

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 24, 1998

Ambassador Felix Rohatyn
US Embassy, Paris
PSC 116, APO AE 09777

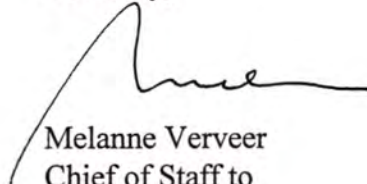
Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Enclosed are photos for Madame Jospin which were taken during her visit to Washington with her husband.

I hope the past several weeks were relaxing. We're working to address the issue we talked about on the phone. I appreciated your counsel.

Love to Elizabeth.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1998

Mark Rosenman
Vice President, Social Responsibility
The Union Institute
1710 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20036-3007

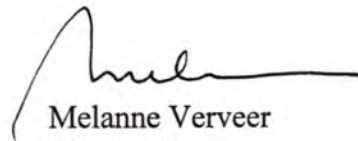
Dear Mr. Rosenman:

Thank you for your letter relating to the history of your advocacy of "semi-postals" during the transition and beyond.

We are not familiar with the origins of the breast cancer stamp idea, but I'm certain the office of the Postmaster General might be helpful in this regard.

Hope you are thriving. All the best.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



The Union Institute 

Office for Social Responsibility
Center for Public Policy
Center for Women

1710 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W. ♦ Suite 1100
Washington, D.C. 20036-3007
202/496-1630 ♦ 800/969-6676
TDD 800/486-9968 ♦ FAX 202/496-1635

July 30, 1998

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Melanne:

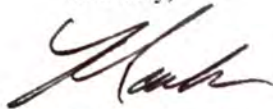
I am delighted that the First Lady yesterday announced the "breast cancer research stamp" now being offered by the U.S. Postal Service. It is clear that this is a valuable and innovative mechanism through which to increase funding in important areas of social need, and it is yet another indication of the First Lady's commitment to enlightened action on such causes.

As you may recall, The Union Institute suggested the use of such "semi-postals" in early and subsequent meetings with various administration officials, beginning during the first transition and continuing long thereafter, as well as in conversations with external parties (such as Points of Light officials). In fact, we prepared and circulated a packet of material on these "charity stamps" as part of our follow-up to some of those initial conversations. While I cannot easily reconstruct that packet, for your convenience I am enclosing a portion of it, including an excerpt from our *Part of the Solution* report and a *Washington Post* story on it—featuring the stamp idea.

I understand that similar concepts may originate concurrently in different places, as was true with the notion of nonprofit liaisons. However, if there was a connection between our early and consistent advocacy of this stamp idea and subsequent action, it would be helpful to us if that could be acknowledged. For the university itself and our external funders, I know that you can appreciate the importance of a discernable relationship between our work and actual policy implementation.

Thank you for your courtesy and cooperation.

Sincerely,



Mark Rosenman
Vice President, Social Responsibility

WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1989

Prices: News: 10¢ per copy. Subscriptions: \$10 per year. Single copies: 10¢ per copy. Delivery: \$10 per year. Delivery: \$10 per year.

From Nonprofit Service Providers, A Package to Create Sources of Cash

Report Urges Stamp Surcharge for Charity, Business Tax Credits

By B.H. Lawrence
Washington Post Staff Writer

A group of leaders representing nonprofit organizations that provide charitable services has proposed a package of steps they say would help them help themselves financially during a period in which they fear further cutbacks in federal funding of social services.

Two of the group's five major recommendations are being reviewed by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the White House and would require congressional approval. The first seeks creation of a special stamp the U.S. Postal Service would sell at a premium, with the premium earmarked for charities. A second proposes special tax credits for certain types of corporate charitable activities that benefit distressed neighborhoods.

The group's overture to Congress and federal agencies aims to find a partial solution to the funding crisis the leaders say nonprofit organizations have faced in the last 10 years. In a report called "Part of the Solution: Innovative Approaches to Nonprofit Funding," the group said that during the decade, an estimated \$100 billion of government funding has been cut from social service programs. Many of the nonprofit organizations involved in the project provide the needy with social services funded by the government.

The cutbacks came as private donations leveled off and the needs of the economically disadvantaged increased—leaving many nonprofit organizations underfunded and jeopardizing their ability to provide needed services, the report said.

"Nonprofits deliver more government-funded social services than does government itself," said Mark Rosenman, director of Center for

Public Policy of the Union Institute, a nonprofit group that develops college and university degree programs for adult students. The center coordinated leading executives from 35 nonprofit organizations in the yearlong project.

Such taxpayer-funded services include arts, culture and educational activities, scientific research, provision of meals and child care to less-advantaged citizens, environmental preservation and policy research.

"Federal funding cuts in areas of concern to nonprofits, estimated by some to be about 100 billion [inflation-adjusted] dollars in the last eight years, are a double-edged sword for our sector," said Rosenman. "The [project] sought new mechanisms to help finance nonprofits while, however, reminding government of its responsibility to meet basic human needs."

The report was introduced at a congressional hearing earlier this year that explored the financial health of nonprofit groups that benefit the public.

The report's proposals seek to help more than 500,000 tax-exempt groups registered with the Internal Revenue Service in the public-benefit sector. Such groups serve the community at large, in contrast to business and trade associations, which serve their own members.

Among groups involved in preparing "Part of the Solution" with project coordinator Nancy Pettis of the Union Institute were the United Way of America, National Mental Health Association, Save the Children Fund, Jewish Fund for Justice, National Urban League and Sierra Club.

Among those providing financial support were the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Ford Foundation, the Warner-Lambert Foundation, the Joyce Foundation, and the Hitachi, Primerica, Aetna and Pru-

dential foundations. Recommendations were solicited from more than 50 organizations or individuals working with or for nonprofit organizations.

One proposal under review by the administration is the so-called semipostal stamp, a fund-raising device used for decades in Europe. It is a specially designed first-class stamp that would be sold through the U.S. Postal Service at a surcharge of about 10 cents.

Each series of semipostal stamps would depict some problem area, such as child abuse or environmental cleanup. After the Postal Service deducted its administrative costs, proceeds from sales of the special stamps could be used to fund nonprofit groups working in the problem area depicted. The surcharge could be treated as a tax-exempt contribution for the purchaser, the report suggested.

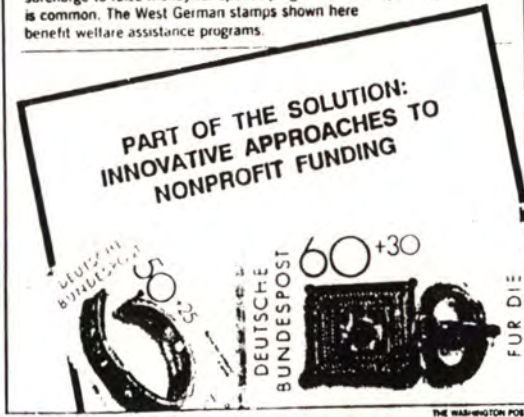
The Postal Service has resisted such a device as a potential accounting headache. Rosenman's group estimated that sales could generate \$70 million a year for nonprofit organizations, but it did not estimate tax loss to the government.

The special tax credit recommendation builds on neighborhood assistance acts now in effect in at least seven states—Delaware, Florida, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania and Virginia. These laws allow companies to take a tax credit—generally 50 percent of the contribution—for donations to groups dealing with problems such as homelessness or educational deficiencies.

The report said a federal version of such laws could stimulate business donations by strengthening existing programs and promoting their enactment in other states.

The report estimated that a federal Neighborhood Assistance Act would result in \$55 million in annual tax loss, but could raise \$309 mil-

"Part of the Solution," a report by nonprofit groups, recommends creating "semipostal" stamps that would be sold with a surcharge to raise money for special programs. In Europe the practice is common. The West German stamps shown here benefit welfare assistance programs.



lion a year for nonprofit groups through in-kind and technical assistance from businesses.

A third recommendation calls on state and local governments to create special taxing districts to fund local, nonprofit efforts when the local government does not want to use its normal revenue base for special needs.

In Palm Beach, Fla., a special district was formed to collect a levy to fund programs dealing with juvenile delinquency, child abuse, teenage pregnancy and homelessness.

Special taxing districts exist as legal entities autonomous from local government and are supported by a separate tax and bonded debt, giving them ability to raise revenues. Such districts could raise about \$1 billion annually for some nonprofit organizations, the report said.

The report also recommends giving nonprofit development groups access to surpluses in reserve funds that states and municipalities must set aside when they issue tax-exempt bonds or notes. The reserve funds, which exist in case the borrower defaults, often have surpluses and in total the surpluses could provide as much as \$5 billion to finance housing, economic and employment development, according to the report.

It also suggested that nonprofit organizations in the same state form organizations to buy goods and services at a volume discount, or to provide services such as self-insurance programs. According to the report, nonprofit groups spend

more than \$100 billion a year on such items as health insurance, fuel and office supplies. If only 5 percent of nonprofit organizations took part in association discount programs, the report said, they could save up to \$170 million a year.

The report's recommendations all seek to reverse the declining financial fortunes of many philanthropies.

Lester M. Salamon, director of the Johns Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies, testified last spring before a House panel that the current financial pinch of nonprofit groups began with the shift in economic policies of the early 1980s.

By 1980, Salamon told the Energy and Commerce subcommittee on commerce, consumer protection and competitiveness, the federal government had become the country's major philanthropist, providing \$40 billion in support to private, nonprofit organizations in the United States. Individual, corporate and foundation giving to public-benefit nonprofit organizations, excluding churches and synagogues, totaled \$26.8 billion that year.

Salamon, who has studied the field for two decades, said that except for the health sector—where continued growth in Medicare and Medicaid spending boosted government support—the inflation-adjusted value of federal support of social programs of concern to nonprofit organizations declined by about a total of \$101 billion between 1982 and 1988.

PART OF THE SOLUTION: INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO NONPROFIT FUNDING

**Report of
the Exploratory Project on
Financing the Nonprofit Sector**

Funding for the Project was provided by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Ford Foundation, the Warner-Lambert Company, the Primerica Foundation, the Hitachi Foundation, the Joyce Foundation, the Prudential Foundation, the Aetna Life & Casualty Foundation, and the Union Institute. The Report was printed courtesy of the Aetna Life & Casualty Corporation.

**CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY
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October, 1988

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Third Printing April, 1990**

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Chapter 4

SEMI-POSTAL STAMPS FOR NONPROFIT SERVICES

The sale of postage stamps which carry a surcharge to support a specific charitable cause could raise about \$70 million annually for nonprofit organizations. The institution of a semi-postal program in the U.S. could be based on proven European models.

Submitted by Douglas Herzog, Youth Services (Bismarck, North Dakota) and Developed by Project Staff

Introduction

Through the establishment of a semi-postal program for charitable causes every post office in the country could become a collection point for charitable contributions. Post offices would sell specially designed postage stamps called "semi-postals" or "revenue stamps" which carry a surcharge of, say, ten cents, but provide the regular mail service. Semi-postals would be purchased at the option of the stamp buying customer. Proceeds from the surcharge would be aggregated and awarded to nonprofit organizations.

For example, a series of different semi-postals could be available; they might be *homelessness*, *environment*, *arts*, *elderly* or *youth* stamps to choose from. Surcharges (which could be treated as tax-exempt con-

tributions) would be amassed and used to fund nonprofit programs in the specific area of concern.

A portion of the accumulated ten cent surcharges would be used to administer the program. The remainder would be controlled by an independent board composed of knowledgeable government, philanthropic and nonprofit representatives. The board would solicit competitive grant proposals from nonprofit organizations for the award of funds within the cause area selected by postal customers making the voluntary ten cent contributions. The board would establish funding guidelines and operate much like a philanthropic foundation.

A well designed and vigorously promoted semi-postal sales program has the potential for generating millions of new dollars each year for the nonprofit sector. If the experience of West Germany (see below) was applied to the United States, based on both populations buying semi-postals at the same rate, *over \$70 million annually* would accrue to nonprofits. .

Semi-Postal in Other Countries

Semi-postals have existed for several decades in a number of European nations, including Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and West Germany. During the mid-1970's, Canada also had a semi-postal program limited to two years to support the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympics.

The existing semi-postal programs vary from country to country. In some, the cause for which the stamps are issued changes from year to year. In others, the cause remains the same, and in several, more than one cause is supported by series of distinct stamps. West Germany issues three semi-postal series a year: one for youth programs, one for welfare programs and one for sports programs. The Swiss issue two, one to benefit cultural and social institutions and the other for youth programs. Youth programs dominate the causes for which these stamps are issued and bought, but other beneficiaries include stamp collecting itself, dis-

ease research, an organization similar to the Red Cross, handicapped services, and refugee programs.

The West German Embassy reports that the youth stamp series in that country raised \$20 million dollars in 1986. West Germany has a population of only 60 million, but the tradition of giving through semi-postals is a long one. West Germany's welfare stamp series, the oldest of its semi-postals, has been available for several decades. Issued in October but available for a longer time, it has become a tradition to use the welfare stamps on the large volume of Christmas mail. Thirteen to sixteen million stamps in the welfare series were sold annually in the early 1980's (the latest period for which we have data). West Germany also reports that so many collectors buy the first-day issues of the stamps and do not use the mail delivery service that *the post office makes money on semi-postals*. The Swiss authorities say that their semi-postal program has *increased the overall sales of postal stamps* in that country.

Surveys Demonstrating American's Willingness to Support Designated Causes

Causes which the semi-postals would benefit should be selected based on two criteria: each cause should be a matter of concern to the general public and should not already have a national mechanism in place enabling the general public to easily make donations to it.

Several recent opinion surveys in the United States demonstrate that *Americans are willing to provide more money* for specific causes of pressing concern. In a survey conducted by the Melman-Lazarus Research Company for the National Campaign to End Hunger and Homelessness in America, *over 50 percent of the 1,000 voters polled said they would each pay \$100 more in taxes to combat hunger and homelessness*. Another survey conducted by R.L. Associates for the National Housing Institute found that, *by a two-to-one margin, respondents said they would pay an extra \$120 per year in taxes to support a package of government programs to aid the homeless and to help middle-income families better afford housing*.

In a third survey conducted by an affiliate of Louis Harris and Associates and sponsored by the Philip Morris Companies, *over half* of all persons surveyed said they *would support a \$25-a-year tax increase*, and *70 percent* of respondents said they *would support a \$10-a-year increase, to benefit the arts*. Semi-postals should not become an alternative to government support. However, it appears that they might provide a mechanism for more individuals to give to specific causes.

