

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	atch to letter from Sue Mosteller to FLOTUS re Henri Nouwen, L'viv contacts (1 page)	10/06/1997	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 13006

FOLDER TITLE:

Trip of the First Lady to Central Asia, Russia, and the Ukraine-Speechwriter Trip Book
(David) [Binder] [5]

2012-0869-S
kc950

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **O**



Henri Nouwen Literary Centre

Sue Mosteller, C.S.J., Literary Executrix

October 6, 1997

Mrs. Hilary Clinton
c/o Huma Abedin
Room 100
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C.
20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Before Henri Nouwen died he spoke to me about the luncheon that you and he were trying to arrange. I also read in Newsweek that Henri's writing, in particular The Return of the Prodigal Son, had impacted your personal journey. It is with this in mind that I send this little package to you today.

First, I am enclosing a copy of the last book that Henri wrote Adam: God's Beloved. This little book is about his friendship with one of the core members of Daybreak, and it is quite beautiful. If you felt inclined it would be so wonderful to have a short two or three sentence endorsement. I am not certain how I would use it but I do have a great desire that many people be able to share this beautiful book and find joy and meaning. Certainly I understand if that is not possible.

Secondly, I heard from a close contact in L'viv, Ukraine that you are planning a visit there. You may know that Henri made two trips in his later years to Ukraine and asked many pertinent questions about the country and its history. He wrote a beautiful diary each time he went. The diary of the first trip was published in the New Oxford Review and the second diary was unpublished. I am enclosing these two diaries as we wanted to share them with you if that would help you with your visit. It is also a way of introducing you to two special friends of Henri's who presently live there and are doing wonderful work in L'viv. Borys Gudziak, head of the new Theological Institute in L'viv which has been open for two years and now has 700 students; 60% of whom are women, and Zenia Kushpeta, who is responsible for bringing together hundreds of students and families who have a disabled family member for faith sharing, celebrations and summer retreats, as well as having started a day programme for children with mental disabilities. I attach their addresses and phone numbers.

I hope that you will enjoy Henri's newest book and that his diaries will be helpful to you. I send you every best wish with the beautiful work that you do.

Sincerely



Sue Mosteller, CSJ

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	atch to letter from Sue Mosteller to FLOTUS re Henri Nouwen, L'viv contacts (1 page)	10/06/1997	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 13006

FOLDER TITLE:

Trip of the First Lady to Central Asia, Russia, and the Ukraine-Speechwriter Trip Book
(David) [Binder] [5]

2012-0869-S
kc950

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

HENRI J.M. NOUWEN

PILGRIMAGE TO THE CHRISTIAN EAST

Rotterdam — Saturday, July 24, 1993

Today I start my Ukrainian diary. On August 1, I will go to Ukraine for an 11-day visit. Although my departure is still eight days away, I am aware that this diary needs a substantial introduction.

I know very little about Ukraine, and would never have chosen to go there were it not for two close friends living there: Zenia Kushpeta and Borys Gudziak. Ukraine is so full of tension and conflict that it evokes more fear than attraction in me. But Zenia and Borys kept pleading, "You must come!" Their "musts" seemed more spiritual than social. So, here I am sitting in the Rotterdam City Library (I've been spending time in Rotterdam with my brother and his family) with this vague felling that I am going to a forbidding place that will touch me deeply.

Zenia's and Borys's "musts" emerge from their own stories, which I have to tell first so as to be able to write my own.

Borys and I met when I was teaching pastoral theology at Harvard Divinity School and Borys was finishing his doctoral work in Slavic studies. We often had occasion to get together, at first as professor and student, then as priest and penitent, then as counselor and seeker for direction, and finally as friends. In the years that followed, Borys visited Ukraine regularly. After Ukrainian independence, he was one of the

main organizers of a large youth rally of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church. He has moved to Ukraine to collect the oral history of the underground Greco-Catholic Church since its suppression in 1946, and to explore further his own vocation.

After I had moved from Harvard to the l'Arche Daybreak community in Toronto — where I now share my life with people with mental handicaps — Borys visited me there. It was during these visits that he began to urge me to come to Ukraine. I hesitated. Yes, I wanted to go, but there were so many other things to do! Finally, it was Zenia who compelled me to step over my excuses and pin down dates: August 1-11, 1993.

I met Zenia soon after coming to Daybreak in August 1986. Zenia had lived at Daybreak a year, from 1984-1985. During my first year there, she continued to visit the community. Zenia is one of the most energetic, spirited people I've ever met. She speaks as if everyone and everything is full of light, beauty, and truth.

Zenia's special gift is music. She is an accomplished concert pianist, but something profound happened to her. Handicapped people captured her heart more than the piano could. When this became quite clear to her, she didn't hesitate to leave her musical career and join Daybreak, no longer as a regular visitor but as a permanent member.

But then Ukraine became independent. For Zenia that was a watershed experience. Born of parents who had emigrated from Ukraine, and raised with a deep national consciousness, she began to wonder if she shouldn't visit the many handicapped people in Ukraine. First it was just an idea, then it became a vision, and finally it grew into a clear decision.

Daybreak advised her first to make a short, two-week visit to Ukraine to determine whether a longer stay would be realistic. Many of us thought the hard

The Rev. Henri J.M. Nouwen is a priest-in-residence at Daybreak in Toronto (a Catholic/ecumenical l'Arche community serving people with mental handicaps), a writer and lecturer, and a Contributing Editor of the NOR. The second and concluding part of this diary will appear in our May issue.

and complex situation in Ukraine would dampen her excitement a little. But the opposite happened. I still remember the evening Zenia spoke to the community about her two-week visit. The pictures she showed of the handicapped children, whom she had met in an orphanage in L'viv, were so moving that everyone wanted to support her return and look for ways to offer these children care, affection, and possibly a home.

Zenia had the determination to do something for the forgotten people of Ukraine. But it would be far from easy. The needs were enormous, the facilities very poor, and the bureaucracy in state and church very frustrating. Zenia soon realized that unless she received solid support from her community in Canada, she would drown in the sea of needs. She needed to be sent by her community — to know that going to Ukraine was a mission. Life far from home can be hard, but when it is lived as a mission, its many difficulties can be lived as graces!

During her last visit to Canada her "must" to me was clearer than ever: "You must come and see where I work and live. You must speak to my friends, visit the homes I visit and most of all share the vision of l'Arche with my people. There is such a need, not just material, but most of all spiritual. The people are often so discouraged. They need to know about prayer, community, and care for the poor. They need to get good teaching and, especially, good inspiration. You must come." My protests were loud and clear: "I have never been there; I don't know anything about the people's lives and struggles; I don't speak a word of Ukrainian. What will I be able to do for the handicapped people there?"

But Zenia pushed all my anxieties away: "Just come, just see, just speak, just be yourself. Don't worry about these things. You must come and...Borys will also be there!" And so, it all came together.

I am happy that I am not going alone. Nathan Ball, the Director of Daybreak, and I are going together. Zenia made him aware of the privileged position of mentally handicapped people in Canada as compared to their counterparts in the countries of the former Soviet Union. Nathan has offered Zenia his personal support and the support of our community.

Sunday, July 25

Yesterday Borys called from his parent's home in Syracuse, New York. For the last few weeks he had been in the Ukrainian Catholic Monastery of the

Transfiguration, north of San Francisco, to pray and teach. Each summer he is part of a small faculty connected with the University of St. Paul in Ottawa that introduces students to the spirituality of the Christian East. This year he had come especially from Ukraine to teach this unique summer course. But, he told me on the phone, he is eager to go back to L'viv and continue his work there. He is planning to fly to London, where Nathan and I will connect with him.

I am very glad Nathan, Borys, and I will have a few days in England before flying to L'viv. We have been invited to stay with Bart and Patricia Gavigan at their Christian conference center, Brookplace, Chobham, Surrey; this will give us an opportunity to rest and prepare ourselves for the trip.

Chobham — Monday, July 26

This morning I flew on a KLM Cityhopper from Rotterdam to London, and rode to Brookplace, where I was given a small cottage.

Now I am ready to write about the complex history of Ukraine, in order to get a basic outline in my head.

In 988 Christianity came from Constantinople to the Kievan Rus', a medieval state centered at Kiev and encompassing what is today Ukraine, Belarus, and European Russia. With the baptism of Prince Vladimir and his people in Kiev, Rus' accepted the Byzantine liturgical and spiritual tradition. Although the development of a schism between the East and West did not involve Kiev directly, the Rus' Church ended up on the side of Constantinople. Since the rupture between Rome and Constantinople, many attempts to re-establish unity have been made, but little has been resolved.

In 1596 at the Synod of Brest-Litovsk, most of the Church leadership in Ukraine and Belarus, then living under the political influence of Poland and Lithuania, recognized the Pope as head of the Church, while keeping their Eastern-rite liturgy. The heirs of the Union of Brest live mostly in western Ukraine.

In 1946 at a mock synod choreographed by the Stalin regime, this Eastern-rite Catholic Church (the Greco-Catholic Church) was compelled to become part of the Orthodox Church under the Patriarch of Moscow. This forced the Greco-Catholic Church underground.

Since *perestroika* and especially the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the independence of Ukraine, the Greco-Catholic Church has re-emerged in public life.

force. The Church not only survived the persecution, but was in some ways even strengthened by it.

But this Greco-Catholic resurgence led to new conflicts with the Orthodox Church as well as to some tensions with the Roman authorities. The Orthodox Church was hostile to the reclaiming of former church property, and Rome was perceived as having insufficient respect for the long-suffering of the underground Church and its desire to develop into maturity within the Catholic communion, fostering Eastern theological, ecclesiological, and disciplinary traditions. Meanwhile the Orthodox Church itself became increasingly divided. There is the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (under the Patriarch of Moscow), and the new Ukrainian Orthodox Church — Kievan Patriarchate. At present there is no sign of reconciliation among the three jurisdictions.

So, today there are five basic church bodies: the Greco-Catholic Church, the Latin-rite Catholic Church, the Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Orthodox Church under the Moscow Patriarchate, and the Orthodox Church — Kievan Patriarchate.

They are often in conflict, sometimes violent.

Both Zenia and Borys are active members of the Greco-Catholic Church. Their families left Ukraine during the Stalinist takeover of western Ukraine and lived their religious lives in Eastern-rite parishes in North America. Nathan and I are both members of the Latin-rite Catholic Church. I was born in it; Nathan was received as an adult. Happily, we have a great love for each other's traditions, spirituality, and liturgy. As is often the case, understanding and respect seem easier to come to "in exile" than at home where the conflicts found their origins.

Tuesday, July 27

Reflecting on the history of Ukraine, I am overwhelmed by the long-suffering of its people. It seems that there never has been a time without oppression and exploitation. For an outsider it looks as if the Ukrainian people have always been used by some outside power, whether Mongol, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, Austrian, or German.

The 20th century is probably the most oppressive century in Ukrainian history. I have always



University of
Nebraska Press
Lincoln, NE 68588-0484
800-755-1105

“N”

Johann Reuchlin

On the Art of the Kabbalah

(De Arte Cabalistica)

Translation by Martin and Sarah
Goodman

Introduction by Moshe Idel

The German humanist Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) defended the value of Jewish scholarship and literature when it was unwise and unpopular to do so. Refusing to join Christian contemporaries who wished to destroy the Kabbalah and the Talmud, he spoke out against ignorance. Christians could have a useful dialogue with Jews if they gained a thorough knowledge of the writings of Jewish exegetes and philosophers. Toward that end he proposed university endowments that aroused the fury of opponents and led to the famous "battle of the books."

\$15.00 paper

Immanuel Kant

The One Possible Basis for a Demonstration of the Existence of God

(Der einzig mögliche
Beweisgrund)

Translated with introduction by
Gordon Treash

The search for God is dictated not from without but from a profound sense of one's own moral being and worthiness to be happy. The core of Immanuel Kant's argument remains relevant to the experience of ordinary men and women. He wished to strengthen, not undermine, belief in God and in the spiritual nature of humankind. This 1763 essay is important in understanding the development of Kant's thought. It exposed the flaw in the Cartesian argument that the existence of a perfect being could be deduced from an idea or concept of such.

\$12.95 paper

known about the Holocaust as the blackest hour of our age. But now, after listening to Borys and reading articles and books, I know that during World War I and the subsequent failed struggle for Ukrainian independence (1914-1920), between two and three million people died. Now I also know that during the year 1932-1933 more than seven million Ukrainians were starved to death when Stalin withheld food from the people to force them into submission, and that during World War II, when Nazi and Russian troops moved through Ukraine in rapid succession, more than 5.3 million Ukrainians lost their lives. Now I know that in the 1930s virtually the entire political and cultural elite of eastern Ukraine was summarily executed or deported to death camps, and that during the 1950s hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of western Ukraine were forcibly sent to Siberia. Now I know that between 1929 and 1959 some 16 million Ukrainians perished due to war, famine, and political, cultural, and religious purges. The most recent disaster visited upon Ukraine is the Chernobyl nuclear explosion. Until very recently most Ukrainians have never enjoyed real freedom. The immense suffering of the Ukrainian people is not as well-known to the Western world as the immense suffering of the Jewish people, but it is no less real.

Against this background, I can better understand the centrality of "long-suffering" in the spirituality of Ukrainian people. Happiness, prosperity, physical well-being, and esteem have not been part of the experience of most Ukrainians, especially the peasants. For them, these gifts have always belonged to the future Kingdom, of which they were able to catch only a glimpse in their splendid liturgies. The Ukrainian people have been a waiting people, waiting not just for oppressors to leave their country, but also for the fulfillment of the divine promise of eternal joy and peace.

Wednesday, July 28

I have been thinking a great deal about the deep influence of Eastern Christian spirituality on my own life. It dawned on me that my love of prayer, the liturgical life, and sacred art, especially icons, were all greatly nurtured by the Christian East. I had almost forgotten this; here I am, full of ambivalence and even fear about a trip to Ukraine, while in fact I am going to the country from which some of the greatest spiritual gifts have come to me! Instead of being apprehensive, I should be deeply grateful for being able to

go to the source of much of my own spiritual life. It should be a pilgrimage!

Thinking of my trip as a pilgrimage, I recall the famous book about the Jesus Prayer, *The Way of the Pilgrim*, that has had such a deep effect on me. It is the story of a simple peasant who walked through the country visiting holy places in Ukraine, saying nothing but: "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me." This prayer gradually "moved" from his lips to his heart until it had become one with his breathing. Wherever this peasant went he radiated love and goodness and — to his delight — saw how people's lives changed through meeting him. It is a charming and even humorous 18th-century story that gives expression to the rich tradition of the prayer of the heart, also called the hesychastic tradition (from the Greek *hesychazein*, to rest).

The hesychastic tradition finds its origin in the Egyptian desert during the fourth and fifth centuries. There the desert fathers and mothers, living in the spirit of St. Anthony, said the Jesus Prayer to bring them to a complete, holy rest with God in the heart. In the sixth century we find this spiritual tradition in full bloom in the monasteries on Mt. Sinai and, in the 10th century, on Mt. Athos in Greece. From Mt. Athos it found its way to what today is Ukraine and Russia, and blossomed not only in monasteries, but also among the Orthodox laity.

The main writings of this hesychastic tradition are compiled in the *Philokalia*. The monk Chariton put together a book of excerpts of these mystical writings which was later translated into English and published under the title *The Art of Prayer*. Few books on prayer have had such a lasting influence on me as this one.

My own prayer life has many ups and downs, but somehow the prayer, "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me," is always there — even during my driest periods. In its utter simplicity and profound compactness, it keeps me connected with Jesus, especially during times when little else will.

My great love for the liturgical life also has much to do with Eastern Christianity. Although I live and worship in the West and am daily nurtured by the Latin-rite Eucharist, my occasional contact with the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom has given me a deep understanding of living in the world without being of it. Indeed, participating in Eastern liturgies has given me a sense of being in heaven before leaving earth. There too I discovered icons, not as illustrations, deco-

rations, or ornaments, but as true windows on the eternal. At first these sacred images seemed somewhat forbidding, but as I started to pray before them, they gradually revealed their secrets to me and led me far beyond my daily preoccupations into the Kingdom of God.

L'viv — Sunday, August 1

What a day! At 8AM, Eucharist at Bart and Patricia's home. At 8:45AM a taxi to Heathrow Airport. At 10:50AM with LOT Airlines to Warsaw, and from Warsaw to L'viv. At 5:20PM (local time), welcomed by Zenia and friends at L'viv Airport. At 7PM at the Dnister Hotel. At 7:30PM celebration of welcome by the Faith and Light communities of L'viv. At 11PM to bed in the hotel.

When I write it down this way, it seems as if there was nothing very special about the day. But the day represented a huge move from West to East, from great wealth to great poverty, from crowded roads to empty streets, from busy, self-confident people to tired and depressed looking men and women.

The very first impressions are: dark, empty, depressed, slow, poor, fearful. When the plane landed at the L'viv Airport, we noticed the old broken-down planes on the side of the runway and the boarded-up houses in the distance. The terminal itself was like a decrepit, unkempt bus station. All the passengers were crowded into a little waiting room, wondering how long it would take to get through passport control and customs. Although we were the first to leave the plane, it took an hour to fill in papers, have our documents stamped, and find our luggage. As we waited, we looked at the huge painting on the wall showing us proud Communist men and women marching with large red flags. Nathan asked Borys: "Why do they still have that painting there?" Borys replied: "They just don't have the money to commission a new one!"

