

POLAND

Table 1. Population: 1996

Age	Both Sexes	Male	Female
All ages	38,642,565	18,808,447	19,834,118
0- 4	2,401,970	1,233,950	1,168,020
5- 9	2,830,595	1,452,160	1,378,435
10-14	3,355,908	1,713,539	1,642,369
15-19	3,241,126	1,654,672	1,586,454
20-24	2,928,291	1,493,053	1,435,238
25-29	2,480,641	1,267,806	1,212,835
30-34	2,565,693	1,299,236	1,266,457
35-39	3,122,611	1,571,426	1,551,185
40-44	3,223,310	1,606,516	1,616,794
45-49	2,790,055	1,374,842	1,415,213
50-54	1,741,982	837,125	904,857
55-59	1,807,150	843,743	963,407
60-64	1,783,688	805,853	977,835
65-69	1,639,100	697,061	942,039
70-74	1,269,492	481,640	787,852
75-79	663,892	237,766	426,126
80+	797,061	238,059	559,002

Table 2. Demographic Indicators

Date	Total Fertility Rate *	Life Expectancy at Birth	
		Male	Female
1990	2.0	66.5	75.5
1991	2.0	66.1	75.3
1992	1.9	66.7	75.7
1993	1.8	67.4	76.0
1994	1.8	67.5	76.1
1995	1.7	67.9	76.3
1996	1.7	68.0	76.4

Date	Both Sexes	Infant Mortality **	
		Male	Female
1990	15.7	17.5	13.8
1991	14.8	16.6	12.8
1992	14.1	15.7	12.5
1993	13.2	14.6	11.6
1994	12.9	14.3	11.4
1995	12.6	13.9	11.2
1996	12.4	13.8	11.0

Table 3. Unemployment Rates : 1991-1995.2

Year	Male	Female
1991	7.8	11.9
1992	11.8	15.7
1993	13.5	16.6
1994	15.0	18.3
1994.1	15.8	17.8
1994.2	15.2	18.4
1994.3	14.6	18.8
1994.4	14.2	18.1
1995.1	14.3	16.9
1995.2	13.9	16.9

Table 4. Educational Attainment: 1988 (In percent)

Age	Completed Secondary and above	
	Male	Female
25-29	35.4	56.0
30-39	35.5	51.8
40-49	33.7	40.7
50-59	28.5	27.2
60-64	23.7	15.9
65+	16.9	11.6

Age	University	
	Male	Female
25-29	7.2	8.7
30-39	9.8	10.3
40-49	11.2	9.9
50-59	9.4	5.7
60-64	7.6	2.8
65+	4.9	1.5

* Total fertility rate is the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given set of age-specific fertility rates.

** Infant mortality is the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births.

ROMANIA

Table 1. Population: 1996

Age	Both Sexes	Male	Female
All ages	21,657,162	10,579,766	11,077,396
0-4	1,099,425	564,006	535,419
5-9	1,580,196	805,492	774,704
10-14	1,588,898	810,525	778,373
15-19	1,864,128	954,874	909,254
20-24	1,753,383	898,300	855,083
25-29	1,833,703	922,629	911,074
30-34	1,147,029	575,885	571,144
35-39	1,475,465	735,875	739,590
40-44	1,596,183	790,972	805,211
45-49	1,409,444	693,848	715,596
50-54	1,083,992	523,841	560,151
55-59	1,272,056	599,937	672,119
60-64	1,219,308	564,999	654,309
65-69	1,065,636	479,793	585,843
70-74	829,417	348,157	481,260
75-79	384,658	144,182	240,476
80+	454,241	166,451	287,790

Table 2. Demographic Indicators

Date	Total Fertility Rate *	Life Expectancy at Birth	
		Male	Female
1992	1.5	66.1	73.2
1993	1.4	66.6	73.2
1994	1.3	65.6	73.3
1995	1.3	65.4	73.4
1996	1.3	65.5	73.6

Date	Both Sexes	Infant Mortality **	
		Male	Female
1992	23.2	25.6	20.5
1993	23.1	25.8	20.3
1994	23.4	26.4	20.2
1995	23.6	27.0	20.0
1996	23.2	26.7	19.6

Table 3. Unemployment Rates : 1991-1995.2

Year	Male	Female
1991	2.2	4.0
1992	6.2	10.7
1993	8.1	12.9
1994	9.0	13.0
1994.1	9.6	13.6
1994.2	8.9	13.0
1994.3	8.6	12.9
1994.4	9.0	13.0
1995.1	9.4	12.6
1995.2	8.4	11.6

Table 4. Educational Attainment: 1992 (In percent)

Age	Completed Secondary and above	
	Male	Female
25-29	88.4	87.6
30-34	85.1	85.2
35-39	83.0	84.0
40-44	81.2	77.4
45-49	70.8	57.6
50-54	63.5	48.1
55-59	56.3	38.4
60-64	53.2	40.4
65+	38.7	28.5

Age	University	
	Male	Female
25-29	8.1	8.4
30-34	10.3	9.1
35-39	11.5	8.1
40-44	11.2	8.3
45-49	9.4	6.7
50-54	7.3	3.9
55-59	6.2	2.9
60-64	6.9	2.6
65+	5.6	1.9

* Total fertility rate is the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given set of age-specific fertility rates.

** Infant mortality is the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births.

SLOVAKIA

Table 1. Population: 1996

Age	Both Sexes	Male	Female
All ages	5,374,362	2,616,856	2,757,506
0-4	348,229	178,076	170,153
5-9	396,510	202,564	193,946
10-14	439,872	224,739	215,133
15-19	470,539	239,941	230,598
20-24	444,564	226,094	218,470
25-29	368,250	187,015	181,235
30-34	386,676	195,182	191,494
35-39	406,760	205,596	201,164
40-44	423,026	211,467	211,559
45-49	359,294	177,026	182,268
50-54	268,931	126,899	142,032
55-59	237,766	108,795	128,971
60-64	223,849	99,085	124,764
65-69	210,529	88,656	121,873
70-74	182,255	72,219	110,036
75-79	94,031	35,588	58,443
80+	113,281	37,914	75,367

Table 2. Demographic Indicators

Date	Total Fertility Rate *	Life Expectancy at Birth	
		Male	Female
1991	2.0	66.8	75.2
1992	1.9	67.6	76.2
1993	1.8	68.4	76.7
1994	1.7	68.4	76.5
1995	1.7	68.9	77.1
1996	1.7	69.0	77.2

Date	Both Sexes	Infant Mortality **	
		Male	Female
1991	13.2	14.1	12.3
1992	12.1	14.0	10.1
1993	11.6	13.4	9.8
1994	11.2	12.9	9.5
1995	10.8	12.4	9.1
1996	10.7	12.3	9.0

Table 3. Unemployment Rates : 1991-1995.2

Year	Male	Female
1991	6.3	6.9
1992	11.1	11.7
1993	12.5	12.9
1994	13.8	15.0
1994.1	14.4	14.8
1994.2	13.6	14.8
1994.3	13.4	15.3
1994.4	13.9	15.4
1995.1	14.1	15.2
1995.2	12.4	14.4

Table 4. Educational Attainment: 1991 (In percent)

Age	Completed Secondary and above	
	Male	Female
25-29	88.1	85.9
30-34	86.3	79.6
35-39	82.0	72.0
40-49	79.4	64.4
50-59	62.1	36.0
60+	36.4	14.8

Age	University	
	Male	Female
25-29	12.7	12.2
30-34	13.9	12.8
35-39	14.2	12.1
40-49	13.4	9.7
50-59	10.5	3.7
60+	6.7	1.1

* Total fertility rate is the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given set of age-specific fertility rates.

** Infant mortality is the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births.

Women's Role in Democracy

The Vienna Women's Initiative is a regional program operated out of the U.S. Embassy in Austria to empower women in central and eastern Europe as they realize and perform their role in strengthening the emerging democratic societies. Through a series of regional activities, U.S. Ambassador Swanee Hunt provides a forum for women to come together to discuss their participation in their changing societies, and to form personal and professional networks across economic, academic, social and political fields.

The Stage

The basic institutions of central and eastern Europe are undergoing dramatic changes today. This restructuring is altering the shape of lives at all levels — personal, familial, societal, and cultural. The fresh opportunities of a market economy are dazzling. Relief from political oppression is almost palatable. Some of these changes are negative, particularly those affecting women. The pace and the degree of the changes are uneven, shaped by local realities. But one common theme is clear: life is filled with new problems for women in the emerging democracies of central and eastern Europe.

Throughout this region, political power, employment patterns, working conditions, income distribution, and social expectations are shifting in profound ways. According to a recent report on women in countries in transition from the UNICEF Regional Office for Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent and Baltic States:

What These Women are Saying

Women in the region agree there is a need to identify and involve new women leaders. Many express the desire to sustain initiatives already underway in their countries, but the need for new skills, experiences and ideas is evident. They hope to find new ways to organize, new styles of leadership, and new models for various aspects of civil society.

For example, a repeated theme is the need for women in the Balkan region to share among themselves information and experiences, not only to exorcise the ghosts of war, but to create support structures to rebuild their societies. They say they need a neutral ground, or a catalyst, to bring them together away from the highly-charged, hate-fueled environment of the war zone, to think through how to handle immediate problems as well as long-term demands.

These women do not describe themselves as concerned simply about "women's issues." They are playing a role in business, politics, culture, education, science, technology, legal structures, and social structures. As U.S. Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith recently said, "Women are the ones building bridges between cultures and filling gaps created by conflict."

These women are seeking opportunities to work together both informally, and at the official governmental level, on a range of strategies to improve their lives and society as a whole. They want to share insights and expertise among emerging woman leaders in civic dialogue and nonviolence in politically and socially fragile regions. And they appreciate the concern of outsiders who are willing to listen to their stories and help link them to the larger world.

Conflict in central and eastern Europe has energized many women to move beyond their traditional roles and work for change in their societies, developing a more active role for themselves in determining the direction of these changes. Although some women are creating extensive networks with individuals and organizations in the region and beyond, they lack basic materials, media training, political know-how, and background in raising funds and mobilizing volunteer support for the newly developing non-profit sector.

Activities

The difficult circumstance under which these women live is at times exacerbated by unmet hopes raised by well-meaning but sometimes inadequate programs from the Western world. These women are undertaking ambitious efforts to alter age-old patterns of behavior in their societies. They have emphasized how important it is to have a high-ranking U.S. official with experience in the women's movement to assist them in their efforts, who listens, passes on their messages, and gives them the external recognition that can be critical to their physical safety.

Through a series of activities in the past year, Ambassador Hunt has reached hundreds of women in the emerging democracies personally, and hundreds of thousands through speeches, television interviews, and newspaper and magazine stories. Additionally, she is engaged in an extensive public diplomacy effort in Austria and the United States that reaches more than 2 million people weekly, helping women find their voice.

Activities of the Vienna Women's Initiative include:

- *Public appearances: At international, regional and national conferences throughout central and eastern Europe the Ambassador discusses the role of women in a democratic society, including outside of "women's issues" venues. Large numbers of people are reached through television, newspapers, and magazines.*

Looking Forward

Hillary Clinton recently said in her article "Investing In Sisterhood: An Agenda For The World's Women," that "investing in people especially women and girls is as essential to the prosperity of the entire global family as investing in the development of open markets and trade....Women represent the soundest investment any nation can make in the effort to jump-start development....Investing in their education and health, and assuring their full political, economic, and social participation in society ought to be the bottom line in any development equation."

The participation of women in the emerging democracies is crucial to the success of the development of these countries. Women must take their place and be part of the force that drives each nation, ultimately playing leading roles on a much larger regional and global stage. As Hillary Clinton reminds us, "investing in women brings us closer to a world in which distinctions between men and women are viewed, ultimately, as complementary parts to a greater whole."

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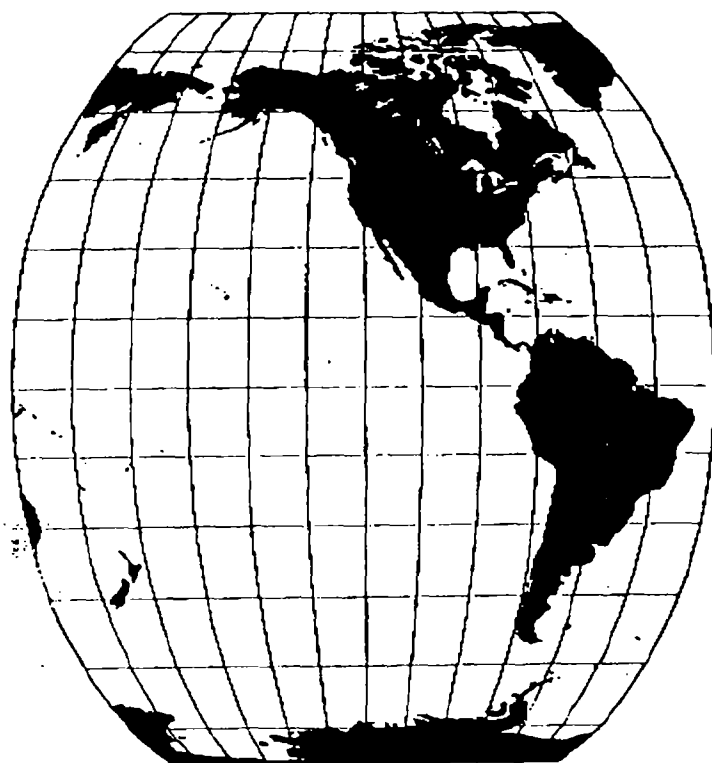
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THE CHALLENGE OF LOCAL FEMINISMS



Women's Movements in Global Perspective

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1995

Finding a Voice: Women in Postcommunist Central Europe

ELZBIETA MATYNIA

WHEN I FIRST RETURNED to my native—and already virtually “postcommunist”—Poland in the summer of 1989 after an eight-year absence, one of the things that struck me most vividly was that in the new and exuberant public life of the country there was an almost total absence of those capable women who had played such an active and essential role in the clandestine operations of the prodemocratic movements of the 1970s and 1980s. I knew many of them well and had been active along with them, but, like them, I had never defined the crucial problems in terms of gender. The primary objective of every social protest and movement then had been to fight for the political rights of *all* members of society. All other issues had seemed to be of secondary importance; it was felt that these could be dealt with after the final battle for democracy had been won. But now, as I watched the freewheeling debates in the new Parliament and read about all those newly created democratic institutions, I found myself wondering where all the women were.

During the first four years following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, when I frequently visited various countries of the region, I could sense a new kind of tension building up around “the problem of women.” On the one hand, the issue of gender, never really discussed in those countries before, has been emerging as a response to the deteriorating legal and economic status of women. On the other hand, there was enormous sociocultural and political pressure coming from both men and women to disregard the issue and even to ridicule those involved in discussions of it.



Polish women in Gdansk join workers in protests at the Lenin Shipyard during the summer of 1980. Women played a central role in the movement that became Solidarity and brought about the end of communist rule.

CZECH REPUBLIC

GENERAL

type of government: Republic

major ethnic groups: Czech (81%); Moravians (13%); Slovaks

language(s): Czech

religions: Atheist; Roman Catholic; Protestant

DEMOGRAPHICS

population size: 10.3 million

birth rate (per 1,000 population): 13

total fertility (average number of births per woman): 1.9

contraceptive prevalence (married women): 69%

maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births): 14

WOMEN'S STATUS

date of women's suffrage: 1920

economically active population*: M 77% F 62%

female employment (% of total workforce): 47

life expectancy M 69 F 77

school enrollment ratio (F/100 M)*

primary	97
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secondary	170
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tertiary	73
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literacy* M 99% F 99%

*Data for Czechoslovakia, 1990

The very concept of gender as we understand it in the "West" is difficult to convey here since in Polish, Czech, Slovak, and Hungarian the word for *gender* has only a narrowly grammatical connotation (i.e., the gender of a given noun) and not a sociocultural one, while the word *sex* has only a narrowly biological connotation. The whole situation is additionally complicated by the very complex attitudes toward feminism in this part of Europe. The very word *feminism* is perceived as a pejorative one, and it is considered political suicide for a woman active in public life to identify herself primarily with women's issues.

SLOVAKIA

GENERAL

type of government: Republic

major ethnic groups: Slovak (87%); Hungarian (10%); Gypsy

language: Slovak (official); Hungarian

religions: Roman Catholic; Protestant; Eastern Orthodox; Uniate

DEMOGRAPHICS

population size: 5.3 million

birth rate (per 1,000 population): 13

total fertility (average number of births per woman): 2

contraceptive prevalence (married women): 77%

maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births): 14

WOMEN'S STATUS

date of women's suffrage: 1920

economically active population*: M 77% F 62%

female employment (% of total workforce): 43

life expectancy M 68.6 F 77.2

school enrollment ratio (F/100 M)*

primary	97
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secondary	170
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tertiary	73
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literacy* M 99% F 99%

*Data for Czechoslovakia, 1990

Despite the seeming similarity between some of the problems faced by women in Western Europe and those faced by women in the postcommunist countries, there are overwhelming differences that, if not fully grasped, present obstacles to communication between women activists of the West and their counterparts in the more western countries of the former Soviet bloc that are considered here: Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. Communication is often more difficult precisely because these differences do not entail issues as striking or dramatic as those of veiling or female circumcision, which women in some postcolo-

POLAND

GENERAL

type of government: Democratic Republic
 major ethnic groups: Polish (98%); German; Ukrainian; Byelorussian
 language(s): Polish
 religions: Roman Catholic (94%); Eastern Orthodox; Protestant

DEMOGRAPHICS

population size: 38.4 million
 birth rate (per 1,000 population): 14
 total fertility (average number of births per woman): 1.9
 contraceptive prevalence (married women): 75%
 maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births): 15

WOMEN'S STATUS

date of women's suffrage: 1918
 economically active population: M 77% F 60%
 female employment (% of total workforce): 46
 life expectancy M 66.8 F 75.3
 school enrollment ratio (F/100 M)
 primary 95
 secondary 103
 tertiary 127
 literacy M 99% F 99%

nial countries must contend with. The differences arise primarily out of the substantially different experience of women throughout the Soviet bloc during the recent forty-year period of their officially proclaimed equality and all their officially extended "privileges." To understand the dynamic of, and the prospects for, the women's movement in the postcommunist societies, I have found it useful to review the discourse regarding their own position that was initiated just a few years ago by women in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

My choice of these countries is based not just on geographic considerations but on cultural affinities and certain similarities in their historical experience. These include their shared exposure to the world of the Hapsburg Empire (as opposed to

HUNGARY

GENERAL

type of government: Parliamentary democracy
 major ethnic groups: Magyar (92%); German (2.5%); Gypsy (3%); Serb; Slovak; Romanian
 language(s): Hungarian
 religions: Roman Catholic (67%); Protestant (25%)
 date of independence: 1901 (unification)

DEMOGRAPHICS

population size: 10.3 million
 birth rate (per 1,000 population): 12
 total fertility (average number of births per woman): 1.8
 contraceptive prevalence (married women): 73%
 maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births): 15

WOMEN'S STATUS

date of women's suffrage: 1945
 economically active population: M 72% F 53%
 female employment (% of total workforce): 45
 life expectancy M 66 F 73
 school enrollment ratio (F/100 M)
 primary 93
 secondary 98
 tertiary 115
 literacy M 99% F 98%

the Ottoman Empire, which left its mark on the Balkans) and to some democratic values and institutions between the world wars as well as the fact that they were the only countries to generate a succession (every twelve years!) of upheavals against the communist system: the Hungarian October in 1956, the Prague Spring in 1968, and Polish Solidarity in 1980-1981. The experience of these movements has significantly reinforced the already existing cleavage between these three countries of Central Europe and the rest of the postcommunist states. Polish historian Adam Michnik has pointed out that the protest movements in Hungary,



A Hungarian woman carries a machine gun in Budapest during the 1956 revolt against the Soviets.

Czechoslovakia, and Poland shared the goal of broadening national and civil rights, while they differed in the dynamics of their social change.¹ But the experience—however different for each country—of building civil society has certainly contributed to the emergence since 1989 of a greater degree of independent discourse on the situation and role of women than has emerged in other countries of the region.

"Until recently I never divided issues into male and female issues. Now I am noticing that actual women's rights in Poland are being threatened. So women's issues have faced me right here on our own front doorstep, and not just slipped in through the international back door."² This confession, made in the fall of 1992 by a physician who was then deputy speaker of the Polish Parliament, Olga Krzyzanowska, reflects an extremely crucial process now—slowly and with a lot of resistance—taking place throughout the female population of East and Central Europe: the process of discovering and acknowledging that there is a problem of women in the first place. With the exception of the former Yugoslavia, where both a women's movement and the introduction of free market mechanisms started well before 1989, this process is conspicuously parallel to the closely monitored and studied process of transition from communism to democracy and a market economy.

Krzyzanowska's statement was made in an interview that was considered courageous in Poland and yet at the same time indicative of a changing attitude among ever-larger groups of women. The process of discovering, acknowledging, and defining women's problems is not an easy one, especially in the context of postcommunist societies undergoing systemic transformation. One of the by-products of this transformation has been the rise of nationalist ideologies in which the rights of the nation as a community are given priority over the rights of the citizen. Women are defined here as bearers of the community's distinctive ethnic lineage and are therefore considered a vital factor in national survival. This logic provided a strong argument for the antiabortion lobby in Hungary; it has taken a more perverse form in the at least partially systematic rape of Muslim women in Bosnia as an instrument of "ethnic cleansing."

