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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
(Laura) [Binder] [3]

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or
financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President
and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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Divider Title: L

**Remarks by Vice President Al Gore
10th Anniversary of Chornobyl Memorial
The White House
May 1, 1996**

Let me begin by thanking you, Mrs. Clinton, for that nice introduction and for your moving words. All of us are in your debt for the hard work you do to ease the pain and lift the lives of so many people around the world. Your deep concern for the future of the peoples of Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and other nations who were affected by the tragedy of Chornobyl has touched the hearts of all of us here today.

Ten springs ago, when reactor #4 of the Chornobyl nuclear power plant disintegrated in a blast of steam, flaming graphite, and deadly radionuclides, the promise of a new season of renewal and hope gave way to a long, sad winter of unspeakable suffering that remains with us to this day.

From that moment on, life for all of us would never be the same.

Chornobyl caused the complete social disintegration of whole communities. It caused dangerous radiation exposure of over half a million courageous men and women involved in the clean-up and medical care of survivors. In all, well over 50 million curies of radioactivity were released during the accident. This is dozens the times of radiation emitted by the atomic explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki -- about one million times as much as the Three Mile

Island accident of 1979.

And its effects still linger. They are measured in the anxiety of young Ukrainian and Belarussian and Russian parents who hope and pray that their newborns will grow healthy and whole. They are measured by the degraded natural resources that trace a poisoned arc across Ukraine, through Belarus, into Russia, and reaching as far as Scandinavia. They are measured by the uncertainty that we all share as we wonder whether one day another Chornobyl might once again unleash its fury.

But as Mrs. Clinton so eloquently reminds us, out of this mire of tragedy also has emerged great stores of hope, and deep reservoirs of resolve. Selfless men and women -- thousands and thousands of them -- risked their lives to protect those of others. And courageous leaders like so many of you here today are working tirelessly to relieve suffering. Leaders like young Vova Malofienko who have taught the world so much about courage and constancy. We salute you, and we honor you for your heroic efforts.

Let there be no doubt: all Americans stand with you. President Clinton is determined to do whatever we can to overcome this tragedy, and to help ensure that all reactors everywhere are safer, cleaner, and forever free from the sort of catastrophe we remember on this important anniversary.

That is why the United States has delivered one hundred tons of medical supplies to

hospitals in Ukraine and Belarus. In cooperation with several visionary private voluntary organizations, we've launched Operation Provide Hope to send critical supplies to hospitals and cancer wards throughout the region. We've also launched through USAID several innovative partnerships between American and Ukrainian and Belarussian health providers to improve the efficiency and quality of health care. Our National Cancer Institute, together with the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Department of Energy are hard at work examining the health effects of the accident on children and clean-up workers so that treatment and care might be improved. And just a few days ago, we delivered over twelve million dollars in additional aid and medical relief to Ukraine and Belarus, including a mobile laboratory enabling Ukraine to test its air, water and soil for contamination.

That's also why President Clinton just recently joined the leaders of the G-7, Russia and Ukraine in Moscow at the Summit on Nuclear Safety and Security to work towards the day when another Chornobyl will never happen again. The President and his G-7 counterparts reaffirmed their commitment to a landmark agreement with Ukraine to mobilize over 3 billion dollars, with more forthcoming, to support Ukraine's decision to close Chornobyl by the year 2000. And President Kuchma -- to his great credit -- announced his commitment to close one of Chornobyl's two operating reactors by the end of this year.

This agreement represents a historic opportunity to eradicate one of the world's gravest environmental threats. Safety is indeed a hallmark of this agreement. But so are energy efficiency and economic prosperity. For in working to close Chornobyl, Ukraine and the G-7

have developed a plan to create a viable and competitive energy sector that treats energy as the scarce and precious commodity that it is. And in so doing, Ukraine will emerge a stronger economic competitor with the means to sustain the courageous course of economic reform on which it has embarked.

Can we meet these goals? I believe we can, but only through the concerted efforts of Ukraine and its international partners. We recognize that much work needs to be done, and that many challenges -- such as stabilizing the so-called "sarcophagus" over the wreckage of unit 4 -- still lie before us. But it is our strong belief that the people of Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus have the resilience, the will, and the fortitude to overcome Chornobyl's physical and psychological legacies once and for all time. As President Yeltsin himself said recently about his own country, Russia "must and will" make sure another Chornobyl does not recur. And let me be clear: this appeal to common sense is not simply for one nation -- but for all nations. It is a call to action for all people everywhere who have a stake in the well-being of their families and their environment, and who nurse a passion for reform and freedom.

Indeed, the future looks brightest for those with the will for reform... with the will to take their futures into their own hands.

Chornobyl, after all, wasn't simply an act of God. It was caused first and foremost by man. It was a product of a closed authoritarian system that had little concern for the welfare of its people. In retrospect, I think it was no surprise that just like the faulty nuclear reactor it

created, the Soviet system itself would implode into ash and dust. Chornobyl -- perhaps more than any other symbol of Communist era -- exposed the weakness and corruption of the Soviet system. As Secretary of State Christopher rightly said just a few weeks ago, and I quote, "Governments that abuse their citizens too often have a similar contempt for their environment."

This, perhaps, is the most enduring lesson of Chornobyl -- a lesson we'd do well to remember on this solemn anniversary: that only in freedom can people claim their rightful destiny to live in safety and security. Only in freedom can people insist on public health systems that work and on natural resources that are safeguarded and clean. Only in freedom can people hold bureaucracies accountable for how they manage potentially dangerous technologies.

Today, at long last, the people of Ukraine and Belarus and Russia have enormous opportunities before them. The promise of democracy and reform burns brightly, and the dream of a Europe no longer at risk of nuclear disaster slowly is becoming a reality. But the future of reform cannot be taken for granted. A more prosperous -- and democratic -- future will only take hold with the active commitment of all those who truly believe in freedom and the right of all people to have a voice in their political and economic destinies. President Clinton and I -- and each of us here today -- are not neutral bystanders. We know which forces we want to prevail, and they are the forces of reform. We have a stake in their prevailing, and we have the capacity through economic assistance, through generous private and voluntary efforts, and through rigorous diplomacy, to help them do so. And I know, with God's help, that we will not fail, that we shall never waiver.

OPENING STATEMENT BY VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE
First Plenary Session
Gore-Kuchma Commission
Washington, D.C.
May 16, 1997

- *Vee-TIE-you-vahs.* Welcome, and thank you very much. Mr. President, Ministers, ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege to welcome you here today, and to formally convene the first session of the U.S.-Ukraine Binational Commission.
- This is indeed an historic moment for our nations and our peoples, for today we begin a grand new turning point in our relationship.
- We have much to celebrate. From Donetsk to Lviv, Ukraine's citizens have chosen to look towards a future nurtured by free minds and free markets. They have said yes to reform and democracy. And they have said no to tyranny. No to rule by fiat. No to corruption. No to the stranglehood of planned economies and planned lives.
- But we also have much hard work ahead of us to lock-in these gains. Though the bulk of this work must be accomplished by the citizens of Ukraine themselves, we continue to be ready to help where possible, but there are many things we cannot do for you. In the end, economic development, trade and investment can only proceed in Ukraine if the objective conditions for such progress exist and if investors, Ukrainian and foreign, conclude that they have reasonable conditions in which to operate.

- We know reform is not easy. And we applaud your achievements to date, and recognize that many decisions on reform policy required vision and courage. It is the same vision and courage Ukraine showed in its historic decision to eliminate its nuclear arsenal, to accede to the NPT, to make possible full implementation of START I, and to approve the CFE Flank Agreement. The world is grateful for Ukraine's leadership.

- We also have good reason to take pride in what has been accomplished in establishing independent Ukraine's proper place on the European and world scene.

From UNPROFOR to IFOR, to the Partnership For Peace, Ukraine has shown readiness to actively contribute to building a new Europe, and the United States is committed to working with you to keep your further integration into Europe's structures and institutions on a dynamic track.

- So let us begin. There is much to do as we build and nurture our strategic partnership; a partnership based on shared ideals, mutual respect, and a commitment to work in good faith towards the resolution of issues even at times when our interests may naturally diverge. And as we proceed, let us remain flexible to meet changing needs and situations, and let us speak frankly to each other as mature partners and friends do.

-- I am optimistic about the future, Mr. President. But I am also realistic about the challenges ahead. A more prosperous -- and democratic -- future will only take hold with the active commitment of all those who truly believe in freedom and the right of all people to have a voice in their political and economic destinies.

President Clinton and I -- and each of us here today -- are not neutral bystanders. We know which forces we want to prevail, and they are the forces of reform.

That is what brings us here today to convene this important session. The stakes are high. Failure is not an option. Our day will be busy as our future will be bright. So let us get to work. *DYAH-koo-yoo*, thank you very much.

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VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE
NOTES FOR LUNCHEON TOAST
May 16, 1997
The White House

-- Mr. President, distinguished guest, friends, welcome..... *Vee-TIE-you-vahs*.

-- It is an honor to welcome you here. Very pleased by our session this morning. I am optimistic about the future of our Commission, and the future of our strategic partnership.

-- We understand the magnitude of the task at hand. Reform is not easy. Democracy is not easy. Requires tremendous commitment. Faith. Constancy. Hard work.

-- But the world has marveled at how far Ukraine and the Ukrainian people have come in so short a time. You have overcome the decades of dominion, and have given rise to a bright new season in the lives of your people.

-- In the days and months ahead, The United States will be your partner. We will work with you, side by side, as we build a new era of prosperity and hope and freedom and progress for all our citizens. Failure, Mr. President, is not an option... Retreat is not an option.... for in the powerfully resonant words of your poet LESS-ya Ooo-cry-EEN-kah,

“Yes through all my tears I still will smile,
Sing my songs though troubles round me loom;
Hopeless, still hope against all odds,
I will live, Away, ye thoughts of gloom.

-- I raise my glass to hope, Mr. President. To the future of a free and prosperous Ukraine. To our Commission. And to the Ukrainian people.....

(Note: Lesia Ukrainka, a 19th century woman poet and nationalist, has a huge literary legacy and following in Ukraine. The line above comes from her most famous poem, “Contra Spem Spero”.)

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Building blocks: Novosibirsk remarks

--Akademgorodok, since its founding in 1958, has been dedicated to intellectual inquiry and the exchange of ideas.

--One of the intellectual birth-places of modern Russia; some of Gorbachev's key architects of perestroika developed their ideas here.

--Mikhail Lomonosov, the renowned Russian scholar who founded Moscow University, said that "Russia's might will grow by way of Siberia."

--Siberia has always been a source of energy for Russia and Siberians have always been distinguished by pragmatism, entrepreneurial energy and outspoken candor (the joke was: "what are they going to do if I criticize the government, send me to Siberia?")

--In the 17th century, Russians explored Siberia by land. In the 18th century, they continued by sea, discovering the Bering Strait, reaching Alaska (which for a while was known as "Russian America") and the coast of California. In the 19th century, Russians began to explore Siberia's mineral wealth. Now, at the end of the 20th century, Novosibirsk is the "internet capital of Russia" and Siberians are in the forefront of exploring the frontiers of cyberspace.

--Democracy is hard work and it demands efforts by everyone in society: students, women, journalists, businesspeople, public servants, members of unions, NGO activists.

--Teachers and parents have unique responsibilities in this regard; they must educate the younger generation about the ingredients of a civil society: respect for religious and ethnic diversity; tolerance for differing points of view; respect for the rule of law and the institutions of governance; and the conviction that those institutions are accountable and responsive to the people.

--Also of critical importance is the training of young Russian professionals. President Yeltsin recently announced a new multilateral initiative under which thousands of Russian managers will receive business training in Russia, followed by internships in foreign companies.

--I'm happy to report that the United States is responding to President Yeltsin's request. We have put together a pilot program which will provide internships in U.S. companies for Russian managers. We are also proposing to

expand this program throughout Russia and all of the New Independent States in the coming year.

PUBLIC EVENT: SPEECH BUILDING BLOCKS

Address to Central Asian Conference on "Women in Politics"

Building democracy is a slow and complicated process--but to build democracy all members of society must be active participants. As we approach the new century, we know that we cannot build the kind of future we want without the contributions of women

I am pleased to see participants from all over Central Asia here today. I am gratified to see that among women there is an understanding that the equality for all citizens is essential for a successful move into the new century.

Women are particularly active in Central Asia in starting NGO's, in founding small business, and in teaching future generation about their role in democracy. For example, the Kazakhstan Association of Youth Leaders was founded by two women, former teachers, and is led by a 17-year-old woman. The Association teaches students how to become leaders, and promotes civic education projects.

Women are beginning to play a more active role in founding small businesses in Central Asia. In Kazakhstan, women have founded the Association of Businesswomen and, through this Association, have set up a "market economy training center for women" that introduces women to skills essential for success in this newly-emerging market economy.

NGO's play an important role in building democracy. It is heartening to see that of approximately 300 registered NGO's in Kazakhstan, 148 are headed by women. It is clear that women are already playing a significant role in building democracy from the grass-roots up in Kazakhstan.

Getting the word out through the media is an essential aspect of getting women fully involved in the political process. In Kazakhstan, women journalists just recently joined together to form an association whose goal is to support and explain efforts by women to improve society, and to educate women journalists about their rights.

In some countries, "women's rights" is a catchphrase that men fear. While this should not be so, neither should women shirk from making clear that they will no longer accept harassment in the workplace, or know that a man will be hired in place of a woman when the woman is more qualified. Your government and your newly-founded NGO's have a lot of work to do, not only to educate

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*I think
you have this
but just in case*

women about their rights, but to educate men that these discriminatory practices are unacceptable.

Women are becoming more and more active in politics, but more needs to be done to teach women how to break into the political arena. There are currently five women senators and nine women members of the lower house of parliament in Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan appointed its first female Cabinet minister in 1996 (note: Natalya Korzhova, Minister of Labor and Social Protection), and hundreds of women serve at various levels in local and regional government. However, women need to serve not only at the "deputy" level, but at the topmost levels of government, academia and business.

Three women in Kazakhstan just formed a new NGO to provide political consulting for women candidates. They call themselves "image makers" but their goal is to enable women to become successful in running for political office.

The critical element of success is: taking the initiative, taking responsibility. No one will hand us power or authority. We must identify the issues of importance to us. We must persuade women, and men, of their importance. We must work together to create the strategies to bring about the changes in our societies that benefit women, and all citizens.

Democracy is fertile ground for women. But we can make things grow in that fertile ground only if we are activists, only if we speak out, only if we work together for responsible growth and change.

TALKING POINTS: RIBBON CUTTING CEREMONY AT THE PARTNERSHIP
SPONSORED WOMEN'S WELLNESS CENTER; NOV 13, 1997

1. I am pleased to be able to join you today to help initiate the official opening of the Women's Wellness Center here at the Tashmi II - Second State Medical Institute.
2. This Women's Wellness Center represents a welcome new approach to meeting the health care needs of women in Tashkent and will serve as a model for the development of similar services elsewhere in Uzbekistan. Your approach - to meet the total health care needs of women from adolescence through the reproductive years involving pregnancy, lactation and safe motherhood and continuing through menopause and old age - is one that leading health care professionals in both our countries have only recently begun to adopt. As I was walking through your new Center, I was struck by how welcome such comprehensive approach would be to women in any city in the United States.
3. For too long, women's health has been too narrowly focused. It is only recently that traditional maternal and child health programs have expanded to include education, prevention and treatment of sexually transmitted and other reproductive related infections. But, while reproductive health concerns remain undeniably paramount, women also suffer disproportionate levels of chronic and infectious disease, nutritional deficiency and disability as they mature.
4. In 1995, I was privileged to attend the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. A series of presentations at that Conference brought worldwide attention to the very real disparities between both health care needs and health care services for women and men. The Beijing Conference also underscored the critical relationship between health issues and the economic and social issues that concern women: The successful empowerment of women requires healthy women in all stages of their lives.
5. This Women's Wellness Center stands at the forefront of the international effort to better address the health care needs of women by providing an affordable, accessible continuum of care under one roof for women of all ages. Through a mix of health promotion education, screening, early diagnosis, treatment and follow up, the Center has structured a comprehensive range of services to prevent unintended pregnancies and abortions, poor prenatal care and pregnancy outcomes, sexually transmitted infections and

infertility and unhealthy lifestyles across the continuum; and detect and intervene in acute and chronic conditions such as cardiovascular disease and cancer.

6. As I listened to Dr. Yusupov and his staff describe the programs that they are implementing to address this full range of issues, I was particularly impressed by their emphasis on education and health promotion - an approach that we in the United States have also come to appreciate as the most effective way to improve our individual health and that of our people as a whole.

7. But what impressed me most of all, was the very evident commitment of the Center's staff to addressing their patients with respect as individual women and with a view toward empowering their clients with the knowledge and information to better manage their health care and improve their general well being. I can tell you from my visit just a few minutes ago with a group of patients who have already been served by programs here at the Center, this informed, patient-centered approach is not only appreciated but is truly effective. The Center is expected to serve over 100 patients per week and reach a much larger number through its education programs.

8. Now we all know that a Center and a comprehensive approach like this do not just happen; it takes a tremendous commitment - a lot of resources from many, many sources. A Center like this takes a true, multidimensional partnership - in every sense of the word.

9. The "partners" who made this happen are all represented here today:

The USAID and American International Health Alliance sponsored hospital partnership between Tashmi II and University of Illinois-Chicago has collaborated in developing this Center. Other AIHI partnerships, including the partnerships between Tucson and Almaty which I visited on Tuesday are developing other centers along a similar model - a model designed to be replicable throughout the region but yet flexible in meeting local health care needs.

As they have in other aspects of their partnership program here in Uzbekistan, the UIC partners have helped the Women's Wellness Center staff develop their skills and adapt their programs through extensive exchanges of personnel over the course of the last four years. Over 140 person exchanges involving over 2,600

days have taken place since the partnership began. With the help of the larger Chicago community, this volunteer driven partnership has also donated tens of thousands of dollars of needed supplies and equipment.