When we finally made it to the arrival hall, Zenia welcomed us warmly. Then Vladzio drove all of us in a van to the city. The first thing we noticed was how little traffic there was on the streets. I felt like shouting: "Where is everybody? This is supposed to be a big city!" After driving through the suburbs, with their large, miserable looking highrises and many half-finished buildings and bridges, we entered the old city of L'viv, founded in the mid-14th century. The center showed its old glory: Vienna-style buildings along romantic looking, cobbled streets. The city was fash-

ioned when it was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire: 18th- and 19th-century Austrian architecture, reminiscent of the elegant style of the Hapsburgs. But the atmosphere is not festive now. At 7PM there is scarcely anyone on the street.

Our hotel is big, somber, formal, and foreboding. As we entered, there was barely any light; "Electricity is scarce in the city," Zenia said. "But you will, at least, have running water here! That's a luxury!" I looked around and was struck by the solemnity of the place: dark wood paneling and much marble. The hotel is a leftover of heavy-handed Soviet domination. "Many of the Soviet monuments are gone," Zenia explained, "but hotels like this remind you that it has been only a few years since Ukraine became free."

We unpacked and freshened up. "Let's go," Zenia said. "Our Faith and Light communities are waiting to welcome you to Ukraine; they have prepared a surprise for you!" I was very tired and not really in the mood for anything new — bad or good. I just wanted to go to bed. But it was clear that Zenia had something waiting for us we couldn't ignore.

Vladzio drove us to the suburbs. There, in the midst of the large, gray apartment buildings was a little chapel. Zenia commented: "In the fall of 1990, the Greco-Catholic people of the area decided to build their own church. First they set up a large plastic tent. Then, in the spring of 1991, after independence, they built their own little wooden chapel. Now they are building a large church." As we drove to the chapel, we could see the unfinished walls of the new church. I said: "That's going to be a huge place." Borys replied: "Sure, if they ever finish it. A few years ago things were still cheap and easy to get, but now there is no money and no material to continue. Work on the church is almost at a standstill."

When we parked the van we saw a few hundred people standing outside the chapel looking in. The first words I heard were: "*Hospody pomyluy*," "Lord have mercy." It's the *Kyrie Eleison*, the heart of the Jesus Prayer, the most used words in the Eastern liturgy. It was so moving to hear them. It seemed that they introduced me to this new country in the best way: "Lord have mercy," the prayer of God's people, the prayer that has sounded through centuries of struggle, wars, persecution, and oppression. They are words of the liturgy, but also words belonging to the most intimate prayer of the heart. I say them often, even without much consciousness: when I cannot

fall asleep, when I walk or drive my car, when I am waiting for someone.

We waited until the liturgy had finished; as people were leaving, Nathan and I walked into the little church. Many women and a few men stood there singing the Vespers with the priests. With great strength and conviction, they sang the beautiful, harmonious psalmodies. When we left, Nathan said: "People look so serious, tired, and discouraged. Their faces show a lot of pain and suffering. There is little joy." I felt what he said. These are people who have lived a life very different from our own. They have lived hunger, fear, poverty, and much long-suffering. They have been busy just surviving. Their "Lord have mercy" comes from hearts that have been tested for many decades.

With a "Let's go," Zenia interrupted our reflections and took us to a little field a few hundred feet from the chapel. "Here are your friends waiting to welcome you." As we came close, I saw several wheelchairs and about a hundred people gathered around them. Two brightly colored signs were held up: One said, "Welcome Nathan," the other, "Welcome Henri."

At once I sensed that this was a special group. There were faces of expectation and joy. Then Zenia started to speak with her familiar upbeat voice. I didn't understand her Ukrainian but could easily pick up that she was talking about Nathan and me having come from Canada to visit Faith and Light in L'viv. People listened to her with great attentiveness and happy amazement. Then a woman in a lovely Ukrainian dress came forward and handed us a large loaf of richly decorated Ukrainian bread. Nathan and I were asked to break off a piece, dip it in salt, and eat it. It was the traditional Ukrainian gesture of welcome.

Then all the handicapped men and women came forward with their families and friends, and offered us flowers, pictures, and pins. Soon, the two of us were standing there with large bouquets of roses, carnations, and other flowers, trying to hold onto them as one after another person gave us more and more and more. There were handshakes, kisses, and embraces, and many welcomes. We kept saying, "Thank you, thank you," and after a quick word with Borys, "*Dya-ku-yu*," the Ukrainian way of saying thank you.

There was Vasyl, a young handicapped man, who kept embracing me saying, "Welcome, welcome." There was Yurchyk in his wheelchair, looking at us with a radiant smile. There were Vadik, Olezhyk, and Sofia, all full of excitement at being part of this celebra-

tion of welcome. I looked at Nathan, and saw how deeply moved he was. His face was full of amazement, gratitude, and joy. I just marveled at it all. Here, amid these gray, somber buildings, was this little group of handicapped men and women with their families and friends creating a small island of pure joy and peace.

There were songs, speeches, and more gifts. There were drinks and all sorts of baked goods. People were happy, playful, and full of good spirit.

Finally, it was time to go. We all formed a large circle. As we held hands we prayed the Our Father. Then we embraced each other with the words, "Peace be with you." Many elderly women gave me kisses on both cheeks, with their serious, pain-filled faces broken open into large smiles.

"Let's go," Zenia said, "you guys need some rest." She was very right. I was exhausted. Soon we were back at the hotel. I could hardly believe we had been in Ukraine for only a few hours.

Monday, August 2

This afternoon Borys took Nathan and me for a walk through the city. I sensed friendliness and peace. L'viv showed itself to us in all its gentle beauty. A gem of a city: colorful, full of history and vitality. At many places restorations were going on. Statues and fountains were being cleaned; cracked walls were being repaired; discolored facades were receiving a face-lift. Lots of work was going on to make the city look fresh and glorious.

At the Studite Monastery, Borys took us to his office where he does research on the underground Church. Over the next five years he and 16 assistants expect to conduct 2,000 interviews to document the way the Greco-Catholic Church survived underground from 1946 until 1990. Very little has been written down. Only by taking the oral history from the bishops, priests, and laity can the story of the persecution be written.

As an example, Borys told us about Fr. Josafat Kavatsiv, a very courageous priest who traveled far and wide to keep in touch with Greco-Catholic Christians, to conduct services in their homes and sometimes even in front of their closed churches. He was ordained in the underground Church. His daring behavior finally led to his arrest and imprisonment by the Soviet authorities in 1980.

Borys described him as a strong character with great integrity, but pointed out that his uncom-

promising attitude toward the Soviet regime also made him quite hostile toward the Orthodox Church. He is very bitter about the priests who joined the Orthodox Church after the mock synod in 1946 and who, after independence, were welcomed back and given positions in the Greco-Catholic community. After all he had experienced in the underground Church and in Soviet prisons, ecumenism is certainly not his ideal!

The story of Fr. Josafat clearly reveals the complex situation of the post-independence Ukrainian churches. There was horrendous suffering and painful betrayal; there was heroic faithfulness and rigid refusal to co-operate. Most of all, there are long memories which make it hard to forgive and forget.

Tuesday, August 3

Zenia and her friend Mykola took us to Mykola's home on the sixth floor of one of the many highrises on the outskirts of L'viv. Mykola has a small apartment where he lives with his 14-year-old daughter, Mariana, and his severely handicapped five-year-old son, Andriiko. Mykola's wife died at Andriiko's birth. Here we got a glimpse of the domestic life of most Ukrainian people: very little space, few facilities for the little boy, and every little corner filled with books and papers.

With some effort, all of us were able to fit around the table and enjoy each other's company. I was moved by Andriiko's beautiful face and his generous smiles. Nathan asked Mykola about his work for the people with cerebral palsy and their families. Mykola showed us his files with the names of all those with whom he is in contact, and told of his many efforts to find an office for the straining facilities of his four-year-old organization, *Nadiia* (Hope).

Sitting in Mykola's apartment with little Andriiko cooing in my arms, I felt deeply grateful to be part of the beginning of something very beautiful. I keep forgetting how Jean Vanier, the founder of l'Arche, started his first home with two mentally handicapped men in 1964 in France. It was so little and so primitive. But the vision and love of those who started l'Arche allowed them to overcome many obstacles and build up a network of communities which today are well-established and a source of light and hope for many.

And now, here we are with Zenia, who during less than two years built up three Faith and Light groups in L'viv and is starting a fourth one in the city

of Ternopil, and here we are with Mykola, who started *Nadiia* and has built up a network of close to 1,000 families who have children with cerebral palsy. Their enormous dedication and deep faith is certainly able to do what Jean Vanier did. Both Nathan and I feel a real desire to support and help Zenia and Mykola as much as we can.

Later we visited an orphanage for small children. Zenia brought us to the room with handicapped children. It is hard to describe what we saw. The little boy I took out of the large playpen where he was sitting with five other little children, without any toys, clung to me with such intensity that I didn't even know how to put him back. I felt guilty offering him just a little affection and then leaving him again.

In little beds, beautiful small faces looked at us with such a desire for attention, love, and care that I felt like taking them all with me and starting a new l'Arche home on the spot.

Natalie, one of the little girls, evoked deep emotions in Zenia, who had visited her often in the past. Zenia had hoped to offer her a home, but had been unable to. The little girl looked at her with eyes of despair, as if saying: "Is anyone going to take me out of here and give me a home? Is anyone going to love me enough to do more than just visit me and then leave me here?"

(continued in our next issue)



MEDIEVAL CANTERBURY PILGRIM PIN

Reproduced by contact molds from the 14th c. original (now in the Museum of London) worn by Canterbury pilgrims in Chaucer's age. Pewter-plated 1 3/4" pin depicts St. Thomas à Becket. A truly unique item to wear or display.



\$18.00 + \$3.50 s/h

The Cottage Works, Inc.
Box 186, 12 W. Willow Grove Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19118-3952
VISA/MC 215-242-8849

FREE BROCHURE
featuring other historic,
ecclesiastic items contact
molded from cathedral
and museum originals.

HENRI J.M. NOUWEN

THE GULF BETWEEN EAST & WEST

Ed. Note: *Fr. Nouwen here continues the chronicle of the time he spent in Ukraine in 1993 with Nathan Ball, the Director of l'Arche Daybreak in Toronto, Borys Gudziak, who is doing research in Ukraine on the history of the underground Greco-Catholic Church (1946 to 1990), and Zenia Kushpeta, founder of the Faith and Light communities for people with handicaps in Ukraine.*

L'viv — Wednesday, August 4

A visit to the little fruit and vegetable market in downtown L'viv gave Nathan and me an idea of the poverty of the people. At the entrance to the marketplace men and women were holding whatever they had to sell: a few potatoes, one or two cabbages, or some old kitchenware. Quite a few women were selling flowers and plastic shopping bags. As we entered the enclosed area with different stalls, more food was available: plums, blueberries, and peaches, but all of it in small amounts. Little was being sold. "For most people it is too expensive," Borys said. "They can't afford to come here and buy fruits and vegetables." Most people only earn between 30 or 40 thousand coupons (the transitional "currency") a month, which is between \$10 and \$15, and a pound of peaches costs 1,000 coupons! We also saw a few meat stalls. Borys continued: "Ten pounds of good meat

would be a whole month's salary. You can understand that few people can come here."

To get some idea of the economic situation, I have to realize that one day of work in Canada yields the same buying power as 30 days in Ukraine.

As we walked through the stalls, Nathan and I were struck by the tired looking faces. Few smiles, few animated discussions. The general atmosphere was somber and heavy. Zenia said: "People look a lot older than they are. They work always. Many have come from their farms where they milk their cows and tend their little plots of land. They come far distances to sell their meager products. They grow old and tired very fast."

As we talked, we became aware of how victimized most Ukrainian peasants feel. They were always oppressed and exploited by one invader or another. It seemed that many of the peasants we saw at the marketplace lived with little hope for a better future. Independence has not brought them much progress. They are still very poor, hardly able to survive.

We keep wondering whether the future will be any different. With so many voices in Russia wanting to reclaim Ukraine as part of their territory, there is constant fear that independence might be a very fragile thing. The fact that the U.S. pays so much attention to Russia and so little to Ukraine, except in pressuring it to give up its nuclear arsenal, makes Ukrainians question how much international support their independence will get when push comes to shove. The somber faces of the peasants certainly are not full of expectation for a better future.

After leaving the marketplace, we hired a cab to visit two Faith and Light families. We first went to the Burdash family. Although we had not announced our coming, we found five family members home: Ivanka and Bohdan, the parents, their children Oleh and

The Rev. Henri J.M. Nouwen is a priest-in-residence at Daybreak in Toronto (a Catholic/ecumenical l'Arche community serving people with mental handicaps), a writer and lecturer, and a Contributing Editor of the NOR. The first part of this two-part diary appeared in our April issue.

Ihor, and Ivanka's brother Myron. The little boy Oleh and his uncle Myron are both handicapped. The mother and her daughter Ivanka work in factories with a schedule that allows one of them to be home while the other works. Bohdan, the father, works in a television assembly factory, but now he was on vacation. We were welcomed with open arms. On the walls were religious pictures.

Nathan asked Ivanka to tell us about Faith and Light. She said: "With Oleh and Myron we felt very isolated. We couldn't go to church and had very few friends. But Zenia changed our life. She brought us in touch with other families with handicapped children and she even organized a Sunday each month when we all go together to church and have a meeting afterwards. Now we are no longer isolated. Now we have friends, and now we go to different meetings and celebrations. Our lives certainly have changed." As she spoke, she looked gratefully at Zenia.

Oleh cannot speak, and his uncle Myron can only say a few words. For them there are no schools, day programs, or workplaces. They are always home and need to be cared for there. Myron spends most of his time playing with the neighborhood children. Because of his handicap he is often laughed at and made fun of. But he is such a gentle man, radiating goodness and kindness. When I gave him a box of chocolates, he immediately shared them with all the people in the house. Later when we were visiting another family in the area, he came there to bring us beautiful roses from the little garden behind their house. Myron reminded me of the "fools for Christ," who are mentioned in many of the writings about the spiritual life of Eastern Christianity.

After our visit to the Burdash family we went to see Andriy, a 25-year-old man who was partially paralyzed as the result of faulty injections received when he was three years old. He is confined to a wheelchair and lives with his mother in a small basement room. His father and sister, with her family, live in the upstairs part of the little house. In order to reach the house, we had to go down quite a few steps from the main road. There, Andriy was sitting on a little terrace. His mother was there with him. Nobody else was home.

Andriy was very excited to see us. His face was beaming. We heard his story: "For most of my life I have been confined to my room. I saw the outside world through my window. That's all I could see.

Nobody could take me out of here, up the steps to the road, and into the city. It is too difficult, too tiring, and too complicated. I had no friends who came to visit. I was very alone. My mother had to do everything for me. But Zenia made a person of me. She gave me friends, she helped me to get out of this place and meet other people. My life is so different now, thanks to God and thanks to Zenia."

Zenia, who did the translation, undertranslated the praise Andriy gave her, but Borys made sure that we knew that he literally said: "She made a person of me."

As we talked more with Andriy we became aware that he is a poet. We urged him to show us some of his work. His mother went into the room and returned with a notebook full of poems. Because of his speech impediment, Andriy couldn't read his own work very well, so Zenia read aloud the poem called "The Wheelchair." Borys translated the whole poem into English, a poem about suffering and hope, confinement and deep longing, limitations and possibilities. The final sentence was: "Will anyone ever ask me, 'Father, how are you doing?'" It still resounds in me as a succinct expression of Andriy's deep desire to live a fruitful life.

I asked: "Who wrote these poems in this notebook for you?" Andriy answered: "My 13-year-old nephew, Roman, takes dictation from me. He is able to understand me and write my poems for me. He is on vacation now, and my head is bursting with poems that I would like to dictate, but nobody else can do it as well as Roman." Andriy then lifted up the hand he still could use and showed us how he would be able to type his own poems if he had a typewriter.

Thursday, August 5

Zenia, Nathan, and I spent the afternoon visiting two families with handicapped children.

We first went to the home of 12-year-old Vadik and his mother, Maria. They live in an old apartment. As we entered the living room, Vadik, lying on the carpet in the corner, greeted us with a beautiful smile. He was very excited to have visitors. Although his cerebral palsy severely handicapped him, he seemed very alert, intelligent, and good-natured. He followed our conversation with great attention and was able to utter many words.

Maria told us that her mother, who had spent much time with her grandson, had died a year ago.

Maria had to give up her job and dedicate herself completely to the care of Vadik. Concretely this meant that their only regular income came from Vadik's disability pension, which consisted of \$3 a month. Maria spends much of her time going from agency to agency begging for extra help. I have no idea how they survive, but, somehow, they seem to manage.

Vadik's greatest desire is to go to churches. There he feels happy, meets people, prays. He urges his mother to take him to prayer services and liturgies.

Speaking of God, Maria said: "Vadik has brought me back to God. He opened me to prayer, to the Bible and to a belief in Jesus." As I held Vadik in my lap and lifted his head so he could look straight at us, I sensed that this young handicapped boy has a very unique vocation in life. "He is a child of God," Maria said. "He has much to teach us."