Women in East and Central Europe are now beginning to recognize both the constraints they were subjected to in the past and those they are facing now. The scale and the depth of this change in awareness are different in each of the four postcommunist countries I am considering here—Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary—but in any case it has already begun to create a hitherto unknown intellectual and political climate around women and the question of women.

My focus on these four countries, as I have already indicated, is not accidental. They are not only perceived by the outside world (with its watchful agencies: the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Community, and the Council of Europe) as the most stable ones in the region and the most ad-

vanced in the transition process, but they are the ones that presented the greatest challenges to totalitarianism over the past forty years and that, to varying degrees, gained practical experience in building dissent, creating alternative social structures, and expanding civil society within the communist order. The best-known outbreaks of freedom provided these societies not only with the memory of a joyous taste of democracy but also with practice in self-organization, which could potentially enhance an emerging movement's chances of success.

So in many ways the situation of women in the four countries is similar; yet on closer inspection one finds that in each country the situation is different. The similarities stem from the shared model of the communist order, which was imposed on the bloc as a whole, its legislation uniformly devised in accordance with ideological principles, its clone-like, Soviet-type institutions structuring the social life of each country in similar ways. The differences arise from the specificity of pre-1945 cultural and political traditions and also from the divergent applications of the Soviet model, known as the countries' different "roads to socialism." The differences were further modified during the last decades by the citizenries' varied experiences and accomplishments in their efforts to create civil societies.

In all four countries, the existing constitutions still guarantee—as they did before 1989—the fundamental rights and freedoms of all, regardless of differences of sex, race, religion, ethnic background, and so on. Yet equality for women never did—and still does not—extend much beyond their participation in employment. If one looks at the numbers, the similarities become especially striking. All four countries show very high employment rates for women (70–90 percent), a striking gender segregation of the labor force, and 20–30 percent lower pay for women than for men. The high participation of women in the labor market results from the needs of postwar industrialization, identical in all four countries; from the priority given to ideological principles; and from the pressure on individual families to supplement the family income.

However, the principle of equal pay, explicit in the legislation of all four countries, was and remains a purely theoretical declaration, and in the context of the market economy gender discrimination, especially in hiring practices, is more pronounced than ever (and is openly expressed in the language of newspaper want ads). Growing unemployment, which results from the restructuring of industries, the closing of Soviet markets, and the shrinking of interbloc trade, affects women more than men, especially in Poland and Slovakia.

Similarities are also evident in the legacy of fairly uniform communist legislation, such as protective labor legislation, child care provisions, and abortion rights. All of these are now endangered because of new economic and political factors. The old structural supports for working women—a system of nurseries and kindergartens, similarly designed in the four countries, overcrowded, and often criticized in the past for causing developmental problems in children—are now collapsing, either closing their doors or drastically raising their fees. (Some of

the most vocal political groupings in these countries see this development as helpful in the new effort to define a woman's role in terms of mother and homemaker.)

Looking at the lives of women in particular, one can observe a pair of striking paradoxes. The first is that for many in politics the most politically rewarding behavior in the first postcommunist years seemed to be that which focused on eradicating all remnants of the previous system, which included, ironically, its own unfulfilled commitments to human rights in general and to women's rights in particular. The second paradox is that the only spheres of freedom available under communist rule, those provided by the Church in Poland, by the so-called second economy in Hungary, and by the family in Czechoslovakia, have now for women become spheres of constraint.

In all four countries (three before 1993), a quota system had been designed by the Communists to ensure that women's participation in Parliament would be numerically high but passive (about 30 percent in all three). Various analyses of the composition of the Polish Parliament show that women had always been selected to demonstrate the thesis that even young, inexperienced nonprofessionals without political backing could become members of Parliament (MP). Women were selected in such a way as to represent all these features simultaneously. This is why women, to a greater extent than the male MPs, played the role of *filters*. They were always a numerical minority, but their influence was even smaller than their numbers might have suggested.¹

Since the quota was dropped after 1989, the participation of women has been numerically much smaller: about 8–14 percent in each Parliament. But those women now participating are much more visible in the public life of the country, which is sometimes attributed to their average level of education, which is statistically higher than that of men, and to their considerable legislative and political experience.² Yet even among those women visible in public life, it is still the exception rather than the rule when they pay any attention to the mounting problems facing women or act on their behalf. On the contrary, there is a continuing assumption among many women policymakers and lawmakers that women's problems are inseparable from the problems facing society as a whole and should not be gendered. One of the reasons for such a widely shared position is the need to avoid resembling either of the two models of the woman activist that have been widely ridiculed: that of the thoroughly discredited official communist "women's representative" (whether in Parliament or in some other high office) and that of the Western feminist, parodied with some success by the communist media as a spoiled, pathetic, professionally unsuccessful activist who, on top of everything else, frequently uses the language—so compromised here—of socialist doctrine.

But in the course of the 1990s, in Warsaw, Budapest, Prague, and Bratislava—places where the political scene is more and more frequently looked upon with disappointment and disgust—one has also been able to detect the reemergence of a public-spirited ethos exemplified more often than not by certain individual

women and women's groups in parliaments and beyond. Such an ethos combines the experience and civic commitment of former dissidents (from the democratic opposition of the 1970s and 1980s) with a readiness to address imaginatively the unfamiliar challenges of new political and economic circumstances. These women are beginning to be respected by both the broader public and the political elites either because of—or in spite of—their commitment to women's issues.

In Hungary and Poland it was the fight for the preservation of reproductive rights that helped crystallize such an ethos and bring about a broader recognition of women policymakers. In each of the four countries the new women's initiatives are introducing to political and public life an anticonservative agenda and are working on those issues that are the least rewarding politically. In Poland such women established the Women's Parliamentary Group and successfully competed with men in the autumn 1993 elections to Parliament, increasing their participation from 9 to 13 percent. In Hungary such women MPs created in 1992 the Foundation of the Women of Hungary (MONA), dedicated to women's issues, and organized a national women's roundtable the following year, which for the first time brought together all Hungarian women's organizations, representing the full political spectrum—an initiative unthinkable for the dramatically divided political parties in 1993 Hungary. In Czechoslovakia, a well-known former dissident and member of Charter 77 (the human and civil rights movement founded in 1977 by Václav Havel and others), Jirina Šikdová, established in 1992 a gender studies center, lending a badly needed credibility to the budding discourse on the social position of women. After the "Velvet Divorce" of Czechoslovakia in 1993, a group of women in the new country of Slovakia not only launched a journal, *Aspekt*, devoted to "unpopular" women's issues but also flouted the official political line in pointedly disregarding the Czechoslovak breakup by making their journal, though published in Bratislava, a joint Czecho-Slovak initiative.

In its often Sisyphean effort to build and strengthen women's organizations, to communicate their concerns effectively to broader groups of women, and to win sympathizers, readers, members, and activists, the emerging women's movement has downplayed some issues that are regarded as too radical for the general public. Only rarely does one hear women's groups addressing in public the problem of sexual harassment or domestic rape and, almost never, sexual difference.⁵ Lesbian women involved in women's groups are choosing, usually for tactical reasons, not to confront the issue and further jeopardize the movement's chances of growing. It is hard enough in some women's groups just to call oneself a feminist; one must struggle to overcome a prejudice against the very word.

The problem of women and race, limited as it is in this part of Europe, is beginning to gain some attention with regard to the Roma women, or Gypsies, especially in the countries with a significant Roma population (Hungary, 5–10 percent, Czech Republic, 4–6 percent, and Slovakia, 4–8 percent). Roma women have their

own separate organizations, with only very weak connections to other women's groups.

Finding a Voice

At the end of 1992 one of the first books to articulate the problems of women in postcommunist countries was published as the result of a grassroots effort in Poland. The publication, entitled *Women Have the Floor*,⁶ is not a translation from English, German, or French but a collection of original essays by Polish women on what it means to be a woman in Poland. The book documents one of the key preoccupations of most active women in the region after 1989: conducting a debate on the recent past—that is, on the specificity of women's experience under communism and its repercussions for the character of the women's movement in these countries. Similar questions appear in a Hungarian feminist periodical, *Nostemelyi (Female)*, published irregularly since 1991, and in the Slovak *Aspekt* (since 1993). Such questions are also raised at every conference, seminar, and workshop where women from the region get together, often with their Western counterparts.

There are several reasons one should look closely at these debates. In most of the postcommunist countries, where there are various women's groups but no sizable, organized movement at the national level, the very existence of the debates brings women's issues into better focus. In fact, they are the very first manifestation of women's self-mobilization around women's issues and, in some countries, the only one. In Poland and in Hungary more challenging circumstances (especially antiabortion legislation) mobilized women earlier on. Women's movements in other countries, too, may emerge in response to immediate circumstances, but the character and strategies of all of them will be largely determined by the past or, more precisely, by the outcome of their reflection upon those elements from the past that have shaped the identities of Polish, Hungarian, Czech, or Slovak women.

As I look at the debates in those countries with which I am most familiar, the most frequently raised theme is the complexity of the situation women lived in under communism. The argument most commonly offered throughout the region to explain the absence of women's protest in the past—an argument that primarily reflects the views of women from the intelligentsia—runs as follows: There existed a sense of solidarity between men and women under state socialism since they regarded themselves as equally repressed by the centrally controlled institutional structures of the state; so the energies of every social movement were directed entirely toward activities having the potential to effect systemic change. Therefore, as most women in these countries point out, all other issues—including women's issues—seemed at that time to be of secondary importance.

Now that those first steps have been accomplished, two new goals are in order: democratization and marketization. Are women taking part in advancing them? Are they included in the shaping of the new legal, social, and economic order? How do they regard their situation under the new circumstances? Are they actually involved in addressing their own situation as women? The very state of the women's movement is closely related to how the women in each country are handling these questions.

There is yet another goal formulated immediately after the collapse of the Berlin Wall and intensely pursued ever since by the governments of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak republics. It is captured in the popular slogan "Return to Europe!" But given the fact that in the process of democratization and the transition to a market economy virtually no room has been allowed for the participation of women or women's organizations—that, in fact, women's role is being relegated to hearth and home—there has arisen an uncomfortable issue for the governments of the region: that they do not meet the standards of the European Community and the Council of Europe when it comes to equality between men and women, as required in the various documents of these organizations. Women's groups in all four countries are using these instruments more and more (even though some only have the character of recommendations) to argue their case and to initiate discussion on practical ways to realize the constitutional principle of the equality of all citizens without regard to gender.

Czech and Slovak Women After Communism: An Escape from Forced Emancipation

For a Westerner, one of the most puzzling trends in post-1989 Czechoslovakia has been the expressed desire of women to withdraw from the world of work into the world of the household, domesticity, and the family. Several factors underlie this trend, and most of them are related to the way women experienced the communist sociopolitical order. But in the Czech Republic especially, an additional factor is the fact that economic reform was not introduced in the manner of "shock therapy," and has neither caused massive unemployment nor generally lowered the standard of living.

For this retreat into domesticity, the simplest and most frequent explanation offered by Czech women is, "We were overemancipated and still are." This attitude seems to be quite disturbing for many of the women activists from the West who visit fashionable Prague. The energies of Czech and Slovak women activists and intellectuals are directed toward explanations that often tend toward defensiveness (e.g., the argument, which I examine more closely in the following section, that emancipation was not a matter of choice but was imposed from above).

This strong preference for the private sphere in general and the family in particular, as the only realm where Václav Havel's "living in truth" is possible, is further reinforced by the Czechs' and Slovaks' relatively limited experience of civil society in the 1970s and 1980s. After the crackdown on the Prague Spring of 1968, Czechoslovakia became one of the most repressive regimes in the region, and Charter 77's activities, though well known abroad, were confined to a relatively small circle of courageous intellectuals. The combination of these two elements has made the situation of Czech and Slovak women—since the very beginning of the changes in 1989—quite different from that of the Poles and Hungarians. In Slovakia, which is Catholic and whose population is generally more religious than the faintly Protestant Czechs, the focus on family has a less secular explanation. The family was and is the traditional center of spiritual life, offering asylum from the pressures of the official structures to conform. Czechoslovak families also developed successful strategies for accessing the goods, both material and cultural, controlled by the state by placing various family members in different key positions. This very special role of the family (analyzed by a sociologist from Brno, Ivo Možný) in playing the game, or cheating the state, in a "redistribution of commodities" further strengthened the family's position in Czechoslovakia.

Through my visits to Prague and Bratislava over the last couple of years I have come to realize that the vast majority of women here do not feel they are in any way worse off than men are. Slovak women told me in the summer of 1994 that most of the problems they face are not specific or exclusive to women but are family problems caused by the economic transformation and the split of Czechoslovakia (unemployment, loss of social services, divided families, the sex trade, and citizenship issues). One Czech participant in the debate on women's issues, Hana Havelková, observed in 1992 that "nothing has yet happened publicly to show women the importance of their solidarity, their lobbies, and their political representation, and they do not yet think about it themselves."

The antiabortion legislation that provoked Polish and Hungarian women to organize themselves did not take place in either the Czech or Slovak republic. Abortion is still legal, but Czech women have to pay a fee that comes close to their average monthly salary and that thus discriminates against poorer women. The severe restriction on the right to abortion that was attempted by the Christian-Democratic government in Slovakia never materialized. Abortions performed during the first six weeks of pregnancy are free, and those performed during the second six weeks require a relatively small payment. There is yet another serious problem, that of female prostitution, which is not discussed publicly at all in this Catholic country: But it is only a one-hour drive from Bratislava to Vienna, Slovaks do not need visas to get to Austria, and for enterprising women the exchange rate can make such trips very lucrative.

Among the more than thirty women's organizations that one might find (most of them only on paper) in the Czech Republic and a comparable number regis-

tered in Slovakia, there are very few that express any interest in actually advancing the position of women. Some of them, relics of the past such as the formerly communist Czech Women's Union and Slovak Women's Union (which still retain considerable property and claim memberships in the hundreds of thousands), have lost all their legitimacy. Every political party has its own women's section, convenient for the leadership in its foreign contacts but not particularly active on the national scene.

In both countries of the former Czechoslovakia, as in Poland and Hungary, there is a strong negative reaction among women to the idea of participation in any large nationwide organization. The image of the *sodruzka*, the communist token woman, is still associated in their minds with such structures and still haunts them. "We are neither *sodruzky* nor feminists. We are women." And they prefer to define themselves, for example, as female intellectuals from Bratislava. This cautious search for self-identity and for a definition of women's position in society has been conducted since 1990 through an ongoing debate and through activities that help facilitate that debate. One item of documentation produced in this effort is the so-called Blue Book, entitled, *Bodies of Bread and Butter: Reconfiguring Women's Lives in the Postcommunist Czech Republic*.⁹

Only relatively recently have projects been developed that actually address the concrete problems of women. One such transitional institution that recognizes both the need for debate and the need to tackle immediate problems is the Meeting Place. Supported partially by the Gender Studies Center, its major activity entails organizing legal and psychological services for elderly women while tapping their memories of the past. Foundation ROSA is mostly preoccupied with organizing help for divorced women, and work has begun on setting up a crisis hotline and resource center for female victims of violence.

The debate brings women together in conferences, seminars, lectures, and publications, and—what is more important—it gradually and constantly extends the number of those engaged in it. The first institutional and inspirational hub of these activities was the Gender Studies Center, founded in 1991 by former dissident Jirina Siklova and situated for its first two years, along with an impressive library of feminist literature, in her own apartment in Prague. The statement of its goals reflects what I call the debate-oriented character of this young movement: "to raise gender consciousness in society; to encourage public discussion, research, writing, publication, and study that re-evaluate the roles, images, and positions of men and women."

In Bratislava a group of women originally associated with the progressive literary monthly *Slovenske Pohľady* (Slovak Views) and prompted by the government decision to close it established their own—this time, female only—quarterly. Its title, *Aspekt*, is discreetly accompanied by the female sign: ♀. The editorial article of the first issue (1993) states their mission clearly: "The old social roles are falling apart and we have to find our place in the new ones."¹⁰ *Aspekt*, which cultivates the

civic ideals of the first prodemocratic and antinationalist movement in post-1989 Slovakia, the Public Against Violence, is trying to disregard the split of Czechoslovakia and has created through a joint editorial board a bridge between the readers in both countries who are interested in women's issues. The group around *Aspekt*, constantly striving to remain as informal as possible, has managed to open a library in Bratislava, which is the starting point for an educational center in gender studies.

The Czech and Slovak Debate: Emancipation from Above

By 1948, argues Jirina Siklova, it was clear to the Czechoslovak Communist Party planners that the women's emancipation movement could serve the ideological objectives of the communist system. These entailed a buildup of heavy industry, especially in Slovakia, and a transfer of the labor force from the countryside to the cities. The party regime argued that the effective emancipation of women depended upon their entering the labor force, which could lead to their economic independence. Therefore, party leaders popularized the "working woman" as a role model throughout the 1950s. Hana Navarova, one of the few Czech sociologists studying women's issues, says in her paper "What Did Socialism Give to Women?" that by the 1960s it was also clear that through this emancipation women were being forced to take on a dual role: working woman and housewife/mother.¹⁰ Moreover, their family obligations were holding them back professionally. In a vicious circle, this disadvantageous position at work would further incline them to retreat to the family.

Around this time, Czechoslovakia experienced a significant drop in population, and the state offered a variety of privileges to women who opted for childbearing. Siklova points out that such privileges were awarded only to women when it was felt they would further the development of socialism. For example, when the cheap labor force needed in the 1950s was an economic priority, the maximum maternity leave was four months; but in the 1970s, when the labor market was saturated, priorities changed, and maternity leave was gradually extended to as much as three years. According to research, the very high rate of female employment (currently 90 percent of all working-age women) is primarily the result of financial necessity and only partially an expression of women's professional aspirations.¹¹

In Slovakia, which had traditionally been rural, rapid industrialization over the past forty years created a huge army of workers who still live in villages and cultivate their small plots of land but who commute long distances to work in the cities. At the factories women usually work the early shift, and just as they head back for home, their husbands are starting the second shift, often at the same factory. Helena Wolekova, until June 1992 Slovakia's minister of labor, has characterized this as an even further crippling of the family, in which, in accordance with the

Czechoslovak model, both parents work in any case. These women are doing triple duty: in the factory, on the farm, and in the home. What sort of emancipation is that? she asks.¹² Women "were reduced to a cheap source of labor that could be plugged in anywhere without regard to specific capabilities, prerequisites, or ambitions"—so argue two Slovak women philosophers from the *Aspekt* circle.¹³

As a result of this forced emancipation of women in Czechoslovakia, which can be interpreted either in terms of ideological necessity (for the state) or economic necessity (for families, most of which needed two incomes to survive), there now exists among women a kind of allergic reaction to all forms of public involvement. Today liberation does not mean escaping from domesticity. It means acknowledging the family's recent role as a refuge, a place providing shelter from a paternalistic state that always knew "what was best" for the people. And so today for many Czech women liberation means precisely a return to the family, seen as a space where one's lost dignity can be recovered. In Slovakia the question of who can afford this newfound freedom is answered as follows: businessmen's wives.

The traumatic experience of the crushing of the 1968 Prague Spring introduced another factor into the "centrally planned emancipation" of many women of the Czechoslovak intelligentsia. In order to escape the increased pressures of official ideology, an entire generation of politically active young women turned to the family because the family was the only realm sheltered from state control. In the words of Miroslava Holubová, an English teacher and cofounder of a women's group called New Humanity, "If we had won in '68, I don't think I would have had a family right away. I would have been a public person: a journalist, a politician. ... But for me the only choice, psychologically, was emigration or having babies."¹⁴ Alexandra Berková, a well-known writer and the author of New Humanity's manifesto, argues that women, who came home from work to meet their first priority—creating a protective environment for the family—emerged from the totalitarian system psychologically stronger than men, who were more completely exposed to the system.¹⁵

These educated and critical women, now in their forties, are in fact excited about the possibilities for reentering a public arena that is no longer monopolized by a repressive state. But for twenty years—as they frankly admit—the family was their safe haven and the only place where they could find fulfillment. They are well aware of the fact that to the outsider they appear to be full of contradictions, with their mixed conservative and progressive ideas about women's roles in a changing society. And they will have to face a still small but growing number of younger women still in university and taking their first gender studies courses whose views are both less accommodating to the home-and-hearth tradition and more resistant to the current situation in which women have no voice.

For the moment such student women are the main constituency for the Bratislava-based *Aspekt*. Run rather cautiously by women scholars and writers who for the most part do not want to be labeled as feminists, the journal presents highly

abstract articles, translations, and, much less frequently, materials that deal specifically with women in Slovakia. But since *Aspekt* and its circle are perceived as belonging to the antinationalistic and anti-Meciar opposition, the journal has appeal for a broader group of democratically minded intellectuals and is therefore able to lend legitimacy to university gender studies, which still badly need it at the local level. No matter how elitist the current initiatives by women intellectuals may be, they are breaking new ground and are opening up a space—unthinkable just a few years ago—in which women's issues can be considered at all.

Hungarian Women: Between the Past and the West

An outside observer can notice some similarities between the activities of Hungarian women and those of women in the former Czechoslovakia. What is mobilizing women from various—though still mostly intellectual—circles and bringing them together is their reflection on their former and present situations and how these compare with the experience of Western women. One might reasonably argue that in trying to position themselves vis-à-vis the West and vis-à-vis the past, Hungarian, Czech, and Slovak women are engaged in laying the necessary groundwork for confronting the challenges they will inevitably face as a group.