These donations have been further supplemented by equipment and supply contributions by USAID, AIHA and the US State Department's Operation Provide Hope.

[Note: Following talking points adapted from Ambassador Morningstar's Office Draft]

1. It was my distinct pleasure in June to participate in a ceremony at Andrews AFB that launched the 500th humanitarian mission to the Newly Independent States under Operation Provide Hope. That mission carried over \$7million in pharmaceuticals donated through US private volunteer organizations to the people of Uzbekistan. This was the beginning of a \$22million USG medical package that delivered medicines, medical supplies and medical equipment to four outlying regions in Uzbekistan and twelve hospitals in Tashkent - including Tashmi II which received \$2 million of the total donation. Some of that equipment is being used in this Women's center and Dr. Karimov informs me that the remaining equipment and supplies are meeting critical needs throughout the hospital.

2. Other USAID sponsored programs such as JHPIEGO and AVSC and internationally sponsored programs like UNICEF have also provided training programs and materials related to contraceptive technology, breast feeding and maternal care practices and have lent their expertise to the development of the NIS wide model that the partnerships are implementing.

3. Tashimi II and the Ministry of Health have invested scarce resources and created a beautiful, efficient space for this Center and have assured its sustainability by guaranteeing its future staffing and operating costs.

4. The Ministry of Health has also created an environment supportive of the Center's integrated primary care and health promotion approach.

5. As is often the case, "how" something is accomplished is as important as "what" we specifically accomplish. This is particularly true in this instance, where the Governments and health care providers of our two countries have come together in partnership to develop new and innovative solutions to problems that face us as individuals and as

human beings. This new integrated, empowering "consumer and patient based" approach which this Women's Wellness Center demonstrates so well is not only essential to improving the health of women but can be applied throughout our respective health care systems, improving the quality of care and the quality of life for all of our peoples.

6. As I have seen in my previous visits around the NIS and CEE, these volunteer driven partnerships are making a real difference in people's lives - here and in the United States. We should all take great pride in what we have accomplished and in how we have accomplished it - together and not alone; in a partnership that draws our people together in common purpose and to common benefit.

**Tashkent Women's Wellness Center
Enhanced Remarks**

- The U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women's Platform for Action calls for a life-span approach to women's health. This comprehensive approach works to improve access to health care and education for women of all ages. Wellness centers such as these work to keep women and their families healthy while heightening the communities awareness about health issues.
- Uzbekistan has a literacy rate for women of 96%. This offers great potential for women to take charge of their own healthcare.
- Recently we have seen great reforms in women's healthcare in Uzbekistan. Your government has indicated it's readiness to pursue health reforms more consistent with a market oriented economy. The U.S. government and USAID supports these reforms. Currently USAID is focusing on issues of health care financing and improved primary healthcare. This complements USAID's existing assistance in improving access to contraceptives through the private sector; reducing vaccine-preventable infant deaths; strengthening epidemiological monitoring of infectious diseases; and developing hospital partnerships with U.S.- based hospitals to transfer modern clinical technologies.
- The Government is forward looking in it's support of contraceptives and family planning.
- Lack of access to potable water continues to be a major problem for half a million people in the Aral Sea area. This is a main cause of the higher incidence of diarrheal disease in the region. Clean water to drink is a necessity of life. The United States government has made a strong commitment to bring potable water to this region through USAID's \$22 million Aral Sea Initiative in 1994. This initiative has now shifted from infrastructure projects to ones addressing water policy and sustainability.

November 11 - Almaty, Kazakstan

Event: Ribbon Cutting Ceremony at the Almaty Women's Wellness Center

- Talking points on this AIHA event will be provided by Jim Smith of AIHA.

- Should the First Lady wish to include remarks encompassing total USG humanitarian assistance through Operation Provide Hope, the following are suggested remarks:

o This Wellness Center, as part of the USAID funded partnership program, is a symbol of a total U.S. commitment to the people of Kazakstan that has been able to deliver over \$315 million in humanitarian assistance since 1992. NOTE: This is assistance from all sources including Department of State, Department of Defense Excess Property, USAID, and USDA.

o Since 1992, Operation Provide Hope, a continuing USG (Department of State/Department of Defense) transportation program funded through the Freedom Support Act, has worked with over 400 U.S. private volunteer organizations to deliver humanitarian commodity to the people of the Newly Independent State (NIS) during a critical period of change and transition. To date this program has delivered over \$142 million to the people of Kazakstan, assistance given from the heart from Americans throughout the United States. We estimate that through the end of this calendar year this Operation Provide Hope will have delivered over \$2 billion in humanitarian assistance to the twelve countries of the NIS.

November 12 - Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

Event: USG Humanitarian Flight (IL-76) to Bishkek and Osh
(AN-26)

Discussion: A USG contracted IL-76 carrying pharmaceuticals for 10 medical institutes in Bishkek, clothing for Bishkek and Osh, and pharmaceuticals for Osh will land the evening of November 11 in Bishkek. This aircraft and a second cargo aircraft (An-26) will be on the ramp in Bishkek and should be downloading cargo while the First Lady is in Bishkek on Nov 12.

Suggested talking points that might be included in the First Lady's remarks concerning the Bishkek humanitarian mission are:

o This humanitarian mission is carrying pharmaceuticals and clothing for both Bishkek and Osh donated through three U.S. private volunteer organizations.

o I want to personally acknowledge the hard work and dedication of CitiHOPE and the Reverend Paul Moore and his staff, who I understand are here today, Heart-to-Heart/The American Academy of Family Physicians, and Americorps/RSVP of Indiana. Their cooperative efforts go well beyond global politics and humanitarian assistance programs and are a shining example that the people of the U.S. care for and support the people of Kyrgyzstan during a period of critical change.

o I encourage you to continue your humanitarian efforts in Kyrgyzstan and the rest of the Newly Independent States during this critical time of transition.

o The aircraft that you see unloading cargo here today is the 30th humanitarian airlift to Kyrgyzstan funded through a USG funded transportation program called Operation Provide Hope which has delivered over \$70 million in humanitarian assistance from the American people to the people of Kyrgyzstan since 1992.

o By the end of this year, it is estimated that this program will have delivered over \$2 billion in humanitarian assistance to the twelve countries of the Newly Independent State (NIS).

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November 13 - Tashkent Uzbekistan

Event: Opening of the Women's Wellness Center at Tashkent Institute

- Talking points to be provided by Jim Smith of AIHA
- Suggested tie-in talking points:

- o It was my distinct pleasure in June to participate in a ceremony at Andrews AFB, just outside of Washington DC, which launched the 500th humanitarian mission to the Newly Independent States under Operation Provide Hope. This mission, a USAF C-5A, carried over \$7 million in pharmaceuticals donated through U.S. private volunteer organizations to the people of Uzbekistan.

- o This was the beginning of a \$22 million USG medical package that delivered medicines, medical supplies and medical equipment to four outlying regions in Uzbekistan and twelve hospitals in Tashkent.

- o I understand that you here at Tashmi-2 received over \$2 million of this Department of Defense relief commodity which included x-ray systems, sterilizers, operating room surgical instruments, and consumable supplies. I sincerely hope that this donation, given from the heart, has helped enhance your ability to provide quality patient care.

- o Humanitarian relief efforts like the June Operation Provide Hope mission and AIHA Partnership affiliations like the one we find here at Tashmi, teamed with the University of Illinois at Chicago and focusing on key areas like neonatal care and nursing education, are invaluable links between our two peoples during a difficult period of change and transition. Since I was raised in Chicago, I am particularly proud that a Chicago hospital is involved in this program.

Burkhara:

NOTE: As part of the 500th Operation Provide Hope mission in June 97, the U.S. private volunteer organization AMERICARES distributed over \$900,000 in anesthetics, ophthalmics, vitamins and medical consumables to the Buhara/Karshi region.

Samarkhand:

NOTE: As part of the 500th Operation Provide Hope mission in June of 97, the private volunteer organization PROJECT HOPE distributed \$1.7 million in antihypertensives, anti-infectives, antiulcer drugs, anticeptics, penicillins, and medical consumables to the Samarkhand/Navoi/Dzniznak Region.

November 15 - Novosibirsk, Russia

NOTE: After a recommendation from the Moscow Embassy and discussions through the NSC level, it was decided that the Heart-to-Heart/American Academy of Family Physicians mission programmed for the Novosibirsk Region in calendar year 1998 not be announced by the First Lady but be kept low key. This PVO was informed they should not send a representative to Novosibirsk to join the First Lady's entourage as previously planned and that the two boxes of "representational" medicines which were to be on board the First Lady's aircraft would not be sent.

- Should the issue of this planned assistance surface during her visit or if a new decision is made to announce this project, I recommend the following talking points be used:

- o I have been briefed that the Department of State through a continuing humanitarian program called Operation Provide Hope is working with the U.S private volunteer organization Heart-to-Heart and the American Academy of Family Physicians (AAFP) to accomplish a "Physicians With Heart" mission next year to the Novosibirsk Region.
- o Heart-to-Heart and AAFP are a highly qualified team who have performed similar mission in both Moscow and St. Peterburgh in the area of medical relief and family practice care and have delivered over \$60 million in pharmaceutical medicines to countries of the Newly Independent States (NIS).
- o Heart-to-Heart plans to be in Novosibirsk in the spring of 98 to meet with the Ministry of Health and local officials to determine what assistance they might provide to hospitals in the region relating to family practice medicine. After close coordination with local officials, a USG contracted flight carrying pharmaceuticals tailored to meet this need should arrive in Novosibirsk in the fall of 98.
- o This effort began with a petition for assistance for the Novosibirsk from Faith Fischer of Project Aid/Siberia, the founder of a U.S. private volunteer organization that has worked here in Akademgorodok for over four years.

NOTE: Miss Fischer will most likely be part of the Novosibirsk contingent meeting the First Lady.

November 17 - Lviv, Ukraine

Event: A USG contracted IL-76 will arrive in Lviv on November 6th carrying approximately \$650,000 in humanitarian cargo donated through the U.S. private volunteer organization the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund. Most of this cargo is destined for the Lviv Regional Childrens Pediatric Center and includes neonatal resuscitation equipment, medicines and medical supplies, and an ambulance. Also on this aircraft is 5 pallets of cold weather clothing and relief supplies organized by Congresswoman Kaptur of Ohio from the Anastasia Fund and the Toledo Sister Cities organization.

Suggested talking points relating to this relief flight are:

- o In the area of neonatal care, I am pleased that on November 6th a USG contracted IL-76 delivered humanitarian cargo destined for the Lviv Regional Childrens Pediatric Center. Thanks to Nadiya Matkiwsky and the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund for their continued commitment to the people of Ukraine and this humanitarian project in Lviv.
- o This mission was the 53rd airlift of humanitarian commodity to Ukraine since 1992 funded through the Department of State as part of a continuing humanitarian program called Operation Provide Hope. I am especially pleased to see that the recipients of this assistance are the children of Ukraine.
- o Over the last five years Operation Provide Hope has worked with over 400 U.S. private volunteer organizations to deliver donated humanitarian commodity to the Newly Independent States (NIS). It is estimated that by the end of this calendar year Operation Provide Hope will have delivered over \$2 billion in assistance to the twelve NIS countries. This cooperative effort goes well beyond global politics and humanitarian programs and is a shining example that the people of the U.S. care for and support the people of Ukraine and the rest of the NIS during a critical period of change.
- o To date this Operation Provide Hope has delivered over \$300 million in humanitarian commodity to the people of Ukraine from donors throughout the United States.

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Divider Title: **Mc**

MEMORANDUM

TO: Katy Button, Office of the First Lady
Russ Hardesty, Office of the Special Advisor to the President
Wendy Wallace, USAID

FROM: Jim Smith, American International Health Alliance 

DATE: November 5, 1997

SUBJECT: Draft Talking Points and Background Materials

I am attaching draft talking points for each of the three AIHA related events. These were developed for your consideration with regard to the AIHA site visit only and will obviously have to be integrated with your suggestions in the First Lady's overall presentation.

I have also redrafted the L'viv related materials to more fully describe the Ford ambulance donation and the earlier but related donation of an infant transport isolette by a Michigan Ukrainian-American senior citizen housing association. The information is reflected in the talking points as well. I have also attached a few clippings from the Detroit press regarding the latter donation. This is obviously just a small piece of the over \$1.5 million in supplies and equipment donated by the Detroit health care community to L'viv but its symbolic of how deeply and widely the partnership has extended.

It would appear from my communications with my field staff and John Post that everything related to the events is progressing. I spoke with Ambassador Safaev from Uzbekistan before he left this afternoon for Tashkent and he confirmed that Mrs. Karimova will participate in the event as planned. We have spoken with the Kazakh embassy as well but have yet to receive confirmation.

The only loose end is the problem with getting accommodations in L'viv. As it stands now, neither my staff nor I or the representatives from Ford can get rooms in L'viv or the immediately surrounding area because the State Dept/Embassy have everything blocked. Anything that you can do would be greatly appreciated.

If we can be of any further assistance, please let me know. I will be in the office through Friday.

ALMATY, KAZAKHSTAN

TALKING POINTS: RIBBON CUTTING CEREMONY AT THE PARTNERSHIP SPONSORED WOMEN'S WELLNESS CENTER; NOV 11, 1997

- I am pleased to be able to join you today to help initiate the official opening of the Women's Wellness Center here at the Almaty Perinatal Center.
- This Women's Wellness Center represents a welcome new approach to meeting the health care needs of women in Almaty and will serve as a model for the development of similar services elsewhere in Kazakhstan. Your approach – to meet the total health care needs of women from adolescence through the reproductive years involving pregnancy, lactation and safe motherhood and continuing through menopause and old age – is one that leading health care professionals in both our countries have only recently begun to adopt. As I was walking through your new Center, I was struck by how welcome such a comprehensive approach would be to women in any city in the United States.
- For too long, women's health has been too narrowly focused. It is only recently that traditional maternal and child health programs have expanded to include education, prevention and treatment of sexually transmitted and other reproductive related infections. But, while reproductive health concerns remain undeniably paramount, women also suffer disproportionate levels of chronic and infectious disease, nutritional deficiency and disability as they mature.
- In 1995, I was privileged to attend the United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. A series of presentations at that Conference brought worldwide attention to the very real disparities between both health care needs and health care services for women and men. The Beijing Conference also underscored the critical relationship between health issues and the economic and social issues that concern women: The successful empowerment of women requires healthy women in all stages of their lives.
- This Women's Wellness Center stands at the forefront of the international effort to better address the health care needs of women by providing an affordable, accessible continuum of care under one roof for women of all ages. Through a mix of health promotion, education, screening, early diagnosis, treatment and follow up, the Center has structured a comprehensive range of services to prevent unintended pregnancies and abortions, poor prenatal care and pregnancy outcomes, sexually transmitted infections and infertility and unhealthy lifestyles across the continuum; and

detect and intervene in acute and chronic conditions such as cardiovascular disease and cancer.

- As I listened to Dr. Chuvakova and her staff describe the programs that they are implementing to address this full range of issues, I was particularly impressed by their emphasis on education and health promotion -- an approach that we in the United States have also come to appreciate as the most effective way to improve our individual health and that of our people as a whole.
- But what impressed me most of all, was the very evident commitment of the Center's staff to addressing their patients with respect as individual women and with a view toward empowering their clients with the knowledge and information to better manage their health care and improve their general well being. I can tell you from my visit just a few minutes ago with a group of patients who have already been served by programs here at the Center, this informed, patient-centered approach is not only appreciated but its truly effective. The Center is expected to serve over 80 patients per week and reach a much larger number through its education programs.
- Now we all know that a Center and a comprehensive approach like this do not just happen; it takes a tremendous commitment -- a lot of resources from many, many sources. A Center like this takes a true, multi-dimensional partnership -- in every sense of the word.
- The "partners" who made this happen are all represented here today:
 - The USAID and American International Health Alliance sponsored hospital partnership between Almaty and Tucson, Arizona NIS have collaborated in developing this Center. Other AIHA partnerships are developing a dozen other such centers along a similar model -- a model designed to be replicable throughout the region but yet flexible in meeting local health care needs.
 - As they have in other aspects of their partnership program here in Almaty, the Tucson partners have helped the Women's Wellness Center staff develop their skills and adapt their programs through extensive exchanges of personnel over the course of the last four years. With the help of the larger Tucson community, this volunteer driven partnership has also donated tens of thousands of dollars of needed supplies and equipment.
 - These donations have been further supplemented by equipment and supply contributions by USAID, AIHA and the US State Department's Operation Provide Hope;
 - Other USAID and internationally sponsored programs and non-governmental organizations such as JHPIEGO, AVSC, the Futures Group/SOMARC, ABT and Wellstart International have also provided

training programs and materials related to contraceptive technology, breast feeding and maternal care practices and have lent their expertise to the development of the NIS wide model that the partnerships are implementing.

- The Almaty City Health Administration has invested scarce resources and created a beautiful, efficient space for the program here at the Perinatal Center and has assured its sustainability by guaranteeing its future staffing and operating costs;
 - The Ministry of Health and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan has adopted health care reforms that create an environment supportive of the Center's integrated primary care and health promotion approach.
-
- It is often the case that "how" we accomplish something is as important as "what" we accomplish. This is particularly true in this instance, where the Governments and health care providers of our two countries have come together in partnership to develop new and innovative solutions to problems that face us as individuals and as human beings. This new integrated, empowering "consumer and patient based" approach which this Women's Wellness Center demonstrates so well is not only essential to improving the health of women but can be applied throughout our respective health care systems, improving the quality of care and the quality of life for all of our peoples.
 - As I have seen in my previous visits around the NIS and CEE, these volunteer driven partnerships are making a real difference in people's lives – here and in the United States. We should all take great pride in what we have accomplished and in how we have accomplished it – together and not alone; in a partnership that draws our people together in common purpose and to common benefit.