Although the Salvation Army, some United Way agencies, community action agencies, and others do much work in the areas of hunger and homelessness, there is no national campaign identified for donations solely for that purpose. The arts, the other area in which Americans express their willingness to give more, also has no single national focus for donations.

The Canadian Experience

The Canadian program of semi-postals was not successful: the Canadian postal service's costs of printing and promotion of the stamps exceeded the revenues generated. The explanation cited by postal officials as the probable reason for failure was the Canadian public's view that the postal service was already charging premium prices for poor service. Additional reasons may be that the experiment was too short-lived - *new ways of giving build slowly* before they become a tradition and raise significant funds, and the semi-postals were only one of numerous ways Canadians had of donating to the same cause. In addition, although the Olympics were appealing to national pride, the cause was not as compelling as some others might be. In spite of its lack of success, however, the Canadian experience provides important lessons for other countries that wish to start such programs.

Research Needs

The initiation of a program for semi-postals must be based on sound research. Studies should be conducted to assure that new monies can be raised through semi-postals and that current charitable giving is not

eroded. The research should identify causes that would motivate more individuals to give or to give more.

Perhaps surveys of the stamp-buying public might be undertaken to identify the causes that they would give to through such a mechanism, the causes to which they presently make donations, and whether a national fund, endorsed by the federal government and targeted to designated causes is likely to initiate or expand giving. The surveys mentioned above did not provide a range of causes from which respondents could select.

The research should also provide the decision-making information needed to determine the optimum initial size and incremental growth of the program and how best to reach people through a promotional campaign. Such research might be funded by either a Congressional appropriation or a foundation or corporation.

Advertising Campaign

The success of a semi-postal program would require a sophisticated marketing campaign. Promotion might involve the public support of government officials and celebrities. It should also build in the principle that the purchase of semi-postals is not a substitute for current giving or for government support.

Congressional Support

A semi-postal program would require the endorsement of the Congress and the cooperation of the Postal Service. Congress would need to pass authorizing legislation which would allow the Postal Service to conduct the program, and it should name the causes and the representatives to serve on the fund distribution board. Since the success of the program would depend on the public identifying the causes for which stamps would be issued, political considerations should be kept to a minimum. A cap on the operating budget of the program would keep administrative costs to a minimum. The Postal Service should be compensated dollar-for-dollar for its record-keeping role and any other expenses it incurs.

Conclusion

There is every reason to believe that a semi-postal program would be well enough received by the public, and significant enough in its non-profit funding benefits, to justify at least trial implementation. The potential return is too great to remain unexplored.

The **Union Institute** (formerly the **Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities**) founded in 1964, is a leader in developing and implementing degree programs for adult learners. Its Graduate School offers noncampus-based, individualized Ph.D. opportunities to learners across the nation. Its College of Undergraduate Studies offers baccalaureate degrees in limited geographical areas. The Union Institute is headquartered in Cincinnati, Ohio.

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The **Center for Public Policy** (formerly the **Institute of Public Policy and Administration**) is a research and analysis program of The Union Institute. It was founded in 1984 to enhance accessibility, quality, diversity and creativity in the generation and implementation of public policy. It conducts theoretical and applied projects, works on capacity building with other organizations, and, with The Graduate School, facilitates individual leadership development and doctoral education. The Union Institute, through the Center, publishes *Social Policy*.

CENTER/EXPLORATORY PROJECT STAFF

Mark Rosenman, Ph.D., Center Director

Nancy Pettis, Project Coordinator

John Gray, Associate Coordinator

Maxine Haliburton, Office Manager

Robert T. Conley, Ph.D., President, The Union Institute

Expanded discussions of three of the Major Concepts covered in this Report (Federal Neighborhood Assistance Act Law, Surplus Bond Reserve Funds, and State Associations) are available from the Center. For copies of any of those papers or additional copies of the Report, please write to the Center.

The Union Institute/Center for Public Policy
1731 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. (Suite 300), Washington, D.C. 20009

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 13, 1998

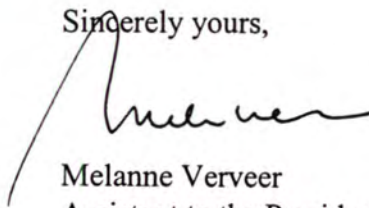
Ms. Lori Rankin Maloney
JANUS Solutions
83 Princeton Ave., Suite 2C
Hopewell, New Jersey 08525

Dear Ms. Maloney,

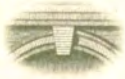
Thank you for your recent letter and for sharing with us your thoughts on how to move forward our goals for improving the lives of children. Your suggestion for developing national objectives is an interesting one, and we will give it further consideration.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the left.

Melanne Verveer
Assistant to the President
Chief of Staff to the First Lady



JANUS Solutions

...for a changing society

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E-mail janusinc@earthlink.net

February 2, 1998

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Deputy Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Verveer:

Thank you very much for forwarding to me periodic information up-dating the President and First Lady's activities on children's issues, particularly foster care and adoption. As an active Democrat and former chair of the New Jersey Democratic Leadership Council, I am thrilled with the progress this country has made in the last 5 years. Again, I greatly appreciate being kept on this mailing list and look forward to receiving other information in the future.

Over a year ago, I participated in an in-formal briefing session convened by former Domestic Policy Advisor Carol Rasco regarding child welfare. It is exciting to see some of our dialogue put into action and to witness the on-going progress being advanced by this Administration in this area. The challenge is now for the States to effectively implement the reforms and bring about both effective programmatic change but also the effective philosophical change that is needed to address the serious issues effecting children and families in this country today.

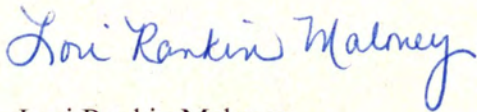
As the First Lady has been so keenly involved in many of the significant changes effecting children and family policy, I would like to share a thought. Without creating another level of government, or an intrusive government intervention, **there still remains a need for a set of national guidelines (operating principles, values, etc.) that could assist the States in developing their children and family policies as it relates to policies that impact on children and families, which is effectively most policies, but more strategically, childcare, education, welfare reform, and child welfare.**

These "guiding principles", **established through a short-term Blue-Ribbon Panel**, would not define how the States' implement their policies but would provide national objectives that serve as guideposts for policy development and outcome evaluation. The recommendations of the Blue Ribbon Panel on Children and Family Policies could in fact be endorsed by our nation's Governors. The "principles" **would not tie the Governor's**

hands in anyway but would create national principles that promise a child in Arkansas or a child in New Jersey would benefit from the same set of working principles. The First Lady would be the perfect person to lead such an effort. The "Principles" could then be used to evaluate, or create Report Cards, on how the State's implement the President's initiatives.

Once again, thank you for considering my ideas. I hope I am not presumptuous in sending them to you. Please keep in mind if the Administration needs any assistance at all, I would love to help out in anyway possible.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Lori Rankin Maloney". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "L" and "M".

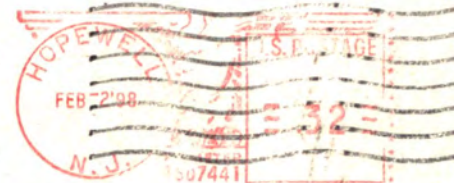
Lori Rankin Maloney



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Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Deputy Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 17, 1998

Francis Ricciardone
Deputy Chief of Mission
American Embassy Ankara
PSC 93, Box 5000, APO AE 09823

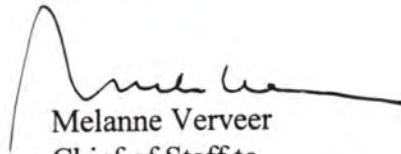
Dear Francis:

Thank you for forwarding Ambassador Parris' invitation for the First Lady to attend the opening of Sakip Sabanci's Exhibit of Islamic calligraphy, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, on September 10.

Regrettably, because of schedule conflicts, Mrs. Clinton will not be able to accept the invitation. But please convey Mrs. Clinton's appreciation to Ambassador Parris for his attention and thoughtfulness.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

American Embassy Ankara
PSC 93, Box 5000, APO AE 09823
or
110 Ataturk Blvd, Ankara, Turkey

Requet

FAX NO: (90) 312 468-4775
TEL NO: (90) 312 468-6110, x-2202

FROM: Francis J. Ricciardone *[Signature]*
Deputy Chief of Mission

TO: Melanne Verveer
Don Bandler

FAX: (202) 456-6244
(202) 456-9156

DATE: July 8, 1998

NO PGS: 3

Melanne, Don

Ambassador Mark Parris asked me to confirm following info to both of you:

We do hope Mrs. Clinton will find it possible to attend the September 10 private opening of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Exhibit of Sakip Sabanci's collection of Islamic calligraphy. Turks across the political spectrum would be gratified by this gesture, which would prompt fond recollections of her successful visit here in March 1996. A reception will start at the exhibit area at 7:00 p.m., followed by a black-tie dinner in an adjacent area of the Museum at 8:00 p.m. The Museum expects some 300-400 distinguished guests for both events. The show opens to the public the following day. Point of contact for this program, under Museum Director Phillipe de Montebello, is Director of the Museum Development Office, Mrs. Rafferty, at 212-570-3956, or her colleague Ms. Sara Higby.

I'll attach a detailed description of the exhibit.

Best regards -
[Signature]

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

For Release: Immediate

Contact: Harold Holzer
Jill Schoenbach

LETTERS IN GOLD: OTTOMAN CALLIGRAPHY FROM THE SAKIP SABANCI COLLECTION, ISTANBUL

Exhibition dates:

September 11 - December 13, 1998

Exhibition location:

Special Exhibition Galleries, second floor

Press preview:

Thursday, September 10, 10:00 a.m. - noon

Calligraphy, according to an aesthetic dictum found in early Islamic sources, is "a spiritual geometry produced by a material instrument." This fall, The Metropolitan Museum of Art will present *Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakip Sabanci Collection, Istanbul*, featuring some 70 objects from the largest private collection of Ottoman calligraphy in Turkey. On view at the Metropolitan from September 11 through December 13, the exhibition of works from the 15th through the early 20th century will be seen subsequently at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

This exhibition is made possible by Sabanci Holding/Akbank Istanbul, Turkey.

It was organized by The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Sakip Sabanci, who heads Sabanci Holding, Turkey's leading financial and industrial conglomerate, sees fine art as a bridge to human and international relations and is very proud to offer the first exhibition in the New World dedicated exclusively to Ottoman calligraphy.

Evolution of Islamic Calligraphy

Because it was originally formalized from the need to transcribe the Qur'an in the seventh century A.D., Islamic calligraphy -- writing of aesthetic value in characters based on the Arabic alphabet and script -- has always occupied a central position in the arts of Islam. Throughout the centuries the greatest master calligraphers developed different styles, always striving for balance, elegance, and harmony in their work. From the early, angular so-called "kufic" script, calligraphy later evolved mainly into a cursive style (generically called *naskhi*) in the 11th to 12th century. According to the various calligraphic styles that developed, cursive script was assigned different names often based on the relationship between the height and the width of the letters and of their endings.

Development of Ottoman Calligraphy

As Ottoman calligraphy evolved from the 15th century, soon after the empire conquered

(more)

Communications Department 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10028-0198 212-570-3951 Fax 212-472-2764

LETTERS IN GOLD

PAGE 2

Constantinople-Istanbul and established a firm power over Anatolia, this art form flourished and was embellished by great masters. Featured in the exhibition are works by the most important masters, including the highly celebrated Şeyh Hamdullah.

Among the variety of works on view will be: lavishly illuminated copies of Qur'ans (including one by Şehzâde Korkut from the late 15th century and another by Ahmed Karahisârî, dated 1541) and other manuscripts of religious contents; and *murakkaas* (calligraphic albums, often of horizontal format and sometimes mounted in an accordion-type binding, including one by the great master Şeyh Hamdullah from the late 16th century) and individual leaves thereof (called *kit'as*), frequently framed with marbled paper borders. The exhibition will also include large calligraphic compositions of pious inspiration, called *levhas*, including one by Sultan Mahmud II from the 19th century, which were intended for framing and were usually hung in religious buildings (they were written in large script in order to be legible from a distance and were ornamented with artistically decorated borders); another type of large, vertical panel for the same purposes as the *levha*, called *hişye*, such as one by Çomez Mustafa Vâsîf dated 1821, which were usually mounted on wooden boards; and, finally, a number of long scrolls containing official documents such as imperial edicts or firmans (*ferman*), warrants (*berat*), and patents (*menşur*) -- including that of Abdulhamid II by Nâsîh Efendi, dated 1883. These scrolls always included a *tugra*, the splendid and imposing imperial monogram of the sultan currently on the throne, at the beginning. *Tugras*, on which illuminators lavished all their skills, were usually executed in gold, lapis blue, and black colors. Originally, the text following the monogram was written in *riq'a*, a fairly straightforward script. Subsequently, *dîvânî*, a vigorous and elaborately ornate script which reached its apogee at the turn of the 19th century, was prevalent.

The exhibition is organized at the Metropolitan Museum by Stefano Carboni, Assistant Curator, Department of Islamic Art. Exhibition design is by Michael Batista, Exhibition Designer; graphic design is by Jill Hammarberg, Graphic Designer; and lighting is by Zack Zanolli, Lighting Designer.

Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Collection, Istanbul, will be accompanied by an illustrated catalogue. Compiled and written by M. Uğur Derman, a leading Turkish scholar of Ottoman calligraphy, and published by the Metropolitan Museum, it will be available in both softcover (\$35) and clothbound (\$50) editions in the Museum's bookshops. Distributed by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., the catalogue also will be available at bookstores nationwide.

#

June 10, 1998

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 28, 1998

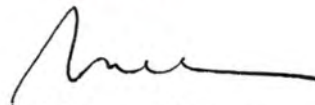
Mr. Jeremy Rosner
Vice President
Greenberg Quinlan Research
515 2nd Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002

Dear Jeremy:

Congratulations on your new position with Greenberg Quinlan Research and belated congratulations on your efforts to advance NATO enlargement. Your leadership was most impressive.