Hungarians talking to Western feminists try to refute the latter's easy assumptions about the privileges women were granted under communism. Eniko Bollobas, who in 1989 founded a political discussion group called Hungarian Feminists, challenged the widespread stereotype of women from the region during a meeting in Strasbourg in the fall of 1992: "Women are not suffering because of the collapse of Communism, but because of the damage Communism has done to their mentality. This has not yet collapsed."¹⁶

Like some of the Czech feminists, Bollobas points to a problem that may be the greatest obstacle not only to the emergence of a women's movement but also to the very process of democratization in the postcommunist countries. As individuals, people were not encouraged to develop and experience—much less allowed to exercise—their autonomy, self-reliance, or initiative. Despite such general similarities, certain specificities of Hungarian communism made the experience of women in this country quite different.

The departure from the previous system in 1989 was not as dramatically clear-cut and spectacular here as it was in Czechoslovakia. Structural changes in the Hungarian economy had already begun in the late 1960s with the general mixing of the command economy with a free market. By the 1980s the process that led to the emergence of this "second economy" had created the peculiar socioeconomic experiment known as "goulash communism."

The Hungarian Debate: The Goulash Economy and Women's Triple Burden

By introducing a liberalized economic and employment policy in the mid-1960s, a time of chronic shortages, the Kadar regime established conditions under which people were able to improve their living standards by taking second and even third jobs in their own or other small businesses. This second economy, or "private sector," a sphere of economic activity that was legal but outside of the state monopoly and came to be known as the goulash economy, had a major impact on many areas of production. Between 1960 and 1980 it built more apartments and produced more agricultural goods than did the state sector. For individuals, the second economy provided a sphere of freedom from total state control that was unknown in other socialist countries. It created a climate in which people could learn how to make their own choices, take responsibility for their own decisions, and find a new kind of self-respect. (The only comparable situation existed in the Polish countryside, where the majority of private middle-sized farms were in the hands of peasants and were never nationalized.) This important vehicle for maintaining economic standards and reclaiming some degree of personal autonomy from the state depended heavily upon the support of the family unit and a kind of family self-exploitation. It therefore imposed limitations in other areas, and one of those areas affected women: It forced them to concentrate on their traditional role as homemaker even while working and often being otherwise professionally active at the same time.

The second economy, argues sociologist Olga Toth,¹⁷ required a very specific division of labor within the family, one that reinforced existing assumptions about gender roles. Typically, both husband and wife worked in the first (state-run) economy. Then the wife returned home to assume the domestic responsibilities, while the husband went to his second wage-earning job and often on weekends to a third one. By managing the household, and serving as liaison between the family and the bureaucracies governing housing, health care, schools, and even vacation planning, the wife made it possible for the man to be involved in the second economy, thus benefiting the family. Observers often stress that without this mutual support within the family, the second economy could not have functioned since most single men and women could not have handled such a triple burden: a first job, a second job, and the bureaucratic and household demands of everyday life. Approximately 75 percent of families participated in the second economy in various ways, and in effect, since 1989, they still do. Since the late 1970s, this Hungarian specificity, which sociologist Julia Szalai has described as "symbolizing autonomy, cooperation, and success for men and women who share their efforts within it,"¹⁸ has complicated the already difficult situation of women in Hungary.

Economic necessity underlies the popularity of early marriage in Hungary. As Toth points out, establishing a family offers Hungarians more strategies for survival than does remaining unmarried: special social benefits, a better chance for an apartment, at least two incomes, and the necessary conditions for entering the second economy. Yet juggling the roles of employee, housekeeper, and mother throughout an extremely long working day (including those evening and weekend hours when the husband is at his second or third job) has contributed to a very high rate of emotional and mental disorders among Hungarian women: 37 percent in the most active age group (30 to 59).

Why There Is No Women's Movement in Hungary

On Hungary's present political stage, as in any other postcommunist country, there is a striking absence of women. There is also at the moment only a slim chance for the emergence of a women's movement on the national level. For one thing, since 1989 there has been no radical change in the social and economic status of women. As yet the most serious economic and social problems of the new Hungary are not specifically "women's" problems. Despite growing unemployment, for example, especially outside of Budapest, women are not affected by it to the same extent as men since the biggest reduction in jobs has taken place in heavy industry and mining, where most employees are men. It is expected that a second wave of unemployment will hit light industry (because of the collapse of the Soviet market), service industries, and the public sector (because of cuts in state and local budgets). The victims of these employment cuts will mainly be the women who predominate in these industries.

There are three groups of reasons offered by Hungarian women to explain the absence of a women's movement, and the arguments one hears have been a part of the debate since the late 1980s. The first argument, already mentioned, points to the heritage of the communist past: a paternalistic state that infantilized society and typecast women. The second—true for all countries of the region but often a revelation for Westerners—is that women's issues have not achieved agenda status; on the contrary, since 1989 they have constituted a forbidden agenda. In March 1994, six weeks before the parliamentary elections, women's groups organized a forum for the main political parties and asked them what their policies toward women were. They did not have any. They also had very few women running for Parliament. The situation, argue Hungarians, is a vicious circle: Women do not get into decisionmaking positions if they talk about women's issues, and they are underrepresented in public life precisely because women's issues are not taken seriously. The third argument cites the vulnerability of the existing women's organizations, trapped between the past and the West. For example, there are two organizations of professionally active urban women in Hungary: the Association of Hungarian Women and the Feminist Network. Both of them are perceived as con-

troversial, but for opposite reasons: The association, for its connection with the communist past, and the network, for its links to the West.

The Association of Hungarian Women was established in 1989 as the successor to the Women's Council, which was an official organization backed by the Communist Party. Although it inherited the council's considerable property, the association now emphasizes its nonpartisan orientation. In its brochure published in 1992, it claims to represent the interests of women and families from different walks of life, with the main objective being "the realization of women's social equality and equal rights."

The Feminist Network, established in 1990, is a much smaller, nonbureaucratic, activist-driven organization whose major goal, as stated in its flier, is "to work against all forms of discrimination against women ... [and] to encourage the participation of women in political life." The network's main liability is that its active participants include a few women from the West: Americans and Britons studying or working in Hungary. Additionally, their organization's name, which was deliberately selected to indicate a commitment to a feminist perspective, is widely considered pejorative in Hungary and has a clearly nondomestic, Western connotation. As I learned when attending one of the network's meetings, all of the participants (mostly in their twenties, thirties, and early forties) had originally become interested in feminism through foreign contacts: a trip abroad or a Western visitor.

Recognizing that the perception of the group's activities is constantly damaged by the very word *feminism*, the Feminist Network, which has recently been functioning as a much looser structure, is gradually dropping the discredited label. The new projects it launched in the beginning of 1994 and through which it wants to reach more women are using straightforwardly self-descriptive names: Women for Women Against Domestic Violence (NANE) and Women's House. The former has organized the first telephone hotline in Hungary and counseling in cases of domestic and sexual violence and has plans for organizing a public education campaign on violence, including a training program for professionals such as lawyers, physicians, and members of the police force.

The second project, Women's House, was organized by an initiative known as the Ombudswoman's Office, which is affiliated with the Department of Social Policy at ELTE University. Women's House, which occupies two rooms in an old former building of the Communist Party, is open during evening hours and offers women the free services of a lawyer and a social worker on matters involving divorce laws, custody laws, child support, or the need for lodging in one of Budapest's two shelters for women. There is a visible effort under way in Budapest to play down Western feminist connections and to rely more on domestic or regional collaborations. In establishing the NANE hotline, experienced women from Belgrade's SOS-HOTLINE, who came to Budapest to provide training for eighteen Hungarian hotline volunteers, played an important role.

The problem of foreign interest in women's issues in Hungary has another dimension. As I was frequently reminded during my stay in Hungary, almost all scholarly research on women in Hungary has so far been inspired, financed, and published by foreign institutions or agencies. Although this activity has raised the awareness of women's problems among the cosmopolitan circles of Budapest's women intellectuals (one of them, Maria Adamik, acknowledging that Western women played an important role as facilitators of feminism), many say that outside of academia there seems to be no market for this research on women's issues. Critics point out that it tends to address a Western set of questions, is tailored to fit the programs of international conferences and English-language publications, is not channeled back to Hungary, and therefore has virtually no impact on the way Hungarians perceive women. Those engaged in the Hungarian debate are aware that there is a lack of connection between academia and the "real world." And they recognize yet another cleavage: that between Budapest and the provinces. Both these gaps, while not limited to women's issues, impede in particular the laying of any groundwork for a nationwide women's movement.

Poland: From Debate to Action

When in April 1989 a team of sociologists asked a representative sampling of Poles to choose from a list the one category that best defined their identity, gender came in last place, after (in this order) human being, Pole, parent, and occupation. The survey was conducted at the time of the roundtable negotiations between the Solidarity-rooted opposition and the ruling Communist Party, during which the communist regime was being forced by society to share power. The feeling of solidarity against the system on the part of all citizens was very strong, and in this struggle gender was a negligible social variable.

But today, after more than five years during which women's civil rights have been put into question and even denied, the same survey would probably yield very different results, with gender almost certainly winning a much higher place on the list. The new antiabortion legislation, which went into effect in March 1993, was preceded by four years of escalating protests organized by women. These, together with the additional impetus given to the mobilization of women by the spectacular rise of women's unemployment after 1990, in fact laid the foundation for a new and growing women's movement in Poland.

The relatively long experience of the Solidarity movement of 1980-1981, in which Poles—with the notable participation of Polish women—practiced the self-organization of citizens independently from governmental structures, is an important source of the difference between the state of the women's movement in Poland and that in the other countries of East and Central Europe. Another difference comes from the unusual position the Catholic church has occupied in Polish



Polish textile workers, among twelve thousand townspeople in Żyrardów protesting food shortages in late October 1981, pray at a makeshift altar outside a factory. The church's central role in Polish life and politics has proven to be a challenge to the contemporary women's movement.

political life. According to popular wisdom, as manifested in the parliaments throughout East and Central Europe, the first step toward a successful transformation to democracy must be a radical departure from the communist past. The vacuum left after the collapse of communism in Poland—and after official ideology had vanished—was quickly filled by the Catholic church. The new political correctness that emerged is visible in parliamentary laws (religious instruction in school, antiabortion laws, restitution of church property), in the recently signed concordat with the Vatican, in the media (now obliged to observe "Christian values"), and in public life. The Polish debate on women's issues therefore examines the impact of the church on the past and current role of women.

Feminism made its very first, shy appearance in Poland among university students in the early 1980s, and this is when the debate on women's issues began. Because of its longer history, today's discourse—compared with that in the other countries I am examining here—is much less Western oriented and Western driven and to a much greater degree generated by indigenous questions and problems. It involves women scholars, journalists, and politicians but also a new breed of women activists. The experience of the past is examined and discussed but is only one of the many issues reflected in the debate.

The Polish Debate: Between Motherhood and Motherland

For the last forty-five years, Poles have been as much affected by the Catholic church—the only institutional survivor from the past—as by the institutional framework of "real socialism." The threatened position of the church vis-à-vis the communist regime afforded the church a particularly strong position vis-à-vis Polish society. Its already high moral authority was further strengthened in the early 1970s when the church became an ally of the democratic opposition and provided a base for many oppositional activities. Before 1980 (pre-Solidarity times) and after the imposition of martial law in December 1981, the church provided the only space where Poles could feel a real sense of freedom and dignity, protected from state control, and it was perceived by the majority of the society as the only possible guardian of spiritual values. Among the closely related elements of the dominant value system was the identification of catholicism with Poland, or, to put it another way, the identification of catholicism with the national tradition of struggle for the independence of the motherland.

A specifically Polish religiosity centers around the cult of the Madonna. The content of this folk-type religiosity committed to a Marian tradition—through its iconography, religious festivals, and pilgrimages—celebrates heroic, self-sacrificing women and motherhood in a national context provided by Polish history and romantic patriotic literature. In this literary tradition, the main duties of Polish women are maintaining the family and preserving Poland's national identity, while men (husbands and sons) fight for the *motherland*, conspire against foreign occupiers, and often spend their lives in prison. This form of "managerial matriarchy" (best captured by the ideal of the *Matka Polka*, the "Polish Mother," the still widely revered role model for Polish women) historically provided women not only with dignity and prestige but also with psychological gratification. These could be gained in virtually no other way than through this role of mother and family caretaker.

After 1945—just as in the other countries of the bloc—this traditional model was upset by a massive enlistment of women into the labor market as a result of ideological and economic pressures. Women were urged to assume new roles, becoming workers and building a new social order alongside men. But in October 1956, after the communist state had suffered its first setback with a workers' protest in Poznań, this crudely promoted concept of a "new breed of socialist women" had to be discarded. At the same time, the collectivization of private farms was suspended; the primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, was released from internment; and religious instruction was reintroduced into the schools. Since then, the officially promoted model of Polish women has been largely a by-product of the intricate relationship between the Catholic church and the communist state. The socialist model never recovered its original hard-line position, while the conservative model continued to gain visibility, especially during times of relative

freedom (Solidarity, 1980–1981), when the Catholic church increased its influence and presence and thus had a greater impact on public affairs.

Issues, Groups, and Projects

There are several dozen women's groups at work in different parts of Poland, which, though functioning at the local level, constitute a thriving network of projects and initiatives dealing with current women's issues, especially the problems of reproductive rights and of women's unemployment.

Reproductive Rights. The year 1989 was critical for the Polish women's movement, less because of the final break with the communist system than because of the abortion bill prepared by a group of Catholic deputies for the last communist Parliament. The first draft of this bill specified a five-year prison term for a woman who had an abortion. This provoked the rapid establishment of numerous new women's organizations. Among the first registered were the Polish Feminists' Association (PFA), and Pro-Femina. Both of these groups are relatively small (50 to 60 members), urban, young, and intelligentsia based. Pro-Femina is devoted almost entirely to the issue of abortion. PFA's core group in Warsaw had already been meeting informally throughout the 1980s, at which time it resembled today's debate-oriented women's movement in the Czech and Slovak republics. Its program has been broader than Pro-Femina's from the beginning, and in the early 1990s it launched branches in several large university cities (Wrocław, Szczecin, Poznań, Gdańsk, and Kraków), which have since turned themselves into autonomous groups having one feature in common: that they all openly call themselves feminists.

The Warsaw PFA group has good international contacts and has earned credibility with women in Parliament, with the ombudsperson, and with other women's groups. The group's natural environment is the university community, and members have few contacts with women workers or peasants. Their leaders, Jolanta Plakwicz, Beata Fiszet, and Magdalena Uminska, speak fluent English. Their general interest is political and includes a monitoring of the legislative process to see how the new laws address women's needs and comply with European standards. The concerns of the Kraków group are more oriented toward a cultural feminism. There they organize conferences, discussions, and film festivals and publish the women's periodical *Pelny Głos* (*With a Full Voice*). The first Polish feminist book of essays, edited by Sławka Walczewska, was the work of the Kraków group. The Polish Feminist Association is a good example of the way in which the new women's groups in Poland are constituting themselves. In the variety of its local forms it represents one model of organization: grassroots, flexible, non-hierarchical, and committed to preserving its own internally democratic self-governance and to expressing the needs and interests of its own members.



NON!

NIE!

Gender and reproductive rights issues that had been buried under communism reemerged with democratization. This cartoon, printed in Poland—stating “No! We are not machines for making children!”—publicized an issue faced by women in many countries.

The abortion issue and the general feeling of helplessness on the part of society vis-à-vis its elected representatives have become major catalysts for the most impressive, liberal-oriented social movement in postcommunist Poland: the “proreferendum movement.” Between November 1992 and March 1993, hundreds of committees established themselves throughout the country to exert pressure on Parliament to refrain, at the very least, from criminalizing abortion. The committees collected 1.5 million signatures of adult Poles requesting that a referendum be held to decide whether abortion should be punished. The referendum committees continue to have a life of their own, even after their movement was effectively disarmed by Parliament's decision in the final bill that only the physician performing an abortion is to be punished and not the woman undergoing it.

The latest parliamentary elections (October 1993) reflected widespread support for the proreferendum movement when its most vocal leader, Barbara Labuda, gained twice as many votes as Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, a legendary figure from the Solidarity period and a very popular politician, who was running in the same district. Labuda, despite many predictions to the contrary, was not hurt by her openly feminist and anticlerical stand. Moreover, the new Parliament has a significantly larger proportion of women representatives (up from 9.1 to 13.4 percent).

Asked whether she thinks there is a women's movement in Poland, Slawka Walczewska, an activist and cofounder of the Foundation of Women in Kraków, says, "We have many groups—but a movement? Women are extremely resistant to any idea of centralization or of furthering the formal structuring of their activities. None of the existing groups is willing to join or submit itself to a larger structure."¹ This insistence on horizontal autonomous structures results not only from the negative reaction to the superhierarchical communist organizations but also from the experience of Solidarity, both during the period of the triumphantly self-governing society tolerated by the regime in 1980–1981 and—after the government crackdown—during the years of rebuilding the union's structures underground. The less centralized the activities, the more successful they were—and the more difficult for the police to disrupt. This is one of the reasons women in Poland prefer very loose networks or, as they put it, just "a directory of groups." "Give me a list of addresses, and if we need to act, we'll contact them," said one of the activists in Kraków. In fact, the main tool facilitating communication between groups is an address directory of all the women's organizations and initiatives, which was recently prepared by the Women's Promotion Center. This is how women organized themselves in the—as they stressed—informal group Women Too in preparation for the local elections in Poland. Their activities for several months (November 1993–May 1994) were focused on searching for the best women candidates and helping them prepare their election campaigns. They ran seminars and published a handbook, *How to Win the Elections*, which includes a special section offering self-help exercises in leadership, public speaking, negotiation and conflict resolution, stress management, and so forth. They also had a hotline for women candidates from outside Warsaw.

And there is still another factor—that of strategy—that Polish women will have to give considerable attention to as they consider what kind of movement could best grow and succeed in Poland. There is still little doubt that any centralized women's movement operating on a national scale would first have to become a strongly anticlerical movement. But given the peculiarity of Polish society—that its vast majority is pro-choice and yet deeply connected to the church—such an anticlerical orientation might jeopardize the very existence of the movement. This was one of the reasons the referendum movement did not succeed: It would have had to turn against the church. And in Poland it is considered too early to take such a risk.

A respect for the individuality of the various groups' programs has not been an obstacle to the occasional creation of issue-oriented coalitions like the one formed in the spring of 1992 by pro-choice groups to promote and lobby for reproductive rights, called the Federation for Women and Family Planning. Among the participants are the Polish Feminists' Association, Pro-Femina, Neutrum, the Women's League, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Polish Association of Sexologists. The federation, which for tactical reasons avoided the use of the phrase *reproductive rights* in its name, already has a considerable number of achievements to its credit. The women's hotline provides assistance mostly on questions of contraception, rape, violence, and legal matters for women with life-threatening pregnancies. The offices of the Federation and its hotline (which in Polish is called the trustline) are functioning as a major resource center for women and for the media as well. The latter are regularly supplied with information on the relationship between the church's ban on contraception and the increase in the need for abortions, in deaths caused by illegal abortions, in underground clinics, and so on.

Another model of organization is one that has been inherited from the previous system: a somewhat transformed version of the large-scale, centralized organization with a sizable bureaucratic apparatus. This model is represented by two organizations that claim rather large memberships: the Women's League, with thirty-five hundred members, and the Democratic Women's Union, with six thousand members. The Women's League, founded in 1945, was the only women's organization in the People's Republic of Poland. It still retains a considerable part of its property, offices, and staff. The Democratic Women's Union was established in 1990 for the purpose of accommodating those women, previously members of the Communist Party, who did not want to remain a part of the Women's League.

Interestingly, neither of these organizations is excluded from the community of new women's groups in Poland. They are both listed in the roster of existing groups. Despite all the resentments about the communist past and reservations about centralized national organizations, what emerges from the meetings, demonstrations, conferences, and joint publications is a growing recognition of common interests and sense of community and the realization that a major step is being taken—by women—toward the further restoration of civil society in Poland.

Women's Unemployment. The second major problem that has mobilized women in Poland has been the unprecedented rise in unemployment. The collapse of trade with the former Soviet Union, the closure of big and costly state enterprises, the restructuring of certain industries, and the reduction in the number of civil servants all contributed to an unemployment rate in Poland of 15.41 percent at the end of 1993. While women constitute 53.4 percent of the unemployed, in regions that are centers of the textile industry and in some of the large conglomerates women suffer unemployment at a rate that is twice as high as that for men.

The decentralization of the Polish women's groups and their generally local focus encouraged a relatively prompt response to the issue of unemployment. Either local women's groups created and launched their own special programs to ameliorate the hardships (such as retraining programs), or women activists solicited the collaboration of other organizations to establish such programs (such as the collaboration in Lodz of the Center for the Advancement of Women with the International Women's Foundation or the Women's Promotion Program, a project of the Foundation for Democratic Action).

Women are also aware of another reason for the higher rate of female unemployment. It is a result of those still functioning legal regulations that were designed to let the socialist woman take on the double role of mother and worker. These stipulate, for example, that women have the "exclusive privilege" of taking paid leave to care for a sick child. These and similar laws, argues Malgorzata Fuszara, director of the Center for Social and Legal Studies on Women, are detrimental to women in today's competitive labor market. They encourage open discrimination against women on the grounds of their lesser productivity. This issue is particularly distressing since, in the absence of other labor legislation, it is extremely difficult to bring to bear the constitutional principle of the equality of all citizens without regard to gender. Women's groups not only recognize the discriminatory effect of yesterday's privileges, but through the Parliamentary Women's Group they are also demanding prompt changes in labor legislation. Also under way is the introduction to the floor of Parliament a bill called the Act on the Equal Status of Women and Men.

