

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                         | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001. fax cover           | Carol Beach to Michael O'Mary (partial) (1 page)                                      | 10/19/1997 | P6/b(6)     |
| 002. fax cover           | Christy Macy to Michael O'Mary (partial) (1 page)                                     | nd         | P6/b(6)     |
| 003. fax cover           | Christy Macy to Michael O'Mary (partial) (1 page)                                     | nd         | P6/b(6)     |
| 004. fax cover           | Darcy Bacon to Michael O'Mary (partial) (1 page)                                      | nd         | P6/b(6)     |
| 005. memo                | Lissa [Muscatine] to Michael [O'Mary] re Speech and Column Samples (partial) (1 page) | 09/21/1997 | P6/b(6)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
First Lady's Office  
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)  
OA/Box Number: 17210

### FOLDER TITLE:

Speech Candidates Column [1]

2012-0869-S

kc918

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
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b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.  
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).  
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

File:

Speechwriter  
Candidates

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## TURNING FIFTY

①

(DRAFT)

I may have dreamed of easing quietly into turning 50, but it sure isn't happening that way.

The first clue my 50th birthday wouldn't be allowed to pass like any other came 50 days before the actual date. My staff had conspired with my husband and Chelsea to stage a spectacular surprise, gathering 50 of the people who are dearest to me holding candles and talking about what we've meant to each other. I can't imagine a more wonderful gift.

My staff manages to surprise me every year. Once it was a country and western party complete with gingham skirt and kerchief for me. But 50 days before October 26<sup>th</sup>, I didn't have any idea something might be up. I was overwhelmed and thrilled-- and they were probably pretty pleased with having caught me totally by surprise once again.

Fifty doesn't feel very old to me. It's about halfway between the age of my own mother and my daughter. But knowing I've been alive for a full half century is more daunting. Just in my lifetime we've seen the battles over civil rights, equal rights for women, Vietnam, the rise and fall of the Berlin Wall; the spread of AIDS; and the first steps on the moon.

It's natural to take stock at the start of a new decade. I've watched my husband turn 50 first. He saw this milestone a bit the way he sees getting underway in his second term--that nostalgic sense of having more yesterdays than tomorrows. He wants to make the most of every day and every experience. I guess that means he doesn't expect to live past 100. He should be more optimistic. Statistics already show that if you reach middle age without any significant health problems, there's a good likelihood now you may live into your nineties.

Turning 50 so soon after Chelsea left home for college reminds me again (in case I wanted to avoid thinking about it) that I'm starting a new phase of my life. Another birthday doesn't bother me as long I can keep on doing things I care about. For the first time I no longer have a child at home, but I believe there's no more important issue than children and how we care for them. And no subject is more likely to bring out deep-seated feelings and disagreements. But much of our workforce is now made up of two-income families and single parents. As a nation, we need to make sure child care lets children thrive and parents feel confident. And it has to be accessible. We got off to a great start at the White House conference last week. I want to give a lot of energy to this issue in the years ahead.

Our society doesn't traditionally honor age the way Oriental cultures do. Most of us don't live with our parents and grandparents nearby so we miss being able to draw every day on all they know. And we aren't always there to give the extra care they may need whether they admit

it or not.

Today's culture often seems more preoccupied with seeking eternal youth than savoring the good aspects of age. Yet we all can think of wonderful role models in our own lives for how we'd like to be as we grow older: men and women fifty, sixty, seventy and beyond who relish life and inspire us with their wisdom, spirit, and accomplishments.

I like the fact that women turning 50 today have such an array of choices about what to do next. We haven't inherited any one pattern for how to live the way many of our mothers did. I think our feelings about becoming fifty (or any age) depend a lot on choices we've made getting there. These choices may be about work that provides the satisfaction and security we need. They may be about relationships with family and friends. Or they may be about where we find peace and strength in our day-to-day lives or our inner life.

The hoopla being planned in Chicago for my birthday, fireworks and all, makes more of my turning 50 than I ever imagined in my wildest dreams. But I can't think of any more fun way to celebrate than revisiting the hot spots of my youth with old friends. If I navigate this birthday the best I can, maybe some woman in her twenties, thirties or forties will relax and say, "I think I'll like being her age."

(753 words)



## DRAFT

### "Turning 50"

Did you know that every 7.5 seconds an American turns 50? Today, it's my turn. At least, I'm in great company.

I've never been very comfortable with public introspection. Before we came to Washington, this particular birthday wouldn't have excited the national media or generated much anxiety on my part.

In the old days, it would have meant dinner and a movie with Bill and Chelsea. Now I find myself on the cover of *Time*, and shocked to find what was supposed to be a low-key birthday celebration with my hometown friends turned into a full-scale gala, complete with fireworks. It's been so much fun, though, I've almost managed to forget that the Cubs didn't make it to the World Series.

I certainly can't complain. Your expressions of affection and good wishes have been so gratifying, even as they've served as a constant reminder that I'm now a half-century old.

Besides turning 50, this year has marked another significant milestone in my life: Chelsea's departure for college. My wonderful staff knew how much I'd dreaded that day. Maybe they thought that, combined with the BIG birthday, I'd spiral down into some kind of depression.

So, on September 7 (50 days before the BIG day), they gathered 50 of my friends for a surprise White House ceremony. Every day since, someone's given me a gag gift. There's E-Mail for Dummies (so I can talk with Chelsea on-line) and fake pep pills.

Still to come is their annual "surprise" theme party. Each year, on the designated day, I'm presented with an appropriate outfit to wear. In the past, it's been a Dolly Parton wig and cowboy boots, or a poodle skirt and saddle shoes. I can't wait to find out what's up this year.

All this attention has put me in a reflective mood. My husband, always more nostalgic and philosophical, has talked publicly about how turning 50 last year affected him. Bill says he now thinks more about the long-term implications and consequences of everything he does. In one rather gloomy observation, he's quoted as saying, "Becoming 50 gives me more yesterdays than tomorrows."

It's true that this birthday comes at a time when some doors have closed; but others are opening. On the downside, of course, is Chelsea's departure, as well as the

-2-

uncertainty of what we'll do after we leave the White House. But, there's much to look forward to, as well.

In 1949, Simone de Beauvoir wrote, "It is in the autumn and winter of her life that woman is freed from her chains." Women's lives were once so structured – so constrained by convention and tradition – that life after children must have felt like being freed from chains. Now, with so many choices before us throughout our lives, the post-child-rearing years often mark just the beginning of another new and exciting stage.

Gail Sheehy advises women to look at the years after 45 as the infancy of another life. I guess that means I'm about to start Kindergarten.

I've been so blessed. No one could have asked for better parents – a mother and father who laid a rock-solid foundation, taught me Christian values and instilled in me a love of learning and life I've never lost. It's true that my husband and I are more in love today than when we married. And, no mother could be prouder of her daughter. Chelsea has brought nothing but joy to my life since the day she was born.

Now, though, it's time to walk through that next door.

Children's issues will always be a priority for me. Childcare, children's health, education – all of these are areas where I hope my experience and celebrity, however fleeting, will combine to bring much-needed attention and action.

If I keep myself busy, maybe I won't notice that the nest is a little emptier, and that I'm having a tougher time reading the fine print.

I often reflect on the remarkable and inspiring life of Eleanor Roosevelt. She turned 50 in 1934, one year into her husband's presidency. In 1945, the year Franklin died, President Truman named her to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, where she was instrumental in drafting the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. She was re-appointed by President Kennedy in 1961 and remained an active Democrat until her death in 1962.

When asked about growing older, poet and author Judith Viorst replied, "I'd rather grow azaleas." Well, fellow 50-year-olds, we are growing older. I can't wait to see what's next.

## **Column Candidates**

### **Comment Sheet**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

1.

2.

3.

## CHARTER SCHOOLS



The day after we left Chelsea at Stanford University, full of excitement as she begins the next stage of her education, my husband and I went to San Carlos, California to the state's first charter school to study an educational development that is brightening the futures of children across the country.

We met with teachers, parents, administrators, and students who told us about their experiences building charter schools. These are public schools, supported and chartered by the states, open to all students, and accountable for their performance. But they are unique because they are freed from the red tape of traditional school bureaucracies. In San Carlos, we heard about what worked and why; the problems and frustrations they've encountered; and lessons learned.

I've been caught up in the challenges facing our education system since 1983, when Bill was governor of Arkansas and entrusted me with chairing a committee to make schools better. There are certain things I've come to believe deeply that help explain why charter schools make sense. First, children learn differently and are smart in varied ways; we need to tailor schools to respond to their individual needs and talents. Second, the key to good education is to have high expectations-- of students, of teachers, and of parents-- and then give them a hand in making changes happen. Third, good ideas are contagious.

The day my husband took office in January, 1993 there was just one charter school in the country. Now, supported by legislation he passed in Congress in 1994, there are 787, serving over 100,000 students in 24 states. These schools were started by many different kinds of people-- teachers, administrators, community groups, businesses--who want to make our schools better. Let me tell you about just a few places that reflect the extraordinary diversity and promise of charter schools.

Earlier this year, I visited the Vaughn Next Century Learning Center outside Los Angeles. Once one of the lowest-achieving elementary schools in the area, grossly crowded and bordered by a neighborhood of broken-down crack houses, it's been transformed into one of the country's most exciting charter schools. Stressing the crucial involvement of parents, Vaughn has an onsite Family Center to help the school's mostly poor Latino and Asian-American families get the basic health and social services they need, from immunization and dental care to parenting classes. Parents volunteer in the school in return for the services. The school requires students to wear uniforms, provides after-school tutoring and gang prevention programs, and calls students' homes when they are absent, resulting in an attendance rate of 99%.

Another acclaimed charter school, Boston's City on a Hill, was founded by two teachers from traditional inner city schools where they felt they had only minimal influence shaping decisions. They chose to spend (and risk) their careers building an alternative school where the diploma truly means something. It's only granted when children have earned it by demonstrating they've mastered a demanding set of academic skills that they'll need to compete in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world they're entering. City on a Hill takes advantage of all the great resources of Boston: art classes are held in museums; the gym program uses the YMCA. Students are required to get involved and work in the community to link school to real world experience and learn in practice the values underlying our democracy. They also can't graduate if they haven't learned to swim.

The first charter school in the nation, City Academy in St. Paul, Minnesota, was started to attract and serve children who'd dropped out of school. One of the main reasons for its tremendous success was the involvement of twenty school drop-outs who helped design and create a school they'd want to attend.

Charter schools aren't without problems. The start-up costs are high. They sometimes face opposition from entrenched bureaucracies reluctant to give up control. They need to be scrutinized closely from the start in deciding who gets charters, how they'll be managed and their performance judged. If charter schools don't perform, they can be closed down. A handful have been.

In November, Secretary of Education Dick Riley will convene a national conference on charter schools in Washington so they can learn from each other and we can learn from them all. This year's budget calls for funds for another 500 schools. Charter schools are already proving what exciting things can be achieved when we relinquish the idea that one size fits all in American education and give the people who know and care most about our schools a free hand to find new and better ways for children to learn.

(770 words)

FROM :

PHONE NO. : 

Sep 25 1997 07:34AM P2



## Charter Schools: A Gift to Our Community

September 24, 1997

I wish you all could have been with Bill and me when we visited the San Carlos Charter Learning Center, one of the very first charter schools in the nation. It was a day I'll never forget.

We had just left Chelsea at Stanford, one of the toughest moments we've ever endured as parents. Visiting San Carlos was just what the doctor ordered.

San Carlos is a good news story -- one of hundreds taking place every day all across the country. It's a school that works. Volunteers gave 20,000 hours of time to create the Charter Learning Center. When it was created, one of the organizers said, "The granting of the San Carlos Charter is a gift the community has given to itself...the gift of the opportunity to create choice for all learners."

That's what charter schools are all about.

Charter schools are public schools operated under a charter or contract. They may be organized by parents, teachers or others from the community, but the idea is that, in exchange for public funding, they are freed from the regulations and red tape that stifle effective innovation. In addition, they are held accountable. If they don't meet the high expectations they've set for themselves, their charter is revoked.

In 1991, Minnesota became the first state to pass a charter school law. Now, merely six years later, there are 700 charter schools in 29 states.

As parents, we all know what works for our children: clear expectations that all children can and should learn; manageable school and class size; an orderly classroom environment; the close personal involvement of at least one teacher with each child; a commitment to tailoring instruction to how different children learn; and active parent participation.

These are pretty fundamental principles. Yet, in too many cases, our public schools have become too big -- too industrialized. Gone are the basic ingredients once considered requisite to a good education. That's where charter schools come in.

I've been privileged to visit charter schools all across the country. At San Carlos, Bill and I saw a business run by students at the school. Eleven to 14-year-olds develop and market inexpensive games and software for children of all ages.

At the Vaughn Next Century Learning Center, principal Yvonne Chan showed me where crack houses used to stand next to the school. She fought for state funding to bulldoze

FROM :

PHONE NO. : [REDACTED]

Sep. 25 1997 07:34AM P3

the houses and build new classrooms. What Chan is most proud of, though, is her students' daily attendance rate - 99%.

Another California school has lengthened the school year to 200 days. Jingtowen was created by Oakland's Hispanic community, long frustrated by the school district's refusal to provide a bilingual middle school. The longer school year, combined with a longer school day, allows the school to provide study hall, art and music classes that are no longer offered in the district's regular public schools. Jingtowen parents clean bathrooms and provide food services for one hour each week, allowing the school to spend precious resources in the classroom, where they belong.

Early on, critics complained that charter schools would serve only the affluent. Actually, the opposite is true. Charter schools are serving more minority and at-risk students than anyone ever expected. Michigan's charter schools have more than twice the minority enrollment of the public schools.

Here's one of my favorite stories: Pam Girod, a teacher in Minnesota, used \$9,000 of her own money to fund the Cedar-Riverside Community school for students from a community housing project who had no neighborhood school.

I could fill a year's worth of columns with stories just like these. Parents, in partnership with energetic educators, are making them happen all across the country.

The President and I are determined to take the lessons we've learned from these stories and use them to infect every public school in America. In November, Education Secretary Richard Riley will convene a national conference on charter schools, bringing together teachers, administrators, parents, and others who are interested to share their very best ideas.

The recently enacted balanced budget agreement contains enough money to set up thousands more charter schools across the country. At San Carlos, Bill announced the release of \$40 million in grants to establish 500 more charter schools right away. We want to see 3,000 - or even 4,000 - charter schools in operation by the year 2000.

Charter schools are about giving people a chance - about empowering parents, teachers, and communities. But, most of all, charter schools are about doing what's best for our children.

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Last week, my husband and I flew to California to get Chelsea settled in at college. It was a difficult time for me as a mother, but as First Lady I had a different experience.

While we were in California, the President and I visited the San Carlos Charter Learning Center, one of our nation's emerging charter schools. There, we encountered a vibrant community of dedicated teachers, students and parents working together to meet the diverse needs of their children. It was easy to see success on the smiling faces of those kids.