Very best wishes and love to the family.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



(R)

Congrats

GREENBERG QUINLAN RESEARCH

is pleased to announce that

Jeremy D. Rosner

former Special Advisor to the President
and the Secretary of State
for NATO Enlargement Ratification

has joined the company as
Vice President

More on Jeremy Rosner
www.greenbergresearch.com

515 Second Street NE Washington DC 20002 202 547-5200
Fax 202 544-7020 E-mail Jeremy@GreenbergResearch.com

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 27, 1998

Ambassador Felix Rohatyn
US Embassy, Paris
PSC 116, APO AE 09777

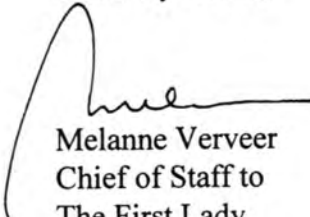
Dear Ambassador Rohatyn:

Enclosed are photos from The First Lady's visit to France. Please convey them to the relevant French officials and embassy staff.

Looking at these photos, I am reminded again about the trip's success and your and Elizabeth's generous hospitality and good counsel. Thank you again!

With best wishes I am,

Sincerely Yours,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
The First Lady

July 22, 1998

Ambassador Felix Rohatyn
US Embassy, Paris
PSC 116, APO AE 09777

Dear Ambassador Rohatyn:

Enclosed are photos from the First Lady's visit to France. Please convey them to the relevant French officials and embassy staff.

Looking at these photos, I am reminded again about the trip's success and your and Elizabeth's generous hospitality and good counsel. Thank you again!

With best wishes I am,

Sincerely,

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1998

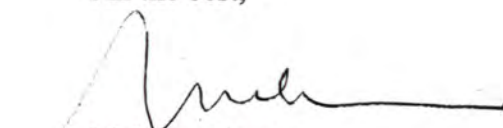
Ms. Victoria Rollins
Williams & Connolly
725 Twelfth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005-5901

Dear Vicki:

Congratulations on your return to Williams & Connolly; they are lucky to have you. Congratulations on the recent nuptials and all the good things that are deservedly happening to you.

Be sure to stay in touch with us. I miss you.

All the best,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

WILLIAMS & CONNOLLY

R. Connolly

IS PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT

VICTORIA RADD ROLLINS

FORMERLY ASSISTANT TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

HAS RETURNED AS A MEMBER OF THE FIRM

JULY 1998

725 TWELFTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-5901
(202) 434-5000



*The Honorable Melanne Verveer
Assistant to the President and Chief
of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500*



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1998

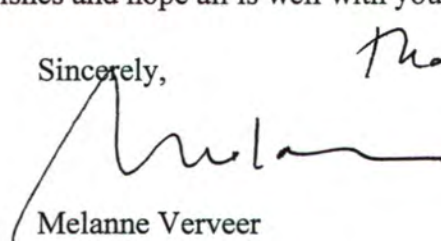
Mr. Larry Reger
President
Heritage Foundation
1730 K Street, NW, Suite 566
Washington, DC 20006-3836

Dear Larry:

Thank you for letting me know about Art Schultz's lecture at the Corcoran on October 14th and your kind offer for the tickets. Regrettably I won't be able to attend, but I know it will be excellent.

Very best wishes and hope all is well with you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

*Thanks for all
you do!*

Heritage Preservation

Reger

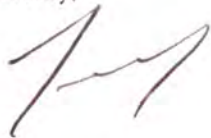
September 15, 1998

Dear

Melanne -

Thought you would like to know that Art Schultz is giving a lecture at the Corcoran on October 14th. I know you would find it fascinating. It is based on his new book, *In Praise of America's Collectors*, and tells a story of importance to the preservation and conservation fields as well as for all museum supporters. A number of us are going and I would hope to see you there.

Sincerely,



Larry Reger
President

P.S. Hope to see you there.

PPS We have some
complimentary tickets.
Call Sara Russell, if
you would like one
or more. Mr. Schultz
is a member of the same
America's Treasures
Committee.

1730 K Street, NW . Suite 566 . Washington, DC 20006-3836
202.634.1422 . fax 202.634.1435

The Secrets of America's Greatest Collectors and How to be a Successful Collector An Evening with Arthur W. Schultz

Wednesday, October 14, 1998 at 7:30pm
The Frances and Armand Hammer Auditorium

In a dynamic and engaging slide-illustrated talk, **Arthur W. Schultz**, former Chairman of the Board of the Chicago Art Institute and President of the Santa Barbara Museum of Art, celebrates the publication of his book, *In Praise of America's Collectors: Their Secrets Reveal How to be a Successful Collector*. By offering extensive insights on the art of collecting, Schultz reveals the secret techniques of the great collectors - Morgan, Mellon, Carnegie, the Rockefeller and Guggenheim families, Frick, Huntington, and of course our own William Wilson Corcoran - for amassing the finest works of art. He delineates the roles dealers and auction houses play in developing these private collections. Schultz takes us behind the scenes with dramatic stories about the great museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, the J. Paul Getty Museum, and other prestigious institutions. He informs us of the economics of collecting, as well as how to guard against fakes, forgeries, copies, and stolen works. He also offers instructions for care of your collection and how to protect your art from damage and theft. This stimulating program provides valuable information for both beginning and experienced collectors. Schultz was a member of the Committee for the Arts and Humanities under both Presidents Reagan and Bush, and is a life Trustee of the University of Chicago. A book-signing follows the lecture.

TO REGISTER BY: **PHONE 202/639-1770** **FAX 202/639-1802** **MAIL:** Program Registrar, Corcoran Gallery of Art
500 17th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006

Registration Policy: No tickets are mailed for Corcoran Public Programs. Faxed and mailed registrations receive a telephone confirmation. Registration for programs must be accompanied by cash, check, or credit card payment. All registrations are final and non-refundable unless the program is cancelled or filled. Every reasonable effort will be made to notify registrations of cancellation by phone. Please allow 3-4 weeks for processing of refunds. The Corcoran reserves the right to substitute speakers/performers, relocate, or reschedule an event due to unanticipated scheduling conflicts or emergency situations including inclement weather. Walking tours are held rain or shine. To receive membership, student or any other discount, registrants must show identification at time of registration.



PUBLIC PROGRAMS REGISTRATION FORM

Program Title	Code	# X member price	# X non-mem price	# X F/T student price	Total Price
Arthur W. Schultz	L237	X \$8.00	X \$12.00	X \$4.00	\$

Name: _____

Street Address: _____

City, State & Zip Code: _____

Daytime Phone #: () _____ - _____ Evening Phone #: () _____ - _____

PAYMENT

Enclosed is a check payable to the Corcoran Gallery of Art in the amount of \$ _____

Please charge my ☐ VISA ☐ MC ☐ AMEX Card # _____

Expiration Date ____ / ____ Signature _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1998

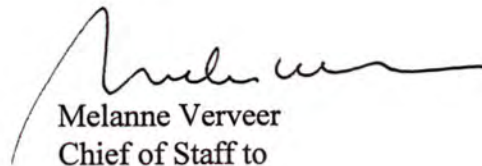
Stephanie van Reigersberg
Office of Language Services/Interpreting
Department of State - Room 2212
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Ms. Van Reigersberg:

I wanted to thank you for ensuring the services of Patsy Arizu during the First Lady's recent trip to Chile and Montevideo. Patsy has translated for Mrs. Clinton in the past and she has always been extremely proficient and helpful. This trip was particularly difficult because of a demanding schedule and difficult translating assignments. Patsy was extraordinary in fulfilling every responsibility. She was well prepared, extremely good humored under pressure and helpful in every respect.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Enc

Dear Melanne:

As requested, this is the information -

Stephanie van Reigersberg
Office of Language Services/Interpreting
Department of State - Room 2212
Washington, DC 20520

Again, many thanks for a wonderful trip, and my special appreciation to the First Lady for giving her interpreter such great material to work with.

All the best -



Dear Mrs. van Reigersberg,

I wanted to thank you for ensuring the services of Patsy Arize during the ~~the~~ First Lady's recent trip to Chile + Montevideo, ~~Patsy~~ Patsy has translated for Miss Clinton in the past and she has always been extremely ~~profess~~ proficient and helpful. The's trip was particularly difficult because of an ~~extensive~~ extensive schedule and difficult translating assignments. Patsy was

~~was~~ ~~limited~~

extraordinary in ^{well prepared,} fulfilling
every responsibility, extremely
good humored under ~~the~~ pressure
and helpful ~~to~~ in every respect.

Thank you again.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1998

Ambassador James Rosenpepe
US Embassy Bucharest
Strada Tutor Arghezi
7-9, Bucharest
Am Con Gen (Buch), Unit 1315
APO AE 09213-1315

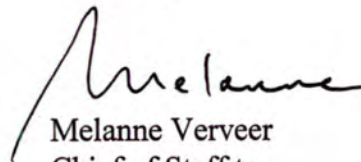
Dear Ambassador Rosenpepe:

Enclosed are photos from Mrs. Clinton's meeting with Mrs. Costantinescu on July 20, 1998. Our apologies for the delay in sending them. Please forward the photographs, with Mrs. Clinton's compliments.

Very best wishes, and hope all is well with you.

Sincerely,

*You're getting
some review!*



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 20, 1998

Dr. Fahrudin Rizvanbegovic
Ministar
Obala Maka Dizdara 2
71000 Sarajevo
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Dear Minister Rizvanbegovic:

On behalf of the First Lady, thank you very much for the beautiful gifts you conveyed from Bosnia. They are wonderful examples of the country's rich culture and history.

Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a stylized, flowing script.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
FEDERAL MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
SCIENCE, CULTURE AND SPORTS

Fahrudin Rizvanbegović, Ph.D. - Minister

Obala Maka Dizdara 2, 71000 Sarajevo
Phone: (++38771) 66 36 91, Fax: 66 43 81



BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA
FEDERACIJA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE
FEDERALNO MINISTARSTVO OBRAZOVANJA,
NAUKE, KULTURE I SPORTA

Prof. dr. Fahrudin Rizvanbegović, ministar

Obala Maka Dizdara 2, 71000 Sarajevo
Tel: (071) 66 36 91, Fax: 66 43 81

THE WHITE HOUSE

Thank you
for the gifts
from Bosnia
examples of
culture & history

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 20, 1998

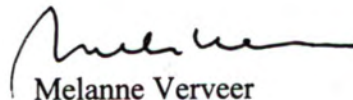
Mr. Phil Ryman
859 Park Circle
Harrisonburg, VA 22802

Dear Mr. Ryman:

Thank you for your note. Unfortunately, we do not have copies of the "Plum Book" available for distribution. I suggest that you contact your local bookstore.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a stylized, flowing script.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Phil Ryman
859 Park Circle
Harrisonburg, VA 22802



Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Mrs. Melanne Veveer
The White House (D.C.)



Dear Mrs. Veveer,

©

Could you provide me with a copy
of the "plum book" or the list of
Presidential appointments. Your
kind consideration would be greatly
appreciated.

We don't have
them books
purchased at
book stores

Sincerely,
Phillip Ryman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 29, 1998

Mr. A.M. Rosenthal
New York Times Editorial Desk
229 West 43rd Street
New York, NY 10036-3959

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

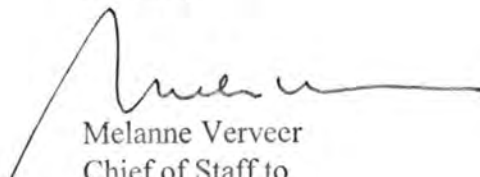
I still clearly remember a column you wrote some months ago about the horrors of female genital mutilation. Your writing, no doubt, spurred positive efforts on many fronts. I wanted to share a recent story about the work of a group of villagers in Senegal.

On the President's recent trip to Africa, Mrs. Clinton met with a group of courageous Senegalese women and men from the Malicounda Bambara Village who had voted to eliminate FGM. She listened to them talk about how difficult it was to take this stand on behalf of health and human rights. They also told her how some of the men had walked from village to village, explaining why this practice needed to be eliminated and how it was not mandated by the tenets of Islam. As a result, more than 8,000 people in 12 other villages have agreed to end FGM. We recently learned that since the President's visit, 15 more villages have pledged to eliminate the practice.

I've attached the transcript of the First Lady's remarks. I would be happy to provide additional information on this inspiring example of grassroots activism.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Encl.

9TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1996 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

April 12, 1996, Friday, Late Edition - Final
Correction Appended

SECTION: Section A; Page 31; Column 6; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 726 words

HEADLINE: On My Mind;
Fighting Female Mutilation

BYLINE: By A. M. ROSENTHAL

BODY:

"It was the most brutal thing I'd ever experienced. It wasn't something you could just let go."

Stephanie Walsh, a 22-year-old American journalist, said that after she had seen an African girl of 16 put to the knife in a village hut in Kenya, her genitals mutilated while she lay helpless, without anesthetic, but able to cry out: "Why are you trying to kill me?"

Stephanie Walsh had not let go. She lived in the village until she could take photographs to show the world. For those pictures of the ritual of female genital mutilation she won the Pulitzer Prize on Monday, a wonderful honor for her, the Newhouse News Service, which distributed them, and the S. I. Newhouse School of Public Communications at Syracuse University. She was graduated just last December.

In Pennsylvania the day the Pulitzers were announced was another young woman who also had refused to let go, also chose to fight against the horror Ms. Walsh had captured on film. She fled her native Togo, gave up everything familiar to her, rather than submit to mutilation.

For that defiance of what so horrified Ms. Walsh, Fauziya Kasinga has been experiencing her own award -- more than a year in American prisons, currently the York County jail, waiting for immigration officials and judges to decide whether to grant her plea for refuge.

Genital mutilation has been inflicted on 80 to 100 million girls and young women. In countries where it is practiced, mostly African, about two million youngsters a year can expect the knife -- or the razor or a glass shard -- to cut their clitoris or remove it altogether, to have part or all of the labia minora cut off, and part of the labia majora, and the sides of the vulva sewn together with catgut or thorns.

Often, the operation is prettified as "circumcision." The African specialist Nahid Toubia puts it plain: In a man it would range from amputation of most of the penis to "removal of all the penis, its roots of soft tissue and part of the scrotal skin."

Short-term results include tetanus, septicemia, hemorrhages, cuts in the urethra, bladder, vaginal walls and anal sphincter. Long-term: chronic uterine

The New York Times, April 12, 1996

infection, massive scars that can hinder walking for life, fistula formation, hugely increased agony and danger during childbirth, and early deaths.