I wish we could have stayed many hours with Vadik. But there was another family waiting for us, and it was time to go.

We drove to the outskirts of L'viv and found the apartment where Mykhailyna lives with her husband and two handicapped boys, Andriy and Taras. Mykhailyna welcomed us warmly and led us to the living room where little eight-year-old Taras was lying on the sofa. I looked at his beautiful face and his small paralyzed body. His movements were very spastic and his ability to make direct contact very minimal. A little later Mykhailyna brought her other son, 14-year-old Andriy, to the living room.

Mykhailyna's husband wasn't home, but her two sisters and niece who lived in two neighboring apartments came over and joined us. As the nine of us sat around the table, the three sisters told us their story.

In 1950 when they were still little children, their parents were evicted from their home and sent to Siberia. It was the time of Stalin's many purges. The argument used was that these people were being punished for the support of the Bandera independence movement, but in truth Stalin simply wanted to populate and exploit the mineral-rich areas of Siberia. To accomplish this he ordered 15 percent of the population from different regions of Ukraine, Lithuania, and other Soviet-dominated countries to be evacuated. Mykhailyna's family was dropped — together with thousands of other people from very diverse regions — in a Siberian forest and forced to make a life there. Many died, but Mykhailyna's family

survived and in 1956, after Stalin's death, were allowed to return to Ukraine. There they built their own home, with a little garden. When, many years later, the high-rises were built around L'viv, they were forced to give up their home and accept the apartments the government made available to them.

It was a story of persecution, manipulation, and victimization. Still, the three sisters were very strong and vital women, competing with each other to tell the best tale. Their main complaint now is the water. With two incontinent boys, needing constant changes of diapers, water is of the utmost importance. But the water is very polluted and hardly useable for cleaning. During certain times there is no water at all.

It became clear that the boys never left the apartment. Mykhailyna said: "When we still had our own home with a garden, the boys could lie outside in the sun, but since we live in this eighth-floor apartment we can no longer take them out." The main reason for not taking them out was not the difficulty in carrying them down, but their feeling of shame. Mykhailyna explained: "When they were still babies, we could take them out because nobody would notice the boys' handicaps, but now everyone will look at us and point at us. We don't want to be laughed at and to feel ashamed, so we keep them in the house." The pale faces of Taras and Andriy proved that they had not been in the sun for a long time.

Friday, August 6

At 4PM, Vladzio, the driver, took Nathan, Zenia, Borys, and me to the summer camp at Novyi Rozdil, a good hour's drive south of L'viv. There Zenia had planned a weekend retreat for about a hundred people, mostly youth. During the trip, Vladzio explained to us a lot about "economics" in Ukraine. If people had to live on what they earn, few would survive. Still, wherever we went, people were managing and able to eat, clothe themselves, and often to have nice furniture, a television, and a few luxury items. Underneath the official salaries and prices there is another economy that makes this possible. It is an economy of bribes, favoritism, "procuring" and, most of all, connections with family and friends in the West. Nearly everyone seems to know someone who knows someone who somehow gets something from somewhere in the West. Coupons don't count for much; what counts is dollars.

Vladzio told us proudly about his 16-year-old daughter, an excellent student with very good marks. She very much wants to go to a business school in L'viv, but the only way to get in is with a bribe of \$700. That is a fortune far beyond his means. It would take him more than 20 years to save such an amount. His only way is friends who have friends in the West, and a trained forest ranger and capable auto mechanic such as Vladzio has many connections. "Well," we asked, "is your daughter going to make it?" With a grin, Vladzio answered: "Sure, I borrowed the money."

While talking about Ukrainian economics, we drove through an area with huge cement and sulphur factories. The air looked terribly polluted, and we wondered about the health of the children who grew up there. It turned out that the summer camp we were going to was built for these children.

Novyi Rozdil — Saturday, August 7

At the retreat camp: Seldom have I been with people who are so eager to learn about the spiritual life. For many years these men and women did not have an opportunity to meet freely for prayer, speak openly about their faith, or receive religious instruction. Now it is possible, and they want it. Several hundred young people wanted to come, but many had to be turned away. There were places for only a hundred.

Being together, praying together, singing together, listening to words about the Gospel, having good meals and a decent bed to sleep in, and just feeling safe with one another — it was a heavenly experience for them. After half a day, many said: "I don't want to go home tomorrow! This is too good; please ask the buses not to pick us up so soon! This is what we need, this is what we want!"

I was struck by the great vitality of the people. Most of them are in their 20s or 30s. They are intelligent, articulate, very co-operative, and deeply religious. They show their piety with great ease. They pray before and after meals with sincere devotion; they come together to say the rosary; they love holy cards and sing the beautiful melodies of the liturgy with great conviction.

It was a wonderful group of people: university students, publishers, researchers, actors from a theater company, youth workers, radio programmers, seminarians, women religious, and young mothers of busy families. There was no sign of cynicism or skepticism.

Nobody questioned the importance of the Gospel and the significance of the Church.

In many ways I felt as if I was back in Holland in the 1950s, when being devout and church-going was not only acceptable but supported and admired by family and friends. In the Catholic circles where I grew up, daily rosary, the stations of the cross, a deep devotion to Mary, a great love for the saints, and a strong desire to listen to teachers and preachers who would inspire our faith — all that was a normal, integrated part of my life.

It is clear that the retreatants form a very select group. Millions of people in Ukraine are not going to any church. There is a lot of indifference, depression, and despair. Alcoholism is rampant; there are many abortions and divorces; and the general mood of the country is still pervaded with feelings of suspicion, resentment, and jealousy. But the people who came to the retreat are the best people Ukraine has to build a new country and a better future. After the long years of Soviet control, the Church is the place for people

Destinations Past

Traveling through History with John Lukacs

"I consider John Lukacs one of the outstanding historians of the generation and, indeed, of our time."—Jacques Barzun

John Lukacs brings history to life in these unique travel essays that take readers on an erudite tour from World War II to the present, with particular emphasis on eastern Europe.

248 pages, 0956-4, \$26.95



Available at bookstores
or order toll-free
1-800-828-1894

Missouri

University of Missouri Press 2910 LeMone Blvd. Columbia, MO 65201

like them to find inspiration and hope.

How long will this last? The West with all its wealth and opportunities is coming closer each day, and it is not clear whether these energetic and spiritually alive people will be able to hold on to their faith, traditions, and spiritual ideals when they discover that being religious in the West doesn't have the same avant-garde quality as in Ukraine. But one thing is clear: This is the right time to offer training and inspiration. Strangely enough, that has to come from the West! Because what comes from the West is "in." I was amazed at how much authority was given to Zenia, Borys, Nathan, and me. We came from the West and when we speak with conviction about spiritual matters we have greater credibility than Ukrainian spiritual leaders.

What kind of formation is necessary? Ukrainian leaders need to discover the affirming quality of the Gospel. The values they know are humility, long-suffering patience, and endurance. The values they do not know are self-reliance, freedom, proclamation, and mission. When I had spoken for an hour about the importance of "claiming our Belovedness" and "proclaiming to others their Belovedness," a young Ukrainian came up to me with Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* in his hand and showed me the text that says that we are "nothing" and can live a good spiritual life only when we never forget our nothingness. He was quite perplexed about my positive view of the human person. I explained to him that God had "looked down on the humiliation of his servants" and lifted us up to greatness by revealing to us that we are as Beloved as his own son Jesus. I tried to explain that we are not called to live from the place where we think of ourselves as nothing, useless, or sinful, but from the place of our rebirth, the place where we can claim our new identity as the chosen children of God. I think he understood my words, but was far from truly accepting them.

There is little doubt in my mind that Eastern spirituality is predominantly penitential in nature. Great stress is put on human sinfulness. Nobody will receive communion without having confessed his sins to a priest the day or the hour before the Eucharist. There is a great beauty to this spiritual vision because it can show God's splendor and grace in the face of human depravity. People in the West have much to learn from their Eastern brothers and sisters. The awareness of human sinfulness is hardly existent

in the West: Few people appreciate the sacrament of reconciliation.

On the other hand, the Gospel proclaims human dignity, and this is of great importance for a people trying to find their identity among the nations. It would be a great tragedy if the struggle for equal rights, good housing, good work, good medical care, and good education are perceived as contrary to the values of the Gospel. It is precisely the Gospel that proclaims the dignity of the human person and encourages us to work for justice and peace. Both capitalism and Communism have failed to offer justice and peace in the world. My great hope is that the young people of Ukraine will be guided by the Gospel as they make their decisions for their own and their nation's future.

Sunday, August 8

This morning we gathered in front of our dormitory to start a 20-minute procession to St. Vladimir's Greco-Catholic Church. As we walked, we occasionally sang. When the church was in sight, our two cantors intoned a beautiful Ukrainian hymn. A few hundred people were standing outside the church to welcome us. As we came close, they joined in our hymn.

The little church was extended by a large wooden barrack to hold the overflow of people. But even that wasn't enough: Many people stood outside the church close to the entrances. While we walked to the altar in procession, a large choir standing on the balcony of the little church sang beautiful polyphonic hymns. In the sacristy the priests were waiting for me. They gave me a big, heavy black cassock to wear with a golden stole.

For Nathan and me, this was a profound experience of prayer and praise. The richly decorated church, the colorful, embroidered vestments of the priests, the hymns, antiphons, and prayers (all sung in rich harmony), the devout attention of the people, the solemn gestures of the priests, and most of all the feeling that we were with fellow Christians who so warmly welcomed us in their community — all of this made it an unforgettable spiritual experience.

It was of course long. It was hot. There were no chairs or pews. Two hours standing is not easy for Western legs.

I spoke about keeping our eyes fixed on Jesus as we live in the midst of the storms of our century. I thanked the people there for their great faithfulness

during hard times and tried to encourage them not to be afraid of the many changes ahead of them. Mostly, I wanted to express my conviction that with a clear spiritual focus we won't drown in the fearful insecurities of our lives.

At the moment of the Eucharistic prayer, the main celebrant motioned me to come to the altar and join him and the other priest in saying the prayers.

After the celebration the pastor said a few heartfelt words to all of us who had come to join in the parish liturgy and thanked me for the words of encouragement.

It was a very profound event for all of us. The retreat became more than a retreat. It also became a form of proclamation. The faith and love of the young people now became a sign of hope for the many people who live in the depressing world of cement and sulfur factories. As we walked back through the fields to the summer camp we all felt grateful.

At 4PM we concluded the retreat with a joyful celebration. After a few animated Taizé songs, many people spoke about the way the weekend had affected them. I was deeply moved by the great spiritual impact this short retreat had had on them. They spoke about new hope, new vision, and new energy.

At 5PM the buses left — full of teary people. Vladzio drove us back to L'viv and at 7PM we were "home" again at the Dnister Hotel in L'viv.

L'viv — Monday, August 9

Both Nathan and I didn't want to leave Ukraine without a visit to a psychiatric institution. We knew that in Ukraine people with mental handicaps and people with mental illnesses live together in the same "hospitals," and we very much hoped that we could get a firsthand impression of such hospitals.

It wasn't easy to organize. Zenia had to go to the office of the president of L'viv region, get a letter from the vice president, and formal permission from the department that oversees psychiatric institutions. It is clear that very few foreigners ask for such permission, and that those who do ask are perceived more as inspectors than as people who have a personal interest in the "patients."

It took Zenia most of the morning to get the necessary papers, and at 2PM Vladzio drove Nathan, Zenia, Mykola, and me to the village of Yaktoniv, a 45-minute drive from L'viv.

It wasn't easy to find the psychiatric institution.

There were no signs pointing to it. After asking several people for directions, we saw a handicapped man wandering near a bus station and we assumed we were close to the institution. The man joined us in the van and showed us the side road that led us to the Hrushka Psychoneurological Institute.

As we drove into the little compound, we saw several men sitting in the grass or just standing about. They stared at us with empty eyes, without moving or uttering a word. I sensed an atmosphere of hopelessness and despair. These poorly dressed, isolated individuals just stood or sat, aimlessly waiting for nothing and nobody.

As we walked around looking for someone to give us permission to look at the place, a man in his 50s wearing blue jeans and a yellow shirt appeared and greeted us. He is Yuriy Volodymyrovych Tymoshchuk, the director of the Institute. Later we found out that he was a medical doctor, who, after 25 years of medical service in the army, had accepted the task of fixing up and running the Institute. As we walked around he said: "Administration is an easy thing for me. The army gave me good experience." Dr. Tymoshchuk was polite, friendly but formal, and very cautious in his answers. It became clear that he wanted to give us a good impression. The bedrooms, recreation hall, and dining space he showed us looked clean and well kept, but Zenia felt that a telephone call from the department of social services announcing our visit might have been the main reason that things looked relatively decent. This could have been true, because when we came to the rooms with severely handicapped men, we were shocked by their pitiful condition. They were lying in their beds, smelling badly and looking miserable in their dirty sheets. The isolation of these men was very depressing. One older man sitting half-naked on the floor said only, "I want to go home, I want to go home."

Although there are less than 100 residents in the place, the director didn't know their names. He was more eager to show us things than to introduce us to people.

He led us to a new, still unfinished building. "We hope to have no more than two patients in one room," he said, "but we have run out of money and don't know when we can finish this project." He also took us to the cow barn, a place for packaging glasswork, and the orchard. Meanwhile, we kept asking questions about the men we had seen. It was clear

that the attention of the director was given mostly to buildings and facilities.

Nathan asked him several questions about the care for the residents and about their relationships with people outside the Institute. His answers made it clear that he envisioned an institution with adequate facilities and minimum contact with the outside world. From our few conversations with the men, it seemed that most of them had lost their parents and that only a very few were receiving visits from relatives or friends.

Dr. Tymoshchuk said: "When I came here one-and-a-half years ago, all residents were locked up. I changed that. Now most of them can freely walk around and be outside during the day. It has been a great change. We need much less medication than before." Nathan asked: "Can some of the men go into the village on their own?" "No, no," he replied, "those who wander off by themselves we keep locked up." He obviously had not been aware of the man we had picked up at the bus stop.

Walking through one of the dormitories, we spoke a little with the women who worked there. Some of them had been at Hrushka for more than 20 years, but it didn't seem that they had developed close relationships with the men. "Look at him," she said, "he has a very smart brother — what a pity!"

The thought that these men have anything to offer — that they may even have a gift for society — seems completely absent. The way they stood around, silently looking at us, made us feel as if we were in a prison camp for people who didn't deserve attention.

Zenia, in her wonderfully spontaneous way, walked up to several of the men, gently touched them and spoke to them. Some of them smiled warmly at her and those who could speak told her about the death of their parents and their hope for a visit from a sister or brother. I sat down with one of the men with Down's syndrome. He smiled at me and put his head against my chest, grateful for a little attention and affection. Dr. Tymoshchuk said, "Not long ago people with Down's syndrome didn't live longer than 20 years, but since all the changes we have made they can become as old as 28!" When he said this, Nathan and I looked at each other, realizing that the members of Daybreak with Down's syndrome are living into their 50s and 60s.

We kept thinking about the painful isolation of

the residents. I found it very hard to leave without shaking hands with each of the men. They looked so lonely, so lost, so forgotten. They have a place, a bed, food. But do they have a friend? Are they ever seen as human beings with a unique personality; do they ever walk into town, go on a trip, meet people who want to welcome them into their homes? Do they ever feel truly loved?

Our visit was probably too short to answer all these questions, but the isolation not only of these men but also of the institution as a whole made us wonder how much "at home" these men will ever feel.

As we drove back to L'viv, I wondered whether it would be good for Dr. Tymoshchuk to come to Daybreak and live with us for a while. He was obviously a man who wanted to do the best he could within his own perspective. As a man who had lived for 25 years in the army, discovering the unique gifts of handicapped people is obviously not his primary concern. Buildings and facilities are. When I had asked if he could consider coming to Toronto, he said: "When you invite me!" I wonder if we should.

Tuesday, August 10

Youth for Christ is an organization that grew out of a large youth rally that took place, on Borys's initiative, in L'viv in September 1990. On that occasion around 200,000 young people came together for various events to celebrate their faith publicly. It was the first time after the Soviet regime had collapsed that such an open and free expression of religion was possible. There was so much good energy at that rally that the organizers decided to set up a permanent office to educate the thousands of young people who are hungry for spiritual nourishment.

We had lunch at the Youth for Christ office and discussed the possibility of developing a retreat ministry in Ukraine. Nathan, Borys, Zenia, and I had discussed at length how young men and women in Ukraine wanted the kind of experience we had offered during our retreat. It seemed that this was the opportune time to set up a ministry that would be able to reach out to Ukrainian youth. The Youth for Christ organization has the facilities, people, money, space, and time to do it.

It meant a lot to Nathan and me that on our last day in Ukraine we had an opportunity to speak with people who had the capacity to continue some of the work we had done during our short stay.

Wednesday, August 11

After celebrating the Eucharist in the hotel room, Vladzio, Mykola and his daughter Mariana joined Zenia, Borys, Nathan, and me. At 10PM we all drove to the L'viv Airport.

As we entered the airport building we were surprised by a little choir singing the Taizé Magnificat for us. Six members of Faith and Light had come all the way to the airport to say thank you and good-bye. There were many handshakes, kisses, tears, and wonderful farewell gifts. It was very hard for Nathan and me to take leave of Zenia and Borys. We had grown so close in the past days. Suddenly it was over!