I don't think anyone would deny that a strong public school system is crucial to the health of any nation. As we are so often reminded, today's children are tomorrow's doctors, teachers, business owners and parents. We all agree that every child, from every background and in every part of the country, deserves the opportunity to develop his or her God-given potential.

For that reason, the President and I have devoted a lot of time and attention to education reform. While Bill was Governor of Arkansas, we went into the schools to learn what was needed. We worked on many issues, but one of the things we heard expressed frequently was a desire for public school choice. Before long, Arkansas passed a law granting parents more freedom to choose which school their child attends.

Charter schools -- which have developed in the last five years -- take the element of choice one step further. Charter schools are public schools which are not bound by ordinary regulations but instead are created under contracts specific to them.

Each child is different, and each child has a different set of talents as well as needs. Sometimes it takes a particular kind of environment to truly nurture a child's gifts. Because charter schools operate under a set of guidelines that they themselves have established, they have the freedom to develop innovative techniques -- or to reinstate effective old ones -- to meet the varied needs of their students.

Many advocates of school reform believe that schools would be more effective if, like businesses, they were answerable to their customers -- in this case, students and parents. Charter schools are accountable: In order to keep their charters, they must maintain high standards, and they must satisfy the people they serve.

And charter schools are satisfying people all over the country. In Pacoima,

California, a charter has transformed the Vaughn Next Century Learning Center from a place where drug deals were happening on school property to one of the most promising schools in the nation. Among Vaughn's many successful facilities is a Family Center, a one-stop referral center which helps families obtain health and social services.

In San Diego, the O'Farrell Community School clusters its students in "families" headed by a single teacher for three years, so as to keep track of students' progress. Community service is a requirement for graduation, and the school has a counseling center to help students with nonacademic problems.

In Massachusetts, where there are currently twenty-two charter schools, studies show that the overwhelming majority of participants are delighted with the results. Eighty percent of the parents and students surveyed reported that their charter school experience was superior to that of their previous school, and seventy-five percent of the parents reported that their child's interest in learning has increased at the new school.

Beyond educating our children, charter schools educate us -- about what does and doesn't work for our students. Far from leaving other schools behind, these learning centers provide models to be emulated. With some care and attention, what succeeds in one school can be adopted by another. In this way, every school will be encouraged to act like a charter school, and students across the nation will enjoy improvements in the ways they learn.

There are now over five hundred charter schools across the United States. Because these schools often use money already allocated for public schools, they are cost-effective. But they need additional support to get started. The President recently released \$40 million in grants to help these schools get up and running, and I share his hope that every American will see the value in funding these schools.

Charter schools represent what is best about America -- diverse groups of teachers, students, parents and members of the community joining together to take responsibility for meeting the needs of our children. We *can* improve the quality of education in this country. In fact, we are already doing so, and charter schools are leading the way.

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FROM : Beach House

PHONE NO. : P6/(b)(6)

Oct. 19 1997 09:54PM P1

P6/(b)(6)

Bethesda, Maryland 20814

P6/(b)(6)

# Facsimile transmittal

2

To: Michael O'Mary

Fax: 202-456-5709, 6244

From: Carol M. Beach

Date: 10/19/97

Re: Draft Column

Pages: 3

CC:

☐ Urgent

☐ For Review

☐ Please Comment

☒ Please Reply

☐ Please Recycle

PLEASE DELIVER DIRECTLY TO MICHAEL O'MARY

1:32-1:33

Meredith Vieira to introduce Rochelle Udell

1:34-1:40

**Rochelle Udell Special Presentation**  
**Hillary Rodham Clinton Video**

1:40-1:41

**Closing Remarks**  
Beth Brenner or Rochelle Udell

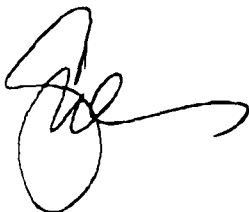
# SELF

magazine

TO: Mike O'Mary  
Via Fax # 202-456-6244  
FROM: Sue Samour  
(212) 880-7228  
RE: **Pink Ribbon Luncheon - Agenda**  
DATE: October 17, 1997

Mike -

Here is the program agenda to give you an idea of how the luncheon will run. Also, note the other award winners - titles, and affiliations. Carol Baldwin, by the way, is the mother of the actor Baldwin Boys. She is a breast cancer survivor and has established a Breast Care center with Stony Brook University Hospital on Long Island. If you need bios on anyone, just let me know and I can send them over.



**Remarks for Hillary Clinton**

*Publisher*  
*Editor*  
Thank you Beth and Rochelle for this very meaningful award. On behalf of President Clinton and myself, we are very honored to receive SELF Magazine's Pink Ribbon. SELF has been a prominent leader in the movement to fight breast cancer. The world has come to recognize the pink ribbon as the international breast cancer symbol thanks to SELF. Their commitment to this disease by presenting ground-breaking editorial and developing unique programs is unparalleled in the publishing industry. The President is truly sorry he could not be here today. This award has special meaning to him since his mother suffered and passed away from this disease. We know that this disease touches 1 in 8 women – and those women are getting younger every day. We are proud of the big steps the Administration has taken with regard to prevention and improving the quality of research and education. We are dedicated to continuing in that direction.

We congratulate the companies and individuals being honored with you today. Your contributions have made a significant difference and are saving peoples' lives. We salute you and commend you on this work. We believe strongly in what SELF Magazine is doing, and thank you very much for this special award.

Fuehl -  
Brenner

Udell

Rainbow Room

12:12-2:30



### DRAFT SPEECH

It was two years ago that I was last in Northern Ireland. I remember travelling on Ommereau Street, heading towards my meeting at the Lamplighter Café and being aware of the violence that had erupted on that very street just weeks before. The weather was rainy and cold and gray, much as it is today, but I remember my visit here in a glow of warmth and optimism. And that's because I was privileged enough to share some tea and spend some time with the woman whose life we are here to honor this afternoon: Joyce McCartan.

In a country dimmed by the darkness of violence and fear, Joyce McCartan held out a light of compassion and faith. A light that spread beyond the bullet chipped borders of her café, her neighborhood, and even her country. I know it touched me.

This was a woman who, after her youngest child was killed at the age of 17 – just a year younger than my own daughter is today – did not stop, or even pause, in her work to end the violence that has taken too many of Ireland's sons and daughters. She did not allow herself to become twisted by bitterness and hate, but instead chose to continue her search for common ground.

This was a woman who endured, and endured gracefully, despite the fact that 18 members of her own extended family had been killed in the troubles. Despite the fact that she was a Catholic married to a Protestant in Northern Ireland. Despite the fact that she faced her own poverty and hurt and despair.

This was a woman who believed that the responsibility for a solution to her country's problems rested not on someone else's shoulders, but upon her own.

"It's ordinary people who are getting killed," she told me. "It's ordinary people who are going to stop it."

That's why she started her own business, her café, providing two full-time and seven part-time jobs to the community. That's why she founded Mornington Enterprises to train people in catering, office work, painting and decorating and technology. That's why she started the Women's Information Drop-In Center, to provide support to women, both Catholic and Protestant, and to work at solving the community's well-entrenched problems of poverty, illiteracy, joblessness and despair.

She thought that the women of Northern Ireland were uniquely qualified to help bring an end to the violence here. I believe she was right.

Joyce McCartan, and other women like her, have done much of the important work of problem-solving and job creating and national healing that is so important for creating peace in Northern Ireland. And, my travels throughout the world have shown me that the women in Northern Ireland are not alone in this effort. Around the globe women are taking it upon themselves to nurture societies so that democracies can grow.

After all, it's after the fighting is done, after the papers are signed, and after the wooden boards come off the store windows when so much of the real work of democracy building takes place. That's because democracy is much more than free elections, open markets and well crafted constitutions. These are necessary prerequisites to building a democracy, but like ingredients for an elaborate recipe, alone they are not enough.

Democracies work best when children are taught democratic values and are nourished with good education, good health care and good role models. Democracies work best when women are full participants, when racial and religious groups are not relegated to the side-lines, and when the right climate is created for businesses to prosper. Democracies work best when men and women and children are free from violence and crime and are treated with the dignity and respect they deserve.

For Democracy to succeed it must be more than a method of governance, it must become a system of values. And the values that make democracy possible – opportunity, responsibility, tolerance and respect for human dignity – must be internalized in people's hearts and minds and everyday lives.

Some of the women who have been instrumental in trying to create democratic societies have achieved high positions or have attracted a certain amount of fame: Women like Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma and of course your own former President Mary Robinson who is now doing such a terrific job as UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

But most of the work of democracy building is achieved far from the spotlight. Instead it takes place in dusty fields and corner cafés; in weathered school houses and bustling community health clinics. Places where day after day, ordinary women do the heroic work of creating democracy.

**Women help nations learn to live peacefully with their neighbors; even if those neighbors look different or practice different religions and customs.** That's certainly true here in Northern Ireland where women have worked to build bridges between counties, between neighborhoods and between religions. And it's true in many other places around the world: Just look at the women of South Africa – both black and white – who were critical in the struggle to end apartheid. And the women of Bosnia – Croats, Serbs and Muslims who came together to transcend long-standing ethnic hatreds. I've seen it in Israel, where women are working for stability in that violence-weary land. And I've seen it in my own country where women have fought for equal rights for minorities and to end gang warfare in our inner cities. Women are the world's peacemakers, and they are more.

**Women work to create communities that are safe and healthy.** In South America, women have joined forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children. In Belarus women are working to bring quality health care to the critically ill children of Chernobyl. And in Cape Town, women are building houses to replace the squatters camps that have inadequately sheltered their children for too long.

This work of democracy building is not simple. My own country has been laboring with it for more than 200 years and there is no end to the work in sight. But the truth is, democracy is not something that ever really reaches perfection or completion.

Democracy is less like building a house – a task that has a beginning, middle and end – and more like building a fragile castle made of sand. Just as the sand castle is constantly threatened by sea and wind and the kicks of playing children, so is democracy constantly at risk by the everyday corrosive effects of hate, of prejudice and of intolerance; of joblessness, illiteracy and poverty.

Joyce McCartan understood this, as do many other women around the world.

Women in this country know the care that it's going to take strengthen a land that has endured too many decades of violence and fear and so have committed themselves to providing that care. What unites them is their knowledge that just as they have shared the pain of their homeland's troubles – so they share the responsibility of bringing them to an end.

There is a poem on the wall of the Lamplighter Café. It says: "Never be afraid to expect the impossible to be possible."

Here in Northern Ireland, for too long, too many things have seemed impossible: Simple things like knowing freedom from violence and fear; like experiencing peace of mind when your child walks out the door; and like living in a place where getting a job does not depend upon your religious background.

Democracy's success depends on making these things possible. It depends on the success of places like the Women's Information Drop In Center on Ornereau Street, and the Grameen Micro-Credit Bank in Bangladesh. It depends on the literacy programs and the voting projects and the values that we instill in our children. It depends on the willingness of people to transcend hatred and prejudice for the greater good of a just – and democratic – society.

It depends on the work of women like Joyce McCartan – and those of us who live on in her legacy.

END

DRAFT

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REMARKS FOR SPEECH IN HONOR OF JOYCE MCCARTEN  
OCTOBER '97, UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER

Greetings and thank you. It is a great pleasure to be back in Northern Ireland, to visit with your president, Mary Robinson, and to reunite with so many of the courageous women and men whom I met when I first came here two years ago with my husband. Once again, you've made me feel so welcome. It's also a great privilege to participate in this lecture series in honor of one of Ireland's great peace makers -- Joyce McCarten. Thank you for inviting me.

I find it a particularly eloquent tribute that this event in her memory is being held at such an historic moment in Irish history -- as the leaders of Northern Ireland's Catholic and Protestant communities are sitting down for the first time in over 25 years to discuss how to end a generation of violence. It's a milestone that so many of you have longed for so deeply, and worked for so hard. I believe -- as I'm sure you do -- that this first effort toward a lasting peace would not have taken place without the tenacity and courage of women like Mary Robinson and Joyce McCarten.

As some of you may know, I met Joyce during my 1995 visit here, and spent an afternoon with her and a number of other women at the restaurant Ye Olde Lamplighter, which is part of the Women's Information Drop-In Center that she helped found. She told me about the work of the Center, and how her efforts to bring Catholic and Protestant women together for peace had evolved into plans to strengthen the local economy. Joyce understood how the struggle for peace must also overcome the deep-rooted causes of violence: poverty, limited education, and joblessness. She knew she had to empower women in their own lives in order to promote the cause of peace and justice in her country.

As we talked, I could see that as much pain and suffering as Joyce and the other women with us had endured over the years, as they watched their sons, husbands, brothers and friends lose their lives in this terrible struggle, that her vision was always toward the future. She was on a mission to promote understanding, to save lives, to preserve families, to defy history.

While I had never met Joyce before, I felt, in a strange way, that I had met her many times, and seen her compassion in other eyes as well. Her yearning for a more peaceful and democratic world resonates through the ages, and stretches across the globe.

Joyce follows in the well-worn footsteps of strong and courageous Irish women over the years -- women like Betty Williams, Mairead Corrigan, and so many others, who despite the unbearable loss and pain in their own lives, have spoken out in the universal language of reconciliation and non violence.

Mothers. Wives. Daughters. Ordinary citizens. Their insistent voices for peace -- raised sometimes in a roar, sometimes in a whispered prayer -- have inspired women around the world to pursue

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their claims for more open, democratic, and peaceful communities. And this chorus can be heard today, in the Middle East, in Bosnia, in Haiti, and wherever people are working to end the violence and start the healing in their families and nations.

As First Lady, I've been privileged to travel widely overseas, and have met the world's top leaders. Yet it's often in small communities -- sitting around a kitchen table or at a local workplace, and talking with women like Joyce about how they're improving their lives and strengthening their families -- where I've learned the most valuable lessons. And one of those lessons is the central role that women are playing -- and have always played -- in the building and sustaining of democracy around the world.

When we talk about democracy, we talk about the highest of ideals: freedom of religion; freedom of association; freedom of speech and the press; freedom to participate fully in the civic and political life of your country. But democracy is also about every citizen having equal access to education, health care, jobs, and credit. Democracy is about upholding human dignity, and giving people choices. And it confers to every individual the right to live up to his or her God-given potential.

Democracy, in other words, is the fulfillment of our deepest yearnings to live in a just and peaceful world, and it speaks a universal language of hope. Our poets seem to best capture this profound sense of longing. And here, I'd like to draw on one of America's great poets and an African American woman, Maya Angelou, who stands as a powerful and often painful reminder of America's own struggles - past and present -- to gain civil rights and human dignity for every citizen. She writes: "The caged bird sings with a fearful trill of things unknown but longed for still; and his tune is heard on the distant hill, for the caged bird sings of freedom."