(NOTE: USAID AND DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL TALKING POINTS)

L'VIV UKRAINE

TALKING POINTS: VISIT TO PARTNERSHIP SPONSORED NEONATAL RESUSCITATION TRAINING CENTER AND NEONATAL INTENSIVE CARE UNIT AT L'VIV OBLAST CLINICAL HOSPITAL : NOV 17, 1997

- I am pleased to be able to visit the L'viv Oblast Clinical Hospital and see first hand the results of your partnership with Henry Ford Health System in Detroit, Michigan. I cannot help but be impressed by both the systematic and comprehensive approach to newborn care that you have taken and by the great success that has resulted.
- As Dr. Khobzei and Dr. Kryvko have outlined to me, you have integrated the training of health care workers in the most basic assessment, prevention, and newborn resuscitation skills within a new regional organization and transport system to assure that very ill babies can be brought to this hospital from throughout the region for high quality treatment.
- This combination of (1) low tech prevention and intervention in birth distress of otherwise normal infants and (2) organizing a regional network with this hospital as the centerpiece to address the special needs of critically ill or premature babies through the careful application and concentration of technology and expertise – has significantly reduced both rates of mortality and developmental disabilities in the region. And it has done so in a manner that is affordable in the long run.
- The results of this effort: a mortality rate of only 7.8 per thousand for the first six months of 1997 and a reduction of over 30% since the partnership began are something that we are all very proud of.
- With results like this, I was not surprised to learn from Ambassador Morningstar that the Ministry of Health is working with USAID and AIHA to replicate the basic neonatal resuscitation training center concept throughout Ukraine. Ambassador Morningstar and Mr. Pressley attended the opening ceremonies of the first of these new training centers in Kiev last month and I understand from the partners that the trainers at these new centers are being trained here in L'viv.
- This replication of successful model programs in close collaboration with local and national government is indicative of the maturation of our assistance programs here in Ukraine and the continuing evolution in our countries' relationship to one of equal partnership. Over the course of the past four years, the partnerships here in L'viv, Kiev, Odessa and Donetsk have developed a number of model programs improving the quality of care and the efficiency and organization of the delivery of that care. When I was in Kiev

several years ago, I saw first hand the model prenatal and birthing education programs that the partnership with the University of Pennsylvania had developed. I understand that the Kiev partnership effort is in the process of expanding to include a comprehensive women's wellness center and a breast cancer screening program and that similar Women's centers will open early next spring here in L'viv at the Railway Clinical Hospital and in Odessa. I had the opportunity to attend the opening of women's wellness centers developed by the partnerships in Central Asia last week. The model that the partnerships have developed together with its mix of health promotion, education, screening, early diagnosis, treatment and follow-up for women of all ages under one roof stands at the forefront of the international effort to better address the health care needs of women. By developing the model together and replicating it in three cities in Ukraine, the partnerships are taking an important step in changing practice in the country as a whole.

- Model programs in emergency medicine, infection control, and nursing are also being replicated.
- What has impressed me most of all during my short visit this morning is the way in which you have accomplished these results – through partnership. The comprehensive, multi-faceted programs that I have just seen just don't happen; they take a tremendous commitment – a lot of resources from many, many different sources.
- The “partners” who made this happen are all represented here today:
 - The USAID and American International Health Alliance sponsored hospital partnerships between health care providers here in L'viv and their partners at Henry Ford Health System in Detroit and Millard Fillmore Hospital in Buffalo have collaborated in developing a wide range of programs addressing -- in addition to neonatology and women's health -- surgery, infection control, nursing and management education, rheumatic fever, emergency care, hospital administration and health informatics.
 - As they have in other aspects of their partnership program here in L'viv, the US partners have helped their colleagues in L'viv develop their skills and adapt their programs through extensive exchanges of personnel over the course of the past four years. Over 300 exchanges involving almost 5,000 days of volunteer time have taken place since 1993 as part of these two partnerships. With the help of the larger Detroit and Buffalo communities, these volunteer driven partnerships have also donated almost \$2.5 million dollars of needed supplies and equipment.
 - The donations in equipment that are key to the neonatal transport system that the partnership has developed here at the Oblast Hospital are a good example of how the partnership has reached out to encompass communities on both sides. The infant transport isolette, which allows for

premature and seriously ill newborns delivered within an 80-mile radius of this hospital to be transported safely, was provided through contributions by senior citizens of the Ukrainian Village housing association in Warren, Michigan. These, mostly elderly Ukrainian-Americans were concerned about infant mortality here in Western Ukraine and impressed by the willingness of non-Ukrainian-Americans from Henry Ford Hospital to donate their time and resources in helping Ukraine. They and their donation have become an integral part of this partnership effort.

- I am really pleased to be here in L'viv today when another key piece of this transport system fits into place -- through the donation of a new Ford Transit ambulance to carry the Hospital's isolette unit. This donation is noteworthy because it involves contributions to the Henry Ford Health System and the partnership from Ford Motor Company's operations in the US and Europe and from the independent Ford Dealership in Ukraine: Winner of Ukraine. This is a good example of the importance of corporate citizenship to healthy market economies and healthy societies.
 - These partner driven donations have been further supplemented by equipment and supply contributions by USAID, AIHA and the US State Department's Operation Provide Hope;
 - Other USAID and internationally sponsored programs and non-governmental organizations such (Note: Organizations to be provided by USAID) have also provided training programs and materials that have advanced the partnership programs here in L'viv;
 - The L'viv Oblast Health Administration and the L'viv hospitals have invested scarce resources of their own and have assured program sustainability by guaranteeing future staffing and operating costs;
 - And, finally, as I have mentioned, the Ministry of Health has adopted policies and procedures supportive of both the model programs that the partnerships have developed and their replication.
- It is often the case that "how" we accomplish something is as important as "what" we accomplish. This is particularly true in this instance, where the Governments and health care providers of our two countries have come together in partnership to develop new and innovative solutions to problems that face us as individuals and as human beings.
 - As I have seen in my previous visits around the NIS and CEE, these volunteer driven partnerships are making a real difference in people's lives – here and in the United States. We should all take great pride in what we have accomplished and in how we have accomplished it – together and not alone; in a partnership that draws our people together in common purpose and to common benefit.

(NOTE: USAID AND DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL TALKING POINTS)

TASHKENT, UZBEKISTAN

TALKING POINTS: RIBBON CUTTING CEREMONY AT THE PARTNERSHIP SPONSORED WOMEN'S WELLNESS CENTER; NOV 13, 1997

- I am pleased to be able to join you today to help initiate the official opening of the Women's Wellness Center here at the Tashmi II -- Second State Medical Institute.
- This Women's Wellness Center represents a welcome new approach to meeting the health care needs of women in Tashkent and will serve as a model for the development of similar services elsewhere in Uzbekistan. Your approach -- to meet the total health care needs of women from adolescence through the reproductive years involving pregnancy, lactation and safe motherhood and continuing through menopause and old age -- is one that leading health care professionals in both our countries have only recently begun to adopt. As I was walking through your new Center, I was struck by how welcome such a comprehensive approach would be to women in any city in the United States.
- For too long, women's health has been too narrowly focused. It is only recently that traditional maternal and child health programs have expanded to include education, prevention and treatment of sexually transmitted and other reproductive related infections. But, while reproductive health concerns remain undeniably paramount, women also suffer disproportionate levels of chronic and infectious disease, nutritional deficiency and disability as they mature.
- In 1995, I was privileged to attend the United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. A series of presentations at that Conference brought worldwide attention to the very real disparities between both health care needs and health care services for women and men. The Beijing Conference also underscored the critical relationship between health issues and the economic and social issues that concern women: The successful empowerment of women requires healthy women in all stages of their lives.
- This Women's Wellness Center stands at the forefront of the international effort to better address the health care needs of women by providing an affordable, accessible continuum of care under one roof for women of all ages. Through a mix of health promotion, education, screening, early diagnosis, treatment and follow up, the Center has structured a comprehensive range of services to prevent unintended pregnancies and abortions, poor prenatal care and pregnancy outcomes, sexually transmitted

infections and infertility and unhealthy lifestyles across the continuum; and detect and intervene in acute and chronic conditions such as cardiovascular disease and cancer.

- As I listened to Dr. Yusupov and his staff describe the programs that they are implementing to address this full range of issues, I was particularly impressed by their emphasis on education and health promotion -- an approach that we in the United States have also come to appreciate as the most effective way to improve our individual health and that of our people as a whole.
- But what impressed me most of all, was the very evident commitment of the Center's staff to addressing their patients with respect as individual women and with a view toward empowering their clients with the knowledge and information to better manage their health care and improve their general well being. I can tell you from my visit just a few minutes ago with a group of patients who have already been served by programs here at the Center, this informed, patient-centered approach is not only appreciated but its truly effective. The Center is expected to serve over 100 patients per week and reach a much larger number through its education programs.
- Now we all know that a Center and a comprehensive approach like this do not just happen; it takes a tremendous commitment -- a lot of resources from many, many sources. A Center like this takes a true, multi-dimensional partnership -- in every sense of the word.
- The "partners" who made this happen are all represented here today:
 - The USAID and American International Health Alliance sponsored hospital partnership between Tashmi II and University of Illinois-Chicago has collaborated in developing this Center. Other AIHA partnerships, including the partnership between Tucson and Almaty which I visited on Tuesday are developing other centers along a similar model -- a model designed to be replicable throughout the region but yet flexible in meeting local health care needs.
 - As they have in other aspects of their partnership program here in Uzbekistan, the UIC partners have helped the Women's Wellness Center staff develop their skills and adapt their programs through extensive exchanges of personnel over the course of the last four years. Over 140 person exchanges involving over 2,600 days have taken place since the partnership began. With the help of the larger Chicago community, this volunteer driven partnership has also donated tens of thousands of dollars of needed supplies and equipment.
 - These donations have been further supplemented by equipment and supply contributions by USAID, AIHA and the US State Department's Operation Provide Hope.

- [Note: Following talking points adapted from Ambassador Morningstar's Office draft] –

It was my distinct pleasure in June to participate in a ceremony at Andrews AFB that launched the 500th humanitarian mission to the Newly Independent States under Operation Provide Hope. That mission carried over \$7 Million in pharmaceuticals donated through US private volunteer organizations to the people of Uzbekistan. This was the beginning of a \$22 Million USG medical package that delivered medicines, medical supplies and medical equipment to four outlying regions in Uzbekistan and twelve hospitals in Tashkent. – including Tashmi II which received \$2 Million of the total donation. Some of that equipment is being used in this Women's center and Dr. Karimov informs me that the remaining equipment and supplies are meeting critical needs throughout the hospital.

- Other USAID sponsored programs such as JHPIEGO and AVSC and internationally sponsored programs like UNICEF have also provided training programs and materials related to contraceptive technology, breast feeding and maternal care practices and have lent their expertise to the development of the NIS wide model that the partnerships are implementing
 - Tashmi II and the Ministry of Health have invested scarce resources and created a beautiful, efficient space for this Center and have assured its sustainability by guaranteeing its future staffing and operating costs;
 - The Ministry of Health has also created an environment supportive of the Center's integrated primary care and health promotion approach.
- As is often the case, "how" something is accomplished is as important as "what" we specifically accomplish. This is particularly true in this instance, where the Governments and health care providers of our two countries have come together in partnership to develop new and innovative solutions to problems that face us as individuals and as human beings. This new integrated, empowering "consumer and patient based" approach which this Women's Wellness Center demonstrates so well is not only essential to improving the health of women but can be applied throughout our respective health care systems, improving the quality of care and the quality of life for all of our peoples.
 - As I have seen in my previous visits around the NIS and CEE, these volunteer driven partnerships are making a real difference in people's lives – here and in the United States. We should all take great pride in what we have accomplished and in how we have accomplished it – together and not alone; in a partnership that draws our people together in common purpose and to common benefit.

(NOTE: USAID AND DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL TALKING POINTS)

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White House Press Release

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT KUCHMA OF UKRAINE AND PRESIDENT CLINTON UPON ARRIVAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(Kiev Ukraine)

*I have been inspired +
asked by Ukraine. Most
notably by my chief of
staff, Mr. who is 100%
Ukrainian*

For Immediate Release

May 12, 1995

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT KUCHMA OF **UKRAINE** AND PRESIDENT CLINTON UPON ARRIVAL

Marinskiiy Palace Courtyard
Kiev, **Ukraine**

3:22 p.m. (L)

PRESIDENT KUCHMA: Welcome to Kiev, the heart of **Ukraine** and her capital. Welcome to the time on our Dnipro Hills where millennium- old Christian civilization was born and flourished, our saints and prophets, warriors and statesmen, establishing the powerful ancient state of Kievrus, were gazing at the future from these hills.]

Our **Ukrainian** state has revived out of sources of life of our history, from an irrevocable yearning for freedom and independence. This is the place, Mr. President, a few steps from here where an historic act of independence of **Ukraine** was adopted on August the 24th of 1991. |

As you see, the past, the present and the future of **Ukraine** meet on this soil. Today, **Ukraine** welcomes you, the President of the friendly nation with a luxuriant spring and blossoming key of chestnut trees -- though there is a bit of rain, but it's for happiness, I think.

Spring has always been a symbol of hope, and thus, the first state visit of the United States visit to **Ukraine** is very symbolic. We believe that the visit will take special place in the records of the **Ukrainian**-United States relationships, for **Ukraine** has set an example of nuclear disarmament to mankind, initiated radical economic reforms, it shapes democratic society and it is a reliable, forecasted partner, ready for constructive, mutually beneficial cooperation.

I am confident, Mr. President, that your visit shall not only be bilaterally important, but it shall become a notable international event, taken into account a key geostrategic role of **Ukraine** in the

European security system, and an outstanding role of the USA in supporting European and global security.

We have just marked the 50th anniversary of the victory over Nazism and comprehended horrible lessons of the World War II, in which our people suffered heavy losses. So we clearly see today the necessity of building an efficient world security system in the framework of which there will be no room for misanthropic dictatorships, empire arrogance, aggressive separatism and striving to redraw the political map by means of force.

Ukraine is ready to collaborate closely with the United States, neighboring countries, the world community in shaping the world order meant for the 21st century. The order which would make Cold War or even "Cold Peace" impossible.

This country was an objective of aggressions and alien invasions burning in the flames of war about 200 times in the course of the millennium of our history. That's why we have cherished an inspiring dream -- to live and to build the state system and prosperous, free economy in peace and harmony, feeling indispensable to the European security system.

Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton, I'd like to assure you that our hearts are always open for friends. We respect and cherish kindly feelings for industrious, talented and historical, optimistic people of the United States. We're glad for your achievements in the development of economy, social life, health protection, science, culture and sports. We're together with you in mourning the victims of the Oklahoma City tragedy.

We hope that our understanding and trust will enhance after your visit. We'll have new prospects for **Ukrainian**-American cooperation which has got every chance to be elevated at a qualitatively higher level of special partnership of our countries and peoples.

We'll try to use your short stay here to acquaint you with historical, spiritual and cultural values of our people to tell you about our transformations and problems. We are proud of an important role in every sphere of life in the United States of our compatriots, Americans of the **Ukrainian** descent, who have retained the best features of the **Ukrainian** people -- diligence, tolerance, democracy, love to native land, persistence in achieving their goals.

Yes, we are persistent, and we do believe that we'll attain our reign of building independent, democratic, prosperous, stable European state of **Ukraine**. We also believe that we may rely on the American experience, your understanding of our problems, friendly support and assistance in achieving this goal.

Thank you. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: President Kuchma, Mrs. Kuchma, distinguished members of the government: It is a great honor for me and for our party to be in one of Europe's oldest nations and youngest democracies.

[This trip, which follows my stopover here in January of 1994, and President Kuchma's trip to Washington last fall will give us an opportunity to continue the tremendous progress we have made in building strong and productive ties between our countries.

This week in Washington, Moscow, and now Kiev, we celebrated an alliance that turned back the forces of fascism 50 years ago. Our victory was shared. But its cost to the people of the former Soviet Union was unique. On this land alone, more than 5 million **Ukrainians** lost their lives to the war.

[Now, the tremendous will the **Ukrainian** people brought to the war effort is building a great future for this nation. The United States has an important stake in that future. A secure, stable and prosperous **Ukraine** can become a hub of democracy for Central Europe, and an important political and economic partner for the United States.

Already, we have seen what such a partnership can accomplish. **Ukraine** chose to give up nuclear weapons when the former Soviet Union dissolved. Your decision has made the **Ukrainian** people, the American people and the entire world much safer and more secure.

On behalf of the United States, I want to thank you for that brave and wise decision. We have also been heartened by the bold steps **Ukraine** has taken over the past several months to foster free markets. Those were the right steps and the international community has given the right response; large-scale assistance to help **Ukraine** stay on the path of reform. I want President Kuchma and the **Ukrainian** people to know that the United States and the West will stay the course with you.

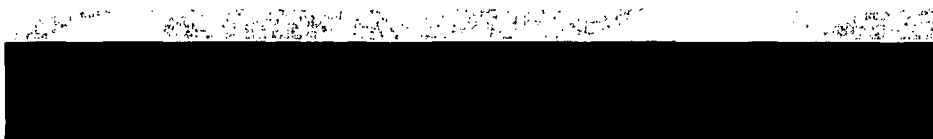
I look forward to discussing the potential for strengthening the economic ties between our two nations. The private sector can be the engine of economic growth for **Ukraine**. And as prosperity takes hold, 52 million **Ukrainians** can become major consumers of our goods and services. That will produce more jobs, at better wages, in both our countries.