LOT Airlines took us from L'viv to Warsaw. From Warsaw we flew to London. The move from L'viv to London was truly a move to the West. The vibrant life at Heathrow Airport in London shocked us into full awareness of how large the distance between East and West still is.

Rotterdam — Thursday, August 12

At 11AM Nathan and I had returned to Heathrow. Ahead of Nathan was a seven-hour flight to Toronto, ahead of me a hop over the English Channel to Rotterdam.

Friday, August 13

My brother Paul and I were both invited to attend the opening of an icon exhibition and sale in Huis ter Duin, a large seaside luxury hotel in Noordwijk aan Zee, a summer resort.

As we drove to the hotel, Paul told me about his trip to Ghana from which he had just returned. He said: "I have never seen such misery. There are large slums where people live in the most horrendous conditions. The streets are lined with thousands of people trying to sell a few fruits or vegetables. You wonder how people survive in such abject poverty. And still, the atmosphere is not depressing. People smile at you and kids play freely. Notwithstanding the countless shacks and overcrowded huts, the lack of food and health care, the people of Ghana seem to be a happy people."

As Paul was speaking it suddenly became clear what a completely different impression Ukraine had made on me. I had not seen any slums, or people living in huts or shacks. I hadn't seen abject poverty or great misery. People earn very little, but practically everyone has some sort of job. But what I had also

seen was a people without smiles. I hadn't seen children playing in the streets or heard joyful sounds. I had seen a country with sad faces.

I have seen poverty in many places, especially in Latin America, but the poverty in Ukraine strikes me as poverty that has extinguished the spirit of the poor. The joyful smiles that gave me so much life in Latin America were absent in Ukraine.

In Ukraine everyone is able to live, but few are living with joy. There is no great separation between the wealthy and the poor as in many Third World countries. There are no "young towns" as in Lima or *favelas* as in São Paulo. There are no overcrowded streets as in Mexico City or large areas without water or light as in Honduras or Haiti. But there is a large, seemingly impenetrable cloud of somberness covering almost everyone.

What about the future of Ukraine? With rapidly increasing inflation and unemployment, it is quite likely that soon Ukraine will see a few become rich, with many becoming miserable. Will Ukraine become a Third World country?

And what about joy? The centuries-long suffering of the Ukrainian people combined with their melancholy does not make it likely that they will soon become a "happy people." They never expected much happiness in this life. Their beautiful liturgies are the places where they catch a glimpse of the heavenly kingdom, but only a glimpse. Life for the Ukrainian people is lived mostly as a long, very long, journey to the promised land — a land that remains far, far away.

When Paul and I arrived at the Huis ter Duin Hotel and were escorted by our hosts to the icon exhibition, I was overwhelmed by the irony of the situation. Here I was shown splendid icons coming from the churches in Russia, Ukraine, Greece, Bulgaria, and other Eastern countries. They were painted with great devotion, to be venerated in the sacred liturgy. I had not seen such beautiful icons in Ukraine. Most of the pieces of art I saw in the churches were quite tasteless and often imitations of 18th-century European devotional pictures. But in this luxurious hotel, I could see the splendor of Eastern Christianity and even buy it! Most of these icons had come to the West during the Soviet years.

When I looked at the prices of the icons I realized that each one of them would be sold for more money than most Ukrainians will earn during their

whole lifetime. And where would these icons finally end up? Not in the churches for which they were made, but in the homes of art-loving Dutch families.

After some hesitation, I decided to buy myself one of the icons for the chapel at Daybreak. It is a splendid Ukrainian icon of the Virgin with Three Hands. Maybe one day I will return it. It would mean a lot to me if Zenia and Borys could see it come home and become part of their prayer with handicapped people.

Saturday, August 14

On July 24 I began this Ukrainian diary. Today I conclude it. The question for me now is: What will be the long-term fruits of this journey?

I will fly back to Canada within two weeks to face a full schedule of pastoral work at Daybreak, and lectures and retreats all over the U.S. and Canada. I am deeply convinced that what I experienced has potential for great fruitfulness. But there will be no fruits without pruning the tree! It will require some real discipline not to get so busy again that the Ukrainian experience soon becomes a vague memory.

Still, it is not easy to know how to go from here.

There is the proposal to develop a nationwide retreat ministry in which Ukrainian Youth for Christ and Daybreak will work closely together. There is the plan of Zenia and Borys to come on a regular basis to Canada to strengthen the bonds that grew during this trip and to explore new ways of working together for Ukraine. There is the desire to get a typewriter and electric wheelchair for Andriy and a large supply of diapers for Taras and his brother. All or some of this will certainly happen. But most important is that many people at Daybreak and in Ukraine discover that they are brothers and sisters, that a sense of solidarity, yes even community, grow so as to transcend people-made boundaries.

More than ever, I believe in the gift of handicapped people to create such a community. Their weakness is God's strength; their dependence is God's invitation to create bonds of love and support; their poverty is one of God's ways to bring us the blessings of the Kingdom. The handicapped men and women from Canada, Ukraine, and all countries in the world call us through their common poverty to build a Kingdom of peace and love that has no boundaries but is a sign of hope for the world. ■

CHILDREN ARE GREEN TOO

Will Hoyt Be Fruitful & Multiply?

The world is a strange place, and nowhere, it seems, is this better on view than in the positions various groups have adopted regarding what once was called population control but now is called population stabilization. The Sierra Club, for example, recently filed papers with the U.S. Supreme

Court in order to bolster support for abortion. This occurred in 1992, when *Roe v. Wade* was under attack in Pennsylvania, and it got quite a lot of press. Unremarked incidents can be no less eye-opening, however. About a year after the Sierra Club took its stand, the small West Coast environmentalist publication *Terrain* could be seen running a cover story on the dangers of overpopulation and the consequent need for the widespread availability of condoms ("even if you're expecting a child, pledge to make her your last child"), and then blithely, just two issues

Will Hoyt is a Berkeley carpenter, and farms a sixteenth of an acre in his backyard.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **P - Russia**

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **Q – Russia – Recent News**

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **R – Novosibirsk, Russia**

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: S – Yekaterinberg, Russia

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **U - Ukraine**

[TEXT AS PREPARED]

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT CITY HALL
KRAKOW, POLAND
JULY 2, 1996

Mr. Mayor, distinguished citizens, friends, and all of the gracious people of Krakow: I am honored and privileged to be here in your city, a place whose beauty is exceeded only by the rich intellectual and cultural life that has flowered here for centuries.

Here in the heart of Polish history, I have learned much about Poland's aspirations, sufferings, triumphs and dreams. Among my teachers have been two of Europe's great intellectual heroes -- each one symbolizing in his own struggle for freedom the continuity of Poland's Western identity through World War and Cold War.

I met with a courageous editor of one of Poland's most important journals, Jerzy Turowicz [YEH-zhee too-ROW-vich], who kept ideas alive when ideas were dangerous to hold. Without the bold efforts of people like him, there might have been no public discourse, no vocabulary for independent thought during the dark years of communism.

I met with a Nobel-prize winning poet Czeslaw Milosz [chess-wahf MEE-wosh], who spoke for captive nations and peoples in an era of totalitarian rule, ensuring that the story of their lives would never go untold.

Together, these two heroes helped sustain the core of Polish culture and being -- from the ruins of World War Two all the way through liberation. Today, Hitler and Stalin are gone. But these men are still with us, in a free Poland, their dreams now being realized.

There is one other great citizen of Krakow and of Poland whose moral leadership helped to liberate his country and Europe.

Before coming to Poland, I wrote to the Holy Father telling him that I would be paying a visit to his beloved city of Krakow. And I promised to convey a message of solidarity and support for the Polish people in their efforts to rejoin the democratic family of the West.

Now, after this brief visit to Krakow, I appreciate even more why this city has been such a source of inspiration for Polish freedom. When I return to America, it will be with greater understanding of Poland's past achievements and present hopes. And I will always count myself proud to be a friend of Poland and all the people of this great land.

Thank you. And God bless you all.

###

AS PREPARED

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR THE SIGNING OF THE U.S.-BOSNIAN HOSPITAL PARTNERSHIP
THE WHITE HOUSE
OCTOBER 21, 1996

Welcome to the White House. It is a privilege for me to be with you for an occasion that represents so much pride for the United States and promises so much hope for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Today marks another step forward in the reconstruction effort in Bosnia. I am especially pleased that Madeleine Albright, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Jill Buckley, assistant administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, and Ambassador Alkalaj [All-kah-LIE] from Bosnia are here with me to talk about the two initiatives we will announce today.

Both projects are public-private partnerships that will lend American expertise, resources and technology to the people of Bosnia as they emerge from the darkness of war. These partnerships reflect America's long tradition of humanitarian assistance to friends in need -- and our nation's commitment to peace and democracy in the former Yugoslavia and around the world.

When I was in Bosnia with my daughter earlier this year, I had the opportunity to meet with civilians who described how years of war and ethnic hatred had shattered their lives - and the lives of their children.

I heard from men and women whose daily activities were routinely interrupted by sniper fire, mortar shells, and the tragedy of losing loved ones and friends to violence.

I heard from mothers and fathers who worried about their children's safety because even the most inviting playgrounds and soccer pitches often concealed deadly mines.

I heard from teachers whose schools and libraries were shelled every day, destroying classrooms, books, teaching materials.

I heard from doctors and nurses whose days were spent treating patients -- some severely injured in war, some in acute emotional and psychological distress -- without adequate medicine and often without the most basic medical equipment.

Establishing peace is a critical first step in rebuilding civil society in Bosnia. Ensuring that peace can last -- and that democracy can take root and flower -- is the next step, a step we are helping the people of Bosnia achieve now.

Both of the initiatives that we announce today represent our belief that peace and democracy can last in Bosnia if the nation itself -- and the people's spirits -- are repaired.

The first initiative involves a man already known and loved by generations of American children. He doesn't need much of an introduction. He's "the Man of Steel," a man with special vision, special powers, and a big heart -- just the sort of person to spread the word about the dangers of land mines in Bosnia. And I know he will get the children's attention when he arrives there next month.

Thanks to a public-private partnership involving the Department of Defense; Ambassador Albright; UNICEF, Warner Brothers and D.C. Comics, Superman will bring a special message to Bosnia's children in a new comic book that warns about the dangers of land mines.

We all know that children cannot become happy, healthy and productive adults if their childhoods are scarred by fear and violence. Sadly, as Senator Leahy has reminded all of us, land mines continue to pose a threat to children in Bosnia and many other places around the world.

For this reason, UNICEF has launched an education campaign to foster awareness about land mines among children and civilians in Bosnia, which you will hear more about a little later.

The second project we are announcing today draws on the

leadership and skill of medical professionals and community groups on both sides of the Atlantic.

Aware of the urgent health care needs in Bosnia, I called on USAID early last year to explore whether it would be feasible to establish a partnership between a Bosnian and an American hospital. I had already visited hospitals in Russia, Estonia, Ukraine and Belarus that had joined in partnerships with hospitals in our country. And in each instance, I could see the good that had come for people in both countries through these shared ventures.

Today it is a special honor for me to be host all of you here at the White House for the signing of a new American Health Alliance Partnership between Buffalo and Tuzla. This partnership will significantly improve the availability of care -- and the quality of care -- for tens of thousands of people in Bosnia, including thousands of children, women, and refugees.

Buffalo was selected after intensive competition, in part because the city already had established a relationship with the health care community in Bosnia.

Two years ago, Buffalo General Hospital and the State University of New York at Buffalo initiated an exchange program with Tuzla Clinical Center in Bosnia. Americans from Buffalo traveled to Tuzla and worked side-by-side with their Bosnian colleagues even in the midst of war and violence. They donated \$1.5 million in supplies for use in Tuzla. And Bosnian physicians and nurses were invited to Buffalo for informal exchanges.

Today's announcement would not be possible without the support of the city and citizenry of Buffalo, the Department of Defense, and private companies in the United States. In particular, I want to commend Eli Lilly & Company, which has committed \$250,000 in donations for next year. I also want to thank the mayors of Buffalo and Tuzla, who are with us today, for their strong support.

It is important to note that these vital projects are part of a broader, ongoing American effort to build democracy and restore civil society in Bosnia.

Earlier this year, representatives of dozens of non-governmental organizations came to the White House to tell us about the work they are doing on the front lines in Bosnia to improve health care, education, and the environment and promote civic participation and human rights.

In August, eighteen educators from across our country visited the White House to tell us about their efforts to train teachers in Bosnia.

And just this morning I was able to meet with representatives of the Sabre Foundation, which is performing an invaluable service in helping to restock Bosnia's libraries with thousands of books and learning materials destroyed by war.

Already the Sabre Foundation has distributed nearly three million books valued at more than \$60 million in fifteen countries in the former Soviet bloc.

None of these ventures would be possible without support from the federal government, NGOs, and the private sector.

We should be proud of these partnerships not only because of the help they will bring today and tomorrow, but because they represent the best in America and the best in American values. As Alexis de Tocqueville observed more than 150 years ago, our country is unique in the world in its capacity to bring people and institutions together to promote the common good.

This was never clearer to me than when Chelsea and I were in Bosnia last spring. I only wish every American -- particularly American teenagers -- could have been with us during our visit.

After meeting with Bosnian civilians and some of the NATO military commanders in Tuzla, we flew by helicopter to two U.S. military outposts: Camp Alicia and Camp Bedrock. We met American service men and women who hailed from every corner of our country. We heard Southern drawls and Midwestern twangs and accents from Boston and Brooklyn and Billings and Boise.

Our troops represented every religion, every culture, every race, every ethnic group. But whatever their backgrounds, they

were there as Americans, joined in their commitment to democracy and in their belief that we can accomplish much more united than divided.

They were proud of what they were doing in Bosnia. Some told me they had doubted the importance of the mission before arriving there. But within weeks they saw families returning to their homes. They saw children beginning to play in the streets again. And they understood that, as much as they were there to help preserve a peace, they were also there as a model of democracy at work -- a model of how people of all backgrounds can come together around a common enterprise.

I tell this story because the initiatives we are announcing today are also about the hope and promise America brings to people searching for a brighter future.

To all of you involved in the Superman comic book and the hospital partnership and many other important efforts underway in Bosnia, I thank you for your commitment, your compassion, and your faith that democracy can replace strife and hatred in that distant land. You are truly champions of peace.

This morning, we will hear first from our Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, who will tell us about explain the importance of the Superman land mine awareness project and how it will save lives and contribute to the country's recovery. Following Ambassador Albright, Jill Buckley, assistant administrator of USAID, will fill us in on the hospital partnership. We will then be honored to hear from His Excellency Sven Alkalaj [All-kah-LIE], Bosnia and Herzegovina's Ambassador to the United States. And at the conclusion of the program you will all witness the signing of the hospital partnership agreement, which will make the Buffalo-Tuzla partnership official.

It is now my pleasure to introduce a great public servant, a diplomat *extraordinaire*, and a woman who has devoted considerable time and energy to making the world safer, more just and more humane, my good friend, Ambassador Madeleine Albright.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR BOSNIAN HUMANITARIAN EVENT--TRANSCRIBED
THE WHITE HOUSE
JANUARY 29, 1996

Welcome to the White House for this very significant event that offers so much hope for the people of Bosnia, and indeed for the world, and reflects so well the values of the people of the United States.

You have heard the introductions of those who are here on the podium with me. I would also like to recognize several other people. I could recognize all of you, we could everyone stand, but I want to say a special word of thanks to those members of Congress who are here: Senator Pell from Rhode Island, Senator Levin from Michigan, Congressman Wolf from Virginia, and Congressman Hall from Ohio. I am very grateful that all four of you could be here, representing the United States Congress.

I also want to acknowledge someone else who's with us. Jon Shattuck, the Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, who was in Bosnia last week, bringing attention to the human rights abuses and atrocities that had occurred there in the previous years, and who has been a very strong voice against, speaking out on behalf of American values, and we thank you very much, Secretary Shattuck.

This gathering represents an extraordinary commitment of religious and non-denominational organizations to humanitarian relief in Bosnia. As a Methodist, I am proud that my own church is one of those involved. Because every day the world bears witness to the terrible legacy of war in the former Yugoslavia.

As you arrived here today, I hope you saw the World Vision exhibit of drawings and photographs by Bosnian children that is on display downstairs. These pictures are at once remarkable, and heartbreaking.

To see the conflict through children's eyes reminds us that children bear a special burden in war. Not only are they robbed of their loved ones, of their homes, schools, and communities, they are robbed of their spirit. Today, the children of Bosnia are truly the world's orphans.

Thankfully, the process of reconciliation and rebuilding -- and the process of healing -- has begun. It will not, as all of you know, be an easy task. But it is one of the most important

tasks that we can face together on behalf of the people of Bosnia, particularly the children, but also on behalf of ourselves.

When my husband returned from Bosnia earlier this month, he was extremely encouraged by what he had seen there -- not just the presence of NATO peace-keeping forces, but the prospects for peace that the United States helped negotiate in Dayton, which appear to be taking root. Even with the busiest of schedules that one can imagine, during his recent trip to Tuzla, the President met with NGO representatives in Bosnia, all of whom are represented in this room.