But mutilation brings the desired result: painful intercourse and loss of sexual pleasure for women. That is supposed to keep women virginal until marriage. Presumably it relieves men from any fear of not being able to satisfy women.

In America, major human rights organizations, foundations and women's groups shy off. I found since I began writing about it four years ago that only a few small groups make it their work and purpose -- like Equality Now, 226 West 58th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019, 212-586-0906.

Politicians edge away. Legislation to make the mutilation illegal languishes in Congress and all but a few states.

Part apathy, part callousness. One immigration judge suggested that an African fleeing mutilation could change her mind and accept it.

The rest is political: nervousness about "interfering" with "local customs."

Leadership against mutilation has to be built by Africans. But to say mutilation of millions of young women is a sanctified hands-off local custom apes colonial rulers who said the same about slavery and widow-burning.

The U.S. could help fight female genital mutilation at no new cost -- by applying 1 percent of foreign aid, about \$100 million, to an international commission led by Africans and foreigners who have devoted themselves to struggling against it. The money would go to countries fighting the practice for field education about its dangers and training village leadership. That will not end the horror but will speed the day, and certainly is better than edging daintily away or obeisance to local customs that bring agony and lifelong deprivation.

Fauziya Kasinga has not let go. She fled to America without proper papers. But it has been hard for her to believe that her determination not to surrender to torture and humiliation brought her shackles and cells.

On May 2 an immigration appeals board hears her case. It will decide whether to use its power to grant her refuge, or send her home for whatever awaits. She is now 18 years old -- old enough and young enough to mutilate.

CORRECTION-DATE: April 13, 1996, Saturday

CORRECTION:

In his column yesterday, A. M. Rosenthal misspelled the surname of the winner of the 1996 Pulitzer Prize for feature photography. Her name is Stephanie Welsh.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 12, 1996

● Julie E. Mason

04/07/98 12:53:05 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael A. O'Mary/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: APRIL 2, 1998 REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT IN DISCUSSION WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS,
HOTEL LE MERIDIEN PRESIDENT, DAKAR, SENEGAL

also - the stenos are proofing hrc's speech in senegal - - i'll have it this afternoon.

----- Forwarded by Julie E. Mason/WHO/EOP on 04/07/98 12:48 PM -----

Nanda Chitre

04/03/98 02:25:24 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: APRIL 2, 1998 REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT IN DISCUSSION WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS,
HOTEL LE MERIDIEN PRESIDENT, DAKAR, SENEGAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Dakar, Senegal)

For Immediate Release

April 2, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN DISCUSSION WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

Hotel Le Meridien President
Dakar, Senegal

11:00 A.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: First let me say how delighted that I am to have such a distinguished group to discuss human rights and democracy in Africa. I thank our panelists for being here and also let me thank all of those who are here in the audience who have worked on this cause across the continent in your various countries and, in at least one instance, in your particular village.

I think it is clear that there has been some significant progress in Africa in the decade of the '90s. The number of governments that were elected by their people have gone from five to 24. But we have to be clear, there is still a huge human rights challenge, a huge democracy challenge in Africa. We believe that human rights are universal. That's what the international Declaration of Human Rights says. That's why the United States has worked hard to support democracy and human rights in Africa.

Since 1989, we have worked in 46 different African nations. We have invested more than \$400 million of our taxpayers' money to support elections, to reform judiciaries, to strengthen the participation of citizens in decision-making that affects their own lives. That support will continue.

I have seen many heartening signs.

And I want to say a special word of appreciation to the First Lady for the work she's done on these issues, especially beginning at the Beijing Women's Conference and the work that began here in Senegal last year on the issue of female genital mutilation, which I know she had a meeting about this morning.

- -

MORE

Would you like to say anything before we begin?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I, too, would like to welcome all of our distinguished guests and I look forward to the conversation. And I would like also to introduce a group of people who have worked on behalf of human rights and health rights here in Senegal. And I believe that they are an example of how we have to translate the Declaration of Human Rights into positive action in our families, our villages, our communities.

And the people of Malicunda Bambara who are here have taken on the issue of FGM, and taken a stand against female circumcision, and the men and women have joined together and we heard from them this morning. We heard the women talk about how difficult it was to take this stand on behalf of health and human rights. And we heard from the men, two of whom are with us, who have walked from village to village, explaining how this ancient custom needed to be eliminated in order to protect the girls of Senegal. And we also heard from a representative from Mali who spoke about the work that they are doing there.

And if I could, I would like to ask the villagers of Malicunda to stand because if we talk about human rights, we have to translate that into positive action, and I think we have here men and women who have done that. (Applause.) And because of their courage, more than 8,000 people in villages that they have reached and spoken to and done a skit in front of have also agreed to end the practice of female circumcision. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Now, let's begin. There are many issues that I hope we can have discussed today, and they make be covered in the initial comments by our speakers. We want to talk about democracy and human rights. We want to talk about the threat of ethnic conflict to forming a unified democratic environment. We want to talk about how -- the challenge of investigating past abuses and working for justice while promoting national unity and reconciliation; issues of freedom of the press, women's rights. There are a number of things that I hope we can deal with today.

But again, I want all of you to feel free to say mostly what it is you want to say about where you are, what you're doing, and what you believe the United States can do to support your endeavors.

Who would like to go first? Someone volunteer? Archbishop?

ARCHBISHOP NDINGI: Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am Archbishop Ndingi of Nairobi, Kenya; Chairman of National Justice and Peace Commission in that country. I am bishop for 29 years.

I'd like to address myself on the issues of democracy, human rights, corruption and drugs, if time allows. While there is a long way to go on issues of democracy and human rights in Kenya, Kenya has made dramatic improvements since 1990. Detention without trial is gone. People can meet, politicians can meet, without seeking permission from the administration. In the past, permit was required even for funerals.

Despite all this notable improvement, however, democracy that has -- a complete lack of separation of powers from the arms of the government. As a result, in Kenya, the executive has and possesses overwhelming legal and extra-legal powers. The judiciary especially -- Sabas (sp) in particular in this case. People can be detained in police stations for months, or in prisons for years before they are brought to court.

There is massive insecurity in Kenya in the form of state-sponsored troubled clashes, crime, more violence. This is largely due to a breakdown on law and order because of the security organizations are not only serious corrupt, but also restrained by higher authority from doing their job, especially where there is political linkage, like in our troubled clashes. There is a spate of violence promoted by state, through violence and brutality of the police, they clash.

There is, unfortunately, also violence against women, which is a special violence, since women go through additional trauma of rape. Wherever there is organized violence against a particular community, women are always targeted for rape on top of everything else. Rape in Acacha (sp) is especially horrible, as it not only leads to serious stigma, but also punishes the men and the entire community. Rape is a sign of being conquered and dominated.

There is abuse of power as political leaders cling to it and try to retain it, no matter what the wishes of people are. Oftentimes, political leadership subverts efforts of reform because of fear of losing power, and, thus, breeds every genuine attempt to better the lives of people, politically, economically, and otherwise, as attempts to remove it from power.

In Kenya, there's a high level of corruption, reaching the highest office in the land. Only 40 percent of our taxes are collected, for example, and only from ordinary people through surtax, VAT, and so on. Corruption -- Kenya has been named number three in Africa -- or in the world -- a position we are not proud of. There is a high level involvement of government officials in the drug trade, directly or by offering protection. Indeed, most drug dealers have the protection of the untouchables. These drug barons are then involved in financing elections.

Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton, ladies and gentlemen, change has taken place in Kenya, as I said in the beginning, particularly due to sustained education and the information of the people on their rights by religious bodies, churches, NGOs, and pressure from the international community, especially through the diplomatic missions in our country.

Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton, and the people of the United States, you can help us in Kenya as we fight for more opportunity to give our people civic education so that they can stand up and be counted. It is necessary for them to suffer a bit to retain their rights. At the moment, we have adopted the method of active non-violence in this country. Here we need your support, Mr. President. Thank you for the opportunity to be here.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

MR. WOODS: Thank you very much, Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton. Let me first have the opportunity to congratulate you for this bridge-building initiative in Africa. I think this is an attempt at bringing the White House and the town meetings to Africa, and I must congratulate you for that.

I must also indicate that this opportunity reinforces and reaffirms the universality of human rights, thereby, granting us around this table the needed legitimacy, increased visibility for our work, and to some extent guaranteed our own security in our countries.

Having said that, it is important to indicate that many parts of Africa, and particularly where I come from, are plagued with poverty, conflict, and to a large extent some degree of bad governance. However, there are some positive development initiatives that are ongoing. The groundswell of civic initiative in Africa is quite positive. These initiatives have served to challenge and test the commitment of various governments to deliver on the promises. It has served to challenge the political will of various governments to deliver on the promises to ordinary citizens.

Around this table men and women have met this challenge, with sacrifice, with risk. We think that it's important that this initiative be reinforced by the international community, but particularly the U.S.

In the case of Liberia particularly, I want to also mention your discussion in Uganda regarding the slave trade. Liberia represents a particular case in point where free slaves from America repatriated in the 1800s. We have thought and continue to believe that this was an opportunity of redemption by the U.S. and the international community.

A hundred years later we now suffer from devastation, disintegration of a state, and a few years back we had the complete collapse of the Liberian state. Certainly we have had elections. The election did not, in our mind, produce the basis of addressing the issue of justice and true reconciliation. What it provided was wholesale impunity for those who perpetrated violence and crime against ordinary people. And in trying to discuss the issue of impunity, certainly we think that there can be no compromise with those who see humanity as a target for the vain pursuit of power and greed.

However, the case of Liberia is a peculiar case. We have had elections and, to a large extent, the local international community have rewarded crime. This has to be addressed in a different context. The ethical and moral dilemma, therefore, is whether or not these same leaders can preside over a process of prosecution, process of justice, or truth-telling. This is the moral and ethical dilemma we are faced with.

But there are more critical issues that need to be addressed because we believe that those people in leadership are in the minority. Liberia is far greater than the president or any other individual. The ordinary people in the villages, the hamlets and towns need to be attended to. Refugees and returning population need to be addressed. The disintegration of families, massive suffering, the pollution and contamination of young children into a war they do not understand -- we think these young children need to rediscover their humanity. These are critical issues that need to be addressed at this moment.

We, therefore, hope that the U.S. will get engaged in a very cautious way, trying as much as possible to tie in foreign assistance, foreign policy, aid and grants to the issue of human rights, issue of good governance -- trying as much as possible to insist on the establishment of institutions that would serve to safeguard the rights and dignity of every individual in Liberia. That has to do with restructuring of the army, the police, the judiciary, and many aspects of survival in our country.

And the issues of poverty alleviation, the issue of education and health care are very critical. At the moment, we have begun a groundswell of activities for providing education and human rights and civic education for our people in the villages and towns, using community leaders, using individual citizen, to recognize that the struggle for justice and peace is not limited to institution or individuals, but that every Liberian, every African, must be a true human rights activist for themselves. In that way, we empower the individual to discover the potential, to identify avenues for redress of the grievances when there are violations.

I thank you for this opportunity, and I hope that this bridge is continuously maintained and nurtured by the continuous support that you provide to people like us to balance the threat on our very society. Thank you for much.

MR. MATCHABA-HOVE: Thank you, Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton. My name is Reginald Matchaba-Hove from Zimbabwe. I would just like to follow up on the point which you raised in the opening statement, Mr. President, and which Sam has just referred to, and that is the question of trying to balance of question of past human rights abuses in countries which are trying to establish democracy and establish national unity.

In Zimbabwe, in my particular case, of course, we have in the western part of the country, between '83 and '87, several thousand people were killed during essentially a political struggle, for political gains essentially to establish a one-party state. And I think the same would apply to a number of other countries within the region.

There is a lot of thoughts on our part that it is important for countries, for nations, for leaders, to go through that process of reconciliation which entails telling the truth, and forgiveness and reconciliation. If we do not go through that process -- and that happened in Zimbabwe after independence in 1980 -- you do run the risk of impunity, where the same types of violations occur. And people always point backwards and say, but you didn't do this in 1980, why should you complain today? So I think it is an important aspect.

But, yes, we've also got to recognize that quite often we're dealing with people who are already in power and they may resist any forms of investigations. And I think the critical balance there is what has been done in South Africa, where perhaps for some sort of crimes there is immunity provided that there is confession, acknowledgement of guilt. And I think that that is a cathartic exercise which is helpful to both these abused and the abuser, and which we do have to go through.

I can assure you today in Zimbabwe and the western part of our country, the people there are bitter -- and this is more than a decade after the event. And yet, we have a National Unity Day and we say that we have national unity. These are issues which begin to grow in the minds and souls of people long after the event.

I would encourage the U.S. government to support those local initiatives to ensure that there is opening up and discussions among society, that there is provision for rehabilitation of people who have been affected, and also, that where it is difficult within the national context to deal with this, to work through and to strengthen regional or continental mechanisms. And you, yourself, of course, referred to international mechanisms, and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights to which we are all signatories to.

I'm a medical doctor by profession, and I recall sometime ago when you made a comment and apology, in fact, about the experiments at Tuskegee, and African Americans and syphilis trials quite some time ago. There are some people who will say it's not important, it was long ago. But I think it is very significant.

And I would also like to say once I have the floor now that Mandela said that your visit to South Africa was the, I think, high-water mark of any foreign visit to South Africa. I would want to say that your entire visit to Africa, but in particularly here to Dakar, to Goree Island -- which I understand you are going tomorrow; I went there yesterday and saw photos of the First Lady and Chelsea, Mandela looking very solemn -- these are important gestures in developing reconciliation and building unity. And I personally, and I'm sure a whole lot of other Africans would want to personally thank you for your courage and for your sincerity in that important gesture. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Doctor, very much. I don't want to interrupt the flow of the statements, but I would like to pose a question that we can return to perhaps after you all make your

statements, if it's not convenient to address it as you go along. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa to which you referred obviously has made a great impression on people all across the world, and it has a great appeal. Yet, thinking about practically how you would do it in another country raises the question of whether it is possible if the leader of the country is not someone like Mr. Mandela. That is, he suffered so grievously himself, he is in a position to come forward and say, this is the procedure I advocate, and if it's okay with me, who are you to say it's not enough?

So, on the one hand, since he was the oppressed, he can make sure -- to go back to something that Sam and the Archbishop said -- he can make sure that the power of government is put at the service of the people who have been abused, something that others may not be able to do. And on the other hand, he can say to those who lost their loved ones or who were horribly scarred or maimed, I can forgive; you should, too. So there is a unique position there.