The United States admires the extraordinary progress **Ukraine** has made in such a short time. Building democracy and a successful market economy takes time and patience. **Ukrainian** people are demonstrating an abundance of both and I am here to reaffirm our country's strong support for your courage and vision.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 3:20 p.m. (L)

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White House Press Release

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON, PRIME MINISTER AZNAR OF SPAIN, SECRETARY GENERAL OF NATO SOLANA, AND PRESIDENT KUCHMA OF UKRAINE IN SIGNING CEREMONY OF NATO-UKRAINE CHARTER

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Madrid, Spain)

For Immediate Release

July 9, 1997

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON,
PRIME MINISTER AZNAR OF SPAIN,
SECRETARY GENERAL OF NATO SOLANA,
AND PRESIDENT KUCHMA OF **UKRAINE**
IN SIGNING CEREMONY OF NATO-**UKRAINE** CHARTER

Palacio Municipal de Congresos
Madrid, Spain

9:35 A.M. (L)

SECRETARY GENERAL SOLANA: Good morning. I would like to welcome you here today to this historic event, the signing of the charter in the distinctive relationship between NATO and **Ukraine**. May I first give the floor to President Aznar, the President of the host country.

PRIME MINISTER AZNAR: Heads of state and government, good morning. For an ally such as Spain, it is an honor to welcome you to this ceremony. For the President of the government of Spain, it is, besides, a privilege. For my country, the signing of a charter for a distinctive partnership between NATO and the **Ukraine** is clear and effective proof of the importance we in the Atlantic Alliance attach to the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the **Ukraine** as key factors for stability in Europe. The fact that a country as important as the **Ukraine** is joining the Euro Atlantic community is a significant event in the history of our peoples.

The contents of the charter we are about to sign are also a source of satisfaction.- On the one hand, the charter recognizes an indisputable strategic reality, namely, the role the **Ukraine** has to play in European security. On the other, it also demonstrates the gravity of the Atlantic Alliance to respond to the challenges posed by the end of the century, particularly the creation of an indivisible and transparent system of European security, one which avoids new dividing lines in Europe and gray areas in security.

The relations between the Alliance and the **Ukraine** are substantive in themselves and reflect the concrete historic reality. **Ukraine's** efforts to consolidate its recent independence to democracy and the decisive impetus the country has given to good neighborly relations have served to reaffirm its role in Europe and in the world.

The recent agreements concluded by the **Ukraine** with the Russian Federation and with Romania represent solid evidence of its commitment to peace and stability in Europe. So, too, does the ratification of the flanks agreement within the framework of the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty. The NATO-**Ukraine** Charter seeks to support these efforts and to contribute to the strengthening of our shared security, institutionalizing a specific partnership which will serve as a framework to develop relations between **Ukraine** and the Atlantic Alliance in the future.

The flexible nature of the charter is clearly one of the most positive aspects of this important document and will contribute to the consolidation of its contents, broadening it when necessary, and adapting it to future needs and to the new security environment.

Before closing, allow me to address some special words to President Kuchma. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you personally. The signing today of the NATO-**Ukraine** Charter would not have been possible without the political, economic and social transformations which have taken place in your country, thanks to your decisive commitment and the efforts of the people of the **Ukraine**. All this makes the **Ukraine** an indispensable partner of the Atlantic Alliance and a stabilizing presence in Europe.

Thank you. (Applause.)

SECRETARY GENERAL SOLANA: Thank you very much. I would like to give the floor to President Kuchma. Thank you.

PRESIDENT KUCHMA: Esteemed Secretary General and dear colleagues, ladies and gentlemen, this is a great honor for me to speak from this rostrum. And first of all, I would like to thank the leaders of Spain and this beautiful capital for the business-like and, at the same time, warm atmosphere that surrounds our work.

Madrid '97 will undoubtedly go down into history as a city where a dividing line left by the Cold War in the very center of Europe is eliminated. Yesterday, a decision was made to invite for membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization the Polish Republic, Hungary, and the Czech Republic -- democratic countries, close neighbors, and partners of **Ukraine**.

But today is of particular significance, too. Right after the ceremony the Euro Atlantic Cooperation Council session will start. This new forum of deepening cooperation will enable us all to work closer together in the political field, and it will provide for a new approach to the realization of the Partnership for Peace program.

In a few minutes, the charter of special cooperation between **Ukraine** and NATO is to be signed. This historic document is going to be another convincing evidence that on the European continent the new security architecture based on openness and partnership is being shaped. In the conclusion of the charter, the deep, internal transformation of the North Atlantic Alliance is reflected, as well as the democratic course of **Ukraine**, and its real gains in the integration into the European and Euro Atlantic structures.

I am convinced that these processes will go on and go on in parallel -- by the European dimensions, the state of **Ukraine** feels to be an integral part of the Central, Eastern and Southern Europe and is ready to take part in providing peace and stability in these regions and in the continent in general.

The formation of a favorable international environment gives us an opportunity to focus on resolving the topical internal problems, first of all, to continue profound transformation in our economy and further democratization of our society.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, irrespective of the fact that during the preparation of the charter, not all wishes of **Ukraine** were taken into account, we have all grounds to be happy with the results. At the end of the day, we do not consider it final, but rather a transitional one; we have a lot of common work to be done in the future.

I would like to thank the esteemed Secretary General and the leaders of the Alliance member states for having supported the idea of establishing this special partnership between **Ukraine** and NATO and its finalizing in the charter. Political will and sense demonstrated by all the participants in the preparation of the charter allow us to affirm the following: Europe has changed, and it is only through joint efforts that security in the continent can be guaranteed, since now **Ukraine** and NATO are going to work together to that end.

In the context of the radical changes in the European house, I can not only mention such an important event in the development of the international security at the conclusion of the Founding Act NATO Russia. We welcome the relations of cooperation and understanding set up between Russia and NATO and we think that gradual and open development of this relationship is going to be speeded up.

I would like to emphasize in particular that the integrity and comprehensiveness of European security for **Ukraine** are not among the principles that could be only declared. From the point of view of our country's national security, they have real political dimensions. **Ukraine**, a nation's history of many centuries, a lot of pages of which have recently been written with blood and human tragedies, is reentering the root of stability and civilization.

The changes which have taken place and the relations between NATO and other countries are the accomplishments preventing the repetition of past divisions of the continent. All this, together with the effective peacekeeping activity of NATO and the former Yugoslavia, the stabilizing role of the Alliance in Central, Eastern and the Southeastern part of Europe, has proved that the level of security has not decreased as a result of the enlargement of NATO. On the contrary; the relations between the candidates and their neighbors have been normalized.

And what now after Madrid? There are all grounds to hope that the key principles in European security will be a higher transparency of the development, cooperation and security and common goals. That's why the doors of the European and transatlantic institutions should remain open to all the countries which would like to join them and need corresponding criteria.

We shall be able to respond to the challenges of the 21st century with dignity unconditioned that every state assumes responsibility for its own contribution to the international security. **Ukraine** has made her choice and is ready, together with the NATO member countries and the partners of the Alliance, to take an active part in the construction of the secure future for Europe, and thus for the whole world.

Thank you for your attention.

SECRETARY GENERAL SOLANA: Distinguished persons, honorable ministers, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, today will rank as a memorable day in the relations between NATO and **Ukraine** because it is today that a new era is beginning within the nations between NATO and the **Ukraine**. Therefore, a truly memorable day, indeed.

The signing of this Charter today is the visible symbol of a new Europe -- not a Europe of the past, not a Europe of division, not a Europe of confrontation between East and West, but, on the contrary; the Europe of the future, a united Europe, a Europe where East and West are partners, alliances working for peace, a durable peace based on friendship, a friendship which stems from close and numerous contacts at all levels between the allies, **Ukraine**, and beyond with all our partners.

Ladies and gentlemen, in May, the Alliance opened a NATO documentation center in Kiev, the first of this kind in any partner country. Its purpose is a simple, but essential one --to make information available on the Alliance, on **Ukraine**, and to the **Ukraine** people. It is open to anyone to walk in, to ask questions, to get information. There is a huge interest in the Alliance in **Ukraine**. The more we respond to that interest, the more we discover that misconceptions and misunderstandings are coming down. There is, instead, a growing understanding of our common interest and our common heritage.

We, too, have learned -- and we have to do it -- about our partners with an open mind. Our mutual openness strengthens our ability and strengthens our commitment to work together.

The Alliance and **Ukraine** are now ready to take the process to a significant step forward. Together, our aim is to make a real, substantive contribution to cooperative security in the Euro Atlantic area. The NATO-**Ukraine** Charter now needs to be implemented -- implemented steadily and implemented to the fullest. The partnership will grow by making the greatest possible use of the new mechanisms that it provides.

Finally, let me just say a warm thank you to all those who made today's signature possible. The result of your many hours of hard work was well worth the effort. Thank you very much.

The President of the United States.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Secretary General, fellow leaders, ladies and gentlemen, from the four quarters of our Alliance, we have come to Madrid to build a new Europe, where old divides are bridged by new ties of friendship and cooperation; where we recognize no spheres of influence, but instead the influence of shared ideals.]

Today, we take another step toward that new Europe with the signing of this charter between a new NATO and a democratic **Ukraine**. From the moment we declared this goal last fall, all have worked hard toward this day. I thank President Kuchma for his vision and courage in leading his great nation down the path of reform. I also thank Secretary General Solana for his efforts on behalf of our Alliance.

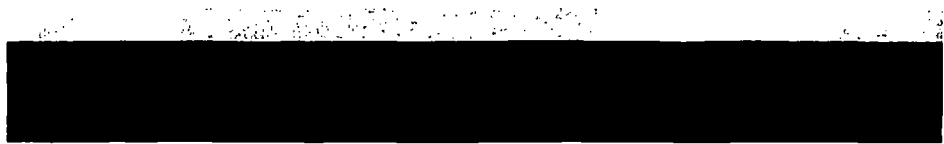
This charter launches a closer relationship between NATO and **Ukraine** that will benefit both. It lays a foundation for consultation and cooperation. It welcomes **Ukraine** as our partner in building an undivided Europe.

Over the last two months, **Ukraine's** bold steps have made this continent more stable and more secure through its treaty of friendship and cooperation with Russia, its border agreement with Romania, its declaration of reconciliation with Poland. Now an open dialogue and joint activities with NATO will help **Ukraine** solidify reform and strengthen stability throughout Europe.

This charter reflects and reinforces the way this continent has changed. **Ukraine** has emerged from a century of struggle to pursue the highest standards of dignity and freedom. It is tackling tough economic reform. It has been a leader in reducing the nuclear danger. It has embarked on a course of peaceful integration with the community of democracies. NATO also has evolved to meet these new times -- with new missions, new members, a stronger Partnership for Peace, and now new partners, with Russia and, of course, today with **Ukraine**.

Today, Europe's security is not a matter of competition, but of cooperation on behalf of common goals. It is natural for **Ukraine** to reach out to NATO and for NATO to do the same, helping to secure **Ukraine** firmly in the heart of a new, undivided democratic Europe.

May the charter we sign today be just the opening page in a long history of unity, partnership, and peace that NATO and **Ukraine** will write together. Thank you. (Applause.)



White House Press Release

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE PEOPLE OF UKRAINE

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kiev, **Ukraine**)

For Immediate Release

May 12, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE PEOPLE OF **UKRAINE**

Volodymyrs'ka Street Plaza
Schevchenko University
Kiev, **Ukraine**

11:00 A.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

I first would thank Alexy Melashook (phonetic) for that fine introduction. I thank Helen Shevalova (phonetic) for her fine remarks and for representing the University students here. I thank the Rector, Victor Skopenko, for his remarks and for the honorary degree, which I will treasure and display in the White House. (Applause.)

I am delighted to be joined here by my wife and by ministers and other important members of our administration, by the Mayor of Kiev, and members of your national government, and by former President Kravchuk. I am glad to see them all here, and I thank them for being here with me today. (Applause.)

I am deeply honored to be the first American President to appear before the people of a free and independent **Ukraine**. (Applause.)

Today we celebrate the alliance of our peoples, who defeated fascism 50 years ago. We shared victory then, but the cost to your people of that victory was almost unimaginable. More than five million **Ukrainians** died in the conflict. I am pleased that now after all these years we can pay tribute to the extraordinary sacrifice here in the **Ukrainian** homeland.

It is fitting that we are meeting at this institution, named for Taras Schevchenko. More than 30 years ago, America recognized his passion for freedom by erecting a statue of Schevchenko in the heart of our nation's capital. Now, at last, America also honors this great

champion of liberty in the heart of **Ukraine's** capital. (Applause.)

I am also glad that we are meeting here at this University because so much of your nation's future depends upon this place of learning and others like it throughout your land. Here, the knowledge that **Ukraine** needs to build itself will be found. Here, the dreams of a new **Ukraine** will be dreamed.

I would like to say a special word to the students and scholars here. I know the times are difficult now, and I commend you for taking the hard road, for putting the needs of your future and your nation above immediate personal concerns. Your efforts will be repaid, for your independent country has a better chance to create freedom and prosperity than it has had in centuries, and to do it in a way that is uniquely your own as one of Europe's oldest peoples forging one of its newest democracies. (Applause.)

Ukraine is rising to the historic challenge of its reemergence as a nation on the world's stage. Already your nation can claim responsibility for a major contribution to global peace. Your wise decision to eliminate nuclear weapons on your territory has earned your nation respect and gratitude everywhere in the world. (Applause.)

Your accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty has sent an unmistakable message for peace and against weapons of mass destruction. Without those farsighted acts, the historic vote yesterday by the world's nations -- to extend the nonproliferation treaty indefinitely and unconditionally -- would not have been possible. This will make the people of the world for generations to come safer and more secure.

For 25 years this treaty has been the cornerstone of the world's efforts to reduce the dangers of nuclear weapons. I am proud of the leadership of the United States in securing the extension of the treaty. But I am also proud of the role that **Ukraine** played, and you should be proud as well.

In the short period of your independence, you have helped make the world a safer, more hopeful place, and I thank you for that. (Applause.) Thank you.

A few moments ago Rector Skopenko quoted Taras Schevchenko's question; When will we receive our Washington with a new and righteous law? The answer is now, because so many **Ukrainians** are striving to build a nation ruled by law and governed by the will of the people.

Holding free, fair and frequent elections, protecting the rights of minorities, building bridges to other democracies -- these mark the way to a "new birth of freedom," in the phrase of our great President, Abraham Lincoln.

Already you have held a landmark election that produced the first transfer of power from one democratic government to another in any of the nations that emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union. You have put tolerance at the heart of your law, and law at the heart of your state. You have claimed your place in the ranks of the world's great democracies as demonstrated by the sight of your flag flying next to the American flag at the White House during President Kuchma's historic visit last November.

You have earned the admiration of the free world by setting on a course of economic reform and staying on that course despite the pain of adjustment. President Kuchma's decision to launch ambitious economic reforms and to press ahead with them was truly bold. We know that after so many decades of a command-and-control economy, reform

carries real human cost in the short-term -- in lost jobs, lower wages, lost personal security.

But your efforts will not be in vain, because the course is right, even if the path is difficult. The toil is bitter, but the harvest is sweet, as the old Proverb says. In time your transformation will deliver better, more prosperous lives and the chance for you and your children to realize your God-given potential. You and your children will reap the harvest of today's sacrifices.

In the pursuit of peace and prosperity, you have been well-served by President Kuchma and his government's bold and farsighted leadership. You should know this: As you build your future, the United States will stand with you. (Applause.)

For America, support for an independent **Ukraine** secure in its recognized borders, is not only a matter of sympathy, it is a matter of our national interest as well. We look to the day when a democratic and prosperous **Ukraine** is America's full political and economic partner in a bulwark of stability in Europe. (Applause.)

Fifty years ago, Americans and **Ukrainians** engaged in a common struggle against fascism, and, together, we won. When U.S. troops met a Soviet force at the Elbe for the first time and made that legendary handshake across a liberated Europe, the unit they met was the First **Ukrainian** Army. (Applause.)

Cruel events made that embrace brief. During the decades of East-West separation, it was left to a million **Ukrainian** Americans to keep alive the ties between our people. They fought hard to ensure that the hope for freedom for you never died out. Today, their dreams are being fulfilled by you. And on behalf of all **Ukrainian** Americans, I rejoice in standing here with you. (Applause.)

In the months and years ahead, our partnership will grow stronger. Together we will help design the architecture of security in an undivided Europe so that **Ukraine's** security is strengthened.

We will increase defense contacts between our nations, consult with one another as NATO prepares to expand, and foster ties between **Ukraine** and the West. **Ukraine** has already taken a strong leadership role in forming the Partnership for Peace, which is uniting Europe's democracies in military cooperation and creating a more secure future.

We will work with one another as **Ukraine** becomes a full partner in the new Europe, and we will deepen the friendship between our peoples in concrete economic ways.

The United States has shown its support for **Ukraine** in deeds, not just words -- in the commitment of more than a billion dollars in assistance over three and a half years for political and economic reform, another \$350 million to help eliminate nuclear weapons; in leading the world's financial institutions to commit \$2.7 billion for **Ukraine's** future; and urging our partners in the G-7 to do even more. We will continue to work to assist you to build a brighter future. (Applause.)

Our nations have established vigorous trade and investment ties, and a group of American and **Ukrainian** businesspeople are promoting these ties here in **Ukraine** this year and next year in their meeting in the United States. Together we will enter into exciting new ventures, such as commercial space launch cooperation.

All these efforts will help to build a **Ukraine** that is

Sovereign and democratic, confident and successful --a **Ukraine** that will fulfill the hopes of your 52 million citizens and provide an essential anchor of stability and freedom in a part of the world still reeling from rapid change, still finding its way toward the 21st century.
(Applause.)

ANCHOR

Of course, in the end it is you who will make your own future. The people of **Ukraine** have it in their power to fulfill their oldest wishes and shape a very new destiny. To live up to that promise, to make the most of your role in this global economy in the information age, your ability to learn and learn and learn will be essential.
(Applause.)

And so I urge you to take to heart the words of Schevchenko: "Study my brothers, study and read, learn of foreign things, but don't forget that which is yours." (Applause.)

Our two nations are bound together by a common vision of freedom and prosperity. Together we shall make that vision real.

As the great poet of our democracy, Walt Whitman, wrote a century ago, "The strongest and sweetest songs yet remain to be sung".
(Applause.) Those strong, sweet songs are of free people fulfilling their hopes and dreams; they are the songs of **Ukraine's** tomorrow.
(Applause.)