I'd like to deviate from the program for just a moment to call on someone who was actually there with the President who ofcourse made such a contribution to the United States efforts to lead the way to peace, to give you just a first-hand flavor of the President's efforts and reactions in meeting with the representatives of the organizations that are gathered here. So I'd like to call on Assistant Secretary Dick Holbrook. . . .

We all know that a permanent peace will not come easily to a place where neighbors have turned against neighbors and hatreds among different groups have undermined the larger Bosnian community.

The war claimed thousands of lives, and countless people have been brutally victimized because of their ancestry and religion. Like children, women have endured particularly tragic consequences of the conflict in Bosnia. Rape is an ugly face of war; but in Bosnia, women were purposely branded and violated -- raped as a tactic of war.

Now the people of Bosnia must cope with the scars of that particularly vicious form of physical and emotional violence, and with the children that have been born of rape who are now truly orphaned.

That we can be hopeful at all about the future of Bosnia is in part a measure of the contributions all of your organizations are making on the ground there every day. The process of rebuilding, and healing, would be made much harder without non-governmental organizations and private voluntary organizations working at the grassroots level to provide food, clothing, medicine, and other services to people whose lives have been shattered by war.

Women's groups and organizations have undertaken special efforts to help rape victims begin to rebuild their lives and the lives of their families.

I think I speak for all Americans when I thank all of you

for your ongoing commitments to many important projects. We admire and applaud the talent, energy, skill and resources of all the organizations represented here, because you have all lent a hand to help repair a country and a people so badly in need.

Just as you recognize the work that still remains to be done on many fronts in Bosnia, so does our government. Today I am pleased to announce that, through the United States Agency for International Development and the State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, the United States will support a new relief initiative in Bosnia focusing on families and children.

Our partners in this effort will be the Catholic Relief Services and the International Orthodox Christian Charities. This marks the first time these two important groups have embarked on a project together. Their participation, along with church groups, Islamic associations, local Non-Governmental Organizations, and professional associations is a crucial step in promoting religious reconciliation in Bosnia.

The religious charities are committed to providing relief not simply to one religious group or another, not to one community or another, but to all people in Bosnia who need assistance.

It is this kind of courageous cooperation that must be emulated throughout the region if peace is to hold. CRS and IOCC deserve our thanks and support for pledging to work together on behalf of people of all faiths.

The new initiative that the United States has agreed to support will expand the Psychosocial Trauma Recovery Project that Catholic Relief Services has been operating for one year. The project already has provided skills for para-professionals working in refugee centers in Sarajevo. It has helped psychologists and social workers treat war-related psychological trauma. And it has allowed for the selection and training of 17 professionals who, in turn, will train others in Tuzla and Sarajevo, two areas with large populations suffering the effects of war-related trauma.

It is sometimes easy, for those of us who are not working on the front lines every day as so many of you are, to forget how difficult the process of healing is in a place so ravaged by war and hatred. And it's easy, in the comfort of our own secure lives, to overlook the desperation that greets the people of Bosnia as they go about their daily business.

Imagine, for a moment, what life must be like now for a 13-year-old boy I read about recently. During the war, he had been forced to watch as soldiers beat and hanged his father, and then

as they raped his younger sister and mother.

An entire generation of children -- and families -- in Bosnia have been subjected to this kind of emotional and psychological devastation. There is probably no other people in the world, and maybe in the history of the world, who is better equipped than Americans to help bring this kind of support and relief. Americans coming from so many different backgrounds, races, ethnicities, religions, coming together as we do everyday to work here, and now doing it as we are throughout the world, trying to be peacemakers and to demonstrate how the barriers that divide us can be transcended.

So I thank all of you for your efforts to help the people of Bosnia regain some semblance of comfort, security and hope for the future. I thank Catholic Relief Services and the International Orthodox Christian Charities for helping pave the way to reconciliation and rebuild the trust that has been so broken in Bosnia.

And as Americans, we are proud to support and join in these efforts.

There are several people here on the podium who speak for all of you, because of the work that they have been doing and will be undertaking. I'd like to introduce them to you and ask that each of them share with you their own view in that, the organization they represent.

Thank you very much Julia. Thank you Bishop. Thank you very much Chancellor. I also want to say a special word of thanks to Brian Atwood who is the Administrator of the Agency for International Development. And Phyllis Oakley, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau Population, Refugee, and Migration. I think Dick Shifter is here somewhere, I'd like to thank him as well.

This has been not only an ecumenical effort, religious and secular working together, but also many parts of the United States government as well. I am grateful to the United States Congress for passing the Foreign Aid Bill that was recently passed because, as someone who had never travelled very much before moving into this White House, I've had a chance in the last years to see the results of United States efforts, both through our government and through our charitable, non-governmental, religious, and business efforts around the world.

And it is so clear to me as it is to many of you who are in this work that after rebuilding Europe and Japan at the end of World War II, after waging a Cold War which was successfully brought to a conclusion on behalf of freedom and democracy and open-market economies, it is no time for the United States either

privately or publicly to recede from our commitments around the world, but in fact to move even more vigorously from both the private and public perspective. To do all we can to, in Julia's words, help establish civil society. In the words of the IOCC or CRS, to bring about reconciliation, forgiveness, and healing. But on the behalf of the Americans, to recognize how much of a stake we have in what happens in places with names like Bosnia. And you are there, doing that work.

You are putting a human face on what too often looks like a blizzard of images, numbers, claims and rhetoric that comes across our television screens. For that, on behalf of the President, I am grateful. But more than that I think the United States is grateful because you are helping us build the kind of world we always hoped we could take a hand in creating, and what the United States with its ideals, its history, has always stood for. So on behalf of America, thank you all very much and I look forward to greeting each of you individually in the Blue Room. Thank you.

[TEXT AS PREPARED]

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT LAZIENKI PALACE
WARSAW, POLAND
JULY 2, 1996

It is an honor for me to be back in Poland -- and to have this chance to visit Warsaw during the city's 400th anniversary as the Polish capital. One need not be here long to see that on the eve of a new century, Warsaw is again the vibrant European metropolis it once was, sparkling with life and promise.

Yesterday I was in Krakow, your beautiful ancient capital, where I met some of the intellectual heroes of Poland's struggle for freedom and democracy. I saw Wawel [Vah-vell] Cathedral, which reminded me of the church's crucial place in preserving and protecting Poland's spirit of independence. Without the church, the triumph of Polish democracy and freedom might never have occurred.

Knowing of the Holy Father's role in setting a spiritual example for Poland's recent struggle for liberty, I wrote to him before coming to Poland to tell him that I would be paying a visit to his beloved city of Krakow. And I promised to deliver a message of support and solidarity from America to the Polish people.

We are proud to lend our hand to Poland because it is the right thing to do -- and because we remember that Poland supported us at the dawn of our own democracy.

Yesterday, I had the honor of laying flowers at the grave of the great Polish patriot and American hero, General Kosciuszko [kosh-YOU-shko]. Like my country's Founding Fathers -- his contemporaries -- Kosh-you-shko believed that the cause of Poland and the larger cause of human freedom were indivisible. It was that vision of freedom that brought him to places like West Point and Saratoga to fight in our Revolutionary War. And it is that same vision that continues to tie our nations together today,

more than 200 years later.

Millions of Americans trace their origins to Poland. Yet our bonds are of more than blood, they are of brotherhood and sisterhood. Today, Polish and American soldiers are serving together in Bosnia to help others secure their own freedom in a troubled land.

Indeed, it seems that the values of democracy and freedom are in the very fiber of our being -- we Americans and Poles. It was Poland, after all, that rejected absolutism and built the fundamentals of the rule of law during the Renaissance. When America's Founding Fathers wrote the world's first Constitution, Poland soon followed with the world's second. President Wilson put the weight of the United States behind Polish independence in his 14 points. And in 1989, Poland led the way again in undoing the oppressive grip of communist rule.

The poet Czeslaw Milosz [CHESS-wash MEE-wash], whom I had the privilege of meeting in Krakow yesterday, once wrote that in earlier times, Polish poetry became "a home for incorrigible hope, immune to historical disasters."

That hopeful poetic spirit clearly was still alive in the hearts of the Polish people in 1989. You embarked on a journey of reform and transformation that had never been attempted before -- and many thought you would fail. But here you are -- today -- a nation that has earned the right to regain its place as a full member of the Western family of nations.

My husband often says that with freedom and opportunity comes responsibility. Your struggle for freedom was in many ways a struggle to assume personal responsibility for the fate of your country. Father Josef Tischner [Yo-sef TISH-ner] once called Solidarity "a forest of awakened consciences" -- a movement dedicated to the highest standards of service to others.

Today, the struggle for freedom is over in Poland. And at last, your nation's future is yours to shape. You have built a vibrant democracy in which elections are routine, the press is skeptical and free, and politicians are held accountable for the decisions they make. You have reached out to your neighbors to overcome ancient disputes. Your economy is growing faster than

any in Europe.

And thanks to the success of your democratic transformation and your economic reforms, America now looks at Poland in a very different way. For us, Poland is no longer a place where heroes and villains -- democrats and dictators -- compete for the conscience of a people not yet free. Today Poland is becoming what you always wanted it to become: a normal European country with normal European problems -- and most important, with normal European responsibilities.

After all these years of struggle, we have finally been liberated to stand together as partners in security, diplomacy and trade. And with that newfound freedom comes the responsibility to jointly meet a new set of challenges: the challenge of keeping the peace in a world where old hatreds are slow to die and new ones are too easily born; the challenge of giving all of our citizens the chance to fulfill their God-given potential.

These challenges are compounded because we live in a time of rapid economic change, increasing global competition and scarcer resources. Today, in democracies new and old, families are under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor is growing wider. Governments from Washington to Warsaw are grappling with social issues ranging from education, to pensions, to health care to environmental pollution. And we are all worrying about how to re-train our workers for a new millennium and new age of high-technology and information.

Throwing off the yoke of totalitarianism and building democratic institutions is the first step of the democratic journey. Solving society's social problems is a second equally difficult one.

I believe strongly that democracy can only thrive in the post-Cold War era if we are willing to invest in our greatest resource -- our people. Political freedoms, human rights, and an open economy are essential to our progress and stability. But so are investments in human capital, especially in women and children.

Here in Poland, as elsewhere, women have suffered



disproportionately during this period of transition from the Industrial Age to the Information Age. Women are the primary caretakers for families and extended families. They do much of the work in and out of the home. Yet, by and large, their wages have lagged the most since 1989.

This problem is not unique to Poland. Traveling around America, I have met with women of all kinds -- homemakers, nurses, teachers, bankers, judges -- who want to be respected for the choices they make in their lives, whether they choose to stay at home or work at jobs outside their homes.

Elsewhere around the world, the obstacles for women are even greater. I have met women and girls in South Asia and South America who have been denied schooling because of their gender; who cannot get credit from a bank simply because they are women; who are excluded from the political life of their countries; who have no legal recourse when their rights are violated.

But I also have seen what happens when women do have access to education, health care, credit, jobs and basic rights. Not only do they gain a greater sense of their own possibility and promise, they earn new respect in their families and communities. Everybody benefits.

As a leader in economic growth in Europe, Poland can also be a leader in promoting the human dimension of democracy, particularly social investments that will improve conditions for women, children and families.

I say this, in part, because I recognize the important role that women have played throughout Poland's history. Although I did not have the chance to visit the University in Krakow, I have heard many times the story of Queen Jadwiga [Yahd-vee-gah] selling her crown jewels to pay for the school's restoration centuries ago.

I have read about the Polish women who wore black in mourning for their country during the great uprising of 1863. And I know that in the days of Solidarity, women were the backbone of the underground press. Some of those same women lead Poland's modern journalistic establishment today.

My point is simply this: Women are a key to building civil society -- and to progress and prosperity in every country, including yours and mine.

I am proud that the United States is working with committed men and women here in Poland to strengthen civil society by improving the health of children and families, bolstering human rights, assuring freedom the press, encouraging environmental protections and economic development, and promoting civic education.

Today, I have the honor of announcing that, as part of our ongoing commitment to the Democracy Network Program, the United States government, through its Agency for International Development, will contribute \$700,000 for up to 36 small grants to be given out later this month. And I am pleased that so many past recipients are with us today.

The grants that I am announcing, like previous ones, will be delivered to non-governmental organizations that are building democracy on the front lines in Poland by helping local groups protect their environment, improve health services, enable women to take their rightful place in society and teach children the values of democracy.

Above all, the NGOs that enjoy American support are helping people in Poland organize themselves and form associations to solve their problems at the grass roots level.

This USAID support for these projects represents America's confidence in and commitment to Poland's future. It also represents our belief that democracy will only work if it is rooted in the hearts, minds and actions of the Polish people.

There is no doubt that democracy has found a home in Poland. Before I left the United States to come on this trip, a Polish-American friend gave me a copy of the preamble to the Polish Constitution of 1791. What an extraordinary and timeless document it is.

It describes a Poland "free from the shameful shackles of foreign might" . . . and Polish people who prize "more than life, and every personal consideration, the political existence,

external independence and internal liberty" of their nation. No wonder Polish-Americans are so proud of that Constitution and of their homeland's devotion to freedom. No wonder they feel so much joy in Poland's progress since 1989.

Two hundred years ago, when Polish liberty was extinguished, America was too new, too far away to help. Now we have another chance, and this time we are here. We are helping you undo -- once and for all -- the false judgment of history.

When I return to Washington next week, I will look out the window of the White House at the statue of General Kosciuszko in Lafayette Square. And I will know with certainty that the ideals of freedom he fought for have finally triumphed in Poland.

Thank you very much.

###

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR RADIO NADEZHDA
MOSCOW, RUSSIA
MAY 10, 1995**

It is a privilege for me to be here at Radio Nadezhda. I want to thank all of you at the station for your efforts to raise awareness about issues of special concern to women. Not only do you provide hope, you give voice to the aspirations of women throughout Russia and the world.

You also give voice to the democratic aspirations of the Russian people. Nothing is as important to building, strengthening, and sustaining democratic institutions than a healthy, vibrant news media. Although those of us in public life do not always agree with everything we read in the newspaper or see on television, we respect the role that journalists and commentators play in informing the public about the critical issues in their lives. I know that the media here in Russia has been an invaluable source of information for the Russian people as they sort out their opinions on many difficult issues -- economic reform, crime, corruption and so on.

Radio Nadezhda also plays a very special role for women and families. Around the world, it is common for issues of concern to women, such as health care, education, and children, to be dismissed as marginal or unrelated to larger questions about economic growth. But I believe that so-called women's issues are central to the economic and political challenges that every nation faces today.

First, women make up more than half the world's population. Throughout the world -- including the United States and Russia -- women represent a disproportionate number of the poor and vulnerable. They are most adversely affected by crises in the health care system. And they have the fewest avenues available to bring about social change.

Until women have the opportunities to be full participants in their societies -- until they have access to education, health care, credit, political participation and legal protections -- the nation they live in cannot truly prosper.

I have been privileged over the past two years to travel to many different countries. And nearly everywhere I have gone, I have been gratified to see women coming together -- as they have at this radio station -- to pool their wisdom, experience, and ideas so that they can play a more active role in civic life.

Beyond giving women a voice, Radio Nadezhda also conveys the

Russian people's commitment to democracy. To make democracy work, citizens must be informed, and they must participate. And they must rely on a responsible news media to educate them as voters, decision-makers, and opinion-makers.

As we all know, democracy is a system that takes time to perfect. In my country, we have been working at it for 200 years. Even with that amount of practice, we still fail at times to uphold our ideals of social justice and civil society. Yet we have learned that the struggle is worth it, because living in a free society is the best way to ensure that all people -- men, women, rich, poor, and people of all creeds and races -- can fulfill their potential and live together in peace.

In Russia, you have been at the work of democracy for less than five years. You have made enormous strides under very difficult circumstances. I want you to know how much the American people admire your hard work, determination, and willingness to sacrifice for a larger good. And I want you to know that we support you. And as we work to renew and strengthen our own democratic ideals, we find inspiration in your efforts here.

Thank you so much for allowing me to join you and your listeners on this program.

[Q & A]

###

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Moscow, Russia)

For Immediate Release

May 10, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO STUDENTS OF MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY

Main Hall
Moscow State University
Moscow, Russia

6:12 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Rector Sadovnichy, Mrs. Sadovnichy. To the faculty, and most of all, to the students of Moscow State University, I am deeply honored to be here and to be here just a few years after my predecessor, President Reagan, also spoke to the students.

I can think of no better place than a great seat of learning like Moscow State University to speak about the past and future of Russia. In this spirit, Mikhail Lomonosov lives on, for just as he modernized your ancient language for the Russian people two centuries ago, today you must take the lead in shaping a new language -- a language of democracy that will help all Russia to chart a new course for your ancient land.

Here you openly debate the pressing issues of the day. And though you can only hear echoes of your nation's history, you are living it and making it as you ponder and prepare for what is yet to come.

Yesterday, all of Russia and much of the entire world paused to remember the end of World War II, and the terrible, almost unimaginable price the peoples of the Soviet Union paid for survival and for victory. Because our alliance with you was shattered at the war's end by the onset of the Cold War, Americans never fully appreciated, until yesterday, the true extent of your sacrifice and its contribution to our common victory. And the Russian people were denied the full promise of

that victory in World War II -- a victory that bought the West five decades of freedom and prosperity.