If you sought to do something like that in other countries and we wanted to support it, as a practical matter, could it be done in a way that would either make the people who had been abused feel that they were at peace, or, on the other hand, reach the consciousness of those who may be duly elected now, but still may have done things for which they should atone. That I think is the problem we have all tried to come to terms with.

Anyway, who would like to go next? Anyone?

MR. HAMULI: Thank you, Mr. President. Thank you, Mrs. Clinton. On the behalf of the civil society of my country and of the Great Lakes, I would like, first of all, to thank you very much for the Entebbe Declaration. My colleagues asked me to thank you very much for that, because in that declaration there is an important excerpt, which says -- well, I don't recall exactly, but which gives a stand to the civil society in the Great Lakes. That is very important. We have been struggling for long years for democracy and peace in these places and we think that it is important that our leaders understand that the civil society is doing a big job and that we have to work together. So, thank you, Mr. President, for that.

Thanks again for your short visit in Rwanda. We have all wounds of what happened in Rwanda and we are suffering a lot from what's happening in Burundi. The situation in this country has influenced very much the situation in the eastern part of the Congo. So we hope that a commitment to support peace in these countries will certainly help the Congo, as well, to rebuild.

Mr. President, we have been very happy with the support of the United States of America to get Mobutu out from the power, and we were very happy when Kabila came in. We were all supportive in Kinshasa and everywhere where, while the liberation struggle was going on, we were all very happy and we mobilized because we have suffered for long years of incredible dictatorship and a kleptocratic system.

Our country has resources to help Africa, and we have incredible resources. Mr. President, we have been partners of the U.S. for long years during the Cold War, and we can be good partners in this new partnership for progress in Africa. The Congo has resources and a determined people.

For the moment we are experiencing change in our country. There are some positive aspects of this change, but some negative ones as well. Some of the positive ones are like public resources are better managed today. There is more control, financial resources are well looked at, although there are still problems about how to allocate the resources, should resources go to the military now, to the security, should resources go to infrastructure which was completely destroyed. Very little resources go to poverty alleviation, unfortunately.

There is more discipline in public administration. People wake up in the morning, go to the office, 7:30 a.m. they are there, trying to get more organized. But there is an incredible lack of resources, and in some provinces civil servants have not been paid for six months.

There is more discipline in the military. I think the Zairian military was awful and had the reputation of being terribly awful against its own people. But now there is more discipline. The airports are much better. It was awful to land in Kinshasa and get out from the customs, but now it is very well. But the problem within our army is the kids -- so many kids who were recruited during the liberation war. The U.N. says to us there are about 2,000 kids in the army. This is a very dangerous situation. We need these kids to go back home and to go to study, to have professional skills.

There have been some very good officers within the former army. The problem is that their condition is not well handled for the moment. The new commanders are afraid of the former military officers. We don't know exactly how this is going to happen due to the fact that some of the big ones have left the country and are trying to network. They might see some weakness in administration today to put trouble in the country.

There are some bad things that are happening in the country today. First of all, the political parties have been forbidden to work. Political freedom has been reduced very much, and many political leaders are jailed -- the famous one is Johisekedi, opposition leader. He's in house arrest in his village. There are some others -- and all the other people who were active on the political scene.

We think this is a little setback in political life today. Human rights are seriously into question in my country today. We thought that the record was going to be better, but, unfortunately, it looks like the situation is the same. Human rights organizations, whether national or international, are not good friends of the government. Some of our colleagues have even left the country because they were going to be arrested and lots of human rights violations, due to the fact that the army is not well controlled. The country's very huge. The army has no logistics. There are some practices, old practices which are still there. Financial resources lack and so soldiers go by their own, sometimes doing horrible things.

Freedom of press is limited. Civil liberties are not very much cared of, unfortunately. Freedom of press is a reality in Kinshasa, but, unfortunately, the rest of the country lack press, lack a free press. And sometimes, newspapers published in Kinshasa have been forbidden to go in the provinces because they were very critical to the regime -- although there has been no decree to stop free press, but we have seen actions that reduce civil freedoms, civil liberties.

Mr. President, since May 1997 up to now, we have no constitution. Yes, there is a commission that is drafting a constitution, but the constitution will have to go to an interim parliament and then to the referendum. It might take a long time. We cannot have a country without a constitution. We have seen lots of things in the country for the last six or seven years with Mobutu, prolonging the whole process, and we are afraid that we might have the same situation. We heard that you pressed our President for election in the country in two years. That's very, very good. But if the constitution has to come in two years, that's not good.

There is no parliament. There is no institution that can control the power in the country, so the power today is in the hands of one person. Unfortunately, it is reminding of the system that we had in the past. We have a problem in the eastern part. I've already spoken about it, in the Kivus. The Kivu have a turmoil of social trouble, ethnic tensions. And this does not allow to reconstruct peace in Rwanda. You think it would be a high priority to help Kivu to have peace. And this would certainly help Rwanda have peace, as well.

Mr. President, there are some practical steps that the government of the United States can take to support the reconstruction of the Congo. And we think we can, following our long partnership, we can certainly expect support from the U.S. today.

The first thing is strongly support the democratic process and good governance in our country. Support the organization of the army and the police, as my colleague from Liberia said, as well. We actually have the same demands. Continue pressure on Kabila to democratize. It is important to pressure him. He would probably not, because his office, the cabinet, people surrounding him, half of them have been out of the country for the last 30 years and do not know the realities of the country. They need to be really, really

pressurized. Support the building of a state of law, constitution, parliament, and more especially, rehabilitation of local and provincial administrations. The country is very big. A centralized system cannot help the country reconstruct. And, of course, support civil society leaders and the work we are doing to get our people to participate.

We lack resources. We have been cut off from international cooperation for the last 10 years, and the rest of the money of the country has been picked up by some of our leaders. So resources lack incredibly because we cannot make business -- the infrastructure is cut and it's just a very difficult situation. So we need resources.

Strongly support the peace efforts in the Great Lake area, in the Great Lake region, and the Kivu. Strongly support poverty alleviation programs and the economic reconstruction of the Congo. We are being told today that the international community is reluctant to support us because we haven't paid foreign debt for long years. We have about \$14 billion to \$15 billion of external debt. But our former leaders have almost the same amount outside. At this time when we are rebuilding the nation, could it be possible to ease this burden on our people?

I think I will add some more in the discussion, Mr. President. Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me just say very briefly about this. This is very helpful. Any hope we have, I think, of having a regional system for developing the Great Lakes region, and indeed to some extent a larger in Africa, rests on the successful emergence of the Congo as a functioning democratic society. And we have here leaders -- Mr. Royce, the Chairman of the Africa Subcommittee in the Congress, and our Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, and Reverend Jackson, my Special Envoy for Africa -- we're all trying to figure out how we can best work with and influence Mr. Kabila, because, as you point out, I think one of their biggest handicaps is so many of them in the government were out of Congo for so long. And then when they came in and started the struggle to replace Mobutu, I think it happened even more easily and more quickly than they thought it would.

But now they're confronted with what has typically been a dilemma, sometimes more imagined than real, for people in positions of governance. They say, well, you know, these countries, they fluctuate between anarchy and abusive dictatorship, so I don't want anarchy, so maybe I'll be a less abusive dictator. You've heard this story throughout your whole lives.

So what we have to do is somehow find a way for other countries from the outside, and people like you from the inside, to show these people who have come into the government, oftentimes from many years away from the Congo, if you will, a middle way. A way to -- and the only way they can succeed -- of empowering people at the grass roots level and working out a less centralized approach.

And we will work very hard on it, because I believe that if the transition of the Congo away from Mobutu to a genuine democratic, functioning government could succeed, as vast and as wealthy as the country is -- and with the horrible history of the last few years -- it would be a stunning example to the rest of the continent, indeed, to places in other continents of the world. So it's a very important issue. And I thank you very much for it.

MS. SIDIBE: Thank you, Mr. President. Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton, I am Mrs. Amsatou Sow Sidibe, representing Senegal. I am the Director of Studies at the Peace and Human Rights Institute at the Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar. In this institute, we are basically looking at publicizing human rights, for the socialization of human rights and democracy, and also to instill the culture of democracy and human rights in Senegal. I'm also the Chairperson of the African Network for the Promotion of Women Workers.

I would just like to say a few words about the democratic expedience and human rights situation in Senegal. In this respect, I'd like to specify that Senegal has a democratic tradition. As far as the

institutional aspect is concerned, we do have a constitution which lays out the basic principles of rule of law. We also have a certain number of structures, such as the Election Observation Commission which was established recently and which enables us to show transparent elections. We have a freedom of press. We also have a major network of free press agencies. We also have political pluralism, which allows each Senegalese to participate in a political party and demonstrate his will in the field of political issues. We also have other bodies which allow us to promote human rights and democracy.

But I also wanted to mention that democracy is not perfect anywhere. Democracy is a permanent quest. And in Senegal, democracy is also not perfect. Of course, there are a certain number of difficulties when it comes to implementation of democracy and human rights. In the field of justice, I could quote the fact that justice is so expensive and very often Senegalese do not have equal access to this legal system. I can also mention the case of women who are suffering from discrimination -- a de facto discrimination. There are several laws which are enacted to protect these women, but in practice, discrimination and social cultural constraints do not allow us to implement these women's rights. Women are not represented in the decision-making bodies. They're suffering from violence against them.

Children, too, do not have their rights proclaimed. Though Senegal has ratified the Convention on Children's Rights, in practice, the convention is not implemented. And the civil society in Senegal, it is not well-organized. And this, of course, is a constraint because civil society, as you know, can play a tremendous role in the promotion and protection of human rights.

And I should have started by relating the difficulties involved in education and training because we cannot talk about development. We cannot talk about promotion of human rights and democracy if the people are not educated. But in Senegal, despite all the efforts made by the public authorities, as far as education is concerned, as far as training is concerned, well, we still have some limitations. And we really believe that people governing our country should enhance the educational system operated.

Of course, in the wake of all these problems and in the presence of the American President and his spouse, I would like to, of course, make a few suggestions, ask for some support from the United States of America. Support, first of all, when it comes to the teaching problem, education, because education, training, according to us, is of paramount importance. It is the essential priority. Without the proper education, without proper training, we cannot validly talk about development, we cannot talk of democracy, we cannot talk about human rights because people will continuously be poor; they will be unemployed; they will never know their rights. And if such is the case, we cannot progress. But we would really like to request the United States assist us to make education a reality in our country.

We would also like to suggest to the U.S. that they support us in the follow-up of the Beijing Declaration for Women -- that women should have an access to the decision-making bodies, that women should not suffer from any more violence. They're victims of violence, which is, of course, contradictory to development. It goes against a proper implementation of human rights. We are also requesting the United States support human rights organizations and institutions, try and build their capacities further to make sure that these organizations could be valid correspondents in front of the state and other human rights organizations.

The United States should also allow and enable the Africans to have an easier access to various communication agencies because without communication bodies, Africans might actually be left out or left behind. And we really believe that Africans have their word to say in the globalization process.

And I thank you for your attention.

MS. YAI: I'm Constance Yai from Cote d'Ivoire. Well, I'll not give you a very comprehensive development of the situation in Cote d'Ivoire because the situation is quite similar in our different countries; namely, the existence of a national law or legal system, as well as lack of proper implementation of the law.

And I also note that traditional practices and customs -- and I really thank Mrs. Mimuna Vinsep (sp) for the assistance that she has given us through the WorldNet discussion. A question was raised in Washington, we were in Abidjan, regarding the impact of customs on women's rights. And I have thanked Mimuna (sp) because that discussion had already been undertaken in our country. And I would also like to thank President and Mrs. Clinton.

And with the assistance of the American government, our organization has systematized information and sensitization of the local population, and we have realized that the populations are not hostile to women's rights implementation. Because when the government heard that I was coming to Dakar and that I was going to have the privilege of sitting at the same table with President and Mrs. Clinton, they said that they'll never miss this golden opportunity that she has been given to criticize the government. But I'd also like to explain that unless it is revolutionary, a lot of governments do not have the political means to implement the changes at the population's level, at the grass-roots' level.

I am extremely proud to take the floor here in front of you, Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton, because I know a lot of women are actually waiting for me back home, and one of them told me that once I greet President Clinton that I shouldn't wash my hands because she wants to touch my hand after that. So I'll have to go straight from here to the airport and go back to Abidjan.

But I'd like to inform you that there is a complicity between the African governments and populations which are hostile to changes for women. We call it the anti-women conspiracy in Cote d'Ivoire. Whether you are in Senegal, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, in Camaroon, everywhere, we have a lot of ethnic strife. We have refugees, we have conflicts. But, above all, there is an absence in women in decision-making bodies. We are women, we are mothers, and if people asked us about our opinion, I'm sure a lot of wars could have been avoided. I'm sure that problems of families and children would have found solutions if we had participated in government affairs.

Forced marriage, for example, which is quite common in most of the modern countries in Africa, leads to problems. We know that female circumcision is a very serious problem. Young girls are forced to marry people. In the most modern countries in Africa, girls are taken out of school to be married off. We have Abidjan, which is a big African city, where girls are taken away from school before they graduate just to be married off.

We hope that this forum, which is most welcome, will help us in generating new ideas. I am a very passionate woman, and that's not my fault, but I am a lawyer for women's rights, for children's rights, and I really hope that our problems will be taken into account because women's opinions are not heard. And all governments, whether they are parties of the left of the right, tend to marginalize women's rights.

Thank you.

MS. OBE: Thank you Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton. I am Ayoola Obe. I'm a private legal practitioner. I'm also the President of the Civil Liberties Organization, which is Nigeria's oldest indigenous human rights organization, which is to say that we're 10 years old, we're in our 10th year.

In your opening remarks, you did talk about the improvement in much of Africa. I think that the tragedy of Nigeria is that where others have been progressing, and some of the things that people are enjoying now -- such as freedom of press, freedom of expression, and so on -- are things that we have, perhaps, taken for granted in Nigeria and which are now being removed from us to the extent that we're poorer now than we were. We have fewer freedoms, possibly 16 journalists in detention or serving jail sentences for simply carrying out their trade.

The Civil Liberties Organization, when it started, it wasn't political -- it had not a political agenda. It was simply a human rights organization. The first focus was the fact that many people were in jail simply for non-political things like being locked up for wandering, but not having trials and being left there for 10

years or more. And that was what we started off with.