God bless America. Slava Ukrainiy.

END11:30 A.M. (L)

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White House Press Release

**JOINT SUMMIT STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE
LEONID D. KUCHMA**

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 22, 1994

JOINT SUMMIT STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT OF **UKRAINE** LEONID D. KUCHMA

On the occasion of his State visit to the United States on November 21-23, 1994, Leonid D. Kuchma, President of **Ukraine**, met with William J. Clinton, President of the United States, to open a qualitatively new stage in the growing U.S.-**Ukrainian** partnership aimed at furthering bilateral and multilateral cooperation on a broad range of issues between the two countries.

The Presidents renewed their shared commitment to broaden the bilateral democratic partnership into which the two countries have entered. President Clinton underscored the importance the United States attaches to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of **Ukraine**. In this context, President Clinton assured President Kuchma that the United States will continue to give high priority to supporting **Ukraine** in its efforts to achieve genuine economic independence, its transition to a market economy and its integration into the global economic system.

Bilateral Relations

In keeping with their commitment to strengthen bilateral relations, President Clinton and President Kuchma signed the Charter of American-**Ukrainian** Partnership, Friendship and Cooperation. The Presidents praised the Charter as the framework for developing closer relations over the coming years. President Clinton noted in particular **Ukraine's** valuable contribution to this new framework by its momentous decision to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which is an historic step forward on the road toward strengthening the international nuclear weapons nonproliferation regime and global

security and stability.

The Presidents inaugurated this new framework of bilateral relations by signing an Agreement on Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes and agreed to work closely to explore additional bilateral cooperative space-related opportunities in the future. They noted that this process had begun with a U.S.-**Ukraine** discussion of **Ukraine's** interest in the commercial launch market.

Both Presidents expressed their determination to broaden bilateral cooperation in a range of new areas. During the visit, the two governments brought into force a bilateral customs cooperation agreement and announced their intention to conclude negotiations on a bilateral civil aviation agreement. The Presidents recognized the threat that organized crime and corruption pose for reform and expanded business activity in **Ukraine**, and they agreed to cooperate in combating crime and promoting the rule of law as an essential safeguard of social stability and civil and human rights. The Presidents will encourage exchanges among **Ukrainians** and Americans in the fields of science, technology and education. The Presidents, noting the valuable role of culture in bringing nations closer together, voiced support for wide-ranging cultural contacts between the United States and **Ukraine**. Both Presidents also recognized the importance of health care for the well-being of their people, and President Clinton announced that the United States would provide **Ukraine** hospital equipment, medical supplies and assistance with health programs.

The Presidents intend to maintain frequent high-level bilateral contacts to assure timely and effective implementation of activities. President Kuchma invited President Clinton to make an official return visit to **Ukraine** at the earliest convenient opportunity. President Clinton accepted this invitation with pleasure.

Economic Cooperation

The Presidents agreed that market-oriented economic reform provides the surest path to **Ukraine's** economic revival and its integration into the world economy. President Clinton reaffirmed full U.S. support for the reform policies recently adopted by President Kuchma's government and its conclusion of an IMF Systemic Transformation Facility program. President Kuchma outlined plans for accelerating the process of economic reform. These plans include intensifying structural reform efforts to encourage competition through enhanced macroeconomic stabilization and increased privatization. President Clinton commended President Kuchma for his leadership on economic reform and encouraged him to work toward early completion of negotiations with the IMF on a stand-by program. He stressed the importance of **Ukraine's** reform measures and the United States' readiness to support **Ukraine** in their implementation.

President Clinton announced that the United States would provide \$200 million in new assistance to **Ukraine** in Fiscal Year 1995. Of this amount, \$103 million will finance technical and economic assistance activities. The remaining \$97 million will provide balance of payments support, consisting of \$72 million in an energy sector grant and \$25 million in USDA concessional food credits, as provided in agreements signed by the two Governments during the State visit. When combined with \$3 million of pharmaceuticals and other commodities from Fiscal

Year 1994, the United States will provide \$100 million in balance of payments support in the next few months to reinforce **Ukraine's** IMF program.

This United States economic support is in recognition of **Ukraine's** major initiative to launch a comprehensive economic reform program. This support is in addition to the \$350 million in economic assistance committed to **Ukraine** in March 1994, the major part of which will take effect once reforms have begun. The Presidents reviewed the progress made in the implementation of economic assistance programs for **Ukraine** and agreed to work together to accelerate delivery and ensure the full disbursement of all current and previous commitments, as well as the effectiveness of these programs.

President Kuchma expressed appreciation for United States leadership in mobilizing international support for **Ukraine**, particularly the prompt United States response to the **Ukrainian** request for balance of payments support. Looking to the future, President Clinton reaffirmed United States commitments made at the Washington donor session and the Winnipeg G-7 conference in October and his intention to continue the United States' leading role in encouraging international support for **Ukrainian** reform.

The Presidents recognized the important contribution the private sector can make to **Ukraine's** economic prosperity through expanded trade and investment. President Clinton welcomed **Ukraine's** ratification of the bilateral investment treaty and noted that the Western NIS Enterprise Fund has now opened its offices in Kiev. President Kuchma expressed the hope that the U.S. Senate would ratify the treaty at an early date. The leaders emphasized the importance of privatization if expanded cooperation between American enterprises and an emerging private sector in **Ukraine** is to begin in earnest.

On November 21 President Kuchma and members of his government participated in an OPIC-sponsored business conference which reviewed investment opportunities in **Ukraine**. Both Presidents agreed that there was enormous potential for private sector cooperation in developing key sectors of the **Ukrainian** economy. They specified, in particular, agriculture and food processing; pharmaceuticals and medical equipment; energy, including fossil and environmentally sound and safe nuclear power; aerospace, consistent with international obligations; civil aviation; telecommunications; environment and defense conversion.

The two leaders noted that the first session of the Joint U.S.-**Ukrainian** Commission on Trade and Investment is meeting during the State visit to discuss ways of promoting business cooperation and removing barriers to expanded trade and increased investment in **Ukraine**. The Commission is discussing the tax, legal and regulatory changes that **Ukraine** will need to adopt to support private business activity. President Clinton recognized the special circumstances facing economies in transition, such as **Ukraine's**, which seek to expand export markets, and offered to consult with the U.S. Congress on appropriate ways of reflecting this in U.S. trade legislation. The Presidents noted that expanded trade will be critical to the success of **Ukrainian** economic reform and agreed to make the expansion of trade and investment a priority in their economic cooperation efforts.

The Presidents also agreed to work toward expanding economic

cooperation within a multilateral framework and to promote **Ukraine's** integration into the global economy. President Clinton reaffirmed the United States' support for **Ukraine's** accession to the GATT/WTO, and noted that the United States is providing assistance to the **Ukrainian** government to support this process. The United States is also chairing the working group in Geneva overseeing **Ukraine's** accession.

The Presidents noted that the resolution of **Ukraine's** energy problems would have an important and positive impact on **Ukraine's** economic recovery. President Kuchma welcomed the United States' decision to provide part of its special balance of payments assistance in the form of an energy sector grant. Both leaders reviewed the progress that has been made in implementing cooperative programs aimed at the restructuring and reforming of **Ukraine's** energy sector and improving nuclear reactor safety. President Kuchma informed President Clinton of the recent agreement **Ukraine** reached with IAEA on the application of IAEA safeguards to all nuclear materials, except those for nuclear propulsion, utilized in **Ukraine**.

The Presidents agreed to continue to work together for the full implementation of the G-7 Naples Action Plan, and recognized that this will require G-7 cooperation and assistance. President Clinton drew attention to the significant resource commitments made at Naples, Corfu and Winnipeg and to the importance of receiving early assurances that the Chornobyl reactors would be shut down in accordance with the G-7 Action Plan. President Kuchma assured President Clinton that **Ukraine** takes seriously the international community's concerns about the continued operation of the Chornobyl nuclear power plant. He expressed **Ukraine's** readiness to work with the G-7 nations in the implementation of the Naples Action Plan, noting that its successful implementation is connected with a series of measures, including preparing the closure of the nuclear reactors, minimizing the social impact on the plant's personnel, and ensuring that sufficient economically-priced electricity is available to meet **Ukraine's** domestic needs. He also stressed the importance that **Ukraine** places on improving the stability of the shelter installed over the damaged reactor. Both Presidents agreed on the need for further close work in the G-7/**Ukraine** Task Force to ensure the future closure of Chornobyl, as envisioned in the G-7 Action Plan, as an integral part of a comprehensive solution to **Ukraine's** energy problems.

Defense and Security

The Presidents expressed satisfaction with the accomplishments and pace of implementation of the January 14 Trilateral Statement signed by the Presidents of the United States, **Ukraine**, and the Russian Federation. In addition, they renewed their commitment to international efforts to reduce sharply the threat and proliferation of nuclear weapons.

President Clinton congratulated **Ukraine** on its decision to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the historic renunciation of nuclear weapons which it represents and reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to provide security assurances to **Ukraine** in connection with its accession to the NPT by signing a Memorandum on Security Assurances on the margins of the Budapest CSCE Summit.

The Presidents look forward to early entry into force of the START-I treaty and agreed that the Lisbon Protocol Signatories should exchange instruments of ratification on the margins of the Budapest CSCE Summit. Both Presidents reiterated their views that the START-I treaty would not only serve the mutual interests of both countries, but also would serve to strengthen global peace and stability.

Both Presidents agreed to work closely to ensure the timely implementation of Nunn-Lugar programs intended to facilitate the dismantlement of strategic offensive arms and the security of nuclear weapons, achieve our joint non-proliferation objectives, and help in the conversion of **Ukraine's** defense industries. The Presidents agreed on the importance of identifying as soon as possible programs of assistance under the Nunn-Lugar program, using the \$75 million allocated to **Ukraine** out of Fiscal Year 1995 Nunn-Lugar funds. Both acknowledged the progress that had been made to date, noting in particular the utility of U.S. deactivation assistance, procurement of missile fuel storage tanks and the imminent completion of a U.S.-**Ukraine** communications link. The Presidents also recognized the significant contribution of the fourteen Western countries and the European Union in providing \$234 million of dismantlement and related assistance for **Ukraine**.

The Presidents discussed the evolving European security structure. They agreed that this process should be managed in a manner that strengthens the stability and security of all nations of Europe. As a tangible example of **Ukraine's** overall importance in European security and the U.S. commitment to expanded **Ukrainian** cooperation with NATO, President Clinton announced that the United States would make funds available to **Ukraine** under the Warsaw Initiative to support **Ukrainian** participation in the Partnership for Peace. The funds will contribute to **Ukraine's** ability to promote the objectives of the Partnership.

The two leaders announced that the two countries had agreed to move forward with a \$600,000 International Military Training and Education Program to assist in the professional development of **Ukraine's** armed forces. The Presidents also pledged to continue to expand military and defense contact programs designed to assist **Ukraine** in the restructuring of its defense establishment which is now under civilian leadership for the first time. In addition, the sides announced that **Ukraine** will host a U.S.-**Ukraine** combined peacekeeping training exercise late next spring. In the area of defense industry conversion, President Clinton informed President Kuchma that the United States would continue to provide assistance to U.S.-**Ukraine** joint ventures and would seek new partners for the important work of defense conversion.

The Presidents noted the importance of proceeding with defense industry conversion priorities and the need to expand opportunities for trade and investment in high technology industries. They also underscored the importance of the bilateral U.S.-**Ukraine** Memorandum of Understanding on the

Transfer of Missile Equipment and Technology signed last May 13. The Presidents also recognized the importance of broader international cooperation in ensuring reliable control over exports of sensitive materials and technology. President Clinton expressed the hope that **Ukraine** would become a member of the MTCR at an early date and

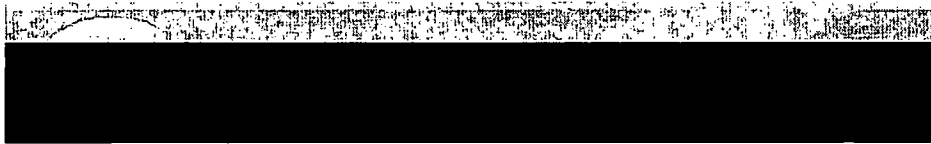
reiterated that the U.S. would support **Ukraine** in achieving this goal. They agreed to work together toward **Ukraine's** full participation in a successor regime to COCOM. President Clinton was pleased to note that a Science and Technology Center, funded by the United States and other donors, will soon begin operations in **Ukraine** and that this would assist **Ukraine** in redirecting the work of former defense scientists and engineers to civilian purposes.

Diplomatic Endeavors

Consistent with the new stage of bilateral relations, the Presidents also underscored the importance of ensuring that the diplomatic missions of both countries be fully capable of conducting their operations without hindrance. With this in mind, the Presidents announced the exchange of diplomatic notes to lift employment restrictions on diplomatic personnel and their families. President Clinton also used this occasion to welcome **Ukraine's** newly appointed Ambassador to the United States, Yuriy Shcherbak, to Washington, D.C.

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White House Press Release

JOINT STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL COOPERATION

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 4, 1994

JOINT STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL COOPERATION

The United States and **Ukraine** believe that expanded bilateral economic ties and commercial cooperation can make a significant contribution to strengthening their relations and developing free markets, economic growth and jobs in our two countries. Both countries are committed to making greater efforts to develop commercial projects based on trade, joint ventures and foreign direct investment, recognizing that individual commercial and investment decisions must be made by the enterprises concerned.

Trade

Both countries attach great significance to their bilateral Agreement on Trade Relations which came into force on June 22, 1992, and are committed to carrying out its full provisions, including those covering the protection of intellectual property.

The United States and **Ukraine** have agreed to establish a special Bilateral Commission on Trade and Investment, chaired on the U.S. side by the Department of Commerce and on the **Ukrainian** side by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. The Commission will prepare an action plan for promoting bilateral trade and investment. The two countries will set a date for the first meeting of the Commission early in 1994. The Department of Commerce also intends to organize a trade promotion mission, including U.S. company representatives, to **Ukraine**.

The two countries recognize that measures taken to reduce

tariffs and non-tariff barriers can provide an important stimulus to bilateral trade. The United States appreciates the importance of market access for economies in transition, such as **Ukraine**. In this regard, the United States, on March 3, 1994, extended to **Ukraine** the benefits of the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences. This provides **Ukraine** with duty-free access into the U.S. market for some 4,400 products. During 1994, U.S. technical experts will visit Kiev to provide **Ukrainian** exporters and officials with information on the operation of the GSP program.

The United States and **Ukraine** desire to provide liberal and reciprocal access to each other's market for goods and services. The two countries are committed to avoiding trade frictions and to facilitate access consistent with fair trade practices and their respective trade laws. They also intend to review and seek to remove technical barriers to trade related to standards, certification and testing of products.

In these efforts, both sides will be guided by the principles of the GATT. The United States is a contracting party to the GATT and supports **Ukraine's** interest in formally applying for GATT membership. The United States is prepared to provide technical assistance to help **Ukraine** implement a trade regime consistent with GATT membership and to consult with **Ukrainian** authorities concerning the process and terms of GATT accession.

The United States and **Ukraine** will also continue their ongoing discussions regarding the establishment of an effective export control regime that will allow **Ukraine** increased access to U.S. goods and high technology and allow **Ukraine** to participate fully in the COCOM Cooperation Forum. The U.S. is ready to provide technical assistance to help **Ukraine** create a national export control regime.

The two leaders noted **Ukraine's** interest in acquiring the status of a full and equal partner in the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). The United States and **Ukraine** will cooperate closely to help to achieve this goal, which will make an important contribution to international efforts to stem proliferation of ballistic missiles.

Investment

U.S. private investment in **Ukraine** can make an important contribution to **Ukraine's** transition to a market economy by providing capital, jobs, improving product quality and manufacturing efficiency and introducing management and technical know-how. Both sides agree the Avoidance of Double Taxation Treaty and Bilateral Investment Treaty, providing comprehensive protection for investors, are important steps and could stimulate private capital flows. Such agreements need to be accompanied by administrative, tax, regulatory and legislative changes in **Ukraine** to improve the overall climate for investment and to provide the necessary security and stability that investors seek. Identifying barriers to investment and exchanging information on ways to improve the investment climate in **Ukraine** will be an important objective of the Bilateral Commission on Trade and Investment.

The U.S. Overseas Private Investment Cooperation has agreed to organize a conference on investment in **Ukraine** to be held in Chicago in July 1994. This will follow up on an OPIC-organized investment mission which visited **Ukraine** in 1993.

Science and Technology Cooperation

Both sides agree to continue with exchanges of information in the area of science and technology and to cooperate in identifying opportunities for scientific and space research collaboration. They agreed to conclude a bilateral Science and Technology Agreement to formalize government-to-government cooperation and to establish a coordinating mechanism to foster bilateral science and technology cooperation. With the October 25, 1993 signing of a protocol for a Science and Technology Center in Kiev, both sides place a priority on getting this Center operational as quickly as possible. The two governments agreed to cooperate in the field of outer space and to hold early meetings of experts to consider specific issues and areas of cooperation in this field.

In addition, the leaders agreed to establish a special Joint Commission to facilitate cooperation in areas of high technology and scientific research and development.

Cooperation in Defense Conversion

The United States and **Ukraine** recognize that defense conversion is a priority task for each country and that cooperation will enable each country to meet that task more efficiently and effectively. To advance this cooperation, the two countries have established a United States - **Ukraine** Committee on the Conversion of Defense Industry, co-chaired by the U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense and the Minister of Engineering, Military-Industrial Complex and Conversion of **Ukraine**. On January 5, 1994, U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Perry and **Ukrainian** Deputy Minister of Engineering, Military-Industrial Complex and Conversion V. Pavylukov signed a statement of principles governing the work of this Committee. According to this statement of principles, the Committee will serve as a channel of communication between the Governments of the United States and **Ukraine** on the most important questions of cooperation in defense conversion.