Conclusions, or Is There a Women's Movement in East and Central Europe?

One of the results of the changes in the postcommunist countries is the emergence of autonomous activities focused on a set of issues that have never been discussed here before—even by women themselves—and that are related to the problem of gender equality in a democratic society. At the moment most of these activities are still in an initial stage of mapping the field: questioning the past and the present and articulating the problems. But this debate-driven moment is crucial for any potential movement; it is here that women meet, problems are identified, goals drafted, organizational structures initiated, and forms of activity considered. The initial themes of the debate have been prompted by an urgent need on the part of many women to rethink their situation both as it was in the recent past under state socialism and as it is now during the process of transition to democracy and a market economy. An awareness of the many similarities between their respective efforts, and the very uniqueness of these efforts historically speaking, frequently brings women from these countries together. Whereas it is still difficult to speak of

women's movements operating on a national level in any of these countries, there are signs of close collaboration among different women's groups in the region. This makes it additionally tempting to see the initiatives of Polish, Czech, Slovak, or Hungarian women as contributing to a significant change in the sociopolitical landscape of the entire region.

Interestingly, recent collaboration on joint projects by women from different East and Central European countries has frequently been facilitated by a new, nonpatronizing breed of Western women's organizations that seek genuine understanding of, and dialogue with, women from the postcommunist countries. Among these is the Network of East-West Women, initiated by women from the United States but now with members in all the postcommunist countries, including Russia, and with joint governance by an international steering committee. A conference on women and the law, organized by the network in early June 1994 in Budapest, helped women conceptualize not only the issues but also the ways in which to address them in each country's legal environments. Other groups most frequently interested in collaboration with East European women come from Germany and the Scandinavian countries. So women's movements are gaining a firm foothold in much of East and Central Europe, stimulating growth and development of civil society. If successful, they may not only get women's issues onto the official agendas of their respective governments and parliaments, but they may also influence the very process of democratization in their societies.

NOTES

1. Adam Michnik, *Letters from Prison and Other Essays* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), p. 27.
2. Agnieszka Metelska and Ewa Nowakowska, eds., *Gdzie Diabeł Nie Mógł* (Warsaw: BGW, 1992), p. 145.
3. Renata Siemienicka, "Wybierane i Głoszące," In *Kobiety: Dawne i Nowe Role* (Warsaw: Centrum Europejskie Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Bluletyn Nr. 1, 1994), p. 27.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
5. An article on lesbian activism in the Czech Republic was written by Susanna Trnka and published in Susanna Trnka, with Laura Busheikin, eds., *Bodies of Bread and Butter: Reconfiguring Women's Lives in the Postcommunist Czech Republic* (Prague: Prague Gender Studies Center, 1993).
6. Slawka Walczewska, ed., *Kobiety Maja Głos* (Kraków: Convivum, 1993).
7. Hana Havelkova, "A Few Prefeminist Thoughts," In Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, eds., *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 72.
8. Trnka, with Busheikin, *Bodies of Bread and Butter*.
9. Jana Cvikova, "List z Bratislavy: Pokus o Postsocialistický Feminismus," *Aspekt* (1993):1.
10. Hana Navarova, "Co Dal Socialismus Zenam?" in *Postaveni Zen v Ceskoslovenske Spolecnosti* (Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1991).

11. See, for example, the research by Maria Cermakova, "Gender and the Employment of Higher Education Graduates in Czechoslovakia," Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1992.

12. Interview with Helena Wolekova, Bratislava, summer 1992.

13. Zuzana Kotzkova and Etela Farkasova, "The Emancipation of Women: A Concept That Failed," in J. Funk and M. Mueller, eds., *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 89.

14. Interview with Miroslava Holubova, Prague, summer 1992.

15. Interview with Alexandra Berkova, Prague, summer 1992.

16. Eniko Bollobas, "The Role of Women and the Transition to Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe" (Paper presented at a conference of the Council of Europe, Center for Democracy, Strasbourg, October 1992).

17. Interview with Olga Toth, Budapest, summer 1992. (Toth elaborates her point in an unpublished paper on women and their changing role in the family and society in Hungary.)

18. Julia Szalai, "Some Aspects of the Changing Situation of Women in Hungary," *Signs* (Autumn 1991), p. 161.

19. Interview with Slawka Walczewska, Kraków, August 1993.

WESTERN EUROPE

16

Extending the Boundaries of Citizenship: Women's Movements of Western Europe

JANE JENSON

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN Western Europe have a long history. At the end of the nineteenth century movements emerged in many countries, claiming women's right to vote, to work for fair wages, and to have some individual autonomy from fathers or husbands. Organizing in separate women-dominated organizations or as part of existing political parties and trade unions, this first wave of the women's movement was not totally different from its second-wave successors. These latter-day women's movements also mobilized and worked in many different ways. A snapshot of the Dutch women's movement in the mid-1980s captures an image of the situation in many Western European countries since 1968, when the women's movement burst out of the New Left, the old Left, and the student movements:

The movement covers an extremely wide range of ideologies and concrete activities. There are political interest and pressure groups—women for peace, women for legalized abortion, women against sexual violence, women dependent on public support, and women's groups within political parties and unions. There are counseling, education and training groups for women seeking radical therapy; groups for women in midlife; crisis hotlines; courses on society (the so-called VOS, or "Women's Orientation to Society" course) for women with only a few years of secondary education. There are cultural groups such as women's cabarets and theaters, women's art galleries, women's publishing and printing companies, women's bookstores, women's newspapers and magazines. And there are more general groups and activities: women's houses or cafes, consciousness-raising groups and women's groups in commu-

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Activities Addressing Women's Issues in the NIS

Promoting Women in Development (PROWID), funded by USAID's Office of Women in Development, seeks to improve the lives of women in developing countries and economies in transition and enhance their full participation in the development process. With FY 1995 funding, the following two grants were provided to Russian organizations:

- **The Moscow Center for Gender Studies: Combating Legal Discrimination Against Women.** Seeks to analyze and focus on gender-sensitive legislation, such as employment, reproductive rights, and migration.
- **Women, Law and Development International: Russian Lawyers Advocacy Project.** WLDI is working with five crisis centers for women in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Murmansk, and Saratov to help the centers better inform lawyers, victims, and other providers on the laws and the legal system to combat violence and assert women's rights. Lawyers will learn how to make the law accessible to women as well as how to initiate and implement legal reforms.

The American Bar Association/Central and East European Law Initiative (ABA/CEELI), placed a full-time specialist in Moscow to work on gender issues, who recently held the first of a series of roundtable discussions with women's rights advocates and women attorneys to learn more about their ideas, interests and concerns. Other seminars and workshops have focused on (1) sexual harassment and what laws can be enacted to help protect Russian women, (2) the development of associations of women attorneys that can provide legal advice to victims of, and educate the public concerning, domestic violence and sexual harassment, (3) the effective use of expert witnesses in domestic violence cases, co-sponsored with Winrock International, and (4) ABA/CEELI and Women, Law, and Development International have presented a first in a series of training for lawyers who have agreed to provide representation to crisis center clients.

The Eurasia Foundation has provided grants to support (1) a public-private partnership between Connect U.S.-Russia and the Nizhny-Novgorod Regional Administration to develop domestic violence legislation, as well as create a mechanism to implement legal protections in the region, (2) a two-way exchange to address the issues of family violence in Russia with the Committee on the Family, Women and Children in the Russian Duma, (3) creation and broadcast of an episode of the TV program "If," devoted to women's rights in the workplace with Oblik TV Studio and (4) a seminar on "Non-Violence in Schools" for middle school teachers.

U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has provided training to many Crisis Center staff members in Russia through NET training courses in the U.S. (violence against women, effective legal advocacy for women, women's NGO management). USAID grantees, such as Winrock International and the League of Women Voters, have conducted seminars on topics such as sexual harassment, domestic violence, and legislative regulation of women's rights.

The Department of State, Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Matters, Office of International Criminal Justice (INL/ICJ), with DOJ and FJC, recently hosted a U.S.-Russia seminar on "Combating the Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children" in Washington. The seminar proved to be a valuable starting point to address issues on trafficking women and domestic violence. As part of their on-going anti-crime training and technical assistance program, INL/ICJ has implemented a "pilot program" in Moscow, Nizhniy-Novgorod, and Arzamas that integrates law enforcement, medical/hospital services, and NGOs for women and children who are victims of domestic violence.

U.S. Information Agency (USIA) supports programs that focus on women's issues through small grants administered by Embassy Democracy Commissions and FREEDOM Support Grants for U.S.-based programs on women's issues. Recently, USIA has funded, through Embassy Kiev's Democracy Commission, the Ukrainian Center for Women's Studies, an organization of women scholars engaged in research that emphasizes issues such as women's political participation and domestic violence. This summer, USIA plans to bring delegations from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Moldova to participate in U.S.-based FREEDOM Support Grant programs focusing on topics such as women's issues, social issues, women in leadership, and the role of women in politics and government.

June 30, 1998
SPM

Sampling of U.S-funded activities
to support the advancement of women in central and eastern Europe

* Organized according to Vienna Conference issue tracks

(Note that country specific info with more detail will be available later this week.)

Politics and persuasion track

- training for women judges
- training for women public administrators
- training for women in political parties

Law and Leadership

- civic participation programs to support women NGOs
both as social service deliverers and as advocates
- professional exchanges of NGOs
- domestic violence and violence against women hospital programs to
provide health services to abused women
- enforcement seminars to address trafficking in women and girls
- support for human rights foundations which include women's
human rights
- support for single parent households organizations, such as
the mothers of soldiers organizations in Russia

Business and Beyond

- job retraining
- reconstruction money targeted to get women back in the labor force
- funds and training for women entrepreneurs

**Economic Impacts on Women in Central/Eastern Europe
and the Former Soviet Union: Some Positive Factors**

While women have borne a disproportionate burden in the transition to a market economy (e.g. higher rates of unemployment and poverty than men; discrimination in the workplace) there are also some positive developments and trends. In the transitional period of East European and New Independent States of the former Soviet Union (ENI) countries toward competitive market economies, small and micro-enterprise development plays a significant role in economic growth and employment generation, particularly among women.

ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS SUPPORTING WOMEN

FUNDUSZ MICRO Poland: Established in 1994 with support from the USAID-funded Polish American Enterprise Fund, Fundusz Micro promotes the development of the Polish private sector through loans to microenterprises. Fundusz Micro operates a network of branches throughout Poland. It is the largest microenterprise fund in the Europe and New Independent States region and is aimed at microenterprises that are unable to obtain bank loans, either because their requirements are too small to be profitable to banks or because they lack the necessary collateral/track record. In 1995/96 Fundusz Mikro had its first full year of lending operations. During that time, it extended over 2000 loans, through 17 branches. By March, 1997, Fundusz Micro had made over 4,000 loans. Over 50% of these loans were made to women entrepreneurs. The repayment rate on loans has been over 99% and 15% of these loans have been extended to repeat clients.

Foundation for International Community Assistance (FINCA)

Kyrgyzstan: FINCA has developed a village banking methodology to help very low income entrepreneurs, primarily women, to lift themselves out of poverty. The provision of basic financial services has an immediate impact on the lives of its clients, encouraging them to invest and grow their businesses, build assets through savings, and take full and productive part in their local economies. Currently FINCA has 264 village banks and 3300 members in 3 regions. 88% of village bank members are women. Most village bank members are small traders (70%) however some are micro producers (30%) in such areas as bread and dairy products. Repayment rates on loans exceed 98%.

Opportunity International: Opportunity International builds indigenous independent microenterprise development institutions ("Partner Agencies") which are managed by voluntary Boards of Directors made up of local leaders. They are now active in six countries (Bulgaria, Russia, Poland, Romania, Macedonia, and Croatia) with direct and indirect support from USAID. In 1996, more than 1,200 loans were disbursed amounting to more than \$3.3 million dollars. More than 3,700 jobs were created or sustained. 66% of these loans were to women. On average, each \$1000 lent impacts at least one new job. In 1997 Opportunity International

will make more than 3,750 loans totaling \$7.5 million.

Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE) Women Entrepreneurs in Hungary:

In Hungary with support from CIPE, the Small Enterprise Development Foundation (SEED) exemplifies the impact that advocacy based on well researched information can have in furthering the cause of women entrepreneurs in national policy making circles. SEED conducted an in-depth study on Hungarian women's entrepreneurial activities and participation in the labor force. The survey concluded that women entrepreneurs now represent more than 40% of the businesses founded in Hungary since 1990. Its findings led to the creation of government agencies focused on dealing with the multifaceted problems facing women in business, including the creation of the Equal Opportunity Office at the Ministry of Industry and Trade to address some of the major issues women entrepreneurs face.

Other Areas of Positive Impact:

* In virtually all of the countries in Central/Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the first phase of **privatization** involved the sale of **retail shops**. Many were purchased by the store managers, a large percentage of whom were women.

* **Associations of businesswomen** are multiplying across the region. Throughout East/Central Europe, in Russia and Ukraine, and even in Central Asia, professional women involved in business are coming together to push for greater access to start-up and investment capital, an end to discriminatory labor practices and other issues related to women's full participation in the emerging market economy.

* A smaller number of **NGOs/PVOs** involved in issues of principal concern to women have begun to tackle higher unemployment rates for women through such strategies as formation of agricultural or other types of cooperatives (e.g. in Albania), and job retraining programs (e.g. in Kyrgyzstan). In war-torn Azerbaijan, international donors and their in-country partners are funding income generation projects (small loans and basic business training) targeting women refugees and internally displaced persons, and registering excellent results.

* There are strong **generational differences** with respect to the economic impact on women of the end of Soviet style central planning. The transition has taken an especially high toll on pensioners, the large majority of whom are women. Moreover, education is and will continue to be a major factor in how well people do in the emerging market economy and younger women have much higher education levels than their senior counterparts. There is reason to think the younger women (and probably urban as opposed to rural women) are better off than the overall data convey.

**U.S. ASSISTANCE TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY AND
ECONOMIC REFORM IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE**

What is U.S. policy? What is the U.S. doing?

- The U.S. assists the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in their transition to free market economies and democratic governments through the SEED (Support for East European Democracy) Program. Since 1989, the United States has provided more than \$2.5 billion in SEED assistance to Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Assistance is coordinated by the State Department (EUR/EEA) and implemented largely by the Agency for International Development, although several other USG agencies provide technical assistance with SEED funding.

What's next?

- **Budget:** The Administration has requested \$492 million for the FY 1998 SEED appropriation. At this funding level, we can continue Bosnia economic reconstruction, wrap up the SEED program in the Northern Tier states by 1999, and redirect relatively large amounts of resources toward the major remaining challenges in Southeastern Europe.
- **Graduation:** Decisions to phase out SEED assistance are based on each country's progress in attaining political and economic goals. (See attached chart.) Estonia, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia have "graduated" from the SEED program. Upcoming graduations include Hungary and Latvia in FY98 and Lithuania, Poland, and Slovakia in FY99. ("Graduation" refers to the final year of funding; it typically takes up to a year for assistance activities to wind down after that.)
- **Bosnia:** SEED funding has concentrated on assuaging the ravages of the war, as part of the President's \$600 million commitment to economic reconstruction. In addition, SEED funding has contributed to police training and monitors, the conduct of local and national elections, demining, and the creation of independent media outlets.
- **Serbia:** With the exception of a few small democracy and/or media-related grants, we have not been able to conduct a normal SEED program in Serbia. FY96 assistance to Serbia amounted to approximately \$500,000, done with Congressional consultation but implemented under "notwithstanding" authority. In view of the dynamic developments in Serbia, we expanded our program in FY97 to about \$3 million in the areas of democratization and independent media, and are weighing a more complete SEED program for FY 1998 if circumstances permit.
- **Enterprise Funds:** The Enterprise Fund program, under which U.S. funds are used for both equity investments and loans to private enterprise in SEED countries, has had spectacular success (the Poland Fund is expected to generate profits of over \$200 million) and failure (the Czech Fund lost 90 cents on the dollar). In several SEED countries, the Enterprise Funds represent the only source of financing for the private sector in light of structural inefficiencies in their financial sectors.

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Office of the
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SENIOR COORDINATOR FOR INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S ISSUES

INTERNATIONAL FOLLOW-UP TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

as of April 1997

AFRICA

Regional Initiatives

- Delegates from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) gathered to agree on sub-regional priorities for implementing the Beijing Platform for Action. The delegates agreed to work towards the establishment of a gender desk or other mechanism to promote women's issues in SADC, the creation of a standing committee of ministers responsible for gender affairs in the region and the establishment of gender focal points to ensure that gender is routinely taken into account and placed on the agenda of ministerial meetings.

Angola

- Women members of parliament hosted a forum on gender equality attended by political, civil society and religious leaders. The forum's participants agreed to put together an action plan to address gender equality in Angola and to form a permanent review body to monitor issues of gender equality.

Burkina Faso

- The government, in conjunction with UNDP, launched a fund to make loans available to women in villages.
- The country's new penal code explicitly prohibits sexual harassment and the practice of female genital mutilation. Under the new code, female genital mutilation is a crime, whose perpetrators are subject to prison sentences of six months to three years and a significant fine.
- The government has also worked to eradicate female genital mutilation through educational efforts. A newly formed national committee launched a campaign against the practice.

- The government has made the expansion of education a priority and is currently drafting a bill to extend compulsory education, for both girls and boys, from six to nine years.
- The Thai government announced its intentions to target equal pay and benefits for women.

Sri Lanka

- The government's Minister for Women's Affairs office has become increasingly active since the Beijing conference and appointed a special ombudsman within the ministry to receive complaints from women.
- Women in rural areas are now being trained in income-generating projects. They report that as they bring their new skills into their home and teach their husbands, they get greater respect and recognition for their contribution to the family and village.

EUROPE AND CANADA:

Azerbaijan

- The government established ten commissions to focus on such women's issues as health, violence, and education.



Bosnia-Herzegovina

- Follow-up by the United States: On July 11, 1996, at the G-7 Summit in Lyon, President Clinton pledged \$5 million to aid Muslim women who survived the capture of the town of Serbrenica by Bosnian Serbs in rebuilding their country, opening businesses and getting back on their feet economically.
- Follow-up by other countries: During the attack on Serbrenica, in the war, most of the survivors fled to Tuzla. On July 11, 1996, women who lost male relatives gathered there for a rally commemorating the fall of the town. The event was sponsored by women from other countries, including the American Ambassador to Austria, Swanee Hunt, Queen Noor of Jordan, and Emma Bonino, the European Union humanitarian aid commissioner. A representative of the organizers said they raised over \$3 million to finance rehabilitation programs for the survivors.

Canada

- The secretary of state for the status of women launched the federal guide to gender-based policy analysis. This guide is a tool for designing and evaluating policies, programs and legislation to ensure equitable results for men and women.
- The 1996 Canadian census included specific questions which addressed unremunerated work, specifically on the amount of time spent on unpaid housework, child care and care of seniors.
- The government completed its first gender impact analysis of policy changes to unemployment insurance which determined that the policy changes were adequate.

Denmark

- The government launched initiatives on equal pay and equal status for men and women.
- The parliament encouraged the government to mainstream gender perspectives into administrative, policy and planning activities.
- The government plans to increase its efforts to ensure that boys and girls are provided with equal educational opportunities.

 Poland

- The Legislature passed a law liberalizing access to the full range of reproductive health services.
- The government is currently developing a national plan of action for women.
- The Parliamentary Women's Caucus drafted a law on the equality of women and men. The draft law contains powerful provisions addressing issues of vital concern to women.

Portugal

- The government created the post of High Commissioner for the Promotion of Equality and Family Issues.

 Russia

- The government created an inter-ministerial commission on the improvement of the status of women which will prepare recommendations for the government on women's issues.
- The government is developing a national plan which will address women's rights, protection of equal rights in the labor market, protection of women's health and violence against women.

 Slovakia

- The government passed a new labor law which includes provisions for paid maternity leave.

Spain

- The government is working on programs to integrate women into the work force and ensure opportunity and security of employment in the business and corporate sectors.
- The government allocated funds for sectoral studies on women and gender issues. In 1996, \$800,000 was allocated. The amounts earmarked for the next three years are \$960,000, \$1.2 million and \$1.6 million.

Sweden

- The government proposed a new labor market policy and employment bill which includes proposals to improve the situation of women workers.

Turkey

- The National Legislature is considering a draft bill on the amendment of the civil code which, if enacted, will remove a considerable portion of Turkey's reservations to CEDAW.
- The government ratified a national women's reproductive health and family planning strategy which aims to improve reproductive health and family planning services in Turkey.

Ukraine

- The government created a committee for women's affairs, motherhood and childhood and a section for health protection, motherhood and childhood. These two cabinet-level departments will be merged to form the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Family and Demographic Policy.
- The government launched two initiatives on family planning and child health.

LATIN AMERICA:**Argentina**

- Argentina's law on reproductive health, rejected for four consecutive years, has now succeeded in receiving partial sanction from Congress. NGOs are working to secure full enactment of this modern legislation designed to protect the health of women and adolescent girls.

Bolivia

- Congress passed the Law on Domestic Violence which classifies rape as a public crime. Public agencies state that the number of reported incidents of abuse have increased as a result of the new law.
- Comprehensive legal services offices have been established to help and support women.
- Special family protection police units, staffed by 30 female officers, are now operating.
- As a part of its program for the protection of women, the government changed the school curricula.
- Health care providers are now being educated about how to deal with female patients.
- The government inaugurated a new medical security program which guarantees free medical care to women of reproductive age and to children under the age of five, based on economic need.