Yet what we've learned over the years is that these lofty ideals and beautiful words are only made real through the every day efforts of ordinary citizens. Yes, we need the laws and a system of justice that upholds those laws. But democracy is nurtured and sustained in the hearts of people; in the principles they stand for; in the way they conduct their daily lives; and in the lessons they teach their children before they tuck them into bed at night.

And that's the profound yet simple lesson that Joyce McCarten and so many women understood so well. These grass roots struggles against sectarian violence teach us, once again, that democracy calls us to live peacefully with people who are different from ourselves -- whether they live across the street or on the other side of the world. That love of family runs deeper than calls to hatred. That faith can bring us together instead of divide us. And that an extraordinary power is unleashed when ordinary women reach

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out to their neighbors to find common ground, and are empowered to begin solving problems in their own communities.

The power of ordinary women making extraordinary contributions to peace was again recognized by the world a few weeks ago, when the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to an American activist, Jody Williams, who helped lead the international campaign to ban landmines. Like Joyce McCarten, she didn't have a large office or major funding: her effectiveness lay in her ability to organize people in a grass roots campaign around a common cause: to protect the world's children.

But today, while we celebrate these women for their invaluable work on behalf of peace and democracy, we must also begin to acknowledge the contributions of others whose names we do not know, and whose work still goes unheralded. By putting the spotlight on women working in the front lines, we will broaden the lens of our own understanding about what it takes to sustain the spirit and institutions of democracy around the world.

The women I've met here in Northern Ireland who are working with young people to break the cycle of hatred are surely at the forefront of the fight for democracy. Because what does freedom mean if we can't overcome division and suspicion, and find our common humanity?

Women involved in microcredit operations in small rural villages in Bangladesh, India, Nicaragua, and Chile, are in the business of strengthening democracy. Because what does freedom mean if people don't have equal access to the financial resources that enable them to gain independence and self sufficiency?

Women in South Africa and in some of America's inner cities who have set up domestic violence councils are contributing to the strengthening of democracy. Because what does freedom mean if a woman is afraid to leave her home, or protect her children, because of a violent husband or lover?

Women in Zimbabwe and Bolivia who are setting up rural health clinics are champions of democracy. Because what does freedom mean if families are denied access to basic health care services, and women are denied the right to plan their own families?

Women in Romania and Estonia who are leading electoral education projects are on the front lines of democracy. Because what does freedom mean if people are ignorant about the procedures for electing their own representatives?

And women in Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Thailand who are campaigning for the right of girls to get an education are making an invaluable contribution to democracy in their countries. Because what does

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freedom mean if women are denied the knowledge and opportunity to participate in the free flow of ideas?

Women are not only critical to advancing democracy and free market economies in every corner of the globe. They are redefining the very notion of what we mean by a democratic society.

Historically, however, these efforts been overlooked and under appreciated. It's time to bring their achievements out in the open and to celebrate them as well. In fact, I see a growing part of my work now, as I travel around my own country and other nations, is to pull back the curtain on women's emerging roles in promoting democracy.

Doing so is important for two reasons. First, the efforts of women to build strong families, to reach out to others different from themselves, to teach their children tolerance and compassion, and to empower themselves and others to lead productive and independent lives, should be recognized for the simple reason that we can all learn from them, and be inspired by their efforts.

But more importantly, democracy cannot flourish if women aren't full partners in the social, economic, political and civic lives of their communities and nations. Validating their contributions will help deepen movements for change, and ensure greater progress toward democracy. Women are the world's greatest untapped resource. We must begin to unleash the full power of their vast potential.

In the last presidential election in the United States in 1996, people were surprised that so much attention was being given to "women's issues." All of a sudden, the swing vote was in the hands of "soccer moms" who were talking about the stress of parenthood or drugs in school or the lack of quality day care for their children. But why should this have surprised us? The topics that women talk about around the kitchen table -- whether it's in a small town in Chile or a row house in Belfast -- are in fact the issues that we need to listen to the closest.

Women are concerned with questions that impact the entire community: how to balance work and family; how to improve the local public school; how to stretch their budgets to cover the rent; how to protect a neighbor who is the victim of domestic abuse. They want to stop the violence on TV; and they want to teach their children to play with kids who are different from them. Yet when I talk about many of these issues, they are often dismissed as "marginal," or only "women's issues." During the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing a few years ago, I said that women's rights were human rights, and human rights were women's rights. Yet that unremarkable statement set off a firestorm of controversy.

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When will people understand that the concerns of women and families are universal concerns that are at the heart of our civil society? When will people understand that strong families and nurturing communities form the foundations of a free nation? When will people understand that solving problems like day care and health care and education and teen violence -- still called "women's issues" -- will be the most critical test of our entire generation?

Today, we face a daunting challenge. The most formidable threat to democracy is no longer a communist monolith with imperial designs. It's the volatile economic and social conditions that come with the growing disparity of poor and wealthy; with ongoing discrimination and bigotry; and with the collapse of the old order. Democracy is weakened wherever there's the dissolving of a sense of community. And democracy is threatened whenever and wherever the full partnership of women is held back.

We must strengthen the laws and institutions and alliances that uphold the principles of democracy and freedom -- in our own countries and in fledgling democracies around the world. Perhaps most importantly, we must keep the spirit of democracy -- our deepest hopes for a better future -- alive.

No one has to remind the women of Ireland how rocky and hard is this path toward justice, or how fragile are these efforts toward peace. Yet if there's anything we've learned, it's the willful determination of women here and around the world to listen to the message of their hearts, and to persuade others to respond to their better angels. Your gifted Irish poet, Seamus Heaney, claims for poetry this special power: "the power to persuade that vulnerable part of our consciousness of its rightness, in spite of the evidence of wrongness all around it." I would say that women too hold that power.

Eleanor Roosevelt once said that "The future belongs to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams." It's difficult to imagine a more compelling beauty than a true and lasting peace here in Northern Ireland. Please know that women around the world stand by you as you take the risks for peace. The future belongs to you, and as you pursue it, may God hold all of you in the palm of his hand.

Draft

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It's wonderful to be back in Northern Ireland. There are so many memories that my husband and I will always cherish from our trip here two years ago. The lighting of the Christmas tree outside City Hall – and its illumination of hope in Belfast. Our walk from Guildhall Square to Shipquay Street. And the day that I had the personal privilege to meet Joyce McCartan. As we talked with other community leaders at the Lamplighter restaurant, I was struck, as many of you have been, by Joyce's spirit, by her warmth, her resilience, and, yes, her humor. But, by something else as well.

In her extraordinary life, we see the ordinary lives of too many women around us: the anguish of losing relative after relative to bullets and bombs, the unspeakable grief of having your own son taken away so brutally, so senselessly, so young. But, in Joyce's strength and determination, we also see the strength and determination of women throughout Northern Ireland. Because the history of "The Troubles" is the history of much more than what divides us. It is the history of women like Joyce McCartan, who have worked tirelessly to unite us in common cause. Women like Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams, Nobel Prize winners in 1976 who took to the streets to take back the streets. Women like Pearl Sagar and this University's own Monica McWilliams who today are giving women a voice and a seat at the all-party talks and the chance to create a future of peace and opportunity that leaves no citizen behind. Women who are taking responsibility for their families and their communities. Women who are defying history to rewrite history. Unsung heroes, most of them. Like Joyce, they are not experienced diplomats or high-ranking officials. They are mothers and workers and community leaders who didn't wait for someone else to point the way. Instead, they looked around at the kids who couldn't play outside safely, at the violence that had infested their lives, at the poverty and despair, and simply said "No more."

It is quite possible that because of them, because women like Joyce McCartan had experienced the everyday blessings of peace and refused to go back, that we are now watching the promise of peace rise again in the hearts and lives of people from both traditions. We are watching handshakes and conversation replace silence and confrontation. We are watching new jobs fuel new hopes. And we are watching simple acts of normalcy, never before possible, like the gathering of 40,000 people to see U2's first concert in Belfast just two months ago.

This is a truly historic moment, with important choices and new opportunities for peace, prosperity and progress, a chance that we cannot let slip away. And not only in Northern Ireland. All over the world, old hatreds are healing into new alliances. Amidst the rubble of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, tender shoots of democracy are springing up and setting down roots. People once restrained under the boot of oppression have arisen to create free elections, free press, free markets, and a new sense of community. And the approach of the new millennium challenges us to heed the lessons of the past and focus on the possibilities of the future. Entering a new millennium is actually a bit like turning 50, which is something I've learned about recently. You can't avoid it or postpone it – even if you try. It's a time for both celebration and reflection. But, like turning 50, the most important question about the new millennium is not when it will be -- the year 2000 or 2001 -- but where will we be? When our children turn 50, will they look back and know that we did all we could today to ensure that all citizens can reach their God-given potentials tomorrow? Will we have shown once and for all that the progress of democracy is inextricably tied to the progress of women?

During the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, I said that women's rights are human rights – and human rights are women's rights. One would think that wouldn't be such an extraordinary statement today.

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I remember one man in particular who called up a radio program I was on for the Voice of America. He wanted to know what my statement about women's rights really meant. I told him to think about all the rights men have and apply them to women: the right to be valued as a member of a family, to be treated with simple dignity, to have equal access to the tools of opportunity -- like health care, education, legal rights, political rights, and economic empowerment. We must make it clear that democracies cannot survive and thrive if rape is used as a weapon of war, if girls are trafficked as prostitutes and slaves, and if domestic violence forces women to live in fear. Democracies cannot survive and thrive if one half of the population is more likely to be poor, illiterate, uneducated, and denied access to critical health services. Democracies cannot survive and thrive -- and families and communities cannot thrive -- unless we empower women to claim their rights as citizens, to protect their dignity as human beings, and to participate fully in every aspect of our nations. Quite simply, democracies cannot survive and thrive if women cannot survive and thrive.

I was thinking about all of this recently on my visit to the Panama Canal. I saw how a simple twist of a handful of levers can unleash million of gallons of water, bridge two different oceans -- indeed two different worlds -- and send huge ships on their way for the benefit of all. It's the same with democracy. Because when women in Northern Ireland and around the world have access to, knowledge about, and the power to use all levers of democracy, when they join together to create one force for progress, I have seen them too bridge worlds and unleash vast powers for the benefit of all.

Just as they are doing here, when women grab the levers of democracy in the Middle East, Bosnia, and Rwanda, they are fostering reconciliation and renewal. When women grab the levers of democracy in Romania, they are developing a new pedagogy that emphasizes civic participation and democratic values. When women grab the levers of democracy in India, they are earning money of their own, buying their own vegetable carts, threads, and other materials, and generating income for themselves and their families. And when women grab the levers of democracy in South Africa, they are coming together to end the plagues of domestic violence and child abuse that have infected all of our nations.

Yet whether women are building new democracies or sustaining old ones, and whether they are making these contributions in their homes or communities or workplaces or schools, their stories are all too often ignored. In Washington, I had the privilege of serving as the honorary chair for a new memorial honoring the women in the American military services, who, without much fanfare, have sacrificed to serve our nation during times of war and peace. One of them, Clara Barton, was a Red Cross nurse in our Civil War. Her words, now etched in one of the glass panels above the memorial, still speak to all of us today. She said, "Woman has stood like a rock for the welfare and glory of the history of the country, and one might well add...unwritten, unrewarded, and almost unrecognized." For generations, pioneers like Clara Barton and Joyce McCartan have struggled to make sure women's contributions are written about, rewarded, and recognized. They have worked to make it clear that a house divided upon itself -- whether it be a home, a community, or a nation -- cannot stand. And in so doing, women have helped write an on-going story of democracy and inspired each generation to write the next chapter. For democracy's work is everyone's work and democracy's work is never done. As the poet Eilean Ni Chuilleanain wrote, "I said to the other sisters, each of you will have to do the same when your day comes. This one has finished her turn." Though Joyce finished her turn much too early, her lessons will live on -- not only at the University of Ulster, not only in Northern Ireland, but also in the future generations of women all over the world whose days have come.

One of those lessons Joyce taught was that "nothing separates us." At the Women's Information Drop-In Centre, in Beijing, in Eastern Europe, in Africa, and throughout the world, I have met women who work in fields and factories, in corporations and homes. Whether at the kitchen tables or the conference tables, and whatever their differences of race, culture, and religion, they are doing what women have always done -- talking to each other in the same language of hope, articulating many of the same dreams for our children, and all the while trying to find common ground to meet common challenges. That doesn't mean that women will always agree. Nor should that ever be our goal. I remember sitting around a table with women in Poland who were engaged in one of our most essential democratic acts: disagreeing with each other without being disagreeable or disrespectful. It also doesn't mean that women should be a monolithic group. What we have fought for -- and will continue to fight for -- are choices about our roles and dreams. Choices about where to work and when. Choices about whether to have a child and when. And choices about whether to contribute to the political process as a community leader like Joyce McCartan or a national leader like Mary Robinson. I'm told that during Benazir Bhutto's term as Prime Minister in Pakistan, Lady Howe asked a little boy there what he wanted to be when he grew up. "A truck driver," he replied. Surprised, she tried again, "But surely you would like to go into politics, even become Prime Minister?" "No," said the little boy, "that's women's work."

Yet, even as we strive to give all children a full menu of choices about how to fulfill their lives and strengthen their families and communities, there is one thing we do not have a choice about. And that's our responsibilities in a democracy, which are also our rights and rewards. In my own country, we struggle every day with the challenges posed by democracy. We have learned that we cannot build or sustain a democracy just by writing a constitution, filling out a ballot or contributing to the marketplace of ideas or goods. What we want in our nations we must expect in ourselves. If we are going to make sure that all people are treated with dignity and respect; if we are going to give a voice to all women -- not just those with power right now; if we are going to build and sustain democracy, then democratic values must live and grow in the hearts of all men and women. They must grow in our civil society, the space between our government and our economy, in the countless daily associations and actions that weave together the fabric of democratic life. Because just like a fish needs water to survive, neither peace nor terrorism nor democracy can survive without the life support of communities.

What do I mean by community support? Last month, our government released almost \$20 million to the International Fund for Ireland in order to support community groups that are growing the economy and the peace. We will always remember Olympic athletes like Mary Peters who brought home the Gold for Belfast and invested the money in a community track that has never been touched by terrorism. We salute academic institutions like this one, for using your leadership to teach peace and conflict resolution here and around the world. And, of course, we can learn so much from activists like Joyce McCartan, who teach us how grassroots alliances can help us not only build understanding, but also build up families and communities. How alliances can help us turn personal pain into collective action. How they can inspire us to use our religion as a source of faith and healing not only within ourselves, but among ourselves. How they can help us to resolve our conflicts with conversation -- and not just tolerate each other's differences, but really respect them and honor them.

Another lesson that women like Joyce McCartan are teaching is that we must do more than turn swords into plowshares. We must use those plowshares to break new ground, to dig up the causes of violence and despair, and ensure that women play a central role in ensuring the economic and social progress essential to any democracy.