Now the Cold War is over. Democracy has triumphed through decades of Western resolve, but that victory was also yours -- through the determination of the peoples Russia, the other former Soviet republics, and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to be free and to move into the 21st century as a part of, not apart from, the global movement toward greater democracy, prosperity and common security.

Your decision for democracy and cooperation has given us the opportunity to work together to fulfill the promise of our common victory over forces of fascism 50 years ago. I know that it was not an easy decision to make, and that it is not always an easy decision to stay with. I know what you in Russia will have to chart your own democratic course based on your own traditions and culture, as well as on the common challenges we face.

We Americans have now spent over 200 years setting our own course. Along the way we have endured deep divisions and one Civil War. We have made mistakes at home and in our relations with other people. At times we have fallen short of our own ideals. Our system can sometimes seem unnecessarily burdened by divisions and constraint.

But as Winston Churchill once said, "Democracy is the worst system of government, except for all the others." It has produced more prosperity, more security and more opportunity for self-fulfillment than all of its competitors in the entire world in the last 200 years.

The United States supports the forces of democracy and reform here in Russia, because it is in our national interest to do so. I have worked hard to make this post-Cold War world a safer and more hopeful place for the American people. As President, that is my job. That is every president's job. But I have had the opportunity, unlike my recent predecessors, to work with Russia instead of being in opposition to Russia. And I want to keep it that way.

I am proud that for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, no Russian missiles are pointed at the children of America. And now that I am here, I might paraphrase what your Foreign Minister told me in Washington last month -- I am also proud that no American missiles are pointed at you or me for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age. (Applause.)

Both our nations are destroying thousands of nuclear weapons at a faster rate than our treaties require. We have removed the

last nuclear weapons from Kazakhstan. And Ukraine and Belarus will soon follow. We are cooperating with you to prevent nuclear weapons and bomb-making materials from falling into the hands of terrorists and smugglers. We are working together to extend indefinitely the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the cornerstone of our efforts to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

Your progress on the economic front is also important. I have seen reports that more than 60 percent of your economy is now in private hands. Inflation is dropping, and your government is taking sensible steps to control its budget deficit. Managers work to satisfy customers and to make profits. Employees, more and more, search for the best jobs at the highest wages. And every day, despite hardship and uncertainty, more and more Russian people are able to make decisions in free markets rather than having their choices dictated to them.

We have supported these reforms. They are good for you, but they are also good for the United States and for the rest of the world, for they bring us together and move us forward.

I know there are severe problems. There are severe problems in your transition to a market economy. I know, too, that in anywhere free markets exist, they do not solve all social problems. They require policies that can ensure economic fairness and basic human decency to those who need and deserve help.

Finally, I know that all democracies, the United States included, face new challenges, from the emergence of the global economy and the information age, as well as from the threats posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, by organized crime, and by terrorism. *From the new enemy by being the elected, really not a new partner, apparently*

But the answer is not to back away from democracy or to go back to isolation. The answer is not to go back to defining your national interest in terms that make others less secure. The answer is to stay on this course, to reap the full benefits of democracy, and to work on these problems with those of us who have a stake in your success, because your success makes us safer and more prosperous as well. *It is necessary of the same spirit of urgency + excitement as appeared*

That success, I believe, depends upon three things: First, *since* continuing to strengthen your democracy; second, improving your economy and reducing social and economic problems; and third, establishing your role in the world in a way that enhances your economic and national security interest -- not at the expense of your friends and neighbors, but in cooperation with them.

First, the work of building democracy never ends. The democratic system can never be perfected, because human beings are not perfect. In America today, we are engaged in a renewed debate over which decision should be made by our national government and which ones should be made locally or by private citizens on their own, unimpeded by government.

We argue today over the proper roles of the different branches of government, and we argue over how we can be strengthened, not weakened by the great diversity in our society. These are enduring challenges that all democracies face.

But no element among them is more fundamental than the holding of free elections. In our meetings today, President Yeltsin once again pledged to keep on schedule, both a new round of parliamentary elections in December and the presidential election last -- next June. He has shown that he understands what has often been said about a new democracy: The second elections are even more important than the first, for the second elections establish a pattern of peaceful transition of power.

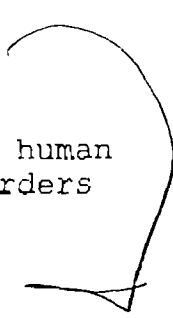
Therefore, I urge all Russians who have the right to vote to exercise that vote this year and next year. Many people sacrificed so that you could have this power. I address that plea especially to the young people in this room and throughout your great nation.

Your future is fully before you. And these elections will shape that future. Do not fall into the trap that I hear even in my own country of believing that your vote does not count. It does count. It will count if you cast it. And if you do not count -- cast it, that will count for something, too. So I urge you to exercise the vote.

But the heart of a democracy does not lie in the ballot box alone. That is why it is also important that your generation continues to demand and support a free and independent press. Again, this can be a difficult, even dangerous, process, as the people in your press know all too well.

Dmitri Kholodov and Vladislav Listyev were murdered in pursuit of the truth, victims of their vigorous belief in the public's right to know. You must not allow those assassins who targeted them to steal from your people one of the essential freedoms of democracy, the freedom of the press.

There is another challenge, a challenge of building tolerance, for tolerance, too, lies at the heart of any democracy. Few nations on earth can rival Russia's vast human and natural resources, or her diversity. Within your borders



live more than 100 different ethnic groups. Scores of literary, cultural and artistic traditions thrive among your people. And in the last few years, millions have returned to their faiths, seeking refuge in their stability and finding hope in their teachings. These are vital signs of democracy taking root.

Given your nations great diversity, it would have been easy along this path to surrender to the cries of extremists, who in the name of patriotism have tried to rally support by stirring up fear among different peoples. But you have embraced, instead, the cause of tolerance. The vast majority of Russians have rejected those poisonous arguments and bolster your young, fragile democracy.

When Americans and others in the West look back on the events of the last four years, we are struck by the remarkably peaceful nature of your revolutionary transition, your accomplishment to go through a massive social and political upheaval, and the breakup of an empire with so little brutality and bloodshed has few precedents in history. Your restraint was a critical factor in paving the way for Russia to take its place in the global community, a modern state at peace with itself and its neighbors.

Now it is against this backdrop, this great achievement, that we Americans have viewed the tragedy in Chechnya. As I told President Yeltsin earlier today, this terrible tragedy must be brought to a rapid and peaceful conclusion. Continued fighting in that region can only spill more blood and further erode support for Russia among her neighbors around the world.

Holding free elections, ensuring a free and independent press, promoting tolerance of diversity -- these are some of the difficult tasks of building a democracy. They are all important.

But these efforts also depend upon your economic reforms. Your efforts on the political front will benefit from efforts on the economic front that generate prosperity and give people a greater stake in a democratic future.

To too many people in this country, I know that economic reform has come to mean hardship, uncertainty, crime and corruption. Profitable enterprises, once owned by the state, have been moved into private hands, sometimes under allegedly questionable circumstances. The demands of extortionists have stopped some would-be entrepreneurs from even going into business. And when the heavy hand of totalitarianism was lifted from your society, many structures necessary for a free market to

take shape were not there and organized crime was able to move into the vacuum.

These are real and urgent concerns. They demand a all- out battle to create a market based on law, not lawlessness; a market that rewards merit, not malice. Economic reform must not be an excuse for the privilege and the strong to prey upon the weak.

To help your government break the power of those criminals, our Federal Bureau of Investigation has opened an office here in Moscow. And we are cooperating with your government's attempts to strengthen the integrity of your markets.

Pressures in the market economy are also leaving some people behind, people whose needs are not being met and who are not able to compete and win, while some of the richest are said to pay no taxes at all. Those Russians who lose their jobs or who live in poverty deserve an economic and social safety net that is strong enough to break their fall and keep them going until they can get back on their feet.

Finally, market economies require discipline. Cutting inflation helps families struggling to become members of the new Russian middle class so they need not fear the future. Continuing your country's recent record of more realistic budgets is vital to achieving long-term economic stability.

I say this from experience. From the beginning of my administration I have pursued these goals, because even though they require some sacrifice in the short-term, they promise lasting economic growth that will benefit all of our people and yours as well. The transition to a more honest and open market economy requires time. New problems will appear as your economy gains ground.

But in the midst of the pain, I would urge you also to see the promise. Countries that were in economic ruin at the end of World War II, today rank among the world's most dynamic nations because they have made a market economy and democracy work.

Finally, Russia's success at political and economic reform at home requires an approach to the world that reinforces your progress and enhances your security. Russia and the United States must work together in this regard. We must work for our common security.

More than anything else, that is what my meeting with President Yeltsin today was all about, and we made progress in many areas. I would like to report them to you. First, Russia agreed to implement its Partnership for Peace with NATO. And I

agreed now to press NATO to begin talks on a special relationship with Russia.

The United States has made it clear that we favor a strong continuing NATO that any admission of new members be based on the principles we have articulated, along with our partners. It must be gradual and deliberate and open, and consistent with the security interests of all of our partners for peace, including Russia.

My goal since I became President has been to use the fact that the Cold War is over to unify Europe for the first time in its history, and that is what we must all be working for. President Yeltsin's decision to join the Partnership for Peace will support that move toward security and unity.

Second, the United States strongly believes that there should be no future nuclear cooperation with Iran. We believe that is in Russia's interest. Today, President Yeltsin said that Russia would not sell enrichment technology or training to Iran because that could clearly be used to develop a nuclear capacity. And that should be more important to you than to us because you are closer to Iran than we are.

I gave President Yeltsin some intelligence that the United States government has that we believe supports the proposition that no nuclear cooperation in the future, not even the light water reactors, should proceed. And the two of us agreed to ask the special commission headed by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and Vice President Gore to look into this matter further.

On the outstanding issues of arm sales to Iran, we reached agreement with Russia which will now permit Russia, your country, to be one of the founding members of the so-called post-COCOM regime, an agreement among nations to limit the sales of all dangerous weapons around the world in ways that will increase your security and ours.

Next, we agreed to immediately work to see if we could get our respective parliamentary bodies to ratify the START II Treaty this year so that we could continue to reduce our nuclear arsenals; and after START II is ratified, to consider further reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the United States and Russia to make your future safer. We also agreed to a statement of principles on one of the most difficult issues in our security relationship -- how we define so-called theatre missile defenses in the context of our Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty designed, again, to make us both safer.

Next, we agreed to begin visits to our biological weapons installations this August as a part of our continued commitment to reduce the threat of biological and chemical weapons proliferation throughout the world. And if you consider what recently happened -- the terrible incident in the subway in Japan -- our future security and your future security is threatened not only by nuclear weapons, but by the potential of biological and chemical weapons falling into the wrong hands as well.

And finally, in the wake of all those incidents, the problems in Russia with organized crime and the awful tragedy that we had in our country in Oklahoma City, the United States and Russia agreed that we must work much harder in sharing information, sharing technology, sharing research in the areas of combatting terrorism and organized crime.

This meeting was a success because every one of those decisions will give you and your counterparts in the United States a safer future, and we need to do more of this kind of work together.

As we close the door on this 20th century, the bloodiest century in the history of the world, I am convinced that the next century and your most productive years will be the most exciting time -- the time most full of possibility in all history. The global economy, the explosion of information, the incredible advances in technology, the ability of people to move rapidly across large spaces -- all of these trends are bringing us into a more integrated world. But we must all realize that these forces of integration have a dark underside.

In the 21st century, we will face new and different security threats. In the 21st century, I predict to you, there will be no world war to write about between nations fighting over territory. I predict to you that there will not be a new great colossus killing tens of millions of its own citizens to maintain control.

I believe the battles of the 21st century will be against the organized forces of destruction that can cross national lines or threaten us from within our borders. We see these forces in the bombing of the World Trade Center, in the terrible tragedy in Oklahoma City, in the United States. We see it in the bombings on the streets in Israel, designed to kill the peace process in the Middle East. We see it in that terrible gas attack in the Tokyo subway. We see it in the problems that you and so many other nations have with organized crime.

The more open and flexible our societies are, the more our people are able to move freely without restraint, the greater we

are exposed to those kinds of threats. And so we must become more and more vigilant. We must work together to defeat these new security threats, for in this new century, the world wants and needs strong democratic countries where people are truly free and secure. And this world needs a strong and democratic Russia to help meet these challenges.

It is in that context that I have pledged to President Yeltsin, we will continue to work on all the issues between us. And it is in that context that I urged the President to have no future nuclear cooperation with Iran.

Think about the future that we have together. We have already witnessed what Russia can do on the world's stage when it is completely engaged and committed to democracy. From the Near East to as far away as El Salvador, America and the world have been made more secure by Russian leadership and cooperation. As Russia takes her rightful place, we believe that the trends toward democracy and economic freedom and tolerance must and will continue.

Yesterday, your nation looked back at 50 years and paid homage to the heroes of World War II. Today, let us look ahead 50 years to the next century when your children and your grandchildren will recall those who stood against the coups, who voted in free elections, who claimed their basic human rights and liberties, which had been so long denied; those who made Russia a full partner in the global march toward freedom and prosperity and security. They will look back and they will be grateful.

I know there are some in this country who do not favor this course. And believe me, there are some people in my country who do not believe that you will follow this course. They predict that, instead, you will repeat the patterns of the past. Well, of course the outcome is not assured -- nothing in human affairs is certain. But I believe those negative voices are mistaken.

All sensible people understand the enormous challenges you face, but if there is one constant element in your history, it is the strength and resilience of the Russian people. You have survived in this century devastating losses and two world wars that would have broken weaker spirits. You succeeded in bringing an end to a communist system and to a Cold War that had dominated human affairs for decades. You have ushered in a new era of freedom. And you can go the rest of the way.

In the future, your progress may well be measured not by glorious victories but by gradual improvements. And therefore, in your efforts, you will need time and patience, two virtues that Leo Tolstoy called the strongest of all warriors.

You must know in this endeavor that you will not be alone, for Russians and Americans share this bond. We both must learn from our past and we both must find the courage to change to make the future that our children deserve.

For the sake of your generation and generations to come, I believe we will all rise to the challenge.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

6:40 P.M. (L)

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CITIZENS OF WARSAW

Gratias admodum
high society + service
off.

July 10, 1997

Castle Square
Warsaw, Poland

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Mr. President, Mr. Mayor, Major Kuklelka, Lt. Blazeusz, to the people of Warsaw and the people of **Poland**. I am proud to speak to you and to welcome you, along with the people of Hungary and the Czech Republic, as the next members of NATO and the next allies of the United States of America. (Applause.)

If my interpreter will forgive me, I want to depart from the text to say that our American delegation are all proud to be here. (Applause.) But there are two here for whom this day has special meaning, and I would like to ask them to stand. The first is our Secretary of State, who was born in the Czech Republic and driven out by the troubles that so grieved the Poles in the last 50 years -- Madeleine Albright. (Applause.) The second is one of the most distinguished members of the United States Congress, both of her grandfathers were Polish immigrants -- Senator Barbara Mikulski, from Maryland. (Applause.)

We gather to celebrate this moment of promises kept and of promise redeemed. (Applause.) Here, in the twilight of the 20th century, we set our sights on a new century, a century in which finally we fulfill **Poland's** destiny as a free nation at the heart of a free Europe, a new Europe undivided, democratic and at peace. (Applause.)

11/07/97 15:39:24

pledge: Nothing about you without you. Nic o was bez was.
(Applause.) Now, **Poland** is joining NATO. **Poland** is taking its place in the community of democracies. Never again will your fate be decided by others. Never again will the birthright of freedom be denied you. **Poland** is coming home. (Applause.)

Freedom burned brightly in **Poland** 200 years ago. Then you gave Europe its first written constitution and the world's second written constitution after America's own. That solemn pact gave strength and hope to your ancestors, even as **Poland** fell victim again and again to tyranny. But this week, its words and those who revered them speak to us across the centuries. "We do solemnly establish this constitution, willing to profit by the present circumstances of Europe and by the favorable moment which has restored us to ourselves." People of **Poland**, this favorable moment has restored you to yourselves. (Applause.)

It is a moment that you have made. Just as freedom was born here 200 years ago, it was reborn here eight years ago, when you changed the course of history. And now, together we have restored **Poland** to Europe and to the destiny you deserve. From this day forward, what **Poland** builds in peace, **Poland** will keep in security. (Applause.)

To the citizens of my own country I say, this land where I speak has known the worst wars of the 20th century. By expanding NATO we will help to prevent another war involving **Poland**, another war in Europe, another war that also claims the lives of Americans. (Applause.)

We come to this moment grateful for its blessings, but conscious of the grave responsibility it carries. Through the power of its example and the example of its power, our NATO Alliance has kept Western Europe, Canada and the United States secure for nearly half a century. Not once has a NATO member been attacked. Not once has NATO ever lashed out in aggression.

Now we must adapt our Alliance to a new time. Our common enemy of communist oppression has vanished, but common dangers have not. Too many people still fear change because they have not yet felt its benefits. They remain vulnerable to the poisoned appeal of extreme nationalism, to ethnic, racial and religious hatreds. Rogue states seek to undermine the community of democracies. Terrorists, international criminals, drug traffickers show no regard for borders. These are our common dangers and we must defeat them together. (Applause.)