EASTERN EUROPE

Regional Initiative

- From April 25-26 in the Hague the EU Ministerial Conference ended with a "Declaration on European Guidelines For Effective Measures to Prevent and Combat Trafficking in Women For the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation." Many EU "candidate states" of Eastern Europe, which are also primary sources of the European sex industry sent observers to the conference.

POLAND

Challenge

- Legal and traditional barriers in the workplace and domestic violence still prevent women in from securing equal rights.

Initiative

- Polish women's rights groups have combined public activism with research and advocacy programs in order to combat these barriers. The Women's Rights Center monitors and analyzes legislation which pertains to women's issues and provides counseling for rape victims and victims of domestic violence. The Center for Advancement of Women has been helping women who have suffered from recent economic changes in Poland. The Polish Federation for Women and Family Planning campaigns against domestic violence.
- The Polish government has its own women's rights advocate called "The Government Plenipotentiary For Family and Women." The current Plenipotentiary, Jolanta Banach, is a member of the Prime Minister's cabinet and has the duty of ensuring that the cabinet considers women's issues when designing policy. Banach has directed the drafting of the Polish "Plan of Action" which will address the goals set out in the Beijing Declaration and provide a set of directives to ministries and government agencies. The Action Plan is not yet public. Banach wants the "Plan of Action to be adopted by January.
- The "Plan of Action" focuses on increasing women's access to preventative medicine. It also calls for more rigorous enforcement of Poland's laws against trafficking in women and for improved police training to handle cases of rape, harassment, and domestic violence.
- The Fourth World Conference on Women has prompted the Parliamentary Women's Caucus to draft a law on the equality of men and women. The Law has

not yet been forwarded to the SEJM , but the caucus plans to do so. If passed, the law will forbid forms of sexual discrimination, require the government to provide incentives to employers who use "Affirmative Action" programs, grant parental leave to both sexes, establish a commission on "equal rights", require equal access to sex education, and require that at least forty percent of public employees in every "organ of state" be women.

RUSSIA

Challenge

- Providing women with a means to earn a decent income remains a challenge. Forty percent of women in St. Petersburg are the sole breadwinners of their families. Nearly sixty percent of the unemployed are women.

Initiative

- On June 18, women joined together to improve women's economic status in Russia. Women affiliated with over 120 business projects from various regions of Russia participated in the Fourth Annual Exhibition, "Women's Project- 97." Goals of the conference included attracting business clientele, providing a forum for small businesses run by women, fostering business contacts, and attracting business investors to finance women's projects. The conference was organized by the International Institute for Women and Management, an organization which was founded in 1994 and which currently teaches a wide range of business courses for women.

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Divider Title: **Tab D**

U.S. Agency for International Development

Advancement of Women

New USAID Funding Areas in 1998

USAID expects to commit up to \$3 million in the next year for programs that will directly support the objectives of this conference. These include:

Democracy Commissions

- Democracy Commission activities across Central and Eastern Europe and the NIS (administered by USIA with FREEDOM Support Act and SEED Act funding) will specifically reserve 10 percent of Fiscal Year 1998 funds for women's organizations and initiatives -- approximately \$200,000 for CEE and \$200,000 for NIS, for a total of \$400,000. This Small Grants Program, has made awards of up to \$25,000 each to women's NGOs and related projects in more than 13 countries across the ENI region and will now even more explicitly target women. Information on these programs can be obtained from the U.S. Embassies in countries of the region.

Politics and Persuasion

- Small grant, technical assistance and training efforts to promote Women in Media and Women in Political Party Building are planned in Hungary and in Albania, with activities totalling about \$700,000.

Law and Leadership

- In Ukraine, Winrock/Countrerpact support for training in women's legal issues will be undertaken for women lawyers; and NGO efforts will seek to improve the regulatory environment within which women's NGOs must operate. (Approximately \$325,000). In Bulgaria, violence against women will be addressed through policy outreach to parliamentarians, research into legal and juridical mechanisms and work with Bulgarian media to expand awareness of this issue.

Business and Beyond

- In Albania, training to women entrepreneurs, technical advice to women's professional associations, job training and microenterprise support for women will be funded at about \$500,000.
- In Poland, women-owned business support organizations and small businesses will receive technical assistance,



U.S. Agency for International Development

training, and micro-lending of approximately \$1 million. Of this, a new Women's Rural Enterprise Development loan fund targetting women-owned small and medium businesses will receive a \$200,000 grant in fall, 1997.

While this paper identifies programs which specifically include women as primary beneficiaries, participation of women in the massive economic and democratic transitions underway in the region is fundamental to our objectives and the concept and purpose of inclusion is intrinsic to the entire USAID program. These and other USAID-supported activities seek to give women the requisite tools to shape their respective countries' policy agendas and to combat problems such as higher levels of unemployment and poverty for women, virtual collapse of the social benefits system, widespread discrimination, limited access to investment capital, exclusion from top policymaking circles, and rising domestic violence.

Examples of Current USAID Support for Women

USAID will continue support for a range of programs that provide small grants, training and technical assistance which are available to all indigenous non-governmental organizations, including women's groups. These activities expand the efforts of indigenous groups that strengthen women's voices in both the public and private sectors. Some examples include:

- The **Democracy Network**, with a \$30 million multi-year grant, has been the largest source of small grants and training for NGOs/PVOs in East/Central Europe. Grants have gone to support an array of organizations and projects benefitting women, from groups promoting women's legal rights and political organization and advocacy skills to associations of women entrepreneurs and institutes conducting research on the status of women.
- For the states of the former Soviet Union, the Administration's fiscal year 1998 funding request to Congress includes a \$275 million increase over fiscal year 1997 to fund a new **Partnership for Freedom** program. This program would significantly focus U.S. assistance on partnerships that sustain civil society and develop people-to-people linkages. Women's groups would be heavily involved.
- The **Eurasia Foundation**, with a multi-year grant to provide small grants, technical assistance and credits to non-governmental groups, has thus far devoted \$25 million for similar women's programs in the NIS. Over half of Eurasia's



U.S. Agency for International Development

beneficiaries are women receiving small grants or credits. Up to \$20 million will be provided to Eurasia in fiscal year 1998.

- USAID has provided over \$40 million for **micro-enterprise development** (both loans and technical assistance/training), of which a large proportion of beneficiaries are women. Loan size averages \$2000.
- The National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) both carry out **skills training programs for women political leaders** and promising, younger female activists to ensure women are integrally involved in decisionmaking at the community, regional and national levels.
- Delphi STAR (Strategies, Training, and Advocacy for Reconciliation) is a tremendously successful \$2 million program in three former Yugoslav republics (Bosnia, Croatia, and Macedonia) to **strengthen women's NGOs, develop skilled women's leadership** in the political, economic, and social spheres, and promote inter-ethnic reconciliation, tolerance and pluralism.
- Strengthening indigenous groups in Russia working to **reduce discrimination and violence against women**, including promotion of legal rights, crisis centers, and advocacy training. Hospital Partnerships programs also support women in this area.
- USAID's Women's Reproductive Health programs in Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, Albania, and Central Asia have devoted more than \$40 million to **modernizing reproductive health services and reducing reliance on abortion**. In Ukraine, a \$4 million effort directed at areas affected by Chernobyl is screening, diagnosing and treating women afflicted by breast cancer.
- In Ukraine and Russia, Winrock International's NIS-U.S. Women's Consortium, is **providing seed grants, training, and advocacy programs for women's NGOs**. USAID grants to Winrock include \$950,000 for Russia and \$1.1 million for Ukraine.
- A \$1.5 million USAID project, PROWID (Promoting Women in Development) administered by USAID's Office of Women in Development, provides grants to local women's NGOs in Central Europe and the NIS for **research and advocacy in women's issues**. PROWID grants include awards to combat legal discrimination against women (Russia), to educate lawyers working in domestic violence (Russia), to develop an integrated reproductive health strategy (Poland), to build skills for participation in public life (Ukraine), and to



U.S. Agency for International Development

broaden human rights activities (Croatia). Two U.S. NGOs (International Center for Research on Women, ICRW, and the Center for Development and Populations Activities (CEDPA) implement this program.

- The American Bar Association/Central and East European Law Initiative (ABA-CEELI) assists in the **development of indigenous women's bar and judges associations**, and development of committees focussed on professional or career issues related to women. In Russia, seminars and workshops have also focussed on sexual harassment and domestic violence.



Albanian Women also participated in an exchange with NaNe, and utilized this experience to incorporate NaNe's successful fundraising strategies into her organization's plans.

ALBANIA

Democracy Network (DemNet) Program. USAID has been instrumental in advising women's NGOs affecting important economic and political decision-making in Albania. DemNet assisted in the creation of the first indigenous women's rights advocacy group in Albania, the Women's Legal Group, composed of Albanian lawyers representing 11 women's NGOs. The Group engages in policy analysis, formulation, and advocacy of legal rights and protections for women and girls. USAID provided legal and strategic advice to the Women's Legal Group in their review of the draft Labor Code, and the group succeeded in lobbying Parliament to adopt 12 of its recommended changes. As a result, the new Labor Code of Albania mandates equal employment opportunities for women through a legal prohibition on sexual discrimination in the workplace, guarantees parental leave to care for a sick child, limits children's and pregnant women's working hours, and permits women to work at night. In addition, DemNet Albania has awarded 12 subgrants totaling \$35,000 to 7 NGOs focused on women's issues. Illustrative grants include:

- Through the League of Albanian Anti-Communist Women, research and advocacy for policy reform on behalf of politically persecuted women, and support for increased economic activities for these women through education, training, and relocation. The League is now respected as an effective partner of the Albanian government in preparation of its National Platform of Action for Women as a follow up to the UN's Beijing Conference on Women (\$2,094).
- Through the Albanian Family Planning Association, public education on reproductive rights and support for the drafting of a comprehensive law on reproductive health. If enacted, the law would guarantee women access to family planning options and to more accessible, higher-quality reproductive health care. (\$13,000)

BULGARIA

Democracy Network Program. USAID has awarded grants to 12 primarily woman-run NGOs undertaking activities in such areas as law, public education, and ethnic reconciliation, and has provided training to woman-focused NGOs, including the "We the Women for Dignity and Equality" Union in Sofia (\$204,000 total). Illustrative grants:

voters are most concerned with economic issues. (\$12,000 of the \$35,000 referenced below in "Law and Leadership").

Law and Leadership

CEE REGIONAL

Democracy Network (DemNet) Program. Through an agreement with the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law, USAID has provided over \$2 million in support of NGO legal environment strengthening in 11 (soon to be 13) Central and East European countries. ICNL is also a member of two newly-funded NGO development consortia in Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, and the Central Asian Republics. In each of these countries, ICNL works closely with NGO leaders, lawyers, and government officials to build indigenous capacity to improve the legal and regulatory climate for NGOs. Women-focused organizations -- like all NGOs -- benefit from improvements to laws governing their establishment, operation, and tax status. In many countries, including Albania and Macedonia, representatives of women's organizations have been at the forefront of efforts to strengthen NGO legislation.

A second DemNet regional agreement with the National Forum Foundation has provided assistance to women's NGOs within the context of its mandate to strengthen NGO networks CEE-wide (\$206,000 total).

Activities supporting women have included:

- Regional project grants promoting information dissemination, research, and advocacy on women's and children's health and welfare issues (\$9,200)
- U.S.-based NGO internships for three women NGO leaders from the Czech Republic and Albania working on issues related to women. Afroviti Gusho, Program Coordinatro for an Albanian NGO, utilized her internship experience with the Women's Education Center in Minnesota to organize seminars and round tables on women, publish surveys, and establish a women's education center providing counseling and training for women in business (\$2,400).
- Professional exchanges for NGO leaders from women-focused organizations in Central and Eastern Europe. A recent exchange placed Maria Mikova of the Animus Foundation, a Bulgarian NGO providing medical, psychiatric, and social assistance to abused women, with an organization in Budapest called NaNe, which is highly successful in the field of women's rights and support services. Jeta Vojkollari of Assistance to

- Through the 100% woman-run NGO "Legal Initiative for Education and Development, " training for Bulgarian judges, prosecutors, lawyers, and jury members (\$40,000)
- Support to abused women (\$5,995).
- Social services for Roma women and children in Plovdiv (\$5,100).

PROWID. Supports two NGOs, the Bulgarian Center for Human Rights and the Bulgaria foundation, USAID is disseminating information to politicians, the media, and the general public on the issue of violence against women (\$?)

CENTRAL ASIA

Counterpart Consortium. Seed grants to women-focused organizations within a comprehensive NGO strengthening program (\$166,400 to date. 1995-1999 total funding is \$16 million, with \$? estimated for women-focused activities).

CZECH REPUBLIC

Democracy Network Program. Thirty micro-grants to women's NGOs and women-led NGOs covering a variety of topics including women in politics, women's leadership training, human rights, nature conservation, mental illness, and family counselling (\$117,000 total).

ESTONIA

Democracy Network Program. Two grants (\$20,000 total)::

- Through the Estonian Association of Business and Professional Women, training in international political participation, national/regional economic development, law and politics, networking, and confidence-building (\$14,000).
- Through the Parnu Regional Union of Single Parents and using volunteers, creation of a network of relevant groups, strengthen position of single parents through legal and psychological consultations (\$6,000).

HUNGARY

Democracy Network Program. Grants to organizations working on child and family issues, women's business clubs and entrepreneurship, integrating Roma women

into public life, advocating for disabled women, and developing a shelter and reintegration program for single mothers (\$57,000).

LATVIA

Democracy Network Program. Nine grants spanning issues such as children rights, family planning, home health-care, training of social workers, and women's leadership skills (\$63,000 total). Illustrative grants:

- Through Association for Family Planning and Sexual Health, creation of 12-part video series, seminars, and telephone hotline (\$7,800).
- Training for home health care professionals to strengthen private, local provider capacity (\$2,500).

LITHUANIA

Democracy Network Program. Three grants awarded to women NGOs to assist elderly women, small business creation, and protection of rights of unemployed and economically at-risk women (\$37,500 total). Illustrative grants:

- Training and information services about laws, services, and jobs through the Public Elderly Women Activities Center (\$5,000).
- Exhibitions, roundtables, and seminars on women's small business creation (\$15,750).
- A campaign to improve legislation protecting unemployed and at-risk women, through seminars, a conference and a hotline (\$17,000).

MACEDONIA

Democracy Network Program. Eight grants to woman-run NGOs active in environmental protection activities, including environmental awareness campaigns, park revitalization, and restoration of city parks (\$40,000 total).

POLAND

Democracy Network Program. Ten grants covering women/family issues such as alcohol-related abuse prevention, women leadership training, and at-risk children (\$153,000 total). Illustrative grants:

- Training, medical and psychological support for mothers of autistic children (\$15,000).
- Through the SPES Association for the Disabled, training in advocacy skills for mothers of physically or psychologically disabled children (\$19,000).
- Providing women with needs assessment, service planning/implementation, and fundraising skills to address their communities' most pressing social problems (\$8,000).

ROMANIA

Democracy Network Program. 15 grants to NGOs led by women and/or promoting a wide variety of advocacy issues affecting women, including human rights, unemployed divorcees with children, mother/child protection centers, and a national action plan for mental health (\$603,600 total). Illustrative grants:

- Training for women in advocacy skills and to establish a national action plan for mental health (\$46,800).
- Improving advocacy skills leading to passage of a law offering benefits to one-parent families (\$32,773).
- Developing/promoting legislation to create mother and child protection centers (\$24,000).

RUSSIA

ARD/Checchi - Rule of Law Consortium. In partnership with the Moscow Center for Gender Studies and the Ukrainian Center for Women's Studies, practical training and technical assistance to women's NGOs to further develop the sustained role of women in legal reform, and support to women's legal committees working to increase NGO participation in legal reform at the local, regional, and national levels. U.S.-based training and internship programs on local government for 10 Russian women leaders. Support to the Association of Women Journalists in Russia for domestic violence and sexual harassment awareness activities, and to the Mother's Right Foundation for legal advice to parents of soldiers killed in battle (\$250,000).

Civic Initiatives Program. Small grants to women's organizations undertaking such activities as public information campaigns and partnerships on health issues including AIDS, and the development of a women's health and family planning clinic (\$1 million to date).

Eurasia Foundation. Small grants to woman-led or focused NGOs engaged in civil society development (including independent media), and political and economic reform. (\$4.5 million total).

Academy for Educational Development. Participant training for women leaders in a variety of sectors. (\$20,000,000 total).

PVO/NIS Project. Grants to women-focused NGOs, specialized leadership training for women, support for publications on women's human rights and breast cancer. (\$5,683,632 total).

Illustrative grants include:

- As part of an alcohol rehabilitation project, counseling for women on birth defects and fetal alcohol syndrome.
- Advocacy and public information on women's disability, and training on laws protecting disabled workers.
- Training and advocacy on reproductive health issues.

NIS/US Women's Consortium. Seed grant, training, and advocacy programs for women's NGOs (\$400,000).

SLOVAKIA

Democracy Network Program. Four grants to NGOs on issues such as women's position in Slovak society, citizen initiatives, human rights protection, and protection of abused children. (\$131,000 total). Illustrative grants:

- Through the Help Foundation, analysis of the position of women in Slovak society, including reproductive rights, planned parenthood, sex education, and health/disability issues. Goal is bring women more actively into dependency prevention (\$25,000).
- Through the Health City Foundation of Banska Bystrica, extension of community activities throughout the region and a special citizen initiatives fund aimed at women's concerns (\$22,800).Democracy Network Program. USAID has awarded \$1800 in grants to two women's NGOs engaged in expanding women's contribution to the public debate. These grants financed two seminars on women in Czech and international politics.

WEST NIS

ARD/Checchi - Rule of Law Consortium. In partnership with the Moscow Center for Gender Studies and the Ukrainian Center for Women's Studies, practical training and technical assistance to women's NGOs to further develop the sustained role of women in legal reform, and support to women's legal committees working to increase NGO participation in legal reform at the local, regional, and national levels. U.S.-based training and internship programs on local government for 10 Ukrainian women leaders (\$150,000).

Counterpart Consortium. Increases the NGO sector's capacity to provide social services and engage in advocacy, and to strengthen the legal environment for NGOs. Seed grants to women NGOs have totaled over \$100,000, and numerous women-led NGOs have participated in Counterpart's training programs (\$100,000 in seed grants plus \$? in training of \$7.5 million total).

Illustrative grants include:

- Training and employment for women through the preservation of traditional crafts (\$45,000).
- Production and distribution of prosthetic devices to breast cancer survivors (\$46,000).
- Public education for women on political and economic issues (\$10,000).

NIS/US Women's Consortium. NGO strengthening, entrepreneurship training, and unbiased public information on human rights, legal defense, reproductive health, access to western scholarships and grants, and advocacy issues (\$350,000 obligated of total \$1.1 million planned).

Business and Beyond

ALBANIA

- Land O'Lakes Dairy Improvement Campaign. Created a network of over 5,000 women (who make up 82% of livestock workers) that acts as a conduit for assistance from other Albanian or international development groups.
- Democracy Network Program. As further described above, DemNet Albania has made a strong contribution towards women's equal participation in economic life. Small grants to the Women's Business Association of Korca and to DeMeTra (Development, Management, and Training) have created an assistance center for business associations which provides institutional support to its members, education and training on business issues, as well as coordination on policy analysis, formulation, and implementation of new laws affecting business development. (\$17,000 of the \$35,000 referenced above in "Law and Leadership.")

BULGARIA

- Social Welfare to Employment Program (SWEP). Combines the services of labor and social welfare agencies in addressing the problems of long-term welfare dependency and preventing the cycle of poverty. A major target group are single mothers (\$?)

BOSNIA

- Bosnian Reconstruction Finance Facility On-Lending Management Unit. To date, this program has created nearly 2,900 jobs for women.
- International Rescue Committee. Psychosocial needs of war-traumatized women and children (\$7.6 million).
- Delphi (STAR project). Training in organizational development, advocacy, computer training, and networking to local women's groups. One result has been the start of two women's magazines in Sarajevo (\$2.1 million).

RUSSIA

- Opportunity International. \$3.6 million for programs targeting women entrepreneurs (micro-credit, leasing, and business incubators.)

- Center for Citizen Initiatives and the Alliance of American and Russian Women. Micro-credit, training, business incubator, and leasing programs targeting women entrepreneurs (\$4 million total).
- Counterpart Consortium. Conference and follow-on training on "The Role of Women in Rebuilding the Russian Economy" (\$75,000 in 1994)

UKRAINE

- Breast cancer screening program. Screening, diagnosis, and treatment of victims of breast cancer associated with the 1986 Chernobyl reactor accident.
- Training (USIA). Two training courses for women: Credit Programs for Women Entrepreneurs, and Women in Politics (\$250,000 total).
- NIS-US Women's Consortium. Through a sub grant to Counterpart Creative Center, this program provides training and technical assistance to women entrepreneurs (\$171,513 of \$1.1 million total referenced in "Law and Leadership.")