Joyce liked to say that "You can't fry flags in a pan." Her message was the same one I've been hearing around the world. Women understand that they need access to credit to create new jobs and new businesses, to spur economic independence, and fulfill lifelong dreams. And they understand that we need to eliminate the barriers like teen pregnancy and lack of education and training that close doors for our young people. I met women in South America who are teaming up to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. And I'll never forget visiting a village in Bangladesh, where Hindu and Muslim women from one of the poorest countries in the world came together to tell me how their lives had changed, how they had more independence, more confidence, more security, simply because they had become borrowers with the Grameen Bank Microenterprise effort.

Just last week, we held a White House conference to talk about one of the most important challenges facing families in my nation and all over the world: child care. Notice I said it was an issue facing families – not just women. I'm always amazed when people refer to critical challenges like child care, health care, wages, and education as "women's issues." They are family issues, human issues. Because fathers also care if they have somewhere safe and affordable to leave their children while they work. Men also care if their wives' salaries and pensions are high enough to survive on or retire on. And fathers also care if their children have the health care and education they need to fulfill their God-given potential.

What we are saying is that empowering women to participate fully in our democratic institutions should not be done solely for women or by women. It must be done by all of us and for all of us: For the benefit of all families, all communities, all democracies. And by men as well as women. By businesses who will benefit if their employees can be good workers and good parents. By police officers who can help bring domestic violence victims to safety and their perpetrators to justice. By all citizens young and old. At a conference Elie Wiesel had a few years ago in Vienna, young people from across the globe came together because they had seen too much violence and division. They wanted to find a way to change all of that, to live in a different kind of world. They seemed to understand what Wiesel believes: that "Peace is not God's gift to its creatures. Peace is our gift to each other."

Who can forget the image of the two children, one Protestant and one Catholic, holding hands as they introduced my husband at the Mackie Plant? Why did it strike such a chord? Yes, because we want to honor those children's wish, and give them what all children deserve: a chance to live and learn and grow in peace -- without fear. But, when they stood together, they also revealed an important truth, too often forgotten: namely that children are not born hating. They are not born hating each other because of religion or ethnicity or race. And they are not born believing that women are worth less or should be treated worse. Children have to learn all of that. Just like they can learn to love and respect each other. They can learn either way – but they must learn the right way from their families, their communities, their teachers, their national and their religious leaders. They must learn the right way from all of us.

Let us teach our children the democratic values that must live in the hearts of all men and women who are free. Values that inspire us to treat all people with dignity. Values that give women an equal voice and an equal stake. Values that Joyce McCartan believed in. Values she would have wanted us to pass on. And as we do so, please know that the people of our nation will continue to stand with you as you use the power of these democratic values to achieve the most enduring legacy of all, the legacy of peace. Thank you very much.



### DRAFT SPEECH

It was two years ago that I was last in Northern Ireland. I remember travelling on Ormereau Street, heading towards my meeting at the Lamplighter Café and being aware of the violence that had erupted on that very street just weeks before. The weather was rainy and cold and gray, much as it is today, but I remember my visit here in a glow of warmth and optimism. And that's because I was privileged enough to share some tea and spend some time with the woman whose life we are here to honor this afternoon: Joyce McCartan.

In a country dimmed by the darkness of violence and fear, Joyce McCartan held out a light of compassion and faith. A light that spread beyond the bullet chipped borders of her café, her neighborhood, and even her country. I know it touched me.

This was a woman who, after her youngest child was killed at the age of 17 – just a year younger than my own daughter is today – did not stop, or even pause, in her work to end the violence that has taken too many of Ireland's sons and daughters. She did not allow herself to become twisted by bitterness and hate, but instead chose to continue her search for common ground.

This was a woman who endured, and endured gracefully, despite the fact that 18 members of her own extended family had been killed in the troubles. Despite the fact that she was a Catholic married to a Protestant in Northern Ireland. Despite the fact that she faced her own poverty and hurt and despair.

This was a woman who believed that the responsibility for a solution to her country's problems rested not on someone else's shoulders, but upon her own.

"It's ordinary people who are getting killed," she told me. "It's ordinary people who are going to stop it."

That's why she started her own business, her café, providing two full-time and seven part-time jobs to the community. That's why she founded Mornington Enterprises to train people in catering, office work, painting and decorating and technology. That's why she started the Women's Information Drop-In Center, to provide support to women, both Catholic and Protestant, and to work at solving the community's well-entrenched problems of poverty, illiteracy, joblessness and despair.

She thought that the women of Northern Ireland were uniquely qualified to help bring an end to the violence here. I believe she was right.

Joyce McCartan, and other women like her, have done much of the important work of problem-solving and job creating and national healing that is so important for creating peace in Northern Ireland. And, my travels throughout the world have shown me that the women in Northern Ireland are not alone in this effort. Around the globe women are taking it upon themselves to nurture societies so that democracies can grow.

After all, it's after the fighting is done, after the papers are signed, and after the wooden boards come off the store windows when so much of the real work of democracy building takes place. That's because democracy is much more than free elections, open markets and well crafted constitutions. These are necessary prerequisites to building a democracy, but like ingredients for an elaborate recipe, alone they are not enough.

Democracies work best when children are taught democratic values and are nourished with good education, good health care and good role models. Democracies work best when women are full participants, when racial and religious groups are not relegated to the side-lines, and when the right climate is created for businesses to prosper. Democracies work best when men and women and children are free from violence and crime and are treated with the dignity and respect they deserve.

For Democracy to succeed it must be more than a method of governance, it must become a system of values. And the values that make democracy possible – opportunity, responsibility, tolerance and respect for human dignity – must be internalized in people's hearts and minds and everyday lives.

Some of the women who have been instrumental in trying to create democratic societies have achieved high positions or have attracted a certain amount of fame: Women like Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma and of course your own former President Mary Robinson who is now doing such a terrific job as UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

But most of the work of democracy building is achieved far from the spotlight. Instead it takes place in dusty fields and corner cafés; in weathered school houses and bustling community health clinics. Places where day after day, ordinary women do the heroic work of creating democracy.

**Women help nations learn to live peacefully with their neighbors; even if those neighbors look different or practice different religions and customs.** That's certainly true here in Northern Ireland where women have worked to build bridges between counties, between neighborhoods and between religions. And it's true in many other places around the world: Just look at the women of South Africa – both black and white – who were critical in the struggle to end apartheid. And the women of Bosnia – Croats, Serbs and Muslims who came together to transcend long-standing ethnic hatreds. I've seen it in Israel, where women are working for stability in that violence-weary land. And I've seen it in my own country where women have fought for equal rights for minorities and to end gang warfare in our inner cities. Women are the world's peacemakers, and they are more.

**Women work to create communities that are safe and healthy.** In South America, women have joined forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children. In Belarus women are working to bring quality health care to the critically ill children of Chernobyl. And in Cape Town, women are building houses to replace the squatters camps that have inadequately sheltered their children for too long.

These are women who refuse to accept conditions as they are and who instead take it upon themselves to create more suitable environments for their entire communities.

**Women are the world's primary educators. They are the ones who instill democratic values in our children.** Women are our teachers and our mothers. They are our martyrs and our heroes. They are the living embodiment of the greatest principle of democracy: that ordinary people can accomplish extraordinary things. After all, what is more extraordinary than the reality of democracy itself? History certainly tells us that democracy is not necessarily the natural inclination of humankind. It must be taught, and once taught, nurtured carefully.

**A successful democracy depends on all these principles and enlists the strengths of all of its people. A democratic nation cannot reach its potential if its women are not reaching theirs.** The vibrancy of an economy, the richness of a society, the success of a political system simply cannot be achieved without women's full participation. Unfortunately that goal is still far from realized.

While women comprise more than half the world's population, we are 70 percent of the world's poor. We represent two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write. We are sold into prostitution, are not given enough to eat and are beaten in domestic violence. It is impossible to have a healthy society, a just society and thriving society, if half the population is mistreated like this.

That's why work around the world to empower women – usually led by women – has been so important. I've seen it myself in fledgling democracies that realize that women must be an integral part of the equation if they are to succeed. I've seen it in South Africa where courageous women are working to stop domestic violence and child abuse; I've seen it in Slovakia, Hungary and Estonia where women are strengthening their gender's participation by ensuring they are well-incorporated into the full lives of their societies; I've seen it in the Ukraine where a government ministry is now devoted solely to women's affairs and in Lithuania where new services are now supporting the needs of elderly women.

And I've seen the importance of this work in the proud faces of women whose lives are being changed thanks to micro-credit. Micro-credit institutions throughout the world are working to change the status of women in a way that no law, no mandate, and no edict ever could: It's doing it by giving women the tools to create their own success.

By granting women access to small loans, women are becoming self-sufficient members of their communities. In countries like India and Bangladesh, Managua and Peru and many other places around the world, women are taking out small loans to buy milk cows, rickshaws, thread and cellular phones to create a livelihood for themselves and their families.

This work of democracy building is not simple. My own country has been laboring with it for more than 200 years and there is no end to the work in sight. But the truth is, democracy is not something that ever really reaches perfection or completion.

Democracy is less like building a house – a task that has a beginning, middle and end – and more like building a fragile castle made of sand. Just as the sand castle is constantly threatened by sea and wind and the kicks of playing children, so is democracy constantly at risk by the everyday corrosive effects of hate, of prejudice and of intolerance; of joblessness, illiteracy and poverty.

Joyce McCartan understood this, as do many other women around the world.

Women in this country know the care that it's going to take strengthen a land that has endured too many decades of violence and fear and so have committed themselves to providing that care. What unites them is their knowledge that just as they have shared the pain of their homeland's troubles – so they share the responsibility of bringing them to an end.

There is a poem on the wall of the Lamplighter Café. It says: "Never be afraid to expect the impossible to be possible."

Here in Northern Ireland, for too long, too many things have seemed impossible: Simple things like knowing freedom from violence and fear; like experiencing peace of mind when your child walks out the door; and like living in a place where getting a job does not depend upon your religious background.

Democracy's success depends on making these things possible. It depends on the success of places like the Women's Information Drop In Center on Ormoreau Street, and the Grameen Micro-Credit Bank in Bangladesh. It depends on the literacy programs and the voting projects and the values that we instill in our children. It depends on the willingness of people to transcend hatred and prejudice for the greater good of a just – and democratic – society.

It depends on the work of women like Joyce McCartan – and those of us who live on in her legacy.

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REMARKS FOR SPEECH IN HONOR OF JOYCE MCCARTEN  
OCTOBER '97, UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER

Greetings and thank you. It is a great pleasure to be back in Northern Ireland, to visit with your president, Mary Robinson, and to reunite with so many of the courageous women and men whom I met when I first came here two years ago with my husband. Once again, you've made me feel so welcome. It's also a great privilege to participate in this lecture series in honor of one of Ireland's great peace makers -- Joyce McCarten. Thank you for inviting me.

I find it a particularly eloquent tribute that this event in her memory is being held at such an historic moment in Irish history -- as the leaders of Northern Ireland's Catholic and Protestant communities are sitting down for the first time in over 25 years to discuss how to end a generation of violence. It's a milestone that so many of you have longed for so deeply, and worked for so hard. I believe -- as I'm sure you do -- that this first effort toward a lasting peace would not have taken place without the tenacity and courage of women like Mary Robinson and Joyce McCarten.

As some of you may know, I met Joyce during my 1995 visit here, and spent an afternoon with her and a number of other women at the restaurant Ye Olde Lamplighter, which is part of the Women's Information Drop-In Center that she helped found. She told me about the work of the Center, and how her efforts to bring Catholic and Protestant women together for peace had evolved into plans to strengthen the local economy. Joyce understood how the struggle for peace must also overcome the deep-rooted causes of violence: poverty, limited education, and joblessness. She knew she had to empower women in their own lives in order to promote the cause of peace and justice in her country.

As we talked, I could see that as much pain and suffering as Joyce and the other women with us had endured over the years, as they watched their sons, husbands, brothers and friends lose their lives in this terrible struggle, that her vision was always toward the future. She was on a mission to promote understanding, to save lives, to preserve families, to defy history.

While I had never met Joyce before, I felt, in a strange way, that I had met her many times, and seen her compassion in other eyes as well. Her yearning for a more peaceful and democratic world resonates through the ages, and stretches across the globe.

Joyce follows in the well-worn footsteps of strong and courageous Irish women over the years -- women like Betty Williams, Mairead Corrigan, and so many others, who despite the unbearable loss and pain in their own lives, have spoken out in the universal language of reconciliation and non violence.

Mothers. Wives. Daughters. Ordinary citizens. Their insistent voices for peace -- raised sometimes in a roar, sometimes in a whispered prayer -- have inspired women around the world to pursue

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their claims for more open, democratic, and peaceful communities. And this chorus can be heard today, in the Middle East, in Bosnia, in Haiti, and wherever people are working to end the violence and start the healing in their families and nations.

As First Lady, I've been privileged to travel widely overseas, and have met the world's top leaders. Yet it's often in small communities -- sitting around a kitchen table or at a local workplace, and talking with women like Joyce about how they're improving their lives and strengthening their families -- where I've learned the most valuable lessons. And one of those lessons is the central role that women are playing -- and have always played -- in the building and sustaining of democracy around the world.

When we talk about democracy, we talk about the highest of ideals: freedom of religion; freedom of association; freedom of speech and the press; freedom to participate fully in the civic and political life of your country. But democracy is also about every citizen having equal access to education, health care, jobs, and credit. Democracy is about upholding human dignity, and giving people choices. And it confers to every individual the right to live up to his or her God-given potential.

Democracy, in other words, is the fulfillment of our deepest yearnings to live in a just and peaceful world, and it speaks a universal language of hope. Our poets seem to best capture this profound sense of longing. And here, I'd like to draw on one of America's great poets and an African American women, Maya Angelou, who stands as a powerful and often painful reminder of America's own struggles - past and present -- to gain civil rights and human dignity for every citizen. She writes: "The caged bird sings with a fearful trill of things unknown but longed for still; and his tune is heard on the distant hill, for the caged bird sings of freedom."

Yet what we've learned over the years is that these lofty ideals and beautiful words are only made real through the every day efforts of ordinary citizens. Yes, we need the laws and a system of justice that upholds those laws. But democracy is nurtured and sustained in the hearts of people; in the principles they stand for; in the way they conduct their daily lives; and in the lessons they teach their children before they tuck them into bed at night.

And that's the profound yet simple lesson that Joyce McCarten and so many women understood so well. These grass roots struggles against sectarian violence teach us, once again, that democracy calls us to live peacefully with people who are different from ourselves -- whether they live across the street or on the other side of the world. That love of family runs deeper than calls to hatred. That faith can bring us together instead of divide us. And that an extraordinary power is unleashed when ordinary women reach

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out to their neighbors to find common ground, and are empowered to begin solving problems in their own communities.