NATO is doing its part -- taking in new members, taking on new missions, working with new partners. Like **Poland**, we have reached out to Ukraine to help forge stability in Europe, and we are working with a new Russia as our partner in building a Europe in which every nation is free and every free nation joins in securing peace and stability for all. (Applause.)

Now, as your President has said, you must continue to do your part. **Poland**, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will now become full members of our Alliance, with the full responsibilities of membership -- the responsibility to nurture and strengthen and defend your democracies, because, as we in America know, after more than 200 years the struggle for democracy is never over, it must be fought every day. (Applause.)

The responsibility to continue the remarkable transformation of your economies, because, having known poverty, you know the true value of the prosperity you have only begun to achieve. The responsibility to reach out to all your neighbors, to the East as well as the West, including the people of Russia. You must continue to build in tolerance what others destroyed in hate.

The responsibility to meet NATO's high military standards and to help to bear its cost, because true security requires strength and readiness. We know you are ready to share the burdens of defending freedom because you know the price of losing freedom. (Applause.)

Other nations are counting on you to show the contributions new members can make. You did not walk through NATO's door to see it shut behind you. That door will stay open. (Applause.)

Eight years ago you led the way to freedom. Now, we ask you to be pathfinders again. (Applause.) People of Warsaw, people of **Poland**, the American people know from the hard lessons of this century that your fate and our future are joined. (Applause.) After World War I, America turned away from the world and freedom's flickering torch was engulfed by Europe's darkened night. After World War II, we and our allies continued to hold liberty's beacon high -- but it could only light half the continent.

Now, we come here to celebrate history's most precious gift -- a second chance. A second chance to redeem the sacrifice of those who fought for our liberty from the beaches of Normandy to the streets of Warsaw. (Applause.) A second chance finally to unite Europe not by the force of arms, but by the power of peace. (Applause.)

One week ago was the 4th of July, America's Independence Day. More than 200 years ago, you sent your sons to help to secure our future. America has never forgotten. Now, together we will work to secure the future of an undivided Europe for your freedom and ours. (Applause.)

That is the promise that brings us together today. That is the promise that will keep us together in a new Europe for a new century. (Applause.) That is our promise to all the young people here today and to generations yet to come: Security, for 100 years. Sto lat. (Applause.) Democracy for 100 years. Freedom for 100 years.

God bless America and God bless **Poland**. Thank you.

END

6:53 P.M. (L)



To comment on this service: feedback@www.whitehouse.gov

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Bucharest, Romania)

For Immediate Release

July 11, 1997

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT CONSTANTINESCU
TO CITIZENS OF ROMANIA

Piata Universitatii
Bucharest, Romania

5:25 P.M. (L)

PRESIDENT CONSTANTINESCU: President Clinton, dear guests, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends. We are here together in a place which is a symbol of freedom, a place in which people have died for their freedom. In the square where we are right now, thousands of people, with open hearts and bare hands, confronted in December 1989 the tanks and bullets in the name of values for which many of their parents and grandparents have died in front of the execution squads, in the communist prisons and concentration camps, or in the loneliness of the exile.

We are here together in a place which is a symbol of democracy. The hunger strikers spent weeks on end on this piece of land with grass on my right. And also, weeks on end many people have spoken from this balcony of the university, the great personalities of Romanian culture and science, peasants, workers and especially a lot of people -- many young people, students and pupils. Here it was that we discovered the supreme form of freedom, human solidarity.

We are here together in a place which is a symbol of faith. The young people have been shouting here, God is on our side. And it was still to this place that we returned in November 1996 after the victory of democracy in Romania when we came here to thank God for having supported us.

We welcome the American President Bill Clinton here between these two buildings, symbols of Romanian culture, the University of Bucharest and the National Theater. (Applause.)

Mr. President, we have laid this bridge built by human beings across an ocean which God has set between you and us. It is the bridge of common values in which we believe and that we are turning into institutions. Here, together with us, we see the shadows of all of those Romanians who died refusing to believe the lies. The shadows, the ghosts of those who, for 40 years running, during the communist regime, continued believing only in truth, in dignity and the human rights.

Their faith has been victorious. And the fact that here, now, we have together with us the first American President that visits a democratic Romania is one more proof that our country, reborn by sacrifice, now has strong and truthful friends. (Applause.)

For many people, the United States are, first of all, a model of economic success, a shop window of market economy, of efficiency, prosperity and military strength. This is a real, but not a complete image, because at the same time, the United States of America is also the permanent symbol of the struggle for freedom and democracy all over the world. (Applause.)

During two world wars, and later on, in Korea, Vietnam or the Persian Gulf, the American young people fought and died for the freedom of peoples of nations that lived thousands of miles away from the place in which they have been born. Their parents, the American taxpayers, had to bear the costs of this huge military operation.

Dear Mr. President, several weeks ago we participated together at the ceremonies in The Hague, on the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Marshall Plan, a symbol of European rebirth, with the essential support of an America that has never forgotten the continent where most of its citizens had been born.

The map of the world is no longer now divided in continents separated by water, by oceans, but it is rather drawn in the conditions in which people from different spaces, different countries, believe in the same values.

Thomas Jefferson, one of the founding fathers of the American Revolution said that, "to rebel against tyranny means to listen to the wish of God." But present a Romania that has shed its blood in order to break away from communism wants to build together with the United States of America a solid partnership

exactly starting from these common values: freedom, prosperity, initiative, tolerance.

In the history of the world, there used to be people specializing in the strategy of war. And the American people has had a lot of such personalities. But in a world that is channeling its priorities toward cooperation and coexistence, we can truly say that President Clinton is a great specialist in the strategy of peace.

President Clinton thought about opening the North Atlantic Alliance to the new European democracies, turning this initiative into the central point of his foreign policy. President Clinton is aware of the fact that Romania has made a final and definitive choice for democracy, market economy and freedom. And that is why he has come to Bucharest to bring you this message personally. (Applause.)

In Madrid, the North Atlantic Alliance has declared Romania as a privileged partner for the second wave of its expansion, provided the economic and political reforms should continue. And we know that these reforms are not going to stop because we have designed and desired them, first of all, for ourselves and for our own sake. (Applause.)

We are not going to stop because the vast majority of Romanian people wants to live in a stable and prosperous country. We are not going to stop because we are confident in our own forces once more. We are not going to stop because we cannot go on side tracks of history, waiting for the train of history to pass beside us. (Applause.)

During the last seven months, Romania has acquired a new image in the world -- the real image of a new reality. And this is first of all thanks to the Romanians. That is why, allow me to thank you once more, dear compatriots, for the effort that you are making every day for the manner in which you have understood that in order to live better, you have to make sacrifices, and that it has come the time to replace the time of words with the time of deeds.

I am now addressing you, the people in this square, but also the people in the other cities and towns of Romania, the people in the most remote corners of the country, in the smallest villages as well, those who watch us or listen to us, but also to those who are working or who are suffering; to those who live in Romania and also to those who live abroad in all of the corners of the world; to tell you that it was only due to you, thanks to you that we have been able to represent the cause of Romania with so much dignity in the world. (Applause.)

I bow before you and I thank you. (Applause.) Thanks to you, we have the President of the United States of America our guest today. You, every one of you, are, in fact, his hosts. You are welcoming the President with the ancient and warm Romanian hospitality.

Mr. President, dear friends, to be free means, first of all, to be responsible to your own destiny. These are the words of Mircha Eliade (phonetic), one of the Romanians who decided to make the United States of America the land of their fulfillment. At present, Romania is free, fully responsible to its own destiny.

Romania has at present splendid relations with all its neighbors, and the Romanians have a good understanding with all the other citizens. That is why Romania is at present a pillar of stability in an area still troubled by conflicts, misunderstanding, hatreds and wars.

Dear Mr. President, relying on our thousands of years long history, let me assure you that America will be able to rely on the Romanian wisdom, equilibrium and common sense whenever this will turn out to be necessary. (Applause.)

In a world of interdependencies, you cannot do anything by yourself. There is only one way: Together, toward the Third Millennium. Let's do it together. (Applause.) We can only be successful together. (Applause.)

* * * * *

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Thank you. Mr. President, thank you for your wonderful welcome. (Applause.) And to the young student who just spoke, Simina Munteanu, if she is a representative of the youth of Romania, the future of this nation is in good hands. (Applause.)

I am proud to be the first American President to visit a free Romania. (Applause.) I am proud to stand in University Square, where so many have sacrificed for freedom. (Applause.) Most of all, I am proud to see in this vast crowd the face of a new Romania, moving beyond the past to build a bright future of possibility for all your people. Congratulations. (Applause.)

America knows that Romania's destiny lies in an undivided, democratic, peaceful Europe, where every nation is free, and every free nation is the partner of the United States. To all the people of Romania who love freedom so dearly: I come to Romania because of all you have already done. I come because I

know what you still can do. I come because of all that we must do together to achieve your destiny in the family of freedom. (Applause.)

No people -- no people have suffered more under communist repression, no people paid a higher price for the simple right to live in freedom. No people faced greater challenges in the struggle to start anew. But though your path has been steep and hard, you are going forward. And for that, we salute you. (Applause.)

In America -- in America, we have seen your spirit, your endurance, your determination symbolized by the feat of one young Romanian athlete. At the end of the New York marathon last fall, a runner named Anuta Catuna came from behind to close the lead and earn her way to victory in one of America's most prized races. Like her, Romania has set its sights on the long run. And like her, the Romania people have won the world's respect for moving so far, so fast, and for believing in yourselves and your future.

Like her marathon race, the marathon of freedom is not a sprint; it takes steady and persistent commitment to stay the course. After more than 200 years, America now knows the journey of democracy is never over. It must be traveled every single day.

But what progress you have made. You have launched bold economic reforms to give your people the chance to make the most of their own lives. In the short term I know there are costs to this market reform, but in the long term the rewards are far greater, in better jobs, new opportunities, more trade and investment from around the world for your people. And in recent years, we have learned from other nations' experience that those who reform the fastest make the most progress for their people. Romania has been making up for lost time and the whole world is taking notice.

You have turned old grievances to new friendships, within your borders and beyond. You have forged landmark treaties with Hungary and Ukraine. You have brought ethnic Hungarians into democratic government for the first time. You are giving minorities a greater stake in your common future. Together you are doing something that people all over the world must do -- you are reaching across the lines that divide you to build one Romania. And for that, I salute you. (Applause.)

You have shown the way of responsible leadership here in your own region. In Bosnia, it was Romanian engineers who repaired the first train crossing the Sava River so that critical

aid could reach the Bosnian people after years of deprivation. In Albania, Romania's peacekeeping battalion has played a key role in promoting stability and securing free elections. Your nation, at its own initiative and its own expense, has helped your faltering neighbors get their feet back on the ground, and for that the world salutes you. (Applause.)

Of course, there is more work to do. I come here today that America will do that work with you.

The values that govern Romania today -- liberty, openness, tolerance, free markets -- these are values shared by the community of democracies Romania is joining. The community includes security cooperation through the Partnership for Peace. It includes strong ties of trade and investment. It includes institutions like the European Union. And, of course, it includes NATO. (Applause.)

I welcome Romania's deep desire to contribute even more fully to Europe's security and strength. I welcome your desire to join NATO. (Applause.) I want that, too -- for Europe, for America and for you. And I say to you today: Stay the course, and Romania will cross that milestone.

To all who nations who embrace democracy and reform and wish to share the responsibilities of membership, I reaffirm from this Plaza of Freedom: The door to NATO is open. It will stay open. And we will help you to walk through it. (Applause.)

NATO has committed to review aspiring members in 1999 -- Romania is one of the strongest candidates. And if you stay the course and manifest the love of liberty we all see here today, there can be no stronger candidate. Stay the course. Stay the course. The future is yours. (Applause.)

In the meantime, your President and I have agreed to establish a strategic partnership between our nations, a partnership important to America, because Romania is important to America -- important in your own right, important as a model in this difficult part of the world. Romania can show the people of this region and, indeed, people throughout the world that there is a better way than fighting and division and repression. It is cooperation and freedom and peace. (Applause.)

President Constantinescu, citizens of Romania: My visit has been brief, but our friendship will endure the test of time. As long as you proceed down democracy's long road, America will be by your side.

The great Romanian born Ionescu once said, "There has always been at every living moment of culture a will to renewal." Here in Bucharest, I see that will to renewal all around. I am reminded of the words of your hymn, once forbidden but never forgotten -- "Wake up, Romanian." (Applause.)

You have shown the world, and you have shown me here today, that Romania has awakened -- awakened to freedom; awakened to security; awakened to your destiny. And because of you, the world has awakened to Romania. (Applause.) May the light of your freedom shine forever. And may God bless the Romanian people and the future of our two peoples together.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

6:12 P.M. (L)

As of November 3, 1997 (3:14pm)

Lib. 21 Am.

DRAFT SCHEDULE
FOR THE FIRST LADY'S TRIP TO
KAZAKHSTAN, KYRGYZSTAN, UZBEKISTAN,
UKRAINE, AND RUSSIA

Sunday, November 9, 1997

8pm **WHEELS UP** Andrews AFB
[flight time: 6 hours 5 minutes +5 hours]

RON Aircraft

Monday, November 10, 1997

7:05am **WHEELS DOWN** Shannon, Ireland

7:10am-
8:30am REFUEL

8:35am **WHEELS UP** Shannon, Ireland
[flight time: 7 hours 45 minutes +6]

10:20pm **WHEELS DOWN** Almaty, Kazakhstan

RON Ankara Hotel
Almaty, Kazakhstan

Tuesday, November 11, 1997

Arrival

PREV RON Ankara Hotel
Almaty, Kazakhstan

12pm-
12:45pm Ribbon Cutting at Almaty Women's Wellness Center *under
Theresa's effort*

1:15pm-
1:45pm Courtesy Call on President Nazarbayev

2:15pm-
2:45pm Visit to the Kazakhstan State Museum

3:15pm	Roundtable Discussion w/ Kazakhstan Youth Leaders	<i>Parus</i>
4:30pm	Public School No. 55	<i>44 people learning English skills</i>
5:00pm-	Down Time - Possible OTR	<i> civic education</i>
7:15pm	Ankara Hotel	<i>US15 \$</i>
7:15pm-	American Community Event	<i>Column</i>
8:00pm	Ankara Hotel	
8:00pm-	Government of Kazakhstan-hosted reception	
9:00pm	Ankara Hotel	
RON	Ankara Hotel	
	Almaty, Kazakhstan	

Wednesday, November 12, 1997

PREV RON	Ankara Hotel	
	Almaty, Kazakhstan	
9:00am-	Keynote Address at Central Asian Conference on Women in Politics	<i>Parus</i>
10:00am	Academy of Sciences Building	<i>Dem. bldg.</i>
10:00am-	Meet and Greet w/ Prominent Women	<i>and society</i>
10:30am	Academy of Sciences Building	
11:00am	WHEELS UP Almaty, Kazakhstan	<i>Dep't</i>
	[flight time: 45 minutes -1 hour]	
10:45am	WHEELS DOWN Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan	<i>Arrival + mid street</i>
11:00am-	Arrival Statement on U.S. Assistance Package	
11:15am	Airport	<i>Please to</i>
11:45am-	Roundtable Discussion w/ FINCA members	
12:45pm	<i>2 1/2 hrs. of govt. to buy goods + sell in market</i>	
12:45pm-	Tour of Market w/ FINCA members	
1:05pm		
1:35pm-	Courtesy Call on President Akayev	
2:00pm	Beli Dom	

2:00pm- 3:00pm	Lunch hosted by President Akayev	
3:15pm- 4:15pm	Ribbon Cutting at Kyrgyz-American University	<i>Parade - Kyrg. student VVO cut ribbon 1993 40 students - no 4700</i>
4:30pm- 5:00pm	American Community Event Airport	<i>Departure</i>
5pm	WHEELS UP Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan [flight time: 1 hour 20 minutes - 1 hour]	
5:20pm	WHEELS DOWN Tashkent, Uzbekistan	
6:00pm- 7:15pm	Down Time Intercontinental Hotel	<i>Arrival</i>
7:30pm- 8:00pm	Courtesy Call on President Karimov	
8pm- 9pm	Government of Uzbekistan-hosted Reception	
RON	Intercontinental Hotel Tashkent, Uzbekistan	

Thursday, November 13, 1997

PREV RON	Intercontinental Hotel Tashkent, Uzbekistan	
9:15am- 9:45am	American Community Event Intercontinental Hotel	<i>Friday</i>
10am- 10:30am	Tour of Women's Wellness Center	
10:30am- 11:15am	Opening of Women's Wellness Center @ Tashkent Medical Institute	<i>1st student - what means to be here Parade U. Tillmans</i>
11:30am- 12:45pm	Women's Roundtable Discussion Ambassador's Residence	

1:15pm

WHEELS UP Tashkent, Uzbekistan via C-130
[flight time: 35 minutes]

1:50pm

WHEELS DOWN Bukhara, Uzbekistan

2:15pm-

-Tour the Kalyan ensemble (12th century mosque and minaret; also one of only two Islamic religious schools allowed to operate during the Soviet Union)

4:00pm

-Tour the Ulug Bek/Abdulaziz madrasas (muslim centers of learning)