Support for **Ukrainian** Reform

The two leaders continue to place the highest priority on the success of political and economic reform in **Ukraine**. The United States will provide up to 350 million dollars in economic assistance in Fiscal Year 1994 to support **Ukraine's** transition to a market-oriented economy and a democratic society. The United States extends this assistance with the understanding that full disbursement of this assistance will be contingent on **Ukraine's** proceeding with its process of reform, without which this assistance cannot be fully effective.

The United States and **Ukraine** also agree that international financial institutions, particularly the IMF and the IBRD, have an essential role to play in helping **Ukraine** create and implement a comprehensive reform program. The international financial institutions can provide significant financial resources to support such a program. The United States encourages **Ukraine** to work closely with the IMF and the IBRD in implementing a program of bold economic reforms. The United States, for its part, is prepared to exercise leadership within the G-7 to mobilize additional, multilateral assistance to support a comprehensive reform program.

Both sides recognize that the extent of commercial and economic cooperation currently existing between the two countries is far below its potential. They agree that the principles and objectives elaborated in this statement are the best basis upon which to expand rapidly trade and investment. The United States and **Ukraine** acknowledge, however, that before the full potential of their trade and economic cooperation can be realized, **Ukraine** must intensify adoption of a free-market system, including such elements as a dynamic private sector, the freeing of prices, and a fully convertible currency. The United States and **Ukraine** agree to work together to achieve these goals and to continue a process of reform which will provide the basis for the future prosperity of the **Ukrainian** people.

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White House Press Release

**REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRESIDENT LEONID KUCHMA OF UKRAINE
AT STATE ARRIVAL CEREMONY**

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 22, 1994

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT LEONID KUCHMA OF **UKRAINE**
AT STATE ARRIVAL CEREMONY

The South Lawn

11:08 A.M. EST

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Mr. President, Mrs. Kuchma, members
of the **Ukrainian** delegation, representatives of the UkrainianAmerican community,

It is indeed an honor to welcome to Washington the
leader of one of the world's youngest democracies and oldest nations.
To have you here with us today, Mr. President, is to be reminded that
live in a era of wonders, a time when people's long-denied hope or
having age-old dreams fulfilled, a time when the unstoppable power of
men and women who wish to be free has been demonstrated anew.

The rebirth of **Ukraine** as an independent state after
centuries of rule by others is one of the most inspiring developments
of our time. For ages **Ukraine** was divided by competing empires, then
subjugated to tsars and commissars.

Despite efforts to create an independent **Ukraine**,
dictators, terrible famines and relentless oppression all combined to
deny your people the right to shape their fate. Despite these
ordeals, the **Ukrainian** people have endured, preserving hope and their
identity and contributing greatly to the glories of European
civilization. Now, finally, **Ukraine** has reclaimed its independence
and its place as a pivotal state in the new Europe.

We congratulate you, Mr. President, and all **Ukrainians**
on your remarkable achievements in the almost three years since
regaining your freedom. You held a historic referendum and began the
hard work of reform and building democratic institutions. Above all,
Ukrainians are weathering the immense difficulties of political and

economic transition. In the face of continuous hardship, you have shown patience, bravery and the ability to overcome all obstacles -- an ability your young athletes like Oskana Baiul showed so spectacularly in the Olympic competition.

We honor you, Mr. President, in our nation's capital as the man who is leading a **Ukrainian** renaissance. Your boldness in the face of daunting problems reminds us of one of our greatest leaders, Franklin Roosevelt, who provided leadership in a time of great hardship in the United States. Like him, you inherited a nation in the throes of economic depression. And like him, you have lighted the darkness and created hope.

You have blazed a path ahead on the two most critical issues for the future: economic reform and nuclear weapons. Thanks to your leadership, **Ukraine** is making the hard choices that will ensure the prosperity **Ukrainians** deserve.

Thanks to your vision and that of the **Ukrainian** Parliament, you are removing the threat of nuclear weapons and laying the groundwork for an era of peace with your neighbors. I salute the courage you have shown. America will stand with you to support your independence, your territorial integrity, and your reforms. We are bound together by a dedication to peace and a devotion to freedom.

The flame of that commitment to freedom was kept burning during the Cold War by nearly a million **Ukrainian** Americans, some of whom are with us here today, who never forgot **Ukraine** and who are today contributing to its reawakening. (Applause.)

Now that your country is again free, all Americans are determined that the flame of **Ukrainian** freedom will burn ever brighter. We will stand with you.

Seventy-seven years ago today, Mr. President, on November 22nd, 1917, another generation of **Ukrainian** leaders declared the independence of **Ukraine**. It was a tragedy that civil war and bolshevism doomed that new state while it was still in its infancy.

Today, we are pleased and honored to welcome you, the leader of a **Ukraine** that is conquering the challenges of independence -- poised to fulfill its hopes, a nation that will grow into one of the great nations of Europe. And we say, Vitayemo. (Applause.) Welcome. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT KUCHMA: Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton, ladies and gentlemen. It's a great honor and great responsibility to address you now at this place. And I am grateful to Mr. President and the people of the United States for this possibility.

This beautiful lawn in front of the White House has got a specific feature, the words pronounced here belong to the whole of the world history and mankind.

Understanding and taking it into account, I would like the main thing all of us present here witness a great process -- the process of changes of the whole civilizations. An epoch of the global confrontation of two political systems with enormous military risk and economic wastefulness is over.

We are lucky that an attempt of expansion of totalitarian political structures to assault against the human rights values and freedoms of civilization was a failure. It was not the West who conquered, who gained victory, but that was the victory of the model of life which appreciates, most of all, a human being, its

personality, and gives space for its self-realization.

It is a special pleasure for me to say this in the United States of America, the great country where a human being has conquered its place not only from nature, but from politics, and with set hopes to become good and reliable partners for the United States in its efforts to transform the old -- (inaudible) -- into the era of victory of democratic values, civilization and high responsibility of states for the destiny and well-being of their peoples.

Today, they say that **Ukraine** is a poor country. We are not a poor country, we are a young country and an experienced one. That is why we are ready to learn in the sphere of economics, politics, humanism, the best examples of other countries.

This is the aim of my visit to the United States. At his time, your great President Abraham Lincoln was said that he should pray so that God is on the side of his people. Mr. Lincoln replied that he would not pray for that, for sometimes happen that people can make mistakes, and only God is always right -- adding that he would pray so that his people would be with God.

I am confident that both the American and **Ukrainian** peoples, moving along that avenue which I have mentioned, will be together and with God.

Thank you. (Applause.)

END11:25 A.M. EST

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White House Press Release

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN IN EXCHANGE OF TOASTS

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 29, 1997

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN IN EXCHANGE OF TOASTS

The East Room

9:00 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good evening. President Jiang, Mrs. Wang, members of the **Chinese** delegation, Ambassador and Mrs. Sasser, distinguished guests, friends all, Hillary and I welcome you to America's house.

Mr. President, in your lifetime you have witnessed the sweep of a remarkable century, both in **China** and abroad. And in your different occupations you have lived a rich sampling of the human enterprise. While you lead **China** toward the future, we know you also are a student of the past, with an interest in our history, from Thomas Jefferson to Mark Twain. Not many heads of state can recite the Gettysburg Address, Mr. Lincoln's powerful hymn to the sanctity of our union and our guarantee of freedom.

China has played an important role in our history. In 1784, shortly after America's independence, the first American merchant ship landed in **China**. The **Chinese** officials knew we were not European, so they simply called us the "new people." And though we were unfamiliar, the **Chinese** allowed us to trade freely with them. So one of the oldest societies on Earth, **China**, extended the hand of friendship to the world's youngest nation.

The two centuries since then are a tiny fraction of recorded **Chinese** history. Long before the United States was even born, **China** was

a stronghold of creativity, knowledge, and wealth. From the printing **China** invented to the poetry it produced, from medicine and mathematics to the magnetic compass and humanistic philosophies, many of **China's** earliest gifts still enrich our lives today.

Now the **Chinese** people are dramatically building on this legacy. Economic reform over the past 20 years has transformed **China's** landscape and its people's daily lives -- lifting millions from poverty, giving more people education, shelter, choice of work, and a chance to provide for their children, bringing the **Chinese** people closer to the rest of the world and into a greater leadership role in the community of nations.

Now on the verge of the new century, both our nations seek to continue this progress, to contribute to **China's** growing prosperity, to encourage its democratic development, to support its emergence as a responsible global power and partner.

Surely a new world is dawning on the other side of the millennium. From Shanghai to San Francisco, a community is emerging that can become "Pacific" in every sense of the word. Communication and commerce cross even the world's widest ocean in only a matter of seconds, making all of us neighbors.

Let us make the most of these new realities. Our commercial and cultural relationship is strong and growing stronger. Our people travel back and forth, teaching and learning from each other. Mr. President, we Americans are proud that your son received a part of his education at one of our universities, and we want more of our young people to study in **China**. We want to work even more closely to promote peace, to fight drugs and organized crime; to build prosperity, to protect our environment for future generations.

We must press ahead on these fronts and more. I hope some day, Mr. President, the children of both our nations will say of us that our decision gave new meaning in our time to President Lincoln's call for a new birth of freedom. The United States has benefitted already beyond measure from the contributions of **Chinese** Americans, whose unique culture and values of family, education and hard work have strengthened the fabric of our society. Already, **China** has enriched America's history. Now, Mr. President, let us work together with confidence to enhance our common destiny.

The ancient text, the I Ching, in English is called The Book of Changes. It tells us leaders plan in the beginning when they do things; leaders consider problems and prevent them. With this summit we have considered problems, taken steps to prevent some of them, and we have begun to plan together for a future not of problems, but of progress for America, for **China**, for the world.

It is in that spirit that I ask you to join me in a toast to the people and the President of the People's Republic of **China**.

(A toast is offered.) (Applause.)

PRESIDENT JIANG: Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton, ladies and gentlemen. Allow me first to extend, on behalf of my wife and my colleagues, and also in my own name our hearty thanks to you, Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton, for hosting this grand banquet tonight in our honor. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my

profound gratitude to the government and people of the United States of America for the warm hospitality accorded us.

Twenty-five years ago, in a display of extraordinary vision, wisdom, and political courage, leaders of **China** and the United States reopened the door to exchanges between the two countries. Since then, many public figures and prominent personages from various circles in the two countries have made positive contributions to the establishment, improvement, and development of **China**-U.S. relations. I would like to pay my high tribute to them.

In the past 25 years, **China**-U.S. relations have on the whole moved forward, despite twists and turns. Our bilateral cooperation, which has expanded in scope and become increasingly diversified, promises a huge potential and good prospect. A friendly relationship between **China** and the United States not only benefits the two peoples, but contributes significantly to peace, stability, and prosperity in the Asia Pacific and the world at large.

This morning, President Clinton and I reached agreement on the goal of the future development of **China**-U.S. relations -- namely, with a view to promoting the lofty cause of world peace and development, **China** and the United States should strengthen cooperation and endeavor to build a constructive, strategic partnership oriented towards the 21st century. This marks an important step forward and a new beginning in the development of **China**-U.S. relations.

As two great nations, **China** and the United States have a major responsibility for the future of the world. Owing to differing national conditions, it is natural that we may not always see eye to eye with each other. In our view, differences in national conditions can precisely be the driving force for better mutual understanding, increased exchanges and greater efforts to draw on each other's experience. As for differences in views and positions, they can well be resolved gradually through dialogue between equals on the basis of mutual respect.

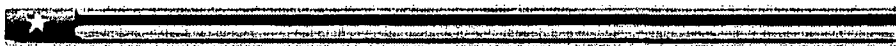
Differences that cannot be resolved for the time being can be put aside while concentrating on seeking common ground. What we have in common has outweighed what we differ, as we share broad common interests in, among others, the maintenance of world peace and security, the promotion of global economic growth and prosperity, and the protection of the living environment of mankind. This is the very important basis for developing a friendly relationship between our two countries.

American poet, Longfellow, once wrote, "But to act that each tomorrow finds us farther than today. Act, act, in the living present." We should go along with the trend of the times and respond to the will of the people and continue our march forward toward the establishment and development of a constructive strategic partnership between our two countries.

Now I would like to propose a toast to the heirs of Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton -- to the heirs of all our friends here, to the friendship between our two peoples and their well-being, and toward peace and prosperity. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

9:20 P.M. EST





White House Press Release

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT IN ADDRESS ON CHINA AND THE NATIONAL INTEREST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 24, 1997

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT IN ADDRESS ON **CHINA** AND THE NATIONAL INTEREST

Voice Of America
Washington, D.C.

2:50 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Ambassador Platt. I thank the Asia Society and the U.S.-**China** Education Foundation for bringing us together today. I thank Senator Baucus and Congressmen Dreier, Matsui, and Roemer for being here; Secretary Albright, Ambassador Barshefsky, National Security Advisor Berger, the other distinguished officials from the State Department. And I thank especially the members of the diplomatic corps who are here, and the students. And especially let me thank two of my favorite people, Joe Duffy and Evelyn Lieberman, for the work of the Voice of America and the USIA, all that they do to promote the free flow of ideas around the world.

Next week, when President Jiang Zemin comes to Washington, it will be the first state visit by a **Chinese** leader to the United States for more than a decade. The visit gives us the opportunity and the responsibility to chart a course for the future that is more positive and more stable and, hopefully, more productive than our relations have been for the last few years.

China is a great country with a rich and proud history and a strong future. It will, for good or ill, play a very large role in shaping the 21st century in which the children in this audience today, children all across our country, all across **China**, and indeed all across the world, will live.

At the dawn of the new century, **China** stands at a crossroads. The direction **China** takes toward cooperation or conflict will profoundly affect Asia, America, and the world for decades. The emergence of a **China** as a power that is stable, open, and non-aggressive, that embraces free markets, political pluralism, and the rule of law, that works with us to build a secure international order -- that kind of **China**, rather than a **China** turned inward and confrontational, is deeply in the interests of the American people.

Of course, **China** will choose its own destiny. Yet by working with **China** and expanding areas of cooperation, dealing forthrightly with our differences, we can advance fundamental American interests and values.

First, the United States has a profound interest in promoting a peaceful, prosperous, and stable world. Our task will be much easier if **China** is a part of that process -- not only playing by the rules of international behavior, but helping to write and enforce them.

China is a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Its support was crucial for peacekeeping efforts in Cambodia and building international mandates to reverse Iraq's aggression against Kuwait and restore democracy to Haiti. As a neighbor of India and Pakistan, **China** will influence whether these great democracies move toward responsible cooperation both with each other and with **China**.

From the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea, **China's** need for a reliable and efficient supply of energy to fuel its growth can make it a force for stability in these strategically critical regions. Next week, President Jiang and I will discuss our visions of the future and the kind of strategic relationship we must have to promote cooperation, not conflict.

Second, the United States has a profound interest in peace and stability in Asia. Three times this century, Americans have fought and died in Asian wars -- 37,000 Americans still patrol the Cold War's last frontier, on the Korean DMZ. Territorial disputes that could flair in the crises affecting America require us to maintain a strong American security presence in Asia. We want **China** to be a powerful force for security and cooperation there.

China has helped us convince North Korea to freeze and ultimately end its dangerous nuclear program. Just imagine how much more dangerous that volatile peninsula would be today if North Korea, reeling from food shortages, with a million soldiers encamped 27 miles from Seoul, had continued this nuclear program.

China also agreed to take part in the four-party peace talks that President Kim and I proposed with North Korea, the only realistic avenue to a lasting peace. And **China** is playing an increasingly constructive role in Southeast Asia by working with us and the members of ASEAN to advance our shared interests in economic and political security.

Next week I'll discuss with President Jiang the steps we can take together to advance the peace process in Korea. We'll look at ways to strengthen our military to military contacts, decreasing the chances of miscalculation and broadening America's contacts with the next generation of **China's** military leaders. And I will reiterate to President Jiang America's continuing support for our one **China** political, which has allowed democracy to flourish in Taiwan, and Taiwan's relationship with the PRC to grow more stable and prosper. The Taiwan question can only be settled by the **Chinese** themselves peacefully.

Third, the United States has a profound interest in keeping weapons of mass destruction and other sophisticated weapons out of unstable regions and away from rogue states and terrorists. In the 21st century, many of the threats to our security will come not from great power conflict, but from states that defy the international community and violent groups seeking to undermine peace, stability and democracy. **China** is already a nuclear power with increasingly sophisticated industrial and technological capabilities. We need its help to prevent dangerous weapons from falling into the wrong hands.

For years, **China** stood outside the major international arms control regimes. Over the past decade, it has made important and welcome decisions to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Biological Weapons Convention, and to respect key provisions of the Missile Technology Control Regime. Last year at the United Nations, I was proud to be the first world leader to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. **China's** Foreign Minister was the second leader to do so.

China has lived up to its pledge not to assist unsafeguarded nuclear facilities in third countries, and it is developing a system of export controls to prevent the transfer or sale of technology for weapons of mass destruction.

But **China** still maintains some troubling weapons supply relationships. At the summit, I will discuss with President Jiang further steps we hope **China** will take to end or limit some of these supply relationships and to strengthen and broaden its export control system. And I will make the case to him that these steps are, first and foremost, in **China's** interest, because the spread of dangerous weapons and technology would increase instability near **China's** own borders.

Fourth, the United States has a profound interest in fighting drug-trafficking and international organized crime. Increasingly, smugglers and criminals are taking advantage of **China's** vast territory and its borders with 15 nations to move drugs and weapons, aliens and the proceeds of illegal activities from one point in Asia to another, or from Asia to Europe.

China and the United States already are cooperating closely on alien smuggling, and **China** has taken a tough line against narco trafficking, a threat to its children, as well as our own. Next week I will propose to President Jiang that our law enforcement communities intensify their efforts together.

Fifth, the United States has a profound interest in making global trade and investment as free, fair, and open as possible. Over the past five years, trade has produced more than one-third of America's economic growth. If we are to continue generating good jobs and higher incomes in our country, when we are just 4 percent of the world's population, we must continue to sell more to the other 96 percent. One of the best ways to do that is to bring **China** more fully into the world's trading system. With a quarter of the world's population and its fastest growing economy, **China** could and should be a magnet for our goods and services.