The power of ordinary women making extraordinary contributions to peace was again recognized by the world a few weeks ago, when the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to an American activist, Jody Williams, who helped lead the international campaign to ban landmines. Like Joyce McCarten, she didn't have a large office or major funding: her effectiveness lay in her ability to organize people in a grass roots campaign around a common cause: to protect the world's children.

But today, while we celebrate these women for their invaluable work on behalf of peace and democracy, we must also begin to acknowledge the contributions of others whose names we do not know, and whose work still goes unheralded. By putting the spotlight on women working in the front lines, we will broaden the lens of our own understanding about what it takes to sustain the spirit and institutions of democracy around the world.

The women I've met here in Northern Ireland who are working with young people to break the cycle of hatred are surely at the forefront of the fight for democracy. Because what does freedom mean if we can't overcome division and suspicion, and find our common humanity?

Women involved in microcredit operations in small rural villages in Bangladesh, India, Nicaragua, and Chile, are in the business of strengthening democracy. Because what does freedom mean if people don't have equal access to the financial resources that enable them to gain independence and self sufficiency?

Women in South Africa and in some of America's inner cities who have set up domestic violence councils are contributing to the strengthening of democracy. Because what does freedom mean if a woman is afraid to leave her home, or protect her children, because of a violent husband or lover?

Women in Zimbabwe and Bolivia who are setting up rural health clinics are champions of democracy. Because what does freedom mean if families are denied access to basic health care services, and women are denied the right to plan their own families?

Women in Romania and Estonia who are leading electoral education projects are on the front lines of democracy. Because what does freedom mean if people are ignorant about the procedures for electing their own representatives?

And women in Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Thailand who are campaigning for the right of girls to get an education are making an invaluable contribution to democracy in their countries. Because what does

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freedom mean if women are denied the knowledge and opportunity to participate in the free flow of ideas?

Women are not only critical to advancing democracy and free market economies in every corner of the globe. They are redefining the very notion of what we mean by a democratic society.

Historically, however, these efforts been overlooked and under appreciated. It's time to bring their achievements out in the open and to celebrate them as well. In fact, I see a growing part of my work now, as I travel around my own country and other nations, is to pull back the curtain on women's emerging roles in promoting democracy.

Doing so is important for two reasons. First, the efforts of women to build strong families, to reach out to others different from themselves, to teach their children tolerance and compassion, and to empower themselves and others to lead productive and independent lives, should be recognized for the simple reason that we can all learn from them, and be inspired by their efforts.

But more importantly, democracy cannot flourish if women aren't full partners in the social, economic, political and civic lives of their communities and nations. Validating their contributions will help deepen movements for change, and ensure greater progress toward democracy. Women are the world's greatest untapped resource. We must begin to unleash the full power of their vast potential.

In the last presidential election in the United States in 1996, people were surprised that so much attention was being given to "women's issues." All of a sudden, the swing vote was in the hands of "soccer moms" who were talking about the stress of parenthood or drugs in school or the lack of quality day care for their children. But why should this have surprised us? The topics that women talk about around the kitchen table -- whether it's in a small town in Chile or a row house in Belfast -- are in fact the issues that we need to listen to the closest.

Women are concerned with questions that impact the entire community: how to balance work and family; how to improve the local public school; how to stretch their budgets to cover the rent; how to protect a neighbor who is the victim of domestic abuse. They want to stop the violence on TV; and they want to teach their children to play with kids who are different from them. Yet when I talk about many of these issues, they are often dismissed as "marginal," or only "women's issues." During the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing a few years ago, I said that women's rights were human rights, and human rights were women's rights. Yet that unremarkable statement set off a firestorm of controversy.

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When will people understand that the concerns of women and families are universal concerns that are at the heart of our civil society? When will people understand that strong families and nurturing communities form the foundations of a free nation? When will people understand that solving problems like day care and health care and education and teen violence -- still called "women's issues" -- will be the most critical test of our entire generation?

Today, we face a daunting challenge. The most formidable threat to democracy is no longer a communist monolith with imperial designs. It's the volatile economic and social conditions that come with the growing disparity of poor and wealthy; with ongoing discrimination and bigotry; and with the collapse of the old order. Democracy is weakened wherever there's the dissolving of a sense of community. And democracy is threatened whenever and wherever the full partnership of women is held back.

We must strengthen the laws and institutions and alliances that uphold the principles of democracy and freedom -- in our own countries and in fledgling democracies around the world. Perhaps most importantly, we must keep the spirit of democracy -- our deepest hopes for a better future -- alive.

No one has to remind the women of Ireland how rocky and hard is this path toward justice, or how fragile are these efforts toward peace. Yet if there's anything we've learned, it's the willful determination of women here and around the world to listen to the message of their hearts, and to persuade others to respond to their better angels. Your gifted Irish poet, Seamus Heaney, claims for poetry this special power: "the power to persuade that vulnerable part of our consciousness of its rightness, in spite of the evidence of wrongness all around it." I would say that women too hold that power.

Eleanor Roosevelt once said that "The future belongs to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams." It's difficult to imagine a more compelling beauty than a true and lasting peace here in Northern Ireland. Please know that women around the world stand by you as you take the risks for peace. The future belongs to you, and as you pursue it, may God hold all of you in the palm of his hand.

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It's wonderful to be back in Northern Ireland. There are so many memories that my husband and I will always cherish from our trip here two years ago. The lighting of the Christmas tree outside City Hall – and its illumination of hope in Belfast. Our walk from Guildhall Square to Shipquay Street. And the day that I had the personal privilege to meet Joyce McCartan. As we talked with other community leaders at the Lamplighter restaurant, I was struck, as many of you have been, by Joyce's spirit, by her warmth, her resilience, and, yes, her humor. But, by something else as well.

In her extraordinary life, we see the ordinary lives of too many women around us: the anguish of losing relative after relative to bullets and bombs, the unspeakable grief of having your own son taken away so brutally, so senselessly, so young. But, in Joyce's strength and determination, we also see the strength and determination of women throughout Northern Ireland. Because the history of "The Troubles" is the history of much more than what divides us. It is the history of women like Joyce McCartan, who have worked tirelessly to unite us in common cause. Women like Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams, Nobel Prize winners in 1976 who took to the streets to take back the streets. Women like Pearl Sagar and this University's own Monica McWilliams who today are giving women a voice and a seat at the all-party talks and the chance to create a future of peace and opportunity that leaves no citizen behind. Women who are taking responsibility for their families and their communities. Women who are defying history to rewrite history. Unsung heroes, most of them. Like Joyce, they are not experienced diplomats or high-ranking officials. They are mothers and workers and community leaders who didn't wait for someone else to point the way. Instead, they looked around at the kids who couldn't play outside safely, at the violence that had infested their lives, at the poverty and despair, and simply said "No more."

It is quite possible that because of them, because women like Joyce McCartan had experienced the everyday blessings of peace and refused to go back, that we are now watching the promise of peace rise again in the hearts and lives of people from both traditions. We are watching handshakes and conversation replace silence and confrontation. We are watching new jobs fuel new hopes. And we are watching simple acts of normalcy, never before possible, like the gathering of 40,000 people to see U2's first concert in Belfast just two months ago.

This is a truly historic moment, with important choices and new opportunities for peace, prosperity and progress, a chance that we cannot let slip away. And not only in Northern Ireland. All over the world, old hatreds are healing into new alliances. Amidst the rubble of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, tender shoots of democracy are springing up and setting down roots. People once restrained under the boot of oppression have arisen to create free elections, free press, free markets, and a new sense of community. And the approach of the new millennium challenges us to heed the lessons of the past and focus on the possibilities of the future. Entering a new millennium is actually a bit like turning 50, which is something I've learned about recently. You can't avoid it or postpone it – even if you try. It's a time for both celebration and reflection. But, like turning 50, the most important question about the new millennium is not when it will be -- the year 2000 or 2001 -- but where will we be? When our children turn 50, will they look back and know that we did all we could today to ensure that all citizens can reach their God-given potentials tomorrow? Will we have shown once and for all that the progress of democracy is inextricably tied to the progress of women?

During the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, I said that women's rights are human rights – and human rights are women's rights. One would think that wouldn't be such an extraordinary statement today.

I remember one man in particular who called up a radio program I was on for the Voice of America. He wanted to know what my statement about women's rights really meant. I told him to think about all the rights men have and apply them to women: the right to be valued as a member of a family, to be treated with simple dignity, to have equal access to the tools of opportunity -- like health care, education, legal rights, political rights, and economic empowerment. We must make it clear that democracies cannot survive and thrive if rape is used as a weapon of war, if girls are trafficked as prostitutes and slaves, and if domestic violence forces women to live in fear. Democracies cannot survive and thrive if one half of the population is more likely to be poor, illiterate, uneducated, and denied access to critical health services. Democracies cannot survive and thrive -- and families and communities cannot thrive -- unless we empower women to claim their rights as citizens, to protect their dignity as human beings, and to participate fully in every aspect of our nations. Quite simply, democracies cannot survive and thrive if women cannot survive and thrive.

I was thinking about all of this recently on my visit to the Panama Canal. I saw how a simple twist of a handful of levers can unleash million of gallons of water, bridge two different oceans -- indeed two different worlds -- and send huge ships on their way for the benefit of all. It's the same with democracy. Because when women in Northern Ireland and around the world have access to, knowledge about, and the power to use all levers of democracy, when they join together to create one force for progress, I have seen them too bridge worlds and unleash vast powers for the benefit of all.

Just as they are doing here, when women grab the levers of democracy in the Middle East, Bosnia, and Rwanda, they are fostering reconciliation and renewal. When women grab the levers of democracy in Romania, they are developing a new pedagogy that emphasizes civic participation and democratic values. When women grab the levers of democracy in India, they are earning money of their own, buying their own vegetable carts, threads, and other materials, and generating income for themselves and their families. And when women grab the levers of democracy in South Africa, they are coming together to end the plagues of domestic violence and child abuse that have infected all of our nations.

Yet whether women are building new democracies or sustaining old ones, and whether they are making these contributions in their homes or communities or workplaces or schools, their stories are all too often ignored. In Washington, I had the privilege of serving as the honorary chair for a new memorial honoring the women in the American military services, who, without much fanfare, have sacrificed to serve our nation during times of war and peace. One of them, Clara Barton, was a Red Cross nurse in our Civil War. Her words, now etched in one of the glass panels above the memorial, still speak to all of us today. She said, "Woman has stood like a rock for the welfare and glory of the history of the country, and one might well add...unwritten, unrewarded, and almost unrecognized." For generations, pioneers like Clara Barton and Joyce McCartan have struggled to make sure women's contributions are written about, rewarded, and recognized. They have worked to make it clear that a house divided upon itself -- whether it be a home, a community, or a nation -- cannot stand. And in so doing, women have helped write an on-going story of democracy and inspired each generation to write the next chapter. For democracy's work is everyone's work and democracy's work is never done. As the poet Eilean Ni Chuilleanain wrote, "I said to the other sisters, each of you will have to do the same when your day comes. This one has finished her turn." Though Joyce finished her turn much too early, her lessons will live on -- not only at the University of Ulster, not only in Northern Ireland, but also in the future generations of women all over the world whose days have come.

One of those lessons Joyce taught was that "nothing separates us." At the Women's Information Drop-In Centre, in Beijing, in Eastern Europe, in Africa, and throughout the world, I have met women who work in fields and factories, in corporations and homes. Whether at the kitchen tables or the conference tables, and whatever their differences of race, culture, and religion, they are doing what women have always done -- talking to each other in the same language of hope, articulating many of the same dreams for our children, and all the while trying to find common ground to meet common challenges. That doesn't mean that women will always agree. Nor should that ever be our goal. I remember sitting around a table with women in Poland who were engaged in one of our most essential democratic acts: disagreeing with each other without being disagreeable or disrespectful. It also doesn't mean that women should be a monolithic group. What we have fought for -- and will continue to fight for -- are choices about our roles and dreams. Choices about where to work and when. Choices about whether to have a child and when. And choices about whether to contribute to the political process as a community leader like Joyce McCartan or a national leader like Mary Robinson. I'm told that during Benazir Bhutto's term as Prime Minister in Pakistan, Lady Howe asked a little boy there what he wanted to be when he grew up. "A truck driver," he replied. Surprised, she tried again, "But surely you would like to go into politics, even become Prime Minister?" "No," said the little boy, "that's women's work."

Yet, even as we strive to give all children a full menu of choices about how to fulfill their lives and strengthen their families and communities, there is one thing we do not have a choice about. And that's our responsibilities in a democracy, which are also our rights and rewards. In my own country, we struggle every day with the challenges posed by democracy. We have learned that we cannot build or sustain a democracy just by writing a constitution, filling out a ballot or contributing to the marketplace of ideas or goods. What we want in our nations we must expect in ourselves. If we are going to make sure that all people are treated with dignity and respect; if we are going to give a voice to all women -- not just those with power right now; if we are going to build and sustain democracy, then democratic values must live and grow in the hearts of all men and women. They must grow in our civil society, the space between our government and our economy, in the countless daily associations and actions that weave together the fabric of democratic life. Because just like a fish needs water to survive, neither peace nor terrorism nor democracy can survive without the life support of communities.

What do I mean by community support? Last month, our government released almost \$20 million to the International Fund for Ireland in order to support community groups that are growing the economy and the peace. We will always remember Olympic athletes like Mary Peters who brought home the Gold for Belfast and invested the money in a community track that has never been touched by terrorism. We salute academic institutions like this one, for using your leadership to teach peace and conflict resolution here and around the world. And, of course, we can learn so much from activists like Joyce McCartan, who teach us how grassroots alliances can help us not only build understanding, but also build up families and communities. How alliances can help us turn personal pain into collective action. How they can inspire us to use our religion as a source of faith and healing not only within ourselves, but among ourselves. How they can help us to resolve our conflicts with conversation -- and not just tolerate each other's differences, but really respect them and honor them.

Another lesson that women like Joyce McCartan are teaching is that we must do more than turn swords into plowshares. We must use those plowshares to break new ground, to dig up the causes of violence and despair, and ensure that women play a central role in ensuring the economic and social progress essential to any democracy.

Joyce liked to say that "You can't fry flags in a pan." Her message was the same one I've been hearing around the world. Women understand that they need access to credit to create new jobs and new businesses, to spur economic independence, and fulfill lifelong dreams. And they understand that we need to eliminate the barriers like teen pregnancy and lack of education and training that close doors for our young people. I met women in South America who are teaming up to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. And I'll never forget visiting a village in Bangladesh, where Hindu and Muslim women from one of the poorest countries in the world came together to tell me how their lives had changed, how they had more independence, more confidence, more security, simply because they had become borrowers with the Grameen Bank Microenterprise effort.

Just last week, we held a White House conference to talk about one of the most important challenges facing families in my nation and all over the world: child care. Notice I said it was an issue facing families – not just women. I'm always amazed when people refer to critical challenges like child care, health care, wages, and education as "women's issues." They are family issues, human issues. Because fathers also care if they have somewhere safe and affordable to leave their children while they work. Men also care if their wives' salaries and pensions are high enough to survive on or retire on. And fathers also care if their children have the health care and education they need to fulfill their God-given potential.