-Tour the Lyabi-khauz (square bordered by 16th and 17th century architecture)

4:00pm-

Remarks on Cultural Diversity

4:30pm

Site TBD

remains

Neutral ground

oldest Jewish community outside

M. 11th East

Russian + Slavs

Muslim influence

4:30pm-

Visit the Tomb of the Samanids (10th century)

4:45pm

4:45pm-

Tour the Ark (Emir's castle and fort) and Museum

6:00pm

*but tolerance
cultural diversity*

RON

Hotel Bukhoro
Bukhara, Uzbekistan

Friday, November 14, 1997

PREV RON

Hotel Bukhoro
Bukhara, Uzbekistan

9:00am-

Tour Emir's Summer Palace

9:30am

10:30am

WHEELS UP Bukhara, Uzbekistan via C-130
[flight time: 25 minutes]

10:55am

WHEELS DOWN Samarkand, Uzbekistan

11:30am-

Tour of Tomb of Amir Timur

12:15pm

AID went here → routes

12:25pm- 1pm	Tour of Registan Square	
1:15pm- 2:00pm	Visit to USAID Artisan's Development Center	<i>So crafts people w/ NGO of crafts Aid to artisans</i>
2:15pm- 2:35pm	Tour of Bibi Khanym Mosque	
2:45pm- 3:30pm	Tour of Shah-I-Zindi Mausoleums	
3:40pm- 4:00pm	Tour of Uleg Bek's Observatory	
4:45pm	WHEELS UP Samarkand, Uzbekistan via C-130 [flight time: 35 minutes]	<i>Armen community event</i>
5:20pm	WHEELS DOWN Tashkent, Uzbekistan	
RON	Intercontinental Hotel Tashkent, Uzbekistan	

Saturday, November 15, 1997

PREV RON	Intercontinental Hotel Tashkent, Uzbekistan	<i>Dept</i>
8:00am	WHEELS UP Tashkent, Uzbekistan [flight time: 2 hours 45 minutes]	
10:45am	WHEELS DOWN Yekaterinburg, Russia	<i>Arr.</i>
11:30am- 12:15pm	Tour of the Bonum Center	
12:45pm- 2:00pm	NGO Town Hall Meeting hosted by the Urals Women's Association Urals Polytechnical University	
2:15pm- 2:45pm	Opening of USIA-sponsored traveling exhibit Fine Arts Museum	<i>Armen</i>

2:45pm- American Community Event
3:15pm Fine Arts Museum

3:45pm- Down Time
4:45pm

5:00pm- Reception hosted by Governor Eduard Rossel
6:00pm

6:15pm- Opening Night Performance of Symphony
8:15pm Philharmonic Hall

8:30pm Private Dinner w/ Mrs. Yeltsin
Maliy Isok Dacha

RON Maliy Isok Dacha
Yekaterinburg, Russia

Novosibirsk - gateway

Anna (Hulbert)

Sunday, November 16, 1997

RON Maliy Isok Dacha
Yekaterinburg, Russia

AID is a bad word

8:00am **WHEELS UP** from Yekaterinburg, Russia
[flight time: 2 hours + 1 hour]

11:00am **WHEELS DOWN** Novosibirsk, Russia

*Caterpillar plant
management trying to make*

12:00pm- Visit to Ethnography Museum
1:00pm

They are well on education. Freedom of religion

1:15pm- **Education** Remarks / Discussion at Akademgorodok *Per Ms*
2:15pm

+ Democracy

Siberian for center

3:15pm- Event TBD
4:45pm

*importance of ed.
Ed for what?
Challenges in free.
Power for what they're doing.
what democracy requires - importance of civil society*

5:00pm- Reception hosted by Governor Vitaliy Mukha
6:00pm

Never-ending obligation

6:15pm- American Community Event
6:35pm Airport

role of private business - esp.

*Need information - here + recip. pass
Everything you need to know is here.
But just routine*

misconceptions.

*Power - who would have thought?
what it takes to dev. Ed for what?
To do what? Challenges democracy faces?*

6:50pm **WHEELS UP** Novosibirsk, Russia
[flight time: 5 hours 40 minutes -4 hours]

7:40pm **WHEELS DOWN** Lviv, Ukraine

RON Dnister Hotel
Lviv, Ukraine

dept
Arr.

Monday, November 17, 1997

PREV RON Dnister Hotel
Lviv, Ukraine

Vasyl status - Ukrainian poet

11:15am- Tour / Brief Discussion at Lviv Oblast Clinical Hospital
12:30pm

12:45pm- Remarks on Jewish Heritage
1:15pm Site TBD

Poles suffered, too
Anti resentment - not just Jews. Can. research.
Lviv University - faculty on Jewish
heritage.

1:25pm- Moment of Remembrance at the Ghetto Monument
1:45pm

Shut rooms.
Persecution
Nazis -

2:00pm- Government of Ukraine-hosted lunch
3:15pm Site TBD

3:45pm- Tour of the Icon Restoration Institute
4:30pm

4:45pm- Tour of St. George's Cathedral
5:45pm

Small community.
Dnister
Communist era
Indeched als car
Yakov Bleich
N.T./O. Mohor
~~Persecution~~

6pm- American Community Event
6:30pm Dnister Hotel

RON Dnister Hotel
Lviv, Ukraine

Project →
Andy Baker -

Tuesday, November 18, 1997

PREV RON Dnister Hotel
Lviv, Ukraine

Column

Meeting for Int'l Relations in
Lviv - bridge for Jews
non-Jews
Austro-Hungary - tolerant
Ukraine →
Nat Conf on Soviet Jewish
→ D.C. Mark Levin 878-2500
NY Nat. better

10:00am-11:00am Speech Opera House *houses /* *Speed → Ukrainian Orthodox Church*
uh each split i. 2 → Heron/Kier
 11:15am-12:00pm Meet and Greet w/ Prominent Women Opera House
 12:45pm **WHEELS UP** Lviv, Ukraine
 [flight time: 1 hour 30 minutes -1 hours]
 1:15pm **WHEELS DOWN** Rhein Main, Germany
 1:15pm-2:45pm REFUEL
 2:45pm **WHEELS UP** Rhein Main, Germany
 [flight time: 9 hours 10 minutes -6 hours]
 5:55pm **WHEELS DOWN** Andrews, AFB *Rep Air*

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 1, 1996

REMARKS BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHORNOBYL TRAGEDY
THE WHITE HOUSE

Thank you and please be seated. And please know how welcome you are here at the White House for this special commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Chornobyl nuclear tragedy. I want to thank all of you for taking part. But there are a few people I would like to acknowledge who are here in the audience: Senator Claiborne Pell, Brian Atwood, Ambassador Jim Collins, John Holum, Richard Morningstar, others who have worked on behalf of the United States government to assist those who have dealt on the front lines with the tragedy. I also want to extend a special welcome to the Ambassadors who were just introduced to all of you. Ambassadors of Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. They have joined us today to recognize the many individuals and organizations who have helped with relief efforts in the aftermath of Chornobyl -- and they are here also to join with us in rededicating ourselves to the healing and recovery that must continue into the future.

Ambassador Shcherbak, we are particularly indebted to you. You were one of the first medical doctors to respond to the tragedy at Chornobyl. And in the years since, few have done as much as you, Mr. Ambassador, to educate people around the world about the medical and scientific realities of the Chornobyl disaster, and what they portend for humanity's future. I would like to ask Ambassador Shcherbak to stand, so that we may thank him.

Before the Vice President and I came into this room, we were in the Blue Room with the Ambassadors and the wives who are here, and the other dignitaries that I just acknowledged, and Ambassador Shcherbak reminded the Vice President and me that it was on May 1, ten years ago, that children were encouraged and even required to participate in May Day activities, despite the dangers of fallout and continuing damages from Chornobyl. And those who are in this room, who have worked on behalf of all of the people affected by Chornobyl, know what a terrible aftermath that has caused in the lives of so many children.

That is why it is a great privilege for me to serve as

honorary chair of Chornobyl Challenge '96, which has convened experts, advocates and lay people from across the spectrum to devise new strategies for coping with the aftermath of Chornobyl. Already there have been symposia of scientists, journalists, academics, church leaders, business people and others who are working on these matters. This evening, at St. John's Church, there will be a prayer service for the victims of Chornobyl. Each of these gatherings gives us an opportunity to reflect on what we all need to do as citizens of the world to help those still coping with this unfolding tragedy.

Today's event is one both of mourning, but also of hope. Mourning because the people of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia have suffered so much in the ten years since the explosion and fire at Chornobyl's Unit 4 Reactor. Today, let us pray for those who lost their lives, and those who live each day with uncertainty about their own health and well-being.

But we are also here for a celebration of hope. As we so often see when tragedies occur, here and around the world, Americans and others respond with concern and compassion. They, and you, the entire human family, have answered the worst of man-made catastrophes with the best of human nature.

Even before the gravity of Chornobyl was fully revealed, offers of humanitarian assistance began pouring in. And they have continued year after year.

The private voluntary organizations, including those represented in this room, have supplied well over 1,000 tons of medicine and medical equipment and supplies to people in affected areas. Those donations alone are worth more than \$100 million.

Private voluntary organizations have also established special hospitals for those people -- many of are children -- afflicted with thyroid cancers, leukemia, and other disorders stemming from exposure to radioactive elements. As part of the recovery effort, American doctors have gone to the former Soviet Union and patients have come to the United State for care.

Other organizations here today have focused on the disaster's environmental consequences. Some are helping address the overwhelming public health challenges faced in the region. And still others are helping to study and evaluate the long-term effects of the disaster. Through these and other activities the private volunteer community continues to focus the world's attention on the consequences and lessons of Chornobyl.

But these organizations cannot -- and should not -- do this work alone. I am pleased that the generosity of private volunteers has augmented humanitarian relief efforts by the United States government, particularly the delivery of medicines

and treatment.

Today, these efforts convey a message of compassion and healing that tells the victims of Chornobyl that the world will not forget them or the tragedy they have endured.

Two years ago, and again last year, I was in the former Soviet Union and I had the opportunity to visit hospitals in Ukraine, Belarus and Russia. I met with patients, many of them children, suffering from Chornobyl's aftermath. I talked with doctors and nurses who told me they were seeing increases in respiratory illness, heart disease, birth defects, male infertility and other reproductive problems. They told me about abnormally high rates of thyroid cancer and thyroid diseases in children -- diseases that before the catastrophe rarely appeared in people so young.

In Kiev, I talked to pregnant women who worried about what Chornobyl would mean for their children -- and their children's children.

And at each hospital I visited, I saw extraordinary work being done by health care professionals under extremely trying circumstances. Doctors and nurses face chronic shortages of medicine and supplies -- everything from syringes and simple antibiotics to chemotherapy medications and MRI machines.

Thanks to the contributions of our government and many organizations -- and to the partnerships that our hospitals have established with hospitals in these three countries -- lives are literally being saved every day.

Just in the brief time I was in Minsk, I saw American doctors from Children's Hospital of Pittsburgh sharing new treatment techniques with their counterparts in Belarus.

I watched soldiers deliver large boxes of blankets, syringes, bandages, and medicine provided through Operation Provide Hope, a program run by the United States military that sends surplus medical supplies and equipment to the former Soviet Union. I was able to pass out crayons and coloring books donated by American companies, and even Boston Celtics caps that the team had sent.

Of course, this was just a fraction of the American relief work going on. And a fraction of the work that remains to be done by all of us.

As we celebrate, today, the many good and important deeds that were born of this tragedy, let's not forget that humanitarian assistance is not a short-term investment. The people and nations of Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia are struggling

to build the infrastructure and institutions needed to sustain democracy and repair the human spirit after harsh decades of totalitarianism. It is our duty, it is our moral responsibility, as believers in freedom and democracy -- to help them.

Chornobyl is rare in the litany of global tragedies. Unlike bombings, wars, earthquakes, other natural and man-made disasters, we may never fully know the extent of damage done by the explosion and fire at Chornobyl ten years ago.

Some of the more obvious after-effects are well-documented. But what about the ultimate impact on the environment? On the food chain? On human genetics? And what about our own capacity to recognize that a tragedy like Chornobyl affects not just the people of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia, but people in every nation of the world?

The history of the people in the region of Chornobyl is a history of endurance. The nuclear disaster was a horrible chapter in that history. But from that crucible has emerged an opportunity to create something far better in its place. An opportunity to add another chapter that speaks to the resilience of the people of Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia, and to the caring and compassion of our entire global family.

We are very grateful for all of you in this room, and for the many, many others you represent. Who through your work, your prayers, and your continued commitment to this important effort have already made a difference, and will continue to do so.

There is certainly, much more that we need to be doing, and Chornobyl Challenge '96 I hope will identify those efforts. But we have three people here today, who have been deeply involved in assessing and evaluating, understanding, and working to ameliorate the consequences of Chornobyl. First we will hear from our Vice President, he will talk to us about the efforts and commitment of the Administration and the United States government. Next, we will here from Alex Kuzma, who as the coordinator of Chornobyl Challenge '96 will talk to us about the commitment of the American relief community. And finally we will hear from Vova Malofienko, a courageous 12 year old who will tell of his personal story about the treatment he has been receiving in this country for Chornobyl related illnesses.

And now, I have the honor of introducing a man whose attention to Chornobyl and its aftermath has never wavered, who in many respects tried to warn all of us about some of the issues we are now dealing with, because of his commitment to the environment and to the future that we all share together in this world -- the Vice President of the United States.

###

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
THE UKRANIAN NURSES ASSOCIATION
KIEV, UKRAINE
MAY 11, 1995

TALKING POINTS

[Acknowledgements: Lauren Arnold, Ph.D., R.N., Clinical Director of Obstetrical and Neonatal Nursing, University of Pennsylvania Medical Center; Dr. Jim Smith, Director of American International Health Alliance; nursing leadership of Ukraine; hospital administrator(s) (tbd)]

- Thank you so much for that warm welcome. I am so pleased I could join you today on this wonderful occasion. This initial meeting is a vital new advancement of the long and successful cooperation among nurses, not only in Ukraine, but throughout the world.
- Nurses everywhere, in Ukraine, in the United States, are a critical part of health services.
- Nurses provide the closest care to patients. They attend directly to their needs and hear their concerns. That is why nurses must be given the best possible training and resources -- as well as respect -- for the demanding and important job they do.
- I applaud you for making the effort to come together to share the ideas, insights, and innovations of your profession. This free exchange will not only strengthen nursing, but also ensure that your patients receive the best possible care.

###

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
BRUNCH WITH PROMINENT POLISH WOMEN
WARSAW, POLAND
JULY 7, 1994**

DRAFT

[Acknowledgements: Mrs. Rey, hostess; Mrs. Walensa; Mrs. Olechowska [o-la-HOVE-ska]

It's a privilege for me to be with you in this magnificent Palace, so rich with Polish history, and filled today with the sounds of Mr. Paleczny's [Pah-LETCH-ny] piano.

Wanda Landowska [vanda lahn-DOV-ska] the late Polish harpsichordist and composer, once said that "the most beautiful thing in the world is, precisely, the conjunction of learning and inspiration." That is certainly my experience today being here with this extraordinary group of women. I know I will leave Poland with much greater knowledge and appreciation of this nation and its people; and with added inspiration about the potential of women everywhere to contribute to the betterment of society.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF LEADING POLISH WOMEN

No matter what country we live in, women share fundamental hopes and concerns: family, work, community. But here in Poland, you have faced challenges far greater than women in many other parts of the world. Even in the face of great social dislocation, Polish women have always managed to inject a sense of compassion and humanity into the world around them.

Whether it is having the courage to stand up for a particular economic policy [Mrs. Suchoka [Su-HOT-ska], or having the courage to write a book about Jewish Ghetto survivors [Mrs. Niezabitowska [nyay-za-bit-TOV-ska], or charting a nation's civil rights policies [Mrs. Letowska [went-TOV-ska], or building a business [Mrs. Piontek [pee-ON-tek], or working on AIDS issues [Mrs. Kuratowska [koo-rah-TOV-ska], or serving in government, in academe, the arts, or the media, or founding a program for handicapped children, as Mrs. Walensa has so admirably done, Polish women are at the forefront of progress and change.

And that is equally true of leading Polish-American women in the United States. As you know, Sen. Barbara Mikulski is a pioneer in the U.S. Senate -- one of only seven women in the Senate. She has been a courageous voice for women, children, and families. Now she is playing a critical role as we work toward

health care reform.

THE COMMON CHALLENGES OF AMERICAN AND POLISH WOMEN

It's no coincidence that the more women are involved in public life, the more we see programs geared toward improving health, nutrition, education, children, families, and community. That's because women tend to be the primary caregivers in every almost society. And women often have to juggle the responsibilities of caring for small children and aging parents along with the responsibilities of demanding professions.

On both sides of the Atlantic, women must continue the struggle to preserve family, to stem the alienation of young people, and to repair the fraying social fabric.

We should not view this as a burden, but an opportunity. Because of our special role in society -- as caregivers, and often as professionals as well -- we have a unique perspective on the world around us. And we have a unique capacity to enrich our nations culturally, intellectually, economically, politically, socially -- and morally.

The vast contributions that women in this room have made in the array of professions you represent is an inspiration to me and to women everywhere who share your hopes and your goals.

###