We come to understand that the reason why all of these various human rights abuses continued in Nigeria is because of the lack, in fact, the increasingly smaller space for democratic freedoms. And I think that, without wanting to repeat much that everybody else has said about what human rights abuses constitute and so on and so forth, of course, you may be aware that in Nigeria it's translating into an almost complete economic collapse. I left Lagos in the grip of fuel shortage. I had come from Abuja, also in the grip of fuel shortage. And the week before that I was in another part of the country, also in the grip of fuel shortage. This in oil-rich Nigeria, with four refineries.

And this is really a symptom to our mind of -- unlike in the popular wisdom is that, well, at least with dictatorship you have an efficient system. What we found here is that with dictatorship you just have corruption and inefficiency. And the only issue that agitates that dictatorship is its own security, its own continued stay in office.

The Civil Liberties Organization, having, as I said, seen this connection between the human rights abuses and the political situation, became involved in the umbrella organizations such as the Campaign For Democracy, along with other human rights groups, which spearheaded the protests in 1993, when the June 12 election was annulled by General Babangida. We led the demonstrations. We didn't have enough political savvy, perhaps, to translate that, and so we sort of had General Babangida stepping aside, as you said, but we then left the politicians and they negotiated the victory away.

I remember being in Washington in 1993, in May, and talking about what we then expected to happen, and saying that while we don't expect genuine democracy to come out of Babangida transition, but what we do expect that -- and I use the football analogy that -- the playing field will not be leveled, but at least the goalposts will stop moving, and it's after the goalposts have stopped moving that we will then start the work of leveling the playing field, which is to say putting in place restored respect for the things that one takes for granted in other countries, such as freedom of the press, access to the courts, and so on and so forth.

History is not quite repeating itself in Nigeria, however much the Abacha government may be trying to give the impression that we are going through another, but slightly better transition. In fact, now we are not so much in a situation of trying to fix the goalposts -- okay, we know where the game is going to be, but we really don't know whether we're turning up to play ice hockey or whether we're turning up to play football, simply because -- (laughter) -- we don't have the constitution.

We had a constitutional conference which in itself was flawed, but we didn't have -- up until now we don't have any idea of what that constitution contains, because at the end of the day it is a military dictator who will say, well, I accept this recommendation, I don't accept that, I'm putting this in, I'm taking that out.

So that we are how many months away -- maybe six months away from a handover to democratically-elected government. And yet, all the people who have taken part in the elections which have taken place so far don't really know what they're going there to do. Of course, many of the people who ought to be involved in Nigeria's political life are outside it. Apart from the yet to be declared presidential campaign of General Abacha, we have only two other people who have expressed an interest. And as has been pointed out, four years ago, 23 people said they wanted to be President of Nigeria. Suddenly now, everybody has found -- oh, the Senate is a very much more interesting place and probably a safer place for them to be.

So I think that the five political parties -- political pluralism is certainly important for Nigeria because it is so diverse. But I think that the five political parties which have been correctly described as the five leprous fingers of a diseased hand, which is to say that they are all created by the government, they are all beholden to the government, and they have no individual ideology, which is why they find it very easy for people in one party to just move to what they think is the winning side and to move to what they think is also the side that government favors or the side where they think they can have access.

I think that the problem with Nigeria -- and when it comes to an issue of what can the United States do, of course, the Nigerian government, being one which look with quite some equanimity on the suffering of the people, is not really very amenable to the issues of even sanctions, even sporting sanctions -- we all know how football-crazy Nigerians are -- but even, sporting sanctions, the government would take it and say that, well, if this is what it means for us to be able to be able to have "our own independence", then they're ready to put up with it.

But I think that one area where they are amenable to pressure is from their fellow African countries. And I think that, although it may seem a somewhat indirect route, that it's very important that the United States makes it clear to other countries that they also are expected to have a voice in the Nigerian position. Because just as with the case of Zaire, the Nigerian sickness spreads throughout the region, although Nigeria has had some beneficial effects in Liberia and Sierra Leone, nonetheless, when Nigeria is in a mess, the region cannot really be at ease. So I think that that area -- South Africa has led in this regard, but people tend to think of South Africa as somewhat different. So I think that's it's also important that other neighboring countries also are encouraged.

The issue of support for civil society has been mentioned. It's very important for us. We don't have a lot of funds. So I won't say much more about that because it's been covered. But I also should thank you for the opportunity and for your visit to Africa.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me say just very briefly before I ask John to speak that in all candor, the question of Nigeria has been the most difficult for us to deal with because it is the most populous country in Africa, because it has this incredible irony of having the vast oil resources and all the poverty and dislocation at home, and because every avenue we have tried to try to deal with the government of General Abacha has been frustrating to us.

And we even had -- I think it's fair to say we've had some fairly heated debates among ourselves about, well, should we just continue having nothing to do with this man, should we try to at least deal with him in the way we're working with President Kabila? What should we do? Because it is an incredible tragedy. You have this huge, diverse, rich country, in effect, being driven into the ground by political oppression and mismanagement.

And we have said that if there were a release of the political prisoners, if there were a genuine political process that was real, not just a military government in a suit and tie, that we would try to work with it. But by your comments, you know how difficult it is to exercise any constructive influence. And yet it's a great tragedy.

I mean, when I was in Ghana, and we were discussing energy problems -- just to take the energy issue -- I learned that the oil production in Nigeria is continuing to burn off the natural gas instead of to save it and to sell it to Nigerians or to others, when everyone who know anything about energy knows that the natural gas is not only just a valuable as oil, but less damaging to the environment and could help to provide huge amounts of money to Nigeria to alleviate the suffering of the people and lift the condition of the people. I just give that as one example.

We will continue to do what we can. We will continue to look for other avenues, and we will continue to encourage the other African governments to do the same. And the point you made about expecting it from South Africa but needing it from the others I think is a very important one.

MR. MUKELA: Thank you very much, Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton, for this very rare opportunity of being here with you.

My name is John Mukela. I am from Zambia, so I'm actually wearing two hats. Although I'm from Zambia, I actually live in Mozambique and I run -- I'm Executive Director of a media training

institution. So it's been nice listening to what people have had to say. And I think it encapsulates the whole crisis of Africa, that we have a continent which is really kind of suspended in mid-air without this sort of institutional frameworks and mechanisms to make it work in this sort of new era we're going into the 21st century.

And speaking from a media perspective, I think that the media, as we all know, is one of the fundamental institutions to sort of enforce and ensure that the sort of things we've been talking about this morning can be realized and can be corrected and we can put ourselves on the right track. The media, as you know, Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton, in Africa, is emergent. Just as many of our institutions, our own democracies, are very, very new, in many respects, very early in concepts, we are trying to grapple with these issues. And the media itself is very weak. And what we see in Africa is the need to sort of strengthen this very crucial arm of the democratization process.

While there have been obvious advances and obvious victories, countries like Mali, countries like Nigeria have traditionally had a very independent media, but we are seeing at the same time backward movements in this whole process. We are seeing governments which are becoming more and more aggressive in trying to stomp down on this area. And I think any government worth its salt, if it's going to try to maintain its position in government, would try and tromp down on the media. And the media is at the forefront, I think, of this battle to try and survive. And if I were Minister of Information, I would certainly put roadblocks in the establishment of a strong, vibrant media. So this is the practical aspect of the where we see ourselves going.

And this means that we need to support the growth, we need to ensure that the problem areas are addressed. And there are various problems areas. The media, repressive legislations which we see in Africa are being strengthened. In my own country, Zambia, for example, we have a fairly decent media. I am one of the people who have been in the forefront of establishing this new scenario. But we also see that in countries like South Africa, where we have movements towards the implementation of Freedom of Information Acts, that this could indeed be replicated.

But I think that in many of the countries, they do not have the capacities to get these legislative practices scrapped. So that's one area where the American government could, perhaps, lend support. We are seeing very visible signs of clamping down on the media -- not in a very sort of a crude way, but in subtle ways, where, for example, high taxation on media inputs -- newsprint, for example; printing presses, you can't get printing presses.

We need to also make sure that the actual capacity of media to exist is improved. Poor business and management skills in the media, which need to be emphasized in order for it to survive, it must be able to survive in a competitive atmosphere. But many journalists do not have the capacity to manage and to make sure that the paper or the radio station survives. So that's one area where my institution is trying to put some effort into.

A number of instances can be looked at, but I would just like to say that the absence of professional skills, journalistic skills, actually reporting and being able to analyze a situation, where you find that the media in Africa is incapable of actually critically looking at the real issues, it is urban based, urban biased. We're looking at rural communities which are not represented. We're looking at the need for the establishment of radio, not just state-run radio but local community-based radio. We're looking at the empowerment of people in the rural area, women who are the bulk of the agriculturally-based countries in Africa, dependent on labors from women. We're looking at all of these inequalities, and we're looking at also the inequalities of the global new information age, where Africa, I think, is on the way to becoming even more globally marginalized.

The Internet, for example, how many Africans can have a computer? Even in African cities, the people who have access to computers, you can count them on one hand.

But these are the challenges. I think, Mr. President, that what the American government could do -- Mrs. Clinton -- would be to try and get this whole institutional framework issue on the agenda of American policy, because I think if you look at, for example, the media, the support has been more or less ad

hoc. There has been no consistent sort of focused support to support the media. And I think that this is one area, for example, through training, through the support of training institutions, that we could, perhaps, have more meaningful progress and input by the American government.

Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Let me just, if I could, pick up on a couple of suggestions you made. First of all, the comment you made about radio struck me as particularly important. As we traveled around the country and got into some of the rural areas, I thought about that myself. But for all of you who are interested in this, I think that it is important that people like you get out ahead of this and come up with ideas about how you could use it in a beneficial way to advance democracy and human rights. Because one of the things I worry about is that in this ongoing struggle, that some of the people that are most hostile to what you believe in could one day hit upon the instrument of the radio to drive wedges between people.

That's been one of our biggest problems in Bosnia, where we're seeking to make peace, is that instruments of the media -- the radio and the television -- came totally into the hands of basically the people who had a stake in keeping the various ethnic groups at war with one another. And so they relentlessly use the radio to abuse the privilege of the airwaves, which in every country should belong to the public at large. It should be used for larger public purposes.

So I think that this is a cause, John, which you might make a common cause with other human rights groups around the continent, because I think it's very important. In the places which have no communications, including some of the villages that I have visited, it will come, and it's very important when it comes, how it comes. I cannot overestimate that to you, the importance of making sure that when this happens to the general population, that it is an instrument of education and enlightenment and bringing people together and empowering them, not just one more blunt weapon to beat them down and keep them apart.

Now, let me just say one other thing. When I listen to you all talk and putting this into the context of the larger trip, it is obvious that many, many great things are happening in Africa; that if you look at them, you think there's an African renaissance. If you look at some of the problems you mentioned and you realize some things we haven't talked about in great detail -- the education, environmental, and economic problems -- there's still a lot of crisis.

I had a meeting with young leaders in South Africa to discuss this, and I said that just observing all these places -- and I went to two villages, I went to three different townships and neighborhoods in South Africa when I was there, apart from the cities and the official work. And it seems to me that there is a crying need for -- you have a lot of leaders and potential leaders, not only people like you who have good educations and backgrounds, but the people who stood up and were applauded here -- they're leaders, too. And we would like to focus more on building the structures necessary for leadership to work.

There are the national structures you talked about -- the press, the education system, all of that. But there's also the need to figure out how you can best channel the resources that might come from outside at the grass-roots level. We went to Dal Diam, the village here, yesterday, and we saw people essentially reclaiming the desert because someone gave them enough money to build a well. So one little village, they reclaimed 5 hectares of the desert. That's the way you reverse the growth of the desert -- people do it, because they have to find a way to sustain their life as they do that.

So before we have to break up here, I would just like to say to all of you, I do not want this trip of ours to be an isolated event. I want it to be the beginning of a much more comprehensive and constructive role for the United States. So as you think about the structural issues -- not just what can the President of the United States say to the leader of some other country, I want you to feel free on your own behalf and for others with whom you come in contact, to contact us with very specific suggestions about what we can do to help people in your countries change their own lives -- what kind of structural changes, supports, can be built in to build organized efforts such as the one we have celebrated today with the women and men who are here from

the village that Hillary visited. I think it's very important.

We're about out of time, but I wonder if any of you have any other -- any of you would like a second round of comments based on what you've heard before we adjourn. Is there anything else you would like to say to me or to each other?

Yes.

MS. SIDIBE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton. Very quickly, I would like to ask a few questions. You've more or less answered the first question of mine, which was to know what the United States could do to help promoting social, economic and cultural rights in Africa; what the U.S. could do for peace in the Cassamance region in the south of Senegal; and one last question -- apparently, the U.S. has not signed and ratified two conventions, convention on children's rights, and the Ottawa Treaty of 1977 on antipersonnel mines. I'd like to know what's the reason.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let me, first of all, answer an earlier question you made. You made a lot of points about education in your earlier remarks, and we have announced a new initiative there. And I hope that -- let me follow up on that just to say I hope you will think of other specific things we can do in that regard.

On the children's convention, the Senate of the United States has not ratified that because of a concern about one particular provision in it and how it relates to the sovereignty of our states in the United States. But we fully support its objectives, and always have.

On the land mine issue, I don't know about the '77 convention. I can tell you that we, the United States, spend more than half of the money the whole world spends to take land mines out of the ground. We have already destroyed 1.5 million of our own land mines, and we are in the process of destroying our whole supply -- with the single exception of those that are in a very carefully marked plot of land in Korea, at the border of North and South Korea. We leave them there -- first of all, they're not near any residential area, they're not near any children, and the area where they are is heavily marked with warning, and no civilian has ever been hurt there -- because the North Korean army has vastly larger forces on the border of South Korea than the South Koreans and the Americans have facing them. And it's only about 18 miles from the border of North Korea to Seoul, the largest city in South Korea. And the land mines are thought to be the only presently available deterrent should an invasion occur, and no invasion has occurred.

We are there pursuant to the United Nations resolution of the conflict between North and South Korea. I think there is some encouragement that that may be resolved, that the final peace may be made. And when that happens, then the last remaining land mine issue will be resolved.

In the meanwhile, we will continue to do everything we can to end the problem of land mines for people everywhere. We will continue to spend the money that we're spending, to use the people that we're spending -- we, actually, not very long ago, lost a crew of our Air Force -- you may remember -- in a tragic accident off the coast of Africa when they just deposited some American forces to take land mines up in Southwest Africa. It was an airline accident, but they were there to deal with the land mine issue.