What we are saying is that empowering women to participate fully in our democratic institutions should not be done solely for women or by women. It must be done by all of us and for all of us: For the benefit of all families, all communities, all democracies. And by men as well as women. By businesses who will benefit if their employees can be good workers and good parents. By police officers who can help bring domestic violence victims to safety and their perpetrators to justice. By all citizens young and old. At a conference Elie Wiesel had a few years ago in Vienna, young people from across the globe came together because they had seen too much violence and division. They wanted to find a way to change all of that, to live in a different kind of world. They seemed to understand what Wiesel believes: that "Peace is not God's gift to its creatures. Peace is our gift to each other."

Who can forget the image of the two children, one Protestant and one Catholic, holding hands as they introduced my husband at the Mackie Plant? Why did it strike such a chord? Yes, because we want to honor those children's wish, and give them what all children deserve: a chance to live and learn and grow in peace -- without fear. But, when they stood together, they also revealed an important truth, too often forgotten: namely that children are not born hating. They are not born hating each other because of religion or ethnicity or race. And they are not born believing that women are worth less or should be treated worse. Children have to learn all of that. Just like they can learn to love and respect each other. They can learn either way – but they must learn the right way from their families, their communities, their teachers, their national and their religious leaders. They must learn the right way from all of us.

Let us teach our children the democratic values that must live in the hearts of all men and women who are free. Values that inspire us to treat all people with dignity. Values that give women an equal voice and an equal stake. Values that Joyce McCartan believed in. Values she would have wanted us to pass on. And as we do so, please know that the people of our nation will continue to stand with you as you use the power of these democratic values to achieve the most enduring legacy of all, the legacy of peace. Thank you very much.

## CHARTER SCHOOLS



The day after we left Chelsea at Stanford University, full of excitement as she begins the next stage of her education, my husband and I went to San Carlos, California to the state's first charter school to study an educational development that is brightening the futures of children across the country.

We met with teachers, parents, administrators, and students who told us about their experiences building charter schools. These are public schools, supported and chartered by the states, open to all students, and accountable for their performance. But they are unique because they are freed from the red tape of traditional school bureaucracies. In San Carlos, we heard about what worked and why; the problems and frustrations they've encountered; and lessons learned.

I've been caught up in the challenges facing our education system since 1983, when Bill was governor of Arkansas and entrusted me with chairing a committee to make schools better. There are certain things I've come to believe deeply that help explain why charter schools make sense. First, children learn differently and are smart in varied ways; we need to tailor schools to respond to their individual needs and talents. Second, the key to good education is to have high expectations-- of students, of teachers, and of parents-- and then give them a hand in making changes happen. Third, good ideas are contagious.

The day my husband took office in January, 1993 there was just one charter school in the country. Now, supported by legislation he passed in Congress in 1994, there are 787, serving over 100,000 students in 24 states. These schools were started by many different kinds of people-- teachers, administrators, community groups, businesses--who want to make our schools better. Let me tell you about just a few places that reflect the extraordinary diversity and promise of charter schools.

Earlier this year, I visited the Vaughn Next Century Learning Center outside Los Angeles. Once one of the lowest-achieving elementary schools in the area, grossly crowded and bordered by a neighborhood of broken-down crack houses, it's been transformed into one of the country's most exciting charter schools. Stressing the crucial involvement of parents, Vaughn has an onsite Family Center to help the school's mostly poor Latino and Asian-American families get the basic health and social services they need, from immunization and dental care to parenting classes. Parents volunteer in the school in return for the services. The school requires students to wear uniforms, provides after-school tutoring and gang prevention programs, and calls students' homes when they are absent, resulting in an attendance rate of 99%.

Another acclaimed charter school, Boston's City on a Hill, was founded by two teachers from traditional inner city schools where they felt they had only minimal influence shaping decisions. They chose to spend (and risk) their careers building an alternative school where the diploma truly means something. It's only granted when children have earned it by demonstrating they've mastered a demanding set of academic skills that they'll need to compete in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world they're entering. City on a Hill takes advantage of all the great resources of Boston: art classes are held in museums; the gym program uses the YMCA. Students are required to get involved and work in the community to link school to real world experience and learn in practice the values underlying our democracy. They also can't graduate if they haven't learned to swim.

The first charter school in the nation, City Academy in St. Paul, Minnesota, was started to attract and serve children who'd dropped out of school. One of the main reasons for its tremendous success was the involvement of twenty school drop-outs who helped design and create a school they'd want to attend.

Charter schools aren't without problems. The start-up costs are high. They sometimes face opposition from entrenched bureaucracies reluctant to give up control. They need to be scrutinized closely from the start in deciding who gets charters, how they'll be managed and their performance judged. If charter schools don't perform, they can be closed down. A handful have been.

In November, Secretary of Education Dick Riley will convene a national conference on charter schools in Washington so they can learn from each other and we can learn from them all. This year's budget calls for funds for another 500 schools. Charter schools are already proving what exciting things can be achieved when we relinquish the idea that one size fits all in American education and give the people who know and care most about our schools a free hand to find new and better ways for children to learn.

(770 words)

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DRAFT

## Charter Schools: A Gift to Our Community

September 24, 1997

I wish you all could have been with Bill and me when we visited the San Carlos Charter Learning Center, one of the very first charter schools in the nation. It was a day I'll never forget.

We had just left Chelsea at Stanford, one of the toughest moments we've ever endured as parents. Visiting San Carlos was just what the doctor ordered.

San Carlos is a good news story -- one of hundreds taking place every day all across the country. It's a school that works. Volunteers gave 20,000 hours of time to create the Charter Learning Center. When it was created, one of the organizers said, "The granting of the San Carlos Charter is a gift the community has given to itself....the gift of the opportunity to create choice for all learners."

That's what charter schools are all about.

Charter schools are public schools operated under a charter or contract. They may be organized by parents, teachers or others from the community, but the idea is that, in exchange for public funding, they are freed from the regulations and red tape that stifle effective innovation. In addition, they are held accountable. If they don't meet the high expectations they've set for themselves, their charter is revoked.

In 1991, Minnesota became the first state to pass a charter school law. Now, merely six years later, there are 700 charter schools in 29 states.

As parents, we all know what works for our children: clear expectations that all children can and should learn; manageable school and class size; an orderly classroom environment; the close personal involvement of at least one teacher with each child; a commitment to tailoring instruction to how different children learn; and active parent participation.

These are pretty fundamental principles. Yet, in too many cases, our public schools have become too big -- too industrialized. Gone are the basic ingredients once considered requisite to a good education. That's where charter schools come in.

I've been privileged to visit charter schools all across the country. At San Carlos, Bill and I saw a business run by students at the school. Eleven to 14-year-olds develop and market inexpensive games and software for children of all ages.

At the Vaughan Next Century Learning Center, principal Yvonne Chan showed me where crack houses used to stand next to the school. She fought for state funding to bulldoze

the houses and build new classrooms. What Chan is most proud of, though, is her students' daily attendance rate - 99%.

Another California school has lengthened the school year to 200 days. Jingletown was created by Oakland's Hispanic community, long frustrated by the school district's refusal to provide a bilingual middle school. The longer school year, combined with a longer school day, allows the school to provide study hall, art and music classes that are no longer offered in the district's regular public schools. Jingletown parents clean bathrooms and provide food services for one hour each week, allowing the school to spend precious resources in the classroom, where they belong.

Early on, critics complained that charter schools would serve only the affluent. Actually, the opposite is true. Charter schools are serving more minority and at-risk students than anyone ever expected. Michigan's charter schools have more than twice the minority enrollment of the public schools.

Here's one of my favorite stories: Pam Girod, a teacher in Minnesota, used \$9,000 of her own money to fund the Cedar-Riverside Community school for students from a community housing project who had no neighborhood school.

I could fill a year's worth of columns with stories just like these. Parents, in partnership with energetic educators, are making them happen all across the country.

The President and I are determined to take the lessons we've learned from these stories and use them to infect every public school in America. In November, Education Secretary Richard Riley will convene a national conference on charter schools, bringing together teachers, administrators, parents, and others who are interested to share their very best ideas.

The recently enacted balanced budget agreement contains enough money to set up thousands more charter schools across the country. At San Carlos, Bill announced the release of \$40 million in grants to establish 500 more charter schools right away. We want to see 3,000 - or even 4,000 - charter schools in operation by the year 2000.

Charter schools are about giving people a chance - about empowering parents, teachers, and communities. But, most of all, charter schools are about doing what's best for our children.

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Last week, my husband and I flew to California to get Chelsea settled in at college. It was a difficult time for me as a mother, but as First Lady I had a different experience.

While we were in California, the President and I visited the San Carlos Charter Learning Center, one of our nation's emerging charter schools. There, we encountered a vibrant community of dedicated teachers, students and parents working together to meet the diverse needs of their children. It was easy to see success on the smiling faces of those kids.

I don't think anyone would deny that a strong public school system is crucial to the health of any nation. As we are so often reminded, today's children are tomorrow's doctors, teachers, business owners and parents. We all agree that every child, from every background and in every part of the country, deserves the opportunity to develop his or her God-given potential.

For that reason, the President and I have devoted a lot of time and attention to education reform. While Bill was Governor of Arkansas, we went into the schools to learn what was needed. We worked on many issues, but one of the things we heard expressed frequently was a desire for public school choice. Before long, Arkansas passed a law granting parents more freedom to choose which school their child attends.

Charter schools -- which have developed in the last five years -- take the element of choice one step further. Charter schools are public schools which are not bound by ordinary regulations but instead are created under contracts specific to them.

Each child is different, and each child has a different set of talents as well as needs. Sometimes it takes a particular kind of environment to truly nurture a child's gifts. Because charter schools operate under a set of guidelines that they themselves have established, they have the freedom to develop innovative techniques -- or to reinstate effective old ones -- to meet the varied needs of their students.

Many advocates of school reform believe that schools would be more effective if, like businesses, they were answerable to their customers -- in this case, students and parents. Charter schools are accountable: In order to keep their charters, they must maintain high standards, and they must satisfy the people they serve.

And charter schools are satisfying people all over the country. In Pacoima,

California, a charter has transformed the Vaughn Next Century Learning Center from a place where drug deals were happening on school property to one of the most promising schools in the nation. Among Vaughn's many successful facilities is a Family Center, a one-stop referral center which helps families obtain health and social services.

In San Diego, the O'Farrell Community School clusters its students in "families" headed by a single teacher for three years, so as to keep track of students' progress. Community service is a requirement for graduation, and the school has a counseling center to help students with nonacademic problems.

In Massachusetts, where there are currently twenty-two charter schools, studies show that the overwhelming majority of participants are delighted with the results. Eighty percent of the parents and students surveyed reported that their charter school experience was superior to that of their previous school, and seventy-five percent of the parents reported that their child's interest in learning has increased at the new school.

Beyond educating our children, charter schools educate us -- about what does and doesn't work for our students. Far from leaving other schools behind, these learning centers provide models to be emulated. With some care and attention, what succeeds in one school can be adopted by another. In this way, every school will be encouraged to act like a charter school, and students across the nation will enjoy improvements in the ways they learn.

There are now over five hundred charter schools across the United States. Because these schools often use money already allocated for public schools, they are cost-effective. But they need additional support to get started. The President recently released \$40 million in grants to help these schools get up and running, and I share his hope that every American will see the value in funding these schools.

Charter schools represent what is best about America -- diverse groups of teachers, students, parents and members of the community joining together to take responsibility for meeting the needs of our children. We *can* improve the quality of education in this country. In fact, we are already doing so, and charter schools are leading the way.



# FAX TRANSMISSION

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Office of the Secretary

DATE: 10/20/97

TO: Michael O' Mary

FAX: 456-6244

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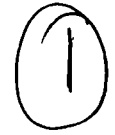
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To: Michael O'Mary  
At: First Lady's Office  
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### DRAFT SPEECH

It was two years ago that I was last in Northern Ireland. I remember travelling on Ormureau Street, heading towards my meeting at the Lamplighter Café and being aware of the violence that had erupted on that very street just weeks before. The weather was rainy and cold and gray, much as it is today, but I remember my visit here in a glow of warmth and optimism. And that's because I was privileged enough to share some tea and spend some time with the woman whose life we are here to honor this afternoon: Joyce McCartan.

In a country dimmed by the darkness of violence and fear, Joyce McCartan held out a light of compassion and faith. A light that spread beyond the bullet chipped borders of her café, her neighborhood, and even her country. I know it touched me.

This was a woman who, after her youngest child was killed at the age of 17 – just a year younger than my own daughter is today – did not stop, or even pause, in her work to end the violence that has taken too many of Ireland's sons and daughters. She did not allow herself to become twisted by bitterness and hate, but instead chose to continue her search for common ground.

This was a woman who endured, and endured gracefully, despite the fact that 18 members of her own extended family had been killed in the troubles. Despite the fact that she was a Catholic married to a Protestant in Northern Ireland. Despite the fact that she faced her own poverty and hurt and despair.

This was a woman who believed that the responsibility for a solution to her country's problems rested not on someone else's shoulders, but upon her own.

"It's ordinary people who are getting killed," she told me. "It's ordinary people who are going to stop it."

That's why she started her own business, her café, providing two full-time and seven part-time jobs to the community. That's why she founded Mornington Enterprises to train people in catering, office work, painting and decorating and technology. That's why she started the Women's Information Drop-In Center, to provide support to women, both Catholic and Protestant, and to work at solving the community's well-entrenched problems of poverty, illiteracy, joblessness and despair.

She thought that the women of Northern Ireland were uniquely qualified to help bring an end to the violence here. I believe she was right.

Joyce McCartan, and other women like her, have done much of the important work of problem-solving and job creating and national healing that is so important for creating peace in Northern Ireland. And, my travels throughout the world have shown me that the women in Northern Ireland are not alone in this effort. Around the globe women are taking it upon themselves to nurture societies so that democracies can grow.

After all, it's after the fighting is done, after the papers are signed, and after the wooden boards come off the store windows when so much of the real work of democracy building takes place. That's because democracy is much more than free elections, open markets and well crafted constitutions. These are necessary prerequisites to building a democracy, but like ingredients for an elaborate recipe, alone they are not enough.

Democracies work best when children are taught democratic values and are nourished with good education, good health care and good role models. Democracies work best when women are full participants, when racial and religious groups are not relegated to the side-lines, and when the right climate is created for businesses to prosper. Democracies work best when men and women and children are free from violence and crime and are treated with the dignity and respect they deserve.

For Democracy to succeed it must be more than a method of governance, it must become a system of values. And the values that make democracy possible – opportunity, responsibility, tolerance and respect for human dignity – must be internalized in people's hearts and minds and everyday lives.