POLAND

- Women's SME Development. Through ACDI/VOCA, USAID is providing technical assistance to women-owned small and medium sized businesses and women-owned business support organizations. (\$ 3.4 million for an on-going project)
- Women's Rural Enterprise Development Loan Fund. In the fall of 1997, USAID will be awarding a grant to fund the only revolving loan program in Poland that targets women-owned SMEs. (\$200,000)

CEE/NIS REGIONAL

- Women's Reproductive Health Programs. Women's health clinics, training for 's health care providers, and increased access to contraceptives (\$32 million to date in the NIS, \$8 million programmed in Romania, and \$1.5 million in Albania).
- Participant Training. In Central Europe, over 1,500 women benefitted from USAID participant training during FY 1996. In the NIS, more than 1,600 women participated in the NIS Exchanges and Training (NET) Project in FY1996. In excess of \$5.4 million of USAID funds were spent to train NIS women in FY 1996.

UZBEKISTAN

- Women's Microenterprise Development. Through a grant to Counterpart Foundation, USAID will provide the Business Women's Association (BWA) with technical assistance and training in client service provision, market research and marketing, publication and dissemination of business information, regulations, credit and partnership opportunities, networking and advocacy (\$1,000,000 in FY97 or 98?).

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Divider Title: **Tab E**

AS PREPARED

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
THE SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, DC
MAY 22, 1997**

Dean Wolfowitz, Ambassador Nitze, administrators, faculty, students, award winners, alumnae, relatives, friends, and distinguished guests:

Thank you for inviting me to help you celebrate this wonderful occasion. This school is truly a microcosm of the world. Its graduates have made -- and will continue to make -- their marks not just in diplomacy but in every arena connected to foreign policy, from business to law to communications to academia to grass roots advocacy. I know the President is grateful to have a number of SAIS graduates working in his Administration.

Given your diverse backgrounds, interests and ambitions, it is fitting, I believe, that your graduation comes so close to the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Marshall Plan. Secretary of State George Marshall's vision shaped a new world in the second half of the 20th century. You, with the benefit of the knowledge and wisdom you have acquired here, have the chance to shape an even better world in the century that lies ahead.

And because you are, at least for a few more minutes, a captive audience, I want to take this opportunity to share a few of my own observations about the responsibilities and challenges that await you. I speak not as a foreign policy expert or as a spokesperson for the White House, but merely as someone who cares deeply about our nation's engagement in the world and the preservation of our democratic interests at home and abroad.

You in this room know better than most that, on the eve of a new century, our foreign policy does not lack for challenges. Earlier this month, the President met with our democratic partners in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean to advance our Hemisphere's efforts to build an inclusive and expanding global economy. Next week he will travel to Europe to celebrate the Marshall Plan and to reaffirm our nation's commitment to Marshall's dream of a united, democratic and peaceful Europe.

Every day, the Administration is working to create new opportunities for trade and cooperation in Asia, to seize new opportunities for peace from Northern Ireland to the Middle East, to promote new opportunities for economic progress and democracy in Africa, and to build on the opportunity we now have to integrate fully the countries of the former Soviet Bloc into the family of free nations.

And the President continues to work to safeguard our people from the threats of nuclear war, terrorism, extremism, international crime, the proliferation of drugs and environmental degradation — all of which can produce instant global crises, as well as the “crisis simulations” that some of you study with Professor Holborn each spring.

While each of these challenges requires vigilance and commitment, I want to suggest another foreign policy flashpoint that demands equal attention. I am talking about social development — particularly investments in women and children — which I believe represents a realistic, practical and moral approach to foreign policy. A way to fuse both American ideals and interests.

I have long subscribed to the belief that investments in people are just as essential to the prosperity and stability of our national family and global community as investments in open markets and trade. That belief has only been deepened by what I have seen first-hand as I have traveled around the world on behalf of the United States during these last four years.

From Brazil to Bangladesh, Estonia to Eritrea, Mexico to Mongolia, Thailand to Tanzania, I have seen how social investments -- often supported by America's public, private and non-profit sectors -- are giving more people, especially women, the chance to participate fully in the political, economic, social and civic life of their countries.

I can't count the times that women have come up to me — in rural villages, in poor barrios, in urban slums — to recount how their lives have been transformed because they received a small loan and started their own business. Or because their daughters now had the chance to go to school. Or because a family planning clinic opened in their area and, for the first time, they could plan how many children to have and when to have them. Or because a new law had been passed protecting their rights to own property, hold office, or vote.

Increasingly, governments, businesses, and leaders around the world are recognizing that as long as discrimination and inequities persist -- as long as women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, unschooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes -- our potential to create a stable, peaceful and ultimately prosperous world will be far from realized.

They are also recognizing that a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms. For too long, in too many places, women have lived on the outskirts of opportunity. Today, women comprise 70 percent of the world's poor and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write. Women die daily from diseases that could have been prevented or treated. They too often are forced to watch their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty. They too often are denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers. And they too often are barred from the bank lending office and banned from the ballot box.

In some countries, women continue to be denied the right to participate fully on cultural or historical grounds. But, as Secretary of State Albright has said, excluding women -- denying them their God-given rights -- is not cultural, it is criminal.

It is also impractical and shortsighted in the age in which we live. I will always remember the wise words of Uganda's vice president -- a woman -- who told me: "For too long our leaders forgot that women are the ones who knit society together. They forget that women are the ones who care for their families, anchor their communities, look to the future and worry not just about themselves, but about society. Finally, today, we are remembering. And our country is better for it."

We know that we cannot build the kind of future we want without the contributions of women. In fact, I often wonder what would happen to the economies of the world if women just stopped working -- inside and outside the home.

This is much more than speculation. Deputy Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers, who has studied and written about the economics of development for many years, argues that, "Investment in the education of girls may well be the highest return investment available in the developing world."

In Uganda, one of six countries I visited on my recent trip to Africa, I saw the fruits of President Museveni's efforts to promote the education of girls when I went to the Seguku Primary School in Kampala. A very patient and determined teacher, who was in charge of 74 students, proudly told me that for the first time she has more girls than boys in her class. Everywhere I turned, it seemed that Ugandans understood that investing in girls is tantamount to investing in the country and its future.

But even if you subscribe to the notion that social investments are critical to progress in developing countries, some of you may be asking yourselves why investing in women should be a concern of our foreign policy here in the United States?

We live in a time of great transformation. One need only read the daily headlines to understand that, even as country after country embraces democracy and free markets, the rapid pace of change, global competition and the Information Revolution are creating new pressures on every institution in society, from governments on down to families.

The superficial cultural homogenization of the world means that people on every continent wear the same jeans, eat the same fast food, and listen to the same music. But these surface similarities do not override a longing for identity and meaning in their lives. Despite improving material conditions in advanced economies, families seem under greater stress. The gap between rich and poor grows wider. Even in countries such as ours, the social safety net -- health care, education, pensions, decent wages and good jobs -- is in danger of fraying for those less able to navigate this new world.

These pressures pose unavoidable questions for us as we approach the 21st century: Questions about how to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities; about how families will raise children in the face of pressures from the mass media and the consumer culture; about personal identity and work in an age of globalization, information overload, and high technology; about the roles of women in society; about how people will be able to preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship; about how nations will protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others; about how or whether multinational corporations will be regulated within or across borders; and about how governments will combat threats from international cartels and terrorists.

As the President has said, our challenge is to balance these competing and sometimes contradictory pressures of global integration and disintegration.

As we consider how free nations like ours will meet this challenge, we may need to be reminded that democracy is not just about our legally protected rights, elections, or even free market economies. It is about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It's about developing among democratic nations what I call an "alliance of values" based on the shared values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, community and respect for human rights.

And that alliance means that every nation bears the responsibility to ensure that all of its citizens — no matter their race, gender, religion or ethnic background — have the chance to take their seat at society's table.

Whether we succeed at this task is particularly important for women -- even for women in countries such as ours who still are striving to attain and define their rightful place in government, the economy and civil society and claim their share of personal, political, economic and civic power. And it has serious implications for whether our democracies, individually and collectively, will meet the challenges of the future.

Will democracies on every continent come to understand that issues affecting women are not soft or marginal, but are central to the prosperity and progress of every nation?

Will public and private institutions help empower women with the tools they need to take responsibility for their lives? And by that I mean: Will education be affordable and accessible so that women can acquire the skills and knowledge they need to help themselves and contribute to society? Will businesses initiate policies that make work more family-friendly, like child care, flexible hours, or parental leave? Will employers value women by paying them equal pay for equal work?

Will law enforcement and justice systems act more efficiently to protect women from violations of their legal rights, particularly from violence in their own homes?

Will financial institutions provide credit for women — especially poor women who, around the world, have shown that with access to small loans they can lift themselves and their families out of poverty?

And finally, will we acknowledge, once and for all, that issues of concern to women are issues that affect us all?

These are not abstract questions. They reflect, in practical terms, the kinds of issues you will face as diplomats, bankers, lawyers, business people, and advocates once you leave SAIS. Because inevitably, if we care about opening foreign markets ... if we care about making our country and our allies secure in the face of new post-Cold War threats ... if we care about enlarging the world's community of democracies ... if we care about widening the circle of peace and prosperity ... then we have to address the conditions and circumstances of the world's women.

What we have learned around the world is that if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish. And when families flourish, communities and nations flourish.

This is not just true for the developing world. In our own country, and across Europe, there is a serious debate underway about how to sustain economic growth without tearing at the social fabric and ripping apart the social safety net. There is a growing awareness that solutions cannot be solely government-driven or market-driven. They must reflect a balance of public, private and individual power. And women must be part of the equation.

That is why, for the first time, our own government is recognizing the importance of microcredit as a way of expanding the tools of opportunity for people on the margins of society, most of whom are women. It is why our Justice Department now has, for the first time, an office devoted to ending violence against women.

It is why we are supporting efforts in other countries to establish special police stations where women can be assured of fair and just treatment when they are victims of crime or abuse. It is why we support the International War Crimes Tribunal in Arusha, which is investigating and prosecuting those who use rape as a weapon of war. It is why we will take part in global efforts to crack down on the illegal trafficking of women and girls, just as we seek justice and punishment for those who traffic in drugs.

I, for one, am proud that the United States is a leader in this area and that, as Secretary of State Albright has said, we are committed to making women an integral part of our foreign policy -- not just in theory, but in practice. I am proud of our efforts, through the U.S. Agency for International Development and other entities, to support investments in women in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

The plain fact is: a modest investment in foreign aid -- less than one percent of our budget -- yields dramatic returns. Not that I believe that American aid, whether for microcredit projects, family planning, girls education or any other social investments, is a panacea for women or for democracy around the world. Nor that I am starry-eyed enough to believe that every just cause in the world, whether or not it is related to women, is ours to embrace.

But I do believe that social investments are vital to spreading our democratic ideals, strengthening free market interests, and enhancing our security. And I do believe that we have learned over time that our ideals and interests cannot be divorced from the political, economic and social cross-currents swirling around us.

Social development, the investment in people and their potential, is foreign policy, not social work. It is, as I said earlier, a realistic and moral way for the United States to help expand the global economy, nurture democracy, and improve our own chances for peace and prosperity.

And as we move ahead to a new century, I hope we will measure American engagement not just in terms of our strategic alliances, trade agreements, and humanitarian aid in the wake of tragedy and crisis. I hope we will measure it in the democratic values we reinforce, the human rights we defend, and the opportunities we create for ourselves at home and for our friends abroad.

And I hope that in the days and months ahead, after you have taken leave of this wonderful school, you will remember George Marshall and the vision he created at a time when the world seemed just as challenging and unpredictable as it does today. I hope you will carry with you a belief in democracy and in its promise to give all citizens the chance to live up to their God-given potential. And mos of all, I hope you will always have faith in your own capacity to move us closer to a peaceful, just and prosperous world.

Thank you. And Godspeed.

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HEADLINE: DELIVERS REMARKS WITH FIRST LADY HILLARY CLINTON AT A STATE
DEPARTMENT EVENT IN HONOR OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY; WASHINGTON, D.C.

SPEAKER:

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT, SECRETARY OF STATE
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, FIRST LADY OF THE
UNITED STATES

BODY:

ALBRIGHT: Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you very much, Tim, for that exceptionally warm and friendly introduction.

Mrs. Clinton, Dame Eugenia Charles, Geraldine Ferraro, Members of Congress, Excellencies, and friends, I am delighted to welcome the first lady and all of you to the State Department's observance of International Women's Day.

I also want to thank that really great feminist Tim Wirth and Teresa Loar for the tremendous job that they are doing. When the globe is your constituency, you tend to be pretty busy, and no one burns energy more efficiently than our team at global affairs.

Let me begin this morning with one very simple statement. Advancing the status of women is not only a moral imperative, it is being actively integrated into the foreign policy of the United States.

(APPLAUSE)

It is our mission. It is the right thing to do. And frankly, it is the smart thing to do.

The reason is that, as we approach the new century, we know that we cannot build the kind of future we want without the contribution of women. And we know that, around the world, women will only be able to contribute to their full potential if they have equal access, equal rights, equal protection, and a fair chance at the levers of economic and political power.

Towards these goals, we have made progress. I said once that if I had been born a generation or two earlier, and if I had wanted to make a definitive statement on American foreign policy, my only option would have been to enter

society and then pour tea into an offending ambassador's lap.

(LAUGHTER)

Today, women are engaged in every facet of international affairs -- from policymaking to deal-making, from arms control to trade, from court room at the War Crimes Tribunal to the far-flung operations of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and to the top floor of the State Department.

So we have much to celebrate. We also have much further to go.

During my recent round-the-world trip, I met with six presidents, four prime ministers, eight foreign ministers, three defense ministers, two premiers, one chancellor, one secretary general, and one trade minister.

And if you put us all in one room, you would have had 26 suits and my skirt.

(LAUGHTER)

This lack of representation at the top is mirrored throughout the political and economic structures of most nations. Whether one is bumping against a glass ceiling or standing on a dirt floor, equality remains for most more aspiration than reality.

It is in America's interests to change this. Advancing the status of women is directly related to our foreign policy goals. We want to build peace and expand the circle of democracy. We want to sustain a growing global economy that creates good jobs for Americans. And we want to see a future in which the values we cherish are more widely shared.

ALBRIGHT: In each case, we can't get from where we are to where we want to go if women are left on the sidelines. Women must be integrated at every step of the way.

Consider, for example, the pursuit of peace. I am not among those who believe that if the world were run solely by women, war would disappear. The human capacity for folly and miscalculation is widely shared. But the history of this century tells us that democracy is a parent to peace. And common sense tells us that true democracy is not possible without the full participation of women.

The Beijing conference has created new momentum for women to speak out, get involved, organize, vote and become candidates for office. The vast network of non-governmental organizations that women have built is focused on these tasks. Greater participation translates into richer democracy and more representative policies. And in those regions where democracy makes the greatest difference for peace, women are hard at work creating and expanding the institutions for freedom.

I have seen in Bosnia the efforts of women's groups to heal the wounds of ethnic division. The women of that country are determined to build a society in which they, who have paid a fearful price for wrong decisions in the past, will have a role in making the right decisions in the future.

I have seen in Central Europe and the new independence states the birth of movements designed to give women a real voice in the construction of new democracies. This is crucial because women were hardest hit by the economic and social disruptions of recent years.

I have seen in Burundi hundreds of women from the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups working side by side to prevent in their country the genocidal violence that caused so much suffering in neighboring Rwanda.

During and since the women's conference, I have seen representatives of groups from around the world -- African, Asian, Latin, Jewish, Islamic and Christian -- joined in a common cause of sustaining the global momentum towards more open and representative political systems. That is their goal, and, as Americans, it is our goal. So is economic growth.

Since 1993, under President Clinton's leadership, we have negotiated more than 200 trade agreements, given a tremendous boost to international commerce, and created millions of new jobs. But for the world's economy to keep growing, women everywhere must have increased access to the building blocks of economic opportunity and power. A growing economy requires a modern economy. And as Turkey's Kemal Ataturk said seven decades ago, you cannot catch up with the modern world by modernizing only half the population.

Despite recent gains, women remain an undervalued and underdeveloped human resource. That is not to say that women have trouble finding work.

ALBRIGHT: In many societies, in addition to bearing the children, women do most of the non-child-related work, but often women are barred from owning land, excluded from schools, provided less nourishment, and permitted little or no voice in government.

It is no accident that most of those in the world who are abjectly poor are women. Frequently, they are left to care for children without the help of the children's father. Many are trapped at a young age in a web of ignorance and abuse.

Women are prepared to be full partners in sustainable development. But they need education, decent health care, access to credit, and protection from violence. They need knowledge, and the power to make our own choices.

We know from experience that when that happens, the cycle of poverty can be broken, birth rates stabilized, environmental awareness increases, the spread of sexually-transmitted disease slows, and socially-constructive values are more likely to be passed on to the young. That is a priceless and lasting gift to the future.

We also serve the future when we stand up for basic values of law and respect for the dignity of every human being. A half a century ago, a great American first lady was the driving force behind the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In Beijing, another great first lady eloquently reaffirmed America's commitment to that declaration and in its application to all people, specifically including women and girls.

Now I don't know whether this resulted from a conversation between these two first ladies.

(LAUGHTER)

But I do know that the universal declaration reflects spiritual and moral values that are all central to all cultures. Respecting both the wondrous diversity that defines us and the common humanity that binds us, the declaration obliges all governments to strive in law and practice to protect the rights of those under their jurisdiction.

And by its very existence, it shows that whether a government fulfills that obligation is a matter not simply of domestic, but of universal concern.

Unfortunately today, around the world, appalling abuses are being committed against women. There are those who suggest that many of these abuses are cultural and there's nothing we can do about it.

I say they are criminal and it's the responsibility of each and every one of us to stop them.

(APPLAUSE)

It is encouraging that in the wake of Beijing, efforts to curb violence against women have surged. In country after country, we see projects designed to heighten awareness and gain for women greater protection under the law.

This matters because every time a special police unit is created to insure a prompt response to sexual or domestic abuse, every time a cooperative effort is undertaken to end female genital mutilation, every time a program is launched to halt the exploitation of women and girls, every time strides are made toward the equal valuation of women as individuals, family members and citizens, our world is uplifted and we are all enriched.

ALBRIGHT: In the effort to advance the status of women, the United States is a leader. But a leader cannot, and we are not, standing still.

At President Clinton's initiative, we are incorporating concerns related to women into the mainstream of American foreign policy. What does that mean?

For one thing, it means that the President's Interagency Council on Women, created last year to implement the Beijing Platform for Action, will be chaired this year by the Department of State. It means that our overseas aid programs will continue to emphasize projects that expand the ability of women to participate economically and politically, to gain access to education and healthcare, including reproductive healthcare, and to protect themselves against violence and disease.

It means that we will place special emphasis on the institutions of civil society that include women and refugee relief that is designed to meet women's needs. It means that we will continue to report honestly and thoroughly on violations of human rights, and that we will denounce those violations whether they are sins of omission by those who refuse to investigate or prosecute

domestic abuse, or sins of commission by dictators, such as those in Burma or extremists in Afghanistan.

It means that we will continue to back the International War Crimes Tribunals, because we believe that the authors of ethnic cleansing should be held accountable, and those who see rape as just another weapon of war should pay for their crimes.

(APPLAUSE)

It means that we will take part in a global effort to crack down on illegal trafficking in women and girls. And let me say that if those who traffic in drugs should be punished severely -- and they should -- so should those who traffic in human beings.

(APPLAUSE)

Finally, it means, because I said that I would tell it like it is, when I go to North Carolina in a couple of weeks to speak at the Jesse Helms Center, I will state explicitly that it is long past time for America to become party to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women.

(APPLAUSE)

As I think many people know now, I have a very good relationship with the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and we agree when we can, and we disagree agreeably when we don't agree on the subject.

The integration of women into our foreign policy is an active, ongoing worldwide process. It requires working not only with other governments but also with non-governmental organizations and other agents of progress. It affects everything, from the design of aid programs to policy decisions made by our bureaus here in Washington, to embassy activities around the globe. And it reflects our understanding that progress requires not simply opening doors, but a vigorous effort to reach out and spread the word that the old era of injustice and repression must end so that a new era of opportunity and full participation may dawn.

Before closing, I want to say a few words about our next speaker, for she is certainly one of the women we have incorporated into the mainstreams of our foreign policy.

ALBRIGHT: During the past four years, Hillary Rodham Clinton has become America's most-respected and valued albeit unofficial ambassador. She has advocated America's agenda of peace, democracy, economic growth and law from India to Indonesia, from China to Copenhagen and from Ukraine to a memorable diplomatic and culinary experience in Ulan Bator.

(LAUGHTER)

She brings to her assigned tasks enormous energy, brains, commitment and volumes of eloquence. Those of you who have done public speaking know how hard it can be to excite an audience -- at least without getting into trouble.

(LAUGHTER)

Imagine how hard it is when that audience comes from 150 different countries and when most of them are sitting there with earphones on, wires going every way, listening to emotionless and not always accurate translation.

And yet, this woman, the honorary chair of our delegation, electrified precisely that kind of an audience in Beijing. Her message still echoes. Her contributions to American leadership continue to build. Her wisdom has become an international force for good -- all this and a Grammy award, too.

(LAUGHTER)

As secretary of state, I can think of no greater blessing than to have the first lady at my side and on America's side.

This weekend, at my request, she will travel to Africa, a region of great importance to the United States and to the progress of women. I look forward to hearing about her trip, and I know we all look forward to hearing from her now.

Please welcome our terrific first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you very much. Thank you so much, Secretary Albright -- I still love to say that.

(LAUGHTER)

We are gathered today to celebrate International Women's Day in the heart of the State Department, and we do, as Americans, have much to celebrate starting with a secretary of state who, yes, broke a barrier by virtue of her own gender, but who much more importantly is committed to defending the rights, not just of Americans, but of citizens around the world regardless of gender.

