Ambassador's residence. And I am especially pleased to be with Mrs. Geri Preval, who has become a friend of mine through meetings of the First Ladies of our hemisphere.

I want to thank Mrs. Yves for that beautiful embroidered tablecloth and accompanying napkins; when I finally get a house, I will make good use of that. I will also be very proud and honored to hang this magnificent work by Mr. Dodard.

This is my second visit to Haiti. My husband and I came here twenty-three years ago, shortly after we married. At that time, we bought some art, which we have taken with us everywhere we lived. And Haitian art now hangs both in the White House and Camp David. It is taken me twenty-three years to come back. My first effort, as you may know, had to be postponed because of the hurricane, but I am very pleased that I was able to return today and I will take full credit, Mr. Ambassador, for the good weather.

Haiti and the United States are closely joined in friendship and partnership, through our citizens and our shared history, as the two oldest independent nations in this hemisphere. The United States has also been blessed by the many positive contributions of Haitian-Americans.

I want first to express my sympathy on behalf of my husband and the American people for the widespread damage to agriculture, loss of property and life, suffered as a result of Hurricane Georges. Tomorrow, with Mrs. Preval, I will announce additional disaster relief aid from the United States Government, to assist the Haitian people rebuild from the hurricane.

I am especially pleased that I could meet with you, the leaders of civil society, tonight. You play a significant and increasing role in building democracy and expanding opportunity for the Haitian people. After constitutional government was restored in 1994, civil society organizations began to spring up and expand. I heard of one such group, the Union of Valiant Women, who sang a song that begins: the rain of democracy is falling, the flood of hope is running, it's time for us to organize. That is a good song not only for Haiti, but for any democracy around our world.

Over 1,400 civil society organizations have participated in USAID sponsored dialogues. You have discussed how to set goals in areas like fighting poverty, education, and economic development. I have heard that civil society organizations have promoted over 2250 local projects, and are active in over 100 of Haiti's communities. The Haitian people's victory over de facto military rule, political violence and repression is an inspiration to freedom loving people around the world. But now, as with many new democracies, you face new challenges: to strengthen the principles of democracy and the Rule of Law here in Haiti.

I have just come from visiting Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic. In each country, I spoke about the importance of civil society, and the role that non governmental organizations are playing to bring people together --people who have been on the opposite sides of terrible conflicts --to build a common future. I have seen how important it is, in countries that do not yet have a long history of freedom and democratic institutions, to learn the art of political compromise and reconciliation; to understand the importance of respect for one's political opponents; and to show the willingness to engage a dialogue and conciliation. All those practices are the heart of a

strong and viable democracy. My country has been practicing democracy for more than 220 years. We still face challenges. People still are required to work with other people whom they do not respect and they do not like. But we have learned that it is important to put the good of our country ahead of our personal and political beliefs.

All of you gathered here this evening have an opportunity to continue working with those inside and outside of government to bring people together, to take the necessary steps forward for all the people of Haiti. I respect the work of the civil society groups that have called for an end to the current political impasse: grassroots groups, labor organizations, and business groups like CLED have been active in encouraging resolution of the current conflict.

You have also been building bridges between the private sector and the government. Those of you who follow American politics may remember that bridges are my husband's favorite metaphors. He is always talking about building a bridge to the 21st century and building bridges of understanding between competing groups. And those of you who do follow our politics know that from time to time he has opposition to his efforts to build such bridges. But he has continued to persevere because he knows that building bridges helps to build a stronger democracy.

I also want to encourage you to continue your work in the area of judicial reform. Strengthening the Rule of Law is vital for any functioning democracy, and I am pleased that our government can assist you in these efforts.

We also have to continue to provide opportunity to the people of Haiti, and as Mrs. Preval said, we know your challenges are great: crushing poverty; high illiteracy; inadequate health care; a high incidence of domestic violence. Those are all social indicators of the problems that face Haiti as it attempts to make progress toward a better future.

But the Haitian people are known to be people of enormous spirit, strength and resourcefulness. Many of you are working with men and women, boys and girls, to improve conditions.

I want to say a special word about the particular vulnerability of women, not only in Haiti, but in many countries around the world. I want to recognize the work of COFAL, for the work you have done with women caught up in the legal system. You also recognize that education is the future not only to democracy but also to economic development. I applaud the efforts of the steering committee that has been formed to promote women's and girls' education. In study after study done around the world, the single most important investment any country can make in improving social and economic conditions is to invest in girls and women's education.

I also congratulate the Haiti task force on reproductive health and family planning. This task force serves as a model for USAID's population strategy, for its innovative and global vision in addressing Haiti's population issues. Reproductive health, family planning and women's education go together as a way of empowering and enabling women to be full participants in this society.

I also appreciate the efforts of the Haitian consultative committee of USAID's civil society project. Your contributions to the restoration of the constitutional order and the strengthening of civil society are exemplary.

I began by saying how proud the United States is for the many contributions of Haitian-Americans. Haitian-American doctors and nurses are in many of our hospitals all over our country. Haitian-American teachers are in our schools. Haitian-American military officers serve with distinction. Haitian-American business leaders are making great contributions to our economy. I do not believe that the Haitians who immigrated to America

are fundamentally different from the Haitians who remained here in Haiti. The problems that Haiti faces are solvable, especially by people who have already demonstrated their dedication to freedom and their capacity for hard work.

The importance of civil society cannot be overstated. President Kennedy used to say: On this earth, God's work is our own. Alleviating poverty, providing education and health care, offering economic opportunity to men and women, all of which are aimed at creating dignity and independence for the individual person is God's work. I salute all of you for the work you are doing to strengthen democracy in Haiti, respect the human rights of all Haitians and build a future worthy of the Haitian people. Thank you all very much.



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