Even though American exports to **China** now are at an all-time high, so, too, is our trade deficit. In part, this is due to the strength of the American economy, and to the fact that many products we used to buy in other Asian countries now are manufactured in **China**. But clearly, an important part of the problem remains lack of access to **China's** markets.

We strongly support **China's** admission into the World Trade Organization. But in turn, **China** must dramatically improve access for

foreign goods and services. We should be able to compete fully and fairly in **China's** marketplace, just as **China** competes in our own.

Tearing down trade barriers also is good for **China**, and for the growth of **China's** neighbors and, therefore, for the stability and future of Asia. Next week, President Jiang and I will discuss steps **China** must take to join the WTO and assume its rightful place in the world economy.

Finally, the United States has a profound interest in ensuring that today's progress does not come at tomorrow's expense. Greenhouse gas emissions are leading to climate change. **China** is the fastest growing contributor to greenhouse gas emissions, and we are the biggest greenhouse gas emitter. Soon, however, **China** will overtake the United States and become the largest contributor. Already, pollution has made respiratory disease the number one health problem for **China's** people. Last March, when he visited **China**, Vice President Gore launched a joint forum with the **Chinese** on the environment and development so that we can work with **China** to pursue growth and protect the environment at the same time.

China has taken some important steps to deal with its need for more energy and cleaner air. Next week, President Jiang and I will talk about the next steps **China** can take to combat climate change. It is a global problem that must have a global solution that cannot come without **China's** participation, as well. We also will talk about what American companies and technology can do to support **China** in its efforts to reduce air pollution and increase clean energy production.

Progress in each of these areas will draw **China** into the institutions and arrangements that are setting the ground rules for the 21st century -- the security partnerships, the open trade arrangements, the arms control regime, the multinational coalitions against terrorism, crime and drugs, the commitments to preserve the environment and to uphold human rights. This is our best hope, to secure our own interests and values and to advance **China's** in the historic transformation that began 25 years ago, when **China** reopened to the world.

As we all know, the transformation already has produced truly impressive results. Twenty-five years ago, **China** stood apart from and closed to the international community. Now, **China** is a member of more than 1,000 international organizations -- from the International Civil Aviation Organization to the International Fund for Agricultural Development. It has moved from the 22nd largest trading nation to the 11th. It is projected to become the second largest trader, after the United States, by 2020. And today, 40,000 young **Chinese** are studying here in the United States, with hundreds of thousands more living and learning in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

China's economic transformation has been even more radical. Market reforms have spurred more than two decades of unprecedented growth, and the decision at the recently ended 15th Party Congress to sell off most all of **China's** big, state-owned industries promises to keep **China** moving toward a market economy.

The number of people living in poverty has dropped from 250 million to 58 million, even as **China's** population has increased by nearly 350 million. Per capita income in the cities has jumped 550 percent in just the past decade.

As **China** has opened its economy, its people have enjoyed greater freedom of movement and choice of employment, better schools and housing. Today, most **Chinese** enjoy a higher standard of living than at any time in **China's** modern history. But as **China** has opened economically, political reform has lagged behind.

Frustration in the West turned into condemnation after the terrible events in Tiananmen Square. Now, nearly a decade later, one of the great questions before the community of democracies is how to pursue the broad and complex range of our interests with **China** while urging and supporting **China** to move politically as well as economically into the 21st century. The great question for **China** is how to preserve stability, promote growth, and increase its influence in the world, while making room for the debate and the dissent that are a part of the fabric of all truly free and vibrant societies. The answer to those questions must begin with an understanding of the crossroads **China** has reached.

As **China** discards its old economic order, the scope and sweep of change has rekindled historic fears of chaos and disintegration. In return, **Chinese** leaders have worked hard to mobilize support, legitimize power and hold the country together, which they see is essential to restoring the greatness of their nation and its rightful influence in the world. In the process, however, they have stifled political dissent to a degree and in ways that we believe are fundamentally wrong, even as freedom from want, freedom of movement, and local elections have increased.

This approach has caused problems within **China** and in its relationship to the United States. **Chinese** leaders believe it is necessary to hold the nation together, to keep it growing, to keep moving toward its destiny. But it will become increasingly difficult to maintain the closed political system in an ever more open economy and society.

China's economic growth has made it more and more dependent on the outside world for investment, markets, and energy. Last year it was the second largest recipient of foreign direct investment in the world. These linkages bring with them powerful forces for change. Computers and the Internet, fax machines and photo-copiers, modems and satellites all increase the exposure to people, ideas, and the world beyond **China's** borders. The effect is only just beginning to be felt.

Today more than a billion **Chinese** have access to television, up from just 10 million two decades ago. Satellite dishes dot the landscape. They receive dozens of outside channels, including **Chinese** language services of CNN, Star TV, and Worldnet. Talk radio is increasingly popular and relatively unregulated in **China's** 1,000 radio stations. And 70 percent of **China's** students regularly listen to the Voice of America.

China's 2,200 newspapers, up from just 42 three decades ago, and more than 7,000 magazines and journals are more open in content. A decade ago, there were 50,000 mobile phones in **China**; now there are more than 7 million. The Internet already has 150,000 accounts in **China**, with more than a million expected to be on line by the year 2000. The more ideas and information spread, the more people will expect to think for themselves, express their own opinions and participate. And the more that happens, the harder it will be for their government to stand in their way.

Indeed, greater openness is profoundly in **China's** own interest. If welcomed, it will speed economic growth, enhance the world influence of **China** and stabilize society. Without the full freedom to think, question, to create, **China** will be at a distinct disadvantage, competing with fully open societies in the Information Age where the greatest

source of national wealth is what resides in the human mind.

China's creative potential is truly staggering. The largest population in the world is not yet among its top 15 patent powers. In an era where these human resources are what really matters, a country that holds its people back cannot achieve its full potential.

Our belief that, over time, growing interdependence would have a liberalizing effect in **China** does not mean in the meantime we should or we can ignore abuses in **China** of human rights or religious freedom. Nor does it mean that there is nothing we can do to speed the process of liberalization.

Americans share a fundamental conviction that people everywhere have the right to be treated with dignity, to give voice to their opinion, to choose their own leaders, to worship as they please. From Poland to South Africa, from Haiti to the Philippines, the democratic saga of the last decade proves that these are not American rights or Western rights or developed world rights, they are the birthrights of every human being enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Those who fight for human rights and against religious persecution, at the risk of their jobs, their freedom, even their lives, find strength through knowledge that they are not alone, that the community of democracies stands with them. The United States, therefore, must and will continue to stand up for human rights, to speak out against their abuse in **China** or anywhere else in the world. To do otherwise would run counter to everything we stand for as Americans. (Applause.)

Over the past year, our State Department's annual human rights report again pulled no punches on **China**. We cosponsored a resolution critical of **China's** human rights record in Geneva, even though many of our allies had abandoned the effort. We continue to speak against the arrest of dissidents, and for a resumed dialogue with the Dalai Lama, on behalf of the people and the distinct culture and unique identity of the people of Tibet -- not their political independence, but their uniqueness.

We established Radio Free Asia. We are working with Congress to expand its broadcast and to support civil society and the rule of law programs in **China**. We continue to pursue the problem of prison labor and we regularly raise human rights in all our high-level meetings with the **Chinese**.

We do this in the hope of a dialogue. And in dialogue we must also admit that we in America are not blameless in our social fabric - our crime rate is too high, too many of our children are still killed with guns, too many of our streets are still riddled with drugs. We have things to learn from other societies as well, and problems we have to solve. And if we expect other people to listen to us about the problems they have, we must be prepared to listen to them about the problems we have.

This pragmatic policy of engagement, of expanding our areas of cooperation with **China** while confronting our differences openly and respectfully -- this is the best way to advance our fundamental interests and our values and to promote a more open and free **China**.

I know there are those who disagree. They insist that **China's** interests and America's are inexorably in conflict. They do not believe the **Chinese** system will continue to evolve in a way that elevates not only human material condition, but the human spirit. They, therefore,

believe we should be working harder to contain or even to confront **China** before it becomes even stronger.

I believe this view is wrong. Isolation of **China** is unworkable, counterproductive, and potentially dangerous. Military, political, and economic measures to do such a thing would find little support among our allies around the world and, more importantly, even among **Chinese** themselves working for greater liberty. Isolation would encourage the **Chinese** to become hostile and to adopt policies of conflict with our own interests and values. It will eliminate, not facilitate, cooperation on weapons proliferation. It would hinder, not help, our efforts to foster stability in Asia. It would exacerbate, not ameliorate, the plight of dissidents. It would close off, not open up, one of the world's most important markets. It would make **China** less, not more, likely to play by the rules of international conduct and to be a part of an emerging international consensus.

As always, America must be prepared to live and flourish in a world in which we are at odds with **China**. But that is not the world we want. Our objective is not containment and conflict; it is cooperation. We will far better serve our interests and our principles if we work with a **China** that shares that objective with us. (Applause.)

Thirty years ago, President Richard Nixon, then a citizen campaigning for the job I now hold, called for a strategic change in our policy toward **China**. Taking the long view, he said, we simply cannot afford to leave **China** forever outside the family of nations. There is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation.

Almost two decades ago, President Carter normalized relations with **China**, recognizing the wisdom of that statement. And over the past two and a half decades, as **China** has emerged from isolation, tensions with the West have decreased; cooperation has increased; prosperity has spread to more of **China's** people. The progress was a result of **China's** decision to play a more constructive role in the world and to open its economy. It was supported by a far-sighted America policy that made clear to **China** we welcome its emergence as a great nation.

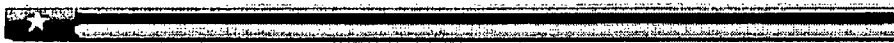
Now, America must stay on that course of engagement. By working with **China** and making our differences clear where necessary, we can advance our interests and our values and **China's** historic transformation into a nation whose greatness is defined as much by its future as its past.

Change may not come as quickly as we would like, but, as our interests are long-term, so must our policies be. We have an opportunity to build a new century in which **China** takes its rightful place as a full and strong partner in the community of nations, working with the United States to advance peace and prosperity, freedom and security for both our people and for all the world. We have to take that chance.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

3:15 P.M. EDT





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White House Press Release

PRESS CONFERENCE BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 29, 1997

PRESS CONFERENCE BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN

Old Executive Office Building

3:30 P.M. EST

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Mr. President, let me again say how pleased we are to welcome the leader of a great people with a remarkable civilization, history and culture -- a people now with its focus on the future. Your visit gives us the opportunity and the responsibility to build a future that is more secure, more peaceful, more prosperous for both our people.

To that end, I am pleased that we have agreed to regular summit meetings. I look forward to visiting **China** next year. We also have agreed to high-level dialogues between our Cabinet officials on the full range of security matters, and we will connect a presidential hotline to make it easier to confer at a moment's notice.

China and the United States share a profound interest in a stable, prosperous, open Asia. We've worked well together in convincing North Korea to end its dangerous nuclear program. Today, President Jiang and I agreed we will urge Pyongyang to take part in four-party peace talks with South Korea.

We also agreed to strengthen contacts between our militaries, including through a maritime agreement to decrease the chances of miscalculation and increase America's ties to a new generation of **China's** military leaders.

A key to Asia's stability is a peaceful and prosperous relationship between the People's Republic of **China** and Taiwan. I reiterated America's longstanding commitment to a one **China** policy. It

has allowed democracy to flourish in Taiwan and provides a framework in which all three relationships can prosper -- between the United States and the PRC, the United States and Taiwan, and Taiwan and the People's Republic of **China**.

I told President Jiang that we hope the People's Republic and Taiwan would resume a constructive cross-strait dialogue and expand cross-strait exchanges. Ultimately, the relationship between the PRC and Taiwan is for the **Chinese** themselves to determine -- peacefully.

President Jiang and I agreed that the United States and **China** share a strong interest in stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction and other sophisticated weaponry in unstable regions and rogue states -- notably, Iran. I welcome the steps **China** has taken and the clear assurances it has given today to help prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and related technology.

On the basis of these steps and assurances, I agreed to move ahead with the U.S.-**China** agreement for cooperation concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. It will allow our companies to apply for licenses to sell equipment to **Chinese** nuclear power plants, subject to U.S. monitoring. This agreement is a win-win-win. It serves America's national security, environmental and economic interests.

President Jiang and I agreed to increase the cooperations between our countries in fighting international organized crime, drug trafficking and alien smuggling. Our law enforcement officials will share information and consult regularly. And starting next year, we will station drug enforcement administration officers in Beijing.

I'm also pleased that we will expand our cooperation on rule of law programs. Through them, we'll help **China** to train judges and lawyers, increase our exchanges of legal experts and materials, strengthen commercial law and arbitration in **China**, and share ideas on issue such as legal aide and administrative reform.

In both **China** and the United States, trade has been a critical catalyst for growth. **China's** the fastest growing market in the world for our goods and services. Tomorrow, Boeing will sign a contract for the largest sale of airplanes to **China** in history -- 50 jets, valued at \$3 billion. This contract will support tens of thousands of America jobs and provide **China** with a modern fleet of passenger planes.

Still, access to **China's** market remains restricted for many America goods and services. Just as **China** can compete freely and fairly in America, so our good and services should be able to compete freely and fairly in **China**. The United States will do everything possible to bring **China** into the World Trade Organization as soon as possible, provided **China** improves access to its market. **China's** decision today to join the information technology agreement, which cuts to zero tariffs on computers, semiconductors and telecommunications equipment, is a strong step in the right direction.

As we pursue growth, we almost protect our shared environment. Already, pollution has made respiratory illness the leading health problem in **China**. Today our countries agreed to a joint initiative that will help **China** reduce air pollution and increase clean energy production, including through the use of American technology. The initiative builds upon the work begun by the Vice President in Beijing this spring.

I also discussed with President Jiang the special responsibility

our nations bear as the top two emitters of greenhouse gases to lead in finding a global solution to the global problem of climate change. This is a broad agenda in which **China** and the United States share important interests that we can best advance by working together.

But we also have fundamental differences, especially concerning human rights and religious freedom. I'm convinced the best way to address them is directly and personally, as we did yesterday and today, and as we will continue to do until this issue is no longer before us, when there is full room for debate, dissent and freedom to worship as part of the fabric of a truly free **Chinese** society.

Mr. President, I am very pleased that tomorrow you will visit Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, for it was there that our founders set forth the beliefs that define and inspire our nation to this very day. We believe all individuals, as a condition of their humanity, have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We believe liberty includes freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of association. We believe governments must protect those rights. These ideas grew out of the European Enlightenment, but today they are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, not as a birthright of Americans or Westerners, but of people everywhere.

I welcome **China's** decision to invite a delegation of distinguished American religious leaders to **China** to pursue a dialogue on religious freedom. I'm pleased we have recommitted to discuss our differences over human rights at both governmental and non-governmental levels.

Mr. President, **China** has known more millennia than America has known centuries. But for more than 220 years, we have been conducting our great experiment in democracy. We still struggle to make it work every day, and we know it requires struggle every day. The American people greatly admire **China's** extraordinary economic transformation, and we understand the importance that your own experiences and your present challenges lead you to place upon maintaining stability. We also appreciate the fact that human rights have been advanced in **China** by greater freedom from want, freedom of movement in career choice, and widely-held local elections. But we also believe that **China** will enjoy more growth and more stability as it embraces more fully the political, as well as the economic aspirations of all your people.

In the Information Age, the true wealth of nations lies in people's ability to create, to communicate, to innovate. Fully developing these resources requires people who feel free to speak, to publish, to associate, to worship without fear of reprisal. It is **China's** extraordinary human resources that will lift it to its rightful destiny of leadership and widely-held prosperity in the 21st century.

As we look ahead, the United States welcomes **China's** emergence as a full and constructive partner in the community of nations -- a great nation that joins its strength and influence to our own to advance peace and prosperity, freedom and security.

Mr. President, thank you for coming to the United States. We look forward to building on the good work of this day so that the best days for all our people are yet to come.

PRESIDENT JIANG: Ladies and gentlemen, a while ago I had an in-depth exchange of views with President Clinton on **China-U.S.** relations and on international and regional issues of mutual interest. The meeting was constructive and fruitful.

President Clinton and I have agreed on identifying the goal for the development of a **China**-U.S. relationship oriented toward the 21st century. The two sides believe that efforts to realize this goal will promote the fundamental interests of the two peoples and the noble cause of world peace and development.

We both agree that our two countries share extensive common interests in important matters bearing on the survival and development of mankind, such as peace and development, economic cooperation and trade, the prevention of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and environment protection.

Both sides are of the view that it is imperative to handle **China**-U.S. relations and promptly address our differences in accordance with the principles of mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and seeking common ground while putting aside differences.

President Clinton and I have also reached broad agreement on the establishment of a mechanism of regular summit meetings, the opening of a hotline between the two heads of state, the establishment of a mechanism of meetings and consultations between the two foreign ministers and other officials, an increase in exchanges between the armed forces of the two countries, and exchanges and cooperation between our two countries in economic, scientific, and technological, cultural, educational and law enforcement fields.

My visit will achieve the purpose of enhancing mutual understanding, broadening common ground, developing cooperation, and building a future together, and bring **China**-U.S. relations into a new stage of development.

President Clinton and I share the view that **China** and the United States enjoy a high degree of complementarity and a huge potential for cooperation in the economic and trade fields. To step up our economic cooperation and trade not only benefits our two peoples, but also contributes to economic development and prosperity of the world.

And I would also like to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, for the kind reception accorded to me.

Now, questions are welcome.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let a **Chinese** go first.

Q I have a question which I would like to ask of President Jiang. President Jiang, for the past few years you have reiterated once and again that we need to take a long-term perspective and we should view **China**-U.S. relations from the perspective of the 21st century. Therefore, Mr. President, what measures will the **Chinese** government make and how can a sound and stable relationship between **China** and the United States be brought into the 21st century.