It is a very, very important thing to me, personally, and to our country. And we are trying to increase the number of people trained to take the mines up, and also increase the amount of equipment available. And, interestingly enough, for the first time ever our Defense Department has just recently purchased a machine made in South Africa that aids in the extraction of land mines from the ground. So we are working very, very hard on that.

MORE

Q I know we are short of time. I just wanted to make one quick comment. And that is to say I know we have pointed out the problems in Africa and I'm glad that you did mention there is element of hope. I wanted to say that as an African I would want to reassure you that the way you've conducted this visit and your opening statements, that "I've come here to listen and not to tell Africans what to do" -- you asked us what could we do to support reconciliation. And she said, go through the African mechanisms, local mechanisms -- the Archbishop, the churches, systems regional, systems like Accord in South Africa for conflict resolution and so forth, working through the OAU and strengthening the OAU mechanisms -- I think that is something which we would want to encourage you to support.

And this is one thing I think we, as Africans, saw in your visit, that you came to listen and not to tell us what to do. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, one of the things that we have learned the hard way, just from trying to solve social problems in our own country, is that there is a sense in which the people are always ahead of the leaders. And, therefore, partnership is all that works. And certainly it's true for us coming here from a totally different experience.

I believe the United States, as I said when I got here, tended to view Africa too much through the very limited lens of the Cold War for too long. And I believe that the world over has seen too much of Africa only in terms of the problems, when something bad happens. So I think -- what I'm trying to do is to get the scales right, to see the problems and the promise and to develop a partnership that makes sense, that will outlive my presidency, that will fundamentally change forever the way the United States and Africa relate to one another.

It's heartbreaking to me that there are some situations for which I don't have a ready answer -- the most painful and the biggest one being the one that we discussed with Nigeria. But I'm positive that if we have a consistent, ongoing effort, and if we continue to listen and work together, that increasingly, the promise will prevail over the problems.

Thank you. (Applause.)

END 12:20 P.M. (L)

Message Sent To: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1998

The Right Honorable Navichandra Ramgoolam
Prime Minister of the Republic of Mauritius
Port Louis
Mauritius

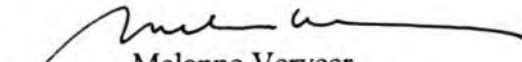
Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

On behalf of the First Lady, thank you very much for your letter inviting her to visit Mauritius. Your celebration of the Day of the African Child on June 16 is enticing, but as you know, the First Lady has recently returned from a trip to Africa with the President. At this time, her responsibilities here do not allow for another visit.

The First Lady was so impressed with the energy and enthusiasm of the people she met and saw on her first visit to Africa, that she chose to re-visit the continent with the President. Although Mauritius was not visited on this trip, I can assure you that she recognizes the efforts of Mauritians to build a strong and lasting multi-ethnic democracy.

Please accept the First Lady's deepest regrets that she cannot accept your kind invitation. Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

April 28, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR EVAN RYAN

FROM: GLYN T. DAVIES *GD*

SUBJECT: Invitation to Mrs. Clinton from the Prime
Minister of Mauritius

Attached at Tab A is a proposed response to Prime Minister Ramgoolam's invitation to the First Lady to attend the Day of the African Child celebration on June 16.

*LTS.
From MV*

Attachment

Tab A Proposed Response
Tab B Letter from Prime Minister Ramgoolam

*Hanna -
pls have
typed
Mark*

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A

Divider Title: _____

DRAFT RESPONSE

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

On behalf of the First Lady, I would like to thank you very much for your letter inviting her to visit Mauritius. Your celebration of the Day of the African child on June 16 is enticing, but as you know, the First lady has recently returned from a trip to Africa with the President. At this time, her duties here do not allow for another visit.

The First Lady was so impressed with the energy and enthusiasm of the people she met and saw on her first visit to Africa, that she chose to re-visit the continent with the President. Although Mauritius was not visited on this trip, I can assure you that she recognizes the efforts of Mauritians to build a strong and lasting multi-ethnic democracy.

Please accept the First Lady's deepest regrets that she cannot accept your kind invitation.

Sincerely,

The Right Honorable
Navinchandra Ramgoolam
Prime Minister of the
Republic of Mauritius
Port Louis

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B

Divider Title: _____

THE FIRST LADY'S SCHEDULING OFFICE

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

- 1.) NSE Africa Directorate
- 2.) _____
- 3.) _____
- 4.) _____

ORGANIZATION	Prime Minister of Republic of Mauritius	
EVENT	Visit Mauritius	
DATE OF EVENT	while in Africa (or June 16 th)	
LOCATION	Africa	
EVENT DESCRIPTION	meet w/ village	
CONTACT	Hon. Navinchandra Ramgoolam	
RECOMMENDED BY		
STATUS	ACCEPT _____ REGRET _____ PENDING _____	LETTER _____ VIDEO _____
NOTES	for a draft response (NO) - Evan Ryan xlele751	



*Prime Minister
Republic of Mauritius*

1st March 1998

Dear Mrs Clinton

It was a great privilege and pleasure for my wife Veena and myself to hear your address on individual and collective priorities for the 21st century and to meet you personally at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

Your advocacy for a society based on three solid supports struck an echo in me, for Mauritius has achieved relative economic and social progress due to its tripartite system that involves the public and private sectors as well as the civil society in democratic discussion and cooperation. Our deep commitment to democratic principles, transparency in public affairs, economic freedom and good governance have been the underpinnings of our endeavours and these have contributed to Mauritius being classified as the most competitive country in Africa.

The people of Mauritius would be extremely happy and proud to welcome you as someone who has taken to heart the causes of the developing world in particular Africa, and of women and children.

May I extend to you an official invitation to make a visit in the near future to our small, but global village, here in the Indian Ocean. It occurs to me that it will be appropriate for someone with your interests to be in our midst on the 16th of June when we celebrate the Day of the African child.

During your visit you will have an opportunity to see the functioning of a multi-racial society that has successfully allowed many cultures to interact in peaceful co-existence.

Please accept and convey to His Excellency The President the assurances of my highest consideration.

Dr the Hon. Navinchandra Ramgoolam
Prime Minister

**The First Lady
Mrs Hilary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington DC 20502
U.S.A.**



The Ambassador
of the Republic
of Mauritius

Washington, D.C.

MW/III/3

April 30, 1998

Dear Ms. Verveer,

I am writing to you with regard to the letter from the Honourable Prime Minister Dr. Navinchandra Ramgoolam to the First Lady Mrs. Clinton to visit Mauritius on the occasion of the Day of the African Child on the 16th June 1998.

We would deem it a great honour if the First Lady would accept to join the Mauritian people on this occasion.

We plan to make this event a very special occasion and the presence of the First Lady will greatly assist us in achieving this goal.

I request your kind assistance in making this visit possible.

Chitmansing Jesseramsing

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Assistant to the President and
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Office of the First Lady
Room 100
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 200500

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 4, 1998

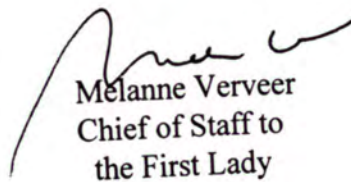
Ms. Deedie Runkel
Founder and President
Peace Links
729 8th St., SE
Suite 300
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Ms. Runkel:

Thank you for your letter and information on Peace Links. The material is extremely useful and we will consider Peace Links recommendations as we put the First Lady's schedule together for the upcoming visit to China.

Thank you and best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

cc: Evan Ryan



PEACE LINKS

729 8th Street, S.E.
Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 544-0805
(202) 544-0809 Fax

May 28th
1998

Betty Bumpers
Founder and President

To: Melanne Verveer
From: Deedie Runkel
Re: Briefing Materials for Mrs. Clinton's trip to China

We are glad to be able to provide the enclosed background materials on Peace Links' relationships with the All China Women's Federation. You will note that the Pennsylvania Peace Links, headquartered in Pittsburgh, have by far the most significant, ongoing relationship with ACWF. In fact, they have been asked to assist with the development of a peace education curriculum for 450,000 Chinese elementary schools through their ACWF contacts.

We hope that this will be helpful as you prepare Mrs. Clinton's itinerary. Should you want to discuss this in more depth, we would be pleased to coordinate a teleconference with your office, Betty Bumpers and the coordinators in Pittsburgh, Teresa Wilson and Anne Harty. However, since Betty and I will be leaving Saturday for a week in Japan, here are the numbers for them:

Teresa Wilson 412.682-5685
Anne Harty 412.471-0302

Please give a call should you have any more questions.

Best regards,

Deedie

SEMINAR ON PEACE EDUCATION FOR A CULTURE OF PEACE

CHINESE WOMEN'S COLLEGE, BEIJING - SEPTEMBER 1999

BACKGROUND

Pennsylvania Peace Links has been engaged in exchanges with the All China Women's Federation since 1991., building personal relationships and learning about each others work. During the preparation for the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, Peace Links hosted a problem solving meeting for the ACWF chairpersons of the Beijing conference inviting a group of selected NGO's . This meeting was held in 1995 during a New York UN meeting of the Commission on Women. Since the Beijing Conference our Pennsylvania delegation visited and hosted both the ACWF and the Chinese Association of Peace and Disarmament. While we hosted a Chinese delegation in Washington recently Ms. Betty Bumpers, Founder and our President of national Peace Links suggested the inclusion of a Peace Curricula in the newly founded university for which the ACWF has responsibility.

PROPOSAL

Plans for the 1999 visit include a 2 day Seminar for faculty, students and parents on the university campus . We will focus on the school of education sharing the work of Pennsylvania Peace Links in Conflict Resolution for Young Children.

Topics will highlight the significance of early experiences on children's attitudes toward trust building, autonomy, attachment and management of aggression critical to peaceful outcomes. We will share information on the consequences of violence on children and offer our programs in conflict resolution training and the use of puppets and books for small children and the parents and caregivers of small children.

A roundtable discussion on the Culture of Peace will follow with the faculty of the university.

In addition to the Beijing Seminar we will hold similar meetings with the staffs of ACWF parenting training centers in two other cities in China. Knowing that there are 450,00 such schools, it is our hope to influence the planners for these programs.

3rd
pg

BACKGROUND ON PENNSYLVANIA PEACE LINKS WORK WITH ALL
CHINA WOMEN'S FEDERATION.

THE ALL CHINA WOMEN'S FEDERATION was founded in 1949 for the express purpose of bringing China's women from the feudal state to the new China. It remains a mass organization for uniting and emancipating the women of all nationalities and walks of life in China. It functions to represent and uphold women's rights and interests and promote equality between men and women.

The ACWF was given responsibility for hosting the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women. Peace Links began exchanges with them by invitation in 1991 because of awareness of our citizen diplomacy work with the Soviet Women's Committee of the then Soviet Union.

We meet annually with the Chinese delegation to the Commission on the Status of Women at the UN. In 1995, we co-hosted a "problem solving" meeting of twelve other NGO's attending the Commission on Women's preparatory meeting for the UN conference as requested by the ACWF leadership.

On our first visit to China in 1991, we were accompanied on tour by Mrs. Li Yueying, then division chief who was particularly helpful in understanding the generational roles of women and contributed to our understanding of the underlying events prior to Tienamen.

Since initiating this effort, Pennsylvania Peace Links has enjoyed the support of the national office and Betty Bumper's leadership and participation in China and in Washington.

We have visited ACWF headquarters and grassroots locations in China on two occasions and hosted delegations from ACWF in Pittsburgh, New York, and Washington. We also have had exchanges with the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament, with co-operation from the ACWF.

for 412687 6716

Date: Monday, May 18, 1998 2:42:33 PM
Subj: ACWF draft
To: runkelinof@aol.com, tfwilson@aol.com

*is correct? my computer not sending
Teresa*

DRAFT

Fang Cui
Director General, International Liaison Department
All China Women's Federation

Zou Xiaoqiao
Deputy Director-General, Int'l. Liaison Dept. ACWF

15, Jian Guo Men Nei street
Beijing 100730 China

Dear Colleagues at ACWF,

Hillary Rodham Clinton, our President's wife will be traveling in China in June. Her itinerary is now in the planning stage; we at Peace Links are suggesting that she might include a visit with the All China Women's Federation.

Betty Bumpers has told her about our ongoing exchanges since 1991 and of our scheduled Peace Links Seminar and peace curriculum discussions for your new University scheduled for September 1999.

With Mrs. Clinton's interest in post Beijing women's activities all over the world we hope that you find it a timely opportunity to share the crucial role that the ACWF plays in women's lives in your country. We will be back in touch with you as soon as possible.

Wishing you well with your June national meeting on the Beijing Plan for Action Follow Up and personal regards to all of you. Mrs. Bumpers would like to extend her special best wishes to Mrs. Li who though now retired is fondly remembered along with others.

BACKGROUND: PENNA. PEACE LINKS WORK WITH ALL CHINA
WOMEN'S FEDERATION

ALL CHINA WOMEN'S FEDERATION

Founded 1949 to bring China's women out of feudal state.

Mass organization for uniting and emancipating women of all nationalities and states of life.

Upholds women's rights and interests, trains for leadership, employment and family roles.

Develops exchanges with women of other countries.

In 1995, hosted the Fourth World Conference on Women.

PEACE LINKS ASSOCIATION WITH ACWF

In 1991, established exchange based on Peace Link's work with women in Russia. Mrs. Li Yeuying was valuable host then and friend on later exchanges.

Visited Beijing and grass roots groups in five other cities on two occasions with exchange Chinese delegations hosted in Pittsburgh, Washington and New York.

Meet annually at the UN during the Commission on Status of Women sessions.

In 1994, spoke in Beijing on Peace Links at Chinese prep-com meeting for Beijing Conference.

In 1995, co-ordinated a "problem solving" meeting of twelve NGO's with Huang Qizao, ACWF Chairperson for the Beijing Conference.

In 1997, hosted a delegation from the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament.

In 1997, invited to create a seminar on peace studies by Feng Cui, new Director-General of International Liaison Department, ACWF. Betty Bumper's had suggested to

Madame Feng, on hearing of their responsibility to change their training institute into a full university that "no women's university should be without a peace curriculum." Betty's participation in China and Washington and the support of the National office of Peace Links is a crucial part of this work.