Some of the women who have been instrumental in trying to create democratic societies have achieved high positions or have attracted a certain amount of fame: Women like Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma and of course your own former President Mary Robinson who is now doing such a terrific job as UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

But most of the work of democracy building is achieved far from the spotlight. Instead it takes place in dusty fields and corner cafés; in weathered school houses and bustling community health clinics. Places where day after day, ordinary women do the heroic work of creating democracy.

**Women help nations learn to live peacefully with their neighbors; even if those neighbors look different or practice different religions and customs.** That's certainly true here in Northern Ireland where women have worked to build bridges between counties, between neighborhoods and between religions. And it's true in many other places around the world: Just look at the women of South Africa – both black and white – who were critical in the struggle to end apartheid. And the women of Bosnia – Croats, Serbs and Muslims who came together to transcend long-standing ethnic hatreds. I've seen it in Israel, where women are working for stability in that violence-weary land. And I've seen it in my own country where women have fought for equal rights for minorities and to end gang warfare in our inner cities. Women are the world's peacemakers, and they are more.

**Women work to create communities that are safe and healthy.** In South America, women have joined forces to improve literacy and health care for women and children. In Belarus women are working to bring quality health care to the critically ill children of Chernobyl. And in Cape Town, women are building houses to replace the squatters camps that have inadequately sheltered their children for too long.

These are women who refuse to accept conditions as they are and who instead take it upon themselves to create more suitable environments for their entire communities.

**Women are the world's primary educators. They are the ones who instill democratic values in our children.** Women are our teachers and our mothers. They are our martyrs and our heroes. They are the living embodiment of the greatest principle of democracy: that ordinary people can accomplish extraordinary things. After all, what is more extraordinary than the reality of democracy itself? History certainly tells us that democracy is not necessarily the natural inclination of humankind. It must be taught, and once taught, nurtured carefully.

**A successful democracy depends on all these principles and enlists the strengths of all of its people. A democratic nation cannot reach its potential if its women are not reaching theirs.** The vibrancy of an economy, the richness of a society, the success of a political system simply cannot be achieved without women's full participation. Unfortunately that goal is still far from realized.

While women comprise more than half the world's population, we are 70 percent of the world's poor. We represent two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write. We are sold into prostitution, are not given enough to eat and are beaten in domestic violence. It is impossible to have a healthy society, a just society and thriving society, if half the population is mistreated like this.

That's why work around the world to empower women – usually led by women – has been so important. I've seen it myself in fledgling democracies that realize that women must be an integral part of the equation if they are to succeed. I've seen it in South Africa where courageous women are working to stop domestic violence and child abuse; I've seen it in Slovakia, Hungary and Estonia where women are strengthening their gender's participation by ensuring they are well-incorporated into the full lives of their societies; I've seen it in the Ukraine where a government ministry is now devoted solely to women's affairs and in Lithuania where new services are now supporting the needs of elderly women.

And I've seen the importance of this work in the proud faces of women whose lives are being changed thanks to micro-credit. Micro-credit institutions throughout the world are working to change the status of women in a way that no law, no mandate, and no edict ever could: It's doing it by giving women the tools to create their own success.

By granting women access to small loans, women are becoming self-sufficient members of their communities. In countries like India and Bangladesh, Managua and Peru and many other places around the world, women are taking out small loans to buy milk cows, rickshaws, thread and cellular phones to create a livelihood for themselves and their families.

This work of democracy building is not simple. My own country has been laboring with it for more than 200 years and there is no end to the work in sight. But the truth is, democracy is not something that ever really reaches perfection or completion.

Democracy is less like building a house – a task that has a beginning, middle and end – and more like building a fragile castle made of sand. Just as the sand castle is constantly threatened by sea and wind and the kicks of playing children, so is democracy constantly at risk by the everyday corrosive effects of hate, of prejudice and of intolerance; of joblessness, illiteracy and poverty.

Joyce McCartan understood this, as do many other women around the world.

Women in this country know the care that it's going to take strengthen a land that has endured too many decades of violence and fear and so have committed themselves to providing that care. What unites them is their knowledge that just as they have shared the pain of their homeland's troubles – so they share the responsibility of bringing them to an end.

There is a poem on the wall of the Lamplighter Café. It says: "Never be afraid to expect the impossible to be possible."

Here in Northern Ireland, for too long, too many things have seemed impossible: Simple things like knowing freedom from violence and fear; like experiencing peace of mind when your child walks out the door; and like living in a place where getting a job does not depend upon your religious background.

Democracy's success depends on making these things possible. It depends on the success of places like the Women's Information Drop In Center on Ormeau Street, and the Grameen Micro-Credit Bank in Bangladesh. It depends on the literacy programs and the voting projects and the values that we instill in our children. It depends on the willingness of people to transcend hatred and prejudice for the greater good of a just – and democratic – society.

It depends on the work of women like Joyce McCartan – and those of us who live on in her legacy.

END

DRAFT

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REMARKS FOR SPEECH IN HONOR OF JOYCE MCCARTEN  
OCTOBER '97, UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER

Greetings and thank you. It is a great pleasure to be back in Northern Ireland, to visit with your president, Mary Robinson, and to reunite with so many of the courageous women and men whom I met when I first came here two years ago with my husband. Once again, you've made me feel so welcome. It's also a great privilege to participate in this lecture series in honor of one of Ireland's great peace makers -- Joyce McCarten. Thank you for inviting me.

I find it a particularly eloquent tribute that this event in her memory is being held at such an historic moment in Irish history -- as the leaders of Northern Ireland's Catholic and Protestant communities are sitting down for the first time in over 25 years to discuss how to end a generation of violence. It's a milestone that so many of you have longed for so deeply, and worked for so hard. I believe -- as I'm sure you do -- that this first effort toward a lasting peace would not have taken place without the tenacity and courage of women like Mary Robinson and Joyce McCarten.

As some of you may know, I met Joyce during my 1995 visit here, and spent an afternoon with her and a number of other women at the restaurant Ye Olde Lamplighter, which is part of the Women's Information Drop-In Center that she helped found. She told me about the work of the Center, and how her efforts to bring Catholic and Protestant women together for peace had evolved into plans to strengthen the local economy. Joyce understood how the struggle for peace must also overcome the deep-rooted causes of violence: poverty, limited education, and joblessness. She knew she had to empower women in their own lives in order to promote the cause of peace and justice in her country.

As we talked, I could see that as much pain and suffering as Joyce and the other women with us had endured over the years, as they watched their sons, husbands, brothers and friends lose their lives in this terrible struggle, that her vision was always toward the future. She was on a mission to promote understanding, to save lives, to preserve families, to defy history.

While I had never met Joyce before, I felt, in a strange way, that I had met her many times, and seen her compassion in other eyes as well. Her yearning for a more peaceful and democratic world resonates through the ages, and stretches across the globe.

Joyce follows in the well-worn footsteps of strong and courageous Irish women over the years -- women like Betty Williams, Mairead Corrigan, and so many others, who despite the unbearable loss and pain in their own lives, have spoken out in the universal language of reconciliation and non violence.

Mothers. Wives. Daughters. Ordinary citizens. Their insistent voices for peace -- raised sometimes in a roar, sometimes in a whispered prayer -- have inspired women around the world to pursue

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their claims for more open, democratic, and peaceful communities. And this chorus can be heard today, in the Middle East, in Bosnia, in Haiti, and wherever people are working to end the violence and start the healing in their families and nations.

As First Lady, I've been privileged to travel widely overseas, and have met the world's top leaders. Yet it's often in small communities -- sitting around a kitchen table or at a local workplace, and talking with women like Joyce about how they're improving their lives and strengthening their families -- where I've learned the most valuable lessons. And one of those lessons is the central role that women are playing -- and have always played -- in the building and sustaining of democracy around the world.

When we talk about democracy, we talk about the highest of ideals: freedom of religion; freedom of association; freedom of speech and the press; freedom to participate fully in the civic and political life of your country. But democracy is also about every citizen having equal access to education, health care, jobs, and credit. Democracy is about upholding human dignity, and giving people choices. And it confers to every individual the right to live up to his or her God-given potential.

Democracy, in other words, is the fulfillment of our deepest yearnings to live in a just and peaceful world, and it speaks a universal language of hope. Our poets seem to best capture this profound sense of longing. And here, I'd like to draw on one of America's great poets and an African American woman, Maya Angelou, who stands as a powerful and often painful reminder of America's own struggles - past and present -- to gain civil rights and human dignity for every citizen. She writes: "The caged bird sings with a fearful trill of things unknown but longed for still; and his tune is heard on the distant hill, for the caged bird sings of freedom."

Yet what we've learned over the years is that these lofty ideals and beautiful words are only made real through the every day efforts of ordinary citizens. Yes, we need the laws and a system of justice that upholds those laws. But democracy is nurtured and sustained in the hearts of people; in the principles they stand for; in the way they conduct their daily lives; and in the lessons they teach their children before they tuck them into bed at night.

And that's the profound yet simple lesson that Joyce McCarten and so many women understood so well. These grass roots struggles against sectarian violence teach us, once again, that democracy calls us to live peacefully with people who are different from ourselves -- whether they live across the street or on the other side of the world. That love of family runs deeper than calls to hatred. That faith can bring us together instead of divide us. And that an extraordinary power is unleashed when ordinary women reach

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out to their neighbors to find common ground, and are empowered to begin solving problems in their own communities.

The power of ordinary women making extraordinary contributions to peace was again recognized by the world a few weeks ago, when the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to an American activist, Jody Williams, who helped lead the international campaign to ban landmines. Like Joyce McCarten, she didn't have a large office or major funding: her effectiveness lay in her ability to organize people in a grass roots campaign around a common cause: to protect the world's children.

But today, while we celebrate these women for their invaluable work on behalf of peace and democracy, we must also begin to acknowledge the contributions of others whose names we do not know, and whose work still goes unheralded. By putting the spotlight on women working in the front lines, we will broaden the lens of our own understanding about what it takes to sustain the spirit and institutions of democracy around the world.

The women I've met here in Northern Ireland who are working with young people to break the cycle of hatred are surely at the forefront of the fight for democracy. Because what does freedom mean if we can't overcome division and suspicion, and find our common humanity?

Women involved in microcredit operations in small rural villages in Bangladesh, India, Nicaragua, and Chile, are in the business of strengthening democracy. Because what does freedom mean if people don't have equal access to the financial resources that enable them to gain independence and self sufficiency?

Women in South Africa and in some of America's inner cities who have set up domestic violence councils are contributing to the strengthening of democracy. Because what does freedom mean if a woman is afraid to leave her home, or protect her children, because of a violent husband or lover?

Women in Zimbabwe and Bolivia who are setting up rural health clinics are champions of democracy. Because what does freedom mean if families are denied access to basic health care services, and women are denied the right to plan their own families?

Women in Romania and Estonia who are leading electoral education projects are on the front lines of democracy. Because what does freedom mean if people are ignorant about the procedures for electing their own representatives?

And women in Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Thailand who are campaigning for the right of girls to get an education are making an invaluable contribution to democracy in their countries. Because what does

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freedom mean if women are denied the knowledge and opportunity to participate in the free flow of ideas?

Women are not only critical to advancing democracy and free market economies in every corner of the globe. They are redefining the very notion of what we mean by a democratic society.

Historically, however, these efforts been overlooked and under appreciated. It's time to bring their achievements out in the open and to celebrate them as well. In fact, I see a growing part of my work now, as I travel around my own country and other nations, is to pull back the curtain on women's emerging roles in promoting democracy.

Doing so is important for two reasons. First, the efforts of women to build strong families, to reach out to others different from themselves, to teach their children tolerance and compassion, and to empower themselves and others to lead productive and independent lives, should be recognized for the simple reason that we can all learn from them, and be inspired by their efforts.

But more importantly, democracy cannot flourish if women aren't full partners in the social, economic, political and civic lives of their communities and nations. Validating their contributions will help deepen movements for change, and ensure greater progress toward democracy. Women are the world's greatest untapped resource. We must begin to unleash the full power of their vast potential.

In the last presidential election in the United States in 1996, people were surprised that so much attention was being given to "women's issues." All of a sudden, the swing vote was in the hands of "soccer moms" who were talking about the stress of parenthood or drugs in school or the lack of quality day care for their children. But why should this have surprised us? The topics that women talk about around the kitchen table -- whether it's in a small town in Chile or a row house in Belfast -- are in fact the issues that we need to listen to the closest.

Women are concerned with questions that impact the entire community: how to balance work and family; how to improve the local public school; how to stretch their budgets to cover the rent; how to protect a neighbor who is the victim of domestic abuse. They want to stop the violence on TV; and they want to teach their children to play with kids who are different from them. Yet when I talk about many of these issues, they are often dismissed as "marginal," or only "women's issues." During the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing a few years ago, I said that women's rights were human rights, and human rights were women's rights. Yet that unremarkable statement set off a firestorm of controversy.

-5-

When will people understand that the concerns of women and families are universal concerns that are at the heart of our civil society? When will people understand that strong families and nurturing communities form the foundations of a free nation? When will people understand that solving problems like day care and health care and education and teen violence -- still called "women's issues" -- will be the most critical test of our entire generation?

Today, we face a daunting challenge. The most formidable threat to democracy is no longer a communist monolith with imperial designs. It's the volatile economic and social conditions that come with the growing disparity of poor and wealthy; with ongoing discrimination and bigotry; and with the collapse of the old order. Democracy is weakened wherever there's the dissolving of a sense of community. And democracy is threatened whenever and wherever the full partnership of women is held back.

We must strengthen the laws and institutions and alliances that uphold the principles of democracy and freedom -- in our own countries and in fledgling democracies around the world. Perhaps most importantly, we must keep the spirit of democracy -- our deepest hopes for a better future -- alive.

No one has to remind the women of Ireland how rocky and hard is this path toward justice, or how fragile are these efforts toward peace. Yet if there's anything we've learned, it's the willful determination of women here and around the world to listen to the message of their hearts, and to persuade others to respond to their better angels. Your gifted Irish poet, Seamus Heaney, claims for poetry this special power: "the power to persuade that vulnerable part of our consciousness of its rightness, in spite of the evidence of wrongness all around it." I would say that women too hold that power.

Eleanor Roosevelt once said that "The future belongs to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams." It's difficult to imagine a more compelling beauty than a true and lasting peace here in Northern Ireland. Please know that women around the world stand by you as you take the risks for peace. The future belongs to you, and as you pursue it, may God hold all of you in the palm of his hand.

Draft

③

It's wonderful to be back in Northern Ireland. There are so many memories that my husband and I will always cherish from our trip here two years ago. The lighting of the Christmas tree outside City Hall – and its illumination of hope in Belfast. Our walk from Guildhall Square to Shipquay Street. And the day that I had the personal privilege to meet Joyce McCartan. As we talked with other community leaders at the Lamplighter restaurant, I was struck, as many of you have been, by Joyce's spirit, by her warmth, her resilience, and, yes, her humor. But, by something else as well.