Not only has Madeleine Albright broken many a glass ceiling, she has brokered many a peace. Not only has she opened many doors, she has opened many minds. And since she mentioned it, I would say that in my last conversation with Mrs. Roosevelt...

(LAUGHTER)

... she told me how pleased she was that her husband had appointed the first women to the Cabinet in United States history, and how pleased she was that my husband had appointed the first woman secretary of state.

(APPLAUSE)

I thank Secretary Albright for her leadership, her courage, and on a personal note, her friendship.

CLINTON: And I am delighted that she has agreed to serve as the new chair for the President's Interagency Council on Women, ably assisted by Teresa Loar and Tim Wirth, and others of you here.

We all know that countless responsibilities face our new secretary of state, and all of us. Our foreign policy does not lack for challenges. We must continue to reduce weapons of mass destruction. We must realize the centuries dream of a wholly united, democratic and peaceful Europe. We must work to capture new opportunities in Asia, to seize opportunities for peace in the Middle East and other areas that are strategic not only to the United States, but to the entire globe.

We must work with our partners in Latin America, Africa and elsewhere to build an inclusive and expanding global economy. We must safeguard our people from the threats of terrorism, extremism, international crime, drugs and environmental degradation.

While all of these require our attention and commitment, today I have come to advance a simple idea -- and that is the seamless inclusion of girls' and women's needs in American foreign policy.

Despite the work they do, the families they raise, the communities they hold together, too many of the world's women, particularly in developing nations, live on the outskirts of opportunity and equality.

But let me be clear. This challenge is not confined to the developing world. We still have plenty of work to do here in the United States and in other advanced economies of the world to insure that women have a full stake in democracy.

One goal in every country should be to see that all citizens, regardless of race or gender or ethnicity or religion, have a full place at their society's table.

If you'll forgive just a slight diversion, yesterday I was in Arkansas. I visited people who had been hit by a terrible tornado in the morning. Even before that disaster struck, these were people already working overtime to build good lives, to reach their aspirations. The full benefits of American society were still a long way away for them. After this tornado, all that they had worked for, all they had hoped for seems lost.

Later that day, I spoke at an event that helps raise funds to send single parents, primarily women, to college or vocational school. I heard stories from five women, who told us what it had meant that their society in the form of those who had raised these funds reached out and told them that they could make something of their own lives.

CLINTON: They could go to college. They could support themselves and their children. They had heard the message that is even still too often conveyed in America -- that they weren't worth very much, that nobody really cared too much about them.

As one young woman said -- Five years ago, I was in a battered woman's shelter in Fayetteville, Arkansas. I had nothing. I not only didn't have a car, I didn't have a driver's license. And my face looked as though it had been run over by a truck. All of a sudden there were people there who convinced me that I could make something of myself and care for my nine-month-old son. I thought to myself, how can these people believe in me, that I could go to college, that I could support myself? How could these people care about me when my own husband didn't care about me?

Those stories, as I heard them, reminded me of stories that I have heard around the world -- as women in Bangladesh or India or Nicaragua or Chile stood up and told me what it meant to them to have someone believe that they, too, could make a living for their families, that the skills they had would be valued in the marketplace, that their children, especially their daughters, could have a better life.

The women last night were helped to return to school. And today, they are citizens of the United States in the fullest sense of that word.

Whenever disparities of wealth exist in our country and around the world, it means that people are left by the side of the road, detoured off the information highway, unable to take advantage of democracy's opportunities. What America must do for its own sake, as well as for the sake of its leadership in the world we are in today and that we are entering tomorrow is to promote democracy and civil society in every nation, so that all citizens -- every man, woman and child -- can live up to their God-given potential.

But one may ask -- Well it's fine for me to care about the women of Arkansas, but why should I or any American care about women in developing countries and around the world? Why should women, as Secretary Albright just eloquently explained, be a concern of ours and our foreign policy here in the United States?

Well, what the secretary said, and what this administration believes is that if half of the world's citizens are undervalued, underpaid, undereducated, under-represented, fed less, fed worse, not heard, put down, we cannot sustain the democratic values and the way of life we have come to cherish.

CLINTON: If, as a nation, Americans care about opening foreign markets for American goods and services, if we care about making our country secure in the face of new threats, if we care about widening the circle of peace and prosperity, then we must address the conditions and circumstances of the world's women.

You in this room know better than anyone else that our world is in a time of great transformation, heralding ever more democracy, leading, we hope, to ever more peace. But the great promise of this time is not without its challenges. Global competition, the information revolution, the rapid pace of change, create pressures on every society, from governments down to families. And these pressures pose unavoidable questions for us as we approach the 21st century.

How do we figure out ways to balance individual and community rights and responsibilities? How do parents raise children in the face of the influences

of the mass media and consumer culture? What do we make of what seems to be a conflict in many instances between personal identity and the work available in an age of globalization and high technology? What about the roles of women in society? How will people preserve their ethnic pride and value their national citizenship? And how will nations protect their sovereignty while cooperating regionally and globally with others.

Thinking about these questions, and how a free nation like ours will respond to them, we may need to be reminded that democracy is not just about legally-protected rights, elections, or free market economies. It is about the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts and minds. It is about how, in the absence of either hot or cold wars, democracy is rooted in people's everyday lives.

Given the changes that are going on around us, we can no longer gauge our interests around the world solely through power blocs and vast arsenals. Across the globe, here at home, at the end of the Cold War, we have been freed to focus on issues that edge right up to our own front doors. How do we educate our children? How do we ensure that families have proper healthcare? How do we ensure that democracies and free markets produce citizens, not just consumers?

CLINTON: I have said before that in this time of challenge around the globe, we know we will continue to cope with what is often thought of as the traditional balance of power among countries.

But I would also argue that we must now add to that balance of power equation, often called Realpolitik, the idea that real life politik may be just as intimately connected with whether or not democracies survive and flourish.

These issues that we speak of today should not be considered women's issues, but certainly it is fair to say that women often, by necessity, become the world's experts on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, and they therefore often understand and appreciate more clearly that they have a vested interest in insuring that their societies and governments address these real life challenges.

I have seen for myself on continent after continent the solutions that women are forging -- new mothers in Jakarta, Indonesia, who gather every week to learn about family planning and better nutrition for their children; doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine, who are caring for the children of Chernobyl; women from Santiago to San Diego, who are working on issues as diverse as education, crime and the environment.

These issues are central to our global democratic interests, for what distinguishes democracy is fair and genuine participation in every aspect of life. It should be too obvious to point out, but unfortunately it isn't, that giving women a stronger voice and fuller say over their futures is intimately related to the health of democracies because women are the majority in most countries and the world over.

America's credo should ring clearly -- a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms. To reach its full potential, it must include all of its citizens.

Clearly, whether we succeed in strengthening democratic values around the world is of special consequence to women, who in our country and elsewhere are still striving to attain and even define their rightful place in government, the economy and civil society, and to claim their rightful share of personal, political, economic and civic power.

Raising the status of women and girls and investing in their potential means insuring that they have the tools of opportunity available to them -- education, healthcare, credit and jobs, legal protections, and the right to participate fully in the political life of their countries.

And that is why the United States must continue its bipartisan tradition of supporting initiatives that move our world closer to these goals.

Today, more than 600 million women worldwide are denied the opportunity of an education.

CLINTON: Women make up two thirds of those who can neither read nor write. Yet the single most important investment any developing nation can make is in the education of girls and women.

We are discovering that in country after country the benefits of educating women go far beyond the classroom and the school house. They go to stronger families, better health, nutrition, wages and levels of political participation.

I have seen how the support of the United States for the education of women and girls worldwide is paying off. I have seen how similar social investments -- also many supported by the United States -- can make a difference in countries as diverse as Brazil, the Philippines, Nepal and Pakistan.

Certainly, as I travel around the world and as many of you do likewise, we have seen with our own eyes that investing in girls and women helps to transform communities, which in turn can transform society.

Women will not flourish and neither will democracy if they continue to be undervalued inside and outside the home. I have had many experts in economic development around the world say to me that women's work is not part of the economies of countries, that women do not participate in the economic markets of the countries.

And yet I have seen with my own eyes as I've travelled through urban areas and remote world ones that women are bearing often the bulk of the load of the work that must be done to plant crops, to harvest them, to make it possible for small enterprises to flourish in market stalls.

So I know that women are working. Their contributions may not be counted in the gross domestic product of their societies, but they are of value. If all the women in the world tomorrow said they would not work outside the home, the economies of every country would collapse.

And it's time that we...

(APPLAUSE)

It is time that we honored and counted the contributions that women make both in the home and outside.

Investing in women also means investing in their health, and in turn in the health of their families. I am especially pleased that the United States has provided assistance through the United States Agency for International Development to assure that women, children and families have access to a full spectrum of low cost, high yield health care services from safe birthing kits for expectant mothers to basic immunizations for infants, to oral rehydration therapy to treat children suffering from diarrhea.

I want to say a special word about family planning and its importance in this larger effort.

CLINTON: Family planning is fundamental to letting women take responsibility for themselves and their children. Right now, however, roughly 100 million women worldwide cannot get, or are not using family planning services because they are poor, uneducated or do not have access to care.

Some 20 million women will seek unsafe abortions. Of these women, some may become disabled for life, some will have other health problems, but fundamentally the rate of unsafe abortions is in itself a tragedy. High abortion rates do not represent women's equality. They represent a failure on all our parts to help women prevent unwanted pregnancies in the first place.

If we really care about reducing abortion and fostering strong families, we must not back away from America's commitment to family planning efforts overseas.

(APPLAUSE)

And if we really care about making women equal partners in societies the world over, we must do everything in our power to fight violence against women. Whether it is a hidden crime of domestic abuse or a blatant tactic of war, no single social investment is a panacea for women or for developing countries. Nor should every just cause in the world be America's to embrace.

But I do believe that, as long as discrimination and inequities persist on a broad scale way against women, a stable prosperous world will be far from a reality.

Taken together our investments in social development are vital to strengthening free market interests, spreading our democratic ideals and enhancing our security.

Over time, America has learned that our ideals and interests cannot be divorced from the political, economic, social cross-currents swirling around us.

I hope we have also learned that engagement with the world represents opportunities at home, as well as obligations abroad.

Let me give you just one modest example. I spoke recently at a conference sponsored by USAID called Lessons Without Borders. At the conference, Baltimore's Mayor Kurt Schmoke told how government leaders from his city had gone to Africa to learn about simple low-cost strategies used on that continent to encourage parents to immunize their children.

Now similar programs are in place in Baltimore with community clinics, a vaccination van, door-to-door visits and the resulting higher immunization rates for children under three.

CLINTON: We can learn from our neighbors around the world. And many of the lessons we can learn, we will find, are lessons that have been helped to be taught by our own foreign policy engagement.

Less than one percent of our budget -- yet countless lives -- can be improved and we can improve lives here at home.

Before I close, I want to say word about my forthcoming trip to Africa. I was very honored to be asked to make this trip because I think that America's engagement in the world must include an engagement with subsaharan Africa. Contemporary history is story that citizens and countries are writing. And there is a new story that must be told. Every region is contributing its own chapter.

Africa has a remarkable story if we will only pay attention to it.

It is moving toward democracy. In the last six years, the number of democracies have jumped from five to 23. Africa is growing economically, moving from suffocating state-controlled economies to open markets that can give full life and scope to human endeavor.

Last year, 30 countries recorded positive economic growth. Africa is beginning to forge a new relationship with the United States, one based not just on aid but on shared ideals, mutual responsibilities, integration into the world economy, and partnerships designed to resolve conflicts and to meet common challenges.

To be sure, many of the African democracies are new and therefore fragile. Hope remains tenuous. Too much of the continent continues to be riven by disease, malnutrition, poverty, injustice, corruption, perilous conflicts and their terrible aftermath -- refugee crises that trap women and children especially, and lives that go from bad to worse.

And yet -- and yet, in spite of these challenges, for the first time, we can say that at this moment in history there in Africa grounds for far more hope than despair. And with the support of the United States, we can solidify that hope.

I will be privileged to visit Senegal, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda and Eritrea. And I am pleased that so many of the ambassadors from those countries and other countries in Africa are with us today.

I hope to witness firsthand and to highlight each country's efforts to build democracy and a strong civil society. I will focus particularly on grassroots initiatives and on efforts that affect women and children.

I hope this trip will give the American people a renewed sense of the importance of our commitment to Africa.

CLINTON: I hope it will lay out exactly why we must do our utmost to support democracy and social investment in Africa, and to strengthen Africa's place in the community of nations.

And I hope it will show that American engagement must be measured not just in aid dollars or humanitarian efforts in the wake of tragedy and crisis, but in the democratic values we reinforce, in the human rights we defend, and in the conflicts we help resolve preventively.

There are, to be sure, issues of America's national security at stake. Instability in Africa -- whether it is rooted in war, in terrorism, in organized crime, in disease, in environmental degradation and poverty -- touches us too.

There are also economic issues at stake. Right now the United States holds only seven percent of the African market of 600 million people. By forging stronger economic ties with Africa, we will do much to secure the prosperity of our own people as well.

But finally, our greatest reasons for engagement with Africa are built on a positive foundation. Africa is on the move with a new generation of leaders. the fresh air of political reform, and thriving multi-ethnic societies.

As we look at the future for America's engagement around the world, we can see that, wherever we help to seed the ground for democracy, wherever we reach out to people out of mutual respect to help them help themselves, whatever we understand clearly that in this time of interdependence and interconnection that we all have a stake in the success of the other, we will make progress together.

Whether it comes to assisting and working with our friends in the new democracies in Africa or understanding the importance of our commitment to women and girls, America's interests are at stake. But far more importantly, America's values are at stake.

If we act upon those values we will help to lead the world into the kind of new future we envision as possible for our children and all the children around the globe.

Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

END

NOTES:

- ???? - Indicates Speaker Unknown
- Could not make out what was being said.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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

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

Divider Title: **Photo with UN Leaders**

UN REPRESENTATIVES PHOTO OP

The First Lady will be greeted by Mr. Giorgio Gicacomelli, Under-Secretary General of UN Organizations in Vienna (UNOV) and Executive Director of the UN Drug Control Program (UNDCP), and by Mr. Hans Blix, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), in a room in the Austria Center, following the First Lady's speech to the "Vital Voices" conference. After introductions by U.S. Ambassador to Vienna UN Organizations John Ritch, the First Lady, Mr. Giacomelli and Mr. Blix will have a five-minute photo op and informal standing conversation, prior to the First Lady's departure for her next appointment.

Talking Points:

- Thank Giacomelli for his dedicated service to UNOV and UNDCP, fighting the scourge of drug trafficking. (Giacomelli will be leaving his post on September 1, 1997).
- Thank Blix for 16 years of dedicated service at the IAEA, working to keep the world free of weapons of mass destruction while promoting the peaceful use of nuclear technology. (Blix will be leaving his post in December 1997).
- Stress the importance of UN work in the areas of drug control and crime prevention and our support for these important programs, including the crime commission's work examining the problems of violent crimes against women and children.

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JOHN B. RITCH III

2701 32nd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
(202) 342-0374

Obersteingasse 11
Vienna, Austria A-1190
(431) 369-2095

CURRENT POSITION:

(9/95)

**United States Ambassador
to the United Nations, Vienna
and
Resident United States Representative
to the International Atomic Energy Agency**

Also U.S. Representative to -

**United Nations Industrial Development Organization;
United Nations Works and Relief Agency (Palestinian Refugees); and
United Nations Drug Control Program**

Head, U.S. Delegation to the UN Industrial Development Board, 1994 and 1995

Senior Member, U.S. Delegation to U.S.-North Korea Nuclear Negotiations, 1994

**Senior Adviser, U.S. Delegation to the UN Conference
to Review and Extend the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, 1995**

PREVIOUS PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Senior Staff, U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1972-1993

- Staff Director, Subcommittee on European Affairs, 1977-1993
- Deputy Chief of Staff of entire Committee, 1987-1993
- Principal adviser, U.S. Senate Delegation to the NATO Assembly, 1977-1993
- Drafter of numerous speeches and legislative initiatives,
including SEED (Support for East European Democracy) Act of 1989
- Responsible for State Department/foreign aid oversight and authorizing legislation, 1972-77
- Hired by Chairman Fulbright and served under Chairmen Sparkman, Church, Percy, Lugar, Pell

President, Viking Management, Inc. (Real Estate Development Company), 1974-1993

- Acquired, financed, rehabilitated 55 apartment units (\$4,000,000 project)
- Directed ownership entity and management of apartment units (\$500,000 annual revenue)
- American Institute of Architects (AIA) award for excellence in historic preservation

United States Army, 1965-72: Captain, Infantry

- Special Assistant, Army Chief of Staff, Pentagon, 1970-72
- Coach, Korean Olympic Basketball Team, 1970
- Infantry Company Commander, Korean DMZ, 1969-70
- Paratrooper and Graduate School, 1965-68

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EDUCATION:

- 1965-68, Rhodes Scholar, Oxford University, Oxford, England
M.A. in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics (specialization in international economics)
- 1961-65, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York
Bachelor of Science
- Honors: Academic All-American and all-National Invitational Tournament teams, basketball
Eastern Collegiate Athletic Association award: the "Outstanding Scholar-Athlete" of 1965

MEMBERSHIPS:

- International Institute of Strategic Studies
- Council on Foreign Relations
- American Association of Rhodes Scholars

PERSONAL:

- Age: 52
- Married to Christina Ritch: two daughters (18, 14)
- Health: Excellent

PUBLICATIONS:

Examples of Senate Foreign Relations Committee publications, 1972-1993:

- *The ABM Treaty Interpretation Resolution*, 1987
(book-length defense of the integrity and purpose of the ABM Treaty)
- *Hidden War: The Struggle for Afghanistan*, 1984
(based on travel with Afghan rebels)
- *Dangerous Stalemate: Superpower Relations in Autumn 1983*, 1983
(based on meeting with Soviet President Andropov)
- *SALT and the NATO Allies*, 1979
(explicating NATO doctrine and European support for SALT ratification)
- *Hungarian Communism Today*, 1978
(describing Hungary's subtle evolution toward capitalism)
- *Revolution Into Democracy: Portugal After the Coup*, 1976
(book-length exposition of Portuguese revolution)
- *Heroin: Can the Supply Be Stopped?*, 1972
(based on investigation of the "French connection")

Law Review Articles:

- "The Treaty Power: Upholding a Constitutional Partnership"
Penn Law Review, May 1989
(co-author, with Senator Joseph R. Biden, Chairman, Judiciary Committee)
- "The War Power at a Constitutional Impasse: A 'Joint Decision' Solution"
Georgetown Law Journal, December 1988
(co-author, with Senator Joseph R. Biden, Chairman, Judiciary Committee)

Articles in *The Atlantic*

Arms Control Today
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

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US Mission to the UN System
Organizations in Vienna
UNVIE

AMBASSADOR

John B. Ritch, III
Secretary: Theda Kettler

DCM

Joseph C. Snyder, III
Secretary: Barbara DeLeon

POLITICAL/ECONOMIC SECTION

Responsibilities: UNIDO, UNDCP, Crime Branch, UNRWA, COPUOUS,
UNCITRAL, UNOV

Chief: Raymond Snider
Political/Economic Officer: Henry S. Ensher
Secretary: Kevin Wood

IAEA SECTION

Responsibilities: All matters pertaining to IAEA, NPT and
CTBT

Counselor for Nuclear Policy: Leroy C. Simpkins
Counselor for Nuclear Technology: Bruce A. Cooper
Senior Science Attache: Marvin Peterson
NRC Rep: James Richardson
DOE Rep: Lisa Hilliard
Political/Science Officers:
Jennifer Brush
Steven Bowers
Timothy Schierbeek
Lisa Owens
Secretaries:
Linda Jackson
Carol Emery

INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS PROJECT OFFICE

Responsibilities: Placement of US experts in IAEA positions

Chief: Susan E. Pepper
Secretary: Donna McCowan

ADMIN/MISSIONS

Responsibilities: Represent UNVIE and the OSCE Delegation in
the Vienna Joint Administrative Organization

Administrative Officer: Peter Prahar
Administrative Assistant: Eva Kudera
Drivers:
Fritz Seidl
Alex Kolar

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November 15, 1995

TO: IO - Amb. Lyman, Designate
THROUGH: IO - Ms. Kimble
FROM: UNVIE - John B. Ritch, III
SUBJECT: UNVIE: Functions and Overview

I. Functions and Responsibilities:

The U.S. Mission to the UN System Organizations in Vienna (UNVIE) provides permanent U.S. representation to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and to the other UN organizations with headquarters in Vienna. UNVIE's primary goal is to influence the substantive policies of these organizations to support U.S. interests. In so doing, we seek to prevent the intrusion of extraneous political issues and to encourage efficient operations and restrained budgets. We pursue these goals through close, daily contact with the agency secretariats and other diplomatic missions; an intensive analysis and reporting program; and the promotion of qualified U.S. citizens as professional officials and cost-free experts in the organizations.

The IAEA, arguably the central instrument of USG policy to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, takes up about eighty percent of UNVIE's time and effort. First and foremost, we promote the maintenance and improvement of an effective IAEA program of safeguards. This involves traditional controls at peaceful nuclear installations, uniquely tailored inspection activities in Iraq and North Korea, and a determined effort to expand IAEA capabilities to detect and thereby deter covert nuclear activities. We also encourage a growing nuclear safety program and the transfer to developing countries of nuclear technologies (for agriculture, medicine, and industry) that are highly cost-efficient tools of sustainable development.