PRESIDENT JIANG: And your question recalled of me of the first meeting that President Clinton and I had in Seattle when we agreed that we need to work to bring a world of prosperity, stability, and peace into the 21st century. The meeting that I had with President Clinton during my current trip to the United States was the fifth one that we had with one another. However, my visit is the first by a **Chinese** head of state to the United States in 12 years.

And this shows that both sides are working together and taking many specific measures to achieve this goal, and, to put it more specifically, I believe it is very important for the two peoples of **China** and the United States to enhance mutual understanding. And I'm also coming here to the United States for the purpose of deepening mutual understanding between our two peoples.

There are a lot of works from ancient **Chinese** literature and culture describing the view that one should scale a great height in order to have a grander sight. And the development of modern science and technology also told us that if you have a greater height you can see farther into the long distance.

I do not want to take much of the time, so I would like to leave more time to President Clinton. (Laughter.)

Q Sir, we're told that you have asked, even last night, for the release of some political dissidents. And the **Chinese** have not done so. Is it acceptable for **China** to refuse even such a modest gesture?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, first of all, we had a long discussion about human rights; we discussed a lot of issues related to human rights, every conceivable aspect of it. And we have profound disagreements there. But that does not mean that this visit should not have occurred or that we don't have a big interest in continuing to work together. After all, this interest that we have in working with **China** relates to the fact that we have common values and common interest related to preserving peace, to growing the economy, to stopping the spread of dangerous weapons. We have an agreement to fight narco trafficking. We have an agreement to work together on the terrific environmental challenges we face -- right across the board. So I think that you have to see this meeting in the context of that. But you shouldn't in any way minimize the steep differences that still remain between us over that issue.

Q I have a question for Your Excellency, President Jiang Zemin. Why is the Taiwan issue, the core issue in **China**-U.S. relations?

PRESIDENT JIANG: The three Sino-U.S. joint communiques all covered the question of Taiwan, because this question is involving the sovereignty of the People's Republic of **China**. The late Mr. Deng Xiaoping proposed the system of one country-two systems for the settlement of the Taiwan question and for the accomplishment of peaceful reunification of **China**, and this is the only correct policy.

However, we also say that we do not commit to renounce the use of force, that this is not directed at the compatriots in Taiwan, but rather at the external forces attempting to interfere in **China's** internal affairs and at those who are attempting to achieve separation of the country or the independence of Taiwan.

I'm very happy that I discussed this issue in clear-cut terms with President Clinton during my current trip as we have done in our previous meetings, and I believe the joint statement that the two sides are going to release will also carry explicit explanations on the Taiwan issue.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Terry.

Q Mr. President -- a question, actually, for both Presidents -- the shootings in Tiananmen Square were a turning point in U.S.-**Chinese** relations and cause many Americans to view **China** as an oppressive country that crushes human rights. President Jiang, do you have any

regrets about Tiananmen? And, President Clinton, are you prepared to lift any of the Tiananmen sanctions, and if not, why not?

PRESIDENT JIANG: The political disturbance that occurred at the turn of spring and summer in 1989 seriously disrupted social stability and jeopardized state security. Therefore, the **Chinese** government had to take necessary measures, according to law, to quickly resolve the matter to ensure that our country enjoys stability and that our reform and opening up proceeds smoothly.

The communist party of **China** and the **Chinese** government have long drawn the correct conclusion on this political disturbance, and facts have also proved that if a country with an over 1.2 billion population does not enjoy social and political stability, it cannot possibly have the situation of reform and opening up that we are having today.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: To answer your question, first, on the general point, I think it should be obvious to everyone that we have a very different view of the meaning events at Tiananmen Square. I believe that what happened and the aftermath and the continuing reluctance to tolerate political dissent has kept **China** from politically developing the level of support in the rest of the world that otherwise would have been developed. I also believe, as I said in my opening statement, that over the long run the societies of the 21st century that will do best will be those that are drawing their stability from their differences; that out of this whole harmony of different views, there is a coherence of loyalty to the nation because everyone has their say. It enables people to accept, for example, the results of the elections that they don't agree with. So we have a different view.

The depth of the view in the United States I think is nowhere better exemplified than in the so-called Tiananmen sanctions. We are the only nation in the world, as far as I know, that still has sanctions on the books as a result of the events of eight years ago.

Now, you asked a specific question. Our agreement on the nuclear proliferation issues allows me to lift the sanction on peaceful nuclear cooperation. It is the right thing to do for America. This is a good agreement. It furthers our national security interests. **China** is to be complimented for participating in it and the decision is the right one.

The other sanctions which cover a range of issues from OPIC loans to crime control equipment and many things in between under our law have to be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. So as a result of our meeting today, the only Tiananmen Square sanction which is being lifted is the one on peaceful nuclear cooperation, and it is a good thing for America and **China**. And I applaud the **Chinese** side for the work they have done with us on this specific nuclear issue. It is a substantial step forward for us.

PRESIDENT JIANG: I would like to speak a few words in addition to this question. Our two countries have different geographical locations, and we are also thousands of miles apart geographically. We also have different historic and cultural tradition, different levels of economic development, and different values. Therefore, I believe it is just natural for our two countries to hold different views on some issues.

Now, people in the world are standing at the turn of the century when we're going to bring in the 21st century, and science and

technology have developed significantly as compared with, for instance, the period when Newton lived. And I also believe the that world we are living in is a rich and diverse one, and, therefore, the concepts on democracy and human rights and on freedoms are relative and specific ones, and they are to be determined by the specific national situation of different countries.

And I am also strongly of the view that on such issues as the human rights issue, discussions can be held on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs of a country. And it goes without saying that as for the general rules universally abided by in the world, **China** also abides these rules.

My stay here in the United States is rather a brief one. There is the fact that since I came here I have been immersed in the atmosphere of friendship from the American people and I was also accorded a warm reception from President Clinton and Vice President Gore. However, sometimes noises came into my ears.

According to **Chinese** philosophy, Confucius say, isn't it a pleasure to have friends coming from afar. And, naturally, I am also aware that in the United States different views can be expressed and this is a reflection of democracy. And, therefore, I would like to quote a **Chinese** saying, which goes, "Seeing it once is better than hearing about it a hundred times." I've also got my real understanding about this during my current trip. However, I don't believe this will have any negative impact on our effort to approach each other.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let me -- I just have to say one other thing. (Laughter.) First of all, the United States recognizes that on so many issues **China** is on the right side of history, and we welcome it. But on this issue we believe the policy of the government is on the wrong side of history. There is, after all, now a Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The second point I'd like to make is that I can only speak from our experience. And America has problems of its own, which I have frankly acknowledged. But in our country I think it would amaze many of our **Chinese** guests to see some of the things that have been written and said about me, my family, our government, our policies. And, yet, after all this time, I'm still standing here and our country is stronger than it was before those words were uttered six years ago. (Laughter.)

Excuse me, before those words began to be said six years ago - they're still being said every day. (Laughter.)

Q Mr. President, I have a question for both President Jiang and President Clinton. President Clinton, you stated your position with regard to Taiwan that this is a question for the **Chinese** people to resolve. But we all understand you have brokered peace in Bosnia, in the Middle East. Do you see any role for the United States to play in the securing of a permanent peaceful environment in the Taiwan Strait?

And for President Jiang, about the cross-strait dialogue. President Clinton said that he has urged President Jiang to resume the interrupted dialogue. I wonder if President Jiang will respond positively and take some measures to resume the dialogue as soon as possible.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: First of all, I think the most important thing the United States can do to facilitate a peaceful resolution of the

differences is to adhere strictly to the one **China** policy we have agreed on, to make it clear that within the context of that one **China** policy, as articulated in the communiques and our own laws, we will maintain friendly, open relations with the people of Taiwan and **China**; but that we understand that this issue has to be resolved and resolved peacefully, and that if it is resolved in a satisfactory way, consistent with statements made in the past, then Asia will be stronger and more stable and more prosperous. That is good for the United States. And our own relations with **China** will move on to another stage of success.

I think the more we can encourage that, the better off we are. But I think in the end, since so much investment and contact has gone on in the last few years between Taiwan and **China**, I think the **Chinese** people know how to resolve this when the time is right, and we just have to keep saying we hope the time will be right as soon as possible. Sooner is better than later.

PRESIDENT JIANG: To answer your question in rather brief terms, all in all, our policy is one of peaceful reunification and one country-two systems. And as for more details, elaboration on that -- a few years ago I made my eight-point proposal along that line and at the just concluded 15th National Congress of the **Chinese** Communist Party, I also delivered a report which gave a rather comprehensive elaboration on this. Therefore, I will not repeat them here.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I, too, will try to be briefer.

Larry, go ahead.

Q Mr. President, could you elaborate a little bit more on your decision to approve these reactor -- or to permit reactor sales? It's certainly something that has raised concerns by some members of Congress. And also, could you describe just what kind of commitments you've received from **China**? Are they actually written?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, let me say, first of all, I am completely convinced that the agreements we have reached are sufficiently specific and clear that the requirements of the law will be met and that the national security of the United States will be advanced, and that we will have greater success in our global efforts to keep nuclear technology and other dangerous weapons from falling into the wrong hands as a result of the agreement we have made with **China**.

Q President Jiang, among the common ground you reached with President Clinton, what is the most important one?

PRESIDENT JIANG: I believe very importantly that I and President Clinton held full exchange of views on issues of mutual interest to us, and we also reached common ground on the major areas of our discussion. And I believe the most important thing is that both sides have expressed the desire to work in order to bring a world of peace, stability, and prosperity into the next century. I believe this is the most important common ground we have.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: John.

Q Mr. President, the United States and **China** are inevitably big powers in the Pacific. Are you comfortable with the size of America's military presence in Asia? And I'd also like to ask President Jiang if he would view a reduction of American troops in the region as a step towards improving relations.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: The question you ask of me, the answer is simple -- it's yes. I believe that our presence in the Pacific, where everyone knows we have no territorial or other destructive ambitions, is a stabilizing factor, and it will lead us to greater partnerships in meeting common security threats in the years ahead.

PRESIDENT JIANG: (Answered in **Chinese**.)

Q I have a question for both Presidents. Yesterday, Beijing announced its invitation for Russian President Boris Yeltsin to visit Beijing, and today, the heads of state of **China** and the United States have announced here in the United States to establish a constructive and strategic partnership between **China** and the United States. Therefore, I would like to have your comment -- the two Presidents -- your perception concerning the triangular relationship between **China**, the United States and Russia.

PRESIDENT JIANG: I don't see much contradiction in this aspect, for I am coming here to the United States, this time at the invitation of President Clinton for what is our fifth meeting with one another, and, therefore, we are already old friends. And so am I with President Yeltsin of Russia. And I still remember that in the spring of 1995, the three of us met in Moscow. Therefore, I don't see much contradiction in this regard. And we should all commit ourselves to building a peaceful and beautiful new century.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: During the Cold War we were all three suspicious of each other and we tried to play each other off against the other. (Laughter.) So when Russia argued with **China**, we were very happy. (Laughter.) Today, we must look to the future.

Russia has a strong democracy. Its economy is coming back. We are working with Russia in Bosnia and in other places around the world. In land mass, it is the largest country in the world. It is a rich country. It is a European country and an Asian country. And both **China** and the United States should have good relations with Russia. And then the three of us should work together on matters of common concern. This is not the Cold War; we need to be looking to the future and a different set of relations.

Q Mr. President and Mr. President, I wonder if you specifically had a chance to raise the cases of the two leading political dissidents in **China**, Wang Dan and Wei Jingsheng, with President Jiang and ask for their release. And to President Jiang, why not simply release these political prisoners? And, also, why not allow greater religious freedom in Tibet, which has become such an emotional issue here in the United States, as well? Thank you.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: First, as Mr. Berger I think has already told you, my answer to that question is, I discussed every aspect of this issue in great detail.

PRESIDENT JIANG: To be frank with you, President Clinton discussed all these relevant issues with me. I am the President of the People's Republic of **China** and not the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of **China**. And as for the issues such as the one concerning Wei Jingsheng, this involves **China's** criminal law and will be resolved gradually according to the legal procedure by the court of **China**.

As for the issue concerning religion in Tibet, in **China** people have the freedom to exercise their different religious beliefs. However, on this question, I believe religious freedom in Tibet and the violation of criminal law are issues within different framework. And,

therefore, I hope that mutual understanding between us will be promoted.

Q My question is for President Clinton. In **China**, sometimes we are confused by American different policy to **China**. We know when you - there are factions in Congress which aren't friendly to **China**. So as President, how do you coordinate the unbalance to have a unified policy to **China**? Is there any elements to damage an effective Sino-U.S. relationship?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, let me say -- make a general point first. It is very important that we understand each other so that if we have a difference, it's a real difference and not a misunderstanding. Therefore, in dealing with the United States, unless there is some clear signal to the contrary, you should assume that a statement by the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Treasury, the National Security Advisor, the Trade Ambassador, the people in our direct line of authority -- they represent our policy.

We need the support of important people in Congress, and much of the leadership does support this administration's **China** policy. But I think it would be a mistake to think that the United States has no unified **China** policy because individuals or groups in the Congress disagree with it. We do have a lot of disagreement. We have had for eight years now, ever since 1989. Until we resolve all these issues, in that sense, our relations will never be fully normal. But we have to keep pushing forward.

We have one last -- yes, this is the last one so the Americas and the **Chinese** will be even. (Laughter.)

Q For President Jiang -- sir, officials in your delegation have suggested that the protestors who have protested **Chinese** policies in Tibet are, in many cases, young people, students who have been misguided, misinformed by a Hollywood-led campaign. Sir, if that is so, and if we take to heart your old **Chinese** saying that seeing once is worth hearing a hundred times, would you be willing to invite either a delegation, a senior delegation from the United States Congress or a group of international journalists to travel to Tibet and to see for themselves? Thank you.

PRESIDENT JIANG: I do, indeed, would like to welcome more people to go to Tibet and see with their own eyes.

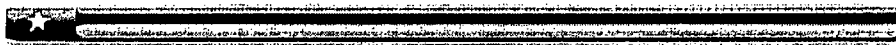
PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let me just, following up on that, make it clear again that the United States has no political objective in pressing the cause of Tibetans, the Tibetan Buddhists, the Dalai Lama. We have only asked for the resumption of a constructive dialogue based on a commitment that there would be no attempt to sever Tibet from **China**, but instead an attempt to reconcile the peoples so that all freedom of religious expression and unique cultures could be preserved.

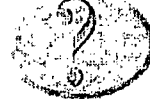
Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT JIANG: Thank you.

END

4:35 P.M. EST





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White House Press Release

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CITIZENS OF WARSAW

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Warsaw, **Poland**)

For Immediate Release

July 10, 1997

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CITIZENS OF WARSAW

Castle Square
Warsaw, **Poland**

6:30 P.M. (L)

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.)

Three years ago this week, I came to this great city and made this

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.)

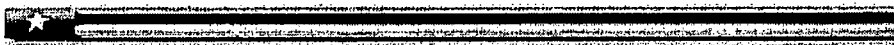
One week ago was the 4th of July, America's Independence Day. More than 200 years ago, you sent your sons to help to secure our future. America has never forgotten. Now, together we will work to secure the future of an undivided Europe for your freedom and ours. (Applause.)

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)



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White House Press Release

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT HONORING THOSE WHO DIED AT BABI YAR

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kiev, Ukraine)

For Immediate Release

May 12, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT HONORING THOSE WHO DIED AT **BABI YAR**

Menorah Memorial
Kiev, Ukraine

12:12 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Rabbi. To the people of Ukraine, and especially to the veterans of World War II and the children who are here.

Here on the edge of this wooded ravine, we bear witness eternally to the consequences of evil. Here at **Babi Yar**, almost 54 years ago, more than 30,000 men, women and children were slaughtered in the first three days alone. They died for no other reason than the blood that ran through their veins. We remember their sacrifice, and we vow never to forget.

In late September 1941, the Nazi occupying army ordered the Jewish population of Kiev, together with their valuables and belongings. "We thought we were being sent on a journey," one survivor recalled. But instead they were being herded to the ravine, stripped and shot down. By year's end, more than 100,000 Jews, 10,000 Ukrainian Nationalists, Soviet prisoners of war and gypsies had been exterminated here.

The writer, Anatoly Kuznietzov, was a child in Kiev during the war. He remembers the day the deportations began. "My grandfather stood in the middle of the courtyard straining to hear something. He raised his finger -- do you know what? -- he said with horror in his voice. They're not deporting them -- they're shooting them."

Years later, Kuznietzov brought the poet, Yevgeny

Yevtuschenko, to **Babi Yar**. And that night, Etuschenko wrote one of his most celebrated poems: "Over **Babi Yar** there are no memorials. The steep hillside, like a rough inscription. I am frightened. Today I am as old as the Jewish race. I seem to myself a Jew at this moment." These words speak to us across the generations -- a reminder of the past, a warning for the future.

In the quiet of this place, the victims of **Babi Yar** cry out to us still. Never forget, they tell us, that humanity is capable of the worst, just as it is capable of the best.

Never forget that the forces of darkness cannot be defeated with silence or indifference. Never forget that we are all Jews and gypsies and Slavs. Never forget.

May God bless this holy place.

END12:17 P.M. (L)



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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 bear 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.

7

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)

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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
(Laura) [Binder] [3]

2012-0869-S
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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]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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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 feeling 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 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 Rus' 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

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



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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 psalmodes. 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 Vasyi, 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.

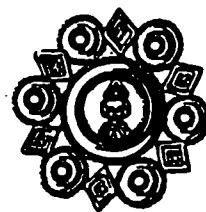
In little beds, beautiful small faces looked at us with such a desire for attention, love, and care that I felt like taking them all with me and starting a new l'Arche home on the spot.

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)



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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 skep-

ticism. 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

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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 glass-work, 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 Nordwijk 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.