In her extraordinary life, we see the ordinary lives of too many women around us: the anguish of losing relative after relative to bullets and bombs, the unspeakable grief of having your own son taken away so brutally, so senselessly, so young. But, in Joyce's strength and determination, we also see the strength and determination of women throughout Northern Ireland. Because the history of "The Troubles" is the history of much more than what divides us. It is the history of women like Joyce McCartan, who have worked tirelessly to unite us in common cause. Women like Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams, Nobel Prize winners in 1976 who took to the streets to take back the streets. Women like Pearl Sagar and this University's own Monica McWilliams who today are giving women a voice and a seat at the all-party talks and the chance to create a future of peace and opportunity that leaves no citizen behind. Women who are taking responsibility for their families and their communities. Women who are defying history to rewrite history. Unsung heroes, most of them. Like Joyce, they are not experienced diplomats or high-ranking officials. They are mothers and workers and community leaders who didn't wait for someone else to point the way. Instead, they looked around at the kids who couldn't play outside safely, at the violence that had infested their lives, at the poverty and despair, and simply said "No more."

It is quite possible that because of them, because women like Joyce McCartan had experienced the everyday blessings of peace and refused to go back, that we are now watching the promise of peace rise again in the hearts and lives of people from both traditions. We are watching handshakes and conversation replace silence and confrontation. We are watching new jobs fuel new hopes. And we are watching simple acts of normalcy, never before possible, like the gathering of 40,000 people to see U2's first concert in Belfast just two months ago.

This is a truly historic moment, with important choices and new opportunities for peace, prosperity and progress, a chance that we cannot let slip away. And not only in Northern Ireland. All over the world, old hatreds are healing into new alliances. Amidst the rubble of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, tender shoots of democracy are springing up and setting down roots. People once restrained under the boot of oppression have arisen to create free elections, free press, free markets, and a new sense of community. And the approach of the new millennium challenges us to heed the lessons of the past and focus on the possibilities of the future. Entering a new millennium is actually a bit like turning 50, which is something I've learned about recently. You can't avoid it or postpone it – even if you try. It's a time for both celebration and reflection. But, like turning 50, the most important question about the new millennium is not when it will be -- the year 2000 or 2001 -- but where will we be? When our children turn 50, will they look back and know that we did all we could today to ensure that all citizens can reach their God-given potentials tomorrow? Will we have shown once and for all that the progress of democracy is inextricably tied to the progress of women?

During the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, I said that women's rights are human rights – and human rights are women's rights. One would think that wouldn't be such an extraordinary statement today.

①

I remember one man in particular who called up a radio program I was on for the Voice of America. He wanted to know what my statement about women's rights really meant. I told him to think about all the rights men have and apply them to women: the right to be valued as a member of a family, to be treated with simple dignity, to have equal access to the tools of opportunity -- like health care, education, legal rights, political rights, and economic empowerment. We must make it clear that democracies cannot survive and thrive if rape is used as a weapon of war, if girls are trafficked as prostitutes and slaves, and if domestic violence forces women to live in fear. Democracies cannot survive and thrive if one half of the population is more likely to be poor, illiterate, uneducated, and denied access to critical health services. Democracies cannot survive and thrive -- and families and communities cannot thrive -- unless we empower women to claim their rights as citizens, to protect their dignity as human beings, and to participate fully in every aspect of our nations. Quite simply, democracies cannot survive and thrive if women cannot survive and thrive.

I was thinking about all of this recently on my visit to the Panama Canal. I saw how a simple twist of a handful of levers can unleash million of gallons of water, bridge two different oceans -- indeed two different worlds -- and send huge ships on their way for the benefit of all. It's the same with democracy. Because when women in Northern Ireland and around the world have access to, knowledge about, and the power to use all levers of democracy, when they join together to create one force for progress, I have seen them too bridge worlds and unleash vast powers for the benefit of all.

Just as they are doing here, when women grab the levers of democracy in the Middle East, Bosnia, and Rwanda, they are fostering reconciliation and renewal. When women grab the levers of democracy in Romania, they are developing a new pedagogy that emphasizes civic participation and democratic values. When women grab the levers of democracy in India, they are earning money of their own, buying their own vegetable carts, threads, and other materials, and generating income for themselves and their families. And when women grab the levers of democracy in South Africa, they are coming together to end the plagues of domestic violence and child abuse that have infected all of our nations.

Yet whether women are building new democracies or sustaining old ones, and whether they are making these contributions in their homes or communities or workplaces or schools, their stories are all too often ignored. In Washington, I had the privilege of serving as the honorary chair for a new memorial honoring the women in the American military services, who, without much fanfare, have sacrificed to serve our nation during times of war and peace. One of them, Clara Barton, was a Red Cross nurse in our Civil War. Her words, now etched in one of the glass panels above the memorial, still speak to all of us today. She said, "Woman has stood like a rock for the welfare and glory of the history of the country, and one might well add...unwritten, unrewarded, and almost unrecognized." For generations, pioneers like Clara Barton and Joyce McCartan have struggled to make sure women's contributions are written about, rewarded, and recognized. They have worked to make it clear that a house divided upon itself -- whether it be a home, a community, or a nation -- cannot stand. And in so doing, women have helped write an on-going story of democracy and inspired each generation to write the next chapter. For democracy's work is everyone's work and democracy's work is never done. As the poet Eilean Ni Chuilleanain wrote, "I said to the other sisters, each of you will have to do the same when your day comes. This one has finished her turn." Though Joyce finished her turn much too early, her lessons will live on -- not only at the University of Ulster, not only in Northern Ireland, but also in the future generations of women all over the world whose days have come.

One of those lessons Joyce taught was that "nothing separates us." At the Women's Information Drop-In Centre, in Beijing, in Eastern Europe, in Africa, and throughout the world, I have met women who work in fields and factories, in corporations and homes. Whether at the kitchen tables or the conference tables, and whatever their differences of race, culture, and religion, they are doing what women have always done -- talking to each other in the same language of hope, articulating many of the same dreams for our children, and all the while trying to find common ground to meet common challenges. That doesn't mean that women will always agree. Nor should that ever be our goal. I remember sitting around a table with women in Poland who were engaged in one of our most essential democratic acts: disagreeing with each other without being disagreeable or disrespectful. It also doesn't mean that women should be a monolithic group. What we have fought for -- and will continue to fight for -- are choices about our roles and dreams. Choices about where to work and when. Choices about whether to have a child and when. And choices about whether to contribute to the political process as a community leader like Joyce McCartan or a national leader like Mary Robinson. I'm told that during Benazir Bhutto's term as Prime Minister in Pakistan, Lady Howe asked a little boy there what he wanted to be when he grew up. "A truck driver," he replied. Surprised, she tried again, "But surely you would like to go into politics, even become Prime Minister?" "No," said the little boy, "that's women's work."

Yet, even as we strive to give all children a full menu of choices about how to fulfill their lives and strengthen their families and communities, there is one thing we do not have a choice about. And that's our responsibilities in a democracy, which are also our rights and rewards. In my own country, we struggle every day with the challenges posed by democracy. We have learned that we cannot build or sustain a democracy just by writing a constitution, filling out a ballot or contributing to the marketplace of ideas or goods. What we want in our nations we must expect in ourselves. If we are going to make sure that all people are treated with dignity and respect; if we are going to give a voice to all women -- not just those with power right now; if we are going to build and sustain democracy, then democratic values must live and grow in the hearts of all men and women. They must grow in our civil society, the space between our government and our economy, in the countless daily associations and actions that weave together the fabric of democratic life. Because just like a fish needs water to survive, neither peace nor terrorism nor democracy can survive without the life support of communities.

What do I mean by community support? Last month, our government released almost \$20 million to the International Fund for Ireland in order to support community groups that are growing the economy and the peace. We will always remember Olympic athletes like Mary Peters who brought home the Gold for Belfast and invested the money in a community track that has never been touched by terrorism. We salute academic institutions like this one, for using your leadership to teach peace and conflict resolution here and around the world. And, of course, we can learn so much from activists like Joyce McCartan, who teach us how grassroots alliances can help us not only build understanding, but also build up families and communities. How alliances can help us turn personal pain into collective action. How they can inspire us to use our religion as a source of faith and healing not only within ourselves, but among ourselves. How they can help us to resolve our conflicts with conversation -- and not just tolerate each other's differences, but really respect them and honor them.

Another lesson that women like Joyce McCartan are teaching is that we must do more than turn swords into plowshares. We must use those plowshares to break new ground, to dig up the causes of violence and despair, and ensure that women play a central role in ensuring the economic and social progress essential to any democracy.

Joyce liked to say that "You can't fry flags in a pan." Her message was the same one I've been hearing around the world. Women understand that they need access to credit to create new jobs and new businesses, to spur economic independence, and fulfill lifelong dreams. And they understand that we need to eliminate the barriers like teen pregnancy and lack of education and training that close doors for our young people. I met women in South America who are teaming up to improve literacy and health care for women and children throughout the continent. And I'll never forget visiting a village in Bangladesh, where Hindu and Muslim women from one of the poorest countries in the world came together to tell me how their lives had changed, how they had more independence, more confidence, more security, simply because they had become borrowers with the Grameen Bank Microenterprise effort.

Just last week, we held a White House conference to talk about one of the most important challenges facing families in my nation and all over the world: child care. Notice I said it was an issue facing families – not just women. I'm always amazed when people refer to critical challenges like child care, health care, wages, and education as "women's issues." They are family issues, human issues. Because fathers also care if they have somewhere safe and affordable to leave their children while they work. Men also care if their wives' salaries and pensions are high enough to survive on or retire on. And fathers also care if their children have the health care and education they need to fulfill their God-given potential.

What we are saying is that empowering women to participate fully in our democratic institutions should not be done solely for women or by women. It must be done by all of us and for all of us: For the benefit of all families, all communities, all democracies. And by men as well as women. By businesses who will benefit if their employees can be good workers and good parents. By police officers who can help bring domestic violence victims to safety and their perpetrators to justice. By all citizens young and old. At a conference Elie Wiesel had a few years ago in Vienna, young people from across the globe came together because they had seen too much violence and division. They wanted to find a way to change all of that, to live in a different kind of world. They seemed to understand what Wiesel believes: that "Peace is not God's gift to its creatures. Peace is our gift to each other."

Who can forget the image of the two children, one Protestant and one Catholic, holding hands as they introduced my husband at the Mackie Plant? Why did it strike such a chord? Yes, because we want to honor those children's wish, and give them what all children deserve: a chance to live and learn and grow in peace -- without fear. But, when they stood together, they also revealed an important truth, too often forgotten: namely that children are not born hating. They are not born hating each other because of religion or ethnicity or race. And they are not born believing that women are worth less or should be treated worse. Children have to learn all of that. Just like they can learn to love and respect each other. They can learn either way – but they must learn the right way from their families, their communities, their teachers, their national and their religious leaders. They must learn the right way from all of us.

Let us teach our children the democratic values that must live in the hearts of all men and women who are free. Values that inspire us to treat all people with dignity. Values that give women an equal voice and an equal stake. Values that Joyce McCartan believed in. Values she would have wanted us to pass on. And as we do so, please know that the people of our nation will continue to stand with you as you use the power of these democratic values to achieve the most enduring legacy of all, the legacy of peace. Thank you very much.

**Comments:** \_\_\_\_\_

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                     | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|
| 003. fax cover           | Christy Macy to Michael O'Mary (partial) (1 page) | nd   | P6/b(6)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
First Lady's Office  
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)  
OA/Box Number: 17210

### FOLDER TITLE:

Speech Candidates Column [1]

2012-0869-S  
kc918

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).  
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

[063]

CHRISTY MACY  
P6/(b)(6)  
BALTIMORE, MD 21209

P6/(b)(6)

TELEFAX COVER SHEET

TO:

MICHAEL O'MARY

OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY

FAX NUMBER 202-456-5709

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 6

FROM: Christy Macy

FAX NO.

P6/(b)(6)

PHONE NO.

DESCRIPTION

DRAFT SPEECH FOR THE  
FIRST LADY

DATE

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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                    | DATE | RESTRICTION |
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| 004. fax cover           | Darcy Bacon to Michael O'Mary (partial) (1 page) | nd   | P6/b(6)     |

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[004]

## BACON FAX

Fax: P6/(b)(6)

Phone: P6/(b)(6)

To Michael O'Mary

Pages to Follow 2

### MESSAGE:

From Darcy Bacon

-4-

freedom mean if women are denied the knowledge and opportunity to participate in the free flow of ideas?

Women are not only critical to advancing democracy and free market economies in every corner of the globe. They are redefining the very notion of what we mean by a democratic society.

Historically, however, these efforts have been overlooked and under appreciated. It's time to bring their achievements out in the open and to celebrate them as well. In fact, I see a growing part of my work now, as I travel around my own country and other nations, is to pull back the curtain on women's emerging roles in promoting democracy.

Doing so is important for two reasons. First, the efforts of women to build strong families, to reach out to others different from themselves, to teach their children tolerance and compassion, and to empower themselves and others to lead productive and independent lives, should be recognized for the simple reason that we can all learn from them, and be inspired by their efforts.

But more importantly, democracy cannot flourish if women aren't full partners in the social, economic, political and civic lives of their communities and nations. Validating their contributions will help deepen movements for change, and ensure greater progress toward democracy. Women are the world's greatest untapped resource. We must begin to unleash the full power of their vast potential.

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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                         | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 005. memo                | Lissa [Muscatine] to Michael [O'Mary] re Speech and Column Samples (partial) (1 page) | 09/21/1997 | P6/b(6)     |

### COLLECTION:

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[005]

**TO: Michael**  
**FROM: Lissa**  
**RE: Speech and column samples**  
**DATE: Sept. 21**

**We need to send the following items to the candidates for the speechwriting position:**

- 1) My cover letter
- 2) The news clips about the award winners for the Miami Herald event
- 3) HRC speech in Prague on July 4, 1996
- 4) HRC speech at the University of Capetown in March 1997
- 5) The chapter on service from It Takes a Village

**The candidates are:**

**Linda Burstyn: Phone**

P6/(b)(6)

**Laura Schiller: Phone: 690-7470 (HHS) courier**

**Hanna Rosin: send by courier to**

P6/(b)(6)

P6/(b)(6)

*Australia*

**We need to send the following items to the candidates for the column job:**

- 1) My cover letter
- 2) POTUS speech from last weekend on charter schools
- 3) One HRC speech on charter schools (which I'll pick)
- 4) The education chapter of ITAV

**The column candidates are:**

**Darcy Bacon (I'll drop it off at her house)**

**Carol Beach: Phone**

P6/(b)(6)

**Melissa Levine** *we have to arrange to fax to her office when she'll be there)*

P6/(b)(6)

*lpm*

*whole thing*

*San Fernando Briefing*

*Chicago  
POTUS*