The UN Drug Control Program (UNDCP), a product of the 1991 consolidation of three Vienna-based UN drug units, has a higher profile lately due to the President's and UNSYG's focus on the link between narcotics trafficking and organized crime, and on the potential UN role in combatting them. UNDCP advises governments on implementation of treaties, analyzes and publishes data on drug abuse and illicit drug traffic, and trains laboratory and law enforcement officials.

The UN Crime Branch, which is seeking to become a UN Division (the U.S. opposes this now, but is open to persuasion), employs about 13 professionals providing international anti-crime project development and law enforcement advice. An ECOSOC-created Crime Commission meets annually to provide policy guidance to the Crime Branch.

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The UN Relief and Works Administration (UNRWA) provides health, education and social services to 3.2 million Palestinian refugees in Gaza, the West bank, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. Our primary interest is to ensure that UNRWA continues to provide those services efficiently until a comprehensive regional peace is achieved and UNRWA's functions can be transferred to governing authorities, especially the Palestinian Authority in Gaza and the West Bank.

The UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) has a long, unfortunate history of mismanagement and inefficiency, coupled with an uncertain mission: public promotion of industrial development. UNIDO is now into the second year of a major reform program, perhaps the most far-reaching in the UN system. Even before the reform package can be put to a serious test, however, domestic U.S. budget pressures are forcing us to withdraw from UNIDO

Finally, a handful of smaller UN programs are located in Vienna, but require little direct UNVIE involvement beyond general oversight.

II. Overview of Major Issues:

IAEA: In the wake of events in Iraq and North Korea, the IAEA is strengthening its safeguards program by acquiring expanded technical capabilities and increased access to sites and information so as to achieve credible assurance that covert nuclear weapons activities are not taking place. This new focus on detecting and thereby deterring "undeclared" activities will supplement the Agency's traditional pre-Iraq role of assuring that materials at declared facilities are not being diverted to weapons use. UNVIE's major goal in the next year is to promote expanded safeguards in the face of some member state resistance, based on a reluctance to allow an institutionalized expansion of IAEA intrusiveness.

An important USG interest will be establishing a cost-effective implementing organization for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty now being negotiated in Geneva. UNVIE is supporting the recent Washington decision that the CTBTO should be sited in Vienna, with the IAEA performing the maximum negotiable role in administration and verification.

UNIDO: We expect to announce U.S. withdrawal before the end of the year, perhaps with a small payment toward our assessment, possibly without paying any of the \$40 million now due and the \$30 million more we will owe for 1996. UNIDO may have to cut as much as a quarter of its 850-person staff, depending on how much the USG pays while withdrawing. In any case, we will have little leverage left in the Organization during our final year there. Other local missions have little enthusiasm for any effort to dissolve UNIDO on grounds that its mandate is no longer relevant.

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UNRWA: The Agency is scheduled to complete its move from Vienna to Gaza and Amman next fall. It will also be acquiring a new Commissioner General starting in February. UNVIE will work closely with the Agency to help with both transitions and will also be pressing UNRWA to begin planning for the eventual devolution of its role to the Palestinian Authority.

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OSCE Factsheet

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Fact Sheet

What is the OSCE?

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is a pan-European security organization whose 55 participating States span the geographical area from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

The OSCE takes a comprehensive view of security. Its bodies and institutions take a co-operative approach to a wide range of security-related issues including arms control, preventive diplomacy, confidence- and security-building measures, human rights, election monitoring and economic security.

All States participating in OSCE activities have equal status and decisions are made on the basis of consensus.

How is it structured?

Delegations of the OSCE participating States meet almost daily in the Hofburg Congress Centre in Vienna. The OSCE's regular body for political consultation and decision-making is the Permanent Council which meets once a week. The Hofburg is also the site of meetings of the Forum for Security Co-operation (which deals with arms control and confidence- and security-building measures), the Joint Consultative Group (responsible for promoting implementation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe) and the Open Skies Consultative Commission.

In addition to these bodies, the political directors of participating States meet three times a year in Prague as the Senior Council. Furthermore, the OSCE foreign ministers of participating States hold an annual Ministerial Council Meeting and every two years an OSCE Summit of all Heads of State or Government is convened.

The OSCE comprises several institutions. The Secretariat, which provides operational support to the Organization, is based in Vienna. The OSCE also maintains a small office in Prague.

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), which is active in monitoring elections, assisting in the drafting of constitutions and laws and promoting the development of civil societies, is situated in Warsaw.

An OSCE institution of particular importance in the field of early warning and conflict prevention is the High Commissioner on National Minorities. The High Commissioner assesses, and defuses at the earliest possible stage, situations involving national minority issues. Through advice and recommendations, he encourages the parties to pursue non-confrontational policies.

The Chairman-in-Office (CIO) of the OSCE has overall responsibility for executive action. The Chairmanship rotates annually. In 1997 it is held by Denmark and in 1998 it will pass to Poland. The Chairman, Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen, is assisted in his work by the previous and succeeding Chairmen who together constitute the Troika.

The Secretary General of the OSCE is Mr. Giancarlo Aragona of Italy. His three year term of office began in June 1996. Based in Vienna, he acts as the representative of the Chairman-in-Office and supports him in all activities aimed at attaining the goals of the OSCE. The Secretary General's tasks also include the management of OSCE structures and operations.

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OSCE Factsheet

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As a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, the OSCE has been established as a primary instrument in the OSCE region for early warning, conflict prevention and crisis management in Europe. It has deployed Missions in several countries in the OSCE area including: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Tajikistan, and Ukraine. The OSCE has also deployed an Assistance Group to Chechnya.

In what has been called the OSCE's biggest operational challenge, the Dayton Peace Agreement gave the Organization important roles in supervising the election process, monitoring human rights and assisting with negotiations on confidence building measures and arms control in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The OSCE also serves as a framework for conventional arms control and confidence-building measures. The most important of the agreements, the Vienna Document 1994, obliges States to show transparency and predictability in their military activities. It has recently adopted a military Code of Conduct setting out principles to guide the role of armed forces in democratic societies. The OSCE has also developed several mechanisms for settling disputes.

The OSCE's Parliamentary Assembly meets once a year to discuss issues pertinent to OSCE affairs and consider declarations, recommendations and proposals to enhance security and co-operation in the OSCE area. The Assembly's Secretariat is located in Copenhagen.

The Organization recently established a Court of Conciliation and Arbitration in Geneva. Participating States, who are signatories to the Convention on Conciliation and Arbitration, may submit a dispute to the Court for settlement by the Arbitral Tribunal or the Conciliation Commission. The OSCE is also the repository of the EU-Initiated Pact on Stability.

From CSCE to OSCE

The OSCE was created in the early 1970s under the name of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) to serve as a multilateral forum for dialogue and negotiation between East and West.

The Helsinki Final Act of the CSCE, signed in 1975, established the basic principles governing the behaviour of States towards their citizens and each other.

Until 1990, the CSCE functioned as a series of meetings and conferences setting norms and commitments and periodically reviewing their implementation. The Paris Summit in 1990 set the CSCE on a new course. In the Charter of Paris for a New Europe the CSCE was called upon to contribute to managing the historic change in Europe and respond to the new challenges of the post-cold war period.

To facilitate the implementation of these tasks several offices and institutions were created, meetings became more regular and the Conference's work became more structured.

In November 1990 an important arms control agreement, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), was negotiated in the framework of the CSCE process.

Further developments came through a series of regular meetings between 1990 and 1994 which established new mechanisms, offices and principles for addressing the challenges of post-cold war Europe.

The 1994 Budapest Summit, recognizing that the CSCE was no longer simply a Conference, changed its name to the OSCE. This gave the Organization a new political impetus and was also a reflection of its institutional development since the end of the Cold War.

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From CSCE to OSCE: Historical Retrospective

Page 2 of 4

The Helsinki Final Act laid the basis for further development of the CSCE process. The document is not a treaty, but a politically binding agreement. It is divided into three main parts, or "baskets," concerning:

- 1) Questions relating to security in Europe;**
- 2) Co-operation in the field of economics, science and technology, and the environment;**
- 3) Co-operation in humanitarian and other fields.**

The document called for regular follow-up meetings to review the implementation of CSCE agreements, to set new standards and norms, to expand co-operation and to maintain political dialogue.

Such meetings were held in Belgrade, Madrid and Vienna. At these meetings, all the CSCE participating States agreed upon important commitments aimed at upholding human rights, and measures to build confidence among the participants. In addition, a number of expert meetings were held on such specific topics as democratic institutions, human rights, human contacts, peaceful settlement of disputes, the environment, the media, science, culture and economic co-operation. Thus a process was initiated which consisted of a series of follow-up meetings to review the implementation of the Helsinki Act and elaborate upon its provisions as necessary.

After Helsinki, the CSCE was no more than a diplomatic conference. In order to keep the organization flexible no permanent structures were created and no long-term schedules made. There was no permanent body to undertake operational action between meetings. It was not until the momentous change of 1989-1990 that the participating States could agree on the need for permanent CSCE bodies and on their composition and functions.

The CSCE's greatest advantage during the unstable political climate of the 1970s and 1980s was its ability to approach issues in a comprehensive way.

Of particular importance was the linkage of human rights to general security and co-operation. The CSCE established that a country systematically violating the fundamental liberties of its own citizens could not be internationally trusted and should even be considered as a potential threat to other countries.

The first negotiated results in the field of human rights and humanitarian co-operation were very modest provisions. They required, for example, favourable consideration of applications for travel for family visits or the reuniting of families and for exit permits for mixed marriages. Weeks of negotiation were necessary to reach agreement that visa fees should be reduced. Step by step, tighter provisions were introduced to eliminate restrictive interpretations and delays in issuing travel documents. The Helsinki Final Act was also used to develop a somewhat freer access to information, to limit jamming of radio broadcasts in Eastern Europe and to relax the control over speech and print.

A complicated network of linkage and quid-pro-quo resulted in a balancing of interests, which created the basis for a continuing CSCE process. Through meetings, political dialogue, negotiation of new commitments and a constant pressure to implement them, the CSCE became a catalyst of peaceful change in Europe. It is widely associated with the democratic revolution which came to Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s.

What was the secret of the CSCE's vitality? Why was it able to progress despite sometimes formidable challenges? The Final Act was not, of course, a magic formula for dismantling the "socialist" system. The CSCE must also be seen as just one element in a very complex and comprehensive process. Progress by the CSCE was as much a result of changing realities as an instrument of further change. There are, however, specific CSCE contributions. First, the CSCE

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OSCE Factsheet**Page 3 of 3**

Today the OSCE is taking a leading role in fostering security through co-operation in Europe. It works to achieve this goal by co-operating closely with other international and regional organizations and maintaining close links with numerous non-governmental organizations.

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From CSCE to OSCE: Historical Retrospective

Page 1 of 4



From CSCE to OSCE: Historical Retrospective

The Organization for Security and Co-operation (OSCE) in Europe was created in the early 1970s. Under the name of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), it was called upon to serve as a multilateral forum for dialogue and negotiation between East and West. From 1975 to 1990, the CSCE, as its name implied, functioned as a series of conferences and meetings where new commitments were negotiated and their implementation reviewed. The Paris Summit Meeting in 1990 marked the beginning of institutionalisation aimed at meeting the challenges presented by the post-Cold War period.

The development of the security situation in Europe in the 1990s has led to a fundamental change in the CSCE. Reflecting this change, the 1994 Budapest Summit changed its name to OSCE. Today, the OSCE comprises 55 participating States from the region stretching from Vladivostok to Vancouver, including the United States, Canada and all the countries of Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The origin of the OSCE can be traced back to the early 1950s, with a proposal from the Soviet Union to create an all-European security conference. Other Eastern European countries, including Poland, made similar proposals. Finland offered Helsinki as a venue for the conference in 1969, inviting all the European countries, the United States and Canada. In 1972, 35 States agreed to enter into multilateral consultations concerned with preparations for the conference, and the stage was set for the preparatory talks in Helsinki with the original 35 signatory nations. In 1973, the consultations concluded with the "Blue Book," which outlined final recommendations for the scope and rules of procedure for the Conference. The negotiations went on for almost two years in Geneva.

On 1 August 1975 in Helsinki, the Heads of State or Government of the 35 participating States signed the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Act established basic principles for behaviour among the participating States and of governments toward their citizens:

- 1. Sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty;**
- 2. Refraining from the threat or use of force;**
- 3. Inviolability of frontiers;**
- 4. Territorial integrity of States;**
- 5. Peaceful settlement of disputes;**
- 6. Non-intervention in internal affairs;**
- 7. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief;**
- 8. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples;**
- 9. Co-operation among States;**
- 10. Fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law.**

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From CSCE to OSCE: Historical Retrospective

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provided a political platform and moral support for the champions of democratic change inside the Warsaw Pact countries, such as "Charter 77" in Czechoslovakia or "Solidarity" in Poland. They were the true victors in the 1989 "autumn of peoples." They derived legitimacy and a certain power from the ideas enshrined in the Helsinki Act. Second, by building an elaborate system of political channels and bridges, the CSCE made it possible for the West, including many neutral and non-aligned countries, to build continuously upon the ongoing changes within the "socialist system."

To symbolically close the Cold War chapter of European history and, in the process, address the issues facing the "new" Europe, the CSCE States decided to convene a summit in Paris. The Paris Summit Conference, the first summit meeting since Helsinki, took place from 19 to 21 November 1990. It was a historic event in that it formally recognised the end of the Cold War.

The Charter of Paris for a New Europe signed at the Summit marked the turning point in the history of the CSCE in the post-Cold War era, serving as a transition point for the CSCE from its role as a forum for negotiation and dialogue to that of an active operational structure. The document aimed at defining the CSCE's identity in a new international environment. The first standing institutions: the Conflict Prevention Centre in Vienna, the Office for Free Elections in Warsaw (now known as the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights) and the Secretariat in Prague were established. The Paris Charter also created three political consultation and decision-making bodies: regular summit meetings of Heads of State or Government; the Council of Ministers consisting of foreign ministers from the participating States; and the Committee of Senior Officials to assist the Council and manage day-to-day business. The disintegration of Yugoslavia and the collapse of the Soviet Union as well as the split-up of Czechoslovakia resulted in the emergence of new States. The newly independent States applied for membership, and the number of OSCE participating States increased to 54 with the adoption in the fall of 1995 of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia that enjoyed previously observer status as a fully participating State. The principality of Andorra was the most recent state to join the OSCE, becoming the 55th participating state in 1996.

The military security environment changed radically. An important arms control agreement, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) was negotiated within the framework of the CSCE process and signed in November 1990. The CFE limits non-nuclear ground and air forces from the Atlantic to the Ural Mountains.

Further impetus and possibilities for concerted action within the CSCE framework were outlined in the new Helsinki Document of July 1992. It established a number of practical tools to strengthen the CSCE's contribution to the protection of human rights and the management of the unprecedented change under way in Europe. It declared the CSCE a regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. In particular, it called for an ambitious role for the CSCE in early warning, conflict prevention and crisis management. The newly created High Commissioner on National Minorities was tasked with responding, at the earliest possible stage, to ethnic tensions that have the potential to develop into a conflict within the region. In December 1992, the CSCE Council established a new post of the Secretary General, and in 1993, a strengthened Secretariat in Vienna.

In December 1993, a new body, the Permanent Committee (since December 1994 the Permanent Council), was established in Vienna, significantly expanding the possibilities for political consultation, dialogue and decision-making on a weekly basis.

The new operational profile of the CSCE expanded with the dispatch of several conflict prevention and crisis management missions to areas of potential or actual conflicts.

Determined to give the CSCE new political impetus at the 1994 Budapest Summit, 52 Heads of State or Government from CSCE participating States renamed CSCE the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). The Budapest Document declared the OSCE to be the primary instrument for early warning, conflict management and crisis management in the OSCE.

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region. The document established the possibility of the OSCE sending a peacekeeping mission to Nagorno-Karabakh. The document also called for strengthening the competencies of the Chairman-in-Office as well as those of the Secretary General and the Secretariat, the High Commissioner on National Minorities and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. A "Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security" was adopted setting forth principles guiding the role of armed forces in democratic societies. The document also called for a discussion within the OSCE on a model of common and comprehensive security based on CSCE principles and commitments.

The 1995 Ministerial Council Meeting in Budapest approved a programme for the OSCE to fulfil new challenging tasks put before it under the Dayton Agreement on Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The next major summit will be held in Lisbon in December 1996.

The priorities of the OSCE today are:

- to consolidate common values and build civil societies;
- to prevent local conflicts, restore stability and bring peace to war-torn areas;
- to overcome real and perceived security deficits and to avoid the creation of new divisions by promoting a co-operative system of security.

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Divider Title: **Courtesy Call with the President**

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KLESTIL

The First Lady will make a courtesy call on President Thomas Klestil in his office in the Hofburg, the historical imperial palace of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, just prior to a lunch the Austrian President hosts in her honor. (Other participants TBD) Klestil's chief of staff Ambassador Hennig will meet upon arrival and escort to the President's office. (Photo op?). The meeting will last about 25 minutes. The Austrian President exercises to a large extent representational functions; the head of government is the Chancellor. Klestil was a career diplomat and served as Austrian ambassador to the U.S. and to the UN. The next presidential elections are May 1998; he will mostly likely seek a second term. The call offers the opportunity to underscore U.S. appreciation of his closeness to the U.S.

Talking Points:

-- Recall Klestil's visit to the White House in September 1995, only the second by an Austrian president. (Note: Visit put the strains in U.S.-Austrian relations due to the Waldheim affair behind us.)

-- Reiterate President Clinton's regret that he could not take up Klestil's invitation to attend the Salzburg World Economic Summit meeting with Central European President on July 10 or visit Austria at this time.

-- Underscore the importance the U.S. attaches to close Austro-American ties in all areas: political, economic, cultural, law enforcement. Appreciate Klestil's interest in advancing bilateral relations.

-- Welcome Austria's active involvement in international affairs, ranging from peace-keeping (condolences to two Austrian UN peace-keepers recently killed on Golan Heights) to international assistance to Bosnians, Palestinians, Central/Eastern Europe. Austria a responsible international citizen.

LUNCHEON HOSTED BY PRESIDENT KLESTIL

President Klestil will host an official lunch for the First Lady in the (TBD) room of the Hofburg (adjacent to the President's office). Up to 65 guests may attend (TBD), including the Austrian Foreign Minister Wolfgang Schuessel and various representatives from all sectors of Austrian society. (Toasts?) (Photo op?)

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Divider Title: **Courtesy Call with the Chancellor**

CALL ON CHANCELLOR KLIMA:

The First Lady will meet with Chancellor Viktor Klima (Social Democratic Party) in the Chancellor's Office at the Ballhaus, a 18th century building designed by Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt which also houses the Foreign Ministry. (Other Participants TBD) Major events shaping Austrian history which have taken place here include: meetings of the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15; the final deliberations in 1914 that led to the outbreak of World War I; and the murder of Chancellor Dolfuss by the Nazis in 1934. Klima, who previously served as Transportation and as Finance Minister, was selected as Chancellor (Prime Minister) in January 1997, following the resignation of Franz Vranitzky. Prior to entering politics in the early 1990's, Klima was an executive at the Austrian State Oil company (OMV). The meeting offers an opportunity to express U.S. interest in Klima, who has not yet met President Clinton or the First Lady.

Talking Points:

-- Convey President Clinton's greetings and regret that he could not visit Austria at this time. President looks forward to meeting Klima in the latter half of 1998, when Austria has the European Union Presidency, if not before.

-- Underscore the importance the U.S. attaches to close Austro-American ties in all areas: political, economic, cultural, law enforcement. President Clinton is interested in working together with Klima to advance bilateral relations, building on the excellent relations he has had with former Chancellor Vranitzky.

-- Welcome Austria's active involvement in international affairs, ranging from peace-keeping (condolences to two Austrian UN peace-keepers recently killed on Golan Heights) to international assistance to Bosnians, Palestinians, Central/Eastern Europe. Austria a responsible international citizen and a valued U.S. friend in Europe.

-- Brief on "Vital Voices" conference and efforts to empower women in the new democracies and previous day's roundtable on Bosnian refugees.

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Divider Title: **Reception for Conference
Participants**

MINISTER PRAMMER RECEPTION

Austrian Minister for Women's and Consumer Affairs Barbara Prammer (Social Democratic Party) is hosting the closing reception for the "Vital Voices" conference in the "Kongresssaal" of the Ballhaus, an elaborate hall next to the Chancellor's office where major events of the Congress of Vienna occurred. Some 300 persons will attend the reception. The First Lady's attendance at the reception not only underscores her support for the goals of the Congress and offers a chance to speak with some of the participants, but also provides the venue for a series of photo with groups of participants. The First Lady will move back and forth among the four rooms making up the "Kongresssaal" for photo ops with 19 different groups from the Conference.

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Divider Title: **Austrian Pianist Performance/
Reception**

TRI-MISSION COMMUNITY EVENT

American and Austrian employees and their families of the three U.S. diplomatic missions in Vienna have been invited to Ambassador Hunt's residence for an informal picnic and opportunity to meet with the First Lady for about 30 minutes. Approximately 250 guests (including spouses and children) are expected to be present. Photos will be taken.

CONCERT/INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Ambassador Hunt will host at her residence the evening of July 11 (following Tri-Mission Community Event) an evening involving approximately 100 of the participants in the "Vital Voices" conference. Featuring a performance by the famed Austrian pianist Rudolf Buchbinder, the event will allow the First Lady to have causal interaction with conference participants.