Peace Seminar scheduled for September 1999 in Beijing with meetings in two ACWF training centers (out of 450,000 such schools) in additional cities.

FENG CUI

Member of the Standing Committee
Member of the Secretariat
Director General, International Liaison Department
All-China Women's Federation

Add: 15 Jian Guo Men Nei Street Tel: (86 10) 65225371
Beijing 100730 China (86 10) 65221133-2315
E-mail: acwf@public3.bta.net.cn Fax: (86 10) 65136044

International Liaison Department
All-China Women's Federation

Zou Xiaoqiao

Deputy Director-General

15. Jian Guo Men Nei Street Tel: 65221133-5307
Beijing 100730 China 65225372 65225357
E-mail: acwf@public3.bta.net.cn Fax: (8610) 65136044

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**Pennsylvania
Peace Links**

305 Wood Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15222

(412) 471-0302

Fax: 471-4545

Peacelinks@aol.com

Website:

//<http://trfn.clpgh.org/peacelinks>

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**Sowing seeds of peace,
so that our children and grandchildren
will inherit a safer world,
is the goal of
Pennsylvania Peace Links.**

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A Brief Introduction of the All-China Women's Federation



Beijing ,China

September , 1993

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 22, 1998

Dr. Warnasena Rasaputram
Ambassador to Sri Lanka
2148 Wyoming Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20008

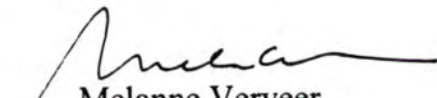
Dear Dr. Rasaputram:

Thank you for your kind note and the Sri Lanka Tea.

It was wonderful to see you and your wife again and to learn about the important progress that Sri Lanka is making.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

From the Ambassador of Sri Lanka

R
Thank



Ref: US/POL/1

June 9, 1998

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Room 100
Old Executive Office Bldg
Washington DC

Dear Ms. Verveer,

It was a pleasure meeting you last week at your office and I am grateful to you for having arranged this meeting. I was gratified to hear from you the elaborate details of your visit to Sri Lanka two years ago. I do hope that you will make another visit, perhaps for a longer stay, in the not too distant future.

I send herewith some Sri Lanka Tea which I hope you will enjoy.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Warnasena'.

Dr. Warnasena Rasaputram
Ambassador

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 17, 1998

Martha Rush-Mueller
Director of Marketing & Public Relations
Peabody Essex Museum
East India Square
Salem, MA 01970-3783

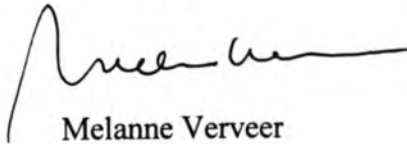
Dear Ms. Rush-Mueller,

Thank you very much for your letter and invitation to the First Lady to attend the opening week of the *White House Collection of American Crafts* exhibition at the Peabody Essex Museum, July 20-24.

Regrettably, because of schedule conflicts, Mrs. Clinton will not be able to accept your invitation. She conveys her appreciation, along with her best wishes for a successful show.

Thank you for your leadership on the American Crafts exhibition, and all the work you do.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a stylized, flowing script.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



EAST INDIA SQUARE
SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS
01970-3783

TEL: 978-745-1876
FAX: 978-744-6776
WWW.PEM.ORG.

Legal

June 22, 1998

Ms. Melanne Verveer
First Lady's Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Ms. Verveer:

This summer, the Peabody Essex Museum is pleased to host the *White House Collection of American Crafts*, an exhibition organized by the Renwick Gallery of the National Museum of American Art. This exhibition, organized in honor of the Year of American Craft in 1993, showcases a stunning array of contemporary American craft that was originally displayed in the White House.

Since the First Lady was so instrumental in the development of the original exhibition, we would like to invite Mrs. Clinton to attend the show during its opening week at the Peabody Essex Museum, July 20 – 24, 1998. Our schedule is flexible and we can work around other dates.

We would be truly honored to have the First Lady visit the Peabody Essex Museum. Background information on the show is attached. I will follow up with you by telephone in the next few weeks. In the meantime, we can be reached at 978/745-1876.

Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Martha Rush-Mueller".

Martha Rush-Mueller
Director of Marketing & Public Relations
Enclosures (2)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 16, 1998

Contact: Debbie Kane
(978) 745-9500, x3109
E-mail: debbie_kane@pem.org

The White House Collection of American Crafts Opens
at the Peabody Essex Museum

Salem, MA – The White House crafts collection visits the Peabody Essex Museum in a new exhibition featuring outstanding American craft works in mediums ranging from glass and wood to metal and ceramics. *The White House Collection of American Crafts*, assembled at the initiation of President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in recognition of the country's ongoing tradition of craftmaking, features the works of more than 70 of America's leading craft artists. Created in 1993 in recognition of the Year of American Craft, the exhibition opens at the Peabody Essex Museum on July 17 and continues through October 25, 1998. The exhibition was organized by the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

"We selected key pieces from an outstanding group of craft artists at different stages in their careers, chosen for the excellence of their vision and technique," said Michael W. Monroe, former Curator-in-Charge of the Renwick Gallery of the National Museum of American Art and curator of *The White House Collection of American Crafts*. "They come from all over the United States and represent many different craft traditions. It was important to the Clintons that the works show the range of achievements by American craftspeople today." The collection includes utilitarian pieces as well as purely decorative and sculptural forms.

The exhibition, which encompasses 72 objects, includes contemporary glass, ceramic, fiber, wood, and metal works, distinguished by a remarkable individuality, and, often, a sense of humor. Most were donated by the artists; four are gifts of artists' patrons.

Teapots include Ralph Bacerra's earthenware pot in a saturated hue of red, molded from a tree trunk and twigs, and accented with 24-karat gold and geometric patterns. A pair of forged-steel candlesticks by Albert Paley demonstrates his ability to coax fluid, sensual, and supple forms from an industrial material

- more -

House, pg. 2

known for rigidity. Judy Dales's expressive quilt with a contoured border, *Spirit Flight*, combines a White multitude of printed fabrics in soft hues to create a painterly flow of color in which an ethereal figure floats above the starry heavens.

Dale Chihuly's large, sculptural blown-glass form, *Cerulean Blue Macchia with Chartreuse Lip Wrap*, appears to pulsate with its undulating shape and ever-changing spots of raucous color. Wood is represented by a number of works, including *White Pine Mosaic Bowl* by Philip Moulthrop, a bulbous sphere made of cross sections of white pine suspended in resin. There's even a stoneware bowl in the exhibition created by Joan Mondale, potter and wife of former Vice President Walter Mondale.

An Internet virtual tour of *The White House Collection of American Crafts* is available at www.nmaa.si.edu/WHC/AmericanCrafts.

For further information about programs associated with *The White House Collection of American Crafts*, call the Peabody Essex Museum, East India Square, Salem, MA, at (978) 745-9500 or (800) 745-4054. Internet address: <http://www.pem.org>. E-mail address: pem@pem.org. Museum programs are funded in part by a generous grant from the Massachusetts Cultural Council, a state agency.

General Information

The Peabody Essex Museum features world-class collections of maritime art and history, Asian export art, Native American art, art of Asia, Africa and the Pacific Islands, American architecture, Essex County natural history, and American decorative art. The museum owns and operates tours of four historic houses. The museum campus includes 30 galleries, a museum shop, café, and research library.

Admission: Adults \$8.50; seniors/students \$7.50; children (6-16) \$5; children 5 and under free; family rate \$20. Salem residents admitted free with identification.

Hours: 7 days a week from Memorial Day through Halloween. Closed Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year's Day, and Mondays from November 1 through Memorial Day. Mon. - Sat. 10 am - 5 p.m.; Sun. noon - 5 p.m. Museum Café open weekdays for lunch. Call (978) 745-9500, x3118.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1998

Ms. Brenda Rowland
P.O. Box 60696
Washington, DC 20039

Dear Ms. Rowland:

On behalf of the First Lady, thank you very much for your letter and for the information on the important work being done on behalf of children in Ghana. I have shared your letter with others involved in planning the President's and First Lady's trip to Ghana.

Best wishes in your most important work.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

*also given to Evan - maybe
toys could be sent to day care
center*

@

B. H. Rowland Associates

P.O. Box 60696
Washington, D.C. 20039
(202) 265-4752

Consulting Globally in Business and Management

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March 2, 1998

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton  
The White House  
West Wing  
Washington, D.C. 20560

Attention: Mrs. Melanne Verveer  
Chief of Staff

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I have admired you from a distance since you have been here in Washington, D.C., and am greatly excited about your upcoming visit to Africa, and Ghana in particular. I know your visit with Her Excellency Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings will be a memorable one. It is in this regard that I write to you.

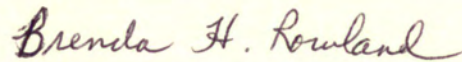
I am an African-American baby boomer who happens to be an international business consultant and have met Her Excellency Rawlings on three occasions. I assist African businessmen in finding African-American counterparts on a small grassroots scale. I find that if you understand the cultural exchange, it makes the business proceed expediently. I am very elated that Ghana is one of the countries you have chosen to visit. I met President and Mrs. Rawlings on their last visit to the U.S., and have been inspired to work with the **Friends of Ghana** organization, that are raising funds for toys and books for Mrs. Rawlings **31st December Women's Movement**. The day care centers around Ghana do not have toys, books, games, videos and other educational entertainment. I thought we could ask U.S. companies doing business in Ghana to donate toys and books for this occasion. //

Last year, the **NDC Washington Chapter** and **Friends of Ghana** raised money and toys for the D.C. local Ghanaian children at Christmas. This was a very successful effort. I believe that African women and African-American women could forge gigantic cultural exchanges and awareness with this undertaking. I know a lot could be accomplished to this end.

The **31st December Women's Movement** has more than 2 million women across Ghana and has received wide acclamation in Ghana and internationally for its intellectual contribution to issues involving women, for its success in seeing to changes in government policies for favoring women, for lobbying for legislation that defend the interests of women, and for putting gender issues on the front banner for global decision making. The Movement is credited for the success of the ruling NDC Party in the 1992 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. The **31st December Women's Movement** has mobilized funding from a variety of international organizations and donor agencies for Ghana development. Through these privately funded facilities, the Movement has funded numerous health centers and clinics, more than 800 pre-natal and child care programs, and ten water drilling projects.

I want to thank you and President Clinton in advance for taking this African trip. I believe Mrs. Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings is an African First Lady forging new vistas for the 21st Century to bring her country where it rightfully belongs in the history of the Continent.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Brenda H. Rowland". The script is cursive and elegant, with the first letters of each word being capitalized and prominent.

Brenda H. Rowland

Enclosure

cc: His Excellency Koby Koomson  
Ghana's Ambassador to the U.S.

Daniel Q. Sackey, Chairman  
National Democratic Congress-NDC  
Washington Metropolitan Area Chapter





Oct 1995. Sheraton Wash Hotel

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1998

The Honorable William Richardson  
U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations  
799 United Nations Plaza  
New York, NY 10017

Dear Bill:

Enclosed are copies of Hillary's speech at the United Nations on the occasion of the anniversary of the adoption of the Human Rights declaration. I thought these might be of use to you.

All the best to you and Barbara.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer  
Chief of Staff to  
the First Lady

Encl.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 26, 1998

Dr. Rickel  
c/o Mike Connors  
2210 N. Trinidad Street  
Falls Church, VA 22043

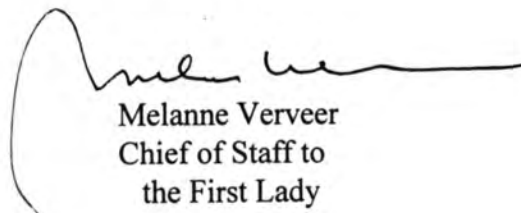
Dear Dr. Rickel:

Thank you for your letter and for sending the First Lady  
a copy of your book which I have passed along to her.

We applaud the important work you are doing and we  
are grateful for your thoughtfulness.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer  
Chief of Staff to  
the First Lady

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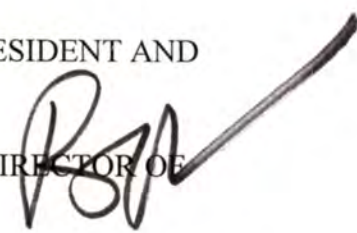
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 14, 1998

MEMORANDUM TO MELANNE VERVEER, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE FIRST LADY

FROM: BOB J. NASH, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF  
PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL



SUBJECT: REQUEST FROM MIKE CONNERS REGARDING A BOOK BY DR. RICKEL

---

Melanne, I sent the attached memo to you along with a book written by Dr. Rickel. Mike Connors sent it to me to forward to the First Lady. Mike mentioned to me that he has talked to you regarding this book also. Dr. Rickel's book mentions the First Lady on page 9. I thought that Mike wanted the First Lady to sign the book; however, from talking to Mike today, the FLOTUS is to keep the book. Mike is requesting that a letter goes out to Dr. Rickel thanking her for the book.

Melanne, if you could please send an acknowledgment letter to Dr. Rickel, I would appreciate it. Please mention on the letter that Mike Connors forwarded the book to FLOTUS. Maybe you could cc: Mike on it.

Thanks for your attention to this matter. Please let me know the status.



THE WHITE HOUSE

December 22, 1997  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: MELANNE VERVEER

FROM: BOB J. NASH

SUBJECT: MIKE CONNERS

---

Mike Connors sent the attached book and note to me to forward to the First Lady.

Mike Connors is a Georgetown classmate of the POTUS. He has been a friend of POTUS since Georgetown. I am working with him on a possible appointment in the Administration.

He wants her to autograph the book that he says Annette Richel wrote at the encouragement of the First Lady.

Would you get the book autographed for Mike and return it to him at the following address:

Mike Connors  
2210 N. Trinidad Street  
Falls Church, VA 22043

Attachments

went to the  
for signature

January 9, 1998

Dr. Zuzana Roithova  
Vinohrady Hospital  
Prague, Czech Republic

Dear Dr. Roithova:

I have learned from our U.S. Ambassador, Jenonne Walker, that you have just been named Minister of Health. I want to extend my congratulations to you as you assume this important position in your country. I will always remember my visit to Vinohrady Hospital and Orphanage and the interesting discussion we had about the delivery of health care services.

My best wishes to you as you embark on your new challenges. Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Hillary Rodham Clinton